

FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN UTTAR PRADESH

SOURCE-MATERIAL

VOLUME II
Awadh : 1857-59

PUBLICATIONS BUREAU
INFORMATION DEPARTMENT, UTTAR PRADESH

August 15, 1958

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

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RUPEES TEN

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FOREWORD

The first volume of 'Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh' comprising the source-material on the origin and nature of the struggle of 1857-59 was published on August 15, 1957. The material which could be unearthed till then indicated that it could be accommodated in two more volumes—one devoted to the outbreak, the progress and the transformation of the struggle into a series of guerilla skirmishes, and the other to the trials of the leaders of the revolution.

Subsequent researches, however, brought so much more material to light that the Advisory Board for the History of Freedom Movement in U. P. had to revise the original plan and decide to bring out, in place of the initially contemplated second volume, four more volumes, viz.,

- (1) Freedom Struggle in Awadh,
- (2) Freedom Struggle in Bundelkhand,
- (3) Freedom Struggle in Eastern U. P., and
- (4) Freedom Struggle in Western U. P.

The present volume comprises the documents relating to the Freedom Struggle in Awadh. It resurrects many important aspects of the struggle and I hope that like its preceding volume this work shall also receive the reception it deserves.

August 8, 1958

Kamlapati Tripathi

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INTRODUCTORY

The basic cause of, and the strongest stimulant to, revolt in 1857, in the case of Awadh was a consciousness, on the part of the people, of the loss of their freedom following the annexation of Awadh to the British empire. The plea, of a "mismanaged native rule in Awadh", advanced by the British authorities in justification of the policy of annexation of Lord Dalhousie seemed least convincing to the people. Hardly had the British rulers been in authority in Awadh for fourteen months, when they found people writhing under discontentment and disposed to shake off the foreign yoke. A large number of documents and excerpts have been reproduced in the First Volume of the Series dealing with the background, nature and origin of the freedom struggle, which clearly bring to the fore that the people of Awadh, be they landlords or common people, could not reconcile themselves to the so-called 'benign government' of the East India Company. Lord Canning, the then Governor General of India, found to his great dismay and chagrin that even those Taluquadars, who were substantially benefited under the Summary Settlement, joined the ranks of the revolutionaries and were most active in challenging the authority of the British rule. He wrote to the Chief Commissioner of Awadh on March 31, 1858 that :

"No chiefs have been more open in their rebellion than the rajahs of Churda, Bbinga, and Gonda. The Governor-General believes that the first of these did not lose a single village by the Summary Settlement and certainly his assessment was materially reduced. The second was dealt with in a like liberal manner. The rajah of Gonda lost about thirty villages out of 400; but his assessment was lowered by some 10,000 rupees.

"No one was more benefited by the change of government than the young rajah of Nanpara. His estates had been the object of a civil war with a rival claimant for three years, and of these he was at once recognised as sole proprietor by the British government, losing only six villages out of more than a thousand. His mother was appointed guardian, but her troops have been fighting against us at Lucknow from the beginning.

"The Rajah of Dhowrera, also a minor, was treated with equal liberality. Every village was settled with his family; yet these people turned upon Captain Hearsey and his party, refused them shelter, pursued them, captured the ladies, and sent them into Lucknow.

“Ushruf Bux Khan, a large Talookdar in Gonda, who had long been an object of persecution of the late government was established in the possession of all his property by us; yet he has been strongly hostile”.

Various interpretations have been given to the cause and nature of this popular uprising in Awadh, during the past one hundred years. An attempt has been made, in the present volume, to unravel the tangled skein of the struggle in Awadh and to lay bare the enthusiasm, in the face of all their sufferings, of the people which sustained them against all odds. The excerpts published have been classified subject-wise and have been arranged, to the best, in chronological order. The following sources have been drawn upon.

DISTRICT RECORDS

District records of the struggle of 1857, titled as ‘Mutiny *Bastas*’, which have now been transferred to the Committee of the History of Freedom Movement, were lying in a somewhat neglected condition in almost all the districts of Uttar Pradesh. These *Bastas* contain the proceedings on the trials of the local participants of the great struggle. Thousands of trial proceedings, drawn upon for this volume, have yielded valuable new information on this subject and deserve further close scrutiny for a detailed study of the various aspects of the movement. About one-fourth of the present volume comprises the translation or reproduction of the documents culled from the trial proceedings stored in these *bastas*.

The trials in Awadh were generally conducted after the Queen’s Proclamation of 1st November 1858. The proclamation extended “clemency to all offenders, save and except those who have been or shall be convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects”, and “unconditional pardon, amnesty and oblivion of all offences against Crown” was promised to those “who returned to their homes and peaceful pursuits.” But those who surrendered were disillusioned to find the terms of clemency existing only in name. People who were known to have taken a leading part in the struggle were after their surrender summarily tried for treason or for the murder of one or the other British subject. The defence of the accused persons on account of the reliance which they placed on the mercy and justice of the British government was bound to be formal, and they generally pleaded not guilty. Obviously no historical conclusion in these circumstances can be arrived at merely on the basis of the defence of the accused. But a close examination of the scores of evidence, cross-examinations and judgments against a background of the circumstances in which the defence was presented can, undoubtedly, unfold 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, stood tenaciously in their resistance to the foreign government. The formidable defence which the city of Lucknow and the people of Awadh presented and the guerilla warfare which they organised deserve a careful study and an objective analysis.

The documents relating to the activities of the revolutionaries were not only suppressed by their relations, who prompted by the interest of their own safety, could not bring them to light during the British regime, but, even the revolutionaries themselves in most cases very carefully destroyed records of correspondence exchanged between them. 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 Awadh but throughout a greater part of Northern India. A study of these letters lays bare the fact that the struggle was not entirely devoid of planning. Different leaders started their work in close harmony with each other. They were supported by the people and had full faith in the success of their aspirations. But if they lost, it was less on account of their failings or the so called selfish designs, but more owing to the superior artillery, and military strategy combined with better resources, of the enemies. A careful study of the letters is thus indispensable to discover the secret of the success of the protracted struggle of 1857-59 which shook the very foundations of a nation which could win the battle of Plassey and all the other important battles without any difficulty.

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

RECORDS IN NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Foreign Political and Secret Consultations preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi, are also a very important source of information and some of the relevant documents, having a bearing on the subject, are being reproduced in the present volume. The Foreign Political Consultations of 30th December 1859, though enormous, yield very valuable information on the nature of the struggle and deserve a searching examination. Home and Military Consultations too are historically very valuable.

U. P. GOVERNMENT SECRETARIAT RECORDS

The Secretariat Records Office Lucknow is very rich in the records of the period beginning with the annexation of Awadh. It contains a *host* of original telegrams and bulletins dealing with the day to day activities of the revolutionaries in Awadh and Bundelkhand, during the last phase of the struggle when it had taken the shape of a regular guerilla warfare. Abstract Proceedings of 'Oudh' running into several volumes are a mine of information for the students of contemporary history.

NEWSPAPERS

Some of the activities of the revolutionaries were reported in contemporary English and Urdu newspapers also and though the press was gagged, yet their comments in a few cases are very revealing. National Library Calcutta has got a good collection of these newspapers and cuttings.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS

Further papers relating to the Mutinies in the East Indies, presented to both Houses of Parliament by 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 dispatched by the Officers to their higher authorities immediately after the occurrence of an incident or in some cases within a week or two, the events could not much be glossed over and the authors could not belittle or colour the activities of the revolutionaries much.

OTHER SOURCES

Parliamentary Debates and collections of secret letters also yield valuable information on this subject. Records on the 'struggle' as available in the Central Records Office Allahabad are also very useful. Diaries, memoirs and narratives of events by contemporary Civil and Military Officers and their relations and friends were generally written from a par-

tisan'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 dilated most enthusiastically while the chivalrous activities and organising capabilities of the Indians who were nick-named as '*Shohdas*', '*Badmashes*' and '*Pandees*', etc., were mostly Suppressed. Published contemporary works in Persian, Arabic, Urdu, Mahratti, Bengali, Hindi and English are also very essential for a study of the connected account of the events of the Great Struggle. A large number of the works published in the second half of the nineteenth century are however unfortunately out of print but a few of them including Russell's diary have recently been reprinted and thus can be fully utilized.

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 who were half-backed in the rules of grammar and punctuation. Naturally some of them abound in mistakes of grammar and spelling of common words. Their apparent fondness, be it prompted by their adherence to their own rules of phonetics, to present every Indian name in a spelling different from what we feel it to be, has rendered the task of editing a bit more complicated. Same name has been spelt differently at different places in the same page in the majority of documents. Printed contemporary works are also, in some cases, not wanting in the above deficiencies. It may be pointed out here that the Europeans had their own way of pronouncing Indian names of persons and places, which to the modern Indian reader may sound somewhat odd and ridiculous e.g. Bundelkhand was spelt as Boondelcund, Kabul as Cabul, Asaf as Asoph, Rohilkhand as Rohilcund, Nainital as Nynceetal, Bahadur as Bahadoor, Bahraich as Baraitch, Sahai as Suhace, Muqaddam as Moocoddum, Hazrat as Huzrat and Huzrut, Ali as Ally, Allie or Alec, Urdu as Oordoo, Mainpuri as Mynpoorec or Minniepoori, Machhi Bhawan as Mutchi Bhow or Muehee Bawan, Birjis Qadar as Brijis Kudtdor or Bridges Kudr, Sharfuddaulah as Shurrufoddowlah, Raghunath as Rugonet or Ruggonat, Yusuf as Eusooif or Yoosuff, Bishambhar Singh as By Shew Umber Sing, Rudr Das as Roodroo Doje, Ganga Das as Junga Doje, Het Ram as Aiteram, Kharak Bahadur as Kurruck Bahadoor, Mehrban Singh as Meerwan Sing, Abdul Razzaq as Abdool Razzak or Ruzac, Beni Madho as Bamie Madho or Bancee Madhoo, Qasid as Cossud, Nadi as Nuddee, Gorakhpur as Goruckpur, Paintipur as Puntypoor, Malihabad as Mulliabad, Amethi as Unaithee or Amathee, Mahmud as Mymood or Mamood, Menhdi Husain as Mendee Hossein or Mehndie Hussun, Jagannath Bakhsh as Juggernautli Buccus etc.

While presenting this volume an attempt has been made to maintain with some uniformity as far as possible, within a particular document, the spellings of proper names, places and terms as available in the original one. Where they have appeared to be too far-fetched so as to hinder easy comprehension, their correct and current Indian form has been given within brackets for the convenience of the reader. The edited headings invariably contain correct forms of Indian names of places and persons. Where heading as available in the original document has been retained, care has been taken to give within brackets the prevalent form of the names. Where footnotes, as given in the original document, have been given the fact has been indicated by the words "Marginal note in the Original" or such like. At places only glaring mistakes of the copyists and slips of pen have been corrected but not at the cost of the spirit of the statement. Punctuation marks have been inserted where they were deemed absolutely essential to bring out the full sense. 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. Unfamiliar geographical names have been explained in the footnotes on the basis of the District Gazetteers. An account of the development of the city of Lucknow as well as its different buildings, and a glossary of oriental words have been given in the appendix. Some contemporary sketches and detailed maps and plans have also been obtained from the National Archives, but due to some unavoidable reasons they could not be published along with the present volume. Their publication is however under the consideration of the Government.

CHAPTER ONE
THE OUTBREAK

UPRISING IN AWADH

Letter from Henry Lawrence, Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to the Governor General of India, dated 18th April, 1857.

DISCONTENTMENT IN LUCKNOW

“This city is said to contain some six or seven hundred thousand souls,¹ and does certainly contain many thousands (20,000, I was told yesterday) of disbanded soldiers and of hungry, nay starving, dependents of the late Govt.²

“This very morning a clod was thrown at Mr. Ommaney (the Judicial Commissioner), and another struck Major Anderson (Chief Engineer) whilst in *buggy* with myself.

“The improvements in the city here go on very fast, too fast and too roughly. Much discontentment has been caused by demolition of buildings, and still more by threats of further similar measures; also regarding the seizure of religious and other edifices, and plots of ground, as *Nuzool* or Govt. property. I have visited many of these places and pacified parties, and prohibited any seizure or demolition without competent authority. The Revenue measures, though not as sweeping as represented by the writer whose letter your Lordship sent me, have been unsatisfactory. The *Talookdars* have, I fear, been hardly dealt with; at least, in the Fyzabad division some have lost half their villages, some have lost all”.³

MUTINOUS SPIRIT IN REGIMENTS

Minute by the Governor General of India in Council, dated 10th May, 1857.

This despatch from the Chief Commissioner in Oudh

¹ A portion of the above-mentioned letter is to be found in the “*Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*” by Sir Herbert Edwards and Herman Merivale, p. 564.

² The population of Lucknow city according to 1951 census is 4,44,711. *cf.* In Howard Russell : “*My Diary in India*”, Pp. 57-58, para 3, 1957 Edition, London.

³ For details *cf.* “*Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*” Vol. I Chapter II, Pp. 183-232.

reports the outbreak of a mutinous spirit in the 7th Regiment of the Oudh Irregular Infantry, and their refusal to use the cartridges furnished to them.

The Regiment has been disarmed, and has been told that the authority of Government will be asked for its disbandment; but that those found guiltless should be re-enlisted.

Sir Henry Lawrence has acted with promptitude, and should be supported in the course which he has taken. His report of the first part of the transaction is meagre; but I have no doubt whatever that his measures of precaution and coercion, taken in concert with Brigadier Gray, were fully necessary; and I see no reason in the tardy contrition of the regiment for hesitating to confirm the punishment of all who are guilty. I would, therefore, support the Chief Commissioner at once. I think it better, however, that the disbandment, to whatever length it may be carried, should be real; and that the men whose innocence can be shown, and whose general character is irreproachable, or those by whom offenders have been denounced and mutinous designs disclosed, should be retained in the ranks, the others being dismissed absolutely and finally. There is a fiction in discharging soldiers one day, to take them back the next, whatever may be their claims to mercy, which will greatly weaken the general effect of the measure as an example.

I propose that Sir Henry Lawrence should be instructed to this effect.

It appears that the revised instructions for the platoon exercise, by which the biting of the cartridge is dispensed with, had not come into operation at Lucknow when the event took place. Explanation of this should be asked.¹

Telegram from Henry Lawrence, Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary, Foreign Department, dated Lucknow, 16th May, 1857

“All is well here. Give me plenary military power in

¹ Forrest : “*State Papers*” Vol. II, Pp. 10-11. *cf.* Documents regarding the mutinous spirit, “*Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*” Vol. I, Pp. 333-342.

Oudh; I will not use it unnecessarily. I am sending two troops of cavalry to Allahabad. Send a company of Europeans into the fort there, it will be good to raise regiments of Irregular Horse under good officers".¹

PROCLAMATIONS AT LUCKNOW

Extracts from a letter from Lucknow, dated the 20th May, 1857.

".....Lucknow is in terrible suspense.

"No small sensation was created here by the discovery the other day of a *Persian paper* calling on the Moslims to rise and fall upon us.....".

× × ×

Letter dated 21st instant.

".....The prevalent feeling here has lately been displayed in an unmistakable manner. *Two days ago a proclamation in Hindee* was pasted on one of the huts near the Cavalry lines, in which all Hindoos and Mahomedans were called upon to join in murdering the *Feringees*; yesterday a similar document was placarded in the city in the Persian character. The city people, I hear, await the signal for them to rise *en masse* on the mutiny of the native troops.

" 2

Telegram from G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary, Foreign Department, to Henry Lawrence, Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), dated Calcutta, 21st May, 1857.

Keep your eye steadily on Rajah Maun Singh. Particulars by post to-day.³

Telegram from Henry Lawrence, Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary, Foreign Department, dated Lucknow, 21st May, 1857.

I have assumed military command. All quiet, but sev-

¹ Forrest : "State Papers" Vol. II, Pp. 19-20.

² "The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette", Wednesday, May 27, 1857. "The Central Star" relates that a paper in Persian, formally signed and sealed and purporting to be addressed to the people of Lucknow by some high Mussulman authority, was found in the city on the 18th instant. It called upon all good Mahomedans to rise *en masse* and slaughter the "*Feringhi Kaffirs*".

³ Forrest : "State Papers" Vol. II, p. 22.

ral reports of intended attack on us. Fifty Europeans sent this morning in *dak* carriages and two squadrons of Irregular Cavalry to Cawnpore, will arrive to-night.¹

Telegram from Henry Lawrence, Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to the Financial Secretary, dated Lucknow, 22nd May, 1857 (8 a.m.).

All perfectly quiet here. A fire in cantonment last night speedily extinguished.¹

Telegram from Henry Lawrence, Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Lucknow, 23rd May, 1857 (2 p.m.).

Our magazine stores are nearly all moved into the Machce Bawun (Machhi Bhawan), where ten days' supplies for 500 men are stored. Thirty guns and 100 Europeans are in position there. I am with 290 Europeans and the European battery in cantonments. We are safe, except external influences. Cawnpore to be reinforced with all speed. Delhi ought similarly to be recovered. When may Her Majesty's 84th be expected at Cawnpore ?²

Telegraphic Message dated 24th May, 1857 (2 p.m.).

All is quiet throughout this province, and defensive arrangements are completed at Lucknow.³

Telegraphic Message dated 25th May, 1857 (7-30 a.m.).

All are yet perfectly quiet here, but all depends on the troops at Cawnpore. Send up there all the European troops you can.³

Telegram from Henry Lawrence, Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Lucknow, 25th May, 1857 (3-2 p.m.).

The *Eed* prayers are concluded, and everything is perfectly quiet here.⁴

¹ Forrest : "State Papers" Vol. II, p. 22.

² Forrest : "State Papers" Vol. II, Pp. 22 & 23.

³ Forrest : "State Papers" Vol. II, p. 23. Telegrams sent from Henry Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of Oudh (Awadh), to the Governor General of India in Council.

⁴ Forrest : "State Papers" Vol. II, p. 24.

Telegram from the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Military Department, to Henry Lawrence, Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), dated Calcutta, 26th May, 1857.

You are requested to send to my address, by *dak*, as early as practicable, official reports of the proceedings that have taken place at the several stations since the commencement of the outbreak.¹

Telegram from Henry Lawrence, Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Lucknow, 26th May, 1857. (4-20 p. m.)

The *Eed* has passed quietly. Everything tranquil here.¹

Telegram from Henry Lawrence, Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Lucknow, 27th May, 1857 (12 Noon).

All well at Lucknow.¹

Telegram from Henry Lawrence, Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Lucknow, 28th May, 1857 (3 p.m.).

All's well.¹

Telegram from Henry Lawrence, Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to G. F. Edmonstone, dated Lucknow, 29th May, 1857 (3-4 p.m.).

All quiet, but great uneasiness at Lucknow; disturbances threatened outside. A *tahsildar* killed in settling a quarrel. Tranquillity cannot be much longer maintained, unless Delhi be speedily captured.¹

PREPARATIONS AT LUCKNOW

29th May, 1857

“.....Proclamations too, in Hindec, Oordoo and Persian were pasted up inviting Hindoo and Mussulmans to unite and exterminate all Europeans—some of them as inflammable as language can make them—denouncing all who

¹ Forrest : “*State Papers*” Vol. II, p. 24.

remain passive as born of the pigs of Europeans, born of crows, despised by the Gods, hated and spat at by all true sons of Mahabeer Jee, and of Mahomed.

“These proclamations, there is reason to believe, are written by people in the city—the scum of the populace who like the Scottish robber, would like to see the world turned upside down; there is no doubt a certain amount of treasonable correspondence going on among some of the disappointed Noblemen too.....”¹

POPULAR UPRISING

“.....After all the occurrences, a general rise in the city was fully expected. Men were seen, here and there, with figures dressed up as European children; and, much to the amusement of the mob, the heads of those dolls were struck off with sword cuts. I was told this by two or three men who actually saw what I now describe. Seditious placards were found stuck up in all the principal streets, calling upon all good Mussulmen and Hindoos to rise and kill the Christians..... Reports now spread that the *Rajas* were collecting all their forces to attack Lucknow; and the general belief amongst the natives in the garrison was, that the Mussulmen had determined on killing every Christian in Oude before the end of the feast of *Ramazan*.

“As a sort of proof of the intention of the Mussulman population, it is as well to state that they now assembled in immense numbers at all the mosques, and afterwards paraded about the city, to let us see, I imagine, that they mustered very strong. Men were also seized with letters directed to our sepoy; and our private servants began to complain that the grain merchants and shopkeepers would not supply them with food without getting ready money; and as these people always before trusted our servants for months, it was direct proof that the shopkeepers knew what was going to occur.....”²

¹ “*The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*”, Thursday, June 4, 1857. Extracts from a letter written to Calcutta from Lucknow, dated the 29th May, 1857, a couple of days before the outbreak.

² Captain Anderson : “*A Personal Journal of the Siege of Lucknow*”, Pp. 10 & 11.

OUTBREAK AT MALIHABAD¹ (LUCKNOW)

27th May, 1857

VILLAGERS IN OPEN REVOLT

It should have been mentioned that on the 27th May, Captain Weston and Lieutenant Meham, with an escort of one company of that very 7th Regiment, so lately in mutiny at Moosa Bagh², went to this same village of Mulhecabad for the purpose of quieting the villagers there in open armed revolt. *Zemindars* of Oude now began to feel the 'noxious breath of the mutiny, and were not long in becoming completely affected. Our march through Mulhecabad was watched by armed villagers, and this only 14 miles from Lucknow, where three months previously they dare not have lifted a finger, and where the year before, in September, I had encamped in perfect security.

Captain Weston and Lieutenant Meham, when the Column before mentioned passed through on the 28th, were in imminent danger, surrounded by an insolent Mahomedan population, to whom everything was a grievance, and from whom Captain Weston could elicit no real tangible cause of rebellion; turbulent spirits, they knew the army would mutiny and therefore dared to take up arms. The only troops to protect these officers were men, the Infantry portion of whom had once mutinied a short time before, and the Police Cavalry, who were doubtful; however, on this occasion providentially, they were faithful; for had they been treacherous, nothing, humanly speaking, could have saved their lives, and no doubt our column, en route for Futtchghur, would at once have followed their example.³

¹ *Malihabad*, Pargana and Tahsil *Malihabad* Distt. *Lucknow*—The headquarters of the tahsil lies in latitude 26° 55' north and longitude 80° 43' east, on the road from Lucknow to Sandila at a distance of fifteen miles from the former. Branch roads lead from Malihabad to Kalyanmal in Hardoi and to Mohan in Unao.

² *Moosa Bagh*—Beyond the city (*Lucknow*) in the west is the *Musa Bagh*, a garden laid by Asaf-ud-daula.

³ Hutchinson : "*Narrative of Events in Oude*", Pp. 55-56.

UPRISING AT LUCKNOW

"....." On the evening of the 30th May, however a sepoy of the 13th Native Infantry, who had shortly before received a reward from Sir Henry Lawrence for having assisted in the capture of a spy, came to Captain Wilson of the 13th Native Infantry, Assistant Adjutant-General, and said he could not help reporting that there would be a rising amongst the sepoy regiments to be commenced in the lines of 71st Native Infantry that evening at about 8 or 9 P. M.; but he was not certain at what hour. His manner in giving this information was earnest and impressive.

"On that evening everything went on as usual; all remained quiet in the cantonments, where Sir Henry Lawrence was residing. Some days previously the ladies and children had been removed to the Residency in the city, which place had already been occupied by a party of the 32nd Foot and two guns. The 9 P. M. gun was fired and was evidently the preconcerted signal for the mutiny; for, a few minutes after, whilst Sir Henry Lawrence and his staff were at dinner at the Residency, a sepoy came running in and reported a disturbance in the lines....."¹

OUTBREAK AT LUCKNOW

Telegram from Henry Lawrence, Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Lucknow, 31st May, 1857.

An *emeute* at 9 p. m. Several bungalows burnt and two or three officers killed and as many wounded; Brigadier Handscomb among the former. No other loss incurred. Quiet in the city. I am in cantonments. It is difficult to say who are loyal, but it is believed the majority are. Only 25 of the 7th Cavalry proved false. The effects of this *emeute* may be bad.²

Telegram from Henry Lawrence, Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Lucknow, 31st May, 1857 (2 p.m.).

Most of the houses in the cantonments have been burnt

¹ "The Defence of Lucknow", A Diary, by a staff officer, Capt. Wilson, Pp. 1 & 2.

² Foreign Secret Consultations, 18th December, 1857, No. 574; National Archives, New Delhi. Forrest: "State Papers" Vol. II, p. 24.

at the outbreak. The mutineers, consisting of half of the 48th Native Infantry, about half of the 71st, some few of the 13th, and two troops of the 7th cavalry have fled towards Sitapur. We followed them seven miles with four guns and two companies of Her Majesty's 32nd and 300 horse. The latter evinced no zeal, and we could only get within round-shot distance of the mutineers. We took thirty prisoners. I write in great haste after return.

All quiet. My anxieties are for Cawnpore and the district.¹

Telegram from Henry Lawrence, Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Lucknow, 1st June, 1857 (3 p.m.).

Much excitement all day in the city. Yesterday an insurrection threatened. In the evening some skirmishes with police, which under Captain Carnegie behaved admirably and beat off the rioters. The city guards were strengthened with 100 Europeans and four guns. Colonel Inglis and I slept in the town. Night quiet at all points. The faithful remnants of three infantry regiments, and 7th Cavalry, about 700 men, encamped yesterday afternoon close to the detachment of 200 of Her Majesty's 32nd and four European guns. We are in much better position at Lucknow, but I fear the effects of the *emeute* in the districts. A treasure party came in safe this morning. It was in danger, but 100 horse sent out yesterday evening saved it. It is now 12 a. m. All just returned from visiting posts. All here looks brighter.¹

POPULAR UPRISING IN LUCKNOW CITY

I must now record events in Lucknow which occurred during the first three days of June. Numerous punishments of bad characters and executions of rebels and deserters took place, and it was intended to send a company of Her Majesty's 32nd on elephants to Setapore, which Sir Henry perceived would soon follow; but an attempt at an *emeute* on the part of the city people entirely prevented it. A number of bad characters, with green banners, collected in a part of the city called Mouftecgunge, and in the neighbouring quarters they

murdered a Mr. Mendes, a clerk in one of the public offices, who, strongly against the advice of his friends, ventured into that part of the city with only three or four armed servants, and then they proceeded to attack the *kotwallee*, or chief police office of the city. The police, wonderful to relate, at once sallied out, met the rebels in Hussungunge, a public and rather open thoroughfare, attacked and dispersed them. On the police side four or five were killed and wounded, whilst the insurgents lost fifteen or twenty men. Numerous arrests followed this affair, and several executions were effected at the usual place near the fort of the Muchee Bhiawun. At this time, during the first three days of June, evidence was so far obtained of an extensive conspiracy in the city and in the cantonments, as to convince the authorities that the volcano existed and was ready at any time to burst out, but not sufficiently conclusive to lead to the arrest of more than three principal men on whom suspicion rested. One was a man called Shurruff-ood Dowlah, and the other two were Rookoon-ood Dowlah and Mussee-ood Dowlah. Shurruff-ood Dowlah's arrest was but partial, and never completely carried out; various circumstances rendered it at that time inexpedient, and the evidence was not sufficiently convicting (sic); but the two latter were arrested, and of these Rookoon-ood Dowlah died in captivity in the Residency, and Mussee-ood Dowlah was released on the security of Moomtaz-ood Dowlah. This incident, unsatisfactory in itself, is noted here to show how high as well as low in the city were banded with the army against us; and though the authorities had no doubt that a most extensive conspiracy existed, the traces of which they had partially detected in these high personages, yet never was any further information obtained whatever. A resident of the town, who had formerly been *tuhseeldar*, gave this information through the *kotwal*, or head native police officer of the city, and there is no doubt of its truth.

It may be interesting to notice that the before mentioned Shurruff-ood Dowlah was formerly, in the king's time, a very important man at court, and held the title of *naib*, or deputy; he was prime minister during the reign of Mahomed Alee Shah, and of his successor Umjud Alee Shah. During the whole period of the siege of Lucknow he took an active part in the rebel government against us, and finally perished in a mosque in the outskirts of the city, where he had lingered, in unison

with the Fyzabad Moulvie and his adherents, after the British had taken the greater part of the city. The manner of his death was clearly ascertained by our troops, who, on approaching the mosque, heard a scuffle within, and a great noise; the rebels fled hastily, leaving Shurruff-ood Dowlah murdered on the floor, with his head nearly severed from his body. He had several times, it appeared, been accused by them of selling them to the British, and, accordingly, they murdered him when the British came near him.

Referring back to the arrests before mentioned, some others were afterwards added to their number, and included Moostufa Alec Khan, the elder brother of the King, and the Rajah of Toolseepore¹ (since dead), with two brothers connected with the royal family of Delhi. This, with the vigilance of the police, under Major Carnegie, kept the city tolerably quiet, but a new cause soon rose to add fuel to the already glowing fire of excitement.

The news from our out-stations rapidly and efficiently brought in by the horse-dawk arrangements, made under the orders of Sir Henry by the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Martin, showed that the mutiny at Lucknow had seriously affected them. Mr. Christian, the Commissioner of Setapore, wrote cheerfully; but the rise and massacre of Shahjehanpore, combined with that of Lucknow, rendered the position of Setapore most critical. The following two letters written by him to me, then out in the district as political agent in charge of the column before mentioned, admirably describe the object of the movable column, and also the position of Setapore, before the mutiny, with the preparation made to meet it.²

EMISSARIES AT LUCKNOW TO PREPARE SEPOYS TO RISE

“June 16. This morning, twenty-two con-

¹ *Tulsipur*, Pargana, Tahsil *Bahraich* Distt. *Bahraich*—This pargana lies in the extreme north-eastern corner of the Bahraich district between the Nepal hills and the northern borders of Bhinga and Ikauna. It formerly belonged to the Gonda district. It consists of pure terai country, of which the northern portion consists of Government reserved forest, while the remainder is partly cultivation and partly grass jungle with a few detached blocks of forest belonging to the Maharaja of Bahrapur. (*District Gazetteers, Bahraich 1903*, p. 221).

² Hutchinson : “*Narrative of Events in Oude*”, Pp. 71 to 75.

spirators, emissaries from Benares and elsewhere, who had been sent to corrupt the troops at this place, were captured in a house in the centre of the city. They were forthwith brought to a drumhead court martial and the whole of them condemned to death.¹

MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES TOWARDS LUCKNOW

Telegram from Colonel Neill, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, Calcutta, dated Allahabad, 20th June 1857, signed by A. Couper, Secretary.

A note, as follows has just been brought to the chief military and civil authorities :—

Lucknow, 15th June 1857. Yesterday intelligence received that the regiments from Setapore and Shahjeharpore were marching on Lucknow from the north, and were at Baree², 35 miles off on that day.

On the east the regiments from Sarora (Sekerora)³ and *Baraitch* (Bahraich) with cavalry and guns were at Rameaghur, 38 miles distant, yesterday; while from the south the regiments from Fyzabad, Benares and Jaunpore, with guns and cavalry, were at *Hyderghur*⁴, 32 miles distant. Each force will be a march

¹ *"The Defence of Lucknow"*; A Diary, by a staff officer, Captain Wilson. p. 18.

² *Bari*, Pargana *Bari Tabsil Sidhauri* Distt. *Sitapur*—It lies in latitude 27° 16' north and longitude 80° 40' east, on the unmetalled road from Misrikh to Sidhauri, three miles west of the latter. Other roads lead to Sidhauri station and Biswan, and to Sarsaudi on the main road to Lucknow. (*District Gazetteers*, Sitapur 1905, p. 141).

³ *Sarora* or *Sekerora*—a place near Bahraighat in *Bahraich* District.

⁴ *Haidargarh*, Pargana and *Tabsil Haidargarh* Distt. *Barabanki*—It lies in latitude 26° 36' north and longitude 81° 22' east, at a distance of four miles south of the Gomti, on the south side of the unmetalled road from Lucknow to Sultanpur and Jaunpur. It has direct communication with Bara Banki by means of a road, the metalling of which was completed in 1901, which runs north to the Gomti and crosses that river by a temporary bridge of boats at Ausaneswarghat in the village of Rauni, and thence continues in a north-westerly direction past Aldamau and Bhanman to the district headquarters, with a total length of 26 miles.

Haidargarh was founded in 1787 by Amir-ud-daula Haidar Beg Khan, who was then chakladar and afterwards became the prime minister of Asaf-ud-daula. (*District Gazetteers*, Barabanki 1904, Pp. 215-16).

nearer to capital today, *and as the rebels appear to be acting in concert*, an attack may be expected on the 18th or 19th June. We also hear that the regiments at Cawnpore are being reinforced, and that in the event of their overcoming General Wheeler's little band, they will also march on Lucknow. We are daily strengthening our position, and are anxiously waiting for news. All communication has been cut off since the 6th instant. All the outposts are fallen. You are requested to send a copy of this letter to Calcutta.¹

OUTBREAK AT KOORSEE (KURSI)²

Previous to the outbreak this *Tehsilee* was called *Tehsilee Dewa*³ and notwithstanding the attacks of the Rebel Sowars and the mutiny of the Treasury Guard, it remained unmolested through the assistance of some of the *Talooqdars* and *Zemindars*, upto the 19th June, 1857, when the Rebel force arrived near Nawabganj⁴, Barabunkee.

¹ Forrest : "State Papers" Vol. II, Pp. 26-27.

² *Kursi*, Pargana, Tahsil *Fatchpur* Distt. *Barabanki*—This pargana lies in the extreme north-west corner of the district. It formerly belonged to Lucknow, of which it constituted a tahsil together with Dewa up till 1869, when these two parganas were transferred to Bara Banki. The pargana is long and narrow and has a very irregular shape; its length from north to south is not less than 17 miles, while in the centre, a short distance north of the town of Kursi, it is barely a mile across. Kursi is bounded on the north and north-west by the Sitapur district, on the west by pargana Mahona of Lucknow, on the south by Dewa, which also with Fatchpur forms the boundary on the east. The principal river of the pargana is the Kalyani, which traverses the northern portion from west to east and for a short distance separates this pargana from Fatchpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Barabanki 1904, p. 226).

³ *Dewa*, Pargana *Dewa* Tahsil *Nawabganj* Distt. *Barabanki*—The capital of the pargana is a very ancient Musalman town lying in latitude 27° 2' north and longitude 81° 10' east, on the east side of the metalled road from Nawabganj to Fatchpur, at a distance of eight miles north of the district headquarters. Unmetalled roads lead westwards to Kursi and on to Mahona in Lucknow and south-west to Ghinhat on the provincial road. (*District Gazetteers*, Barabanki 1904, p. 203).

⁴ *Nawabganj*, Pargana and Tahsil *Nawabganj* Distt. *Barabanki*—Nawabganj is situated in latitude 26° 56' north and longitude 81° 13' east, at a distance of seventeen miles east of Lucknow, 61 miles west of Fyzabad and 22 miles south of Bahraughat. Close to the town on the south runs the provincial trunk road from Lucknow to Fyzabad, which crosses the Jamaria

RAJAH HEADS THE REVOLT

Till then none of the *Zemindars* had openly committed any disturbance but this Rajah was the first who revolted.

On the 20th or 22nd May / 57 he had come to the *Tehseelee* to pay his instalment but as soon as he heard of the disturbances at Delhi, he went back and commenced fortifying his fort and collecting people.

On the mutiny of the Troops at Humbaon¹ with whom a combat took place on the 29th May 1857 the Rajah's rebellious proceedings became manifest.

RECOVERS CONFISCATED VILLAGES

He mounted two Guns, *Juzayurs* and *Gumbooraks* (*Zambooraks*) on his fort, arrested and treated severely Sheodeen Lall *Kanoongoe* of Mohona² for giving evidence in the Settlement cases of 1264, and retook all the villages which were taken away from him in that Settlement.

Though on the arrival of the Rebel forces at Chintah³ he did not join them, but it is heard that he plundered the property of the Gentlemen at Mundeao⁴ which was

stream in Bara Banki by an old stone bridge. Branches lead from this road to the town on the east and west. Metalled roads lead from Bara Banki to Fatehpur on the north, Bahraughat on the north-east, and Haidargarh on the south, while an unmetalled road runs south-east to Zaidpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Barabanki 1904, Pp. 238-39).

¹ *Humbaon*—This place could not be identified.

² *Mahona*, Pargana *Mahona* Tahsil *Malihabad* Distt. *Lucknow*—The capital of the Pargana lies in latitude 27° 6' north and longitude 80° 55' east, two miles to the east of the metalled road from Lucknow to Sitapur, and at a distance of about sixteen miles from the district headquarters. The village is connected with the main road by an unmetalled road leading past Itanuja and on to Mal in pargana Malihabad. A continuation of the same road runs east to Kursi in Bara Banki. A third road runs north-east to join the main road at Ataria in Sitapur.

³ *Chintah*, Pargana and Tahsil *Lucknow*—A village lying on the metalled road from Lucknow to Fyzabad, at a distance of about six miles from the former. It is situated in latitude 26° 52' north and longitude 81° 3' east. Branch roads take off from here to Dewa and Satrikh in Bara Banki, the latter passing through the bazar of Rafaganj, which was constructed by King Ghazi-ud-din Haider. (*District Gazetteers*, Lucknow)

⁴ *Mandiaon*, Pargana *Mahona* Tahsil *Malihabad*—Mandiaon or Mariaon is a small town lying in latitude 26° 56' north and longitude 86° 58' east, at

reported to the authorities previous to the siege of the Bailee Guard.

THE RAJAH IN LUCKNOW

On the siege of the Bailee Guard he held a position against it with two Guns and 400 men near the Iron Bridge, in line with Raja Goorbux Singh of Dhumerea¹.

He plundered the property of the *Begums* and carried off 2 *Gumbooruks* (*Zambooraks*) from the Seesmuhal (*Shish-mahal*), as also 40 other *Gumbooruks* which were buried in Mohsunood-doula's garden.

About the end of July on the occasion of some soldiers having rushed out of the Bailee Guard to stop the Gun called *Tumuncha* which had caused some injury to the Garrison, Shunkur Singh Thakoor Bhudourea, the Raja's servant, and another *Passee* of his *Elaqua* were killed.

In the beginning of the month of *Khoar* (Sept.-October) the men of the Rebel Begum proposed to arrest him on the charge of the aforesaid plunder but he returned to his home and through the influence of Captains Mukhdoom Buksh and Buhadur Alee of the force stationed at the Badshaah Bagh, he again came to Lucknow and joined the Rebels.

On the approach of General Havelock's column, he, together with other *Zemindars*, ran away, and after the recapture of Lucknow a column having been detached to expel the

a distance of four miles north of Lucknow. The place itself lies about a mile east of the metalled road from Lucknow to Sitapur and the Lucknow-Barcilly State Railway. Mandiaon also gives its name to the railway station and the old cantonments which existed prior to the mutiny and were built by Saadat Ali Khan, who kept stationed here three regiments of the Company's troops. (*District Gazetteers, Lucknow*).

¹ Dhameeri in Ramnagar - Ram Nagar Dhameeri. *Ramnagar*, Pargana *Ramnagar* Tahsil *Fatehpur* - The capital of the pargana lies in latitude 27° 5' north and longitude 81° 26' east, on the east side of the main road from Bara Banki to Bahraughat, at a distance of eighteen miles from the district headquarters and four miles from Bahraughat. Ramnagar is connected with the station by a road which forms part of that from Fatehpur to Bado Sarai and Daryabad. Another metalled road runs from Ramnagar to Mahadewa station; and unmetalled roads lead south-west to Tilokpur, and south to Anupganj and Safdarganj. (*District Gazetteers, Barabanki* 1904, p. 21).

Rebels from Koorsee he left his fort and went to his father-in-law's at Dhourara¹.

On the arrival of Moulvee Almudoolah Shah alias Danka Shah at Baree he reoccupied his fort, but a detachment having again proceeded to punish the Moulvee he ran away as usual and did not return till the departure of the column towards Mahmoodabad².*

SPONTANEOUS REVOLT IN AWADH

.....And so it was in Oude. When it was known that the soldiery had revolted at the capital, their brethren at the out-stations rose at once; and all classes, with any power of rising, rose with them. Day after day the saddest tidings of mutiny and massacre—of English officers murdered, of property pillaged and destroyed, of law and authority extinguished, of anarchy triumphant—came in from the outposts and filled our people in Lucknow with dismay. The new Government had toppled down, like a house built of cards.³ It had no more substance or stability. *Lawrence thought that he could clearly see in the movement evidences of general design and consistency.* “Everything”, he wrote to Lord Canning, with immediate reference to affairs at Fyzabad, “had been conducted with the utmost regularity, the Native civil officers taking prominent places; and the King of Delhi had been proclaimed. In all quarters we hear of similar method and regu-

¹ *Dhaurahra*, in the *Mohaulganj* Pargana of *Lucknow*—*Mohaulganj* is situated in latitude 26° 41' north and longitude 80° 59' east, on the road from Lucknow to Rai Bareilly, at a distance of fourteen miles from the former.

² *Mahmudabad*, Pargana *Mahmudabad* Tahsil *Sidhauli*—The capital of the pargana is a considerable town, lying in latitude 27° 17' north and longitude 81° 7' east, on the unmetalled road from Biswan to Bahramghat at a distance of 28 miles from the latter and 37 miles from Sitapur. A metalled road leads west from the town to Sidhauli, while other roads run south to Kursi in Bara Banki and north-east to Thanagaon and Tambaur by way of Chandauli ferry on the Chauga. (*District Gazetteers*, Sitapur 1905, p. 182).

* “Trial proceedings in the case *Govt. vs. Raja Drig Bijai Singh*”. Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*. English translation of the petition of Hursook Roy (Harsukh Rai) Tahsildar Kursi.

³ “I have borrowed this figure from Mr. Gubbins. Coming from such a source the expression is more significant”—Kaye : “*Sepoy War in India*” Vol. III, p. 457

larity. *This quiet method bespeaks some leading influence*". And again : "All the outposts are gone, and the rebels and mutineers are said to be closing in on us, though as yet all is quiet at Lucknow. Elsewhere, throughout the province, all is anarchy, the *Talookdars* re-occupying the villages of which the Summary Settlement dispossessed them, and all men asserting their own rights". In the first ten days of June this great anti-revolution had been fully accomplished. Oude, so lately annexed by the British, had now to be conquered by them.¹

OUTBREAK AT SITAPUR

Brief Narrative of the mutiny at Seetapore (Sitapur), on Wednesday, the 3rd June, 1857.

Shortly after the tragical occurrences at Meerut and Delhi, in May last, the principal civil functionaries at almost every station in Oude and the N. W. Provinces, it is well known, commenced taking measures, in concert with the senior Military Officers, to provide as far as possible against the inaction of similar painful scenes. The arrangements made were particularly such as to prevent any aggressions on the part of the mutineers from other stations, as instances had occurred at Allypore and elsewhere, of Regiments having mutinied just on being joined by others though at last (at last) it is patent to all, that the spirit of disaffection pervaded almost the entire native army, and the sepoys had no need of the presence of a mutineer to rouse him to action.

3 INFANTRY CORPS AT SITAPUR

There were 3 Infantry corps located at Seetapore, the 41st N. I. under command of Lieutt. Col. Birch, the 9th Oude Locals under command of Capt. Gowan and the 10th Oude Locals under command of Lieutt. Dorin. There was also a detachment of the 15th Irregular Cavalry, with about 300 men and a few troopers belonging to the Military Police, but the Irregular Cavalry quitted the station a few days prior to the *mutiny*.

The land occupied by the Cantonment was situated

¹ Kaye : "*Sepoy War in India*" Vol. III (London 1876), Pp. 451-52.

towards the East of the station and the civil lines constituted the West portion, the river Esan forming the limit of the *sudder* station on that side.

The lines of the 41st, and 10th Locals were situated at the entrance of the station from the East and those of the 9th Locals stood about 350 yards further off. Then came the civil lines, and the residence of the Commissioner was about 300 yards from the lines of the 9th. I am thus particular in order to show the advantage of the Milty. (Military) in point of position, and the difficulty of escape experienced by the residents occupying the civil lines.

BRITISHERS TAKE SECURITY MEASURES

That able and lamented officer Mr. Christian, Commissioner of the Khyrabad¹ Division, withdrew the men of the Milty. Police from the different *Tehseels* for the security of the Station, and the *Tehseeldars* were instructed to entertain *Burkundazys* and *Choukydars* in their stead. The Milty. Police were generally supposed to be loyal and well behaved, and from the fact of their drawing best pay, and debarred from the same privileges as those enjoyed by the Regular Army, they were regarded with some contempt by the sepoys, who scrupulously avoided association with them, and it was therefore deemed unlikely that these men would fraternize with the regular sepoys in their rebellion. They indeed professed great fidelity and were apparently attached to their superiors, especially to Capt. Hearsy, their commanding officer, and the Commissioner often went amongst the men, assuring them they would be rewarded for any services they may render to the state at the present time, when so many sepoys of the line, actuated by a spirit of rebellion had violated their oaths, and disgraced their colors.

¹ *Khairabad*, Pargana *Khairabad* Tahsil *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).

The Military Police to the number of about 300 men were encamped in the vicinity of Licutt. Lester, the Asstt. Commissioner's house in order to be ready for service at a moment's notice. Licutt. Lester's Bungalow was close to the camp of the 10th Locals and not far from the Commissioner's residence. This officer used daily to instruct the *Barkundazes* and *Chupprassces* attached to the *Kucherry*, in drill exercise and the use of the musket.

SOLDIERS ORDERED TO QUIT LINES

On the 23rd May, the Commrs. ordered the 10th Locals to quit their lines and encamp in Tents at the back of the lines of the 9th and nearly midway from the Commissioner's residence. The men all cheerfully marched into the tents about 8 o'clock at night, and 2 guns were also planted right before the camp and facing a good running on the left of the lines of the 9th. The removal of the corps into the civil lines, was another measure of security, and it led to the impression, that the 10th Locals were more to be depended on than either of the other two Regiments, though I am unable to explain on what grounds this opinion was based.

INCENDIARY OUTBURSTS

About midday, on the 27th May, the vacant lines of the 10th Locals were fired apparently by some incendiaries, and that regiment was immediately ordered to "turn out". The men of the Military Police, with others were also under arms, as it was apprehended that the conflagration was but a prelude to an immediate attack but the fire was speedily extinguished, and nothing further occurred that day to disturb the tranquillity of the station.

NEWS OF OUTBREAK FROM LUCKNOW

On the night of the 31st May, an express was received from the Chief Commissioner, announcing the mutiny of certain corps at Lucknow; and stating that the rebels after being thrashed, had pursued the route to Sectapoor. Mr. Christian very kindly called at my house to inform me of the tidings, and desired me to proceed with certain other fami-

lies, to his own house for safety's sake, in case the mutineers should arrive and cause a disturbance. He also addressed a letter to the Chief Commr., explaining the arrangements he had made for the protection of the station, intimating at the same time that Col. Birch would proceed with a detachment, early the following morning on the Lucknow Road, to attack the rebels and check, if possible, their further progress. His letter was written in a cheerful strain, and he felt persuaded that even if the 41st should combine with the mutineers of the 9th, Oude Locals might be depended on; but he was assured that the 10th Locals and Military Police would certainly prove faithful to their allegiance and oppose the insurgents.

Accordingly, on the 1st June, Col. Birch advanced towards Lucknow, with a detachment of his Regiment, and on that day several families quitted their homes in the civil lines, and occupied the Commissioner's house and office Bungalow attached to it. Nothing remarkable occurred during the day and all seemed serene, but at night a few men of the 10th Local Infy. proceeded very deliberately to load their muskets, and there was an evident indication of a mutinous disposition. The commanding officer, however, received timely intimation of this proceeding, and on enquiry learnt that a native officer had directed the men to load, in order, as was stated, to be prepared against any sudden attack. The native officer I believe was placed under arrest and the men quietly retired to rest.

On the morning of the 2nd June, some carts laden with *atta* were brought to the *bazar* of the camp of the 10th. The *atta* was procured through the *Kotwal* and intended for the use of the sepoys, but the latter imagined it was adulterated, and declared it would destroy their caste if they made use of it. This ridiculous and unfounded idea seemed to pervade the whole Regiment, who declined to use the flour, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the commanding officer, whose efforts to convince them of the purity of the *atta* were entirely unavailing, and the men insisted on the whole being thrown into the river, which was accordingly done.

About 10 o'clock a.m. information was given that about a hundred sepoys of the 10th Locals were plundering my garden, and had even ventured into the Commissioner's, robbing the fruit and vegetables, despite the prohibition of the gardeners, and others. Mr. Christian happened to be absent at the time, but I went out accompanied by Lieutt. Greene of the 9th

Locals who was residing with the Commr. We stopped some of the sepoys, and asked what they meant by their disorderly conduct. They replied they had followed the example of other sepoys, and if their act was improper, they were exceedingly sorry for it. On the Commissioner's return home, I informed him of the plunder, condemned the conduct of the sepoys as unruly, and expressed the conviction I felt that such men were capable of any excesses. This gentleman unfortunately did not attach much importance to the deed, as no violence had been manifested, and he informed me that there were several boyish recruits in the corps who were rather wild; but that in reality the majority of the men were quiet and respectable and incapable of any treachery.

3RD JUNE, 1857

On the morning of Wednesday, the 3rd June, the Colonel returned with his party not having met the expected detachment of mutineers. He called on the Commr. and informed him that abandoning the Sectapoor Road, they had proceeded towards Mulheebad (whose inhabitants had betrayed a turbulent spirit) in Zillah Mullaon intending, as it appeared, to pursue their course thence to Dellié, according to the information brought in by travellers.

At 8 o'clock I went over to inspect my vacant house, which was just at a stone's throw from the spot where the 10th Regt. was encamped, when a respectable looking Mahomedan *Subadar* of that corps honored me with a visit. I offered him a chair, and we entered into conversation, touching the all absorbing topic of the day. He reprobated in the strongest terms the conduct of his brethren in arms—characterizing it as base and cowardly, professed himself a faithful servant of the state, and endeavoured to impress on me the unshaken fidelity of his own Regiment. He then enquired my reasons for sending my family to the Commissioner's house, that the act implied a suspicion of the loyalty of his corps, and he attempted to persuade me to bring back my family atonce, assuring me that there was not the least apprehension of an outbreak at Sectapoor, and that he would personally protect us in the event of any danger.

The apparently earnest protestations and assurances of this deceitful Native Officer almost lulled my mind into a false

security, and I never anticipated that in a few short hours I should have occasion to entertain a very different opinion of the man, and to congratulate myself in having resisted his insidious counsel.

Just about 10 o'clock on that memorable day, an Officer from the 41st N. I. called on the Commr. and informed him that his corps seemed disposed to mutiny, and suggested the necessity of being prepared against any revolt. About this time Col. Birch, Lieutt. Graves and Smally with the Serjt. Major marched to the Treasury with a few companies of the 41st (this building was situated towards the north of the Station about 1 mile from the lines of the 41st, and half that distance from the Commissioner's Residence). I was not aware of the object of this movement, but I have since learnt that the men of the 41st insisted in guarding the treasure, as they feared it would be plundered by the Military Police.

Mr. Christian immediately directed the 10th Locals and Military Police, with the *Burkundazes &c.* to be under arms; and towards the Eastern boundary of his compound, facing the Cantonment, some matchlockmen and *Burkundazes* with about a company of the Military Police were quickly posted; the whole length of the compound from the gate down to the river was thus carefully guarded.

As nearly an hour had elapsed without any disturbance, I mounted my horse and rode over to the lines of the 41st to ascertain if any real grounds of apprehension existed. I met some sepoys there who said that all was quiet, but that the Colonel had marched with some men to the Treasury. I retraced my way and in passing the house of Qr. Mr. (Quarter Master) Serjt. Abbott of the 9th I enquired whether he knew of any disturbance being expected. He professed his ignorance of any threatened *emeute*, and stated that so far as his own corps was concerned, he could depend on the fidelity of the men. I had scarcely been 5 minutes with Serjeant, when I heard 5 or 6 shots in quick succession, in the direction of the Treasury. I galloped off, and on passing the camp of the 10th Locals, Lieutt. Dorin and Snell who were at the head of the corps, asked if I knew whether the reports of musketry proceeded from the Treasury. I replied in the affirmative and hastened on towards Mr. Christian's house. This gentleman was returning from Lieutt. Lesters, and Mr. Thornhill, the Dy. Commr., just then galloped up, telling us that the Col. had been shot.

I afterwards learnt that Lieutt. Smally and the Serjeant Major were also killed at the Treasury, but that Lieutt. Graves contrived to escape with a slight bullet wound on the head. This Officer luckily reached his lines before the rest of the men rebelled, and thus time was afforded to the Officers and their families to effect their escape. Their conveyances were immediately made ready, and escorted by about 20 sepoys of their corps; they quitted the place before they could possibly obtain any tidings of what was occurring at the West end of the station. They were accompanied by the X-tian (Christian) musicians and drummers and those, who were unable to walk, were kindly accommodated by the officers in their conveyances; and all, I am happy to say, reached Lucknow in safety the following evening.

But the scenes, which were being enacted at the same time in Mr. Christian's compound, were painful in the extreme, and the recollection of which is most harrowing to my feelings.

OUTBREAK SPREADS

I had hardly been back 20 minutes when Serjt. Abbott came running in with a severe flesh wound on his left arm. He was shot by a sepoy of his own Regt. and was considerably excited, stating that he feared his family had perished. I succeeded in pacifying him and bound up his arm. He soon after left the premises with some others, as the aspect of affairs was momentarily becoming more alarming. These crossed the river which was about 200 yards from the Commissioner's house and under cover of a *Dhak* Jungle, on the opposite bank, extending for some miles, sought protection from the villagers.

SOLDIERS COALESCE : BRITISHERS FLEE

The firing was increased and the Military Police displayed no inclination to co-operate with us. I besought the Commr. to escape with his family, but he declined, and went forward, armed with his rifle towards the position occupied by the Military Police. I followed reiterating my conviction of the urgent necessity of escape but that gentleman unfortunately could not divest himself of his firm, yet as the event shewed, mistaken confidence in the loyalty of the Military

Police, declaring that he feared no danger, and could never think of abandoning his post.

I was now compelled to leave this brave and energetic Officer, who soon after fell riddled with bullets from the muskets of his treacherous guard, and I have to deplore in him the loss of a kind and generous patron. My wife who had followed me, urged me to fly, and I had just quitted the house when the Military Police assailed us. We waded through the river breast-deep, amidst a shower of bullets, and got safely across with our three children, one of whom was but 8 days old. On looking back from the opposite bank, I beheld several Ladies and Gentlemen, with their young children, rushing from the house and hastening towards the river, pursued and fired at by the Military Police, who were joined by some sepoys of the Local Regiments. Some of the unfortunate victims were shot before they crossed over, others fell on the opposite side and those who got away were followed and shot, though a few had the good fortune to escape the fury of the rebels.

The men of the 9th Locals shot their Commanding Officer, Capt. Gowan, on the parade ground, also Dr. Hillaud, the Searjt. Major, whose wife and sister-in-law, while attempting to escape, were severely wounded and two of their children were killed before their eyes.

The 10th Locals I hear did not attempt on the parade, to destroy their officers, but Lieutt. Dorin was afterwards cut down in the sight of his wife, with a sword, by one of his sepoys just as he had crossed the river.

I concealed myself with my family in a cavity in the *Dhak* Jungle until nightfall; but we were in momentary expectation of being discovered by the sepoys, some of whom had crossed over, and were ferreting about for the fugitives; we travelled about 4 miles when we received protection from a *Zemindar*, and eventually, after indescribable hardships and privations, reached Lucknow on the 8th June.¹

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, 18th March, 1859, No. 129, Pp. 114-123; National Archives, New Delhi.

OUTBREAK AT SITAPUR

June 3, 1857

(Another Version)

The Mutiny commenced in the wonted manner. A company was told off to seize the treasure. The Treasury lay at a distance of a mile from the Sepoy Lines, and whilst the plunderers were marching towards the spoil, the other companies assumed a menacing attitude and advanced in the direction of the guns. Colonel Birch, accompanied by Lieutenant Graves, rode off towards the Treasury, still hoping to arrest the mutinous madness of his men.¹ The Colonel was shot dead; the Lieutenant, though wounded, was able to ride back to the Lines and to warn the other English residents in the station that the storm had burst, and that there was nothing for them but to escape with their lives. There was then a scene of terror and confusion, such as even the survivors of that fatal day find it difficult accurately to describe. The Regulars, the Irregulars, and the Mounted Police all fraternised. There were two feelings paramount among them—greed for the spoil, hatred to the Christians. The very name of the Commissioner and his family is said to have been so hateful to them, that the mutineers singled them out for swift destruction. When nothing more could be done by him for the preservation of life and property, Mr. Christian with his wife and an infant in her arms, walked from his house to the *nullah*, or river, in its rear, and made for one of its fordable points. He had either crossed, or was preparing to cross the stream when he fell dead, with his face on the ground riddled with musket-balls.²

OUTBREAK AT MALLAON³

There were two smaller British stations in the Khvradad

¹ "I have followed in these statements Captain Hutchinson's '*Narrative of Events in Oude*'. The story is differently told by Mr. Gubbins, who says 'on the morning of the 3rd of June, a cry was raised in the Lines of the Forty-first Regiment that the Tenth Irregulars were plundering the Treasury, and as the men were in a state..... back"—Kaye : '*Sepoy War in India*' Vol. III, Pp. 455-56.

² Kaye : '*Sepoy War in India*' Vol. III, p. 455-56.

³ *Mallaon*, Pargana, Tahsil *Bilgram* Distt. *Hardoi*—It lies on

Division-- Mullaon and Mohumdee. In the former, Mr. Capper, of the Civil Service, was Deputy Commissioner. Detachments of the Forty-first and of the Fourth Oude Irregulars were stationed there. In May, the Deputy Commissioner had seen reason to doubt their fidelity, and had perceived also ugly symptoms of general fermentation throughout the district. "I wish", he wrote to Mr. Gubbins on the 29th, "that we could hear of the fall of Delhi, for deserters are coming in fast and spreading wonderful reports of the utter cowardice and alarm of the *Sahibs* in the North-West. There appear, too, to be a good many corpses of Europeans lying on the Trunk Road; and it is time that they were buried. Their presence seems to cause alarm to all passengers, even more than the dacoits. Every man who comes here has been thoroughly cleaned out by the Goojurs". Nothing could more strikingly illustrate the progress which the revolt had made, even at that early period, than these simple sentences written at the end of May by the Deputy Commissioner at Mullaon. A very few weeks before, a single white corpse lying by the roadside would have created the greatest excitement from one end of the district to the other, and would have been a subject of horrified comment in every English journal in the country. Now these unburied white corpses were spoken of with an indefinite plurality, all the more terrible for the coolness and quietude with which the report was made. Little more than a fortnight of this rough work had so habituated our officers to tales of blood, that the sensation once produced by the murder of one white man was greater than that which now followed the massacre of numbers. The Goojurs, too, the born depredators of the land, had found that their time had come; and with the wonted impartiality of their race were plundering alike friends and foes. It was plain that there was small chance of the British Officer holding his own much longer in that isolated station. Still, reluctant to fly, he held to his post for some days after the evacuation of Sectapore; and then, seeing that the troops were on the brink of open mutiny, mounted his horse and rode unharmed to Lucknow.¹

the old route from Clawpore to Sitapur being 38 miles north of the former and 44 miles south of the latter. From Bilgram it is nearly ten miles south and 21 miles south from Hardoi. (*District Gazetteers, Lucknow*).

¹ Kaye : "*Sepoy War in India*" Vol. III, Pp. 457-59.

OUTBREAK AT MUHAMDI

4th June, 1857

Meanwhile, at Mohumdee¹, there was the germ of a terrible tragedy. There, Mr. J. G. Thomason, who represented the third generation of a family distinguished in our Indian annals for good service, was Deputy Commissioner. His assistant was Captain Patrick Orr, who had commanded, in the King's time, one of the Oude Regiments. On the 1st of June, the refugees from Shahjehanpore came into Mohumdee, and thus the European party was largely and dangerously increased. During the two next days there were threatenings of a storm. On the 4th, the soldiery rose, sacked the Treasury, and released the prisoners. It was time now for the Europeans to seek safety in flight. The sepoys were more of the Oude Irregular Force. Captain Orr knew them well, and he obtained from them the most solemn assurances that they would spare the lives of our people. So, that evening, they went forth unharmed, setting their faces towards Aurungabad². The women and children were placed, some in a *buggy* and the rest on baggage carts; and there seemed good hope of deliverance. But on the following morning it was plain that they had been betrayed. A party of the Oude Irregulars was on their track. About a mile from Aurungabad they declared themselves. Then the carnage began.³

¹ *Muhamdi*, Tahsil in *Kheri* District. This tahsil is the south-western sub-division of the district and is made up of the seven parganas of Muhamdi, Pasgawan, Aurungabad, Magdapur, Atwa Piparia, Haidarabad and Kasta. (*District Gazetteers, Kheri* 1905, p. 223).

² *Aurungabad*, Pargana *Aurungabad* Tahsil *Muhamdi*.—This large village, which gives its name to the pargana, stands in latitude 27° 47' north and longitude 80° 21' east, on the north side of the road from Lakhimpur to Chapartala, some five miles from the junction with the main road from Sitapur to Shahjahanpur. Branch roads run north to Magdapur and Padaria, and north-west to Muhamdi, a distance of 16 miles. (*District Gazetteers, Kheri* 1905, p. 164).

³ Kaye : "*Sepoy War in India*" Vol. III, p. 459.

OUTBREAK AT FAIZABAD

Memorandum of events immediately preceding the outbreak at Faizabad on the night of the 8th of June, 1857, from J. Reid, Late Deputy Commissioner, Faizabad.

LOYALTY EXPECTED BY BRITISHERS

1. By the beginning of June in the absence of any decisive news from Delhi, it became evident that Fyzabad with all the out-stations (in none of which were any European Troops) must fall though as usual the Troops consisting of a Horse Battery, 22nd Native Infantry, 6th Local Infantry, a squadron of 15th Irregular Cavalry were most vehement in their protestations of loyalty to the last.

BRITISHERS PREPARE FOR DEFENCE

2. We at first intended to endeavour to hold the city against the mutineers, with the aid of the friendly *Zemindars* and Native Prisoners and with this view Captain Thurburn, Special Assistant Commissioner, laid in supplies, and partly fortified the walled enclosure in which his residence was situated; but we were compelled to abandon this intention as we found that the *Zemindars*, however well-disposed, would not fight against disciplined Troops with Guns.

ENGLISH LADIES SEEK SHELTER

3. On the 5th June, I think, the late lamented Colonel Goldney, Commissioner of the Division, told me he had received instructions to direct me to send all the ladies and children into Lucknow. I replied that it was too late, as they could not be sent with safety through the Durriabad¹ District which was in a very disturbed state, a *Tehsildar* having already been

¹ *Daryabad*, Pargana *Daryabad* Tahsil *Ramsanehi Ghat* Distt. *Barabanki*-- The capital of the pargana is an old Musalman town, situated in latitude 26 53 north and longitude 81 33 east, on the old unmetalled road from Nawabganj to Fyzabad, at a distance of 22 miles east from the district headquarters. The metalled provincial road from Lucknow to Fyzabad runs some six miles to the south, and from this a metalled road takes off at Dharauli, close to Chamiernganj, and runs north past the station of Daryabad to the town, which is about two miles north of the railway. (*District Gazetteers*, Barabanki 1904, Pp. 197-98).

murdered and that besides I was in hourly expectation of hearing of the mutiny of the Durriabad Troops.

4. Prior to this, *Talooqdars*, Raja Man Singh, Oodres Sing, Thakoornarayun Raghonauth Koonwur, Meer Baqur Hossain and Nadir Shah had sent (messages) to offer an asylum to one or all of the Civil Officers' families; *they all spoke of the mutiny as a certainty.*

MAHANTS OF HANUMAN GARHI ASSIST ENGLISH

5. The *Muhants* too of the famous Hanooman Gurhee¹ from the first exerted themselves to keep the Troops steady, assuring them that the outbreak was but a puff of wind which would soon pass away, and warning them that if they proved false to their salt they would have reason to bitterly regret their treachery. They now offered to receive any Europeans who might seek their protection, and, at the suggestion of Colonel Goldney, I sent them a thousand rupees to meet any necessary expenditure. These men, as well as the *Talooqdars* above mentioned, have all, I fear, since turned against us.

RAJA MAN SINGH'S ROLE

6. Of the above Raja Man Singh was by far the most influential, and he alone had the power to afford protection to all the ladies and children of cantonments and the city; he was then in close but honorable confinement, having been placed under arrest by the Commissioner in obedience to orders from Lucknow. I was much opposed to this step, as whatever may have been Man Singh's conduct since, I had every reason to believe that he was then well-affected to our Government.

7. Believing that Man Singh was both able and willing to protect the ladies and children, and seeing no other means of ensuring their safety, I proposed to send them to his Fort of Shahganj² twelve miles south of Fyzabad. The Commiss-

¹ *Hanuman Garhi*—A famous temple in *Ayodhya* in *Faizabad* District.

² *Shahganj*, Pargana *Pochhimrath* Tahsil *Bikapur* Dist. *Fyzabad*—*Shahganj* is the name given to the bazar of the village of *Paharpur* or

ioner agreed to this proposal, and authorized me to release Man Singh from arrest, and also to provide funds, for the payment of men to garrison his fort.

8. I thereupon proceeded, accompanied by Captain Orr, Assistt. Commr., to the building, a house of his own, where Man Singh was. He reiterated his offers of protection to the families of the Civil Officers, but made some demur about those of Officers in cantonments; as receiving them would render futile any attempt at secrecy, and greatly increase the hazard of the undertaking.

9. Of course we told him we could not accept this limited offer, and after some discussions he agreed to receive all, on condition that the move from cantonments should be made quietly and secretly not only because he doubted whether the Troops would allow the Officers' families to go, but because he required time to collect men and mature his own arrangements.

10. Captain Orr and I then repaired to cantonments where all the Officers were assembled, and communicated Man Singh's offer with the conditions attached to it. We suggested that the ladies should go out as usual in the evening for a drive and instead of returning proceed direct to Shahgunj.

11. The Officers doubted the practicability of the scheme, and also urged that it would have a bad effect in exasperating the men, as we had no immediate apprehension of an outbreak. It was eventually agreed to defer the departure of the ladies for a day to give time to consider the matter, and to sound the Troops.

12. Next morning Mrs. Mills, wife of Major Mills of the Artillery, determined to join our party, and came to Captain Thurburn's house in the city, but afterwards changed her mind and returned. All the other ladies having some distrust of Man Singh, decided on remaining in cantonments.

13. Arrangements were then made to send our - i. e., the Civil Officers' families to Shahgunj on the night of the 7th;

Muqimpar, which lies in latitude 26° 38' north and longitude 82° 3' east at a distance of twelve miles south-west of Fyzabad, on the road leading to Haringtonganj and Isauli in Sultanpur. This is crossed to the north of the village by the road from Amaniganj to Bhadarsa. The place is noteworthy as containing the residence and fort of the Maharaja of Ajodhya and his predecessors. (*District Gazetteers, Fyzabad 1905, p. 262*).

and in the evening I rode down to cantonments to communicate our plans to the Officers, and to ask their final resolution. All declared they would retain their families in cantonments except Captain Dawson, Executive Engineer, who, with his wife and four children, accompanied me home. They with our families went off as arranged during the night and reached Shahgunj in safety.

LADIES SENT TO SHAHGANJ

14. On the morning of the 8th, Corporal Hurst of the Sappers, with his wife and child, and all the Staff Sergeants' wives and children came to my house, and I sent them also off to Shahgunj under escort of a party of trusty *Zemindars*.

EMISSARIES FROM AZAMGARH, VARANASI AND JAUNPUR

15. The crisis was now rapidly approaching. The District was full of mutineers from Azimgurh, Benares and Jounpore. Their emissaries reached the Lines in the forenoon, and called on the Troops to declare for them. I was told they had previously received a *perwana* from the King of Delhi setting forth that he had possession of the whole country, and summoning them to join his standard. On that day, 8th June, I wrote my last report to Lucknow, stating I had no hope that the outbreak could be staved off any longer.

ARMY RANSOMED

16. During the 8th I issued a month's pay to the *Zemindars* levies about four hundred strong and about one hundred Native Pensioners, and sent fourteen thousand rupees to Shahgunj. I also had the most valuable records secreted in the *Wuseequa* buildings, a walled enclosure occupied by female relatives of the Ex-King subsisting on the interest of money invested in Government paper, the safest and most convenient place I could think of at the time.

17. Col. Goldney, Commissioner and Supdt., remained in the city throughout the 8th but in the evening returned to the lines of the 22nd Regiment Native Infantry which he had formerly commanded, and I never saw him again.

18. All the Civil Officers dined at Captain Thurburn's on the evening of the 8th. After dinner Mr. Bradford return-

ed to the *Kutcherry* in the belief—which the result proved well-founded—that the men of the 22nd Native Infantry on Treasure Guard would protect him. Captains Orr and Thurburn spent the night at my house in the City.

ARMY REVOLTS

19. During the night, the guards on duty in the city left their posts; towards morning various alarming reports were brought in, and I sent Mr. Bradford a note (which never reached him) requesting him to join us immediately. The city is a mile and a half from cantonments. All communication had been cut off, but we suspected what had happened, and our suspicions were soon confirmed. A little after sunrise the mutineers—Artillery, Cavalry and Infantry—moved down upon the city, and as we had no means of resistance, we were compelled to seek safety in flight.....

EFFECTS OF THE STORIES OF THE MASSACRE OF ALLAHABAD

23. The disarming and massacring story, which was industriously promulgated all over the country, was almost universally believed, and may have had most injurious effect. A Native, in whom I placed considerable reliance, assured me that it was the immediate cause of the mutiny and cruel murders at Allahabad. The news of the capture by the mutineers of the Fort of Allahabad, was also circulated through Oudh and even we believed it for a time.

25. On the night of the 10th the *Zemindars* of Goura¹, who were most friendly and forward in their offers of assistance, came and escorted us, partly disguised, to Shahgunj.

27. We had calculated on remaining at Shahgunj, as Man Singh assured us he had no immediate apprehension of attack, and that during the rainy season just about to set in the Fort surrounded by low ground was almost unapproachable.

¹ *Gaura*, Pargana *Gaura Jamun* Tahsil *Musafirkhana* Distt. *Sultanpur*. An unimportant village that gives its name to the pargana. It lies on the road from Gauriganj to Jagdispur, at a distance of about two miles north of Jamun, in latitude 26° 24' north and longitude 81° 41' east. (*District Gazetteers*, Sultanpur 1903, p. 176).

28. The very morning, however, after our arrival Man Singh who was at Ajoodhia sent to say that the mutineers had promised not to molest the women and children but insisted on his delivering up all the officers and that as he was not prepared to resist, and they threatened to search the Fort the next day, we must prepare for instant departure, and that we should start as soon as it was dark for a *Ghat* on the Ghogra where he would have boats in waiting for us.

46. To return to the Troops at Fyzabad. They broke out in mutiny on the night of the 8th June; they did not go through the form of pretending a grievance, but said they were strong enough to turn us out of the country and intended to do it. The 15th Irregular Cavalry, particularly the *Rissaldar* in command, left no means untried to induce the other Regiments to murder their officers, but the Artillery, 22nd Native Infantry and 6th Irregular Infantry not only refused to injure the Europeans but even gave them money and assisted them in procuring boats to proceed down to Ghogra.....

MAULVI LEADS THE REVOLUTIONARIES

52. The mutineers at Fyzabad first plundered about two lakhs and twenty thousand rupees of treasure, and then followed the usual practice of releasing the prisoners in jail. Among them was Sikundur Shah, a fanatic *Moulvee* who had endeavoured to excite rebellion in the city of Fyzabad in February¹ and who had been captured by a party of the 22nd N. I. under Lieutt. Thomas. This Officer and some sepoy's were wounded on the occasion and some of the *Moulvee's* followers were killed, and himself and others wounded. This *Moulvee* was chosen by the mutineers as their leader; he is even now a man of some note among the rebels.

DALIP SINGH—ARMY'S RING-LEADER

The ringleaders of the mutiny were the *Rissaldar* of the 5th Troops 15th Irregular Cavalry and Duleep Singh,

¹ "Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh" Vol. I, Pp. 381-388. 'Moulvi of Fyzabad'. Foreign Deptt. Oudh Abstract Proceedings, Political, January to 28th May, 1857; Abstract of Proceedings of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh in the Political Deptt. for the week ending 21st Feb. 1857; Proceeding 26 dated 21st February, 1857.

Subadar of the 22nd N. Infantry, a Chowhan Rajpoot of Burragaon¹ in the Fyzabad District. I have heard from different quarters that the *Rissaldar* was killed at Lucknow while leading one of the attacks on the Residency.²

OUTBREAK AT DARIABAD (BARABANKI)

UNEASINESS PREVAILS

This station had participated in the general uneasiness felt in the neighbouring stations, but up to the 8th of June no open opposition to the British Government had occurred, perilling the lives of the Christian community.

SUDDEN OUTBREAK

In May, the treasure had been ordered into Lucknow, but the sepoys, apparently, were not to be trusted, and the authorities feared hurrying them into revolt. Early in June great efforts were made to get the regiment there, the 5th Oude, to march with the treasure to Lucknow. On the evening of the 8th, the treasure was laden on carts and orders issued for marching. There is no reliable account of what immediately caused the outbreak, but it appears the Christian residents were apprised of it by the firing of musketry almost before the whole line of treasure carts had got out of the cantonments. The Europeans all managed to escape except two clerks, Messrs. Forbes and Wiltshire, who were taken prisoners by the sepoys, and after much insult and ill-treatment liberated. They managed to reach Lucknow safely, whither the principal

¹ *Barhagaon or Mustafabad, Pargana Mangalsi Tahsil Fyzabad*—This village lies in the extreme north-east of the district, adjoining the Bara Banki border, in latitude 26° 43' north and longitude 81° 51' east, between the Oudh and Rohilkhand loop-line and the main road from Fyzabad to Lucknow. There is a railway station here which is called Baragaon, this being the name of the nearest inhabited site in the village. A road connects the railway station with the main road and thence continues northwards to Begaraganj on the old road to Daryabad in Bara Banki. The distance from Fyzabad is 19 miles.

² Foreign Secret Consultations, 28th May, 1858, No. 419; National Archives, New Delhi. cf. Hutchinson: "*Narrative of Events in Oude*", Pp. 104-114.

civil and military officers and the larger portion of the Christian community also went.¹

OUTBREAK AT SULTANPUR

8th June, 1857

OUTBURST

It appears from various accounts that the mutiny at this station was commenced on the 8th or 9th of June by the Military Police Regiment firing at the late Lieutenant-Colonel S. Fisher, whilst he rode past their lines after an interview with Mr. Block, the Deputy Commissioner.

OFFICERS ATTACKED

Colonel Fisher who commanded the 15th Irregular Cavalry, managed to reach his own lines, where he was met by his two officers, Captain A. Gibbings and Lieutenant C. W. Tucker. They succeeded with difficulty in getting him into a *dooley*. Feeling himself mortally wounded, he begged them to leave him and provide for their own safety.

Very soon the men of the regiment attacked them, killing Colonel Fisher and Captain Gibbings, but Lieutenant Tucker succeeded in escaping across country.²

Deposition of Sheikh Emambux (Imam Bakhsh), late gaoler in the Sultanpur District of Oudh (Awadh), taken on the 3rd of September, 1858.

From the boy who had guided me, I learnt that Mowla Buksh, shortly after the arrival of the gentlemen in his house, cried out : "The people of Sultanpore are threatening to attack me, because I have given refuge to Europeans, but I shall defend them with my life". This ruse of the wretch succeeded, for on hearing this boast more than once repeated, Messrs. Block and Stroyan thought naturally that it would be advisable now to leave the place, which was no longer one of concealment. They consequently marched in an easterly direction along the bank of the river, which bank is excessively

¹ Hutchinson : "*Narrative of Events in Oude*", Pp. 139-40. cf. Kaye : "*Sepoy War in India*" Vol. III, Pp. 479-80.

² Hutchinson : "*Narrative of Events in Oude*", p. 146.

high and steep. They were soon followed by Mowla Buksh and others, running along the top of the bank and firing upon the fugitives. The latter were, however, protected by the high bank. At length, the bank slopes into the plain; and here with nothing to protect them from the balls of the assassins, they soon fell. It would appear that Mr. Block, on receiving his first wound, rushed into the river, hoping to cross, but a second ball deprived him of life.¹

OUTBREAK AT SALON²

9th June, 1857

An Account by Major Barrow, formerly Deputy Commissioner of that district.

ZAMINDARS REMAIN LOYAL.

Up to the 1st June, the district was not much affected by the mutinies, and judging by the collections which were then going on for the *rubbee kists*, the *talookdars* and large *zamindars* had at this time no intention whatever of joining in rebellion, for without exception they paid up.

MARCH ON SALON

On the morning of the 8th June, I received positive intelligence from the Deputy Commissioner, Sultanpore, that mutinous troops were marching on Selone, Sultanpore, and Fyzabad. Probably these reports were made to the Deputy Commissioner to cause a panic, for on the same day the troops at that station mutinied. I attached no importance to this

¹ Hutchinson : "*Narrative of Events in Oude*", p. 152.

² *Salon*, Pargana and Tahsil *Salon* Dist. *Rai Bareli*—The headquarters of the tahsil are located in a small but ancient Muhammadan town, lying in latitude 26° 2' north and longitude 81° 28' east, at the junction of the roads from Rai Bareli to Partabgarh and from Jais to Mustafabad and Khaga in Fatehpur. The former is metalled up to the town, which is twenty and a half miles distant from Rai Bareli. Other roads lead from Salon to Dalmau on the west, Manikpur on the south and Kunda on the south-east. The town is pleasantly situated some four miles to the south of the Sai; it is surrounded with groves and clumps of palm trees, while to the east is a large jhil. (*District Gazetteers, Rai Bareli* 1905, p. 214).

or other reports which were constantly being made, evidently with a view to get rid of us.

On the night of the 8th, Captain Thompson's regiment, the 1st Oude, requested permission to have their arms with them in case of an attack.

NEWS OF OUTBREAK AT FAIZABAD REACHES SALON

On the morning of the 9th, reports were made to me that both the Sultanpore and Fyzabad regiments had mutinied. A troop of Captain Harding's *rissalah* arrived at Selone without any orders. The *rissaldar* stated that the Sultanpore officers had fled through Purtabghur, and that place being abandoned, he had come to Selone. I discovered that some of his party had been engaged in the plunder at Purtabghur, and that others were fugitive sowars from Allahabad, where a portion of the regiment was stationed.

FUGITIVES FROM SULTANPUR AND PRATABGARH

During the day, whilst at *Kutcherry*, for the usual appearances were still kept up, and I had every confidence in the 1st Oude Regiment, several police fugitives and others arrived from Sultanpore and Purtabghur; two officers' horses were brought in, and several gaol fugitives from Allahabad were caught on the 8th and 9th.

ALLAHABAD TROOPS EN ROUTE TO SALON

About 1 p. m. of the 9th some sowars came in and reported that the troops from Allahabad were en route, and another party intimated the troops from Sultanpore were at Attayah, about eight miles off; both reports no doubt were spread to create a panic.

DISBANDMENT ORDERED

I proceeded to the officer commanding, who had already given orders for his regiment to turn out. I accompanied him to the parade, and sent off parties of sowars in the directions intimated. After about two hours, nothing further occurring, Captain Thompson ordered his men to pile arms. On being ordered to reassemble, they paid no attention. It

was evident they intended to mutiny, but we took no notice whatever; extra sentries were put on, and the men were still under some control.

ATTEMPT TO WIN OVER TROOPS

I paraded the troops of cavalry which had no European officer, and in reply to my address, they one and all declared they were faithful and would stand by me. The *rissaldar* privately told me, out of the eighty-five men, he could only depend on twenty.

BRITISHERS ASSEMBLE TO CONFER

All the officers assembled this night at my house. My wife and two children were the only officer's family present; there were the wives and children of two sergeants and one apothecary, besides the writers of my office.

The night passed quietly. Early in the morning I proceeded round the station, and observed the men of the Oude Regiment carrying off their property to the neighbouring villages.

PRISONERS RELEASED

About 6 o'clock a. m., the guard of the gaol released the prisoners. Captain Thompson still thought he could bring his regiment round, and I determined to hold on as long as possible, but they clearly intimated at last that we had better leave; if we did not, they would not answer for our lives. No native officer even would now obey his call, and the regiment would furnish no guards for our protection.

REVOLUTIONARIES DEMAND MONEY

At 2 p. m. my house was surrounded by all the *budmashes* of the place, including several of my own police, *Passees*, &c., clamouring for pay; they crowded close round it and looked hostile. I got out where the sowars were stationed, and induced twenty of them to mount and come to my house, when throwing out a bag of rupees to get them away from the verandahs, into which they had pressed, the sowars rode in between them and the house and drove them off, so far behaving well.

ENGLISH ALLOWED TO QUIT

Whilst this was going on, preparations were made for the whole party to leave. A few sepoy of the regiment stated they would escort us through the lines (our course lying through them), but that they could not undertake to do so at a later period. The men, as we passed through, were all outside with their arms in their hands; some were respectful, others loaded their muskets as we passed them.¹

OUTBREAK AT BAHRAICH

June 1857

DISAFFECTION IN ARMY

I have already said Lieutenant Clarke had become aware of the disaffected spirit of his men, but I cannot learn they had broken out into open mutiny when the European gentlemen decided on quitting the station. On the 10th, the Hissampur² *tuhseel* of the Bahraich district had been plundered by a detachment of sepoy from Scrorra, and the gentlemen must have heard of it when they left, which they did on the night of the 11th, reaching Nanpara³, which is distant not more than twenty-five miles on the following morning. Futtehshah Khan, Extra Assistant Commissioner, accompanied them; the third European was Mr. Jordan, Extra Assistant Commissioner.

¹ Hutchinson : "*Narrative of Events in Oude*", Pp. 127-130. Kaye : "*Sepoy War in India*" Vol. III, Pp. 471-72.

² *Hisampur*, Pargana, Tahsil *Kaisarganj* Distt. *Bahraich*—This pargana occupies the extreme southern corner of the district Bahraich, being bounded on the south and west by the Ghagra river, on the north by the parganas of Fakhrpur and Bahraich, and on the east by Ikauna and the Gonda district, from which it is separated in part by a stream known as the Terhi. With the exception of two villages lies wholly in the low ground between the central plateau of the district and the Ghagra. (*District Gazetteers, Bahraich 1903*, p. 185).

³ *Nanpara*, Tahsil—This, the northernmost sub-division of the district Bahraich, comprises the tract of country lying to the north of the tahsils of Kaisarganj and Bahraich, between the Kauriala on the west and south-west, which separates it from the Kheri district, and the territories of Nepal on the north. (*District Gazetteers, Bahraich 1903*, p. 210).

ENGLISH REFUSED SHELTER : NANPARA

There, instead of finding shelter, they met with the blackest teachery. They were denied even an hour's repose and a little food by Kullum Khan, who pretended that the Rajah of Churda¹, who resided close by, was coming after them, and I have heard that it was in consequence of intelligence that Kullum Khan had laid an ambush for them on that road, that instead of proceeding onward to Pudnaha or into the Terai, where they would have been safe among the Tharroos, and could have entered into Nepal at any time, they decided on returning to Baraich, which they reached after nightfall.

ENGLISH SHOT DEAD : SECRORA

Then instead of proceeding to Bulrampore, where they knew I had repaired, and which they might have reached in safety, they resolved to make for Lucknow, but their horses being completely exhausted they purchased others from the mounted military police, and, disguising themselves as sowars in native attire, and with an escort of that corps, succeeded in reaching Byram Ghaut². The accounts differ as to how they met their death there, but Futtehshah Khan, the Extra Assistant Commissioner, who was the only eye-witness from whom I have received any relation of the particulars, says, that no sooner had they got on board the boat, than the sowars took away their horses, which were to have followed in another; this attracted the observation of a party of the Secrora sepoy's

¹ *Charda*, Pargana, Tahsil *Nanpara* Dist. *Bahraich*—This pargana lies along the Nepal border in the north of the district, being bounded on the west and south by Nanpara, on the south-east by Bahraich and on the east by the Bbinga pargana, from which it is separated in part by the Rapti river. (*District Gazetteers*, Bahraich 1903, p. 166).

² *Bahramghat*, Pargana *Ramnagar* Tahsil *Fatehpur* Dist. *Barabanki*—This town stands on the banks of the Chauka, in latitude 27° 7' north and longitude 81° 28' east, at a distance of 22 miles from Nawabganj and four miles from Raizagaon, with both of which it is connected by a metalled road. Beyond Bahramghat, the remainder of this road, which leads to Bahraich, is unmetalled. The river is crossed by a temporary bridge of boats, which is replaced by a ferry during the rains. This ferry crosses the Chauka and Ghagra rivers, which unite a short distance below the town. (*District Gazetteers*, Barabanki 1904, p. 186).

guarding the *ghauts*, who, on questioning the sowars, and learning the true character of their seeming companions, pursued them in boats and shot them in midstream. Mr. Jordan, he relates, was kept alive for some days, and put to death by order of the *subadar* commanding at Secrora.¹

OUTBREAK AT BAHRAICH

(*Another Version*)

Bonham had been cautioned to avoid the principal ferry across the river, known as the Byram Ghaut, which lay very near to Secrora, for there the main body of the mutineers had taken up their position. Not so our unfortunate people at the Baraitch (Bahraich) station, who took flight in that direction. Two companies of the Gonda Regiment were posted at the civil station, under Lieutenant Longueville Clarke, a gallant young officer who had shortly before distinguished himself by the capture of a notorious freebooter, named Fuzl Ali. Mr. Cunliffe was the Deputy Commissioner, and with him was Mr. Jordan, an uncovenanted assistant. When they found that the head-quarters of the Regiment had revolted, there was no further hope of the fidelity of the detachment; so the Englishmen mounted their horses and rode for Nanpara, where they had promise of friendly assistance. Disappointed in this, they turned back and rode for the Gogra, with the intention of making for Lucknow. They had disguised themselves in the costume of the country, and though the approaches to the Byram Ghaut were bristling with mutineers, they managed to escape detection and to gain the river. There they obtained a boat—it was said to be the common ferry-boat—and embarked with their horses. But a cry arose that some Europeans were escaping, and then there was a rush to the river-bank, and the sepoy fired upon them. On this the native boatmen took to the water; the Englishmen hid themselves, as best they could, under shelter of the sides of the boat; but powerless in this position to guide the vessel, they made no progress, perhaps they even drifted back, and Cunliffe and Clarke were shot to death. Jordan was dragged out of

¹ Hutchinson : "*Narrative of Events in Oude*", Pp. 137-138.

the boat, and suffered to linger for a few days, at the end of which he shared the fate of his comrades.¹

OUTBREAK AT SECORA

When news of the disturbances at Meerut and Delhi first arrived, there were the usual appearances, and, indeed, the usual expressions of loyalty; and for some weeks the troops performed their appointed duties with their wonted observance of discipline. It was necessary, however, to watch them closely, and to be prepared for any emergency that might arise; so frequent consultations were held between the chief civil and military functionaries, who freely conversed with the Native officers, and endeavoured to elicit their opinions. But as news came in from station after station, ever with fresh tidings of mutiny and massacre, there seemed to be little hope that the Baraitch (Bahraich) Division would be exempt from the great plague of insurrection which was afflicting the whole province. So Wingfield, as a first measure of precaution, provided for the safety of our women, by sending them under a guard of Cavalry, principally Sikhs, to Lucknow; and then he concerted measures for the retirement, in the event of a crisis, of our Christian people to the strongholds of certain friendly chiefs situated on the borders of Nepaul.

A false alarm, which may have been accidental or may have been designed, precipitated the rising of the troops. News was brought in the night, that the Infantry were arming. Since the departure of the women, the officers had slept at the Commissioner's house, and when this message was brought they went forth into the darkness to the Artillery quarters and turned the guns upon the Infantry Lines. The *Golundauze* obeyed orders, and seemed to be faithful to their Government; but there was no need to try the strength of their loyalty to the utmost, for the Infantry made no demonstration, and the officers went home to their beds—some declaring it to have been a false alarm, others protesting that a seditious design had been defeated by the attitude we had so promptly assumed.

But a different story gained credence in the Infantry Lines. The Sepoys accused us of a design to massacre them

¹ Kaye : "Sepoy War in India" Vol. III, Pp. 477-478.

as they slept; and from that time the nameless fear was upon them, that had so often been the precursor of revolt. Then all branches of the Force made common cause. And Boileau soon found that he had ceased to command the troops at Secrora. There was now nothing more to be done for the maintenance of British authority. Sir Henry Lawrence had written to the chief civil and military officers, saying : "Should a mutiny break out or appear to be inevitable, you are at liberty to consult your own safety". So Wingfield mounted his horse, and on pretence of going for his wonted evening ride, galloped with all speed to Gonda, where he found that the regiment posted there had not yet revolted.¹

OUTBREAK AT GONDA

Lieutenant Clarke, Assistant Commissioner, thus describes the mutiny at this station :

OUTBREAK EXPECTED

On the 15th of June, about 3 p. m., I received a note from Mr. Wingfield, the Commissioner of Baraitch Division, and who was residing at Secrora at the time, to the effect that all the ladies at that station were to start for Lucknow in the evening; and, therefore, the ladies of Gonda had better take advantage of the opportunity to be off and join the party, as, in all probability, no other opportunity would offer itself, and the road to Lucknow, in a day or two, would most assuredly be closed by the rebels.

SEPOYS JUBILANT

The night passed by without any molestation from the sepoys, but more than once a sepoy with a shouldered musket passed close to our beds (I suppose to see if we were there), and more than once we heard a hubbub in the lines; the picquet, also, which was sent out on the Secrora road, returned some time before they ought to have done, and when they came near the house where we were, the men tossed about their muskets and went into the lines in a most disorderly manner, laughing and talking boisterously.

¹ Kaye : "Sepoy War in India" Vol. III, Pp. 473-75.

SEPOYS REFUSE TO OBEY

At daybreak the Havildar Major of the regiment brought Captain Miles a letter he had received during the night from the mutineers at Secrora, in which the men of the 3rd Regiment were urged to seize both the treasury and their officers. This determined Captain Miles to make one more effort to bring the native officers to reason, whereupon he summoned them once more, and again ordered them to march to Bulrampore, telling them that if they would not obey him he would leave them. They flatly refused to go to Bulrampore, and indeed anywhere. Captain Miles then sent for his two sergeants, and when they had joined us, we all mounted our horses and left the station, at a walking pace making for Bulrampore, which we reached the same evening.¹

OUTBREAK AT GONDA

(Another Version)

Everything, indeed, had gone on in the old groove all through the month of May. Our civil courts had seen the wouted number of suitors, and discipline had been maintained in the Lines of the Sepoys. But in the first week of June there was a perceptible change. It was plain that all classes were in a state of feverish excitement, girding themselves up for the coming struggle. The old belief in the indomitable power of the English was fast passing away.* Still there was no outward change. The Sepoys protested that they would remain true to their salt; and the majority of their officers believed them. But when the Commissioner brought in the discouraging news that the troops at Fyzabad and Secrora had revolted, it became evident that the troops, though they still protested their fidelity, would form a junction with their

¹ Hutchinson : "Narrative of Events in Oude", Pp. 141-144.

*"Mr. Wingfield says : 'It was manifest that confidence in our power was fast departing, and *Zemindars* who had recovered their villages from *Talukdars* at settlement were writing to propitiate the latter or making preparations for flight. The *Tuhseeldars* had reported that the Sepoys had been overheard to express their determination not to allow the treasure to be removed", &c., &c.—Kaye: "*Sepoy war in India*" Vol. III, Pp.475-76.

comrades on the first appearance of a mutinous body from either place. As all other roads were now closed, it was proposed that the regiment should be marched to Bulrampore*—some thirty miles distant—with the treasure. To this the men apparently at first consented; but the Sepoys said that they would fight the mutineers, when they might come, which really meant that they would fraternise with their comrades. So, Wingfield with the civil officers rode on to Bulrampore. Captain Miles and his Adjutant, bent on making a last despairing effort to save their men from rebellion, still remained in the Cantonment. But, on the following day, they found that all their efforts were useless; so they also set their faces towards Bulrampore, together with some of the officers from Secrora.¹

*“Mr. Wingfield had from the first the fullest confidence in the fidelity of the Maharajah of Bulrampore, which was amply justified by after-events. He was made a Knight-Commander of the Star of India and a member of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General”—Kaye.

¹ Kaye : “*Sepoy War in India*” Vol. III, Pp. 475-76.

CHAPTER TWO
THE BATTLE OF CHINHAT

RAJA NAWAB ALI OF MAHMUDABAD LEADS THE REBELLION

On the 30th of June occurred the disaster of Chinhut, which was at once followed up by the rebels flocking into the city, and by the siege of the Residency. The rebel Headquarters were established in the 32nd Barracks.

At this time Khan Ali Khan, an *ex-Chukledar* of Salone, dismissed at the instance of Genl. Sleeman for his many excesses, was the *Naib* of Nawab Ali *Talookdar* of Mahmudabad (Mahmudabad) the first of his class who openly rebelled. Around this man's standard the Seetapoor murderers speedily flocked; under Khan Ali Khan they fought at Chinhut; and we find this person and Burkut Ahmud *Ressaldar* of Irregulars, (since killed) at their head on arrival at Lucknow. This was on Tuesday. On the following Thursday, we find the Deft. according to the evidence of Matta Deen witness at once presenting himself to the soldiery and being elected as their mouth-piece and Chief.¹

FAIZABAD FORCES JOIN AT CHINHAT

“.....And when the regiment (22nd N. I.) proceeded to Lucknow I was also taken with them in confinement. When they arrived at Chinhut an action took place with the British force; all the sepoys went to the fight. And I was released and placed with the women. About 20 or 25 sepoys remained behind to take charge of them and the goods separately”.²

¹ “Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Raja Jai Lal Singh, Govt. Decision”. Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

² “Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Dr. Najaf Ali, Jail Doctor from Faizabad, 31st August, 1858. Examination of Najaf Ali at Lucknow”. Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

BATTLE OF CHINHAT

Message from Colonel Neill to the Governor General, Calcutta, dated Allahabad Friday, 10th July, 1857 (1-50 p.m.).

LAWRENCE DEFEATED

This just come in to Officer Commanding here. *Lucknow, 30th June, from Sir H. Lawrence.* Went out this morning eight miles to meet the enemy, and were defeated through misconduct, chiefly of artillery and cavalry, many of whom deserted. Enemy followed us up, and we have been besieged for four hours. Shall likely be surrounded to-night. Enemy very bold, and our Europeans very low. Looks upon his position now as ten times as bad as it was yesterday. It is very critical. We shall be obliged to concentrate, if we are able. We shall have to abandon much supplies and blow up much powder. Unless we are relieved in fifteen or twenty days, we shall hardly be able to maintain our ground.....¹

THE BATTLE OF CHINHAT

(A detailed Version)

On Tuesday, 7th *Ziqaad* corresponding with June 30, a spy informed the Chief Commissioner that seven Companies of *Tilangas*, two pieces of artillery driven by horses and one *Risala* had reached the Hanuman (Mahabir) Temple at Aliganj which is at a distance of 2 miles from Lucknow. The rest of the army, composed of different units, and having ammunition, is marching behind in ranks. The whole army was about 15000 strong.....(details not clear).....
.....The Chief Commissioner ordered that because only a part of the army had reached the city, the rest should be checked while still on the way. Thereupon, 300 Sikhs, 80 horsemen, 1200 *Bargandazes*, 5 Companies of *Tilangas*, 11 Companies of whitemen, 50 heavy pieces of artillery driven by horses and bullocks with Major Carnegie, Mahmud Khan *Kotwal* and the Christian clerks of the office, some on elephants and others on horse-back, started from the Residency about two to three hours before dawn. When they reached the Iron Bridge they enquired from the way-farers about the

¹ Forrest : "State Papers" Vol. II, p. 31.

strength of the army who said that only a portion of the army was at hand and the rest spread like a storm up to Nawabganj. Thereupon, it was decided that they should go back lest something untoward might take place. But still they bravely advanced for some distance and reached the Kokral river at dawn. There was no trace of the army there. Then they scolded the spy who said that the rebels stayed in the grove and were preparing for a fight. Upon this they fired gunshots. The rebel horsemen state that they were completely upset when they heard of the approach of this army. They taunted each other and were ready to turn back. But all the three gun-shots went over their heads and left them safe. That was a good omen and then they gathered courage. Next they advanced both from the right and the left and as the rebel soldiers stated, they saw Col. Hague (Hick) moving towards them in his *Bagghi*. The horsemen rushed at him and he trotted his horse.....(Text not clear)both the armies met. The guns of the English army could not be used. The English army was defeated and so it tried to retire to Ismail Ganj¹. But it could not do so because there was a difference of opinion. The rebel army keeping the *Ganj* (town) to the back fired from all sides. When the English army could not stand and its order was disturbed, it retreated. The two armies were pitched against each other and there was a battle raging up to the Iron Bridge. Dead bodies were heaped, one over the other. Capt. Anderson writes in his pamphlet that 111 white men were killed. One reason for that was that on their way, they did not find any place of shelter. The cavalry was pressing hard on their back. All the faithless *Barqanda-zes* disappeared. The heavy pieces of artillery were left behind and it was a difficult job to recover driving horses. The English officers galloped their horses and passing by Mirza Sulaiman Shikoh's residence reached the mound of Bailly Guard. Nobody looked back. The wounded officers and soldiers could not return. They got no help otherwise they would have checked the rebels.

¹ *Ismailganj*, (Lucknow District)—Being situated in the Pargana and Tahsil Lucknow, it is a road-side village at a distance of about $5\frac{1}{4}$ miles from Lucknow on the road to Barabanki.

The rebel horsemen pursued up to the Iron Bridge but when they had advanced towards Ismail Ganj they were shelled by the guns from Machhi Bhawan and Bailly Guard and their advance was checked. Those who could escape the fire, scattered out in the town. The rebel army, foot-soldiers and horsemen entered the royal buildings passing by the *Ghat*. Ahmadullah Shah fought stubbornly in the way and was wounded in the foot. He boasted much of his valour and swordsmanship and alighted in the Rasad Khan Kotli (Observatory). According to astrologers the Mars was in sign Scorpion so long as.....(Text not clear).....

When the common people in the Bailly Guard heard of the defeat, and they saw the people reaching in agitated, and heard the guns fired on both the *morchas* they went outside and ran hither and thither trying to save their lives, only the permanent inmates were left. They were 2700 Indian (soldiers), 500 English (soldiers), 400 ladies and children (some Englishmen and women had come over to Lucknow for safety). Christians, clerks, Sikhs, Punjabis, some loyal *Tilngas*, *Baqmdazes*, menial servants, labourers, prostitutes and some oxen and horses. The English soldiers who had been posted at different entrenchments joined together flying from all quarters.

Mahmud Khan *Kotwal* entered the *Imambara* with a troop of *Baqmdazes* and locked the gate. Those who had gone out to fight had never before seen a battle, but had become soldiers by dint of possessing a gun. Therefore, out of fear they cast away their military uniform of red turban and *pagri* and put on the ordinary white turban they had brought from their homes. Some had already received an advance pay while those, who were under the *Kotwal* and had received no advance, demanded it. The *Kotwal* kept them waiting by false promises of payment but they at last broke open the lock of the gate in the evening and fled.

About 5000 men were recruited and they received the advance of a month's salary of Rs. 7 each. The *Kotwal* was allowed a salary of Rs. 100 and the title of Bahadur with a *Wilayati* sword. Mr. Carnegie took an oath of fidelity from him, as he had taken a similar oath from *Baqmdazes*. The hunger-stricken people consented to do all this because they could get no job and had therefore to sit idle. The *Kotwal* had already deposited his money and belongings with those he

trusted. But the Govt. could not find it out even after the Mutiny was over and when the Settlement was made. Mr. Carnegie and Qurban Ali's similar hoardings did come to their knowledge but nothing was done. They are still in opulence.

However, he slipped in disguise at night through the window in the back wall of the *Musafir Khana* and reached the house of his *Mahujan* in the Sankari Mohalla. Thence he moved to his concubine's place in Nakhas, the third day. Then he hid himself in basket meant for carrying coal and slipped away to Malihabad. There he remained a guest of Karam Khan Pathan. He also went to Kanpur. He knew that he would be reinstated when the English would come back and then he would avenge himself upon the people of the town. But death overtook him and his intention remained unfulfilled.

Now when the *Imambara Musafir Khana* was vacant, the Govt. property was lying uncared for here and there. Still there was no blood-shed, although the guns and other weapons were at hand. At first, the '*shuhdas*' and other riffraffs of the town reached there early in the morning and plundered whatever they could lay their hands on. Suddenly, one of the *shuhdas* of Roomi Darwaza reviling his own men (*shuhdas*) said, "Do not indulge in plundering. Draw the cannons and place them in position at Machhi Bhawan. Gird up your loins and fight. This will give us a good name. People will say 'how bravely a debased class of people stood against such a great enemy'". Every one agreed and got ready to fight. They asked the town-folk not to touch the ammunition. Then they tied the small gun tightly with a rope, used a pole for a notch and planted the cannon on the Machhi Bhawan. Some gunners had also returned and they helped them. Two guns were posted on the upper storey of the *Naqqar Khana* and all the *Takhts* of the shop-keepers were turned into temporary protection. Thus they advanced slowly. The gun-fire from Machhi Bhawan was thus made ineffective. None was killed or wounded. Only one man's (*shuhda's*) hand was rendered useless. By keeping the thumb on the *Piyala* (Cup) of the cannon their shells hit Machhi Bhawan direct. On Thursday at midnight they set fire to a large bundle of cotton and a heap of grass and thus created a great row. Then they rushed up to the gate of Machhi Bhawan. The inmates of Machhi Bhawan stated that that incident terrified them and they thought that thousands of the town-folk had rushed

upon them ready to force in by pulling down the gate of the fort. The Chief Commissioner then sent a spy to the fort of Machhi Bhawan. He was awarded thousands of rupees and carried a letter to the besieged saying it was no use fighting on two *morchas* and they were therefore advised to move to the Bailly Guard with all their money, women, children, prisoners and troops at midnight the same day, and to set fire to the mine in Machhi Bhawan at the time of their departure. The town folk were already frightened to hear it and the residents of *Mohallas* such as Firangi Mahal etc. which lay close to the Machhi Bhawan had vacated their houses and moved to Saadat Ganj.

When ready to start for the Bailly Guard they put Mirza Haidar Shikoh, Humayun Shikoh, Nawab Mohd. Hasan Khan, the Raja of Tulsipur and Prince Mustafa Ali Khan in a carriage. The Prince showed unwillingness, spoke loudly and agitated and therefore they tied his hands on his back and closed his mouth with a handkerchief. I heard it through Mirza Haidar Beg but the prince may not acknowledge this now considering it below his dignity.

However, all the besieged issued out from the Hasan Bagh side and were encircled by the army. They kept the guns both in their front and in the rear. The ladies were seated on the pistons of the cannons. They entered the Bailly Guard through the gate of the Princes' residence, in no time. All of a sudden a gun-shot was fired. Sixty newly recruited gunners and a few Englishmen and soldiers whose names are not known fled for fear of life and struggled through the lanes of the city. The rebel army posted at different fronts did nothing. They simply slept. With the sound of the gun, the mine in Machhi Bhawan was set on fire, only one English soldier remaining behind who did this heroic deed.

When the prisoners' carriage reached the guest house of the Residency, it had to wait for several hours uncared for, till Major Bank reached there about dawn. He took them to the room on the upper storey, got their beds prepared, comforted and entertained them. He ordered their servants to get all the necessaries from the godown and assured that what was done was expedient otherwise he knew that they were all guiltless and innocent. He also asked them to send their servants to bring all their belongings. Upon this Mohd. Hasan Khan's servant went out but he did not proceed further, and

then a Saiyid, servant of Mirza Haidar Shikoh stepped out with solemn oaths. But he as well did not proceed a long way off. Then the Major suspected that they (Prisoners) were in communication with Nana Rao and therefore he did not see them next time. The next day, the English soldiers removed all their beds and they moved down to the lower storey which was really a prison house, dark and stinky. There they stayed for several days, uncared for. By chance, Major Bank was shot dead and another Major succeeded him. He reached them and behaved very politely. Thus they got a relief. When General Outram joined the Residency, he went to them one day and settled the allowance of a rupee and a half on each of them. Then, they got their proper dresses prepared. The English soldiers who had plundered the residence of Mirza Sikandar Hashmat sold all the articles cheap. But even in that plight there were differences among those high-born persons and everyone boasted of his own birth and family. I got that information from Mirza Haidar Shikoh and (considered) that India's ruin and misfortune was the result of such differences.

When the Machhi Bhawan mine exploded, the whole city was rocked. The noise was as terrible as the boom of heavy gun at Akberabad¹ whose descriptions have come down to us from our ancestors. Every one was startled in sleep. The doors, the ceiling and the parts of the buildings got separated from each other. Beams and rafters splintered and flew into the air. The glass *Jhars* (Chandeliers) began to move. All the *Jhars* of the *Imambara* of Keiwan Jah in the *Karbala* of Mir Khuda Bux which is at the other extremity of the town were rocked. The lamps were all put out. All the old buildings in the fort except the newly built *Kothi* of Mirza Khurram Bakht toppled down. All the numerous articles stored in the godown were destroyed. One person left there, either by mistake or because he was drunk, was charred. Some English Ladies got separated from their company, reached the houses of Indians and were safely sent back to the *Sarkar*. I have learnt all this from Miftah-ud-daulah.

Next morning *shuhdas*, who reached the gate of the Machhi Bhawan, somewhat frightened, found that one leaf

¹ *Agra*.

of the door had flown away from its hinge and was lying in the other. Thus there was space enough for them to get in. They did so without fear. These intruders were followed by other riffraffs, joining from the different quarters of the city. They plundered as much as they liked up to Friday evening. After that the Govt. posted the *Sipahis* of a certain *rajah*. This was the 10th of *Ziqad* (2nd July, 1857).

Encouraged by their unexpected success the debased *shuhdas* committed greater reprisals. They secured two guns and stood against the Machhi Bhawan front. They set up a *morecha* at Munshi Itifat Husain's Bungalow in Bhim Ka Takia and another under the tamarind tree opposite the hospital and began firing. Although all that fight was merely puerile, still the *shuhdas* exceeded their limits indulging in taunts and jokes. Then they recruited a *Palton* of their own with the permission of the Govt. They went round to the doors of the wealthy, and gave threats and exacted money, which they lavishly spent on spicy and tasteful food. They took *Halwa*, *Puri* and sweets from the shops without making any payments. They reviled all sorts of people. They took gun-powder and other explosives from makers of fire-works (*atash-baz*) and paid them inadequately. There was a heap of hay in the garden of the school *Kothi* to which they set fire and thus produced a huge bonfire which lit the whole city. They brought Mir Baqar Ali who lived at *Pakka Pul* and cut him to pieces at the gate of the *Bara Imanbara* with the sword. Nobody can say why they committed that sacrilege for he was a Saiyid. They moved about with naked swords in their hands.¹

7000 REVOLUTIONARIES COLLECT AT KOKRAIL²

Telegram from H. Tucker to Canning, Calcutta, dated Banaras, Saturday, 11th July, 1857 (6-15 p.m.).

A man belonging to the Commissariat Office in Lucknow deposed that on the 29th June it was rumoured that seven

¹ Kamal-ud-Din Haidar Husaini : "*Tarikh-i-Awadh* or *Qaisar-ut-Tawarikh*" Vol. II, Pp. 212-218.

² *Kokrail*, (in Lucknow District)—It is the left bank tributary of the river Gomti and originates near the village 'Arthi' of Pargana Mahona. It joins Gomti just below the city of Lucknow.

thousand or eight thousand insurgents were encamped on the opposite side of the Kookrail Canal. Sir Henry went out to meet them with two companies of Her Majesty's 32nd, eleven guns, and sixty sowars. After a severe contest of two hours and a loss of sixty men, he was forced to retreat. The sowars were panic-struck and fled.

SIX ENGLISH GUNS CAPTURED

At Allygunge, about two miles from the Kookrail Canal, the enemy attacked and captured six guns. Sir Henry is said to have been wounded there. The British fought their way to the entrenchments, the enemy following closely. The insurgents entered the city and began plundering.

MACHHI BHAWAN ATTACKED

On July 2 rebels, headed by the city fanatics attacked the Muchee Bhowan, but a mine was sprung, which blew them up. The one hundred and fifty Europeans in the Muchee Bhowan then quitted and collected in the Residency. Witness left Lucknow on the 3rd July, and on the road met a great many sepoy and *zemindars* going against Lucknow.

MAULVI TAKES THE LEAD

I hear a Moulvie (Ahmedoola Shah), going up from Fyzabad, commanded the insurgents. Almost all the ammunition had been brought into the Residency, where there was food for one thousand men for six months. Rajah Maun Singh was said to be quiet. There is every reason to believe the truth of this deposition taken by Mr. F. Gubbins.¹

INGLIS'S VERSION OF THE BATTLE OF CHINHAT

Letter from J. E. W. Inglis, Her Majesty's 32nd, Commanding Garrison at Lucknow, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, Calcutta, No. 1., dated Lucknow, 26th September, 1857.

In consequence of the very deeply-to-be-lamented death of Brigadier-General Sir H. M. Lawrence, K. C. B., late in

¹ Forrest: "State Papers" Vol. II, p. 32.

Command of the Oudh Field Force, the duty of narrating the military events which have occurred at Lucknow since 29th June last, has devolved upon myself.

On the evening of that day several reports reached Sir Henry Lawrence that the rebel army, in no very considerable force, would march from Chinhut (a small village about eight miles distant on the road to Fyzabad) on Lucknow on the following morning; and the late Brigadier-General therefore determined to make a strong reconnoissance in that direction, with the view, if possible, of meeting the force at a disadvantage, either at its entrance into the suburbs of the city, or at the bridge across the Gokral¹, which is a small stream intersecting the Fyzabad road, about half way between Lucknow and Chinhut.

ENGLISH FORCES MOVE

The force destined for this service, and which was composed as follows, moved out at 6 a. m. on the morning of the 30th June:—

Artillery :—4 Guns of No. Horse Light Field Battery.
 4 Guns of No. 2 Oudh Field Battery.
 2 Guns of No. 3 Oudh Field Battery.
 An 8-inch howitzer.

Cavalry :—Troop of Volunteer Cavalry.
 120 Troopers of detachments belonging to 1st,
 2nd and 3rd Regiments of Oudh Irregular Cavalry.

Infantry :—300, Her Majesty's 32nd.
 150, 13th Native Infantry.
 60, 48th Native Infantry.
 20, 71st Native Infantry (Sikhs).

ENGLISH FORCES ENTRAPPED

The troops, misled by the reports of way-farers—who stated that there were few or no men between Lucknow and Chinhut—proceeded somewhat further than had been originally intended, and suddenly fell in with the enemy, who had up to that time eluded the vigilance of the advanced guard by concealing themselves behind a long line of trees in overwhelming

numbers. The European force and the howitzer, with the Native Infantry, held the foe in check for some time, and had the six guns of the Oudh Artillery been faithful and the Oudh Cavalry shown a better front, the day would have been won in spite of an immense disparity in numbers.

AWADH ARTILLERY MEN FIGHT AGAINST ENGLISH

But the Oudh Artillerymen and drivers were traitors. They overturned the guns into ditches, cut the traces of their horses, and abandoned them, regardless of the remonstrances and exertions of their own officers, and of those of Sir Henry Lawrence's staff, headed by the Brigadier-General in person, who himself drew his sword upon these rebels. Every effort to induce them to stand having proved ineffectual, the force, exposed to a vastly superior fire of artillery, and completely outflanked on both sides by over-powering body of Infantry and Cavalry, which actually got into our rear, was compelled to retire with the loss of three pieces of artillery, which fell into the hands of the enemy, in consequence of the rank treachery of the Oudh gunners, and with a very grievous list of killed and wounded. The heat was dreadful, the gun ammunition was expended, and the almost total want of cavalry to protect our rear made our retreat most disastrous.¹

GUBBINS'S VERSION OF THE BATTLE OF CHINHAT

REVOLUTIONARIES AT NAWABGANJ IN TOUCH WITH NANA

We had, as has already been stated, received regular intelligence of the movements of the mutineer troops in Oudh. They had now assembled at Newaubgunje Bara Bankee, twenty miles from Lucknow. These facts were communicated by my daily reports to Sir Henry Lawrence. We know that the mutineers were in correspondence with the Nana at Cawnpoor. No sooner, did they hear that the entrenchment there had fallen, than they moved at once upon Lucknow. My scouts brought word early on the 29th of June, that an advance guard of not less than 500 Infantry and 100 Horse, had actually arrived at Chinhut, a town on the Fyzabad road,

¹ Forrest : "*State Papers*" Vol. II, Pp. 37-38.

within eight miles of the Residency, from Newaubgunje, to collect supplies for the mutineer army, which was expected to arrive there on the following day. Sir Henry Lawrence, upon this being reported to him, ordered Captain H. Forbes with the Seikh¹ Cavalry, to reconnoitre their position. This officer accordingly went out, and soon came upon the enemy's pickets, who fired upon him. He remained observing them the whole day, and returned at sunset.

ENGLISH MOVE TO RESIDENCY AND MACHHI BHAWAN

Myself as well as some others in the garrison, had expected as well as hoped, that this advance guard would have been attacked and driven back. Sir Henry Lawrence, however, meditated a bolder measure, viz., to attack the enemy in force on the next day, of which myself and those not actually employed were kept in ignorance. In pursuance of this resolve, the force in cantonment was quietly withdrawn at sunset, and moved into the Residency position and the Muchee Bhowan².

ATTACK BY LAWRENCE

I had heard no whisper of an intention to attack, and I learnt the fact with no small surprise early on the following morning from Major Anderson, Chief Engineer, who brought me a letter from Sir Henry for despatch; and observed that the troops had started too late. The sun was then well up; and the force had been gone only half an hour. The heat was excessive, and on learning the fact I at once arranged to save the wearied soldiers from its effect, by sending our elephants to convey them in after the expected combat. I had made preparation for assisting them in this way, by obtaining a list of the elephants kept by the native gentry of the city some days before, and these had been requested to send them whenever they might be summoned. Sixteen elephants were immediately collected, and sent after Henry's force, under charge of my own horsemen.

¹ Sikh.

² Machhi Bhawan.

ENGLISH FORCES RETREAT

It was about 9 o'clock a.m. when the *risaldar* rushed breathless into my room, and announced to me that our troops were in full retreat, and begged that aid might be sent out. I immediately took him to the Senior Officer present, Colonel Halford, who lost no time in ordering all the Officers to their posts. On my way I met a number of Seikh horsemen and native artillery drivers, returning from the field, their horses covered with foam. Not a man of them was wounded. Reproachfully I enquired why they had fled. They replied only, that the enemy had surrounded them. About half an hour later, another of my horsemen came in; he brought in Sir Henry Lawrence's sword-scabbard, which, he told me, he had received from himself with the message that he was unurt. Not long after, our troops began to come in, and heartrending, indeed, was it to see our wounded and exhausted men extended, covered with dust and blood, under the porch of the Residency.

IRON BRIDGE STORMED BY THE REVOLUTIONARIES

I found Sir Henry laying a howitzer at the Water gate, to command the entrance to the Residency, and accompanied him to the Redan battery. A party of the 32nd, under Lieutenant Edmonstone, had gone out and occupied the houses on our side of the Iron Bridge, and soon a sharp musketry fire began between them and the mutineers, who had reached the opposite end of the bridge. Our 18-pounder in the Redan was brought to bear upon them, worked by Lieutenant McFarlan, and effectually prevented their crossing. Returning from the Redan, I ascended to the roof of the Residency, and could thence clearly see the enemy putting some guns in position, near Thornhill's House, on the opposite side of the river. Thence I was summoned to the protection of my own post.

An account of this disastrous engagement was afterwards given to me by several officers, Captain H. Forbes, Captain Bassano, Lieutenant Foster Cunliffe and Lieutenant Bonham. From these I will briefly recount what appears to have taken place. The force employed was composed as follows :—

Artillery

- 4 Guns of European Artillery, under Lieutenant F. Cunliffe.
 4 ditto of Lieutenant Alexander's O. I. Battery.
 2 ditto of Ashe's O. I. Battery, under Lieutenant Bryce.
 1 eight-inch howitzer, under Lieutenant Bonham.
 The whole under Major Simson.

Cavalry

Radcliffe's European Volunteers, numbering 36 sabres.
 The Sikh¹ Cavalry, under Captains H. Forbes and G. Hardinge, about 80 sabres.

Infantry

H. M.'s 32nd Foot.....	300
13th N. I., under Major Bruere.....	150
48th N. I., under Colonel Palmer.....	50
71st N. I. Sikhs, under Lieutenant Birch.....	20

The whole under command of Sir Henry Lawrence in person, accompanied by Colonel Inglis.

BATTLE OF ISMAILGANJ

This force assembled from the Muchee Bhowun and the Residency at the Iron Bridge about sunrise, and marched to the Bridge over the Kookrail stream, which is about halfway to Chinhut. So far the road was metalled. But beyond this it was a newly-raised embankment, constructed of loose and sandy soil, in which every now and then gaps occurred, indicating the positions of future bridges. After some halt, during which no refreshment was served out to the men, the force moved on along this heavy causeway. The advance guard was of cavalry with videttes thrown out. After it the 8-inch howitzer led, followed by the European Artillery, and Alexander's guns. The 13th N. I., Bryce's two guns, the 32nd Infantry, and lastly, the 48th N. I. followed. The force moved in the above order. After proceeding about a mile and a half, the videttes were fired upon from the village of

Sikh.

Ismailgunje, on our left, and retired, and the 8-inch howitzer was ordered to the front. The troops were still in column upon the causeway, when the enemy made his presence to be felt, by opening (fire) upon it with round shot from a distance of 1400 yards. The first shots lobbed into the column, carrying off the head of one of Alexander's Artillery drivers, and killing several *dooly*-bearers. The enemy then himself became visible, occupying some thick mango-groves on the rear side of Chinhut. Our line was at once deployed. The howitzer remained on the road, and Cunliffe's European guns took ground to the right of, and a little in advance of, the howitzer. Next to these was Alexander's Native Battery. Bryce's guns, as I was informed, were not believed to have left the road. The 32nd men were posted on the left, between the village of Ismailgunje and the road, and were ordered to lie down to avoid the enemy's fire. On the right was another small hamlet, which the Native Infantry passed through, and took up a position in front of it.

ENGLISH FORCES OUTFLANKED

The howitzer returned the fire of the enemy with effect, its shells being seen to burst among them. The field-pieces also fired with round shot. But the distance, 1300 yards, was too great for them to produce any effect. After about twenty minutes' firing, the centre of the enemy where their artillery had been mainly posted appeared to give way; and hopes were entertained that they were retreating. Our hopes were, however, ill-founded; for presently they were seen advancing in two large separate masses, cavalry, artillery and infantry, on both our flanks, evidently intending to outflank us on both sides. On the right, at the distance of 400 or 500 yards, our field pieces opened on them with grape, but without much effect; for they continued to move on, parties of their cavalry pushing forward to get into our rear. On the left, their infantry was seen making for the strong village of Ismailgunje beyond where the 32nd were lying. Alexander's guns were ordered over from the right to the left of the road to stop them; but only effected the movement partially and slowly. The banks of the road were steep and very heavy, and the native drivers did not use their best exertions to get their guns over. Some of the waggons were overturned in the ditch. The

cavalry were now ordered to charge. The volunteers immediately obeyed the order, and charging under Captain Radcliffe drove back the foremost of the infantry. The Seikhs behaved shamefully. Only two of them charged with the volunteers, the rest turned their horses' heads, and fled.

ISMAILGANJ IN THE HANDS OF REVOLUTIONARIES

The enemy's infantry had now gained full possession of the village of Ismailganje, from which they poured a safe and deadly fire upon our men. The 32nd were ordered to take it. They advanced boldly, led by Colonel Case, but were met by a withering fire. Colonel Case fell badly wounded, Lieutenants Brackenbury and Thomson were soon after mortally wounded; and the men fell back in disorder, towards the road.

RETREAT OF ENGLISH FORCES

A retreat was now ordered. The European artillery limbered up and went to the rear, and Sir Henry Lawrence ordered Lieutenant Bonham to retire with the 8-inch howitzer. Unfortunately, the elephant which was attached to the limber had got frightened when the fighting began, and had run off with it. Spare bullocks had been brought out to meet such an accident, but the frightened drivers had let them loose. Lieutenant Bonham seized the limber of a waggon, and mounting on the leading horse, brought it up to the howitzer. Dismounting, however, to attach the limber to the gun, the native riders galloped off with it. At this time Captain Hardinge brought up the proper limber with the elephant; but the animal was so restless under fire, that the utmost exertions of the untrained gunners failed to attach the trail of the howitzer to the limber.

FUGITIVES PURSUED

The enemy was pressing on, taking advantage of every break in the ground and of every cover, to pour in a murderous fire of musketry. A bullet struck Lieutenant Bonham, who was carried off, and put upon a limber; and the howitzer was abandoned. At this time many of the artillery-drivers detached their horses from the guns and ammunition waggons, and took to flight.

FLIGHT CONTINUES IN CHAOS

The retreat had now become general, when Captain Bassano, 32nd foot, who had been looking for his commander Colonel Case, discovered that officer lying wounded on the field. The men had passed on, but Captain Bassano desired to bring some back to carry off the Colonel. The enemy were, however, close at hand, and Case would not suffer him. Finding ordinary remonstrance unavailing, the gallant soldier turned to his subordinate : "Leave me, Sir", said he, "and rejoin your company". The order was reluctantly obeyed. Soon after, Bassano himself was shot through the foot, but continued to walk with his men despite the wound, and reached the Residency in safety.

Early in the action, the water-carriers had run away, our men were suffering from intense thirst, and were so exhausted that they could scarcely drag themselves along. As many as were able, crowded on the gun-limbers and waggons. The rest kept together as well as they could. Thus they retraced their steps in much confusion, closely pursued by the enemy, who immediately cut off every straggler.

PITCHED BATTLE AT KOKRAIL BRIDGE

On nearing the Kookrail Bridge a body of the mutineer cavalry was seen who had occupied the road in front. At first some doubt prevailed whether the horse belonged to ourselves or to the enemy; and Cunliffe's guns, which had unlimbered in order to open on them were prevented from firing. As soon as the doubt was removed, the volunteer cavalry charged them, when they at once broke and fled.

RETREAT CONTINUED

Beyond the bridge the retreat continued, the Europeans being in rear, most gallantly covered by Captain Radcliffe with his handful of volunteer cavalry, who were admitted by all to have been mainly instrumental in saving the force; showing front continually and keeping the enemy's infantry from approaching too near. Some of the Europeans and of the sepoys behaved with much steadiness, loading and firing with deliberate aim on those of the enemy who came near. But none of them hurried on without making resistance. The

men of the 32nd besides their own complete exhaustion, suffered from another grievous disadvantage. Many of their muskets would not go off. They had been kept long loaded without having been discharged, and had become foul. During the retreat one of their officers called upon a private by name, and desired him to turn round and fire upon the enemy. "I will do so, sir, if you wish", said the man, "but it's no use. I have already snapped six caps and the piece won't go off". About this time Captain Stevens, 32nd, was wounded, and was seen to sit down by the road side, where he was soon overtaken by the mutineers and destroyed. The suburbs were now reached, and a short halt was made at a well to allow the men to drink, during which Captain Hardinge rallied some of the Seikh cavalry and brought them back. But he could not get them to face the pursuing enemy; and they soon again abandoned him and fled.

EUROPEANS FIND REFUGE IN MACHHI BHAWAN AND RESIDENCY

Our mounted officers rendered every aid to the wearied Europeans along the retreat, helping them on by holding them by the hand, or giving them a stirrup: and some taking them up behind. And in this way the suburbs were passed through, the Iron Bridge recrossed, and the Muchee Bhowun and Residency gained at length.

HOSPITALITY OF INDIAN VILLAGERS

Some kindness was shown to our men at different places in the suburbs, where women held out to them from their houses small porous vessels full of cool water, which was eagerly swallowed.

SEVERE LOSS TO ENGLISH

Our loss in this sad defeat was very severe. Besides the officers already named, Captain Maclean, 71st N. I., was killed, and several others wounded, including Captain James of the Commissariat, who received a bullet in the knee.

In artillery we lost the 8-inch howitzer, and three field-pieces, two of Brycc's and one of Alexander's battery, with almost all the ammunition-waggons of our native guns. The loss of European soldiers was very severe, the killed being 112, and the wounded 44, and not a few of the natives had

fallen, while more had deserted. The total number killed and missing was nearly 200.

ESTIMATE OF INDIAN FORCES AND AMMUNITION

The force of the mutineers, which consisted altogether of regiments stationed in the province, we could estimate with great precision.

They had the two 9-pounder batteries from Secrora and Fyzabad, each of six guns, making twelve pieces of artillery. They possessed besides, three or four small native guns, which could have been of no service in the field, and which they had obtained in the districts.

There were about 700 or 800 cavalry, made up of parties from the 15th Irregulars at Sultanpoor, and the three Oudh local regiments, Daly's, Gall's, and Hardinge's, with some of Weston's police troopers. Of infantry, there were the following corps :—

Native Infantry

The 22nd Regt. from Fyzabad only.

Oudh Irregular Infantry

A few men of the 1st, from Salone.
 The 2nd, from Secrora.
 The 3rd, from Gondah.
 The 5th, from Duriabad.
 The 6th, from Fyzabad.
 The 8th, from Sultanpoor.
 The 9th, from Seetapoor.

Military Police

The 1st Regt. from Sultanpoor.
 The 2nd Regt. from Seetapoor.
 making in all the 9¼ regiments of infantry.

These corps had all lost many men by desertion. Not a few had left, wishing to have no part in the mutiny; many more had departed to their homes laden with treasure. It would be a high estimate to reckon the average strength of a regiment at that time at 600 men. But adopting this, we have a total infantry force of 5500 men, 800 cavalry, and 160 artillery.

REVOLT OF THE 7TH AND 4TH REGIMENTS

When this engagement took place, besides the two main posts at the Residency and Muchee Bhowun, we had a force consisting of two and a half regiments of Irregular Infantry under Brigadier Gray at the *Dowlutkhana*, viz.: four Companies of the 1st, the 4th and the 7th Regiments. None of the men from these regiments had accompanied the force to Chinbut. The position which they held, though some small defences had been put up, was quite untenable against artillery; and the guns which had before been stationed at the *Dowlutkhana* had been removed. It need not therefore occasion surprise, that soon after receiving the news of our disaster, these regiments mutinied. The first to go was the 7th, the last was the 4th. The men broke out with loud shouts, and commenced plundering the property of their officers; upon which Brigadier Gray and his officers left the place without molestation from the men, and took refuge in the Muchee Bhowun.

POLICE IN IMAMBARA JOINS THE PATRIOTS

The police who filled the large *Imambara*, situated halfway between the *Dowlutkhana* and Muchee Bhowun, to which defences had been added, and which was protected by a few small wall-pieces, were not long after the Irregulars in joining the mutiny, and on the next day these wall-pieces opened on the Muchee Bhowun. There is, however, this excuse for them, that their position was incapable of defence against a regular force. The *Cotwal* fled, and concealed himself but ere long became a prisoner to the enemy; and was eventually put to death by them.

HEAVY FIRE FROM IRON BRIDGE ON THE REVOLUTIONARIES

The pursuing enemy were stopped at the Iron Bridge by the guns of the Redan battery, and at the Stone Bridge by the fire of the Muchee Bhowun. They opened fire upon both posts, however, from guns which they put in position across the river, and in no long time, getting the captured 8-inch howitzer into battery, they threw several shells into the Residency post. Numbers of their cavalry soon entered the city by fording the river lower down. Many of the infantry followed, guns were brought over; and by the afternoon we were com-

pletely invested. The mutineers got into many of the adjoining houses, which they rapidly loopholed and opened upon us before night a fire of musketry.

CONFUSION IN BRITISH CAMP

The defeat, the pursuit, and the investment of our posts had been so rapid and unexpected, that for some time all was confusion at the Residency. The three unfinished batteries on my side were covered with crowds of workpeople, men, women, and children, when the guns of our retiring force became louder and louder. So soon as the alarm of the coming foe was spread, all took to flight, and the works were abandoned. Many native servants took the opportunity of escaping; and everything which was the (at that) moment outside the line of works, was lost.¹

EFFECT OF THE BATTLE OF CHINHAT

SIEGE OF LUCKNOW COMMENCES

On the 30th June, 1857, after the disastrous affair at Chinhut, the siege of Lucknow commenced. The rebels exulted in having forced the European troops to retreat from the plains of Chinhut with heavy loss; carefully concealing that this retreat had been caused by the treachery and defection of the Native artillery men attached to the British Force. *The news of their victory spread far and wide into the district, anarchy and confusion commenced.*²

LAWRENCE'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ADVANCE ON CHINHAT

LAWRENCE ACCUSED OF A FALSE STEP

(In a brief Memoir of Sir Henry Lawrence, written by the author, a few years ago, the following note upon this subject is given, the correspondence being quoted from the originals in his possession). "Upon this subject, Mr. Gubbins has written in his book : 'Upon his death-bed Sir Henry referred

¹ Gubbins : "An Account of the Mutinies in Oudh" (London 1858), Pp. 181-191.

² Wylie : "The English Captives in Oudh" (London 1858), p. 16.

to the disaster at Chinhut, and said that he had acted against his own judgment from the fear of man. I have often inquired, but I never learnt the name of any one who had counselled the step which resulted in so severe a calamity". This may be true; but it is not quite the whole truth. It is probable that no one especially recommended this individual movement; but it is certain that Mr. Gubbins himself was continually urging Sir Henry Lawrence to send out a force to meet the enemy. But what he certainly did with respect to this particular affair was to ridicule the idea that the enemy were advancing in any formidable strength. When the news of the advance of the mutineers was first brought in, the circular that went round for the information of the chief officers of the garrison stated that the man who brought the information said he could not speak with certainty as to the numbers, but that he heard there were eight or nine regiments of Infantry and one of Cavalry, with twelve guns. Mr. Gubbins appended four notes of exclamation to the passage, and wrote beneath it, 'What stuff :—M. G.'; and not satisfied with this, endorsed the paper with the same words. But we now learn from Mr. Gubbins himself (*Mutinies in Oudh*, Pp. 189, 190) that the rebel force consisted of nine and half regiments of Infantry, twelve guns, and seven or eight hundred Cavalry. It must be added, in the cause of historic truth, that after the death of Sir Henry Lawrence, Brigadier Inglis took some pains to elicit the facts, and that letters were addressed to several staff-officers on the subject. One answered : 'I could not positively state that Mr. Gubbins addressed a letter to the late Sir Henry Lawrence urging him to send troops to Seetapore, or to Chinhut, or to Cawnpore, or anywhere else, but I have a decided, though general impression that he did do so; and, if I am not mistaken, Mahommedabad and Nawabgunje, on the Fyzabad road, might be included in the list of places to which Mr. Gubbins thought it would be beneficial to send troops. . . . I have so often heard Sir Henry Lawrence talk on this subject, especially dwelling on the pertinacity with which Mr. Gubbins pressed him, that I could, without much difficulty, show, if necessary, the line of argument the Brigadier-General adopted'. Another wrote : 'Several times the Brigadier-General (Lawrence) asked me how I could equip detachments of Europeans which Mr. Gubbins proposed sending to Seetapore, Cawnpore, Mulleabad,

(Malihabad) and Nawabgunje, and if it were possible to transport them within certain fixed times on elephants. On these occasions I perfectly remember Sir Henry appeared irritated and annoyed, and always pronounced such expeditions most rash, unsafe, and utterly impracticable. The feasibility of the proposed enterprises was openly discussed by all the members of the staff, both in Sir H. Lawrence's room, and often at his table, and I always heard that Mr. Gubbins had advocated the movements'. A third said, in reply : 'I have the honour to state, for the information of the Brigadier commanding at Lucknow (Inglis), that I perfectly remember that in the latter part of June last many letters were received by the late Sir H. M. Lawrence from Mr. Gubbins. Several of these letters were given me to read, but not all, as they did not belong to my department, but to that of the Military Secretary. I, however, generally heard the purport of them discussed, which was the advisability of sending an European force over to Cawnpore, at another time to Seetapore and Chinhut, and also the advantages to be gained by sending a force out to meet the rebel army at Nawabgunje. I always heard the late Brigadier General express himself as strongly opposed to the above movements'. And again another officer, who had peculiar opportunities of observation, said: 'Sir Henry Lawrence did from time to time complain to me that the indomitable personal courage of Mr. Gubbins, his excessive zeal and ardent temperament, had caused him to be the over-earnest, importunate, and too public advocate of military movements which, according to Sir Henry's personal judgment, could only have ended disastrously. He more than once deplored to me, as a calamity which weighed down his spirits, that owing to the chivalric ardour and the eloquent fervour with which Mr. Gubbins urged his views, and the publicity which he gave to them, the Finance Commissioner had come to be regarded by some of the more spirited and less experienced officers of the force, as the real man for the crisis.' 'Nothing further need be said to explain the meaning of Lawrence's dying words'.¹

¹ Kaye : "*Sepoy War in India*" Vol. III (London 1876) Appendix, Pp. 669-71.

CHAPTER THREE
REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT

CORONATION OF BIRJIS QADAR

Deposition of Ali Raza Beg, ex-Kotwal, before G. Carnegie, Deputy Commissioner, on 14.1.1860.

Q. What do you know of the power exercised by the Deflt. in respect of the Crowning of Brijis Kudr ?

A. There were two candidates for the throne amongst the younger members of the ex-Royal family who each had his partizans; the influence of Rajah Jey Lall and Mummoo Khan carried the day, and through their negotiations (sic, negotiations) with the mutineers, Brijis Kudr was crowned.

Mummoo Khan on being appointed to the *Dewan Khanah* became all powerful, and used to sleep in the Mahal's house. On frequent occasions I urged him to negotiate (negotiate) a peace, but he never attended to what I said. When the Kaiscrbagh fell and he and the Begum were fugitives in the Hosenabad, they made me write to General Outram offering to surrender. An answer came to the Begum to send me, and her papers to the General by 8 of that night, and that matters would be arranged, and promising that the troops should not advance further than the Residency for 5 days. Next day at noon Mummoo Khan came to me at Ali Nukkec's garden where I had taken refuge with Hushmut Ali, and said he could not restrain the sepoys who had made an attack from the Hosenabad on the British position, and so the chances of peace were at an end.¹

Deposition on oath of Joseph Johannes taken before G. Carnegie, Deputy Commissioner, on 12th January, 1860.

My deposition has been taken in detail in the case of Jey Lall Sing.

When I was confined in the Jail I used to hear that Mummoo Khan had it proclaimed by beat of drum that hence-

¹ "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Mammoo Khan". Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

forward his name and title was Ali Mahomed Khan, and it would be an offence to call him by his old name. I also heard that he prepared and sent off offerings to the King of Delhi; but Delhi fell before the messenger could reach. He therefore returned. On his arrival, Mummoo Khan gave out that orders had been received acknowledging Birjis Kudr as King, and salutes were fired accordingly.

ACCEPTING HIGH OFFICE

I heard in Jail that Shurruf-ood-Dowlah was appointed *Auib*, and Mummoo Khan to the *Dewan Khanah*, but every body knows that the latter used to give all the orders. Rewards used to be paid for Europeans' heads on a regular scale, and I remember hearing that a head and helmet were stuck up in the Akbaric gateway for a long time, which people said were General Outram's.¹

Deposition on Oath of Thakoer Doyal (Thakur Doyal), Private writer to the Begam, Hazrat Mahal, dated 17th January, 1860.

It was chiefly through, the instrumentality of Mummoo Khan that Birjis Kudr was crowned. For this he was made *Darogha* of the *Dewan Khanah* and he would have been made minister had he been fit for it. . . . The treasury and in fact every other department was under Mummoo Khan's order.²

Deposition of Abdul Razzaq, late Akhbar Navis of the Intelligence Dept. and formerly a Dewan under Wajid Ali Darogha, before G. Carnegie, Deputy Commissioner, Awadh.

Two or three days after the sepoys came into the city, Birjis Kudr was crowned by the united efforts of Mummoo Khan, Jey Lall, and the rebel officers. The following day I saw Mummoo Khan, Kazim Ali and Captain Sungum Sing, sitting in the house of the first named, receiving *nuzzers*. After 10 or 15 days the officers of state were appointed. Shurruf-ood-Dowlah got the Govt. of the country, & Mummoo Khan,

¹ "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Mammoo Khan". Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*

² "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Mammoo Khan". Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

the army and treasury, with Wajid Ali as his *Naib*. Mummoo Khan appointed Kazim Ali to the Magazine.¹

Deposition of Mir Yusuf, father and Darogha of the Shahenshah Mahal, taken on oath before G. Carnegie, Deputy Commissioner, on 12th January, 1860.

When the rebellion broke out Mummoo Khan and Jey Lall Sing made interests with the rebel sepoys & got Birjis Kudr put on the throne. Mummoo Khan was *Darogah* to Huzrut Mahal, and he got the *Dewan Khana* which made him all powerful. Shurruf-ood-Dowlah was appointed *Naib*, Jey Lall Collector and so on.Of the city notables who attended the court in the Chandee-Baradurree (Chandee Walee Baradari) the chief were, Mummoo Khan, Shurruf-ood-Dowlah & Jey Lall and the military officers used to throng there.²

CORONATION OF BIRJIS QADAR

(Another Version)

CHOICE OF THE NAWAB

A difference of opinion now arose as to who was to be set up as king; the Cavalry wishing for Sooliman Kudr, son of Mulka Ahud (Malika-i-Ahad); the Infantry and the Deft. (Rajah Jey Lall) for Brijis Kudr, on the ground that while any of them lived the throne was the birth-right of the ex-king's offspring, in subordination however to the Emperors of Delhie. The Deft.'s influence carried the day. His confidential Secretary, Matta Deen, who had served father and son many years, deposes to the Deft. taking a paper from the Begum to the rebel officers which he induced them to sign, and which the Begum kept as her *Sumud* (or title-deed). The Deft. then went to head the procession of rebel officers who were going to crown the puppet king, and he sent back the above named witness with a message to Mummoo Khan to say the officers were approaching and to prepare for the coronation, and he immediately followed with those officers and took a prominent part, in the ceremony, but more particularly in drawing out certain papers that were reduced to writing on the occasion.

¹ "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Mammoo Khan". Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

² "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Mammoo Khan". Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

He was also concerned in appointing the minister and other officers of state and for these services he received honors and substantial rewards.

ESTABLISHMENT OF COURT

That the Deft. was prominent in setting up the rebel Govern't. is corroborated by the evidence of Moonshi Wajid Ali, Syud Eusool, and to some extent by other witnesses. We next see him taking a leading part in looking after the fortifications and preparations, and in assembling the Court for the performance of Civil and Military work in organizing an Intelligence Department, and looking after the wounded. He is then found digging up the Treasure of the ex-minister Ali Nukkie Khan, and of the ex-*Nazim*, the Aghaie, for the benefit of the rebel *Durbar*, and he becomes the Jailor of the misguided individuals who deserted from the Baille Guard, and who were taken to him from the sepoy lines. We then find him forwarding these prisoners on the demand of Mummoo Khan for the avowed purpose of being murdered.

ROLE OF RAJA JAI LAL

Such is the evidence of the Deft.'s own *Moonshi* on whose statements some reliance may be placed, for he was the means of obtaining the release of some Christians, and the influence the Deft. exercised in setting up the rebel Govt. etc., is further proved by the before named Moonshi Wajid Ali, also a dependent of the Rajah, whose evidence is clear and conclusive. This last witness also deposes that the Rajah kept the rebels together by paying them with the money he dug up at Ali Nukkie Khan's house.

The Deft. pleads not guilty to this charge, but admits two points; 1st that he advised the minister to appoint a Court which was done, and he (the Deft.) used to enquire into petitions, lay them before this Court, and report the result to the minister; and 2nd, that at his suggestion a Jail was established of which he had charge, and on some occasions he sent up prisoners from his Jail on demand. He qualifies these two admissions by saying that his object in suggesting both institu-

There are two, of the names Wajid Ali and Meer Wajid Ali Darogha.

tions, was to protect person and property from the ravages of the sepoys, and more especially the lives of Christians.

The defence on this charge is not assisted by the witnesses cited, the more influential of whom go rather to damage the Deft.'s case, than otherwise; for they admit that he did act as a go-between; that at an early date after Chinhut he posted sepoy sentries round the Kaiser Bagh; that he was playing a prominent part at the coronation and that he had a Jail. Those of the witnesses, who are most favourable to the Deft. simply depose that they did not hear of his being a leader.

Taking things in the order in which they occurred, I have discussed the 3rd charge first and we cannot but consider every one of the distinct acts of leadership adverted to in that charge to be most fully proved by the evidence of which I have given a summary.....¹

Coronation of Birjis Qadar and Distribution of Khilats. Statement of Mir Wajid Ali Darogah Taken on the 8th of July, 1859.

MAULVI ESTABLISHES THANAS

After the battle of Chinhut the sepoys entered the city and general looting began. The Moulvie (Ahmadoolah Shah) entered the city with the rebels and endeavoured to establish his Thanas over the city, but did not succeed in making any arrangements.

COURT CONSTITUTED

On the 2nd or 3rd day a Court assembled in the Meerza Wala Kotce² (Weston's house) to see if something could not (?) be done. The officers of the army assembled this Court, and at once sent for Jeylal Singh in whose hands were (was) placed the charge of the city. He replied he could do nothing without Meerza Aly Ruza and Hader Hussein (Haider Husain) who were concealed. The Court gave him permission to search them out and attached a party of sepoys to him for the purpose of hunting them out. They were brought forcibly and the former was made *Kotwal* and the latter "Rounds" in-charge of

¹ "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Raja Jai Lal Singh. Govt. Decision". Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

² Kothi.

all the Patrols. Kassim Khan (*Ressaldar*) 12th Native Cavalry was placed over both, with orders to live at the same house as Aly Ruza. Kassim Khan did most of the work because the others were unwilling.

RIVAL CLAIMANTS

About this time or immediately afterwards I heard that the *Fauj Walas* wished to place Sooleman Kudr (Sulaiman Qadar) on the *Mussnud*, but that he refused; I then heard that Rajah Jeylal Singh went to the house of Kudr Nowsherwan (who was foolish) on the part of the army, to induce his grandmother to allow him to be set up.

BIRJIS QADAR'S CLAIMS

Having heard this I went to the door of Khas Muhul to see what was going on; when I reached close to the doorway of Amjee-o-Dowla¹ Wala I saw Mummoo Khan and Jeylal Singh standing and conversing, I heard Mummoo Khan say Bridges (Birjis Qadar) was the child of Wajid Aly Shah. If you are hunting for someone to put on the *Mussnud* you had much better place Bridges Kudr (Birjis Qadar) on. The Rajah answered I will go to the officers and return tomorrow with their answers. I told Jeylal Singh that it would be well to stop the sepoys from plundering and that the King's premises should escape. He said nothing could be done then. He would see about it the next day. The next day he went to the door of Huzrut Muhul and desired to be taken to the place where all the King's Muhuls could be assembled. Mummoo Khan took to the Khas Muhul and the Muhuls² all assembled; Huzrut Muhul sent for Khoord Muhul and Sooltan Muhul. I accompanied the two latter. The Rajah stated that all the officers of the army had sent their *Salams* and stated that they had come to help them, that the English had taken the country from the King and imprisoned the King and created all sorts of difficulties and that they now wished to place Bridges Kudr (Birjis Qadar) on the throne, that they should be satisfied with this arrangement.

¹ It appears to be wrongly spelt for Anjunn-ud-Daulah or Amjad-ud-daulah.

² Wives of Ex-King Wajid Ali Shah.

OBJECTIONS OF MAHALS

The Muhuls replied, that they had no choice whatever; their superior being in Calcutta, they were concerned that any thing should be done lest further difficulties should befall the King, that it was necessary to adopt such measures that would be beneficial to the King. The Muhuls were all chattering when Mummoo Khan stopped them and said everyone was satisfied. The Rajah rising said he would go and report their opinions to the "Officers". The next day he brought a Memo from the officers to be signed to the effect that all the *Muhuls* were *Rajee*¹ that Bridges Kudr (Birjis Qadar) should be placed on the *Mussnud*. Some of them took their seals with them, others went without their seals to the Khas Muhul. Khoord Muhul and Sooltan Muhul were sent for and on their reaching, Huzrut Muhul said, "This boy - Bridges Kudr (Birjis Qadar) is your son, it is necessary to sign this paper"; first of all Khoord Muhul and Sooltan Muhul began excuses when Huzrut Muhul said it was necessary for them to sign. (They replied) that as long as the King was alive they would not sign. Mummoo Khan and Huzrut Muhul affronted got up and left. Then all the Muhuls refused. Then Mummoo Khan and Jeylal Singh agreed that Huzrut Muhul should write and invite the officers to come to her and hear what she had to say.

Jeylal Singh took it and Mummoo Khan told Khan Aly Khan (who had come in with the forces from Mahmoodabad) to exert himself.

HUNT FOR TREASURE

The Rajah sent a message back that the officers would not come today; they would attend next day. Upon this Huzrut Muhul and Mummoo Khan sent for Hisam-o-Dowla and Mithdar-o-Dowla² and asked them where the Treasure was and on what terms they would give it; they said they had no rupees and that they would not give anyhow (sic.), that had they rupees there would be no necessity to sell silver to procure money as they were doing, that there was 4 lacs of silver in the Treasury, that they would not open it as the Tre-

¹ Agreed.

² Appears to be wrongly spelt for probably Miftah-ud-Daulah.

sury was sealed by Sahut-o-Dowla (Sehat-ud-Daulah) who could not be found. Hearing this Mummoo Khan said that if they would accompany him he would break the seals; after this Huzrut Muhul arrived and said as Mummoo Khan had done. Hisam-o-Dowla and Mithdar-o-Dowla accompanied Mummoo Khan, and the latter opened the doors and displayed all the property. They got silver and gold to the extent of 3 or 4 lacs. The next morning I heard that at the door of Sooltan Muhul officers of the army were approaching the Khas Muhul to see Huzrut Muhul. About the afternoon Jeylal Singh came, after him Khan Aly Khan then the Officers all came quietly; these two said that whatever was to take place must be determined today. They hunted for the Cushion handed down from Saadut Aly Khan's time upon which the Kings used to be placed. At that time Meer Kazim Aly offered congratulations around and said it was necessary to settle at once.

GADDI OBTAINED

Huzrut Muhul then ordered Jowahir Kuncceeh¹ to produce the *Guddee*²; she went and returned with it, and it was placed in the Chandee Wala Bara Durree and the ornaments, *Mundeel* and Crown were arranged so that if they made him *Naib* the *Mundeel* would be ready, but that if King, the Crown should be at hand. It rained heavily. About 30000 *Telingahs* came; but it could not be recognized who were sepoy or who officers. Others followed.

MEETING IN BARADARI

Thousands were assembled, the officers sitting in the Chandee Wala Bara Durree. I was present, also Sufter Aly (Saldar Ali), Meer Kazim Aly, Aga Meerza, Nusceb, Meer Madhee (Mehdee), Ahmed Hussein; Mummoo Khan, Bridges Kudr (Birjis Qadar) came from the *Mahal* (Palace) and occupied a chair. All the conversation that took place was between Meer Kazim Aly and Mummoo Khan who also spoke to Huzrut Muhul. She then addressed Jeylal Singh who was the spokesman with the Officers. I do not know what was said. The

¹ *Kaniz* (Slave Girl).

² The throne on which the Awadh Nawabs used to be crowned.

officers got up and consulted aside; from amongst them Shahab-udeen Khan (Shahab-uddin Khan) 15 I. C., Burkat Ahmed 15 I. C., Omorow Singh, Ragnath Singh (Raghunath Singh) etc. said there were three or four conditions which it was necessary for Huzrut Muhul to agree to, before they set up Bridges Kudr.

CONDITIONS PUT FORWARD BY ARMY

1st That orders from Delhi were to be obeyed and that whatever orders were received should be final.

2nd That the *Wazeer* should be selected by the army.

3rd That the officers to the Regiments be not appointed without the consent of the army.

4th That double pay was to be issued from the date of their leaving the English service.

5th That no interference should take place respecting the treatment and disposal of those who were friends to the English.

BIRJIS QADAR CROWNED AND NAZARS PRESENTED

After this these conditions were recorded separately. I do not know who wrote them out, there was such a crowd. Rajah Jeylal Singh took them up and raising his hand and voice said (By the Bye, I am not sure whether Juggut (Jagat) Singh or Jeylal was the person)--these were the conditions and he read them out. The conditions were handed over to Huzrut Muhul and the Seal of Bridges Kudr (Birjis Qadar) sent for. She sent it by the hands of Hussun Ruza Hakeem. But in the confusion he dropped it and in the crowd it was lost. The officers said it did not matter; it might be sealed afterwards if Jeylal Singh became security for the fulfilment of the conditions which he did. The officers said Bridges Kudr (Birjis Qadar) should be dressed in the *Mundeel* and that hereafter whatever orders came from Delhi should be final. Hearing this Shahab-udeen (Shahab-uddin) placed the *Mundeel* on Bridges Kudr. The officers offered their swords and guns as *Nuzurs*. After this the *Telingahs* made a meeting to see the ruler. Bridges Kudr (Birjis Qadar) got up in the

confusion from the *Mussnud* and getting into a *Howadar* returned to the *Mahal* (palace), where he entered. The *Telingahs* endeavoured to push after him. Kassim Khan (who was in charge of the city) placed sentries there; and he collected his sowars to stop the sepoy. (He) was standing at the door of Huzrut Muhul. She ordered Mushec-o-Dowla (Mushir-ud-daulah), Maharaja Bal Krishen to be sent for; he came. The Begum told them (him) that Bridges Kudr (Birjis Qadar) was set up, but that the arrangements had to be made. The Maharaja said he was being looted himself. What could he do? That he would return next day. Mummoo Khan, Kazim Aly and Huzrut Muhul's wishes were that Shruf-o-Dowla or else Murnowur-o-Dowla should be *Naib*. Next day the officers decided on the former and Kassim Khan without telling the Begum brought Shruf-o-Dowla and seated him in the Zurd Kothi. Hearing this Mummoo Khan said he would not remain; that without reference to him the above was about to be made *Naib*. After this Mummoo Khan said if Shruf-o-Dowla would give him the *Dewan Khana*, he would be satisfied. Then Shruf-o-Dowla said the Begum had sent for him, that he had nothing to do with that office Mummoo Khan wanted. They came to some agreement and then Shruf-o-Dowla went into the Khas Mukan and sat at the *Chilman*¹. The following were then present: Omorow Singh, Rugonath Singh, Nabob Singh Captain, Itamad Aly Khan Eunuch, Mukbool Aly. Mummoo Khan also went. We were all outside. Omorow Singh and others said aloud that the Nawab Shruf-o-Dowla had always been friendly to the *Sarkar* Begum, that he should be appointed *Naib*. I don't know what was done; but the Begum was willing, though Shruf-o-Dowla was not; the latter came out and went home. Five or six days afterwards arrangements were made for *Khe:lats* (khilats).

DISTRIBUTION OF KHILATS

Shruf-o-Dowla	<i>Naib</i>	17 pieces.
Mummoo ²	<i>Dewan Khana</i>	14 pieces.
Maharaja ³	<i>Dewan</i>	15 pieces.

¹ Perforated Screen.

² It should be Mammoo Khan.

³ Probably Maharaja Bal Krishna.

King". Then they said, "We put you some questions and will make you our ruler if you agree. The *first* is—We will submit a petition to the King of Delhi and then you will become our ruler, in case, he agrees. You will be called a King or a *Wazier* just as the King of Delhi chooses, and will have to make allegiance to him. *Secondly*—Our pay should be increased two-fold i.e., the *Tilangas* should now be given Rs. 12 and not 6 as before. *Thirdly*—All the officers of the *Paltan* should be appointed by our consent. *Fourthly*—The *Naib* and the *Diwan* will be appointed and dismissed by us and nothing will be done except by the orders of this Council or Court. *Fifthly*—All the arrears of pay we did not receive from the British will be given to us now".

All the above conditions were written down and Mirza Birjis Qadar's Seal was called for and Hakim Hasan Raza Khan went to bring it. But the first bad omen was that the Seal was lost in this confusion. Then it was decided that the paper should be left behind for the next day. The Officers of the army said that one paper was not enough, and suggested that every one of them should have a sealed copy. Accordingly the seals of Mudabbir-uddaulah and Dabir-uddaulah and of all other office-bearers were affixed and then it was handed over to those officers. Then there was a difference of opinion as to when he should be placed on the throne. Mammoo Khan was not sure of the enthrone-ment day; but the officers attached no importance to the matter and did it the same day in a playful mood.

Although Miftahuddulah suggested to the Queen to postpone it for an auspicious hour, as it was the evening following Monday and the moon was in Scorpio, but Mammoo Khan snubbed him saying that he was habituated to idle talks and useless suggestions. Thus a few minutes before sunset the King was crowned; and the astrologers prophesied that his reign would be short. Shihab Uddin and Barkat Ahmad, the *Risaldars* of the *Risala* placed the crown on Birjis Qadar's head and offered congratulations. The officers offered their swords as *Nazar*. Jahangir Bakhsh, *Subedar* of Fyzabad artillery, fired 21 gun shots according to custom. The whole city resounded with the news of enthrone-ment.¹

¹ "Qaisar-ut-Tawarikh" Vol. II, p. 225

ZAICHA OF JULUS

(*Horoscope of the Enthronement*)

It was so hot that Mirza Birjis Qadar had to leave his seat and come outside riding the *Tamjam*. The *Tilangas* began to fire cartridges in place of offering *Salami*. Mirza Birjis Qadar entered the palace frightened and the firing of the guns caused some consternation there. The *Tilangas* wanted to force entrance into the palace. Upon this, Qasim Khan *Naib Risaldar* set guards but nobody desisted. Then all of a sudden, the Company of Ghamandi Singh *Subedar* came up with loud protestations; as their *Subedar* had not been invited and consulted at the time of enthronement, they would not agree to his succession, hence they would remove their troops from the entrenchments at the Bailly Guard. Other officers did their best to appease their anger; but they did not listen. At last, they appeased them with the promise that their *Subedar* would be invited the next day and every satisfaction would be given to him. Then an announcement was made in the city as follows :—

“God’s world, King of Delhi’s Kingdom; Mirza Birjis Qadar orders that nobody shall plunder any more, otherwise he will be punished”. But plundering still continued as before.

The next day an announcement was made that all foot-soldiers, horsemen, gunners and officers of the late King thrown out of employment should present themselves at the royal residence for reinstatement. Thereupon all the *Wasiqadars* and pensioners, old and new, presented themselves armed and ready to sacrifice their lives. Some soldiers including Englishmen who had happened to stay outside the Bailly Guard also participated from fear. Consequently, an undertaking was taken from the officers of the army and hunger-stricken *sipahis* (soldiers) that they would not demand pay till the rebel Govt. was fully established. The artillery men were posted at different entrenchments (*Morchas*). They set up their pieces at the proper places and made best efforts. They brought the big cannon called *Narak Munh* from Charbagh, dragged by 14 pairs of bullocks and set it up at the Gola Gunj *Morcha* (entrenchment). They took great pride in bringing such a heavy piece of artillery which even the Englishmen failed to bring in. They fired it

twice or thrice but it did not work later. Perhaps it was rendered ineffective by the loss of its sides.¹

Written Statement of Matta Deen (Mata Din), Moonshi of Rajah Jey (Jai) Lall Singh, taken on 5th July, 1859.

I was first of all a servant of Galib Jung, father of Rajah Jeylal Sing. When Galib Jung died I was employed by his son Nusrut Jung. When Oudh was first annexed I was unemployed for sometime, afterwards Rajah Jeylal Sing sent for & gave me service. I was employed by him as a *Mookhteyar* and when the rebels entered the city after Chinhut I went home; I did not go to Rajah Jeylal Sing for one day & one night; the 3rd^d day Rajah Jeylal Sing went to the Officers of the rebel army. One day the Rajah was at the tent of Jangeer Bux (Jahangir Bakhsh) of the artillery in the Chopper Stables; When he came out I presented myself. He said 'remain present'; from that day I did so.

After that by the means of the Rajah commenced the negotiations for putting Birjis Kudr on the *Mussnud*. He took a paper from the Begum to the Officers of the rebel army and induced them to sign it. The Begum retained this paper as a sort of *sunnud*. She was highly pleased with the Rajah and all the conditions including pay etc. required by the rebels were signed by the Begum. They then chose a propitious moment and all the officers attended at a council assembled in the Tara Kothi. At that time one Hindoo & a Mahomedan (names I don't remember) arrived with a document from Mustafe Aly Khan, Brother of the Ex-King, setting forth that he was the rightful head of the Government. Rajah Jeylal Sing read this paper before the assembled councillors. The Officers requested Jeylal Sing to frame an answer. The Rajah answered that it depended on the Officers; whatever they determined would be proper but that they must give him an answer to take to the Begum but that there would be a great difference between their words (i.e., that his intentions were quite opposed to that). The Officers, Rugonet Sing

¹ "*Quisar-ul-Tawarikh*", Pp. 226-227.

² Marginal note... "Chinhut (sic.) was on Tuesday. I was then with the Raja at his house here. Afterwards I heard some one calling him and went to the mutineers on the Thursday".

(Raghunath Singh), Omorow Sing (Umrao Singh), and others made some sort of agreement with the Rajah and agreed to return Mustafe Aly's paper. They got up and told the Rajah to communicate with the Begum that they were coming to place Birjis Kudr on the *Mussnud*. The Rajah sent me and Meer Hussoo to run on and inform Mummoo Khan. I was on foot & did not reach. Meer Hussoo gave the necessary information. Mummoo Khan came out to the *Jellookhana* and taking the Officers seated them in the Chandee Wala Baradurree. Hissam-od-Dowla mounted Birjis Kudr and brought him; all *Salammed*¹ to him. They delayed a short time talking, signing papers. Rajah Jeylal Sing, Rajah Jowalla Persad *Moonshi* and many Officers went (out) separate (ly) to write out fair, the *Wajib-ul-Urz*. Burkat Ahmed *Ressaldar* 15 Ir. C. kicked up a row at the delay; a little before sunset the rebel Officers took *Mundeel* and with five Syeds (whose names I don't know) bound it on his head. Salutes of Cannon and Musketry were fired, *Nuzurs* were presented. The Officers returned to their lines. Jeylal Sing also went home.

The next morning the *Durbar* commenced. The requirements of the army such as Powder, Amn. (ammunition) Magazine, Stores' Supplies, were provided by the Rajah under the order of the Begum. Shruf-od-Dowla was by the exertions of Jeylal Sing & the consent of the army appointed *Naib*.

Hissam-od-Dowla, General
 Moosheer-od-Dowla, *Dewan*
 Rajah Jowalla Persad, *Moonshi*

REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

The recruiting business of the army went on. Jeylal Sing received a *Khulut* of *Surufraze*, also of *Chuckledaree* of Durriabad, and the control of 4 Regts. and 1 *Ressala* with 6 or 7 guns. The Rajah began to raise men. He appointed the following to the comd. (command) of Regts.

Meer Hussoo	}	<i>Karindas</i> of Partab Sing
Baboo Jai Ram Sing		
Ram Partab Sing, nephew of Raja By Shes Umber Sing ² .		

¹ Saluted.

² Appears to be spelt for Bishambhar Singh.

Brother-in-Law of Juggut Sing was made *Meer Moonshi*. *Ressalahs* were raised.

FUNCTIONING OF THE COURT

When assaults were made upon the Baillee-Guard he used his own Regts. as well as the others. He began to look after the entrenchments. When the Court assembled the Rajah used to go and bring the other officers to agree with him. All civil work and financial work, Government of the city, the distribution of troops, granting Commissions were all done in the Court. When the Court assembled at the Begum's door or at the Nawab Shruf-od-Dowla's then all the members of the Govt. used to attend as well as the Comdts. When the Court assembled at the lines then only Jeylal Sing used to attend. Sometimes Dara Khan & Kasim Aly etc. used to attend on behalf of Mummoo Khan.

When Rajah Jeylal Sing used to attend sometimes I, sometimes Wajid Aly, sometimes other *Mutsuddees* with the papers to be laid before the Court used to attend. Rajah Jeylal Sing got the Court to grant a "*Moaffer*" to Golam Ruza (Ghulam Raza) Shruf-od-Dowla.

The arrangements for assaults used to be made in Rugonat Sing's house when the time and favourable moments for attacks were fixed.

RAJA JAI LAI SINGH'S ASSIGNMENT

Rajah Jeylal used to send *cossud* (Messenger) and inform all the absenties from the Court. The Rajah himself used to attend in these attacks. Scaling-ladders, cotton bales, used to be sent often on the assault days by the Rajah. All mining implements also went through the Rajah. *Baidars* and labourers, used to be told off by the Rajah for the different entrenchments.

Hurkarahs were also appointed for the intelligence of wounded and killed &c. The lists were framed by the Rajah and sent sometimes to Mummoo Khan but generally to Shruf-od-Dowla, grants &c. were distributed by Mummoo Khan.

ACQUISITION OF WEALTH FROM ALI NAQI'S HOUSE

When the rebels made a great fuss about pay then

Mummoo Khan and Rajah Jeylal Sing went and dug up rupees, gold *Mohurs* &c. from Aly Nukee Khan's House, and brought them into the expenses (exchequer) and disbursed in pay whatever was absolutely necessary. The Rebel Soldiery held on. Once Jeylal Sing, Meer Hussoo, a *Mutsuddee* and *Chobdar* of the *Dewan Khana*, names unknown, went to the Arghai's house in Narkass¹ & dug up 1,000 gold *Mohurs*, 29 or 30,000 rupees, one *Khasdan*, 1 gold Spitoon. The *Chobdar* informed and this was all made over to the Begum. I was with the Rajah that day and all this property came out of a copper vessel and all the deserters from the Baillee-Guard were first of all seized and taken by the lines and then sent to Rajah Jeylal's *Jail-khana*. People accused of being spies etc. were also sent in.

MAINTENANCE OF PRISONS AND DISPOSAL OF PRISONERS

Mummoo Khan also had a prison. People with English letters, were dealt with, imprisoned by Mummoo Khan. The prisoners who were with Rajah Jeylal used to be dealt with generally by the Rajah. The deposition writers were myself and Moulvie Abdool Rujie (Razi) of Futtey Gunge (Fatch Ganj); the security of the jail was under Gungu Sing, *Tomonder* (or *Jamadar*) (who lives outside somewhere); the management of supplies for the prisoners was in the hands of Ram Seran *Darogah*, a nephew of the Rajah. Meer Hussoo used sometimes to interrogate the prisoners; whoever of the prisoners the Rajah chose to release he released. Often on the written request of the Officers of the army, prisoners were released. sometimes they were sent to the writers of these chits. One night the Rajah took out a *dow*² and arrested Lalta Persad now *Sheristadar* of the Judicial Commr. with 12 other people and it was stated that he did so because this man was an English official. *He did likewise all the arrangements for supplies*; after sometime Lalta Persad was released either through bribery or otherwise, I don't know how, by Meer Hussoo's exertions. One *Darogah* belonging to the garden of Nawab Munnowur-od-Dowla was arrested by Rugonet Sing on the

¹ Apparently *Nakkhas*---a Mohalla in the city of Lucknow.

² Made a round with a police party.

charge of sending supplies to the Baillee-Guard. This *Darogah* gave information which led to the apprehension of Nawab Munnour-od-Dowla, who was placed in confinement by Mummoo Khan. I do not know how he was released. Rajah Jeylal Sing I think released the *Darogah*.

Long Sahib (Arson) with the wife of Abdool Hussien Alias Jacob with many *Kiranees* & Christians were (? was) confined in the Rajah's jail.

MURDER OF ENGLISH CAPTIVES

One day a *Chobdar* of Mummoo Khan came to Rajah Jeylal Sing to request that all the *Kiranees* & Christians be at once sent to him (the *Chobdar* said further) with the purpose of being murdered. The Rajah, Jeylal, ordered me to send all the Christians together with a list of their names with the *Chobdar* to Mummoo Khan. I picked out 15 individuals and on the 2nd day after this I heard that they had been murdered with the *Sahib Logue*, the day after they were sent.

I begged, recommended and explained to the Rajah until I got permission to arrange the release of Long Sahib and Jacob's wife. When the English forces reached near the Dill-Khooshah (Dilkusha), Mummoo Khan sent (word) to the Rajah to hand (over) all his prisoners. Rajah Jeylal Sing several times sent in to Mummoo Khan batches of prisoners with the lists of their names etc. The *Roubakaree* of these prisoners was in the Rajah's *duster* and I have it not here. Moreover a long time has elapsed; but to the best of my recollection 80, 90 or 100 prisoners must altogether from first to last have been sent in to Mummoo Khan. The day Long Sahib was released, 15 were sent to Mummoo Khan.

JAILLAL'S ALERTNESS ON THE ENTRENCHMENT

When the English reached Alum Bagh and the fighting commenced, the Rajah was appointed to look after and secure the entrenched works. He made his resting place, the *Kurbulla* at Tal Kutora. He was there day & night. When it was necessary or he received a summon then only he left the entrenchments, but he always returned there straight as soon as his work was over; he never went home.

Shewdeen Lal of Newabgunge on the part of the Rajah and Missry Sing *Ressaldar*, 3rd Oudh Irr. Force, were put in charge of the safety & superintendence of the Cawnpore road. Sometimes the Rajah himself used to go out along the road. Once¹ I remember the Rajah on one of his patrolling excursions cut off and brought in the head of some Road Supdt. or Electric Telegraph official; the Rajah sent this head by the hands of Baboo Jai Ram Sing his son-in-law to the Begum. I do not know if he got anything in reward or not.

MURDER OF BRITISHERS

At first (after Chinhui) when the rebels reached the Tara Kothce, the next morning some *Mem Sahib* was concealed near the printing press (Central Star); the *Telingahs* brought her out and murdered her on the road near the house of Bunda Aly Khan and Amjud Aly Shah's *Emambara* on the *Rumna* of the Motce Mahul. *Sahib Logue* were murdered twice—once the *Sahib Logue* brought in from Dourerah² were murdered the night before General Outram arrived. I do not know their names. Captain Orr & others who came in from Mithowlee³ were murdered the day the Lord Sahib reached the Dill-Khosscha (Dilkusha). I heard that when Captain Orr was murdered, Mukdoom Bux, Bahader Aly, Shujat Aly, Officers of the rebels were present. I heard this in Rajah Nusrut Jung's (Rajah Jeylal Sing's brother) garden. I do not remember where the Rajah was the day Captain Orr was murdered. He must have been either at the *Kurbulla* Tal-Kutora, or at some of the batteries or at the *Durbar* I cannot say which. I do not know whether the Rajah was concerned in the proceedings of the council or not, nor do I know whether on this occasion the council came to an understanding with the Rajah or not.

¹ Note on the margin of the Original—'I remember hearing that a Sawar had come from the Raja's camp at Tal Katora with a message to his nephew Jey Ram from the Rajah to the effect that he was sending in a head and for Jey Ram to present it. Jey Ram at once got ready and went and presented the head to the Begum. She heard all this'.

² *Dourerah* or *Dhaurerah*—Is in *Mohanlalganj* Pargana of Lucknow District on the bank of the Gomti about 19 miles to the south of Amethi.

³ *Mithowlee* or *Mitauli*—Mitauli estate in *Sitapur* comprised almost all Maholi and a large part of the rest of Tahsil *Misrikh*.

COLLECTION OF REVENUE

When the troops became very clamourous for pay the Rajah was ordered to collect money in the Darriabad *Elaka*; he was engaged there when Lucknow was finally taken. He then advanced to Korseec collecting as many men as he could to fight. When the English force reached there he was defeated and fled. I heard this afterwards. I was not with the Rajah at the time & I did not leave the city.

NANA'S VISIT TO LUCKNOW

When Nana Rao came to Lucknow the Rajah's brother Rugbur Dyal and Gopal Rao *Buxshi* went to the banks of the Ganges to fetch him. The Nana gave to the Rajah's brother *Khulut*, and the Begum also presented the Rajah one. The *Buxshi* got a *Rumal* from the Rajah. Rajah Bencee Mahadoc (Madho) another brother had the management at Jounpore and Azimghur and Khodah Bux Dadrecwala was also employed from there.

Rajah Bencee Mahadoc who had gone to Azimghur was defeated there and fled. The Rajah, Jeylal Sing, took an advance of 25,000 from the Begum for the purpose of securing the approaches from Jounpore & Azimghurh.

Wit : re-examined—Defit. and his brother Rugbur Dyal became enemies after annexation. Rugbur Dyal & Nusrut Jung were the children of one mother, and Defit. & Bene Madho of another. During the rebellion all lived in the same house here, but they had their separate apartments and Rugbur Dyal & the Defit. had no concern with each other; Nusrut Jung who was on Rugbur's side used to communicate with both—and both the younger brothers used to go to Court under the Defit.'s wing, and all orders of the Court used to be issued to the Defit., so he must have sent his brother to meet the Nana instead of going himself.¹

¹ "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Raja Jai Lal Singh". Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

Statement of Moonshi Wajid Ali (Munshi Wajid Ali), 4th Police Infantry taken on 29th June, 1859.

JAI LAL AND THE ARMY OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES

I used to instruct Rajah Jeylall Sing in the science of medicine and at the time of the rebellion used to go backwards and forwards to him. I had no work under my charge. When the rebel force came in from Chinhut and surrounded the Baillee Guard, Rajah Jeylall Sing used of his own accord to go to the officers of the army, and undertook altogether the duty of supplying the army; thus great friendship between them was produced.

FORMATION OF REVOLUTIONARY COURT

The rebel sepoys used to loot in the city and one would seize and bring away another. Moreover one day 6 *Goolundauze* of Captain Jehungeer Bux's (Jahangir Bakhsh) Company from Colonel Gunge were seized by the *Telungahs* of some Regt. The above Captain became very angry and said "Why should my *Goolundauze* be seized? All the army are looting, I shall remove my guns away altogether". The Rajah, Jeylall, hearing this explained and said that it would be bad to have any squabble, but if a court was to be formed so that business be properly conducted according to the wishes of the army and every one agreed to obey it, all would go well.

The whole of the officers then made Jeylall the Head Officer of the court and it was agreed that this court should do something towards getting up a head, so that things should be properly managed in the name of a *Rais* and Pay Magazine (sic,) and every thing be looked after.

JAI LAL MAKES EFFORTS TO ENTHRONE BIRJIS QADAR

Some said one thing some another. To this Burkat Ahmed Regt. 15 Irr. Cavr. proposed to put Mulika Ahud's son on the *Mussnud*. Some said Mulika Gaitee's son would do best, but Rajah Jeylall was much interested in putting up Birjis Kudr. He arranged with Huzrut Muhal to give him 4 Regts., a Battery, 1 *Resalla* and the *Flakas* of Deroouabad¹,

Apparently, spelt for *Dariabad* in *Barabanki* Distt.

Redowlee (Rudaoli)¹, Azimghur, Joanpore for setting up Birjis Kudr.

APPOINTMENT OF OFFICERS

He arranged with Raj Mund Tevarree, (Raj Mand Tiwari), 22 N. I. (Bole) Omorow Sing (Barlow Corps) Ragonet (Raghunath) Sing (Police Battn.) Nepaul Sing (Fidda Hussun's Regt.), Osan Sing², Mukdoom Bux for establishing Birjis Kudr. The second day after this the following officers were nominated to office according to the advice of Rajah Jeylall Sing. Shrufod-Dowlah *Naib*, Meer Kazim, *Darogah* of Magazine, Hissamod-Dowlah, General. Besides what is stated as having been agreed upon for the Rajah Jeylall Sing he was made *Darogah* of *Dewan Khana*. But he did not take it up and Mummo Khan received it. Besides this the prisoners—Christians, half castes &c. were put into Golan Hussun's *mukan*³ under the latter.

RAJA JAI LAL AS WAR MINISTER

The making, repairing, digging entrenchments, mines, supplies, labourers, scaling-ladders were all under Jeylall Sing; he used also to go to superintend the attacks and neither court nor assault could take place without Jeylall's consent.

The safety of the road from Lucknow to Cawnpore was under him. Once (witness says that the Rajah used frequently to send his subordinates, Sewdeen and Sew Ruttun Sing out patrolling, but on this occasion he went himself with Sewdeen. Misree Sing was of the party) I remember the Rajah with Sewdeen Rao his *Karindah*, inhabitant of Nawabgunge, and some sowars of Hardinge's Horse went out partially towards Cawnpore, when near Bunnee somewhere they fell upon a *Sahib* who was putting up the telegraph wire; they caught him. The *Sahib* is said to have given all the valuables he had to escape death; they took them and then cut his head off which together with a cart-load of wire they brought in to the Begum and asked for a reward for their deed.

¹ Redowlee or Rudaoli—It is 2 miles south-west from Kheta Sarai in Jaunpur District.

² Probably Ausan Singh.

I do not know whether they ever got any reward. The time of this occurrence was when the Camp was at Alum Bagh after the withdrawal from the Baillie Guard.

MURDER OF EUROPEANS

Q. How many times were *Sahib Logue* murdered at Lucknow ?

A. Twice : once, and the first time some were sent in from Dourerah, and the second time some were sent in by the Rajah of Mitowlee; amongst the latter were Captain Orr and an officer from Shalhchanpore, several ladies, one of whom was in the family way. The latter batch had been confined in Rustom-od-Dowlah's *Kothee* in the Kaisar Bagh and the day General Outram's force marched from Alum Bagh for the canal and the rebels were driven in, they got together a court at the *Durra Dowlat*. There were present Mukdoom Bux and many officers of the army, Shruf-od-Dowlah, Mummoo Khan, Rajah Jeylall Sing, Bahadur Aly, Ragonet Sing (Raghunath Singh) Omorow Sing etc. They took counsel that the English were close and the prisoners might escape. It would therefore be better to kill them.

The second reason is that when Mymood (Mahmud) Khan, the *Kootwal* heard that the English forces were approaching he was seen to laugh and look pleased. Upon this the officers of the Begum viz., Mummoo Khan, Meer Kazim Aly, Rajah Jeylall Sing etc., also the other officers of the army showed grief. A court assembled about noon to deliberate upon this.

CARTRIDGES FILLED WITH BHUSA

The reason Capt. Orr was murdered was this. While the fighting was going on between the rebels and the British forces at Dillkhoosha the former discovered that some of the cartridges had been filled with *Boosa* instead of powder. This irritated the sepoys very much and many assembled and charging Mummoo Khan, Meer Kazim Aly, Wajjid Aly, and others with treachery and saving the British officers, clamoured for the lives of all.

NAIB OF DAROGHA OF MAGAZINE BUTCHERED

These men could not be found, but the sepoy got hold of Mymood Aly, *Naib* of Meer Kazim Aly, *darogah* of the Magazine and cut off both his hands, then they shot him. Then they got hold of Captain Orr and others and murdered them too. Beyond this I cannot say; but I knew that there was a court assembled that day about the destruction of the captives, for Rajah Jeylall Sing told me this himself.

Q. Whose two children were those who were seized and imprisoned with the Rajah? You always stopped there you must know.

A. The Rajah used to move about to collect loot, and to seize Govt. servants and *Keranees*. On one occasion he seized the two grand daughters of Mr. Hare of Bazar Jowlall (Jhau Lal) one about 7 or 8 years old, the other about 5 years and sent them on to the Begum. These two children were murdered along with the first batch who were killed; I am sure these children were seized by the Rajah but I did not see it with my own eyes.

Q. Were any of those who were in the Rajah's *Jail Khana* murdered?

A. Several times prisoners were sent on from the Rajah's Jail to the Begum's Durbar. I heard that once a lot of the Christians and *Keranees* who had been sent in were murdered. Abdool Ruzac (Abdul Razzaq) was the Rajah's agent for looking after the Jail.

NANA BROUGHT BY JAI LAL TO LUCKNOW

Q. How was it Nana Rao came to Lucknow and who brought him there?

A. I only know this that Rajah Jeylall Sing, Rugbur Dyal and Nusrut Jung his brothers, went to Futteypore Chowrassce¹ and brought the Nana over and put him upon the *Dowlut Khana* and sent carpets, flowers and other articles, from his own house for the Nana's use. For all these attentions the

¹ *Fatchpur-Chaurasi*, Pargana *Fatchpur* Tahsil *Safipur* Distt. *Unao*—Six miles north-west of Safipur and twenty-five miles north-west of Unao, about two miles south of the road from Unao to Bangarnau and on the north bank of the river Kalyani, in latitude 26° 47' north and longitude 80° 16' east. (*District Gazetteers*, Unao, p. 171).

Nana gave Rajah Jeylall and Rugbur Dyal *Khiluts*. The Rajah or his brother Rugbur Dyal used to go every 2 or 3 days to make enquiries after the Nana's health.

COLLECTION OF REVENUE

Before the victory at Lucknow the treasury was low and money was required for the pay of the army. The Rajah therefore went off to Duriabad to make collections. During this period the British rule was re-established and when he heard this, he collected all his own forces and got together as many as he could of those who fled from Lucknow at Korsees. The Begum had gone off towards Bitowlee¹; he wrote to her that he had advanced and would soon assault and re-take Lucknow. A British force however approached from Lucknow defeating the Rajah with a loss of 18 guns and driving him to fly up to Bitowlee.

DIGGING OF TREASURE

He used always to dig all over the city whenever he heard of buried treasure or rupees.

Moreover he dug up many lacs of rupees out of Aly Nuke Khan's house and disbursed them to the army to keep them together.

Q. Does any one else know about the cutting off the head near Bunnee² and bringing it on ?

A. Yes. Mattadeen *Moonshi* knows and I am pretty sure that the following are also acquainted:

Neaz Beg, Missree Sing, two officers of Hardinge's Irregular Cav. (Cavalry).

I suspect also that Reazooden Hussien the *Mooktyar*

¹ *Bhitauli*, Pargana *Bhitauli* Tahsil *Fatehpur* Dist. *Barabanki*—The place which gives its name to the pargana is a small village, at a distance of 30 miles from Nawabganj and seven miles north of Ramnagar, in latitude 27° 11' north and longitude 81° 25' east. The village is in a most inaccessible situation, being on the north bank of the Chauka, a few miles above the confluence of that river with the Ghagra, Bahramghat being some five miles distant. (*District Gazetteers*, Barabanki 1904, p. 193).

² *Bunee* or *Bani* (in Lucknow District)—It is a village situated on the Lucknow-Kanpur Road at a distance of about 17 miles from Lucknow lying on the left side of the river Sai which serves as the boundary between the two districts of Lucknow and Unnao.

of the Rajah of Bulrampore must know for Rajah Jeylall Sing's people were always with him and he was concerned in giving intelligence to the Rajah Jeylall of where the Argai's valuables were buried which were afterwards dug up and looted, a portion of the spoils being given to him as a reward. He was in the Rajah's employ though in no regular office.¹

Extract from Sarfaraz Begam's letter addressed to Jan-i-Jan Begam.

.....The state of affairs at Lucknow after Sultan Alam's (Wajid Ali Shah's) departure is veering more and more towards destruction every day. Fresh disturbances crop up as there is no power to coerce them. Awful and heart-rending rumours are afloat. *Tilangas* have thrown Lucknow into great convulsion.

MAULVI ESTABLISHES POLICE POSTS

Reaching from Fyzabad Maulvi Ahmad Ullah Shah has put a stop to these activities of pillage and plunder and has set up police posts. He has a considerable following of pig-headed persons. On the other hand, the well-wishers of the *Sultan Alam* wish it not for the throne to remain vacant. Mirza Dara Sitwat was proposed for Kingship against a demand of 3 lacs as *Nuzrana* from him. But he said, "When Nawab Shuja-uddaulah failed to stand against the English, how could we succeed"? Raja Jawahar Singh, son of Darshan Singh, reaching the *Deorhi* of Khas Mahal proposed setting up Mirza Nausherwan Qadar on the throne but Shamsheer-uddaulah, the *Darogha*, pointing out the helplessness of the boy replied that was not possible without the permission of the King and Nawab Khas Mahal.

BEGAMS HESITATE TO CROWN BIRJIS QADAR

Mahmud Khan and Shaikh Ahmad Husain then proposed Mirza Birjis Qadar's name to Raja Man Singh and Jawahar Singh. He replied that the army was willing to accept him as such provided no objection comes forth from the King's wives. Then Mahmud Khan took the Raja with

¹ "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Raja Jai Lal Singh". Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

him and sent for Mir Wajid Ali. All the Begums gathered in assembly. Some of them said, "It would not bid well to crown another person, while the King Wajid Ali Shah was still alive". It was all within my ears' reach. Others said, 'The King's son was going to ascend the throne in the former's life time only to get back the Kingdom for his father'. I was listening to this conversation.

HAZRAT MAHAL PLEADS FOR HER SON

Then with folded hands Hazrat Begam addressed the other Begams thus, "He is your own son. Do as you think best". Nawab Khurd Mahal, thereupon, wisely retorted, "If we ditto your proposal, how will the matters stand if the Englishmen put Wajid Ali Shah to death in Calcutta"? The Raja then took leave leaving Hazrat Mahal in disappointment. But Mahmud Khan persisted in his efforts. He could prevail upon Hazrat Mahal in sending letters to the Chiefs of the army.

BIRJIS QADAR CROWNED

On Sunday, 12th *Ziqaad* 1273 A. H. (4th July, 1857) when it was raining heavily, the Raja accompanied by the Chiefs of the army came and sat in the Qasar-ul-Khaqan. Mirza Ramzan Ali Khan alias Mirza Birjis Qadar came there riding the King's *Tamjam* and occupied the royal throne. His accession brought forth varying comments from amongst the gathering. Some said "He was too young". Others got apprehensive of his falling a prey to a licentious life. At last, Shihabuddin and Saiyid Barkat Ahmad of the 15th *Risala* placed the *Mandil* on Birjis Qadar's head. Congratulations were showered and the Military Officers saluted with their swords. Jahangir Bakhsh, *Subedar* of Fyzabad artillery fired 21 salutes. The whole city resounded with the happy news of his accession. It was terribly hot.

DISTRIBUTION OF KHILATS TO OFFICERS

Mirza Birjis Qadar then went inside the palace. Ghamandi Singh, *Subedar*, indulged in large talks, Hisam-uddaulah was proposed for *Naib Diwan's* post but he did not agree. Then Shahenshah Mahal proposed it for Mifial-uddaulah, who too declined. Then Sharf-uddaulah Mohd. Ibrahim

Khan's name was proposed. Mammoo Khan got infuriated at this proposal only to be reconciled later on. Eleven gold *mohars* were offered as *nazar* to the Begam which Nawab Hisam-uddaulah himself placed into the hands of the Begam. Saiyid Barkat Ahmad, Qasim Jan offered praise for him and the next day Birjis Qadar honoured him with the robes of deputyship or *Nayabat*. Maharaja Bal Krishna was dignified with the robe of *Diwani*. The third *Khilaat* of *Kotwali* was given to Ali Raza Beg, the fourth of the Superintendent of *Raund* (रौंद) to Mir Yawar Husain, the fifth of *Jarnaili* (generalship) to Hisam-uddaulah Bahadur. Then *Nazars* were offered to Mirza Birjis Qadar, Hazrat Mahal and Shahenshah Mahal. Then Mammoo Khan, Ali Mohd. Khan, the *Darogha* of *Diwan-i-Khas* left the place. Ameer Haidar was appointed *Munshi* of *Kachehri Khas*, Mir Wajid Ali, *Darogha Deorhiat* (Superintendent of the palaces of Begams) and *Akhbar Mulki* (news writer's office) to Mohd. Husain Khan, son-in-law of Nawab Sharf-uddaulah. General Hisam-uddaulah was commissioned to recruit 13 *Paltans* of *Najibs*.

ATTACK ON BAILLY GUARD BEGINS

The fight with the English then began and the Bailly Guard where all the Englishmen had assembled was attacked. Maulvi Ahmad Ullah Shah's extraordinary valour helped him to reach the gate of the Bailly Guard. But he came back wounded as he was alone. I have left the palace and taken residence in the city. Please pass this letter on to the King who is interned in the fort.¹

Extract from Shaida Begam's letter to Wajid Ali Shah.

HAZRAT BEGAM'S VALOUR PRAISED

A general rebellion and disaster overtook us a year after your departure from this place. Looking at its ferocity I raised my hands in prayer to God that such things may not be the lot of even one's enemy. Hazrat Mahal displayed such superb bravery that the enemies showed us their backs. She proved herself to be a lady of extraordinary courage and upheld the King's prestige. People have been very much impressed by her bold demeanour and it is on every body's

¹ "Begamat-i-Awadh Ke Khutul", Pp. 42 to 45.

lips how brave her husband must be when she herself is so chivalrous. This is why they have kept you under their own eyes. I think it useless to repeat all that has been detailed to you by Nawab Sarfaraz Mahal. *Jan-i-Alam* ! the heavy and merciless shelling of Hazratbagh by the Englishmen forced me to escape with my life.....¹

COURT AND THE GOVERNMENT

Appointment of Naib and the Diwan and distribution of work by orders of the Court.

At last a meeting of the Court was held for the appointment of the *Naib* and of the *Diwan*. Some named General Hisam-uddaulah others Nawab Munawwar-uddaulah. The latter was disliked by all and they said they had still to settle accounts with him. Nawab Shahenshah Mahal said to Miftah-uddaulah that he was in all respects suited for the office and asked him, therefore, to accept the offer. But he said that he was not willing. Then she said to him to take up the office of Generalship (*Jarnaili*) as he was best fitted for it owing to his uncle Iqbal-uddaulah's holding the same office once before. When he refused to hold this office as well, she consulted him as to who was best fitted for it. He said that none was better fitted than Sharf-uddaulah Mohd. Ibrahim Khan. When his name was proposed in the Court all unanimously agreed that he had a good record of service. But Jawahar Ali Khan said that he was a Sunni and therefore should not be made the *Naib*. Qasim Khan spoke well of him. In the morning when Sharf-uddaulah came up, Mammoo Khan felt angry and objected to his being called without his consultation and said there was no harm if an agreement were made between them prior to his appointment. In the meantime all of them brought in Ghamandi Singh *Subedar* who had been engaged the day before. Mammoo Khan patched up with him after offering apologies. After this Mammoo Khan took Sharf-uddaulah with him to the main apartment where he offered eleven gold *mohars* to the Queen. Nawab Hisam-uddaulah put them into her hands. Saiyid Barkat Ahmad and Qasim Khan praised him for his faithfulness and administrative skill and said that they could not find out a better person. Sharf-uddaulah said

¹ "*Begamat-i-Awadh Ke Khutut*", p. 55.

that being an old servant of the family he would carry on the work but he would not like to have the robes of *Nayabat*. With these words he left the place. The reason for this was that he could very well foresee the ultimate end of this temporary regime and was sure that the *Sarkar* (English) was sure to be victorious in the end. But there was no way out. The next day when he presented himself, Mirza Birjis Qadar called for the robe and gave it to him. So to say, this robe was a harbinger of death.

As to the grant of the robe of *Diwani* to Maharaja Bal Krishna, it so happened that he made many excuses to escape that honour. He was very much afraid of the Nawab, about whom he did not hold a good opinion. He had already given much to the officers of the army only to save his honour. His residence was consequently saved from being plundered. But when these officers learnt of his evading the acceptance of the robe, of *Diwani*, they decided to force it upon him, and to plunder his house if he refused it. One of the friends of the Maharaja conveyed the news to him secretly. When he came to the *Darbar*, the officers told him either to accept the robe or to refuse it, that there should be one definite reply. He had no other course left but to put on the robe.

The third robe was given to *Kotwal* Mirza Ali Raza Beg, the fourth to Mir Nadir Husain in charge of *Raund* and the fifth of *Jarnaili* (generalship) to Hisam-uddaulah Bahadur. Then those present in the *Darbar* offered *nazars* to Mirza Birjis Qadar, Hazrat Mahal and Shahenshah Mahal. Mir Haidar was appointed the *Munshi* of *Kachchri Khas* (the Chief Court), Mir Wajid Ali, the *Darogha* of *Deorhiat* and Mammoo Khan named Ali Mahommed Khan was appointed the *Darogha* of *Diwan-i-Khas*. After four days, four robes more were taken out, namely, *Akhbar Mulki*, *Akhbar Deorhiat*, *Huzur Tahsil* and *Diwan Khana*, the last one to be given to Mammoo Khan. *Akhbar Mulki* was given to Mohammad Husain Khan, the son-in-law of Nawab Sharf-uddaulah, *Huzur Tahsil* to Muhammad Yaqub Khan, the eldest son of the Nawab¹ and *Akhbar Shahar* Agha Najaf took the office of the *Akhbar Deorhiat* from Mir Wajid Ali after much insistence.

HUKUMNAMA JAT:—These were issued to the names of *Zemindars* and *Taluqadars* saying that ‘as God has given us back our hereditary dominions to us we must extirpate those English heathens and work together to kill their remnants at the Bailly Guard. Therefore exhibit your bravery. God willing you will be endowed with *Jagirs* and rewards even better than in the old days. All those who will kill them will be allowed a-half of the *Jama* of their *Jagirs*, free’.

Hisam-uddaulah was ordered to enlist 13 *Paltans* of *Najibs* consisting of 575 soldiers each.

The details are as follows :

Khan Ali Khan 2 *Paltans*; Piyarey Sahib son¹ of Mir Yusuf *Darogha* of Mir Safdar Ali—one.

Mohammed Naqi Khan, Mir Nadir Husain, Jawahir Ali Khan, Bilal, Etimad Ali Khan, Qaim Ali, Bahadur Mirza, Asghar Ali, Muhammad Hasau Khan—The first 3 *Paltans* were enlisted. Mammoo Khan dismissed a number of *Kumedans* and recruited his own men in their place.²

Meetings of the Court: Statement of Daya Krishna taken on 24th June, 1859.

COURT IN CHANDI WALI BARADARI

The “Court” used to assemble in the Chandee Wala Bara Darree, sometimes elsewhere. The officers “*Jungee*” composed it and the Superintendent, all the world knows, was Rajah Jey Lall Sing. Besides this the Rajah got the *elakas* of Durriabad, Azimghur, and over so many Regts. and the mint, all were in his charge and he had great friendship with all the officers of the Army. All business between the Begum and the Army was transacted through Rajah Jey Lall Sing. Any new Regts. arriving from other parts were under him. Besides him the other officers were :—

Shruf-od-Dowla, *Naib*.

Mummoo Khan, *Darogah Dewan Khana*.

Meer Wajid Aly, *Naib of Dewan Khana*.

Meer Kasim Aly, *Darogah of Magazine*.

¹ The text is misleading.

² *Qaisar-ul-Tawarikh* Vol. II, Pp. 228-229.

Maharajah Bal Kishan, *Dewan*.

Moonshie Thacor Dyal¹ (with whom I lived), Household
Moonshie and Pay Master.

Meer Mendhie, Chief of Intelligence Dept.

Ahmud Hoosein, *Darogah* of *Nazool*.

Sawuk (Sewak) Ram, *Naib* of Thacor Dyal.

Moonshi Ameer Hyder *Sahibe Duskut* also *Darogah Bytool*
Ijrah.

Muzzuffer Aly Khan, General.

Raja Jey Lall Sing, Collector.

Hissam-od-Dowla, for a short time Genl.

Q. Who had the most influence of all ?

A. Mummoo Khan.

Q. Who had the Superintendence of the *Jail Khana*
under Rajah Jey Lall Sing and what men guarded it?

A. The Rajah's own Regt. guarded the prisoners and
Bustee Sing was his officer there; *Moonshies* Matta Deen and
Abdool Ruzac used to register prisoners, record their evidence
and hold *Catcherry* at the Jail under the Rajah's house.

Q. When the Rajah went to seize you, were there any
Telungah's with him ?

A. No.

Q. Any officers of the rebel army ?

A. No. All were *Nujeebs*. I forgot to say that Mukkur
Buncah (Bania) who informed against me was sentenced to 1
year by Mr. Wood upon Jagat Narien's (Narain's) complaint.

Q. Besides Rajah Jey Lall Sing's *Jail Khana*, was there
any other ?

A. Yes, there were others but I do not know exactly
where.

MURDER OF MITAULI PRISONERS

Q. Where was Captain Orr imprisoned ?

A. I did not hear, but I know he was seized and sent
in by the Rajah of Mitowlee, and the day the "Lord Sahib"
arrived he and other *Sahib Logue* were murdered by the rebel
soldiery.

Q. Did any Court assemble respecting their punishment ?

A. I do not know.

¹ Spelt for Thakur Dayal.

Q. Did you go to Dewan Thacor Dyal the day Captain Orr was murdered ?

A. I well recollect the day the *Sahibs* were killed. There was such fearful confusion all over the city that I did not go, but I heard in my house that they had been killed.

Q. By whose instigation were the *Sahibs* murdered ?

A. I know not.

Q. How many times were *Sahibs* murdered ?

A. I only heard of once I have stated.

Q. Did you hear the reason why they were murdered ?

A. I know only this that on the approach of the English forces they were murdered. There were several Hindostanics also and I believe Mymood Khan (Mahmud Khan) (sic).

Q. Where is Thacor Dyal ?

A. In Futteypore Biswah¹. He surrendered through Meer Wajid Aly.

Q. When were the people who were seized and confined with you released ?

A. Lalta Pursad one day before me; the rest were released with me.

Q. Do you know Raj Bahader *Mohurrir* of the *Devance Sharista* Lucknow ?

A. Yes I used to meet him during the rebellion at Thacor Dyal's and he is a relation, but it was not until after the rebellion that I discovered he used to send intelligence to the Alum Bagh.

Q. Did you say anything to him the day Captain Orr was murdered ?

A. I don't remember at all.²

MEETINGS OF THE COURT

Statement of Mymood Ally Moonshi (Mahmud Ali Munshi) of the Court of the Officers of the Army taken on 23-6-1859.

The Court used to assemble in two places. The Officers

¹ *Fatchpur*, Pargana and Tahsil *Fatehpur* Dist. *Barabanki*—The headquarters of the tahsil is a considerable town lying eighteen miles to the north of *Bara Banki*, in latitude 27° 17' north and longitude 18° 14' east. It is connected with the headquarters by a metalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, *Barabanki* 1904, p. 208).

² "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Raja Jai Lal Singh". Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

of the army used to assemble sometimes in the Dilkhossa, (Dilkusha) sometimes in the Estables (stables) Choperwala, (Thatched roof), sometimes in the Tara Kothie. The second Court used to assemble at the Begum's door (in the Chandee (wala) Baradurree. The proceedings of this Court used to be recorded by me.¹ I do not know who acted as Secy. (Secretary) to the first mentioned one.

Whenever it was important to assault the Baillee Guard, to send forces to Cawnpore, or in any other direction, the Court used to assemble and was composed of the following officers :—

Shaikh Sukun, *Ressaldar* Weston's Horse.
 Wajid Aly Khan, *Ressaldar* 1st Oudh Irr. Cavl.
 Jehangeer Khan, Capt. Artillery.
 Gummundee Sing², Capt. Orr's Regt.
 Raj Mund Tewaree, Bole Regt.
 Ruggonet Sing, (Raghunath Singh) Capt. Police Battn.
 Omorow Sing, Police Battn.
 Burkat Ahmed, *Recessr.* (*Risaladar*) 12 Irr. Cavl.
 (Irregular Cavalry).
 Mummoo Khan.
 Nawab Shruf-od-Dowla.
 Muzuffer Aly Khan (sometimes).
 Meer Kazeem Aly, *Darogah* of Magazine.
 Sungum Sing } Captvs. of Begum's new Regts.
 Surjoo Sing. }
 Rajah Jey Lall Sing, Who was the superintendent of the whole Court and by his order all the Court assembled on specified hours.

Rajah Jey Lall Sing was the medium of communication between this Court and the Begum, and he used often to reproach the other Officers when their men behaved badly or when he heard of English successes.

He had also all arrangements for the defence of Lucknow, also at first the entire control of the *Jail Khana* which used to

¹ Marginal note in the original—"i.e. after the court was over, I was called in to record the decisions, officers present used to sign, if any had left, the paper used to be sent for their signatures".

² Spelt for Ghamaudi Singh.

be in the *Emambara* of Golan Hussun in Rikab Gunge¹. The halfcastes, Christians, spies, and Govt. servants used chiefly to be kept confined there. The *Jail Khana* remained there for 4 months; after that some of the prisoners were removed to the Kaiser Bagh under charge of Mahomed Aly Khan, a resident of Mulliabad (Malihabad). When the prisoners increased some were placed in the house of Nimkeen Aly Khan, close to Gungnee Sookul's tank²; these too were under charge of Mahomed Aly Khan. I saw Mahomed Aly Khan frequently a month ago about Lucknow; one day at the house of Meer Wajid Aly *Darogah*. He has besides a house at Mulliabad, one in the Candaharee bazar³ Lucknow. He was Mummoo Khan's agent.

All the prisoners in charge of Rajah Jey Lall Sing used to be dealt with and then decided by the Rajah himself but he had to report to the Nawab Shruf-od-Dowla.

In the same way the Kaiser Bagh prisoners and those in Nimkeen Aly Khan's house were under Meer Wajid Aly. Whoever of the Govt. servants, sepoy or spies he chose to release were let go.

ISSUING OF WRITTEN ORDERS

Q. When they were murdered was any Court held in Chandee Wala Bara Durree ?

A. I do not know.

Q. When the *Sahib Logue* were taken out of the Kaiser Pussund, what Officers were present ?

A. I was inside the *Jelloo Khana*. I only saw Mukdoom Bux and Jey Lall Sing, as they passed.

Q. How were the deliberations of the Court recorded and who signed them ?

A. They were written in this way:

"*Iltanamah* to the Officers of the army" and below—the decision whatever it might be, and then the signatures of all the Officers present, and it was usual to mention one or two of the principal Officers in the body of the proceedings. I

¹ A muhalla in Lucknow city.

² Is not extant now.

³ *Qandhari Bazar*—a mohalla in Lucknow city.

used to be called to write these papers, sometimes also Omorow Jan of Lucknow and Moonshi Abid of Lucknow, formerly of Fyzabad, both of whom are still with Mummoo Khan. Sometimes Imdad Hussun of Fidda Hussun's¹ Regt. used to write. After they were written they used to be circulated by a *Chupprasse* to the Officers of the Court, who were absent, for their signatures. Upon these papers being all signed and returned they were deposited in the *Dewan Khana*; if the subject was very secret, Mummoo Khan kept the papers himself.

Q. Used ever Rajah Jey Lall Sing's name to be written in the body of the paper ?

A. Sometimes, when Raj Mund Tewaree, Ruggonet Sing, Omorow Sing, Burkat Ahmed were not present.

Several witnesses have stated that a list was sent from the *Dewan Khana* of the prisoners who were first murdered, to the Jailor in order that he might send them.

Q. State who wrote this list ?

A. I did not write this; but I will find out who did, perhaps either Omorow Jan or Moonshi Abid.

Q. Were verbal orders ever given from the Court ?

A. Never, written orders were always sent.¹

GOVERNMENT AT LUCKNOW

Statement of Syed Eusuf (Saiyid Yusuf) then living in Ismail Gunje (Ismailganj), Darogah (Darogha) of Shahinshah Mahal.

The Chinhut fight took place on a Tuesday, the rebels entered the city that night, and next morning for 24 hours, they remained comparatively quiet, but after that they began looting everywhere.

This confusion and loot went on for 6 days when it began to be talked about amongst the mutineer soldiery that it was necessary to establish some head. They first of all went to Malika Ahud (Malika-i-Ahad) offering to set up her son and demanding money to do it with. Malika (Malika) refused saying, she had no rupees. Rajah Jeylal Singh hearing of this went to the soldiery and together with Mummoo Khan persuaded the soldiery to set up Birjis Kudr. Mahal Shah-in-shah

¹ "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Raja Jai Lal Singh". Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

went to try and dissuade them, saying that they were needlessly bringing destruction upon one of the King's sons. However they negotiated with Huzrut Muhul and the arrangements were made. Birjis Kudr was then brought into the Kasrool Khakan. A grand *Durbar* was assembled and he was proclaimed King.

The appointments were then made :

Shruf-od-Dowla, *Naib*.

Mummoo Khan, *Dewan Khana*.

Hissam-od-Dowla, General.

Jeylal Singh, Collector¹ of the Army.

The soldiery were all working separately upto this time, the Cavalry on their own account, so on with Artillery, and Infantry. They agreed that the Govt. could not be carried on without a Court which should represent the army with the Govt. and direct the efforts of the former. All branches were to send delegates to this Court and submit to fulfil its orders.

They therefore 8 or 10 days after placing Birjis Kudr on the throne formed this Court which was composed of,

Rajah Jeylal Singh

Mummoo Khan

Shruf-od-Dowla

Hissam-od-Dowla, General (15th Irregular Cavy.)

Mukdoom Bux

Gummendee Singh

Ousan Singh

Omorow Singh

Bahadur Ally

Rughonat Singh

Missery Singh (Misri Singh)

Gujadhur Singh

Raj Mund Teewaree

Buckt Khan (Bakht Khan)

Wajid Ally Khan

¹ An appointment made in the Nawaby time; he was employed to command the forces sent to collect Revenue from rebellious people.

Shahbadee Khan
 Meer Wazeer Ally, (12th Irre. Cavalry)
 Sheikh Sukhun, *Ressaldar*
 Moulvee Moostan, *Ressaldar*
 and others.

This court used to assemble in the Tara Kothee 2 or 3 times a week for deliberation. But as soon as disputes arose between the Moulvee Ahmed Ola Shah and Mummoo Khan and Shruf-od-Dowla they divided, the majority joining the two latter and assembling in the Nageena Walla Bara-Duree, and the few under the Moulvee still remaining in the Tara-Kothee.

Nobody paid much attention to the Moulvee's Court, but deliberations of the other one were submitted to the Begum, who on confirming them forwarded them to Shruf-od-Dowla, who gave any orders to the *Chuckladars*, himself sending others for execution to Mummoo Khan, to be carried out in the different Departments, for instance, work relating to the magazine went to Meer Kazim Ally; to the Army to Rajah Jeylal Singh, regarding the duties of the city to Usuf Khan, and so on.¹

Extract from Raja Jai Lal's version of the Revolutionary Govt. recorded on the 30th August, 1859 as his defence.

FOUR CHIEFS AT LUCKNOW

3rd Charge. Denies leadership—Says there were only 4 chiefs, 1st *Naib* (minister) 2nd *Deewan Khana* 3rd General and 4th Treasurer, and none of these fell to his lot; says the army only obeyed those that paid them, and this was a duty that pertained to Mummoo Khan and Wajid Aly *Darogha*. Mummoo Khan bought over Captain Rugonath Sing, Omorao Sing, Burkat Ahmed, Abool Kazim and others to his views, otherwise the two last named would have crowned Sooliman Kudr, who offered 10 lacs for the crown. The Hindoo officers brought this about and set up Birjis Kudr. In regard to being the mouthpiece and go-between, states that to stop violence and oppression, to speak to the ministers, to establish a Court,

¹ "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Raja Jai Lal Singh". Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

and on this (sic,) the minister used to send all complaints under his signature to Defendant for enquiry, and he used to take them before the Court, and the decisions of the Court he used to communicate to the minister. The Master of the ceremonies at that Court was Mummoo Khan, and no officer could do anything without asking him. Frequently Mummoo Khan used to oblige them to hold their meetings at the *Durr-e-Daulut*. In respect to his Jail, states that at first the sepoys used without further ado to kill any one that fell into their hands; that this induced him to bring the fact to the notice of the minister, who mentioned it to the Begum, who directed the Jail to be made over to Defendant and all persons seized to be sent to him. That his sole object in this was to save life and that this gave him an opportunity of releasing persons occasionally. But those who used to be sent to him with written lists accompanying them, could not be released without written instructions from the Court. On two or three occasions in accordance with Mummoo Khan's written orders he sent in prisoners of this kind to him. That he did his best to protect and release Christians, in proof of which, Matta Deen admitted in Court that Long Assy witness was released by him with Defendant's permission. Asserts that it was in consequence of his procrastination in bringing these prisoners to trial that made Mummoo Khan lose his temper and take the Jail altogether out of his (Defendant's) hands. Before this, however, he was enabled to release and save many lives, and if his records had been saved he could have proved this.

ROLE OF NANA SAHIB

4th Charge—Denies going or sending an Escort for the Nana or accompanying him to the *Dowlut Khana*, (but admits having visited the Nana at the *Dowlut Khana* after he was located there), to ask after his health by order of the Court. Says that his bastard brother Rugbur Diyal who was an attendant at Court on his own account and who was perfectly independent of the Deft. (Defendent) and separate from him, was deputed by the Court with the usual "*Jaloose*" to escort the Nana, and to meet expenses. He and Rugbur Diyal had a quarrel after annexation since when they have had no dealings with each other, and Deft. attributes the present proceedings to the enmity of this brother who has heavily bribed Moonshie Wajid

Ali, Meer Diam (Daim)¹ Ali and Meer Hussoo, *Commedy*, to bring about his ruin.²

NANA RAO'S VAKIL ARRIVES WITH HIS LETTER

Nana Rao's *Vakil* came with a letter asking for permission to come to Lucknow and the Queen permitted him. Raja Jay Lal Singh, the Collector, was ordered to go to Fatehpur Chaurasi with 12 camels, 29 bullock-carts, 10 carriages, 20 or 25 elephants. Nana Rao came out of Chaudhary Ki Garhi with his family at an hour when rains were pouring and marched towards Lucknow. Nusrat Jang went out with 200 sawars, two elephants caparisoned with silver *howdah* and two camel drivers for reception. He alighted at Shish Mahal which was furnished with ten *shatranji*, ten *chandni*, ten cots, several chairs, glass wares and paintings. On 10th *Zilhijja* 1274³ (1273) (1st. August 1857) Nana Rao entered the town and eleven rounds of gun-shot were fired in honour of his visit. Mir Wajid Ali was ordered to enquire about his welfare. He received the robe of *Doshala* and *Roomal*. The Nana told him that his customary *Salami* was 21 gun-shots though there was no necessity for that. Mir Wajid Ali replied that 21 gun-shots were fired for Kings only. In short, the *Salami* ceremony was, therefore, postponed. Then the Queen proposed to grant a *Khilat* (robe) to the Nana and got the following articles brought out from the *Khilat Khana*.

Golden *Qaba* (gown), a Sword and Shield, *Mala* (Beads) of pearls, *Dhuk-dhuki* studded with jewels, *Kantha* made of pearls, Jewelled *Nauratan*, *Dast-band* made of pearls, *Doshala*, *Roomal*, Embroidered Cloak, *Kamar-bandi Shawl*, horse with silver saddle, elephant (with) silver *howdah*.

All the articles were first seen and approved of by the Queen.⁴

¹ Apparently, spelt for Qaim Ali.

² "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Raja Jai Lal Singh". Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

³ The year appears to be a misprint, as Nana Sahib could not have come to Lucknow in 1858 August i.e. 1274 A. H., when it had fallen in British hands; so it is 1273 A. H..

⁴ "Qaisar-ut-Tawarikh" Vol. II, p. 257.

VICTORY SALUTE FIRED AT MITAULI

5th July, 1857

On the 30th of June, 1857, after the disastrous affair at Chinhut, the siege of Lucknow had commenced. The news of the victory the rebels had obtained at Chinhut spread far and wide into the district. Anarchy and confusion commenced; the boy Birjees Kudr, the supposed son of the ex-King Wajid Alee Shah, was placed on the throne, and a royal salute, in honour of the event, was fired at Mithowlee, on the 5th, by Rajah Lonee Singh. Despair filled the hearts of our (British) people as they heard the cannon sound from the ramparts of the fort of Mithowlee - despair which increased on the receipt of a message sent to them by the Rajah, that they had better leave his place, as he could no longer protect them.¹

BEGAM HAZRAT MAHAL SUPREME IN ALL MATTERS

"The king created by the Rebels, is the son of Wajid Ali, who is prisoner in Fort William; he is ten years of age, and of course a mere puppet in the hands of the insurgents

His mother Begum Huzrut Muhal had charge of all matters of state; and was in fact regent. She held *Cutcherry* in the vicinity of *Kaiser Bagh*, and by all accounts was vigorous minded and energetic woman. Her character was the foulest; and one of her paramours Mummoo Khan, whom she had made Chief Justice and *Dewan*, was openly acknowledged in that relation to her and from his influence over her possessed more power than the Prime Minister himself. He had command of some Artillery, and was at the head of all *Nazim's* and *Nujeeb* forces. In addition to these honours, the Begum delegated to him as the highest act of grace towards her favourites, the office of passing sentence of death, against all Christians. He made hay while the sun shone; and has got off, with a very large amount of wealth, which he extorted from the people".²

¹ Hutchinson : "Narrative of Events in Oude", p. 201.

² "The Mofussilite" (Agra) reproduced by "The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette", Thursday, April 15, 1858, p. 355.

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT AT LUCKNOW

(Another Account)

Meerza Birjis Kudr Buhadoor is *Sooba* (or Viceroy) of Oude, under the King of Delhi, about twelve or thirteen years old. His Mother is Huzrat Muhal. This boy is son of Wajid Ali Shah, the King of Oude, now prisoner in Calcutta.

Prime Minister Shurfoodowla, once *Naib* at Lucknow.

Momoo Khau, at Kaisar Bagh, *Darogah* of *Dewan Khana Khanja*.

Mujuffer Ali Khan, General, Nephew of Shurfoodowla.

Ruhumut Oolla (Rahmat Ullah), Head *Moonshee* of Shurfoodowla.

Ahmud Ali, or Chota Mia, has charge of the Magazine.

Maharaj Balkissan, *Dewan*.

Unwur Jee, *Darogah* of *Vuzeer's Dewan Khana*.

Ali Riza Beg, *Kotwal*, formerly Extra Assistant of Durcabad, under the British Government.

Ahmed Oolla Shah, Mahomedan leader, who came with the mutincers from Fyzabad. He was released from gaol; a regular rebel; was once in gaol in Agra. Through his example the troops take courage in the day of battle; he has been twice wounded.¹

FORCES WITH REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT AT LUCKNOW

Artillery

Fyzabad Horse Artillery, six 6-pounders.

Colonel Gunge Artillery, six 6-pounders.

Nusseerabad Artillery, nine guns.

A made-up new battery, six guns.

Some guns left at Chinhut by Sir H. Lawrence; one large elephant gun.

Muchie Bowun (Machhi Bhawan) guns, left by the British; two large rusty 24-pounders.

¹ Raikes : "Notes on the Revolt in the North-Western Provinces of India", (London 1858), Pp. 96-97.

Cavalry

300 Sowars	15th Irregulars.
300 Sowars	15th Recruits.
400 Sowars	12th Fight-well Hurriana Ranghurs.
500 Sowars,	under Moulvec Mustan Khan.
500 Sowars	under Sheikh Sookun ¹ .
300 Sowars	late Captain Daly's.
A few of Hardinge's <i>Russala</i> (<i>Risala</i>).	

About 2000 troopers, *Soobah's* new levies, not well armed, badly mounted.

Infantry

- 1 Rohila *Pultun*, from Fyzabad.
- 1 *Bullum teer*², (Volunteers)
- 12 Police battalions.
- Some sappers and miners.
- 50 Regiments *Nujeeb* some 100, some 200, in all about 10,000 men.
- 400 Infantry Nusseerabad camp, from Delhi.

Petty Princes

- Raja Man Singh, with followers.
- Goorbucs Singh (Gurbakhsh Singh).
- Nawab Ali Khan.
- Benee Mallkoo³.
- Lal Madhoo, of Kala Konkur⁴ (Kala Kankar).
- Chowdree Hushmut Ali, of Sundeek⁵.

¹ Apparently, Sheikh Sakhun.

² Spear (*Ballam*), Arrow (*Teer*).

³ Apparently, spelt for Rana Beni Madho.

⁴ *Kala Kankar*—Formerly a state in *Partabgarh* Distt.

⁵ *Sandila*, Pargana and Tahsil *Sandila* Distt. *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).

Munsub Ali, of Rusoolabad¹.

In all about 200,000 men in arms in Lucknow alone.²

MILITARY ADMINISTRATION IN AWADH³

The following is a statement of the salaries of the different grades of Military men, as settled by the Rebel Government :

Rank	Amount of Salary	Remarks
Colonel	1000	
Captain	500	
Adjutant	250	
Quarter Master	150	
Qr. Mr. ⁴ Sergeant	100	
<i>Subadar</i>	165	
Regimental <i>Moonshie</i>	50	These salaries are all fictitious, purely nominal. No man has yet received full salary for any month. Occasional advances are all that have yet been given.
<i>Jemadar</i>	54	
<i>Koth Havildar</i>	35	
<i>Havildar</i>	24	
<i>Naik</i>	16	
Sepoy	12	
Doctor	100	
Troopers	30	
<i>Nujeeb Branch</i>		
Commandant	150	
<i>Oulasdar</i>	37	
<i>Tomandar</i>	20	
<i>Naib Tomandar</i>	15	
<i>Jemadar</i>	8	
Sepoy	5	

¹ *Rasulabad*, Pargana *Asiwan-Rasulabad* Tahsil *Hasanganj* Distt. *Unao*—A small town lying in latitude 26° 45' north and longitude 80° 29' east, on the road from Unao to Sandila, at a distance of 14 miles north of the former. Other roads lead to Safipur and on to Hardoi on the west, to Mohan, 12 miles, and Lucknow on the north-east, to Ajjain railway station, and to Pariar on the Ganges. Asiwan, the pargana capital, lies six miles to the north-west. (*District Gazetteers*, Unao 1903, p. 230).

² Raikes: "*Notes on the revolt in the North-Western Provinces of India*", (London 1858), Pp. 97-98.

³ "*The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette*", Thursday, April 15, 1858, Reproduced from "*The Mofussilite*" (Agra).

⁴ Quarter Master.

ORDERS AND PROCLAMATIONS

LETTERS FROM THE AWADH GOVERNMENT—1

Proclamation (Circular) of Mohd. Ramzan Ali Bahadur Birjis Qadar, dated 26th Zilhijja 1273 A. H. appointing Beni Madho as administrator of Jaunpur and Azamgarh (17th August, 1857).*

“As I am fully bent upon populating the land, securing all conveniences for its people and betterment of its inhabitants I have, therefore, decided to exterminate the cruel, illbehaved *Kaffir* (the unbelieving) *Firangis* from my hereditary dominions, both old and new. Consequently, I have nominated the brave Raja Beni Madho Singh for the administration of the *ilaqas* of Jaunpur and Azamgarh and order that in obedience to the instructions of the said Raja, you should capture, put to the sword and annihilate the entire group of these perverted unbelievers and make every effort to extirpate them from this country. Considering the said Raja a permanent *Amil* of this part of the country, you should do your very best for the collection of revenue and betterment of the ryot. You will, consequently, be rewarded with favours”¹

×

×

×

SEPT. 13, 1858

*Q. Two *perwannahs* have been found by the Dy. Commissioner of Fyzabad in your box bearing the seal of Birjis Kudr, of which many copies were sent blank to your brother Bene Madho to fill in and circulate to *Talookdars* directing “the extermination” of the “*Kaffirs*”. What have you to say in respect of those documents?

A. I suppose the rebel officers must have sent these documents to Bene Madho as they did to every one. They must have been found in Bene Madho’s box not mine. All our boxes and things were together, and his box has been mistaken for mine.¹

Translation of a printed Proclamation issued under the seal of Birjis Qadar, Wali of Lucknow, to all the Zemindars and Inhabitants of the country of Lucknow—2

All the Hindoos and Mahomedans are aware that four things are dear to every man; 1st Religion, 2nd Honor, 3rd Life, 4th Property. All these four things are safe under a

¹ “Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Raja Jai Lal Singh”. Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

native Government. No one under that Govt. interferes with religion. Every one is allowed to continue steadfast in his religion and persuasion, and to possess his honor according to his worth and capacity, be he a person of good descent of any caste or denomination, Syud, Sheikh, Moghal, or Pathan, among the Mahomedans, or Brahmin, Chhutree, Bais, or Kaith, among the Hindoos; all these retain their respectability according to their respective ranks, and all persons of a lower order such as Sweeper, Chamar, & Dhanook, or Passee, can claim equality with them. The life of any person of either class is not taken under that Govt., nor his property confiscated except for crimes and grave offences. The English are enemies of the four things above named. They wish to deprive the Hindoos and Mahomedans of their religion, and wish them to become Christians and Nazariners. Under their Govt., thousands of people have embraced Christianity and are continuing to do so. The honor and respectability of every person of the higher orders are considered by them equal to the honor and respectability of the lower orders, nay, comparatively with the latter, they treat the former with contempt and disrespect, and at the instance of a Chamar, force the attendance of a *Nawab* or a *Rajah*, and subject him to indignity, whithersoever they go. They hang the respectable people, destroy their females and children, and their troops commit acts of violence upon their females, and thus take away their honor, dig down their houses, and plunder all the property and leave them nothing. *They do not kill Banyahas and Mahajans*, but take away all their property and violate their women. Whithersoever they go, they disarm the people, and in that state hang, or shoot, or blow up, any one they like, and deprive any one they choose of his faith and honor. At some places they resort to the subterfuge of remitting revenue or reducing the *jama* to the *malgozars*, with the intent, that after they have established themselves and subjected them to their authority, they might do with them as they please, force them to become Christians, or hang them or dishonor them. Some foolish *zameendars* allow themselves to be thus imposed upon, but the shrewd avoid the snare. Therefore the Hindoos and Mahomedans are hereby warned, that whosoever among you wishes to protect his faith, honor, life and property, may come forward to fight against the English in conjunction with the forces of this *sircar* (i.e. himself) and

may not succumb to their stratagem. This *sircar* will be kind to them and contribute to their relief. And be it known to the *Passees* that the office of watching every town and village is their hereditary profession, but the English appoint *Bark-andazees* in their stead and thus deprive the *Passees* of their livelihood. They should also, in concert with the troops of this *sircar* and the *zamcendars*, plunder the English, and their dependants, commit theft and gang robberies in their camps, and disturb their rest.¹

BIRJIS QADAR'S PROCLAMATION

Translation of a Proclamation issued to the Mahomedans of the Territory of Oudh, Kosheya Rampore, Moradabad etc. 3

Seal of Birjis

Kudur Mahomed

Rumzan Ali

Bahadloor

1273 A. H.

The Almighty God has enjoined thus in the holy *Koran* "O ye, the people who follow the religion ! do not make the Jews and the Christians your friends. He who forms friendship with them becomes positively one of them, inasmuch as the friend of a Jew is a Jew and that of a Christian, a Christian. Certainly God doth not guide the tyrants i.e. the infidels in the path of righteousness". This sacred text plainly shews that the forming of friendship with the Christians is an act of infidelity and that consequently he who is on friendly terms with them is not at all a Mahomedan. These considerations render it a bounden duty of all the Mahomedans who are the brethren of each other, to become with heart and soul the implacable enemies of the Christians and in no respect to be their friends at any time. The non-execution of this duty by them (the Mahomedans), which God forbid, will lead to the loss of their faith and they will in consequence become apostates.

Those who are not staunch in their religion and whose views are directed to temporal affairs, say that if they be at

¹ "Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh" Vol. I, Pp. 440-451. Also of Foreign Secret Proceedings, 25th June 1858, Nos. 66-69; National Archives, New Delhi.

enmity with the Christians, misfortune will befall them when the authority of that nation will have been re-established. In regard to these people, God has enjoined thus in the text next to the foregoing one: "Thou markest that those men who have a distemper in their hearts i.e. whose faith is defective, lose no time in forming friendship with the Christians under the apprehension lest the absence of such friendship should entail some misfortune on them". In order to remove this apprehension God has said thus: "It is hoped that God will shortly grant victory to the Mahomedans or give such a turn to the events that they will repent of their folly in having entertained groundless doubts". When such is the injunction of God they ought not to despond of victory, or to be persuaded that the English will overcome them and subject them to hardships and dangers, but on the contrary to feel confident that (God) will give them every success and that the English will be subdued and destroyed. If all the Mahomedans unite together and remain firm in their faith they will undoubtedly gain victory over the English inasmuch as God has ordained thus in the holy *Koran*: "The believers of the true faith have a right to the grant by me of every success". If the Mahomedans be cowardly, effeminate and irresolute and not be in union with each other the English will overcome them, snatch their arms, hang and shoot them, and blow them up by tying them to the muzzles of the guns. They will apprehend their families dishonor their females, dig out the foundations of their houses, plunder their property, try to make them Christians, burn or throw into the filth the holy *Koran* and the other religious books, pull down the mosques, and put an end to the very name of *Islam*. If a reflection on those consequences excite the jealousy (passions) of the Mahomedans, they should all unite together and be prepared to destroy the English without heeding suggestions of anybody to the contrary, but under the persuasion that "no one dies until the time his death is ordained" and that "no one by any means can save himself when that time arrives". Myriads of human beings die of Cholera and other complaints and it cannot be said with certainty whether they die with faith or otherwise, or in other words whether they die agreeably to the tenets of the Mahomedan religion or otherwise. A Mahomedan however when slain in opposing the English, being quite firm in his faith, attains the dignity of Martyrdom and as such dignity is the wished for object of all the Maho-

medans, they should not be deterred by an anxiety for life from attaining it. As no man is exempt from death, he who will lose this opportunity through fear of his life, will repent of his folly not only on his death bed but after his death for ever. These considerations render it a bounden duty of every man and woman to wage war with the English in Delhi, Jhujhur, Rewaree and certain places between the Jumna and the Ganges, and expel or kill them, an opinion which has been upheld by the followers of both the creeds (Sunnies and Shias) as will appear below. Hence it is now incumbent on all the Mahomedans to perform most cheerfully the duty above alluded to; and if they flinch at the performance, the English on becoming victorious, will first disarm all the people, and then hang them one by one or put them to death in some other mode. They will reduce the whole country to the same condition as they have reduced certain places elsewhere, so that in future bitter repentance will be the result, and nothing will avail. As it is absolutely necessary to inform the people at large of my sentiments above referred to, this Proclamation is issued. So help us God.¹

Hukumnamah of Birjis Qadar to Gauri Shaukar and Shiva Prasad, Mahajans of the Itaqa of Purwa, dated Ziqaad 16, 1273 A. H. (8th July, 1857).

It has been credibly learnt that you are in receipt of four pieces of artillery from the Englishmen and their *Amla*. You are, therefore, ordered to submit the same with their accompaniments to our presence, and the order should be deemed as imperative. Dated 16th *Ziqaad* 1273 A. H.²

Hukumnamah of Birjis Qadar addressed to Habibullah, dated Zilhijja 13, 1273 A. H. (4th August, 1857).

Ibadullah son of Mohammad Hasan Khan *Taluqadar* of Jalalpur pointing out in his petition the fact of some fugitive Nazarines having taken shelter at his residence, and the knowledge of the same to the camel drivers of *Sarkar*, assures to send them with his *vakil* as and when they are called for. I have perused the petition and hence order him to send the accursed

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th Dec. 1859, No. 1693, Pp. 615-17; National Archives, New Delhi.

² Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

disturbers of peace under the custody of his own men and escort of camel drivers of the *Sarkar* to our presence. These enemies of religion and accursed *vilaities* should be uprooted and driven out from wherever they can be traced out and your so doing will earn for you credit and fame. Consider this order as peremptory and act up to it. Dated 13th *Zilhijja*, 1273 A.H.

Overleaf

(Illegible) Bismillah Khan Camel-rider and Faqir Ali Khan. Issued on 21st *Zilhijja*, 1273 A.H. (12th Aug. 1857) Rs. 1/4/- daily, excluding food charges.¹

Hukummamah of Birjis Qadar to Samsam Ali Chaudhry of Salimpur, dated 20th Rabi-us-Sani 1274 A. H. (8th Dec. 1857).

After the perusal of the petition submitted by Karim Khan *Sipahi Paltan* 'Resath' of Delhi Regt. XI stating therein that he was forcibly made to part with his muzzle-loaded gun, other arms and Rs. 175/- in cash, while he was escorting a wounded person to his place, on promise of the return of these things to him if he succeeded in securing our orders, you are being ordered to despatch to my presence the musket, the arms and the money as detailed in the annexed list. Consider this as most imperative. Dated 20th *Rabi-us-Sani* 1274 A.H.²

Translation of a Proclamation dated 11th Rajab 1274 A. H. (25th February 1858).

Be it known to all the *Zemindars*, *Malgoozars* etc. within the Territories of this ever-enduring *Sarkar* that the following gracious order is issued in the true spirit of liberality and beneficence, viz.: That those *Zemindars* who may feel aggrieved at any violence or exaction committed upon them by any *Amil*, *Chackladar* or *Tehsildar* should wait upon the *Huzoor* and apply for permission to pay their revenue direct to the latter so that such prayer may be immediately granted. It is incumbent on all the *Zemindars*, *Talookdars* and all other subjects of this gracious *Sarkar* to unite together and earnestly employ their best exertions in exterminating the evil disposed infidels.

¹ Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

² *Ibid.*

In reward for this meritorious service they the *Malgoozars*, will obtain a remission of 4 annas in the Rupce on account of the revenue of their *Zemindarees* payable to the *Sarkar*. It therefore behoves them to put a speedy end to the existence of the infidels and thereby to exhibit their firm attachment to the *Sarkar*.

(Written on the Margin)

Munsub Ali *Amil* of Rusoolabad has been imprisoned on the ground that the people felt much aggrieved at the exaction committed by him upon them. It is ordered that whatever property or effects of the infidels may come into the possession of a party by a display of his gallantry should be his property with the exception of animals, landed property and ammunitions (sic,) of war.¹

Translation of a Proclamation, dated 11th Rajab 1274 A. H. (25th February 1858).

Whereas the evil disposed infidels with the design of taking away the religions of the Hindoos and the Mahomedans have been bent on practising every deception on them, and are decoying them by holding out false hopes to them that they (the infidels) will promote their interests and comfort and whereas these flatteries and wheedlings are entirely deceitful and whereas this ever-enduring *Sirkar* (with reference to the above facts) is ready to make provision for the support of the people at large in perpetuity from generation to generation, the following order is issued to them, viz. : 'That none of them should get into the trap of that worthless nation but that they considering their union with each other as contributing to the realization of their wishes both present and future, should at once attack that evil disposed unbelieving people and put them all to the sword and that further they should be on the alert for their own protection and not suffer any one of that nation to enter their territories.'²

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th Dec. 1859, No. 1693, p. 617; National Archives, New Delhi.

² *Ibid.* p. 618; National Archives, New Delhi.

BIRJIS QADAR AND LONI SINGH

Translation of a petition from Lonee Singh Talooqdar (talooqdar) of Mitowlee (Mithauli), to the address of Major Barrow, Special Commissioner, Zila Seetapore (Sitapur) praying for his release on bail.

.....*My case stands thus :* When the mutiny took place I gave shelter to Captain Orr and other gentlemen, and when the rebels heard of this, they determined to give me every annoyance.

ORDERS FROM BIRJIS QADAR

I received a written order from Birjis Kudr desiring me to send over those gentlemen to him alive. But I paid little heed to the order and kept those gentlemen under my care for 6 months on which account I expended thousands of rupees to have kept the rebels aloof. My neighbours can bear testimony to this. Zahoorool Hussein having obtained a letter from Captain Orr had taken shelter within my *Talooqa*. Subsequently he joined the rebels and got many horses for the cavalry of Birjis Kudr. This Zahoorool Hussein proceeded to Mitowlee with a body of rebels and having paid me a visit addressed me thus—"Captain Orr is my master. Birjis Kudr wishes to make a negotiation with the gentlemen of the Baillie Guard through the Captain; allow me therefore to take him to Birjis Kudr, otherwise you will incur the displeasure of the British as well as of Birjis Kudr. If Captain Orr goes thither the lives of all the gentlemen of the Baillie Guard and of many others will be saved. Thus Abool Munsoor Khan will gain a good name". As Zahoorool Hussein knew the place where Captain Orr and other gentlemen were secreted he surrounded it with his army. He then produced a document written on the part of Birjis Kudr the content of which was the following "I swear by God that I will not kill Christians and violate my promise. I will negotiate with the British who are besieged in the Baillie Guard through Captain Orr and his friends". As Captain Orr and others were in his power I was obliged to remain silent. As long as I could help I did not allow any one to know the place where they were concealed. I then received a written order from Birjis Kudr dated the 12th *Mohurrum* 1274 *Hijree* which confirms my statement. As Zahoorool Hussein was an acquaintance of Captain

Orr he took him and other gentlemen along with him. I had no idea that they would suffer any hardship.¹

Examination of Raja Loni Singh of Mitauli, dated Lucknow, 16th Feby. 1859.

Q. You are stated to have been a Leader in the late Rebellion, and to have maltreated Captain Orr and other European gentlemen and ladies and betrayed them to the Rebel Govt. What can you answer in extenuation of your conduct ?

A. I have not been engaged with the Rebels and if I had joined them why I should have sent my *Vakeel* to Major Barrow last *Sawan* (July). On account of my doing so, the Rebels surrounded my Fort, because I was understood to be a well wisher of Government. In October last the Malaghur Nawab, Ferozeshah, Khan Bahadoor Khan and a *Peer* whose name I do not recollect having attacked the *sirkar*, in their flight came to my place; as I did not give them supplies and assistance I made enemies of them, and had to fly from my Fort in the night.

I did not send the gentlemen that were with me to the *Darbar*. I always attended to their wants. There were Captain and Mrs. Orr and 1 child, 3 gentlemen and 2 more children—eight persons in all who were kept by me in the Kun-chunghur House for 2½ months, after that period of time they were secreted in the Pulliah Jungle, and I had men attending them.

LONI SINGH ORDERED TO SURRENDER BRITISH FUGITIVES

I secreted them because it came to the ears of Brijis Kudr that I had Europeans with me. The gentlemen were 2½ months in the Jungle and of their remaining there my *Vakeel* Zuhoor-ool-Hussein knows. Zuhoor-ool-Hussein, when the gentlemen were in the Jungle, proceeded to Lucknow, and there accepted service with Brijis Kudr. In *Kvoar* (Sept.) he returned with a *Hookum Namah* from Brijis Kudr. He came to me, but I would not hear of giving up the gentlemen. He then showed me the *Hookum Namah* and I still refused. He then threatened to return to Lucknow and report my conduct to Brijis Kudr. He then took his leave, and proceeded to the

¹ "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Raja Loni Singh". Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*.

Jungle, and with men obtained I believe from Sectapore and Secundrabad,¹ from Hurlpursad, Ferozeshah, Khan Alec *Chuckladar*, he seized the gentlemen, and my men with them. When he came outside the Jungle my men were set free. My men informed me of what had occurred. I told my sepoy to be ready and not allow the gentlemen to be taken away. The answer they gave was that Zuhoor-ool-Hussein had a great number of men, and that they could do nothing against him. The Rebel forces were at that time distributed all over the country, so on this account also I could not oppose him. Zuhoor-ool-Hussein took the gentlemen into Lucknow and I do not know what afterwards occurred.²

Bijis Qadar's letter addressed to Raja Loni Singh, Taluqadar of Mitandi, Haqa Muhamdi, dated 5th Zilhijja 1273 A. H. (27th July 1857).

It has been learnt from the petitions of trusted spies and letters of Gajadhar Singh, Captain, and Isiari Singh *Subadar* of the *Jangi* (Fighting) Regiment that Captain Patrick Orr with his wife, daughter and four other Englishmen is staying in your *Garhi* (fortress) and that the soldiers of Gajadhar Singh's Regiment have entrusted them to you and have secured a bond of security from you. As these persons (the English people) are enemies of the religion and belief of Hindus and Musalmans, complicity with them amounts to enmity with the people of God and courting damnation of both the worlds. You have perhaps been befooled by these heathens. Therefore, in accordance with the advice offered by the Officers of the victorious army in their writings—herewith enclosed, you are ordered to send, immediately after the receipt of the order those wicked heathens to this *Darbar*, captive and alive.³

¹ *Sikandrabad, Pargana Haidarabad Tahsil Muhamdi Distt. Kheri*—This village was the capital of a separate pargana until 1869, when it was united with Haidarabad. It lies in latitude 27° 57' north and longitude 80° 29' east, about half a mile to the north of the direct road from Lakhimpur to Muhamdi, some 18 miles west of the former and a mile east of the Sarayan. (*District Gazetteers, Kheri 1905, p. 245*).

² "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Raja Loni Singh". Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*.

³ Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*.

Hukumnamah of Birjis Qadar addressed to Loni Singh, Taluqadar of Mitauli, dated 20th Zilhijja 1273 A. H. (11th August 1857).

You have failed to comply with the last order, sent to you along with the writings of the Officers of the victorious army, directing you to despatch the wicked heathens (to this *Darbar*). Pitam Rai *Karinda* and your *Vakil* together with soldiers presented themselves before me and denied the presence of heathens in your (*Garhi*). But the soldiers of the Regiment of Gajadhar Singh Captain who had handed them over to you, have stated to have delivered them to your charge, in the presence of your men. Even though convinced, your agents have persisted in their denial. This points to your having entered into complicity with the heathens, and to have been keeping them in hiding. The people of the victorious army have advised the disarming of your men, putting your agents under confinement; but allowing you one more opportunity, I am sending you the order directing you to hand them over to the army, if you crave for your safety. In case of disobedience (to this order), such things may happen to you which you may not relish. Consider this as urgent and act upto it.¹

Translation of Hukumnamah of Birjis Qadar addressed to Raja Loni Singh, Taluqadar of Mitauli, dated Muharram 12, 1274 A. H. (2nd Sept. 1857).

Your petition--holding the statement of the men of the Battalion of Gajadhar Singh Captain, viz. "They handed over Mr. Orr and others to you (Loni Singh)", as untrue, and desiring them to reach your place and point out as to where they left those (*Kafirs* in your *Garhi*) if they at all delivered them to your charge--has been perused (By me--King, Birjis Qadar). (Disagreeing with what you say I smell) rebellion and opposition which is a deadly poison for you. You are sowing thorns and digging a well for yourself. Your letter of trust (*Suqurd-namah*) is unmistakably with Gajadhar Singh Captain. The soldiers and officers who have handed them (*Kafirs*) over admit this; even the whole world is in the know of these facts. The statements made in the court by the trusted informers testifying to their having seen them (Britishers) with their own eyes

in Kanchangarh—the place where they have been kept in hiding—disclose their whereabouts. You (perhaps) little know that the Govt. are aware of everything—good or bad—about the country. 12 Guards have been posted as *Sazawals* on Rs. 125/- per day and you are ordered to immediately present the wicked heathens in the *Darbar* without any loss of time. Any delay will result in the confiscation of your estate and adequate punishment to you leading to your expulsion (from your territories). You will be rooted out and your excuses will not be heeded to.¹

Translation of Birjis Qadar's Hukumnamah addressed to Loni Singh, Taluqadar of Mitauli, dated Muharram 20, 1274 A. H. (10th Sept. 1857).

RAJA WARNED

The petition of Toofan Singh, *Jamadar* of *Paltan 1st Dhani Jangi* who accompanied Captain Bahadur Ali *Sazawal*, informs me that, in your attempt to avoid the time of handing over the heathens, you are advancing lame excuses by desiring that the men of Captain Gajadhar Singh, who claim to have entrusted the Englishmen to your charge, should themselves reach your estate and bring them from the place they (Englishmen) were left by them. The above named regiment is, therefore, being despatched, so that you may unhesitatingly surrender those people instantly. If any delay is allowed to creep in, a mighty army will be deputed to expedite your destruction, and to smash your head. The evil intentions harboured by you will be driven out from your head in the twinkling of an eye. Your obstinacy and refractoriness will not be conducive to your best interests. (Hence) you must lend a ready ear to the orders of the superiors and deeming them as most urgent and imperative must comply with them.¹

Translation of Birjis Qadar's Hukumnamah addressed to Loni Singh, Taluqadar of Mitauli, dated Muharram 29, 1274 A. H. (19th Sept. 1857).

The petition of Toofan Singh, *Jamadar* of 1st Regiment Dhani sent as *Sazawal* to you, stating that refractoriness and mischief has prompted you to become an accomplice of the

¹ Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*.

heathens and tempted you not to hand them over and not to see the men of Gajadhar Singh's *Paltan* who had entrusted them to you, and that you are bent upon creating disturbances, was submitted to me. The Govt. *Harkaras* and the soldiers of the Regiment communicate that the heathens are enjoying the protection of your men at Kanchangarh, rather, they are practically staying with you. Consequently, the guard deputed by this *Sarkar* is reaching you in good haste. You must bear it in mind that, in case the men of the army returned disappointed, a mighty army will be despatched to crush your head and to efface your very name and reduce your *Ilaga* to fragments. You must hand over the heathens and consider this order as extremely imperative.¹

Translation of Hukumnamah of Birjis Qadar to Loni Singh, Taluqadar of Mitauli, dated Safar 3, 1274 A. H. (25th Sept. 1857).

Toofan Singh and others on their return from you (Loni Singh) stated that you did not hand over the Englishmen through obstinacy and refractoriness and that your *Vakils* and soldiers have fled away from the royal palace. I wanted you to come to your senses and choose the right path, but you did not, because you are destined to be ruined. Therefore as a consequence of this disobedience you have been fined Rs. 50,000 and with your ejection your *Ilaga* has been given over to Raja Man Singh *Qaim Jang* who is loyal and faithful to this Govt. You have been exiled from the dominions and very soon the victorious army will be sent for uprooting and driving you out, which will give the punishment you deserve for your misdeeds. Your faithlessness and disobedience have brought you to this end. Whatever you have done will yield fruits. You have become an enemy of this Govt. and of the victorious army. You have packed up your chattels, conspired with the heathens and have thus lowered the prestige of your house. I give you ten days more and instruct you that within this period of ten days you should present all the heathens to the royal presence. You will then be pardoned. If not, you should consider yourself sent to hell. You should comply with the orders.¹

¹ Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*.

Translation of Birjis Qadar's Hukummamah to Raja Loni Singh of Mitauli, dated Safar 22, 1274 A. H. (12th Oct. 1857).

Your apprehension about the possible murder of Capt. Orr at our hands is prompted by your foolishness... (Mss. torn); we at present, wish to make overtures to the Englishmen in Bailly Guard, through Capt. Orr and Mr. Jackson. As Mr. Orr is an old servant of this house, and enjoys our confidence he is emphatically and urgently called (to our presence). I personally stand security for the safety of the lives of these Englishmen and promise on God's oath never to deviate from my promise to safeguard their lives and to transact terms of mutual settlement through him. You can send them with your own soldiers and to the satisfaction of our Government. But you should make it a point to send them in fetters to enable the people of the army to see that they (the Britishers) have been called, under royal displeasure. Besides, there lurks the danger of an attack of the English soldiers of the Bailly Guard who might do so on their way. This Government is desirous to make use of them. When they present themselves here, they will be unfettered and kept in comfort and with honour. In order to ensure satisfaction to these Englishmen, a deed of gift on oath bearing my seal is being executed out. If you fail to act up to it and do not despatch them, you will be held enemy of both the Governments. Undoubtedly, in case of non-compliance of this order the *Hukummamah* dated 5th *Safar*, 1274 (25th Sept. 1857) stipulating your ruin and destruction will be enforced without the least indulgence. It is essential that none should know of this *Hukummamah*. You should bring in the ladies and the gentlemen and consider this order as most emphatic and imperative.¹

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Raja Jai Lal Singh's letter to Rameshwar Bahsh, Taluqadar Mallawan², dated 12th Zilhijja, 1273 A. H. (3rd August 1857).

It has been learnt from the deposition of Thakur Guman

¹ Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*.

² *Mallawan*, Pargana *Mallawan* Tahsil *Bilgram* Distt. *Hardoi*. - The capital of the pargana lies in latitude 27°3' north and longitude 80° 9' east, on the road from Bilgram to Unao, at a distance of ten miles south of Bilgram and 27 miles south of Hardoi. (*District Gazetteers*, Hardoi 1904, p. 219).

Singh, *Taluqadar* of Rampur¹ that the men of Raja Har Prasad Singh, *Chakledar* of Khyrabad *waive* the orders of handing over the belongings of the Englishmen and therefore two *Khasbardars* are being deputed, and you are ordered that on the receipt of this letter you should send the belongings of the English to the Government (of Awadh), in accordance with the arrangements of the above-named Thakur, under the *Khasbardars* and the guard of your own men and those of the above-named *Chakledar*. The men of the above-named *Chakledar* should desist from further interference in this matter and should act upto the repeated orders.²

Ghulam Muwtaza's letter addressed to the King.

Your Majesty !

I beg to submit that I was in 1st Oudh regiment stationed at *Kothi Dilkusha*, Lucknow Cantonment, during the regime of the *Kafirs* (English). The Commander, Daly, first made me a *Dafadar* of 1st Regiment. Eleven months after it the whole army was overtaken by a feeling of hatred for the service under the Nazarines. On learning about this the armies revolted in their Camps, all over India. At that time, two troops of 1st Regiment reached Lucknow from Colonel Ganj Cantonment and two troops of 2nd Regiment under the Command of Gall were attached to my troop. The *Kafirs* (English) took all these four troops of the two regiments for an assault on Cawnpore. The *Kafirs* encamped at two places and kept those troops armed and ready for action for three days and nights as they (the *Kafirs*) had no confidence in any of the three *Paltans* and *Risalas* of Cavalry posted at Cawnpore. Keeping secret *their defeat in the Doab*, the *Kafirs* sent the four new troops to Delhi last year after the *Id* prayers. It then flashed to the minds of these religious minded *sipahis* that they were being led to Delhi to fight for the British and that each of them would

¹ *Rampur*, District *Sitapur*—Rampur is a large village lying on the left bank of the Chauka in latitude 27° 22' north and longitude 81° 19' east, opposite Jairampur in pargana Sadrpur District Sitapur. It is connected with Biswan by an unmetalled road which crosses the Chauka by a ferry and runs through Bansura and Sadrpur. (*District Gazetteers*, Sitapur 1905, p. 206).

² Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

turn an apostate on doing so. Finding no way out they killed three chiefs of the *Kafirs* on the way close to the converging point of the districts of the Etah and Mainpuri; and pinning their faith in Heaven went to Delhi and joined the army of God. For 15 days and nights they fought stubbornly against the *Kafirs* and did not allow them to form the *morcha* of guns. Then, Bakht Khan (Illegible) . . . Bareilly cantonment with a great following of 3 *Paltans*, 2 *Risalas*, two Camps of artillery 1000 (illegible) *Kafirs* of Babugarh with 50 elephants and immense treasure reached Delhi. Bakht Khan's arrival at Delhi was looked upon by the armies at Delhi as a great help and so they were jubilant for they considered that in a day or two they would inflict a crushing defeat on the *Kafirs*. As the shadow of God (King of Delhi) had given Bakht Khan full authority over the army, the wretch halted at fifteen places and did not allow any of the troops to fight the *Kafirs*. Considering the interval of 15 days to prove advantageous for them the *Kafirs* set up a *morcha* of 80 guns at the Ridge of Wazirabad which is adjacent to the northern part of Shah-jahanabad. Then the passage of troops through Kashmiri Darwaza and Kabuli Darwaza was blocked thereby worsening every day Bakht Khan's chances of winning the battle. All the *Mahajans* and *Sahukars* (bankers and creditors) of the town, Ahmad Quli Khan, the father-in-law of the King, Hakim Ahsan Ullah Khan, Nawab Ahmad Ali Khan and Zinat Mahal conspired with the *Kafirs*. They created bad blood amongst the chiefs of the army and made the matters all the more worse. The army grew despondent and it marched towards Lucknow. But I continued to stay in the neighbourhood of Delhi with 30 sawars, as Delhi is my homeland and I love it as such. The place I stayed was the *Khalsa* land of the *Kafirs*, so they became my enemies. The *Kafirs* were patrolling this district with the strength of one thousand sawars and *piyadah* (horsemen and foot-soldiers). (I had to be dislodged from my place) and perforce, after bearing all the trouble of the journey I reached Lucknow. Here at Lucknow, the Chiefs of 1st Regiment had through flattery from the outset established friendly relations with short-sighted officials like Sharf-uddaulah and Mammoo Khan for their selfish ends. Sharf-uddaulah had entrusted all powers to some of those chiefs who were secretly in league with the *Kafirs*. I applied to Sharf-uddaulah for being reinstated but he refused. At last

I sold my mare for Rs. 150/- and took loans from my friends and relatives and thus passed 4 months (in straitened circumstances).

At last I went with Wajid Ali Khan, the *Naib Risaldar* of my Regiment, to his brother who was given a new troop by Sharf-uddaulah and was offered the same appointment in that new *risala* as I held before. I accepted that job temporarily but was much pained to notice the behaviour of the men at the helm of affairs at Lucknow while they inspected the army for posting and granted *khilats* (robes of honour) to the *rajahs* against their own wishes and imputed Your Majesty with the charge of conspiracy with the *Kafirs*. (Unfortunately for them) their impudent lies were exposed. By God's grace you are the fountain of wisdom and truth and if the administration at Lucknow would have been carried out according to Your Majesty's directions and suggestions such destruction would not have been her lot. I had reached Mauza Maholi in company with Wajid Ali Khan, sent by the Begum to capture Salik Ram *Tahsildar* of Shahabad when Your Majesty arrived and I joined you. I have been a victim to the injustice of the Chiefs of the army inasmuch as they have made such *sipahis*, sawars and labourers who had never seen a *morcha*, *Risala tars* while they have given me no place in the regiment. Your Majesty has constituted the army on the English model. This arrangement (I feel) is good. They should have parades both in the morning and evening, the orders should be regularly obeyed and the pickets should be kept ready both day and night.

There are three things which hasten the decline of the state and (unfortunately) all these three are to be found both at Delhi and Lucknow, namely (1) the idleness and negligence of the *Wazir* (2) the embezzlement by the *Dabeer* and (3) tyranny over the down trodden and the low.

I have experienced all the above three things here; to repeat, the Chiefs of the army draw the salaries of the *sipahis* and the sawars but do not distribute them, rather keep the money with themselves without giving a single shell from it to the *sipahis*. If any of the wise army officers were to carry on the administration of the army, no case of disobedience would take place because the army is (even now) faithful and obedient.

Your Majesty possesses all the good traits of a ruler

namely, humility, bravery, wisdom, open-handedness and learning. Submitted.

May God keep the sun of your prosperity and wealth ever shining.¹

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT

(An Account by Kavanagh)

After the capture of Lucknow in March, 1858, I employed an intelligent native to collect information respecting the proceedings of the rebel government during the period we were surrounded by them, and the following summary of his labour will show how the people of Oudh governed themselves after a hundred years experience of the European systems of administration in India. There are separate stages of government for different stages of civilization, and no human exertion can disturb them. Governments advance or retrograde as the people they rule advance or recede in the scale of civilization. The European endeavoured to force the laws of nature upwards, but when his support was withdrawn the whole system fell to the level of the people.

The mutineers, exulting at their success at the battle of Chinut (Chinhat), crossed the river Goompty (Gomti) at different points, and, while some invested the English entrenchment, others spread through the city in search of Europeans and Christians, and persons suspected of being partial to them; most of whom were dragged from their concealment and atrociously murdered. Captain Savory, a retired officer of the Indian Service, was one of the victims, who after surrendering his treasure on the promise of his life was pulled from his house suffering with rheumatism, and, being unable to walk as fast as his captors, they shot and bayoneted him on the road to the Kaisur Bagh Palace; where the reward subsequently demanded for his hoary head was refused, for he was held in great esteem by the nobility of Lucknow.

The city police were supposed to be staunch supporters of our authority, because they guarded the gallows at the executions before the Old Castle; were seen retreating from Chinut (Chinhat); and fired at the mutineers when they approached

¹ Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

their fortified position in the square of the Great *Imambarah*. The most vindictive pursuit of these unlucky wretches was maintained in the city for several days, and many citizens were shot down only for resembling them. The vagabonds of the city, released from all restraint, plundered the terrified townsmen, encouraged by the soldiery, who, on the pretext of searching for Christians, entered and robbed the houses of the weak and defenceless.

The people, alarmed at the licence of the troops, began to desert the place, and to remove their valuables in the dead of the night. The conservancy establishment, organized by us, dissolved itself, and the accumulation of filth sickened the unfortunate inhabitants. They appealed in vain to the rebel leaders for protection, and the restoration of that order of things which they had a few days before seen extinguished with acclamations of joy. There seemed to be only one leader with the will to help them and the Moulvie Ahmud-oolla, always anxious to be acknowledged as the head of the Government, warned the troops that they must desist, and appointed police officers, with large rapacious retinues, to enforce his authority. He had it proclaimed that the citizens might put to death all persons attempting to plunder them, and taking up his abode in the beautiful building known as the Observatory, adopted all the airs and ceremonials of royalty. The party in the Palace, annoyed at an impertinence that threatened to arrest their ambitious projects, incited the troops to resent the proclamation, which was particularly directed at them; and the Moulvie was robbed and ignominiously driven from the Observatory, to which he was afterwards only suffered to return at the entreaty of the Mahomedan cavalry. He had not yet obtained the ascendancy over the Hindoo troops that subsequently gave so much trouble to the Begum and her supporters.

The mutineers, wishing to perpetuate their authority, decided upon electing a King, subject to the Emperor at Delhi. This resolution was no sooner known in the Palace, than the Queens began to hold meetings, in which the merits of the different aspirants were angrily discussed, and intrigues concocted for defeating the intention of the troops. The proposal to bestow the Crown on Birjis Kudr was fiercely resented, for he was regarded as the son of a low woman, purchased by Wajid Ali Shah (the King in captivity) and

seduced before he saw her. But the perseverance of her paramour, Mummoo Khan, and the influence of a large bribe to the "Council of Military Commanders", subdued all opposition, and the boy mounted the throne.

The day of the coronation, mutineers, without distinction of rank, crowded into the Palace and spread through the halls, creating the utmost consternation by their disregard of all decorum, and by their noisy comments on the person and appearance of the lad. Some likened him to a God; some admonished him not to abandon himself to wine, women, and fiddlers; and others loudly declared that he was too young and timid, as he stood trembling before the tumultuous crowd of armed men, and started at the report of the muskets discharged close around him in honor of the occasion. The Begum, dreading the violence of the rude and disorganized soldiery, withdrew him to her private apartments, and for a while bemoaned the bad destiny of her son, whose reign threatened to be a short and dangerous one.

An attempt was made to reduce the troops to some show of subordination by appointing Generals, Brigadiers, Colonels, Majors, and Captains; but as the "Military Council" were well paid by the competitors, this difficult duty was rather slowly performed, and the nominations sometimes resisted by the soldiery, who boasted of being the *Alpha* and *Omega* of the whole administration. The civil offices of the city were nominally restored, and plunder stopped, excepting by the officials themselves, who dealt out justice to complainants according to their ability to pay, or the power of the offender to resist. The old regiments were promised more pay, and new levies were raised with great names and little discipline. The Court in the Kaisur Bagh Palace gradually assumed an appearance of splendour, and sent proclamations into the province announcing the extermination of the English, and inviting the Barons to co-operate in restoring the rule of their rightful sovereign. The call was responded to, and, by the close of the first month, the multitude of armed men investing the British entrenchment increased to a hundred thousand, when the streets were overrun by bands of music and numerous banners, with wretchedly mounted cavalcades behind them.

No government can exist without money, especially one composed of the most corrupt and unscrupulous men in the world; and, as the Barons of Oudh were only profuse

in promises, raids were made occasionally into the country to fetch in money; bankers were cajoled and threatened; traders were squeezed; the treasures of absent noblemen were dug up from their concealment, and contracts of the revenue sold, for a fourth of their value to *Chukladars*—monsters who have always been regarded as the destroyers of Oudh. All these measures, however, failed to fill the treasury, and hence the extraordinary efforts made to replenish it with the sum so zealously guarded inside the Residency, and to force on the troops, and on poor tradesmen, cheques upon the Baillic Guard. Financial embarrassments, and the jealousy and intrigue inherent in native administrations, produced discord in the Palace, and discontent among the troops; and the whole body would have fallen to pieces but for the presence of the resolute band of Englishmen in the Residency.

Several attempts were made to force an entry to them, and the Court thrown into paroxysms of joy and grief by the arrival of messengers, who first reported that the "brave troops" were in, and fiercely fighting hand to hand with the defenders; then that they had reached the magazine and were cutting their way to the much coveted treasure; next that the English, rising from the dead, had cut off the assailants within the Residency; and, lastly, that it was all untrue, for the assailants were safely seated behind the streets, moaning the destruction dealt by the cursed English, who had hurled them back from the barricades. Each disaster infuriated the mutineers, who invariably assailed the Palace and abused the courtiers as friends of the English, or wreaked their disappointment on unresisting trades people, by shooting a few in their shops for resisting their arbitrary rates, or disbelieving the story that there were only five Europeans alive in the Residency. Affairs were tending to a dissolution when news reached of the advance of Havelock and the defeat of the Nana of Bithoor, who quickly followed himself. The friend was refused a royal salute by the Begum, and, therefore did not enter Lucknow; but his butchers from Cawnpoor implored for permission to assault the British defences, and, the favour being conceded, many did not survive to repeat the offer.

The alarm produced by Havelock's success drew the leaders together again, and the troops, instructed by the Moulvie, submitted to their authority, but refused to proceed beyond the Alum Bagh, till a large sum of money was distributed

among them; when they marched out, in great pomp, to leave their guns and shoes to the English at Oonao, Busheerutgunj, and Nawabgunj, to which they ventured to return only when well assured that the "Iron-sides" were not there, but across the sacred waters of the Ganges.

The mischievous ascendancy of the Moulvie over the troops began more and more to endanger the courtiers, who struggled in vain to humble the presumptuous fanatic. He had somehow gained a high reputation for courage, of which the authorities of the Palace were utterly destitute; and, by working on the religious credulity of the troops, and encouraging their excesses, he became the hero of the army, which believed in his invulnerability, even after a bullet from a British rifle had smashed his thumb. The conceit and bombast of the fellow were peculiarly pleasing to Asiatics, who consider it the essence of authority to assume the airs of greatness, and to affect to be under the protection of the Gods.

The inaction of Havelock, for a while, greatly raised the spirit of the runaways, who entreated to be led on to Cawnpoor, and only desisted on its being explained to them, that, though hitherto favoured with victory, they might fail in so desperate an undertaking, when it would be easy for the defenders of the Residency to effect their escape. The great Commanders, exhorted by the Begum, harassed the Europeans in the Residency; and, as far as arranging for their destruction, made most desperate efforts; but the troops had been so often repulsed, and were so convinced that the whole of the defences were undermined, that neither threats, rewards, nor reproaches, could get them on to the walls again. They had a wonderful opinion of our proficiency underground, and it was the current belief that we had subterranean passages to the granaries of friends in the city, through which we replenished our stores; and the report caused several grain merchants to be closely watched, and forbidden to go to market for more.

The Court of Lucknow, anxious for encouragement from the Emperor, despatched a special envoy to Delhi loaded with presents, which were received without any particular mark of condescension; and, after staying several days to observe the desperate and disheartening posture of affairs in that doomed city, the envoy returned to Lucknow with letters overflowing with joy at the extirpation of the infidels, and a mouth full of lying stories of the marvellous valour of the muti-

neers within, and the deplorable condition of the British troops outside the stone fortifications of Delhi. Letters of congratulation were afterwards exchanged, and their arrival at Lucknow was always announced by Royal salutes, and dancing and singing in the city; the noise of which reached the Residency defenders, without exciting more than intense curiosity to know the cause of so much gladness. The last Imperial missive was followed by a messenger from the Ganges with intelligence that Havelock was building a bridge of boats, and a few days later that he was crossing into Oudh; which suddenly stopped the fiddlers and dancers, and threw the whole city into a panic. Councils met and dispersed without fixing on any plan of resistance, and leaders swore to the courage and fidelity of their troops without going out to prove it. The hour of trial brought discord and dissension among the Chiefs, and shameful reproaches from the Begum, which only produced the customary amount of oaths to vanquish the cursed infidel, or die in attempting it. Rajah Man Singh, up to this time, had kept his force of guns and matchlockmen away from the rebel camp, and given the Chiefs no more than his hearty good wishes; but now he joined the bewildered Council, and restored its confidence by offering to go himself and beat back the impudent invaders.

The citizens were warned, by proclamations, that the English would surely convert them to Christianity if victorious, and exhorted, in the name of God, to co-operate in defending the religion of their fathers. They were reminded of the massacres at Cawnpoor and elsewhere, and assured that the English would avenge them, in Lucknow, by the indiscriminate slaughter of women and children; and they were told that the infidel army was so small that it must be defeated if courageously opposed. The mass of citizens remained at home, and made their preparations for leaving the city, knowing pretty well, from experience, to which side the hand of victory pointed. Mutineers and matchlockmen from the province, after tying up their valuables to be handy for flight, proceeded to the Alum Bagh in the wake of Mummoo Khan, the paramour, who was dragged there in a ricketty carriage-and-four.

Outram and Havelock again crossed the Ganges, unencumbered by baggage, and rapidly advanced, through torrents of rain, to cut their way to the little garrison of Luck-

now. A short fight won the Alum Bagh, and the following morning, after an obstinate resistance, the enemy were driven from the masonry bridge leading into the city. The prodigious mass of undisciplined and disheartened rebels fell back upon the palaces and mansions skirting the river, creating the utmost alarm. The Begum and ladies of the Kaisur Bagh, fearing for their lives, implored to be allowed to leave the city, from which thousands were already in full flight. Shurf-ood-dowlah, the Prime Minister, aware that little more was needed to drive the whole of the troops away, stopped them, and, placing himself at the head of a band of volunteers, issued from the Palace to oppose Sir James Outram and Havelock as they approached the Red Gate. A shell bursting among them threw the whole gang into disorder, and the minister was carried back, groaning, with a disabled arm, for which he afterwards got very great praise.

Some Europeans, Christians, and friendly natives, (amounting to about thirty,) captured in Lucknow, and sent in from the Province, were retained in prison, where they endured hunger and insult more horrible than death. After the defeat at the Alum Bagh, a mutineer regiment, encouraged by the Moulvie, demanded the surrender of the prisoners, who, enclosed in a rope, were led outside the Kaisur Bagh and slaughtered, the women being exposed naked to the ribaldry of the executioners. The troops were led to commit this atrocious deed by a suspicion that the courtiers would secure their own safety through the English captives, and afterwards betray them; and, by murdering the prisoners, they hoped to compromise them to an unpardonable degree.

The British leaders reached the Residency, and, dreading to pursue their success too far, with their reduced force, remained there; and, in a few days, the camp of the mutineers rang with cries of victory, which fetched back the host of cowards that quitted the city, to re-enact, for nearly two months more, with few variations, the farce already described. The Moulvie's reputation for valour reached so great a height that he boasted of being an Incarnation of the Deity, and the folks of the Palace found it difficult to prevent his usurping the entire control of affairs. His predictions of complete success; of the ultimate extension of the rule of the army to the sea; and of "beating his drum in London", flattered the misguided wretches, and hurried them on to repeated assaults on the new

positions occupied by General Outram, from which many never returned. The mutineers were increased by fugitives from Delhi, who, however, were held in small estimation by the Oudians, (Awadhians) and kept at a distance, in order that they might have no pretext for sharing in the booty of the Residency.

The advance of Sir Colin Campbell, for the final relief of the beleaguered garrison, was prepared for in a more orderly manner than before, after the troops had extorted more money; but his fiery progress quickly produced a panic, which lasted till the withdrawal of the heroic defenders of Lucknow, and the retreat of the English; a movement the rebels viewed with surprise, and celebrated by rejoicings. Before the termination of the siege, they buried upwards of ten thousand men.¹

MAULVI AHMAD ULLAH SHAH

MAULVI OF FAIZABAD AND HIS ASSOCIATES

MAULVI AND BIRJIS QADAR

The (so-called) 'King of Fyzabad' was a *Fakeer* and a fanatic: he was almost foremost in action. Till Lucknow was taken, he kept up kingly state in that city as an ally; though he was an inveterate enemy of the boy 'King' whom he was intriguing to supplant on the throne.....

MAMMOO KHAN

The Generals and other high Military officials were all in subordination to the Queen Mother's paramour, Mummoo Khan; the Chief Civil appointments seem to have been bought by their holders, many of them for contributions to the extent of many lakhs.

SARISHTEDAR DID NOT DRAW SALARY

The *Sherishtadar* of the King's Court was one of these men; he supplied many lakhs of money, as the sinews of war; and declined to have any salary attached to his office, till such time as the Province should have been effectually wrested from

¹ T. H. Kavanagh: "*How I won the Victoria Cross*" (London 1860), Pp. 124-134.

the British. This man was empowered to sign for the king during his minority; and enjoyed the honour of advancing money to the late King's concubines.....

'Nawab Moom-ood-doula (sic.), who had supplied a large force in men, and extensive supplies, had negotiated the marriage of his daughter with the young King. He had set out with a large army from Lucknow to reinforce rebels at Farrackabad, but was obliged to return on the receipt of intelligence that they had been routed and put to flight by the

YOOSUFF KHAN (YUSUF KHAN)

All matters of revenue (not an unimportant source of which was arbitrary confiscation) were entrusted to one Yoosuff Khan, whose official designation was "Collector of *Zillah* Lucknow, and commandant of the Balla Gunge Artillery"; this man was a relation of the Queen's paramour Mummoo Khan.

MUSSAMI ABBASHEE (ABBASI)

Another important item of revenue was supplied by women of a profession whose designation is unmentionable. Of these there were crowds in Lucknow; and one man Mussami Abbashee had undertaken to pay to the state 60,000 Rupees per annum for the farm of one particular *Chukla*, or resort of such persons. This estimable contractor united in himself the offices of public pander and contractor for the conduct of affairs connected with the *Dewanee* and *Faujdarce Adawlut*s of the city. For the latter appointment he paid to the state 18,000 Rs. per annum.

EUNUCHS AS COMMANDANTS

The Chief military commandants—in name at least—seem to have been eunuchs attached to the Palace.

It appears the first intention of the rebels was to crown Shazedah Salema Shikoh¹, son of King Umjud Ali, and brother of Wajed Ali who is imprisoned at Calcutta. He refused the dignity which they would have thrust upon him; and consequently the rebels, who wished to have been his subjects,

¹ Sulaiman Shikoh.

pillaged his treasury of 3 Lakhs of Rupees and since continued to oppress him.¹

PARTICULARS ABOUT AHMAD ULLAH SHAH

Q. What was the history of Moulvie Ahmedoolla Shah commonly known in the rebellion as "the Moulvie" ?

A. He was a *Fukeer* who had for a year or two previous to the outbreak openly preached a crusade against the British at Agra and elsewhere in the N. W. P. He gave himself out to be a disciple of Mehrab Shah a holy man of Gwalior in which city Ahmedoolla Shah had resided a long time. After the annexation of Oude he went to Fyzabad and resumed his seditious course and began assembling a party of Mahomedans to revenge the death of the Moulvie Amcer Alli who had been killed during the religious disturbances at Hunooman Ghurree (Garhi) in Fyzabad, some time previously. For all this disorderly conduct Ahmedoolla Shah was imprisoned by the British authorities at Fyzabad, on which occasion he forcibly resisted arrest & was only secured after being wounded. On the outbreak of the rebellion in Oude, he was liberated by the Mutineers and became an influential leader. The Mahomedans had great faith in him as an inspired prophet. This sentiment was strengthened (among) the followers of his own creed; and moreover became generally diffused among all classes of every religion in Oude by the apparent confirmation of his predictions as to the downfall of the British rule afforded by the temporary success of the rebellion in that province.

.....He commanded at the battle of Chinhut and conducted for a time the subsequent siege of the Residency of Lucknow. So popular a commander was the Moulvie with the Mutineers both on account of his bravery and his holy character, that the Begum after a time began to dread his paramount influence as dangerous to her authority. Accordingly, she organized a party to diminish the Moulvie's power and the measures she took to that end did not stop short of open attack. He then left the capital and took up his abode in a garden house in the suburbs (Hukeem Mendee kee Seraie). He was prominent in the defence of Lucknow when the Commander-in-Chief attacked it and was the last leader to quit

¹ "The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette", Calcutta, April 1858.

the captured works. After the first success of the British, the Moulvie had Shuruffood Dowlah, the Begum's minister, seized and imprisoned and at last killed on the allegation that he had favoured the British attack by previously introducing European soldiers in *doolies* within the works and through whose aid within, the assault from without succeeded. And this story sealed with the blood of the high criminal denounced, passed current among all classes in Oude and I believe does in the rebel camp to this day.

Q. How long had you known Moulvie Ahmedoolla Shah and where did you first meet him?

A. I met him first at Mohumdee in the midst of the rebellion, but I had long heard of him in his former calling of a *Fukeer*. When I became personally acquainted with the Moulvie I learnt that he had been to England.

Q. When and in what capacity do you know?

A. No—it never occurred to me to ask. I only remember he spoke with great apparent familiarity regarding localities in England; of persons in particular I don't remember his speaking, he speaks a little English.

Q. What was the Moulvie's age?

A. About 40 (Forty).

Q. Was he a well read man?

A. Not particularly. He knew Persian and a little Arabic.

Q. Had he command of money?

A. No—not at first but he possessed himself of much public treasure at Lucknow.

Q. To what traits of personal character would you attribute the influence he acquired as a leader?

A. First to his holy character, next he was brave, but above all to his penetration of character (sic.)¹. He chose his commanders at a glance. For instance, on first meeting Ismail Khan, he made him at once the General of his force, Zuhoor Alli was afterwards similarly distinguished. The service these two commanders of the Moulvie performed at the battles of Shahjehanpoor is well known. Peer Zuhoor Alli on that occasion was honoured with a special *Khillat*, an Elephant, Sword, Dagger and Shawls etc.

Q. Were you present when the Moulvie was killed at Powain²?

¹ It appears to be wrongly written for 'insight into character'.

² *Pawayan*.

A. No—I was not.

Q. Have you heard the manner of his death related by an eye witness ?

A. Yes—Moulvie Fuzzul Huq and Zuhoor Alli were present. He rode up almost unattended according to his usual custom to the gate of Powain, though held by a chief not in his interest, and summoned the Rajah to come out to him. A pistol being fired by one of the Moulvie's party was replied to by a shower of bullets from the matchlockmen on the walls and the Moulvie fell; his death was a heavy blow to the rebellion.

Q. Were there any Europeans with the rebels ?

A. One Serjeant who had become a Mussulman and was called Abdullah. He was under confinement at Delhie during the greater part of the siege. There were also a few Christian half-caste Drummers of the revolted regiment.

Q. Did you ever hear of any European foreigners aiding or instigating the rebellion in any way ?

A. No.

Q. From any circumstance that came to your knowledge could you gather that foreign influence had any concern whatever with the rebellion ?

A. I never heard any thing that led me to believe that the origin of the rebellion was attributable in any way to foreign influence but in the midst of the disturbances I heard from Azeemoolla Khan, the Nana's most confidential Officer and who had previously been on a mission from the Nana to Europe, that the Nana had then sent a *Vakeel* to France and expected aid from that nation.

Q. When Azecmoolla Khan went to Europe, did he visit or remain any time in France ?

A. I don't know but he spoke French fluently. I think he must have been in France at the time the Persian War broke out for I remember hearing him talk of having met the Persian Minister Furookh Khan. He was present also in Sebastopol during the siege and used to talk about it.¹

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, No. 312; National Archives, New Delhi. 'Deposition of Wazir Khan, late Sub. Asst. Surgeon of Agra Dispensary'.

CRY OF JEHAD IN OUDH (AWADH)¹

Translation of a Pamphlet entitled "Futūh Islam" or victory of the Mahomedan Faith.

INVOCATION

Praise be to God who gives victory to the followers of the Mahomedan faith.

Praise be to His Prophet Mahomed whose religion is glorious; to the Prophets, apostles, and descendants whose dignities are very high, and also to all the believers of the Mahomedan Faith, and to the *Ghazies*² who are exalted.

O Brethren ! at this present time, the execrable Christians are openly committing oppression and tyranny; they are killing innocent men, plundering their property, setting fire to their houses and shutting up their children in houses, some of which they burn down and the doors of others they build up (sic,). It has been very difficult for the *Hafezes* the learned and the pious to live in their houses. The said Christians felt no hesitation whatever in hanging great chiefs. These accursed Christians are so ungodly and inhuman, that they forcibly press

¹ This is the English translation of a Pamphlet entitled '*Futūh-i-Islām*' (Victory of Islam) which is an important document revealing the character of the Freedom Struggle in Awadh and pointing to its having been planned meticulously.

The exact date of the document is not mentioned. But the internal evidence lends some clue to that. The first four paragraphs, while speaking of the atrocities committed by the Britishers, exhort and invoke people to fight a Holy War against the infidels. Sepoys and citizens have been called upon to assemble at Kanpur to storm the mud fort there. People's help to defend the Freedom by rallying to the aid of Delhi and Lucknow has been invoked. The atrocities at Allahabad referred to in the document took place after 18th June. The two other evidence, viz. the call to assemble at Kanpur and invoking people's aid to defend Delhi and Lucknow, suggest the date of the issue of this document as lying between 5th July 1857 and 17th July 1857, the former being the date of the coronation of Birjis Qadar at Lucknow after the crucial battle of Chinhat (30th June 1857) and the latter the date of the fall of Kanpur. This was the period when the Awadh people rightly scented danger to Lucknow, in case already threatened Kanpur fell to the Britishers. This was also the time when Ahmad Ullah Shah was at the height of his influence after the battle of Chinhat. He was busy in appointing *Imams* and issuing *hukumnamahs*.

² *Ghazi* has been translated in the original in a marginal note as 'religious fanatics' but this translation is very misleading. cf. *Glossary*.

many poor people into their service, tie the hands of one with those of another, (leaving no gap at all between the ribs and the hands) in the form of a *Tuttee* or shutter and then, by pricking them with bayonets, force them to go in front to the field of battle, using them as shields for their own defence, while they themselves follow these helpless ones under the shelter of their bodies, which, in consequence, are struck by shots etc. etc. Such has been the state of anarchy, that the whole country has been insecure and plunderers are robbing the villagers and travellers, with impunity while they (the Christians) are not unemployed. They are also hanging men and ravaging villages. In fact these outrageous acts, are a prelude to the downfall of this (sic,) accursed people. As their past conduct in attempting to deprive the troops of their religion by applying impure substances to the cartridges and pressing those troops to use them, led to their destruction like dogs, as well as to the loss of their army and territories; so their present proceedings have converted their subjects also into enemies.

This (sic,) accursed people, have considered themselves as equal to the great Pharaoh, but they will all, please God, be butchered in the same manner as Pharaoh. If they succeed in re-establishing their authority, *great misfortunes will befall all the Hindoos and Mahomedans*, the people, the sepoys, the Kings and the *Wuzeers*. The delay in the annihilation of these Christians, is involving the loss of many innocent lives, a circumstance which renders the waging of a religious war at once with the execrable Christians one of our bounden duties, enjoined by the Prophet. God be praised that the necessary material for the execution of that duty has through his assistance been now put in our possession i.e. the guns etc., which are required for a religious war and which formerly the people of Hindoostan stood in need of; these are, through the Divine favor, now in the possession of the Mahomedan Kings of Delhi, and Lucknow. May God save the Kings of the Mahomedans and make them victorious. A few troops of the English are still alive but they are paralyzed. Whoever will not take advantage of this opportunity to make a religious war, will repent in future as such a chance will never again offer.

Consider that formerly it was not in the power of even the Nazabs and the Rajas to kill even a common sepoy of the British, but now shoemakers and sellers of spirituous liquors have destroyed British gentlemen of high dignity. As the sepoys first commenced killing them

who, in retaliation, are spilling the blood of innocent men and desolating their houses, they (the sepoys) should now proceed to every country and city and put the Christians to death that they (the sepoys) may not be held responsible on the day of Judgment, for their former acts. The sepoys ought not to assemble, all at one place, since the execrable English go every where, and fight. Though they are a low people like the shoemakers and spirit sellers, and have but a small body of troops, yet they get intelligence from every place. They wish by deceit to induce you to shut yourselves up in one place, so that you may be unable to go forward. For this purpose a small number of Europeans make their appearance at any place with toys in their hands, or having vermilion applied to some member of their bodies in order that you may imagine that they are about to practise enchantment on you, but in reality they come to deceive you, and their object in making their appearance in this manner is not to practise enchantment on you. Even if it be taken for granted that their object is enchantment, still it cannot avail them, as it becomes defeated by the repetition of the invocation "*Alla-Akber*". They sometimes give out that Europeans have arrived at certain places and through this craft (which is like that of a fox) confound the people; you should not, however, be confounded, but speak thus, "If they are come, what does it matter? They will all be destroyed". You ought to press on to such places as Cawnpore etc. What difficulty is there in going to Cawnpore? If you dread the mud fort of Cawnpore, whom have you chosen to reduce the Forts of Allahabad and Calcutta? It is you sepoys who have kindled the flames and these cannot be extinguished but by you. You should therefore fight and pray. Do not put off till tomorrow that which can be done today and whatever it is possible to do today, let it be done forthwith. It is now incumbent on the sepoys to consider the protection of Delhi and Lucknow as their first care, inasmuch as *these two places are the asylums of the sepoys and the people high and low*, and the Enemies have fixed their teeth on them, but God has made a bitter morsel for their teeth, and will continue to do so. A sufficient number of sepoys should be stationed in these two cities to protect them and to construct batteries at 8 or 10 miles distance from them in every direction. The remaining sepoys, after receiving orders from the King, should proceed to the East being accompanied by the

fanatics¹ who desire to make a religious war. They should kill and pursue the unbelieving people as far as Calcutta, congregating together in the same manner as clouds overspread the sky in the Turkish Empire and Syria. By doing so, Delhi and Lucknow will be well protected. It is above all things a duty to collect the people desirous of waging a religious war. There is no necessity for writing the advantages which will be derived from assembling them, since they are well known, and are of such importance as to be well worthy of the attention of the Ruler of the Country. If the Troops do not proceed to the East, the result will not be good. The advantages which will result need not be described, as they are manifest. Arise quickly in the name of God, and go forth to slay the infidels. May the Almighty give you strength, courage and victory. *Cause it to be proclaimed by beat of drum, that the sepoys are prohibited from plundering any one, more especially the people of the places which they may conquer.* The enemies have plundered those for whose protection you are going. If you also plunder them, to whom will they look for protection? *Punish immediately the plunderer and cause the plundered property to be restored to its owner. Pillage is the part of a criminal.* It is unlawful to say prayers, keeping the bier of such a person in the front for the benefit of his soul. *It is however lawful to plunder the property of the enemy; such plundered property is designated "Pize".*

The Chief (under whose command you will achieve conquests) will explain to you how that prize is to be divided among you. The persons whose property is plundered, curse the plunderers and their maledictions become quickly efficacious. The Prophet has said that the prayers of oppressed people are immediately granted by God. It is only through the efficacy of the maledictions of these men, that you have recently succeeded in killing the English of high dignity and thousands of Europeans; but, you are now flying before a small body of Europeans, whom even the shoemakers and spirit-sellers can put to death. Do not destroy any one else, but those, with whom you may be at war. A man with whom you are not fighting, ought to be put to death for his crimes by the executioner under orders of the King. It is the part of the sepoys,

¹ This word, obviously, has been used for 'Ghazis'.

and Religious fanatics, to destroy the infidels in the field of battle. The people should at present, offer thanks to the Almighty, and fight valorously, because this is the way to make good provisions for themselves. In the time of the Prophet (Mahomed) one thousand Mahomedans, living on the leaves of trees, fought with eighty thousand infidels. It is stated in the *Koran*, that one hundred pious Mahomedans can, by the power of God, overcome two hundred infidels and in like manner one thousand Mahomedans can overcome two thousand infidels. This blessing can be obtained if a holy leader be first appointed and then a religious war be undertaken. Now unite together, invoking God, and become of one mind. If you do not find a Koreshec¹ at this time when the infidels are paramount in power, it is of no consequence. Appoint a Mahomedan who is a Chief and in power, to be the leader of the Mahomedans and solemnly declare yourselves as his followers in order that his orders may have weight and force amongst you and others, so that all doubts may be removed and that your hearts may be fixed on killing the enemy or on dying yourselves. These arrangements will of course afford every satisfaction to us all.

It is incumbent on one thousand *Ghazees* to be steadfast in opposing two thousand infidels, but it is unlawful for them to take flight. The more obstinately they will fight, the greater spiritual benefit will accrue to them. Hence, the *Ghazees*, though one thousand in number, will, please God, never fly even before ten thousand Europeans.

Kursh is an animal living in the sea, all other creatures of which dread it. From this word the term "Koresch" above alluded to has been derived. Koresch means little Kursh the letter ك (or 'e') being added to it. Ghaleb, son of Taher, who was one of the ancestors of the last Prophet, was called "Koresch" on the ground that all the nations dreaded him. His descendants are designated Koreshees. The Syuds, Siddikies, Furookies, Osmahees, Alvees and the Abbassees are Koreshees. The Arabs are the bravest of all the nations in the whole world and the Koreshees are the most courageous amongst the Arabs. Hence God made the last Prophet a descendant of the Koreshee family of Arabia and

¹ 'A man of the brave Koreshee tribe of Arabia'—Marginal note in Original.

caused the Koreshees and all other Arabs, to be his descendants and the followers of his faith, in order that when the Arabians and the Koreshees should be zealous for their religion, such religion might be propagated throughout the world. Certain sages have therefore pronounced it unlawful to appoint Commanders except of the Koreshee family. But if at the time when the infidels become paramount in power, a Koreshee be not found, any Mahomedan Chief endowed even with a few of the qualities of a leader and observing the tenets of the Mahomedan Law can, as a matter of necessity, be selected as Chief. This leader will be called "*Imam Akber*" and great benefits will be derived from him in the cause of our faith. The leader who draws money on pretence of fighting for the faith, and appropriates it to his own use, is a great hypocrite. In short it is held lawful, even by the religious books, that the orders of a Mahomedan Chief, of whatever description he may be, should be obeyed. *Commonsense and a regard for faith point out that servitude under the Mahomedan Chiefs and such Rajahs as are dependants of the Mahomedan Kings is infinitely better than that, under the infidel Victoria and the English, the enemies of our faith.* After a Chief has been appointed, he will select other Chiefs among the army, some of whom will command the *Pioneers*, (or the persons who lie in an ambuscade in the day time and make attacks at night and who do not exceed four thousand in number nor fall short of four hundred and sometimes whose least number is 100) and others will lead the *Jaesh*, whose number is unlimited, but does not fall short of four thousand. The leaders of these two classes are called "*Ameer Serrya*" and "*Ameer Jaesh*" respectively. It is our bounden duty to obey the command of these two grades of leaders, agreeably to the orders of the Chief Commander as also to serve the latter.

The Hindoos should join the Chief with a view to defend their religion, and should solemnly pledge themselves (to be faithful); the Hindoos and the Mahomedans, as brethren to each other, should also butcher the English, inasmuch as formerly the Mahomedan Kings protected (as they felt it incumbent on them to do) the lives and property of the Hindoos with their children in the same manner as protected those of the Mahomedans, and all the Hindoos with heart and soul were obedient and loyal to the Mahomedan Kings. The very Hindoo and Mahomedan Nations with the very books are now existing. The Hindoos will remain steadfast to their

religion, while we will also retain ours. Aid and protection will be offered by us to each other. The accursed Christians were anxious to make both the Hindoos and the Mahomedans, Christians, but, by God's blessing they themselves have, on the contrary, been ruined. They have now no troops, not even in England. All have been destroyed, with the exception of a small number in this country. They should be annihilated and thereby all the disturbances will be at an end. The adoption of the following measures will lead to their destruction, viz.: A proclamation should be issued both to the troops and people of Bengal if possible, or if otherwise, as far as possible at present, to the effect that the people of every city, whether Hindoos or Mahomedans, should be unanimous in attacking simultaneously this accursed nation (by the appointment of a leader in each city). *If all the attacks be made in one and the same day, it will be well and good, if otherwise, they ought to be made in one and the same month, but at an interval of 2 or 4 days only in order, that these execrable men may see no hope whatever, in assembling themselves at any city, but may remain, in small numbers at different places and thus be destroyed.* Our object in repeatedly requiring you to appoint Chiefs, is to gain for you the spiritual benefit and speedy mercy of God, from the execution of the injunctions of the Mahomedan Law, and not to remain without a Chief. The fact is that the English have a Chief over them, but not God in their favor; whereas He sides with us. He has provided us, the Mahomedans, with a King to arrange our affairs, but as our arrangements are lately made, whereas those of the English are of a century's standing, and as disturbances have taken place every where, how is it then possible for one individual (the King) to be present at every place or to depute Chiefs there, since he has no time to do so? It is therefore incumbent on us to appoint a leader or Chief forthwith and to obey his commands for the purpose of destroying the English. The adoption of the following measures will lead to their destruction, viz.: the *Ghazees*, among the people, as well as those among the troops, both horse and foot, who are very brave and experienced in War, should with one accord slay the Christians in the field of battle, invoking at the same time "*Alla Akber*". The people should seek opportunities to harass the enemy and render every service to the sepoys who should employ all the skill they have acquired in killing the English and should take example from the acts

of the latter, i.e. if the English sit down, they should lie down; if the English divide their Army into three or more parts, our sepoys should make as many divisions of the troops or more than those divisions, and two or three divisions of our army should proceed to kill one division of theirs. Besides this they should act up to the established rules. They should fire such guns of such calibre, that their balls may scatter the English on the ground, while those of the latter may not reach them. They are to surround the English by stratagem and kill them. They are in like manner either, to destroy the houses in which Christians may have concealed themselves or to make a breach for their entrance therein by firing guns of such large calibre as can dismantle a fort. When fire is to be opened, it is to be kept up so briskly that the enemy may not have time to return it. Several guns are to be fired at once, at the time, when they may be expected to do much execution. The Artillery men are to take the usual rest, but the fire is to be kept up. If they have to fight for three hours, they should keep with them a sufficient quantity of ammunition to last them for 24 hours. They should make a simultaneous attack and not allow their men to be slain by dividing them into small bodies. If they make simultaneous attack all the infidels will be paralyzed, through fear of a large body of troops and be destroyed. It is enjoined by our faith that all its ordinances should be observed at the times appointed for their execution. When it does not rain, man is obliged to go out to the meadow to pray to the Almighty for rain. The time has now come for the appointment of a leader to wage a religious war. When a leader is to be appointed, all misfortunes will be at an end and a report of the commencement of a religious war will be spread. The *Ghazees* will come from every direction and your troops will be innumerable as locusts.

It is a fact, that the solemn promise of sepoys to his commander on the occasion of a religious war, is as binding as that of a person to his Spiritual Guide, at the time of the expiation of his sins. The fulfilment of such solemn act by anyone, wins for him great advantages and blessings and makes him always successful. When a man makes such solemn declaration to his Spiritual Guide, he feels that he will derive spiritual benefit from him; he entertains strong feelings of attachment and devotion towards him; he looks upon all his acts as correct and good and he considers it easy under his orders to sacrifice

his life, property, and honor in the path to God. In like manner the sepoys in obeying the orders of their commander (who is regarded as a Spiritual Guide) will, with readiness devote their lives to the service of the Almighty. When there is already a Chief in power in any city it is unnecessary to seek for another Chief to make him a leader, for the Almighty has already provided that place with a Chief and it is unlawful to appoint two leaders at one and the same place, a law which is prescribed in the Theological Books. It is incumbent on the people to appoint that Chief as their commander and to act up to his orders and to consider him as their Spiritual Guide and also with one accord under his command to butcher all the Europeans. They (the sepoys) should, with heart and soul, render obedience to their immediate commandant, whom the commander will appoint and should expel the English infidels from this Country as early as possible. The *Ameer* of the *Jaesh* (i.e. the Commander-in-Chief) will be present with them and issue commands to the right and left wings of the Army as he may deem necessary. He will skilfully lead the troops. When the leader is not skilled in war, he suffers defeat. A good General obtains victory by a skilful disposition of his forces. We give as a specimen the following rules of warfare. The other rules are well-known to the brave sepoys, viz. in the first place count the number of fighting men and prepare muster rolls; appoint intelligent and faithful men as your spies, that they may furnish news not only every day and night, but hourly, regarding the army of the enemy, since spies are the hands and legs of the person who employs them. The accursed English have been saved from destruction only by the help of spies. When a body of troops are doing battle at any place, all other troops should render them every assistance, even though not previously acquainted with them. For they ought to know, that the disgrace of a defeat of the troops engaged in war, will not be confined to them alone, but that on the contrary, the discomfiture of any troops in India will expose all the people thereof to shame. When they hear of the attack of an enemy, they should hold consultation with all the troops and occupy themselves day and night in taking steps to expel the enemy. After the consultation has been held, they should select one thousand or five hundred of the strongest youths (more or less, as circumstances require), fit for making an attack unawares. These should hide them-

selves in a neighbouring place, and on receiving correct information from their spies, they should attack the enemy all of a sudden when they find them negligent and careless. They should apply themselves to the execution of the duties which have been already appointed (sic, assigned) to them. Some of them should cut the ropes of the tents, others should sever the heel ropes and hind stalls of the horses. Some should seize upon the arms and guns, others should fire volleys on the enemy, and put them to the sword. Some should hide themselves in the jungles, ravines, and valleys, and cut off the supplies of the enemy and kill, both in the day time and at night, their *Syees* (grass-cutters), horse and foot and also their spies. They should continue to do so through a vast tract of land, extending many miles. They should make satisfactory arrangements regarding the rivers. The enemy will, please God, be driven even from the most distant places.

When the troops have to fight in the open plain, they should first hold a deliberate consultation evincing resignation to the Almighty and they should offer up fervent prayers to him. All the Hindoos and Mahomedans will afterwards invoke God and commence fighting. It is lawful to attack unawares and deceive an enemy so that stratagems should be resorted to but mutual promises should not be broken. All should be unanimous and vigilant in the field of the battle. The Commanders and Chiefs should encourage the Troops, and incite them by shouts, exclaiming thus, "Oh Warriors brave", "Oh Warriors, you have fought desperately". "Oh Warriors, you have overcome the enemy". "Oh Warriors, why should it not be so"? "A hundred thanks are due to your mothers, whose milk has proved so invigorating". "Oh Warriors, now the victory is gained". "Advance Warriors", "Advance Brethren". "Advance Heroes, we have now gained the victory". "Be bolder my Warriors, we have now gained the victory. Behold the enemy are turning their backs". "Good ! oh my Warriors, and strike". "Oh my tigers, pounce upon the Jackals". "Bravo, brave Warriors. Why should you not uphold my Honor". "Oh Brethren, you have saved my nose today". "Bravo ! brave". "Oh *Ghazees*, you have upheld my honor". "Oh Warriors, take care that you do not incur the shame of losing this turban". "Oh *Ghazees*, be careful, lest you incur shame, if I lose my beard". "Oh Brethren, kill the enemy". "Oh Warriors, slay the

enemy". "Oh *Ghazees*, I have sacrificed my parents to you". Sometimes the Commanders and Chiefs should taunt the enemy in the manner: "Why ? Oh ye noxious ones, Whither are you flying now" ? "Why ? Oh ye noxious ones, you are now fighting with *Tigers* ". "Why ? Oh ye eaters of forbidden things, are you not now under the influence of liquor" ? "Why ? Oh cowards, have you now forgotten manoeuvres ? Why are you running away ? Are the swords now brandished" ? and so on.

Now hear a proclamation which will answer our purpose.

PROCLAMATION

This proclamation¹ is to be circulated to the Hindoos and Mahomedans of Hindoostan (Upper India); they may deeply reflect upon its contents and that all the Hindoos and Mahomedans whether women or men, may be ready to destroy the English for the purpose of defending their respective religions. Otherwise neither will the faith of any one remain, nor will his life nor his property, nor his children nor his honor be safe.

Before the quarrel regarding the cartridges took place, these accursed English had written to the Impure Victoria thus: "If Your Majesty will permit us to kill 15 *Moulvees* out of every hundred in India and the same number out of every hundred *Pundits*, as well as five hundred thousand of Hindoo and Mahomedan sepoys and *Ryuts*, we will in a short time make all the people of India "Christians". Then that ill-starred, polluted Bitch gave her consent to the spilling of this innocent blood. She did not reflect at all that she was not at liberty to permit the commission of the murder of the creatures of God. The accursed men, on the receipt of her permission, commenced committing general slaughter on the pretext of the cartridges. As no one was in a condition to oppose them, they would in a short time have killed every one who refused to become a Christian, had it not been that, by God's blessings, the bold sepoys butchered the English and put an end to all their power. They have weakened them in such a degree that it has been easy to kill or expel them. If the

¹ cf. Similar Proclamation issued by Maulvi Liaquat Ali of Allahabad—issued under the seal of Birjis Qadar.—"Trial Proceedings, Govt. vs. Mammoo Khan". Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

daring sepoys put the remainder of their enemies to death, and if all the people be engaged in taking steps for their destruction *and if none of the Hindoos and Mahomedans will serve them in any way*, and if they consider that, as a consequence of serving the English, they will be regarded as accomplices in the commission of the murder of the *Pundits* and *Moulvees* and also if all the people unite in killing them, it will then be well and good; otherwise it will not be so. It has become the bounden duty of all the people, whether women or men, slave girls or slaves, to come forward and put the English to death. The adoption of the following measures will lead to their destruction, viz.: all the *Moulvees* and the *Pundits* should explain in every village and city the misfortunes which the success of the English will entail on the people and the advantages and spiritual benefit which will accrue from their extirpation. The Kings, *Wuzzeers*, *Rajahs* and *Nawabs* ought to slay them in the field of battle, the people should not leave their city in consequence of the entrance of the English therein, but on the contrary should shut up their doors and all the people whether men, women or children, including slave girls, slaves, and old women, ought to put these accursed English to death by firing guns, carbines and pistols, from the terraces, shooting arrows and pelting them with stones, bricks, earthen vessels, ladles, old shoes and all other things, which may come into their hands. They should stone to death the English in the same manner, as the swallows stoned the Chief of the elephants. The sepoys, the nobles, the shopkeepers, the oil men, etc. and all other people of the city, being of one accord, should make a simultaneous attack upon them, some of them should kill them by firing guns, pistols, and carbines and with swords, arrows, daggers, poignando, etc., some lift them up on spears, some dexterously snatch their arms and destroy the enemy, some should cling to their necks, some to their waists, some should wrestle and through stratagem break the enemy to pieces; some should strike them with cudgels, some slap them, some throw dust in their eyes, some should beat them with shoes, some attack them with their fists, some scratch them, some drag them along, some tear out their ears, some break their noses. In short no one should spare any efforts, to destroy the enemy and reduce them to the greatest extremities. Under such circumstances they will be unable to do anything, though they may amount to lakhs of men. They will all, please God,

be put to death. It is necessary to make this Proclamation generally known.¹

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, Nos. 1135-1139; National Archives, New Delhi. "Translation of a pamphlet entitled the "Futteh Islam" or "Victory of the Mahomedan Faith".

CHAPTER FOUR
REVOLUTIONARIES IN ACTION

MORCHA AT LUCKNOW

“.....More than 100 of the mutineers are killed daily. Of those who die, they who have relations are burnt, otherwise the bodies are thrown into the Gomti river
.....

“The mutineers are searching in the city for saltpetre, but I have not heard of their searching for copper caps; in fact, none are to be had in the city.
.....

“Rajah Goor Bux Singh, the Rajah of Rammuggur, and Rajah Nawab Alee, and a great number of the petty neighbouring *Rajahs*, have joined the fight and given their assistance. But neither Rajah Man Singh nor his followers are there”.¹

MORCHA AT BAILLY GUARD

AHMAD ULLAH LEADS

However, for six days and nights a shower of bullets and shells rained from both the sides. On Friday in the afternoon at the time of the *Asar* prayer, Ahmad Ullah Shah made an assault and reached up to the very gate, under the walls of the Bailly Guard. Those besieged said that they were then sure of their death. All the English and Indian soldiers were so fatigued on account of uninterrupted fighting for several days that there was practically no life in their hands and feet. Particularly the English ladies were most terror-stricken. They hid themselves in Low's *Tai-Khana* and were awaiting their sure death.

Shahji standing under the projection of the gate called out to his fighters in the cause of religion and asked them to rally, as that was the last attempt which would put all the heathens

¹ “*The English Man*”—Calcutta, 23rd July 1857: Title “We have received the following translation of a native letter from Lucknow, dated the 12th instant”.

to death. But none dared to move forward. Suddenly a bomb shell burst down and Shahji retreated. Now the besieged were encouraged and felt sure of their victory. Those on the *morchas* gathered immense courage and were rejuvenated. After some days the rebel troops complained that they might run short of ammunition and said that if they spent all of their stores they would have none at the hour of need. They therefore made fresh demands. Thus they coined lame excuses for keeping back. Everyday the *Tilangas* went out in groups at an appointed hour, crying '*Bun Mahadeo*.....(text not clear) sat scattered at the shops of Khas Bazar, sang *Bhajans* in accompaniment with '*daina*' and '*dhaphili*'. They reviled everybody. They called Mirza Birjis Qadar from the palace, embraced him and said, "You are *Kanhaiya*. Don't become slothful like your father. Be cautious of your turbaned men, otherwise you will get spoilt".

One day the *Tilangas* brought plundered property worth Rs. 30/- (sic). Mammoo Khan put it into the Govt. treasury, gave a reward of Rs. one hundred, and praised them for that. Similarly they brought property worth about Rs. 50,000, plundered from Mumtaz-uddaulah's residence. That they gave to Mammoo Khan and said that they had taken it out of the houses of *Shuhdas* (rogues) and other persons. That was also deposited in the Govt. *Mal Khana* and a reward was given for bringing it. After that they brought the house-hold effects of Nawab Afsar Bahu's residence. Upon this, some of the wives of the late King remonstrated and said that *Tilangas* had once before plundered her residence; whatever was left was just enough for her maintenance. But Mammoo Khan did not pay any heed and did not return it.¹

STUBBORN RESISTANCE IN UNNAO

DIFFICULTY OF CROSSING THE GANGES

The passage of the Ganges was a most difficult and hazardous undertaking. It was upwards of 1600 yards wide, and at this season swelled by the rains to a rapid and impetuous torrent. All the means and appliances which would ordinarily have been available for this operation, at a large military

¹ "*Qaisar-ut-Tawarikh*" Vol. II, p. 230.

station like Cawnpore, were now wanting. The bridge of boats established by our Government, which was entire (completed) on the 3rd of June, was broken up by the rebels after the commencement of the mutiny, and the materials were scattered. All the ferry boats had likewise been destroyed or removed. Fortunately, the little steamer, the "Berhampooter", which had been sent up with a hundred of the Madras Fusiliers, under Captain Spurgin, to cooperate with the land column, had reached the station, and was now employed up and down the river in endeavouring to collect boats. Not more than twenty, however, could be obtained where they were formerly counted by hundreds; and the boatmen, who had been actively engaged in aiding the mutineers, were prompted to conceal themselves from the dread of punishment. To have committed the management of the boats to inexperienced peasants, on a broad river running like a sluice, would have been to expose them and their precious freight to the risk of destruction. After considerable difficulty a small number of the old boatmen were collected, and induced to accept service on the tacit understanding that their past misconduct would be overlooked. To secure their services they were embodied as a corps, upon fixed pay.

CROSSING OF THE TROOPS

Soon after midnight of the 20th of July rain began to pour, and continued without intermission for the next three days. It had been arranged that the Highlanders should cross at daybreak, and the General was so anxious to obviate every obstruction, that he determined to superintend their embarkation himself. Leaving General Neill in charge of the encampment, he rode down to the ferry, a distance of four miles, in a deluge of rain, at one in the morning, and did not return till he had seen the troops and three guns safely across.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE ADVANCE INTO AWADH

"In reply to Your Excellency's telegram of the 26th, I beg to state " wrote General Hope Grant in a telegram

¹John Clark Marshman: "*Memoirs of Major General Sir Henry Havelock*" (London 1860), Pp. 328-329.

dated 28th of July, "that I should consider it certain that I must incur the risk of serious loss in an attempt to recross the Ganges to Cawnpore, even supposing that I had been reinforced by the remnant of the garrison of Lucknow. The chances of relieving that place are at the same time hourly multiplying against us. I will not now enter into all the details, but specify only that Nana Sahib had succeeded in collecting 3000 men and several guns, and is on our left flank at Futtelpore Chourassee, with the avowed intention of cutting in upon our rear, when we advance towards Lucknow. The difficulties of an advance to that capital are excessive. The enemy has entrenched and covered with guns the bridge across the Sye (Sai) at Bunnee, and has made preparations for destroying it if the bridge is forced. I have no means of crossing the canal near Lucknow, even if successful at Bunnee. A direct attack at Bunnee might cost me a third of my force. I might turn it by Mohan¹, unless the bridge there also were destroyed. I have this morning received a plan of Lucknow from Major Anderson, engineer in that garrison, and much valuable information in two memoranda, which escaped the enemy's outpost troops, and were partly written in Greek character. These communications, and much information orally derived from spies, convince me of the extreme delicacy and difficulty of any operation to relieve Colonel Inglis, now commanding in Lucknow. It shall be attempted, however, at every risk, and the result faithfully reported. Our losses from cholera are becoming serious and extend to General Neill's force, as well as my own. I earnestly hope that the 5th and the 90th can be pushed on to me entire, and with all despatch, and every disposable detachment of the regiments now under my command be sent on. My whole force only amounts to 1500 men, of whom 1200 are British, and ten guns

¹ *Mohan*, Pargana *Auras-Mohan* Tahsil *Hasanganj* Distt. *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 Harauni Station, and others which proceed west over the Sai leading to Bangarmau, Safipur and Ajgain. (*District Gazetteers*, Unao 1903, p. 204).

imperfectly equipped and manned. I am very thankful for Your Excellency's kind interposition at the Horse Guards regarding my promotion to Major-General".

BATTLE OF ONAO (UNNAO)

The whole force was assembled at Mungulwar on the 28th. This village is situated six miles from the river, on a ridge extending five miles, and elevated about 200 feet above the surrounding country. It was a position of great strength, where our little force might have defied all the armies of Oude. The column started at daybreak on the morning of the 29th, and advanced to the town of Onao, a distance of about three miles, and seldom had the General found himself so staggered by any difficulty as he was by that which now presented itself. In his despatch, he has thus described the enemy's position: "His right was protected by a swamp which could neither be forced nor turned; his advance was drawn up in a garden enclosure, which in this warlike district had purposely or accidentally assumed the form of a bastion. The rest of his (advance) force was posted in and behind a village, the houses of which were loopholed. The passage between the village and the town of Onao is narrow. The town itself extended three-quarters of a mile to our right. The flooded state of the country precluded the possibility of turning in this direction. The swamp shut us in on the left. Thus an attack in front became unavoidable. It was commenced by the 78th Highlanders and 1st Fusiliers, with two guns, and soon became exceedingly warm. The enemy were driven out of the bastioned enclosure; but when our troops approached the village, a destructive fire was opened upon them from the loopholed houses. It became necessary to bring up the 64th, under Colonel Wilson, K. H. Here some daring feats of bravery were performed. . . . The village was set on fire; still its defenders resisted obstinately. Finally, the guns were captured, and the whole force was enabled to debouch between the village and the town of Onao. "Meanwhile, the main body of the enemy, with a numerous artillery, was hastening forward to occupy Onao". It became evident to the General that unless he could establish his force beyond the town, before the enemy entered it, he should run every risk of being arrested on his first day's march. His troops pushed forward and gained a space of dry ground, about half a mile in extent;

besides this spot and the high-road, the eye could discern nothing but swamps for miles around. It was to the occupation of this locality, on the Lucknow side of the town, before the enemy could reach it, that the success of this action was to be attributed. The General drew up his force in line with four guns in the centre and two on each wing, all bearing on the high-road in front, by which the insurgents were rapidly rushing down in great confusion. He had invariably acted on the maxim, that when the enemy are committing an error, it is an act of folly to arrest their progress. Our fire was, therefore, reserved till they halted in front of our line, and began the action. Our artillery was admirably served, and tore through the dense column of the enemy's infantry and guns massed on the narrow road. They now perceived their error, and endeavoured to correct it by deploying their force; but the impracticable marshes on either side engulfed their cannon as soon as they were drawn off the road. Our Enfield rifles were rapidly emptying the saddles of the enemy's cavalry; the artillery kept up an incessant fire on their infantry, and they began to retreat in great haste. To allow them no time to recover themselves, two guns were pushed forward, and the skirmishers wading up to the knee and sometimes to the waist, on both sides of the road, completed their discomfiture. Their artillerymen, however, stood to their guns to the last. This was the first occasion on which our troops had come in contact with the artillery of the Oude force, now in rebellion, and they fully justified the high opinion which General Anson had expressed of their efficiency when he reviewed them the previous year at Lucknow. After the annexation, no effort had been spared by the government of the province to bring this artillery into a state of the highest efficiency, and some of the ablest of our artillery officers had been employed in giving instruction to the gunners of three batteries attached to the "Oude Irregular Force", as it was termed, who now turned against us, and afforded us an opportunity of testing excellence they had attained under this tuition. Fifteen guns were captured in the action at Onao, but they were necessarily destroyed, there being no carriage for their conveyance. The loss of the enemy was computed at 300.

BATTLE OF BUSSEERUTGUNGE (BASHIRATGANJ)

After pursuing the enemy for some distance, the troops

halted for three hours and partook of a meal. The bugle then sounded again, and they fell into their ranks, and marched forward about six miles, to Bussecrutgunge, a place which has been rendered memorable in this campaign as the scene of three actions. It was a walled town, intersected by the high-road to Lucknow. In the rear of it lay a *jheel*, or sheet of water, about 150 yards in width, and six or seven feet deep, over which the road was carried by a causeway. The main gate, at the hither entrance of the town, was defended by an earthwork, a trench, and four guns, and flanked on each side by turrets, which were loopholed, as were also the walls. The gate was likewise completely covered by a large building within the town. It was a formidable position, and it became manifest to the General that an attempt to assail it in front, unsupported by a flank movement, would entail a serious loss of life. He, therefore, directed the 64th to march round the town on his left, and endeavour to interpose itself between the farther gate and the causeway. Three guns, posted on the high-road, were now brought to bear on the earthwork and the gateway in front, while a converging fire was directed on the same point from the other guns on the right and left. It was arranged that as soon as our guns appeared to tell on the enemy's defences, and the 64th had reached a point on a line with the town, the 78th Highlanders and the Madras Fusiliers, always companions in these actions, should endeavour to storm the gateway, while the 84th and the Sikhs stood ready to support either the storming or the turning party, as occasion might require. As the Highlanders and Fusiliers advanced, the enemy's guns sent repeated and heavy discharges into their ranks and they were ordered to lie down, while our cannon again plied the defences with energy. The enemy's fire appeared now to slacken, and the two corps, having received the order to rise, sprang on their feet, and with a shout which struck terror into the rebels, cleared the trench and rushed in at the gate.

The enemy, bewildered by the impetuosity of the charge and the flank movement of the 64th, became utterly disheartened, abandoned their guns, and fled in confusion through the town, and over the causeway, hotly pursued by the victors. If the 64th had continued to advance, as the General had expected, the loss inflicted on the enemy during their retreat would have been more signal. But that regiment was annoyed

by a fire from the walls, and paused to return it; and, acting under some mistake regarding fresh instructions, failed to reach their appointed destination. The General sent his aide-de-camp at full gallop to hasten their advance, but the opportunity was lost, and could not be recovered. With the exception of three hours given to rest and refreshment, the troops had now been incessantly marching and fighting from sunrise to sunset; the night was closing in, and the General did not deem it prudent to allow them to proceed in pursuit of the enemy over the causeway, though he himself rode to a considerable distance in advance, in search of a position for his advanced cavalry post.¹

The opposition he had encountered in these, his first operations in Oude, was likely to increase as he penetrated into the province. During the engagement of the previous day, a large body of troops had been perceived hovering on his left, without taking any part in the action, and were now reported to consist of the force which Nana Sahib had been collecting at Futtehpoore Chourassec. He also learned that the insurgents in our own provinces had been strengthened by the revolt of three Native regiments at Dinapore; and the hostile force in his rear thus assumed a more formidable appearance. It was, moreover, reported that a third of his gun ammunition had been expended in the attack on Onao and Busseerutgunge, and the army had as yet progressed only one-third of its way to Lucknow. Eighty-eight had been killed and wounded in the two actions of the previous day, and as many disabled by fatigue, exposure, and the ravages of cholera. These invalids and the wounded required the whole of the sick-carriages of the force; there was not an unoccupied *doolie* in the camp. This was by far the most serious difficulty which presented itself to the mind of the General. It was impossible for him to advance without conveyance for the wounded, unless it was intended to abandon them to destruction on the road. Under the influence of these considerations, and more especially of the last and most important of them, he felt it to be his duty to retire to his impregnable position at Mungulwar, send back his sick and wounded to

¹ Marshman : "*Memoirs of Major General Sir Henry Havelock*", Pp. 331-336.

Cawnpore, and augment his force by all the reinforcements he could obtain, before he again advanced to Lucknow. This decision was fortified by the assurance he had received that the besieged garrison at the Residency was, for the present, sufficiently supplied with provisions, and that the pressure of the siege would be in some measure relaxed by the diversion of a large body of the rebels to watch his movements.....¹

SECOND BATTLE OF BASHIRATGANJ

On the evening of the 4th of August the General moved from his encampment at Mungulwar, and bivouacked for the night a mile beyond Onao. The column marched the next morning and approached Busseerutgunge, when the videttes of the enemy were descried by the Volunteer Cavalry, who led the advance. The troops were then halted, and a reconnaissance pushed up to within musketshot of the town. The information thus gained, combined with the knowledge of the locality which the General had acquired after the first engagement, enabled him to form his plan of action with confidence. On the right of his force, as it approached the town, there was a strip of land beyond the marsh, of greater consistency than was usually found in this part of the country during the rains. He determined to take advantage of this circumstance to send detachments to sweep round the town, and take up a position behind it between the farther gate and the causeway, as had been attempted without success in the first action at this place. The left wing was, therefore, directed to engage the enemy in front, while the right made the circuit, and advanced on their rear. The turning force consisted of the 78th Highlanders, the 1st Fusiliers, and the Sikhs with Captain Maude's battery, and a troop of the Volunteer Cavalry. When its leading subdivision had advanced to a point parallel with the town, the heavy guns, which had been playing on the defences in front, were pushed along the road and brought within three hundred yards of the gate, and their shot and shell swept through the town, or exploded within it. It may here be remarked that the General invariably avoided an assault in front, except when the swampy nature of the ground at this season of the

¹ Marshman : *"Memoirs of Major General Sir Henry Havelock"*, Pp. 337-338.

year permitted no other mode of attack. He always endeavoured to protect his infantry from the enemy's guns and never allowed them to move to the charge until his own artillery had performed its work, by silencing, as far as possible, the enemy's fire. Acting on this rule, his artillery thundered at the gateway without pause, and the enemy, bewildered by this fierce cannonade, and by the flank movement towards their rear, began to fly through the town. As they rushed out at the farther gate, they came under the fire of the turning column commanded by Colonel Hamilton, while Captain Maude's four guns poured a withering fire on the fugitives as they were massed on the causeway, or endeavoured to save themselves by plunging into the swamps. Then the left, consisting of the 64th and 84th, were pushed to the front, leaped over the trench, and bayoneted those who still continued to defend the gate.

The enemy were now in full retreat, but as our troops defiled over the causeway in the pursuit, they were galled by a fire from the village of Beejpurree, where a portion of the enemy had rallied to defend the passage and brought a heavy cannonade to bear upon it. At the same time they showed a disposition to make a stand in a village on the left, which the 84th were directed to attack, while the Fusiliers, who had been in the rear, were ordered to storm Beejpurree. Attached to the turning column, they had enjoyed no opportunity of taking an active share in the labours of the day, which they had invariably done heretofore. As Lieut. Havelock rode up to them with the General's orders to advance, a voice exclaimed, "Ah, thought they could not do without us in front, at last". Under the command of their gallant leader, Major Stephenson, the men rushed with a shout on the village and speedily cleared it of the enemy. In consequence, chiefly of the admirable manner in which Captain Maude's guns were handled, our loss in this action amounted to only twentyfive of whom only two were killed; while the rebels, on their part, lost about 250.....¹

THE GENERAL DELIBERATES ON HIS FUTURE COURSE

While the troops halted for their meal, about two miles

¹ Marshman : "*Memoirs of Major General Sir Henry Havelock*", Pp. 342-44.

beyond the scene of action, the General deliberated on his present position, and the prospects before him. In the action of the morning the enemy, though signally defeated, had succeeded in carrying off their guns and had established themselves five miles distant, at Nawaubgunge. The General, unfortunately, possessed no map of his route on which any dependence could be placed. While in Calcutta he had sought for one in the Quarter-master-General's office, but nothing could be discovered except a rough plan of the high-road to Lucknow, sketched ten years before, which was not only imperfect, but so inaccurate, as to be worse than useless for military purposes. The line from Cawnpore to the capital of Oude had been scientifically surveyed four months before by the engineer of the Oudh Railway Company, but he perished with General Wheeler's force, and all his papers and plans were destroyed in the sack of Cawnpore. The General was, therefore, obliged to depend for his knowledge of the route on the report of his scouts. They stated that the position at Nawaubgunge was as strong as that at Busseerutgunge, and that the entire line of road was dotted with posts equally difficult, that the bridge over the Syc at Bunnee was broken down, and that the passage of the river was guarded by a large force and heavy artillery. The General calculated that he had three strong positions to force before he could reach the city of Lucknow, and that his losses would probably fall little short of 300, thus leaving him only 700 British bayonets for the attack on that city, with its encircling canal, its entrenched and barricaded streets, its loopholed houses, temples and palaces defended by a warlike population, and an army of soldiers disciplined to perfection by our own officers. *Every village* was opposed to us, and the landholders—of which class many of those who had fallen in the action of the morning consisted—had universally risen against us, and collected bands of two and three hundred partisans to oppose our progress.

The aspect of affairs in the rear was equally gloomy. The General's force was too small to permit him to leave detachments for the maintenance of posts as he advanced, and Nana Sahib, who was in force within a distance of twelve miles, would not fail to occupy Busseerutgunge and intercept his communication with Cawnpore. The Gwalior Contingent, moreover, had now mutinied in a body. It was a compact little army in itself, with horse, foot, and twenty-four field guns,

thoroughly organised and equipped, and the native subalterns, owing to the paucity of European officers, took a more active share of the government of the different corps, and were consequently more efficient. It was, therefore, a more formidable enemy than any mere assemblage of single regiments of the line. It was now said to be approaching Gulpee (Kalpi), on the Ganges, within fifty miles of Cawnpore. The Dinapore mutineers were likewise reported to be advancing westward by Mirzapore to join the standard of Nana Sahib.....¹

HE RELINQUISHES THE ENTERPRISE FOR A TIME

After carefully weighing all these considerations, the General came to the painful conclusion, that it was his paramount duty to relinquish the attempt to relieve Lucknow till he was adequately reinforced. He never called a council of war. Independently of his own spirit of self-reliance, his experience of the mischief which had attended these councils in Afghanistan was sufficient to deter him from any such attempt to divide the responsibilities of his post. But he did not act without conferring with the officers on his staff, Colonel Tytler, Lieut. Havelock, and Captain Crommelin, on whose judgment he set great value. He called them together after the action, and enquired their views, and they unanimously concurred with him in the opinion that to advance to Lucknow under present circumstances would be a gainless sacrifice of the lives of men who had so heroically maintained the honour of the British army in seven engagements. Colonel Tytler was especially opposed to the advance, and maintained that however urgent the Government might be for the relief of the Residency, they could never desire or expect him to risk the destruction of his force in a case like the present. It was, therefore, determined to retire to Mungulwar.....²

REASONS FOR RECROSSING THE RIVER

The General was now constrained to submit to the necessity of breaking up his position at Mungulwar, and recrossing the river with his whole force to Cawnpore. Having formed this determination, he lost no time in carrying it out. On

¹ Marshman : "*Memoirs of Major General Sir Henry Havelock*", Pp. 344-46.

² *Ibid*, Pp. 346-47.

that same day he proceeded to send across the baggage and spare ammunition, and, in fact, everything, with the exception of the men, their arms, and bedding, and the guns. But in the course of the day a succession of spies brought him information that about 4000 of the enemy, with some guns, had come down to Busseerutgunge. To have attempted to cross the river with his artillery, while so large a hostile force hung upon his rear, would have been fraught with difficulty, if not with hazard, as the enemy would not have failed to attack his column during the operation of crossing. It would, moreover, have been universally reported through Oude that the British troops had been chased ignominiously out of the province by the insurgents. The moral effect of such a report, to which the sudden disappearance of his force from the left bank would have given credibility, must have been detrimental in the highest degree to our interests. He determined, therefore, to take the initiative and strike a blow at the enemy, which should convince them that it was from no dread of their prowess that he retired to Cawnpore.

ACTION AT BOORHIYA (BURHIYA)

On the afternoon of the 11th the little army moved on to Onao, and bivouacked under trees, in a deluge of rain. Marching again at dawn, the General found the enemy prepared for the third time to meet him on the old battle-field of Busseerutgunge. But they varied their mode of defence by entrenching the village of Boorhiya, about a mile and a half in advance of it. This position had been chosen with great skill, and fortified with more than usual assiduity. Their right rested on a village on the main road, where they had established a battery; their left on a mound about 400 yards distant, on which they had posted three guns. The 78th Highlanders, the Fusiliers, the Sikhs, and a portion of the Volunteer Cavalry, formed our right wing, and steadily advanced till their progress was suddenly arrested by an unforeseen obstacle. In front of the enemy's left lay a morass, covered with green vegetation, which presented the deceptive appearance of dry ground. The snare thus laid by the rebels was not discovered till the troops were on the verge of the swamp. They were immediately withdrawn; the 78th Highlanders moving on to the main road, while the Fusiliers, supported by four guns, passed round to the right. The enemy's guns were admirably served, and their

fire was the severest our men had hitherto encountered. All the efforts of our artillery, though superior in number, were unable for some time to make any impression on them, sheltered as they were by earthworks, and it was found necessary at length to have recourse to the bayonet. The infantry of the enemy, posted behind the guns, continued to maintain a galling fire, but nothing could withstand the impetuosity of our troops. The Highlanders, now reduced in number to about a hundred, marched up to the guns, and when within a hundred yards of them, changed their pace into a rush, with their usual cheer, and aided by a flank movement of the Fusiliers, mastered them, and bayoneted the gunners. The infantry then broke and fled, and the Highlanders instantly turned the captured guns on them and increased the confusion and slaughter. Our troops pursued them with unslackened energy through the town of Busseerutunge, and over the causeway, which was now a third time the scene of their defeat. The loss on our part amounted to thirty-two, while that of the enemy fell little short of ten times that number.¹

HAVELOCK'S ADVANCE MADE IMPOSSIBLE

Carrying out the intention expressed in the preceding telegram, Brigadier-General Havelock, on the morning of the 29th, commenced his march towards Lucknow. The force moved off their camping-ground at Mungulwar as the day broke, aware that opposition awaited them at a village called Oonao, about three miles from their starting point; and, consequently, they were not surprised when, on nearing the place, three guns opened upon them. Two field-pieces were immediately brought forward, and silenced them; but, as the troops moved on, a line of white puffs of smoke from the orchard and garden walls surrounding the place, indicated that the matchlockmen intended to stand their ground. On this the skirmishers rushed forward, and drove the enemy out of the orchard into the village, leaving the three guns in the possession of the British, who, pushing forward, attempted to clear the village, but met with a resistance they were not at the moment prepared for.

¹ Marshman : *"Memoirs of Major General Sir Henry Havelock"*, Pp. 354-355.

The mud-walled villages of Oude, and their fighting inhabitants, are among the peculiar features of the country. Every hamlet is at chronic feud with its neighbour; and all of them look upon open rebellion against the farmer for their taxes as a sacred duty. The consequence is, that a century of practical experience in the art of self defence, had converted those villages into almost impregnable fortifications, and the villagers themselves into excellent garrison troops. A hundred men would flee from the attack of ten English soldiers on an open plain; but if ten Oudians are placed behind a loopholed mud wall they will hold their position without shrinking, nor consider it much of an achievement. Such was the case in the petty village of Oonao. The enemy were completely hidden behind walls, the British troops were in the place and all round it, and yet they could comparatively do nothing, and were dropping fast under the bullets of their unseen foes. Thrice did a portion of them charge a mud-walled enclosure filled with men, and thrice were they driven back with heavy loss. At length it was determined to fire the place; the artillery drew back, portfires were laid to the thatch, and the men of the light companies stood waiting around the outskirts, with eager eyes and rifles cocked, like terriers waiting for the rats to rush out.

Just at this moment, while the thatch was crackling amidst the spreading flames, the field engineer of the force, who had gone round to the front of the village by himself to reconnoitre, came spurring back in hot haste with the information that a very large force of infantry, cavalry, and guns, was rapidly advancing from the other side upon Oonao. Upon this, the task of finishing off the rebels in the burning village was left to the Sikhs; and the whole British force was ordered to turn the position by the right, and move on to the front as quickly as possible. This, however, was no easy matter as far as the artillery was concerned, for the ground was heavy, and the guns frequently stuck fast in the swamp for five minutes together, under a galling fire of matchlocks. At length the main road was reached again, and the force pushed on through the groves which encircled the place.

Beyond the trees lay a level, swampy plain, of vast extent, traversed by a main road, along which was seen approaching, a force of about 6,000 men, bearing down on our right and left flanks, with their guns in advance; the distance between the opposing columns being about 1,500 yards. The leading gun

of the English troops was immediately unlimbered, and opened upon the insurgents, with a view to arrest their progress, and give the infantry time to deploy; while the other guns, as they came up one by one, went into action in line with the first. By this time the enemy's artillery had closed to within a thousand yards, and opened fire. The sun, fortunately, was at the back of the English gunners, and they could distinctly see the objects they were to fire at; and, consequently, in about ten minutes they had silenced the enemy's leading guns, and the whole of the English force moved forward, with the artillery in the centre. The immense disproportion between the attacking column and the force of the enemy, was a subject of hilarity among the troops, as their small thin line struggled forward knee-deep in swamp, with sloped arms, to encounter the vast masses of infantry and cavalry that swarmed in front of them. Not one of those grim and bearded Englishmen but felt confident of victory, and a groan ran through the line, "Oh that we had cavalry, to cut the dogs up!"

During this advance, the artillery came into action as opportunity occurred, and, still pressing forward, gun after gun was abandoned on the road; while those in the front, and on the left flank, stuck in the swamp, and were left to their fate. At last the English artillery got up near enough to tell upon the rebel infantry; while the saddles of the cavalry began to empty rapidly under the fire of the Enfield rifles. Presently the enemy's horsemen went threes about; there was a wavering among the infantry; and then, as if a sudden panic had seized them, they rushed off the field to a village in the distance, across the plain, where they were afterwards discovered huddled together like a flock of sheep, leaving the British in possession of the road and of fifteen captured guns. It was now past two o'clock p. m., and the troops halted where they stood for a couple of hours, to cook and eat.

After this refreshment the force again marched forward about eight miles, to a large walled village named Busherut-gunge, also surrounded by swamps, to which the enemy had retired, and where they showed an intention to make a stand. On approaching this place, three more guns were found to be in position; two behind a mud wall built across the road, and one on an elevated mud bastion. The two guns on the road were quickly silenced by the fire of the English artillery; but the one on the bastion continued to give some trouble until a

well-directed 9-pounder dismounted it, and prevented further annoyance from that quarter. The sepoys at this place made but a feeble defence, and were quickly driven out of the village; but the matchlockmen, on the contrary, fought boldly and well, although uselessly; for Havelock's men had now become fierce and flushed with success, and nothing could withstand their impetuosity, as house after house was stormed and carried, until the village was finally evacuated.

The pertinacity of one of the villagers at this place was remarkable. He had stationed himself in a little mud fort at the entrance of the place (which was almost the first position carried), and had contrived to hide himself, thus escaping the fate of his comrades in the general bayoneting. As soon as the main body of the English had passed on, this man emerged from his shelter, and plied his solitary matchlock with effect at the guns, the baggage, the elephants, or anything that came within range. His bravery amused the men of the rear-guard, who, as he was not a sepoy, would have spared him if possible, and they repeatedly called to him to desist; but their humanity was thrown away; and the result was, that a party of Sikhs went and smoked him out of the fort, and the poor wretch was shot through the head as he was crossing over the parapet for a last hit at his enemies.....

On the same day, Lieutenant-Colonel Tytler reported to the Commander-in-Chief as follows:—

“Mungulwar, July 31, 1857.

“We crossed the river on the 28th; encountered the enemy at and between Oonao and Buserut-gunge on the 29th; took nineteen guns of sorts, one battery included; but only six horses were captured. We inflicted a heavier loss than usual—I should say some 400 killed and wounded; our own loss was eighty-eight, reducing us to 1,000 European infantry. We could now only place 850 in line, our numerous sick, wounded, and baggage, requiring strong guards in this country, where every village contains enemies. We were diminishing daily from cholera, diarrhoea, and fighting. The Bunnee bridge, 120 yards long, strongly entrenched, and said to be destroyed, had to be passed. We could not hope to reach Lucknow with 600 effective Europeans. We had then to pass the canal, and force one and a-half miles of street. We found we thrashed the Oude people easily in the open, but failed to force two small occupied *serais*; the men hung back. One

of our guns was left under fire; it was some time before I could get the 64th rifles to keep down the fire; had then to dismount; called for volunteers to run it out; the artillery, on this, did the work.

"Busherut-gunge is a strong place on our line of communication; it is in rear of an extensive *jheel*, traversed by a narrow raised road and bridge; 150 men might hold it against us, and cut off our retreat. We had not a man to hold it with. It is absurd to see our handful of men outflanked by the numbers of the enemy. The Ganges was also in our rear. Neill says his guns command the opposite bank: its breadth is, at the lowest estimate, three-quarters of a mile. I make it more: the range of a 24-pounder is 1,400 yards. His shot would do more harm to us than to the enemy. Under these circumstances, when asked my opinion as to the probability of at once relieving Lucknow, I decided against it, for the following reasons:--If we failed (and I saw no chance of success), Lucknow was inevitably doomed, and government in a worse position than ever; while, if we waited for reinforcements, we might still be in time to save it, as the garrison say they can hold out to the 5th of August, and longer if necessary, and warn us not to approach Lucknow with less than from 2,000 to 3,000 Europeans. We retired to this place (Mungulwar, six miles from the Ganges), as the Nana threatened our rear. We are constructing a work to cover the passage when we require to pass the river. One thousand infantry for the field, and 300 to hold Busherut-gunge and the Bunnee bridge, when repaired, will enable us to bring off the garrison. Cawnpore is threatened by the 42nd from Saugor, and some rabble".....

General Havelock left his fortified camp at Mungulwar on the 4th, bivouacked for the night at Oonao, and, on the following morning, received intelligence that the enemy had reoccupied the town of Busherut-gunge in considerable strength. He immediately commanded the advance, and, on reaching a *serai* about six miles distant from the bivouac, found the information correct. Two heavy guns and two 24-pounder howitzers were at once pushed forward by the road; while six guns, with the 78th Highlanders and Sikhs, under Colonel Hamilton, proceeded to turn to the left of the village; and the 1st Madras Fusiliers and 84th Foot covered the turning column with the heavy guns. By this movement the enemy was speedily expelled from the *serai*, but still obstinately held the villages

on the other side of the street beyond it. At length they were driven out by the artillery, and the troops advanced the heavy guns, silencing some guns of the enemy, posted on the right and left of the road; which were, however, withdrawn by the rebels, who retired slowly--forced back but not beaten. The troops then passed through the village and came to the causeway crossing the swamp, from the other side of which a hot fire of matchlocks and guns was kept up both on the causeway and on the right wing of the English force, which returned their fire across the water with interest. Taking advantage of the diversion thus made, the 84th dashed across the causeway, and began skirmishing on the other side. The heavy guns followed, and opened fire at grape-range on the enemy's cavalry, who were scattered to the winds by four volleys.

From the evening of the 6th until the morning of the 11th of August, the troops remained in camp at Mungulwar, during which time a council was held as to the expediency of recrossing the Ganges, and falling back upon Cawnpore. That measure was ultimately decided upon, and arrangements for the purpose were made by the field engineer, who selected a spot for the embarkation, considerably lower down than the place formerly crossed by the troops. The river at this place was much narrower; but, to reach it, a succession of swamps and creeks had to be crossed. Causeways were thrown across the first; and the second was bridged with boats in an incredibly short space of time, considering the amount of work to be done, and the very inefficient means at the disposal of the engineer officers. The commissariat stores and baggage were sent down daily, and passed over; and, finally, on the morning of the 11th, an order was issued that all the bedding (the only article of baggage the troops had been allowed to keep) was to be sent across the river immediately. The troops, consequently, anticipated that they would have to follow during the night; but their astonishment may be conceived when, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the bugles sounded the "turn-out"; and they learned that they were, for the third time, to advance to the front, in consequence of the information that the enemy had come down to Oonao, with the intent to attack them during their passage across the river. The troops, accordingly, marched off with their arms in their hands, and their clothes on their backs, and not another thing. When they reached Oonao it was found that the information was false,

and not a single rebel was to be seen. During the halt, however, preparatory to retracing their steps, information reached the general that the enemy, under the impression that the British troops had actually crossed the Ganges two days previous, had come down in force to Busherut-gunge; and that 4,000 infantry and 500 cavalry, with one horse battery and some guns, were then lying encamped in front of that place. Having now advanced so far, it was felt to be impossible to retreat in the face of the enemy without exchanging shots; and accordingly the troops, after a scanty supper, bivouacked that night on the plain, and, with the first streak of dawn, marched to the encounter.

Meantime the enemy, having intelligence of the advance, had worked hard all night, intrenching themselves; and when the troops arrived in front, they were found strongly posted; their right resting on the village of Boursekee Chowkee, in advance of the town, which they had strongly fortified; their left on a mound, about 400 yards distant, which they had cut down into a battery, and mounted with three guns—the interval between being connected by a ditch and breastwork, lined with infantry; having cavalry massed on their left flank, to act as opportunity might offer. To oppose the troops thus strongly posted, the British force did not consist of more than 800 effective men in the field, 200 having been left behind to guard the approaches to the river.

The plan of battle was soon formed. The 78th Fusiliers, and four guns, moved off on the right, to attack the left of the enemy's position; the heavy guns on the left, supported by the 84th, went along the road to engage the enemy's right battery; and the remaining part of the force and guns took the centre. General Havelock was much retarded in bringing his battery and supporting-troops across the deep and wide morasses that protected the enemy's front; during which operation, the shot and shell of the rebels caused him severe loss; but on the right of the column the ground was good; and the men, being fresh, moved fast, and soon came into collision with the enemy's left. This movement appeared to annoy them much, and they turned the principal part of their guns in that direction. An officer writing of this engagement, says—"I certainly was never under so heavy a fire in my life. In five minutes after we came into action, every man at the gun I was laying was wounded with grape, except the sergeant and my-

self; and four of our gun cattle were knocked over by round shot. The other three guns suffered nearly as much, and we found our fire had little effect on the battery in front; their guns were too well protected. So we limbered up, and got away as fast as we could, taking ground more to the right, and then found it was possible to move still more forward, and take the adverse battery in flank. This was accordingly done, and then we had our revenge; for they could only bring one gun to bear on us; while we, with our four, enfiladed their whole position. At this time we were within 500 yards of the enemy's cavalry, who, if they had had one atom of pluck, could have charged and taken our guns with the most perfect ease; but a handful of Fusiliers with their Enfields, lying down on our right, and the small body of Volunteer Horse drawn up in our rear, made us feel perfectly secure, and so we went on pounding the battery, without paying the slightest attention to the horsemen. Presently an artillery waggon was seen creeping out of the battery—that was instantly knocked over; and soon after a lucky shrapnel silenced the one gun which was firing direct at us. Our fire grew hotter than ever, and at last a swarm of men was seen rushing back in confusion from the trenches. Hereupon a cheer ran along the whole of our advancing lines. The 78th quickened their pace before breaking into one of their magnificent charges, and the Fusiliers on our right dashed forward with a yell, in loose skirmishing order, at the left flank of a large grove which extended along the rear of the enemy's position, and was full of men. The 78th went straight at the battery, which still remained crowded with men, the gunners working their two remaining guns to the last, and only bolting when our men were at the foot of the slope, carrying off with them one gun, the team of which had escaped the shrapnel of our artillery. After bayoneting all they could catch, the 78th turned the two captured guns on the enemy. Some artillerymen came into the battery immediately after, and we had the intense satisfaction of giving the flying foe three rounds from each of their own guns”.

The position was carried about the same time at all points, the enemy flying in headlong haste from the chastisement they had provoked. On the left of the position, as they had the advantage of the road, they managed to carry off their guns, the cavalry being unable to pursue them through the swamps, and the infantry were too much exhausted by

fatigue and hunger to follow them up. Having contented themselves, therefore, with driving the enemy clear through and away from the village, the force halted for a short time to breathe, and then leisurely marched back to Oonao, where they cooked some food; and, in the cool of the evening, retraced their steps to Mungulwar. On the following morning (the 13th) the troops moved down to the river; and, owing to the excellence of the arrangements by the engineers, they were all crossed over, and housed on the Cawnpore side by night-fall of the same day.¹

ABANDONMENT OF THE IDEA OF RELIEVING LUCKNOW

Telegram from Havelock to the Commander-in-Chief, dated Camp Mangalwar, August 6, 1857.

RE-OCCUPATION OF BASHIRATGANJ

I yesterday received information that the enemy had re-occupied, in force, the town of Buserut Gunge. I advanced upon it, turned the position by its left, and drove the mutineers and rebels out of it with great slaughter. They had eight or ten guns beyond the causeway, two on this side of it; two of those beyond were 24-pounders; the whole were kept at such a distance, and withdrawn so rapidly, that we never got a fair sight of them; none, therefore, fell into our hands, but two on the walls, which had been captured on the 29th ultimo and dismantled by the Commandant of Artillery, so imperfectly, however, that the enemy again fired out of them. The enemy's dead strewed the town. I estimate their loss at 300 killed and wounded. I returned to this position in the evening.

HAVELOCK DESPAIRED OF RELIEVING LUCKNOW

I must prepare Your Excellency for my abandonment, with great grief and reluctance, of the hope of relieving Lucknow. The only three staff-officers in my force whom I ever consult confidentially, but in whom I entirely confide, are unanimously of opinion that an advance to the walls of Lucknow involves the loss of this force. In this I concur. The only military question that remains, therefore, is whether that, or the unaided destruction of the British garrison at Lucknow, would be the greatest calamity to the State in this crisis. The

¹ Charles Ball : "*The History of the Indian Mutiny*" Vol. II, Pp. 16-23.

loss of this force in a fruitless attempt to relieve Colonel Inglis would, of course, involve his fall. I will remain, however, till the latest moment in this position, strengthening it, and hourly improving my bridge-communication with Cawnpore, in the hope that some error of the enemy may enable me to strike a blow against them, and give the garrison an opportunity of blowing up their works and cutting their way out.

The enemy is in such force at Lucknow that to encounter him five marches from their position would be to court annihilation.¹

ENGLISH ADVANCE TO LUCKNOW VIA GHAGRA MADE IMPRACTICABLE

Telegram from the Officer Commanding at Allahabad, to the Commander-in-Chief, dated Allahabad, August 18, 1857.

ADVANCE IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT MAN SINGH'S AID

Learning from common report that an advance on Lucknow, via the Googra (Ghagra), is contemplated, and knowing something of the river, I take the liberty to state, the advance on Lucknow by Googra is not advisable unless the services of Mau Singh be secured.

WARLIKE POPULATION OF AWADH

Firstly. The warlike population of Oude, especially, is swarmed by mutinous troops, and would possibly be too strong for our small force divided, because a portion would proceed up the Googra (Ghagra) and a portion would be sent to join General Havelock. The united force would have a far better effect.

DIFFICULTIES ON ACCOUNT OF GHAGRA

Secondly. The Googra has never been piloted this season; the river will fall, and, should the steamer stick on a sand bank, it would be difficult to extricate her, especially when harassed at the same time by the enemy. Great delay would, at any rate, occur. I have been down the Googra between Toondah (Tanda)² and Gopulpore; there are many forts;

¹ Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Incloure 56 in 2, p. 83.

² *Tanda*, Pargana and Tahsil *Tanda* Distt. *Faizabad*—The capital

FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN U P

the people are of a bad character; the river-steamers have generally bad and insufficient machinery, and their commanders are totally unaccustomed to face such contingencies; therefore it would be a very difficult operation.

LONG DISTANCE

Fourthly (sic). Distance : Fyzabad to Lucknow, eighty miles; road not metalled, nor generally bridged; inhabitants of Dericaol, near Fyzabad, of the worst description, as also those of Nawabgunje, in the vicinity of Lucknow. Supplies would be obtained with much difficulty.

CARRIAGE CANNOT BE PROCURED

Fifthly. At Fyzabad carriage could only be procured with the greatest difficulty; Commissariat arrangements would be slow there. Byram Ghat is nearer to Lucknow, but would necessitate longer river navigation. Same objections apply with regard to Commissariat arrangements.¹

INVESTMENT OF THE RESIDENCY

MACHHI BHAWAN BLOWN UP

No sooner were we invested than it was discovered that the maintenance of the separate position of the Muchee Bhowun had been a mistake. Our garrison, now further weakened by the losses at Chinhut, was not strong enough to defend the extended Residency position, between which and the former, all communication by latter was now cut off. Sir Henry Lawrence sent me, during the day of the 30th, dispatches to send to the Muchee Bhowun; but I was unable to forward them. My messengers had almost all gone out. A few had deserted, and but a few unacquainted with the city remained. The officer in command at the Muchee Bhowun, Colonel Palmer, managed to convey intelligence that he was ill-supplied with food and with gun ammunition, shot and shell. To remove

of the pargana is a large town, lying in latitude 26° 33' north and longitude 82° 40' east, on the road from Fyzabad to Azamgarh, at a distance of 37 miles east of the former and 12 miles from Akbarpur, with which it is connected by a metalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, Fyzabad 1905, Pp. 270-71).

¹ Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 97 in No. 2, p. 101.

therefore the garrison from the Muchee Bhowun, and withdraw it to the Residency, became a matter of the most urgent necessity. Fortunately there was a telegraph on the Residency roof, and this was now had resort to. Captain Fulton, Engineer, accompanied by Mr. G. H. Lawrence, C. S., and a third officer, whose name I did not learn, ascended to the roof to convey the message. It was a service of extreme danger. The machine was found out of order, and had to be taken down and restored, under an incessant musketry fire from the enemy. The flight of bullets never ceased while these brave men were performing their arduous duty; for they could be clearly seen upon the roof by the enemy. At last the work was accomplished, and the words, "Spike the guns well, blow up the Fort, and retire at midnight", were transmitted, with certainty of their having been understood, for each letter was signalled in reply from the Muchee Bhowun.

Much anxiety was felt about the success of the movement; for during the day the enemy had been observed to be in force upon the road by which our troops must retire; and had cannonaded the Muchee Bhowun from two guns placed in position upon it.

To assist the movement, and distract the attention of the enemy, Sir Henry directed our several batteries to open fire shortly before midnight. This was done: and a heavy fire in particular was opened upon the Iron Bridge. The whole arrangements for the evacuation of the Muchee Bhowun were admirably carried into effect by the commanding officer, Colonel Palmer. The officers employed in the duty were furnished with written orders. The force moved out noiselessly at midnight, bringing their treasure, and two or more 9-pounder guns with them; were wholly unobserved by the enemy; and reached the lower Water-gate, without a shot having been fired at them, at a quarter past twelve o'clock. The arrangements for blowing up the Fort were made by Lieutenant Thomas, of the Madras Artillery, who fired the train so as to explode the magazine half an hour after the troops had left. I was at work at my bastion when the explosion took place, between twelve and one o'clock. Suddenly, while we were watching, a blaze of fire shot up to the sky, followed by a loud report; and then a huge mass of black smoke succeeded, which hung mournfully for nearly half an hour over the dismantled fortress.

Thus was destroyed, and most effectually and fortunately destroyed, the fortification of the Muchee Bhowun, upon which so much expense and labour had been expended. No doubt the maintenance of this commanding post in the city must have assisted in overawing the ill-disposed among the citizens; but it may be regretted that all our resources had not been earlier concentrated upon the Residency post. By the destruction of the Muchee Bhowun we lost two large mortars, one 13-inch, the second 10-inch, for which, however, we possessed no shells; two small 5½ inch mortars, three 18-pounder gurs, two of which were without carriages, and four or five 9-pounders, with limbers complete. The loss of ammunition was great, viz. 250 barrels of gunpowder, and as many boxes of small arm ammunition, and many lacs of percussion caps. A considerable amount of public stores and much private property was at the same time sacrificed.

But the junction of the two forces at the Residency was an incalculable gain to us. The additional men were actually required to man our defences, and their arrival greatly cheered the spirits of our European garrison, who greeted their comrades with heart-felt pleasure. In consequence of the increase of numbers, the European guard at my garrison was increased from eight to eighteen. The men were located in a large central room on the ground floor of the house, within which they were quite safe from shot and musketry.

DEATH OF HENRY LAWRENCE

Sir Henry Lawrence occupied, at this time, a room on the first storey of the north-east angle of the Residency, which was more than any exposed to the enemy's fire. On the 1st of July, an 8-inch shell had entered it, and burst without doing injury to any one. Sir Henry had then been entreated to abandon the room, and, indeed, to remove from the Residency building, which was, from its high position, more than any exposed to the fire of the enemy; but had refused to do so. About 9 a. m. of the 2nd of July I was summoned by Captain Edgell, then officiating as Military Secretary, to see Sir Henry, who, he said, had been dangerously wounded. I hastened down, and found him laid on a bed in the north verandah of Dr. Fayrer's house. The bed was surrounded by all his staff, his nephew, and the principal persons of the garrison, among whom not a dry eye could be seen.

It has never fallen to my lot to witness such a scene of sorrow. While we were clustered round Sir Henry's bed, the enemy were pouring a heavy musketry fire upon the place; and bullets were striking the outside of the pillars of the verandah in which we were collected. Sir Henry's attenuated frame, and the severe nature of the injury, at once decided the medical men not to attempt amputation; but it was necessary to stay the bleeding by applying the tourniquet, and the agony which this caused was fearful to behold. It was impossible to avoid sobbing like a child. Sir Henry alluded to his having nominated Major Banks to be his successor; and then earnestly pointed out the worthlessness of all human distinction, recommending all to fix their thoughts upon a better world. He referred to his own success in life, and asked what was it worth then? He enjoined on us particularly to be careful of our ammunition, and often repeated "Save the ladies". He afterwards continued in much suffering, and lingered until the morning of the 4th, when he expired.¹

CANNONADE

During the first days of the siege, the enemy maintained almost continuously, day and night, a storm of round shot and musketry upon some of our most exposed positions, chiefly the Residency and the buildings along the east face. Many of the bullets were fired from a great distance, and, describing a parabola, fell with fatal effect in places which had before been esteemed safe. Thus the top of my house, despite the high parapet at either end of the roof, was quite unsafe; for frequently musket-balls passing over one parapet, struck with great force the inner side of the opposite defence. When firing from the loopholes on the house-top, it therefore became necessary to put up a screen of boards or boxes close behind the person, to screen the back from bullets.²

FIRST SORTIE

The first sortie was made on the 7th of July. It was directed against Johannes's house, at the Cawnpoor battery,

¹ Gubbins: "*The Mutinies in Oudh*" (London 1858), Pp. 195-199.

² *Ibid.*, p. 200.

which now swarmed with mutineers; and was intended as a check to them, as well as to enable the engineers to examine the building, and discover whether the enemy were mining from it. The party consisted of fifty Europeans and twenty Seikhs, under command of Captain Mansfield, 32nd Foot. Captain Fulton and Lieutenant Anderson, engineers, accompanied the sortie. It took place at noon, and was perfectly successful. The road outside our works having been crossed, a hole was made in the outer wall of the enclosure, and the door of Johannes's house was blown in. Captain Lawrence, H. M. 32nd, was the first to enter the building, which was found filled with the enemy, a large number of them being Pasies, some of whom were armed with bows and arrows. They did not attempt resistance, but fled immediately, and about twenty of them were killed. Our loss (was) trifling.

LEADERS OF THE AWADH FORCES

It was afterwards regretted that this opportunity had not been taken to blow up the house.

By this time it had become known that some of the native *talooqdars* had joined our besiegers, with their followers. These latter were chiefly Pasies, whose predatory habits have been already described, and who were usually armed with sword, and bow and arrows, or matchlock. We learnt the names of two *talooqdars* who had thus joined our enemies, and who were Rajah Goor Buksh Singh, of Ramnugger Dhumeeyree, and Rajah Newaubaly Khan, of Mohumdabad. The Afreedies of Mulhabad had also come in, and were known to have charge of that part of the investing posts which lay to the west of my enclosure.

POSTS AND PICKETS OF AWADH FORCES

Such information was at first only derived from hearsay report, for at the time all communication on our part with the world outside had ceased. My few remaining messengers, with one or two obtained from other officers, were soon sent out with despatches from Major Banks; but none of these ever returned, nor was an answer ever obtained. Indeed, however trustworthy the messenger might be, it was scarcely possible for him to enter our position, in consequence of the extreme vigilance of the enemy. Posts had been carefully

established by them in the houses all round us, from which strict watch and look-out was kept. Beyond these again were other posts and pickets; and all the principal thoroughfares of the city and suburbs were observed, and all passers-by challenged and examined. It was, therefore, a service of extreme danger and difficulty, either to leave our position with letters or to bring letters in; and the only man who ever effected this was my scout "Ungud(Angad)". Save by his hand, after the siege had begun, I never attempted to send a letter out.¹

BATTERIES OF THE AWADH FORCES

Within the first week after the siege began, the enemy had established batteries all round us; but they were chiefly at first erected on the east side, against the Residency, Bailey-Guard Gate &c., and against the Cawnpoor battery. Fortunately for my garrison, they only brought one field-piece against us at the beginning; which enabled us to carry on our mighty labours with little molestation from artillery. Their batteries were generally well placed, and very near; some guns being put in position within sixty yards of our defences. Where our artillery could fairly reach them, it never failed in soon silencing the enemy's guns; but they were very clever in placing them so that we could bring no gun to bear upon them in reply. Sometimes they kept their gun concealed behind the corner of a building, ran it out, fired, and immediately retired before we could return the shot, pulling back the gun with a drag rope. In other places the gun was kept at the bottom of an inclined plane, to the top of which it was dragged to be fired, when the recoil forced it down the inclined plane again. As soon as the siege began, they commenced making screens along such thoroughfares as were exposed to our fire, made of wooden palisades, placed in a bank of earth; and the roads and passages were everywhere intersected by their ditches and traverses.

Their batteries were usually formed of strong rafters of wood stuck upright, and deeply embedded in the ground, and strengthened and supported by a bank of earth; a square embrasure being left in the centre for the muzzle of the cannon.

¹ Gubbins : "*The Mutinies in Oudh*" (London 1858), Pp. 208-210.

Their fire was generally precise, and seldom went very wide of the object aimed at. But they rarely attempted to batter in breach; their object seemed to be rather to drive us from our works where they were preparing to attack; or to destroy life by firing into our buildings when they thought them occupied, and the assault to be unexpected.

INGENUITY OF OUDH (AWADH) FORCES

The ingenuity of the enemy, however, preserved them in their batteries in a great measure from injury by these missiles; for on several occasions upon which sorties were made, it was discovered that they had dug narrow trenches ten feet deep near their guns, into which they could at once spring and find security when they saw a shell approaching.¹

LUCKNOW RESIDENCY

MINING TABLE NO. I

(Arranged Approximately by Date)

General Serial No.	Post attacked	Nature of attack	Particulars
<i>First Attack July 20, 1857.</i>			
1	Redan	Explosion	Short : harmless.
<i>Second Stage, July 21 to August 9.</i>			
2	Redan	Lodgment	Dislodged by artillery and musketry.
3	Martiniere	..	Dislodged by grenades.
4	Gubbins's	..	Dislodged by sortie.
5	Cawnpore Battery	Gallery	Collapsed : too shallow.
6	Brigade Mess	..	Stopped, on hearing countermine.
7	Sikh Square	..	Broken into and destroyed by counter mine
8	Sago's	..	Collapsed : too shallow.

¹ Gubbins : "*The Mutinies in Oudh*" (London: 1858), Pp. 212-214.

General Serial No.	Post attacked	Nature of attack	Particulars
<i>Second Attack, August 10.</i>			
9	Martiniere	Explosion	Short ; damaged stockade.
10	Sago's	"	Short ; harmless.
<i>Third Stage, August 11 To September 4.</i>			
11	Sago's	Gallery	Fought and blown up.
12	"	"	August 29 : stopped on hearing countermine.
13	"	"	Sept. 1 : stopped on hearing countermine.
14	Saunders's	"	August 23 : stopped on hearing countermine.
15	"	"	August 31 : blown up by countermine Sept. 1.
16	"	"	Sept. 1 : blown up by countermine, Sept. 2.
17	"	"	Sept. 3 : blown up by countermine, Sept. 4.
18	Anderson's	"	August 13 : stopped on hearing countermine.
19	"	"	August 23 : stopped on hearing countermine.
20	"	"	August 18 : stopped on hearing countermine.
21	Brigade Mess	"	August 20 : broken into and blown up, August 29.
22	"	Explosion	Sept. 3 : short, harmless in third attack, Sept. 5.
23	Sikh Square	Gallery	Met countermine : destroyed by its own explosion.

General Serial No.	Post attacked	Nature of attack	Particulars
24	Sikh Square	Explosion	Successful : simultaneous with 23, on August 16 : made a breach in wall 30 feet long. <i>Third Attack, September 5.</i>
25	Gubbins's Brigade Mess	Explosion ..	Short : harmless. Short : harmless. (see No. 22). <i>Fourth Stage, From September 6 To September 25.</i>
26	Cawnpore Battery	Gallery	Sept. 9 : destroyed by countermine ready since July.
27	Sikh Square	..	Sept. 9 : stopped on hearing countermine.
28	Sept. 9 : blown up by countermine.
29	Brigade Mess	..	Sept. 10 : checked by countermine.
30	Cawnpore Battery	..	Sept. 10 : checked by countermine.
31	Bailey Guard Gate	..	Sept. 10 : checked by countermine.
32	Germon's Post	..	Sept. 10 : checked by countermine.
33	Church	..	Sept. 11 : destroyed by sortie.
34	Sept. 21 : destroyed by sortie.
35	Bailey Guard	..	Collapsed about Sept. 25. <i>Found After Relief of September 25.</i>
36	Redan	Gallery	Far short
37	Church	..	Far short ¹

¹ Innes: "The Sepoy Revolt" (Second Edition 1897), Pp 163-165

MINING TABLE NO. II

(Arranged Under 'The Posts Attacked')

Post attacked	Serial No.	Approximate date	Nature of attack	Particulars and result
Redau	1	July 20	Explosion	Far short.
"	2	July 21	Lodgment	At foot, dislodged by fire.
"	3	After relief	Gallery	Far short.
Bailey Guard Gate	1	Sept. 10	"	Checked by countermine.
"	2	Sept. 23	"	Collapsed : too shallow.
Saunders's Post	1	August 23	"	Checked by countermine.
"	2	August 31	"	Blown up, Sept. 1.
"	3	Sept. 1	"	" Sept. 2.
"	4	Sept. 3	"	" Sept. 4.
Sago's Garrison	1	July 29	"	Collapsed : too shallow.
"	2	August 10	Explosion	Short : harmless.
"	3	August 11	Gallery	Blown up.
"	4	August 29	"	Checked by countermine.
"	5	Sept. 1	"	Checked by countermine.
Germon's Post	1	Sept. 10	"	Checked by countermine.
Anderson's Post	1	August 13	"	Checked by countermine.
"	2	August 23	"	Checked by countermine.
"	3	August 23	"	Checked by countermine.
Cawnpore Battery	1	July 25	"	Collapsed, under shell fire.
"	2	Sept. 9	"	Blown up.
"	3	Sept. 10	"	Checked by countermine.
Martiniere	1	July 21	Lodgment	Dislodged by grenades.
"	2	August 10	Explosion	Short, but damaged stockade.
Brigade Mess	1	July 25	Gallery	Checked by countermine.
"	2	August 20	"	Checked by countermine, and then blown up, August 29.

Post attacked	Serial No.	Approximate date	Nature of attack	Particulars and result	
Brigade Mess	3	22	Sept. 3	Gallery and Explosion	Checked by countermine, then exploded, short, harmless, on Sept. 5.
"	4	29	Sept. 10	Gallery and Explosion	Checked by countermine.
Sikh Square	1	7	July 25	Gallery	Checked by countermine, then blown up.
"	2	23	August 16	"	Both destroyed by its own explosion.
"	3	24	"	Explosion	Successful : made 30 feet breach.
"	4	27	Sept. 9	Gallery	Checked by countermine.
"	5	28	"	"	Blown up by countermine.
Gubbins's	1	4	July 21	Lodgment	Dislodged by sortie.
"	2	25	Sept. 5	Explosion	Short : harmless.
Church	1	33	Sept. 11	Gallery	Destroyed by sortie.
"	2	34	Sept. 21	"	" " "
"	3	37	After relief	"	Short : harmless. ¹

SIEGE OF RESIDENCY

20th July - 25th September 1857

The defence of the Residency lasted till the 25th September, when Havelock's force arrived to its succour. This period of twelve and a half weeks was divided, by three general all-round attacks on the 20th July, 10th August, and 5th September, into four stages of about three weeks each.

FIRST STAGE OF ATTACK

During the first stage no marked incident of importance occurred. The enemy harassed, but did not attack in force. The defenders were vigorously strengthening their defences and organizing their arrangements, and they made one sortie.

¹ Times : "The Sepoy Revolt" (Second Edition 1897), Pp. 165-166.

It was against Johannes's house, with the intention of demolishing it; but the enemy collected in too great a force to allow them to effect their object, and the General consequently recalled the sortie. But a very important feature in the attack came soon to notice:—the inability of the enemy's artillery to breach or seriously damage the lower parts of the defences and buildings.

On the 20th July, the first great all-round attack was delivered, and as the other two were similar in their features they may all be conveniently described here. They all consisted of, first, the explosion of some mine meant to make a breach in the defences; then a nearly simultaneous effort to storm the entrenchments at the expected breach and elsewhere, accompanied by a ceaseless all-round fire of artillery and musketry. The same results followed in every case. The explosions were harmless, owing to the mines being short of their mark. The stormers failed, as they found no breach, and they rarely reached—they never penetrated through—the obstructions; the artillery fire damaged only the roofs and upper stories; the musketry did little harm, as the defenders kept well under cover; while the defenders' artillery played havoc among the stormers, as they came on in mass, and was well supported by the musketry fire through the loopholes of the buildings and parapets.

In the first attack there was only one mine exploded, and it was directed against the Redan, the points attacked being the Redan and Innes' post. In the second attack mines were aimed at the Martiniere and Sago's posts, and the attacks were at the Cawnpore battery, Gubbins's post, and Innes'. In the third attack mines were exploded against the Brigade Mess and Gubbins's post, and another mine, aimed at Saunders's, had been destroyed by the garrison a few hours before the attack came off; the posts at which rushes were attempted were the Brigade Mess and the Sikh Square. One special feature of this third attack was that the enemy had constructed a battery close opposite the Bailey Guard Gate, and opened fire when the attack began. But Aitken's sepoy had noticed the work, and had built a counter-battery in their own, the Treasury post; and the two heavy guns with which it was armed at once silenced the enemy. Another special feature on this occasion was that *Talookdaree* troops joined in the attack for the first time.

Such were the three great all-round attacks; but during the whole period of the siege after the first attack the enemy were ceaseless in their efforts to drive mines under the defences, and it will be presently shown what these efforts were, and how they were all, with one exception foiled.¹

BRITISH FORCES BESIEGED AT ALAMBAGH, LUCKNOW

Diary:—19th Sept.—We crossed the River with Havelock and Outram had a slight brush with the enemy. Most of their shots went overhead.

20th Sept.—The enemy are blazing away today at a party of Volunteer Cavalry who were sent out to reconnoitre.

21st Sept.....We had not advanced above four miles when the enemy began pegging into us from some batteries in broken ground. They evidently had measured the distance, and directly we came within range, bang came a 12-pounder, knocking over our elephant and killing a Corporal. The first few shots were beautifully sent, but as our heavy guns got into play they lost heart, first fired wildly and then bolted away.

23rd Sept.....When we came within a mile of Alum Baugh, they sent some 9-pounders that went right into our column killing several officers and men.

24th Sept.....The enemy's cavalry tried to cut off our baggage. Our men thought they were our own Irregulars, and allowed them to approach quite close,..... there must have been about 500 of them.....shot and shell falling in our camp all day.

26th Sept.....Here we are at Lucknow at last,they made fierce resistance at Charbaugh, but when we got into the streets, then the slaughter began. Upwards of 600 men and 60 officers killed and wounded. We lost two carts of 24 shot and 7 carts of biscuits and provisions. *The street firing was awful. We could not touch the rebels, and they punished us awfully from loopholes.....*

The Residency is nearly knocked all to bits..... The great danger was from mines.....a determined rush of the enemy at our place. *The whole of the city.....*

¹ James : "The Sepoy Revolt" (Second Edition 1897), Pp. 155-157.

if not Oude, is against us. Since we arrived, three sorties have been made. About 20 more guns taken, but not without heavy loss in men and officers. It is truly disgusting to witness our *Whilom Staunch Jacks* potting at us from behind loopholes in working the guns within about 50 yards of us. The city *budmashes*, too, cause great annoyance with their matchlocks and rifles. I saw some run out of their ranks and deliberately hack off the heads of the two of our poor wounded fellows after a sortie, who had been left behind.

We are now regularly besieged again, with no chance of getting out with 500 women and children, besides wounded. The cavalry we sent out last night, to try and make their way to Alum Baugh, but were obliged to retire on account of the fire opened upon them. All our troops are at Alum Baugh so we are all in a regular fix, having nothing but the clothes on our backs. The city appears a lovely looking place from the top of the Residency, with its gilded Domes and Minarets sparkling in the sun and interspersed with green trees.

1st October. No sooner are the besiegers driven from one place than they assemble in another. The loss of life that is taking place is truly awful..... They (the sepoys) hide behind the walls and fire through loopholes about the size of an orange. All communications cut off. *In fact Oude is a blazing fire that will not be put out in a hurry.....* The enemy had mined this place awfully before we arrived and are still going on. They generally spring them too short. It is no uncommon thing for them to break into our countermines and get shot for their pains.

All the native troops were paraded this morning for the inspection of the General. I believe they have been rewarded by promotions and promise of *Jaghirs* to some. The 13th N. I. seemed to have behaved splendidly, and a portion of the 48th and 71st remained true..... We see swarms of sowars, matchlockmen, and infantry passing over the Stone Bridge. The Muchec Bhawan seems in a commanding position, but was not considered strong enough. A good many guns were blown up today. Four Regiments of sepoys are reported to have gone to Fyzabad.

6th October..... We are gradually feeling our way to Alum Baugh down the Cawnpore Road. We have advanced about half a mile. The Chinhut affair seems to have been a dreadfully mismanaged business. We lost three

guns and a complete rout ensued in fact from all I can ascertain a second Arrah. The loss of life is dreadful. Every day several are shot.....We don't know what is going on in the exterior world.....We hear all the camp followers from Alam Baugh have bolted.

7th October.....We have been obliged to retire from our position on Cawnpore Road, matters don't seem flourishing.....shots, shell and bullets come in showers by fits and starts. The loss of officers is something terrible.....one or two killed or wounded each day.....¹

HAVELOCK'S CAMPAIGN FOR THE SUCCOUR OF LUCKNOW

On entering Cawnpore, on the 17th July, Havelock heard of the state of matters at Lucknow, and at once took steps to cross the river and advance to its relief. Leaving 300 men under Neill entrenched at Cawnpore, he ferried his force over the river, a mile and a half wide, to the other side, into Oude; and on the 28th occupied a post at Mungunwar, on the left bank of the Ganges.

It was while the passage of the Ganges was in progress that Tytler sent to Lucknow the letter that has been referred to, which arrived there on the 25th. The hopes held out in it proved misleading, but this was due to the unexpected sickness and the later news of the 30th. Also it is to be remembered, in considering its tone, in what high and elated spirits the force was; how they had overcome every obstacle that challenged them; how steadily on the increase the enemy's cowardice appeared to be and for what a noble goal the force was striving. Small be the blame, if they counted too certainly on immediate success.

When Havelock was now about to advance, the state of matters was this; he had in front of him the hostile force already described; his communications to the base at Allahabad and at Calcutta were open; reinforcements had been promised and were advancing up country; but his base for others was 600 miles distant; he had 300 men left at Cawnpore, under Neill, to protect his immediate rear; and his own force consisted of only 1500 men and 13 field-guns—his Europeans did not

¹ "The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette" Jan. 6, 1858, p. 19. Letter from the Lucknow Garrison.

muster 1200 men. It was with this mere handful that he advanced towards Lucknow on the 29th, and on that day fought the two actions of Oonao and Busherut Gunge. The country was flooded, and he had to confine his march to the high road or its immediate borders. The enemy, fortunately, were similarly hampered in their movements; but they held their villages in force, and had to be driven out of them. The mutineers, when caught in mass on the road, were swept through and through by our artillery. Our skirmishers and guns played on the front of the villages till our infantry were close enough up to charge and storm the positions, and then they cleared them out by hand-to-hand fighting. This was the feature of both the battles, in which 19 guns were taken; but the fighting was severe, and cholera had appeared, so that, on the following morning, Havelock found that he had lost one-sixth of his force.

And then, at the same time, came a crushing blow in the receipt from Neill at Cawnpore of the disastrous intelligence that the Dinapore sepoys had mutinied, raising the district, and endangering the communications with Calcutta, so as to destroy any chance of early reinforcements, e.g. by the 5th, 37th, and 90th Regiments, on which he had been counting. As the enemy in front was in full strength, an advance against them was at present hopeless. So, on the 31st, Havelock retired to Mungurwar, his post on the Oude bank of the Ganges, to await supports and keep in touch with Cawnpore.

A few days later, having learned that a strong force of the enemy was collecting at Busherut Gunge, he moved out against them on the 4th August, and again defeating them, drove them off with a loss of 300 men. But again he lost heavily from cholera, and so had again to return to Mungurwar; the more so that Neill was now reporting that Cawnpore was being seriously threatened by a mutineer army from the south side of the Jumna River, thirty miles off.

These rumours grew rapidly more alarming, and Havelock consequently wrote on the 9th to the Commander-in-Chief, intimating the unavoidable necessity, and his consequent intention, of returning to Cawnpore. Making then his arrangements for the re-passage of the Ganges, he first, in order to secure his retreat, moved against the enemy on the 11th, defeated them a third time at Busherut Gunge. Driving them well off, he marched back rapidly to Mungurwar, and next

day crossed to Cawnpore without the foe venturing to molest his withdrawal.

When halting at Mungurwar after the 31st, Havelock had received those few reinforcements, including a half battery, that had been following him up closely; and it is important to note the strength of his available force at various dates.

1. On the 29th July, when starting for the advance on Lucknow, he had 1500 men all told, of whom 1200 were English.

2. On returning to Mungurwar on the 31st July, only 850 men were available for the line of battle.

3. On his second advance, on the 4th August, his full strength was 1400 men.

4. On his second return to Mungurwar, on the 5th August, he had only the same strength left as on July 31.

5. And under 900 men available on his third advance.

Further, his situation was this. No more reinforcements were likely to arrive for at least a month. In his front were some 30,000 men, the full force of the mutineer and rebel army as at the first, exclusive of casualties. The *talockdars* of Roya and Doondea Khera were threatening his two flanks, but no fresh Rajpoot chiefs or clans had joined the enemy. On the west, at Furruckabad, a large body of Rohillas were massing under the Nuwab; and Cawnpore was threatened from Kalpee, to the south on the Jumna, by the Nana's followers, the Saugor mutineers, and the Gwalior contingent. Is there in the annals of our history any record of odds so overwhelming and so undauntedly and brilliantly faced? Havelock's judgment, in this desperate plight, remained clear and unclouded. However bitter his disappointment, however deep his anguish, however intense the mortification of his men, who had fought with such heroic valour and such unvaried success, he felt that his duty and the discharge of his trust required him to turn his, for the time, back on the goal for which he had been striving.

But this retirement from Oude produced a result which he had doubtless never contemplated. The *talockdars* openly construed it as the British evacuation of the province, and now formally recognized the rebel Durbar at Lucknow as the *de facto* Government; and though they refrained from supporting it by their own presence, they obeyed its orders, which they had hitherto disregarded, and sent to the scene of warfare the contingents which they had been called upon to furnish.

When back at Cawnpore, Havelock had to take immediate action. His whole force consisted of some 1400 British soldiers and Brasyer's Sikhs, but out of this number 350 were disabled by wounds or sickness, while cholera was raging at a rate that in another six weeks would leave no fighting men available. Meanwhile, the Nana's followers had returned, reassembled about his neighbouring palace at Bithoor, and been joined by the mutineers from Saugor in the Central Provinces. So Havelock attacked that force, defeating and driving them off with the loss of their guns; but not before the mutineer 42nd Native Infantry had made a rash and disastrous attempt to cross bayonets with the Madras Fusiliers. He had then to send a body of men down to Futtehpore, the scene of the first of his battles, to repel the efforts of the rebels in Oude to cross the Ganges and get between him and Allahabad; but he also learnt that Major Eyre had defeated the Dinapore mutineers, which cleared the communications, and gave him hopes that some of the seven battalions, that he knew to be present to the south of Allahabad, would soon be arriving to reinforce him.

On the other hand, he heard that he was to be superseded by General Outram, his old friend and commander in Persia; and that he was coming up the river by steam, was inaccessible by telegrams, and was arranging to stop the advance of those very troops towards Cawnpore, and take them himself on a line of his own through Oude to Lucknow.

The ignorance which this implied of the state of matters at Cawnpore, and the consequent prospects filled him with dismay, but by this time Sir Colin Campbell had reached Calcutta to take up the command in India; and Havelock wrote and telegraphed to him, explaining the real state of affairs. The result was that Outram gave up his original ideas, came up with reinforcements, and made his famous surrender of his command to Havelock till he should have effected the relief of Lucknow.

But the reinforcements he brought up were only the 5th Fusiliers and the 90th Light Infantry. There still remained between Allahabad and Calcutta the 10th, 29th, 35th, 37th, and 53rd, besides drafts from other regiments. But all these, instead of being sent on to the front, were being kept in those southern districts, not by orders from head-quarters, but through the interference of local officers. They were thus being

diverted from their proper course and frittered away broadcast; and while Havelock's force, at the gravest scene of operations, could barely muster 1100 men, some 6000 men who might have been on their way to his support were kept pottering about to the south-east of Benares.

While Havelock was thus remaining at Cawnpore waiting the reinforcements, the Oude rebels again tried to cross over towards Futtchpore; but detachments of the advancing reinforcements caught them and punished them severely. The enemy, however, in the Kalpee direction to the south, and Furruckabad to the west, kept quiet.

Meanwhile, Havelock was filled with the deepest anxiety for the Lucknow garrison, and about the delay in relieving it; as the letters that reached him from General Inglis, especially that of the 16th August, impressed him with the conviction that the food of the garrison was being so reduced that they must be losing all vitality and powers of resistance. The straits of a garrison within sight of the last possible morsel of food are incomparably greater, and tend to demand much more desperate efforts for relief than when the exigencies are those lying only or mainly in liability to attack by excessive odds.

Outram joined Havelock on the 15th September; and although he handed over the formal command to him, he did not divest himself of a real lead in the practical guidance of operations, keeping up a strong pressure on him as to the plans to be adopted. Thus the passage of the river was begun on lines altered by Outram, and not in accordance with Havelock's original arrangements, to which, however, it had eventually to be assimilated.

The passage was effected by the 20th, the force being as shown in the margin.

Heavy batteries]	282
Light batteries]	
Volunteer cavalry	100
Native cavalry	59
British infantry	2388
Sikh infantry	341
Total	<u>3170</u>

On the 21st they attacked the rebels at Mungurwar, and drove them in flight to Busherut Gunge, the scene of Havelock's three actions in July and August. On the 23rd, the

force reached the Alum Bagh, 4 miles short of the Residency, and captured it, driving the enemy across the canal into the city. Here, news was received of the storming of Delhi, and the force remained halted during the 24th, pending the settlement of the plans and route for the junction with the Residency.

Havelock's conviction had always been that the enemy would reserve their strength and their chief efforts for the street-fighting in the British approach to the Residency. He had, therefore, meant to avoid entering the city at all, and to march, instead, through the more open ground to its east, cross the Goomtee, and get access to the Residency by its river face. Accordingly he had carried with him the apparatus and means for bridging the Goomtee; but, on the 24th, it was decided that the recent burst of rain had made the open country too swampy and heavy for the proposed march, and that the route should be the one which avoided the actually open country, but entailed the minimum of street-fighting. This was the route which crossed the canal by the Char Bagh Bridge, and then, turning east, followed the canal bank circling till it faced north, cleared the city, and neared the river, whence it struck westwards direct towards the Residency position. This would involve only half a mile of streets of which to run the gauntlet.

Such, accordingly was the route of the running battle of the 25th. A strong detachment was left at the Alum Bagh to form its garrison, and the force itself advanced towards the Char Bagh Bridge, capturing the Yellow House and the Char Bagh on its way. There was a street that led direct from the Char Bagh Bridge to the Residency; the Bridge end of this street being held in great strength by the enemy, whose commanding musketry fire covered a powerful battery that was itself entrenched, and so barricaded the bridge. Maude's guns were ineffective against that battery, so Neill was ordered to carry the Bridge. The whole of the storming-party, under Arnold, were swept down, except two men, of whom the younger Havelock was one; but before the battery could fire a second round, the Madras Fusiliers, who were in support, had charged over the Bridge, cleared the breastworks, stormed the battery, and won the Char Bagh bridge and nearest city buildings. These the 78th held as a position covering the Bridge, while the whole of the rest of the force crossed it and

passed to the right, and, skirting the canal as planned, made its way rapidly and unchecked to the Begum's Palace and the Sekundra Bagh. Thence it turned west to the Motee Mahul where the column halted to pull itself together. The 78th had hard fighting to maintain the post at the bridge; and, at length, when all had passed on, they followed in the rear up to the Begum's Palace, and turned westward from that point instead of from the Sekundra Bagh further on, as the main column had done. Later in the afternoon—arrangements having been made for a party under Colonel Campbell to hold the Motee Mahul with the heavy guns and impediments, and the 78th having been seen coming along on the left bank—Havelock and Outram sallied out to the entrance of the streets running between the lines of buildings that still shut off the Residency. Outram was anxious to find a way through the buildings themselves, and searched hard for it; but as it had not been found when dusk began to fall, the force ran the gauntlet through two parallel routes, by which they in a few minutes reached the Bailey Guard Gate and entered the entrenchment. The loss in the outer of the two parallel routes had been comparatively heavy, but well worth the end attained. The relieving force had reinforced the Residency position, and made it secure, rescuing its garrison from the extreme dangers—unknown as well as known—that threatened it, and averting a catastrophe, which would have been of primary weight and consequence at this stage of the war.

With this successful junction of Havelock's force with the Bailey Guard garrison, and with the consequently successful close of the defence of the Lucknow Residency position by that garrison, single-handed till reinforced, ends the first stage of the campaign in Oude.¹

DEATH OF NEILL

Telegraphic Message sent by Sherer, dated Caenpore, Oct. 1, 1857.

I HAVE not been able to get hold of the telegraph till a late hour, but I hasten to forward you letters which you will find very interesting.

We have received intelligence from Lucknow dated the

29th. The Baillee Guard was taken on the 25th, but with considerable loss.

General Neill was killed; and the whole amount of casualties is estimated at between 400 and 500. Another letter indicates, that on the 29th the whole of the right, or eastern part of the city, was in our hands; that we had taken seven guns, and were steadily possessing ourselves of all the batteries.

Maun Sing, who had taken an active part against us, was wounded in two places.¹

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN AWADH

Extracts of Intelligence received from Carnegie, Incharge of Intelligence Department, Jaunpore, dated October 13, 1857.

REVOLUTIONARIES MOBILISE THEIR FORCES

6th October 1857.—Rajah Mehesh Narain sent in a small gun, a *percannah* with Mehdie Hussan's seal upon it and a letter from the *Cannongo* (Qanungo) of Chanda² intimating that Rajah Jey Lall (brother, I believe, of the Atrawlia Bance Madho) is appointed to Jounpore. Received a letter from Fyzabad, from which I learn that many sepoy's have arrived there, having fled from Lucknow.

Holass Tewarry, *hurkara*, returned from the Baiswarrah district with the following information. A *tchseeldar* has been appointed at Puttee³ in Pergumnah Belkhour, and is said to be

¹ Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 38 in No. 2, Pp. 70-71.

² *Chanda*, Pargana, Tahsil *Khutahan* Distt. *Jaunpur*—The main portion of pargana Chanda lies in the Sultanpur district; but three detached blocks which came into the possession of Bais Rajputs some centuries ago, and were amalgamated into a single taluqa, were transferred during the days of the early Nawab Wazirs of Oudh to the territorial administration of Balwant Singh of Benares. The tract was included in the Jaunpur tahsil, but on the 1st of October 1850 it was made over to the Khutahan. (*District Gazetteers*, Jaunpur 1908, p. 201).

³ *Patti*, Pargana and Tahsil *Patti* Distt. *Partabgarh*—The headquarters of the tahsil is a village lying in latitude 23° 35' north and longitude 82° 13' east, on the road from Partabgarh to Akbarpur in the district of Fyzabad. Other roads lead to Sakra, Birahimpur Ghat, Raja Bazar, Pirthiganj, and Raniganj police-station. It lies at a distance of thirteen miles from Partabgarh. (*District Gazetteers*, Partabgarh 1904, p. 208).

raising two or three regiments. He has no guns. Another *tehseldar* is at Nawabgunge, *Zillah* Pertabghur, raising men for four regiments, but he has no guns or ammunition. The messenger met Hecrewunt Sing, with 2 guns and 400 men at Kuriya Bazar on his way to Lucknow. At that place (Kuriya) men were also being enlisted. The *Nazim* of Salone had returned to Lucknow with 2,000 men, leaving people to enlist 3,000 or 4,000 more. At Shunkurpore¹ it was ascertained that Joograj Sing, brother of Rana Bance Madho, had seven days previously gone to Lucknow with 700 men and 2 guns. He was to pick up 1,200 or 1,300 men of Bassunt Sing of Simerpatra², and Ruggonaut Sing of Kujjergam³, at Roy Barcilly, and take them with him, as also 4 guns of theirs. In the fort of Shunkurpore, Bance Madho has 1,200 and 8 large guns with him. He is busily employed putting his fort in order; 600 coolies are at work and it will be finished in a month. The fort is a mud one, covering a large area. The messenger fell in with the *rakeel* of Bejebahadoor (Bijai Bahadur) at Shunkurpore, and ascertained that his master had sent 2 guns and 400 men to Lucknow. Juggernauth Buccus (Jagannath Bakhsh), Ram Persaud, etc., of Nain, have sent 700 men and 2 guns (our Salone guns) to Lucknow. On his return, the messenger found Sheik Ahmed Ali of Allahabad had come as *tehseldar*, and was raising men. 200 or 300 men of the old "Doorga Sing Regiment" were with him.

Burmaha Sing, *hurkara*, returned from Fyzabad. He says Agha Hussan is in the Dilkoosa Garden, with 200 men, and is raising more. (This man must be wrong in the name

¹ *Shankarpur* in *Rai Bareli* District—It's a village situated about 16 miles to the south-east of Rai Bareli town, in *Tahsil* and *Pargana Dalmau*. It lies in the north-eastern extremity of the *Pargana* and is at a distance of about 3 miles from Jagatpur on the road from Rai Bareli to Allahabad.

² Apparently *Sinarpaha*, *Pargana* and *Tahsil Dalmau* Distt. *Rai Bareli*—It lies in latitude 26° 8' north and longitude 80° 57' east, about a mile and a half south-west of Lalganj, on the road from that place to Raipur on the Ganges and five miles north of Khajurgaon. (*District Gazetteers, Rai Bareli* 1905, p. 225).

³ Apparently *Khajurgaon*, *Pargana* and *Tahsil Dalmau* Distt. *Rai Bareli*—This village stands on the banks of the Ganges, in latitude 26° 5' north and longitude 80° 57' east, at a distance of some five miles west of Dalmau. (*District Gazetteers, Rai Bareli* 1905, p. 185).

of Agha Hussan). In Oodres Sing's (Udresh Singh) fort at Dhourwa¹ there are two guns and a small one, and 1,000 men. Motie Ram says Mehndie Hussan is at Hussanpore Bundooah² with 2,000 men and 3 guns. He hath demanded 4 guns from Ranjeet Sing of Koodowa³, but they were refused.

8th October 1857—Received a letter from Fyzabad. Mehndie Hussan is said to have eight regiments and four guns (I don't believe it, and have sent to see). *Tehseeldars* and *Suzawals* have been appointed. It is the *Nazim's* intention, if he is supported by the *talookdars*, to attack Jounpore. The *Rajcoomars* under Oodres Sing and Chundres Sing have concealed their families, and are rebellious; and Pirthipal, Madhav Persad and Kishen Persad, *talookdars* and chief *Puhwars*, are most anxious to accompany the *Nazim* against Jounpore. Roostum Sahie alone of the *talookdars* remains true. Munsub Ali of Serai Meer⁴, *Zillah* Azimghur, has been appointed commandant of regiment with Banee Madho of Atrowlia, and is at Kuttaria⁵ with 400 men, and daily rising more.

10th October 1857—Made over to Thakoore Ajeet Sing the Lieutenant-Governor's letter, with which he was greatly pleased. He informs me that he has heard a report that Mehndie Hussan has the remains of three of our old regiments with him, but they are reduced to 200 or 300 men each. He

¹ Apparently in *Sultanpur* District.

² *Hasanpur*, Pargana *Miranpur* Tahsil *Sultanpur* Dist. *Sultanpur*.—*Hasanpur* lies four miles west of *Sultanpur*, a little to the north of the Lucknow road, in latitude 26° 16' north and longitude 81° 1' east. (*District Gazetteers*, *Sultanpur* 1903, p. 180).

³ Apparently *Koeripur*, Pargana *Chanda* Tahsil *Khutahan* Dist. *Jaunpur*—This is the chief village of the detached portion of pargana *Chanda*, which is surrounded on all sides by the *Sultanpur* and *Partabgarh* districts. It stands in 26° 2' N. and 82° 21' E., a mile west from the road leading from *Jaunpur* to *Sultanpur*, at a distance of 32 miles from the district headquarters and three miles from *Chanda*. (*District Gazetteers*, *Jaunpur* 1908, p. 272).

⁴ *Sarai Mir*, Pargana and Tahsil *Nizamabad* Dist. *Azamgarh*—The town of *Sarai Mir* lies 18 miles west of *Azamgarh* in 26° 2' N. and 82° 56' E., on the metalled road from *Azamgarh* to *Shahganj*. (*District Gazetteers*, *Azamgarh* 1911, p. 289).

⁵ *Kataria* (in *Faizabad* District)—It lies in the Pargana and Tahsil *Akbarpur* at a distance of about 4 miles from *Akbarpur* on the road to *Tanda*.

has sent a man to ascertain if this is true. He says Mehndie Hussan has no present intention of encroaching on this district, but he is hard-pressed by *Rajcoomars* and by the regiments to do so. The time will be favourable when 1,200 Goorkhas shall have left for Allahabad, leaving only 400 here.

11th October 1857.—One of the Lucknow *Hukaras* joined me. He says that the following are the rebel leaders enumerated: *Man Sing*, *Goorbuksh Sing*, the *Fyzabad Moulvi*, one of *Ghalib Jung's* relatives (one of the *Atraulia¹ family*), the *Amati (Amethi)² Rajah*, and *Davie Buksh or Davy Sing*, a *Rajah*, and of these *Man Sing* is chief. The messenger left about the 1st instant, and then two-thirds of the mutinous troops had fled or been killed and the fight was being maintained by the troops of the different *Rajahs*, amounting to from 10,000 to 20,000 men.

12th October 1857.—Received information from Saligram *Tehseeldar* that his release had been effected by *Rajah* *Mehesh Narain*, and that an army of 2,000 men would march from *Chanda* to *Singramow³* this morning with a view of attacking *Jounpore*, headed by *Umbres Sing*, *Chundras Sing*, &c., and that there was a reserve of 4,000 or 6,000 men at *Hussanpore*

¹ *Atraulia*, Pargana, Tahsil *Mahul* Distt. *Azamgarh*—*Atraulia* is the north-western pargana of the district *Azamgarh*, being bounded on the west and north-east by parganas *Surhampur* and *Birhar* of the *Fyzabad* district, and on the south-east by pargana *Kauria* of *Azamgarh*. For a short distance on the south-west the *Tons* river forms the boundary line with *Fyzabad*. (*District Gazetteers*, *Azamgarh* 1911, p. 192).

² *Amethi*, Pargana, Tahsil in *Sultanpur* District—This pargana occupies the south-western corner of the district, being bounded on the south by the district of *Partabgarh*, on the east by *Asal* and *Miranpur*, on the north by *Musafirkhana* and *Gaura Jamun*, and on the west by the *Rai Bareli* district. A metalled line runs from *Sultanpur* to *Amethi*, and a second road branches west from this at *Dhamaur* in the *Sultanpur* tahsil running to *Gauriganj* and thence parallel with the railway to *Rai Bareli*. This road is metalled for part of its length. From *Gauriganj* a road goes to *Amethi* and on to *Partabgarh*, with camping grounds at *Gauriganj* and *Amethi*, where there is also a bungalow. Other roads run from *Amethi*, one of them leading south to *Salon* in *Rai Bareli*, and the other to *Piparpur* and *Chanda*. (*District Gazetteers*, *Sultanpur* 1903, p. 156).

³ *Singramau*, Pargana *Chanda* Distt. *Jainpur*—stands on the road from *Jainpur* to *Sultanpur* in 25° 57' N. and 82° 24' E., at a distance of five miles north-west from *Badlapur* and 24 miles from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, *Jainpur* 1908, p. 321).

with the *Nazim* ready to follow. At 9 a.m. this report was confirmed by the Budlapore¹ *thanadar* who heard from his father at Badshagunge² (beyond Sultanpore), where he had been seized on suspicion of being a spy, that four regiments of sepoys and a *ressalah* of cavalry left that place four days ago (on the 19th of the current Mahomedan month) with Hussan Yar Khan and other civil officers to occupy and settle Jounpore. The like information received from a third quarter, i.e., through Hingun Lal, with the addition of certain influential names, as being the instigators of that attack. I suppose this man is Man Sing's second brother of that name. Information received from *Thana* Kutghur of a regiment (*ressallah*) of cavalry moving from Lucknow to Porraie in *Zillah* Azimghur, intention not known.

Mehndie Hussan is still at Hussanpore : his forces are daily being recruited and energetic steps were (are) being taken for an immediate move to Jounpore.

13th October 1857—At 3 a.m. a *hurkara* came in from Chanda. This man was on his way to Hussanpore on the 11th when he met a force of two new *Nejceb* regiments, under a Mussulman *Naib Nazim* (said to be Mehndie Hussan's brother) marching from Hussanpore to Chanda. The messenger returned with them and ascertained that two guns and more men were following. Besides, the messenger saw about 500 villagers and others collected at Chanda, and learnt that a speedy move on Jounpore was contemplated. He further heard that Mehndie Hussan had 8,000 or 10,000 men, consisting of new levies and villagers with him at Hussanpore, and he has deputed a man to get further aid from Pertabghur.

¹ *Badlapur*, Pargana *Rari* Distt. *Jaunpur*—This is the chief village of that portion of *Rari* which is now included in the old *Khutahan* tahsil. It lies in 25° 53' N. and 82° 27' E., at the junction of the roads from *Jaunpur* to *Sultanpur* and from *Badshahpur* to *Khutahan*, at a distance of 19 miles north-west from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, *Jaunpur* 1908, p. 187).

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

The following is the Fyzabad news-letter of to-day; Syed Golam Hosen, son of Mahomed Hosen *Nazim* has been appointed *Chukkladar* of Aldamow¹, and Ismael Khan (our *tehseeldar* of Dostpore²) is his *Naih*, he is at Shazadpore³ with 500 new levies and a gun, and is collecting men from *talookdars* for Jounpore. A lot of lead had been dug up near the Dilkoosha house and made into bullets and sent to Lucknow, Goruckpore, and Sultanpore. Meer Mahomed Hosen has arrived at Fyzabad as *Chukkladar* of Azimghur, and has 1,000 men with him and is waiting for Ghalib Jung's son, *Nazim* of Azimghur and Jounpore, to advance on the former place. Orders have been received from Lucknow that as soon as this *Nazim* returns from Lucknow, the Sultanpore and Goruckpore *Nazims* are to co-operate with him in a combined attack on Azimghur and Jounpore. At Fyzabad a workshop has been established for the repair of heavy guns. A *naka* of two companies of sepoy has been established at Jalla-ood-deen gunj⁴, ten miles this side of Fyzabad. Parties of two to ten sepoy are frequently passing through Fyzabad who have fled from Lucknow and Delhi, they have lost everything, and say that half Delhi was in the hands of the English. Jey Lall Sing, son of Ghalib Jung, *Nazim* of Azimghur and Jounpore, has arrived at Durrya-

¹ *Aldemau*, Pargana *Aldemau* Tahsil *Kadipur* Distt. *Sultanpur*--*Aldemau* is situated about two miles south-west of *Kadipur*, and at a short distance from the left bank of the *Gumti*, in latitude 26° 9' north and longitude 82° 22' east. (*District Gazetteers*, *Sultanpur* 1903, p. 151).

² *Dostpur*, Pargana *Aldemau* Tahsil *Kadipur*—*Dostpur*, the only town in the *Kadipur* tahsil, lies in the north of the *Aldemau* pargana, on the bank of the *Majhui*, which is here crossed by a fine old masonry bridge built in the days of the *Nawabs* by a *chakladar*. It is situated in latitude 26° 16' north and longitude 82° 28' east, at a distance of 25 miles from *Sultanpur*, ten miles from *Bitwai*, and ten miles from *Birsinghpur*. (*District Gazetteers*, *Sultanpur* 1903, p. 174).

³ *Shahzadpur*—This town lies in latitude 26° 25' north and longitude 82° 33' east, on the right or southern bank of the *Tons*, and on the main road from *Fyzabad* to *Jaunpur*, at a distance of a mile south-east from *Akbarpur*. Other roads lead from the place to *Jalalpur*, *Dostpur* and *Sultanpur*. (*District Gazetteers*, *Fyzabad* 1905, p. 263).

⁴ *Jalaluddinagar*, Pargana *Haveli Oudh* Tahsil *Fyzabad*—This is a large village standing in latitude 26° 42' north and longitude 82° 16' east on the high bank of the *Ghagra* and on the east side of the road from *Fyzabad* to *Akbarpur* and *Tanda*, at a distance of ten miles from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, *Fyzabad* 1905, p. 231).

bad (on whose arrival the combined attack is to be made). Sheik Golam Hosen has been appointed *Chuckladar* of Jounpore and has left Lucknow; Mehndie Hussan *Nazim* has 12,000 new troops and villagers with him, and is backed by all the *talookdars* of Sultanpore and Fyzabad except Roostum Sahi¹. The *Nazim* has got five of the old guns ready for use. Munsuh Ali is still at Kuttaria (near Akberpore²), and besides being commandant of regiment he has been appointed *tehseldar* of Nazimabad³ in Azimghur, and *moonshi* to the *Chuckladar*; he has raised his force to 700 men, is recruiting, and will accompany the *Nazim*.

The Jounpore Rajah's *karindah* just in from Budlapore, says a number of the vanquished Delhi rebels have arrived in these parts; he estimates the Chanda force at 3,000 (King's sepoy), and says that a number of our rebel sepoy are with the *Nazim*. A *subadar* of the 8th Oude Infantry commands at Sultanpore.⁴

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN AWADH IN RELATION TO OTHER EASTERN DISTRICTS

Letter from the Secretary to the Government, Central Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Banaras, October 15, 1857.

ATTACK ON AZAMGARH AND JAUNPUR CONTEMPLATED

7. The reports from Mr. Carnegie show that a great and increasing fermentation is going on among the chiefs beyond

¹ Probably spelt for Rustam Sahai or Rustam Shah.

² *Akbarpur*.—The capital of the pargana and tahsil is a considerable town lying in latitude 26° 26' north and longitude 82° 32' east at a distance of 36 miles by road from Fyzabad and twelve miles from Tanda. Through the town runs the main road from Fyzabad to Jaunpur, from which a metalled branch leads past the station to Tanda; two unmetalled roads take off from the latter, one running to Itifatganj, and the other to Baskhari, Ramnagar and Kichhauchha. Roads run from this place to Jalalpur, Maharua, and Dostpur in the Sultanpur district. (*District Gazetteers, Fyzabad 1905, p. 179*).

³ *Nizamabad, Pargana and Tahsil Nizamabad Distt. Azamgarh*.—The town of Nizamabad which gives its name both to a pargana and tahsil lies in 26° 3' N. and 83° 1' E. on the banks of the river Tons. It is 8 miles west from Azamgarh, with which, as with Sarai Rani, Phulpur and Captainganj, it is connected by unmetalled roads. (*District Gazetteers, Azamgarh 1911, p. 273*).

⁴ Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 30 in No. 7, Pp. 74-75.

the border. Bodies of men have been seen marching from one place to another, and new levies are very commonly being embodied. It is now beyond a doubt that the forces of Mehnadee Hussun are being daily recruited by *Talookdars'* men, villagers, and sepoy, and that pressure has been steadily applied to induce him to move on Jounpore and Azimghur. At length it would seem that an immediate invasion in force of Jounpore and Azimghur is seriously contemplated.

8. Mehnadee Hussun, the *Nazim* of Sultanpore, is the chief man in the south-eastern part of Oude. He is reported to be a person of some ability. It is stated that he now has a considerable force, estimated at from 8,000 to 10,000 men at Hussunpore, a place near Sultanpore, and about twenty miles within the Oude frontier. He is believed to be supported by all the *talookdars* in Sultanpore and Fyzabad excepting Rostum Shah. There are several guns with this force, and many other guns are scattered at various places along the frontier.

9. The reports say that a combined attack has been planned against Jounpore and Azimghur, the force for the former to move from Sultanpore, and that for the latter to march from Fyzabad, along the Gogra, and to be supported by a simultaneous invasion from Goruckpore. On the 12th, the Lieutenant-Governor received information that a body of men, amounting to 2,000, had crossed the frontier opposite Singramow, a town about 20 miles from Jounpore, and it was supposed that they were the advanced party of a large body, stated at 4,000 to 6,000 men, which were thought to be marching to make an immediate attack upon Jounpore. These men were said to be chiefly new levies containing many old sepoy, but not to be regular troops. On the next day, news was received from Azimghur which tallied with that received from Jounpore, and the actual advance of what are called regiments of sepoy and *ressalahs* of cavalry are spoken of. Whatever these so-called regiments and *ressalahs* may be, the Lieutenant-Governor believes that they certainly are not any of our old organised regiments. A *soubadar* of the old 8th Oude Infantry commands at Sultanpore.

10. In consequence of this invasion it became necessary to recall to Jounpore 1,200 Goorkhas who had marched to assist in recovering the *pergunnahs* of Northern Allahabad of which we have been dispossessed by parties from Oude.

11. The intelligence from different sources of these contemplated movements is too consistent not to be worthy of serious attention. Whether the leaders will eventually have the courage to carry out their schemes is uncertain, but that those schemes have been formed there can no longer be any doubt. *Nazims* and *Chuckladars* have been appointed. All preparations have been made at Fyzabad; a workshop has been established for the repair of heavy guns; at Dilkhoosa House, a quantity of lead has been dug up, made into bullets, and distributed between Lucknow, Goruckpore, and Sultanpore. Vigorous efforts have been made to enlist on the side of the rebels the old *talookdars*, who appear to have taken, at last, *in mass*¹ a decided part against our Government. Soldiers are actually in march towards the frontier, and one party has crossed it. Civil officers to administer and settle our districts after conquest have been appointed.

12. Such being the aspect of affairs in Oude in relation to these districts between the Gogra and the Ganges, it comes naturally to be considered. The Lieutenant-Governor observes, what means of defence there are here, whether at present in existence, or immediately in prospect. It is reasonable to expect hereafter, as heretofore, extreme want of intelligence, enterprise and spirit, in our adversary; but it would be unreasonable to rely for the safety of our Central Provinces exclusively upon this negative resource, for an indefinite length of time. In the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion there are strong indications that the time requiring active and adequate defensive preparations has arrived.....²

REVOLUTIONARY FORCES AT LUCKNOW

Extracts from letter from C. Beadon, Secretary to the Government of India, to the Secretary to the Government, Central Provinces, dated October 30, 1857.

BRITISHERS' HELPLESS CONDITION

4. The Lieutenant-Governor is probably not fully aware of the helpless condition in which Sir James Outram's

¹ Should be *en masse*

² Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 25 in No. 7, Pp. 71-72.

force, joined to the original garrison and inmates of the Residency, now finds itself; that they are powerless to procure any supplies; that their stock is barely sufficient, with reduced rations, to last for three weeks from this time; that the nature of the desperate struggle by which General Havelock reached the Residency (the particulars of which have been received only within the last three days) was such as to show that Sir James Outram has not exaggerated his need in asking for two brigades of 2,500 men each as a means of rescue, and that it is physically impossible for the Government of India to collect a force of more than 4000 in all for that purpose within the time allowed. Meanwhile, each day confirms the account of the convergence of some thousands of mutineers and rebels with artillery towards Cawnpore, and the aspect of things, as well as the value of the stake is such, that the Commander-in-Chief has felt it to be a duty, and the Governor General in Council has readily acquiesced in His Excellency's view, to proceed to take the command of the relieving Column in person.

5. The Governor General in Council could not in such an exigency have consented to any withholding of troops for purposes which will have no effect at Lucknow, and he therefore entirely approves of the communication made by the Lieutenant-Governor to Captain Osborne and Brigadier Carthew.

6. The Governor General in Council desires to say broadly and plainly that he would consider the sacrifice of the garrison in Lucknow as a far greater calamity and reproach to the Government than an outbreak of the Rewah or Bundelcund states, even if followed by rebellion and temporary loss of our authority in our own territories on the Nurbudda. Moreover, the fate of the Europeans at Lucknow if they are not rescued speedily and effectually is certain, whereas the well-deserved success which has hitherto attended the admirable courage and judgement of Captain Osborne give some hope that peace may still be preserved in Rewah even though troops be not immediately sent there.¹

¹ Further Papers (No. 7) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 45 in No. 7, Pp. 84-85.

ROLE OF RAJA MAN SINGH

ATTEMPTS TO WIN OVER THE RAJA

Oude (Lucknow)—On the 1st September, Colonel Inglis, commanding, reported that in consequence of the delay in his relief, he had reduced the rations which, considering their great diminution in numbers from casualties, might be made, to hold out till the 20th or 21st September. His force was daily diminishing from the enemy's fire, and his defences daily growing weaker, and any determined efforts to storm the place might prove difficult to repulse, owing to paucity and the weak, and harassed state of the force. Any advance towards the place would greatly inspire the garrison, especially the native portion, which had done well and bravely hitherto, but which was losing heart. Maun Singh, one of the principal Chiefs in Oude, was holding aloof, and it was thought that if the promise made to him by Sir H. Lawrence, of a *jagheer* of two lacs conditionally, was confirmed by Government, he might, with his 6,000 followers, afford the garrison active assistance. He had prohibited the Civil authorities from corresponding with General Havelock's camp. A message was sent up desiring Maun Singh to be assured that if he gave effective proof of his goodwill his position *should be, at least, as good as it was before the British assumed the Administration in Oude*, and that any promises made by Sir H. Lawrence should be redeemed. Since this, the news of an assault said to have been repelled by the garrison has proved correct. They repelled an assault on the 5th with great loss to the assailants. This would greatly encourage the garrison. Rum and beef would run short on 24th; but other provisions would hold out till 1st October. Maun Singh said to have declared for the garrison.

General Outram has been told to retain Lucknow, if he can hold it securely without depending on early reinforcements; but that the one paramount object is the rescue of the garrison, and that whatever will most surely conduce to the relief of this brave little band will be best. If this can be done more securely by retiring, he is not to hesitate to do so, as we can recover our prestige before long.¹

¹ Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure No. 1 in No. 4, Pp. 200-201.

BRITISH WOO MAN SINGH

(August, 1857)

Telegram from the Governor General of India in Council to J. Outram, dated August 25, 1857.

.....I wish you to communicate with Mr. Frederick Gubbins at Benares, respecting Rajah Maun Singh; he will be able to give you the latest information of the Rajah's proceedings.

I am told that Rajah Maun Singh is gone to Lucknow on business of his own. If his influence there should enable him to obtain by any means the unmolested retirement of the garrison from the Residency, and its safe passage to your camp, or to any place of security, any reward may be paid for this, both to Maun Singh and to those who may help him, which shall not be inconsistent with the sovereign authority of the British Government in Oude.¹

ACTIVITIES OF RAJA MAN SINGH

In the attack of the 5th of September, and about our defences generally during this month, we fancied that more matchlockmen were seen than before, and this we attributed to Rajah Man Singh, *talooqdar* of Shahgunje, near Fyzabad, *having joined the enemy*. Of this fact Ungud (Angad) had apprised us on the occasion of his last visit. From what Ungud had learnt, it appeared that Man Singh had kept away, remaining quiet at his own fort, so long as General Havelock's force was on the Oudh side of the Ganges. During this time he was organizing and increasing his levies, which he maintained by forced contributions from the merchants of Fyzabad and others.

MAN SINGH JOINS THE FIGHTERS IN AWADH

When, however, Havelock recrossed the Ganges, Man Singh thought that our cause was hopeless, and leaving Fyzabad marched in, and joined the mutineers at Lucknow. Much importance was attached by the natives inside and without the entrenchment to the defection of this chief; and a salute which

¹ Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 57 in No. 3, p. 161. *cf.* "Raja Man Singh's pro-British views in his letters to Talookdars, dated July 20, 1857"-- Innes.

we had before heard fired in the direction of cantonments was supposed to have welcomed his arrival. Man Singh was not one of the old hereditary chieftains of Oudh, the settlement of his family in the province having been recent. But more than any of the *talooqdars*, Roostum Sah of Deyrah¹ perhaps excepted, he was reputed to be a soldier. Recent occurrences which had taken place in Oudh, shortly before its annexation to the British Empire, and which partly gave rise to that measure, had brought Man Singh prominently before the public eye, and had invested him accordingly with unusual importance. A brief account of his antecedents will therefore not be uninteresting.

His family is Brahmin, of the Sagurdeep denomination, and had its origin at Bhojpoor in the district of Arrah, the country of the notorious Konwar Singh. His grandfather Poorundur Pathuk, having relatives in the village of Pulleca near Shahgunje, migrated there with his family. Among his five sons, two, Bukhtawur Singh and Durshun Singh (father of Man Singh), entered the service of the Kings of Oudh, and attained to wealth and distinction. Bukhtawur Singh became "*Kuptan*" of Cavalry under the Newaub Saadut Ali Khan, and under the reign of Ghazeeooddeen Hydur obtained the "*ijara*" or farm of the revenue of two large tracts of country; and shortly after, the title of *Rajah*.

Durshun Singh entered the Civil employ, and was made the *Chuckladar* or Governor of Sultanpoor, and at one time held the government of more than one-half of the Province of Oudh. He also erected the fort at Shahgunje.

Both brothers amassed much wealth, and acquired severally *talooquahs*, containing many villages, in the usual way. But Bukhtawur Singh having no son, and Durshun Singh possessing three, the landed property became merged into one, and the sons of Durshun Singh succeeded to it. Of these the eldest is Ramadeen Singh, the next Rugburdyal Singh, and the youngest Man Singh. Rugburdyal was for several years *Chuckladar* of Bareylt², and left it with an ill name for rapacity, cruelty, and oppression, beyond that which usually distinguished Oudh *Chuckladars*. He acquired by purchase an estate at Fureedabad in the Jounpoor district,

¹ Apparently, *Dera*.

² Apparently, *Bahraich*.

where he has since resided. The rightful succession to the *talooquah* in Oudh lay with Ramadeen Singh. But Man Singh's superior energy and talent led him to be acknowledged as the head of the family, and the fort of Shahgunje was held by him. Ramadeen residing much at Benares, Man Singh intrigued successfully at the Court at Lucknow, where he often resided, and maintained a close connection with the ex-prime-minister, the notorious Newaub Alee Nukee Khan, through whose influence he enjoyed many immunities and privileges. In 1854 and 1855, serious disturbances broke out at Fyzabad between the Hindoos and Mahomedans, in consequence of some unauthorized aggressions which were attempted by the latter sect, who endeavoured to intrude by force into the sacred Hindoo temples at Adjooddea¹.

This is a place of great antiquity, and reputed to be of the highest sanctity among the Hindoos, and is distant from Fyzabad three miles, on the banks of the Ghogra. The Mahomedan aggression was secretly favoured by the bigoted and imbecile Court at Lucknow. A great convulsion appeared to be imminent; for the Mussulmans, with a fanatic *molvee* (Maulvi) at their head, were marching on Adjooddea, resolved to enter the Hindoo shrine or die; while the Rajpoots and Hindoos of all the country round were flocking to defend their sanctuary. At this time Man Singh took the lead and placed himself at their head, becoming the acknowledged leader of the Hindoo party. He raised a large body of men, with whom he took post at the *Shiwala*, or temple which he had built at his private cost, among the numerous convents and temples which crowd the deeply-shaded dells and ravines of Adjooddea. Fortunately the British residents' interposition prevented an encounter between the hostile parties. The King's troops attacked and dispersed the Mussulmans, and the party which was headed by Man Singh remained victorious. It was commonly believed that Man Singh had then declared, that but for the support which the King would be sure to receive from the British, he would have marched to Lucknow, destroyed the Mahomedan dynasty, and established a Hindoo Government in its place. The introduction of British authority into Oudh found Man Singh deeply embarrassed. The

large number of followers which he had maintained, had involved him in debt; the special immunities which he had received from the weakness of the Oudh Court and corruption of its minister, were questioned; the old proprietors of the villages comprised in his *talooquah* all sued him to recover their lost rights, and the demand for payment of the Government revenue was instant. Under these circumstances, Maun Singh fled the province, and remained absent for five months; during which it is believed that he was in Calcutta in attendance upon the ex-minister.

The occurrences, which have been mentioned, and the prominent position which he occupied during them, gave him the "great name" with the natives, which this digression has explained.¹

Extract from the Proceedings of the Lieutt. Governor, Central Provinces, under date the 21st September 1857.

Telegraphic Message sent by the Lieutt. Governor to the Governor General, dated Banaras, 9th September 1857.

Rajah Madho Sing of Ummaithee (Amethi) in Oude who has a house in Benares is securing his valuables. It is believed that he is going or has gone against us. If so, it is probable that Maun Sing of Oude has done or is about to do the same. There is a report to this effect here. Shall overtures be made from hence in the hope of keeping on recovering Maun Sing? If so, what may be offered to him? It is my own opinion that the *Talookdars* should retain hereafter whatever they had possessed for many years when we assumed the administration. I have taken measures for obtaining regular information from Oude.

Reply from Canning, Governor General, dated Calcutta, 12th Sept., to the Lieutt. Governor, received at Benares (Banaras) on the 13th Idem.

Maun Sing may be assured that if he continues to give to the Governor General effective proof of his fidelity and good-will, his position in Oude will be at-least as good as it was before the British Government assumed the administration of the Country, whilst the Proprietors in Oude who have deserted the Government will lose their possessions. The

same assurance may be given to any other Chiefs who will be awarded in proportion to the support which they may afford. Whatever promises may have been made to Maun Sing or to others by Sir Henry Lawrence, are confirmed and shall be fully redeemed. None however has been reported to me. I send the above message to General Outram as well as to yourself; he has already been in communication with Maun Sing; but as his means of communicating with Oude may be interrupted, I wish you to convey the assurance to Maun Sing by other sure and quick route. I do not think it desirable to promise reinstatement to all *Talookdars* indiscriminately.

Resolved that the following letters should be written to Rajah Maun Sing of Shahgunj and Rajah Madhoo Sing of Unmaithce.

Letter from the Lieutt. Governor, Central Provinces, to Raju Man Singh.

You will have received through the hands of Mr. Wingfield an expression of the Right Honorable the Governor General's appreciation of your kind and friendly conduct towards certain English gentlemen. General Sir James Outram, the Chief Commissioner of Oude, who is now approaching Lucknow with an army of Europeans, has sent you two letters, one dated the 2nd September, and the other dated the 9th September. Lest by chance these letters should not have reached your hands, I take this happy opportunity of enclosing copies of them with translations into the Persian Language.

I have received the orders of the Right Honorable the Governor General to convey to you his assurance, that if you continue to give to His Lordship effective proof of your fidelity and good-will to the British Government, your position in Oude, after the resumption of the administration of the Province by British Officers, will be at least as good as it was before the British Government first assumed the administration of that Country. At the same time it is fitting to say as a warning to all, which it is beneficent to make generally known, that all the Proprietors in Oude who have deserted or shall desert the Company's Government in this time of momentary difficulty, will lose all their possessions, though they may have descended to them from generation to generation.

Also the Governor General orders me to convey to you his assurance, that whatever promises have been made to you by Sir Henry Lawrence will be confirmed by His Lord-

ship, and will be fully redeemed by the Government, if on your part, you perform the conditions on which those promises were made.

I have explained this matter at length to your prudent and far seeing friend Aditgir *Purmhuns* of high rank, by whom these papers will be carried. It will be the part of wisdom to attend to the advice of that friend of yours and mine. It will be proper for you to open an immediate friendly and useful communication with Sir James Outram, the Chief Commissioner, to whom all the affairs of Oude are entrusted.

I am happy, on my own part, to take this fortunate opportunity of conveying to you my good wishes for your health and prosperity, and of giving you my earnest advice to show yourself now in reality the friend of the British Government. Your friends who, knowing the English language read the events published in the newspapers of London, have certainly informed you of the immense masses of European Troops which the Queen of England has already sent out, *and is continuing to send out, to put an end to mutiny and disorder in Hindoostan.* In less than one month these troops will begin to arrive, both in Calcutta and in Bombay. Even in their absence, the mutinous sepoy, the treacherous and ungrateful *Sirdars*, and the other rebels have been able only to kill women and children, and to perform only the infamous deeds of assassins and dacoits. What will they do when these innumerable European Troops arrive? You have seen with your own eyes at Lucknow how bravely only a few hundred gallant Europeans can stand against numerous Regiments of mutinous *Poorbeeahs*. You are a man of sense, and you can judge what the end will be. As the exaltation and reward of the effectively helping friend will be great and substantial in proportion to his services, so the punishment of the enemy will be fatal to himself and ruinous to his house and family. I hope that you may be so fortunate as to give such timely help that the exaltation and reward of yourself and of your house and family, may be excessive.

Letter from J. P. Grant, the Lieutt. Governor, Central Provinces, to Raja Madhu Singh of Amethi.

I take this happy opportunity of the journey of our mutual friend, Aditgir *Purmhuns*, to your vicinity of letting

you know that having been appointed the Lieutt. Governor of these Provinces, I have received the orders of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General to convey to you his assurance that if you continue to give to His Lordship effective proof of your fidelity to the British Government, your position in Oude after the resumption of the administration of the province by British Officers *will be at least as good as it was before the British Government first assumed the administration.* At the same time, His Lordship wishes a warning to be conveyed to all who have hitherto been friends to the British that those who have deserted or shall desert the Company's Government will lose their whole possessions though they may have descended to them from generation to generation. These matters have been explained at length by me to our friend Adigir *Purmhuns*, by whom this letter will be delivered to you. He will make clear to you any thing which may be doubtful. He too knowing the English well, will be able to inform you with certainty of the immense masses of European Troops which the Queen of England has already sent out and is continuing to send out to put an end to mutiny and disorder in Hindoostan. In less than one month these Troops will begin to arrive. Even now the mutinous sepoys have nowhere been able to resist the English soldiers, and you know yourself, how well a few hundred gallant Europeans have resisted numerous Regiments of mutinous *Poorbeahs* at Lucknow. You are a person of sense and will judge for yourself what the end of this will be when many thousand English soldiers take the field.

As the exaltation and reward of the effectively helping friend will be great in proportion to his services, so the punishment of the enemy will be certain and fatal to himself and his house. I hope that your exaltation and the reward of your fidelity will be very great, and that your enemies will be confounded by the punishment that will fall upon all rebels.

Letter from Major General J. Outram, Chief Commissioner of Awadh, to Raja Man Singh and others in Awadh, dated Allahabad, 2nd Sept. 1857.

I have heard of your having during the late mutiny at Fyzabad, saved the lives of several British Officers, of their wives and children. With this conduct on your part, I have been much pleased and I cannot but feel convinced that you

will, by your future conduct continue to prove your fidelity to the British Government.

Rest assured that the British Government is ready to reward its faithful subjects and I shall have much pleasure in bringing to its notice any act on your part during the present disturbances, which may tend to prove that you are a sincere well-wisher to the state. It cannot be hidden to you that the British Government will soon quell this rebellion. Troops in great numbers are on their way from Europe, and will shortly arrive. Before their overwhelming numbers the cowardly rebels will be annihilated. But although the British Government will punish with the utmost severity those who have dared to rebel against the state, yet it will always have pleasure in rewarding those of its subjects who notwithstanding the evil examples by which they are surrounded, do not hesitate to show their staunch fidelity to the British Government, and amongst such I hope to reckon you.

I am now on my way to Cawnpore and Lucknow and shall be happy to receive any communication from you expressive of your readiness to obey the orders I may think it necessary to send you.¹

Letter from J. Outram, Chief Commissioner of Awadh, to Raja Man Singh, dated Camp Kalangan, September 9, 1857.

I sent you a friendly letter by *cossid* (*Qasid*) from Allahabad dated 3rd Instant; in case that letter may not have reached you, I herewith forward a copy. Since it was written, I have been informed, that Sir Henry Lawrence had made promises to you of high reward for your good faith to the British Government. As Sir Henry Lawrence is no more, and I am his successor as Chief Commissioner in Oudh, I write to give you my solemn pledge, as representative of the British Government, that whatever promises were made by Sir Henry Lawrence, shall be fully recognized and stoutly fulfilled by the British Govt. I am on my way to Lucknow accompanied by a powerful army, with which I shall annihilate the rebels, now beleaguering the British of that place, and I shall arrive there in a few days. But, in the meantime, I rely on your aiding

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th Oct. 1857. No. 137; National Archives, New Delhi.

the Garrison by such means as may be in your power, and if you cannot do so openly, at least, preventing any of your troops joining the rebels, because, if they do, you will forfeit your claims to the British Government, and I shall have to treat you also as an enemy.¹

‘RESOLUTION’

It was also resolved that ‘the above letters having been prepared should be handed over to Aditgir *Purmhuns*, a gosain of Benares in the confidence of Mr. Gubbins, the judge, and an intimate of Rajah Maun Sing, this day the 21st September 1857, to be by him delivered to the persons to whom they were addressed, as speedily as possible’.

Aditgir *Purmhuns* was at the same time verbally informed that any promises in writing made by Sir H. Lawrence, late Chief Commissioner in Oudh, to either Rajah Maun Sing or Madho Sing would, provided they maintained their loyalty and were shown to have performed the services expected of them by the Chief Commissioner, be faithfully kept by the British Government.

Aditgir *Purmhuns* was also authorized to show a copy of the Lieutt. Governor’s letter to Rajah Madho Sing, to any *Talookdar* or other Chief whom he met on his way, to Rajah Maun Sing from whose exertions, aid might be anticipated in restoring quiet in Oudh, or whose loyalty might be secured by letting him have a distinct knowledge of the intention of the British Government.

ORDERS

Ordered that a Copy of the Resolution be transmitted to the Govt. of India in the Foreign Department.

Ordered also that a copy of the letter addressed to Rajah Madho Sing be communicated to Mr. Carnegy incharge of the Intelligence Deptt. at Jounpore, and to Mr. Mayne at Gopeegunj with a view to its contents being made known to such *Talookdars* or Chiefs on the Oudh border as they may consider likely to be influenced by its contents, and to be able to afford effective aid in restoring the British authority in that Province.¹

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th Oct. 1857, No. 137; National Archives, New Delhi.

MAN SINGH'S TERMS TO THE ENGLISH*(Gubbins's Account)*

I will now make a few extracts from my daily journal.

October 14. The rascally Seikh (Sikh) Jowahir Singh, who deserted from post a few days before the arrival of the relief force, returned into the entrenchment this day. He had the assurance to be the bearer of a message from Rajah Man Singh (of Shahgunje) offering to us an escort of 10,000 men, if we will evacuate the place, and retire to Cawnpoor. He deserves to be hanged. He also brought overtures, I understood, from the Seikhs who before deserted us; and who now think of deserting back again. These rascals were referred to the General Commanding at Cawnpoor, and told to present themselves to him. There is, I think, some disposition to exaggerate the influence and importance of Rajah Man Singh, as well as to palliate his misconduct. Of his position in the province I have already elsewhere given an account.

MAN SINGH-- A TIME SERVER

His conduct has simply been that of a time-server. He wished to stand sufficiently well with both parties, ourselves and our enemies, to enable him to join whichever proved victorious. With this view he protected our officers and their families, while coquetting with the mutineer leaders, and sending his brother on a mission to the Nana at Cawnpoor. He long wavered about joining the rebels with his rabble troops; but when General Havelock retired for the second time from his advance on Lucknow, and recrossed the river, he thought that fortune had declared against us, and joined the mutineer force at Lucknow. At present the prospects of the mutineers are gloomy, and Man Singh would, no doubt, be glad to feel his way towards the abandonment of their cause, if necessary. I really regard it to be of little importance to ourselves what part he takes.....¹

¹ Gubbins : "*The Mutinies in Oudh*" (London 1858), Pp. 374-375.

MAN SINGH'S ATTEMPTS TO EXPLAIN HIS CONDUCT TO THE ENGLISH

Telegraphic Message from Captain Bruce, for Major General J. Outram, to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Cawnpore, 21st October 1857.

RAJAH MAUN SING has written to me, with inclosure for General Outram; the purport of these is as follows :—“Says he never intended to go to Lucknow at all, had not the Rance of the late Rajah of Bukhtar (Bakhtawar) Sing been seized there by the rebels: he went with Mr. Gubbins's (of Benares) sanction to rescue her; he could not get away until all the rebels opposed the British at Alum Bagh; he seized this opportunity of rescuing her, making every arrangement to move back twenty *cos*s from Lucknow. He swears, on oath, up to this time he did not connect himself with the rebels. It was willed his name now should be connected with the rebels, and himself fall under displeasure of Government thus. He suddenly heard the rebels were defeated, and the British, attacking the place, were about to disgrace His Majesty's seraglio. He at once marched to protect it, for he had eaten the King's salt. If the General views with justice his actions, he will see that he did not join the rebels. He protected the British authorities in his district and could not keep himself aloof from protecting the King's honor. Now he was ready to obey all Government orders, and if his *vakeel's* life be spared, he will submit the whole facts; he hopes the General will let him know his design that he may carry it out”.

To this letter I sent the following reply :—“I have received your letter, and inclosure for General Outram. The British do no injury to helpless women and children, however humble their rank, and you ought to have known that those of the King would not have been dishonored. I have written to-day to General Outram, who is now in the Lucknow Residency, and in the meantime, if you are really friendly to the British Government, you are desired at once to withdraw all your men from Lucknow, and communicate with the Chief Commissioner. I have sent to tell your *vakeel* that if he likes to come in and see me, he will meet with no injury”.

The *vakeel* has since come, and, having expressed his

master's willingness to comply with the terms of my letter, departed for Lucknow.¹

The deposition on oath of Raja Man Singh recorded by G. Carnegie, Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow, on the 6th of September 1859, before the Defendant (Raja Jai Lal Singh), signed at the end by Raja Man Singh.

Wit. represents that "There is a hereditary quarrel between our family and that of Deft. Our fathers were enemies, and we have never been friends. On these terms if Deft. wishes to hear the whole truth I have no objection.

"Again I must ask the Court whether I am to relate what I have *seen* or what I have *heard*—because I did not come to Lucknow till Birjis Kudr had been some weeks on the throne. I was absent the day the prisoners were killed, having left the city the day Havelock reached the Alumbagh. I know nothing from my own personal knowledge or observation of the '*head*' matter, nor of the Nana being brought. I can tell much of what I heard if it will benefit the Deft".

Deft. wishes the Rajah to state all he knows and he will point out what is wrong.

The Wit. (witness) says "When I was at Shaganj (Shahganj) I heard that for 3 days the sepoys ruled the city. There the Deft. joined them, and became the messenger between the sepoys on the one side and Mummoo Khan, Wajid Ali, & the Begum on the other; and it was thro' his negotiations (negotiations) that Birjis Kudr was crowned. At first Burket Ahmed and others wanted to set up Sooleman Kudr and it was settled that he was to pay 22 lacs of Rupees for the crown; but it was broken off because of a clause on the part of the officers to the effect that the arrangt. (arrangement) was contingent on the approval of the King of Delhic, and Sooleman Kudr would only agree to pay the money on condition of being at once crowned.

"When the Dowera prisoners were killed there was the utmost confusion; no one was in his right mind; the Alumbagh had been taken and there was a general panic. I have never been able to satisfy myself whether the Deft. had any share in the murder of the prisoners, or whether he witnessed that

¹ Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 289 in NO. 2, p. 135.

black deed or not; but it is very certain that Muckdoom Bux and Bahadour Ali, Captains of the Right & Left Regts. raised by Capn. Bunbury, who mutinied at Sultanpoor, were the instruments in carrying out the murder.

"In respect of the 'head', I do not think the Deft. had anything to do with it personally. Misree Sing *Rissaldar* who was certainly under his orders and his men, went & cut off the head and he and a Collector got *Kheluts* and 2000 Rs. cash for it. I am not certain who that Collr. was; it was either Sewdeen Sing or Sewruttun Sing (Shiv Ratan Singh). If the former, then he was also subordinate to the Deft. but if it was the latter then he had nothing to do with the Deft. whatever. I believe the Deft. was at his own house when this affair occurred, and I never heard that he or his nephew got *Kheluts* for it.

"In regard to the charge about the Nana I know that the Deft.'s brother Rugbur Dial was sent to bring the Nana, and the Deft. and others used to go and see to his comfort at *Dowlut Khana*. I also know that there is a misunderstanding regarding inheritance between the said Rugbur Dial and the Deft.

"I am not aware that the Deft." (Wit. says he is sure Deft. did *not* go out to meet the Nana) "went out himself to escort in the Nana, but he certainly took a prominent part in locating him in the *Dowlut Khana* and visiting him there.

"In regard to the general charge of encouraging the seizure and death of Xians (Christians), I know that for the first 3 or 4 days no prisoners were made. Wherever a Christian was found he was at once killed by the sepoys; subsequently when Birjis Kudr was crowned and some degree of order restored, then the sepoys got directions to make prisoners and send them in. Those of minor description such as musicians Bungalies &c. used to be sent by the sepoys to the Deft. who had charge of a Jail for such like -while any of the better orders, to wit Johannes, were sent to the *Dewan Kannah* & made over to the Jail of which Darogah Wajid Ali had charge".¹

¹ "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Raja Jai Lal Singh". Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

CHAPTER FIVE
**BRITISH RETREAT FROM
LUCKNOW**

IMPORTANCE OF LUCKNOW

*Telegram from J. Outram to the Governor General of India in Council, dated
Cawnpore, September 17, 1857 (1-30 a.m.).*

If I find that a brigade of three regiments can surely hold Lucknow, placed in an invulnerable position commanding the city and its resources, *shall Lucknow be retained or abandoned?* A larger body of troops will be expended in watching Oude than in holding Lucknow in security, the communication from Benares to Allahabad, and along the line of Ganges to Furruckabad. *The moral effect of abandoning Lucknow will be very serious against us; the many well-disposed Chiefs in Oude and Rohilcund, who are now watching the turn of affairs, would regard the loss of Lucknow as the forerunner of the end of our rule. Such a blow to our prestige may extend its influence to Nepaul, and will be felt all over India. The Civil Government of the city may be maintained without interfering with the province at present.*¹

*Telegram from the Governor General of India in Council to James Outram, dated
Calcutta, September 18, 1857 (9-30 p.m.).*

Lucknow may be retained if you can hold it securely, and without depending upon early reinforcements.

But the one permanent object is the rescue of the garrison; and whatever will most surely conduce to this will be best. If the safety of the garrison can be more thoroughly secured by retiring, pray do not hesitate to do so. We will recover our prestige before long.

As to reinforcements the China Regiments are very slow in arriving. The head-quarters of the 23rd Regiment (350 strong) arrived today, but it is not known where the rest are.

Therefore you must not count upon any addition to your Europeans at present.²

¹ Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 8 in No. 4, p. 245.

² *Ibid.*, Inclosure 88 in No. 4, p. 246.

WITHDRAWAL FROM LUCKNOW CONTEMPLATED

Telegram from J. Outram to the Commander-in-Chief, dated Lucknow, October 2, 1857.

The insurgents are too strong to admit of withdrawing from this garrison. The sick, wounded, women and children, amount to upwards of 1000. The force will retire, therefore, after making disposition for the safety of the garrison, by strengthening it with all but four of our guns and leaving 90th Regiment; then destroying all the enemy's works, exploding all the six mines, which have been found since our access to the interior, and so disturbing the ground in front of each work as to render future mining a difficulty, and demolishing the houses in the neighbourhood which commanded the entrenchments. The remainder of our force, reduced by casualties, will make its way back to Cawnpore, and leave two or three days hence. Two additional brigades, with powerful Field Artillery, would be required to withdraw the garrison, or reduce the city. I hope these brigades may be speedily assembled at Cawnpore.¹

OUTRAM BESIEGED AT LUCKNOW

Telegraphic Message from Captain Bruce, for Major General J. Outram, to the Governor General and Commander-in-Chief, dated October 20, 1857.

A Letter, dated 7th October from General Outram, desires me to inform you that the force at Lucknow is now besieged by the enemy, and has grain, gun-bullocks and horses, upon which they can subsist for another month, but they have no hospital comforts, and little medicine. Repeats, that maintaining troops at Alumbagh, and gradually reinforcing that post, must tell favourably ere long; adds, that a wing of Infantry and two guns at Buserutgunge and Bunnee would secure the whole road for safe convoy of provisions to Alumbagh. The loss in killed, wounded and missing, since the force crossed the Ganges, has been very heavy, 256 killed, and 700 wounded and missing; out of the former, 16 officers.²

¹ Further Papers (No. 4) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 110 in No. 5, p. 293.

² Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 275 in No. 2, p. 132.

OUTRAM BESIEGED AT LUCKNOW*(Another Account)**Telegraphic Message from Colonel Wilson to the Chief of the Staff, dated Cawnpore, October 20, 1857 (12-2 p.m.).*

The party for Alumbagh will leave, if possible, tomorrow morning. Captain Bruce cannot just now be spared. His Excellency perhaps is not aware that the Intelligence Department, by General Outram's wish, is entirely in his hand, as also most of the magisterial and police work of the whole district. Intelligence is of the greatest importance, now that *the country is covered with Delhi fugitives*. Captain Moir, an experienced Bengal Artillery officer, is the party, and if necessary, Mr. Ranson, of the Civil Service, can accompany, as both these gentlemen know the language well. Sir James Outram, in a subsequent letter to Captain Bruce, wishes him, not to leave Cawnpore.¹

× × ×

".....At Lucknow was collected nearly all the mutineer army of the Delhi and Oude theatres; but it was a defeated and depressed army, its strength lying mainly in its numbers".²

Telegraphic Message from Colonel Wilson to the Chief of the Staff, dated Cawnpore, October 20, 1857.

THE column has returned after driving the fugitives from Shearpore. They amounted to 2,500 with 8 guns; but their flight was so precipitate that I regret, want of Cavalry prevented the capture of the guns; ordnance stores and a few horses fell into our hands. Our casualties only eight or ten.³

REVOLUTIONARY FORCES AT LUCKNOW IN NOVEMBER, 1857

A long letter received from the man to whom I was ordered to pay 250 Rupees in Lucknow which is not without interest

¹ Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 277 in No. 2, p. 132.

² Innes' account of the state of affairs in Awadh after the fall of Delhi: "*The Sepoy Revolt*" (London 1897), p. 199.

³ Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 280 in No. 2, p. 133.

although it is a fortnight old. The details are as follows :— The “Bole” Regt. 22nd N. I., the volunteers (37th N. I.) and the 10th Regt. of Oude Infantry with 12 incomplete Sepoy Regiments which have suffered much in fights, are present. These Regts. consist of 500 or 600 men each, and it is estimated that altogether 18,000 sepoys are still at Lucknow; further more, there are about 45 Regiments of King’s *Najeebs*, contg. (containing) from 400 to 800 men each; the aggregate of these will be say 37,000 men. There are 3 Regiments of Cavalry (Irregular) viz. the 11th (this number is wrong it may be the 13th), 12th, and 15th (Holmes’ and Fisher’s), numbering about 2,100 men (?), besides Oude Sowars, which increases the Cavalry force to 6,700 sabres.

The following is a detail of Regiments:

REGIMENT OR COMMDT.	STRENGTH
Regt. of Captains Soobah Sing and Akipal Sing	700
Regt. No. 8 Rightwing, Capt. Gajadursing (Gajadhar Singh)	700
The Nadir Shahee. Regt., Sectul Sing Adjt.	400
The Right wing of the Ukhturie (Akhtari) Regimt., Captain Bhowanee Sing	950
Barlow’s Regt. (6th Oude Locals), Capt. Oomaroo Sing	700
The Ukhturee (Akhtari) Regt., Capt. Fida Hosen	600
The Volunteers (37th N. I.), Capt. Gourie Shankar (Gauri Shankar)	750
The “Bole” Regt. (22nd N. I.), Capt. Rajmun Tewary (Rajmand Tewari)	700
Left wing of Bunbury’s Regiment (8th O. Locals), Capt. Mukdloom Bux (Mukhdloom Baklish)	700
Left wing of Robert’s Regiment	600
Right ” ” ” ”	550
Regt. Number 9, Capt. Gajen Sing, King’s Regiments	600
Regt. of Agha Hosen, <i>Salur</i>	400
” Jafir Ali ”	350

REGIMENT OR COMMDT.	STRENGTH.
Regt. of Sheik Ali Bakur (Shaikh Ali Baqar), <i>Salar</i>	400
„ „ Bahadoor Ali, <i>Salar</i>	250
„ „ Meer Nuki Ali (Naqi Ali) Khan, <i>Salar</i>	762
„ „ Mirza Shehur Yar, <i>Salar</i>	882
Remains of other Regiments, say	2,556

Cavalry

Regt. No. 12 Captain Hurrie (Hari) Sing, (it seems there was <i>Resseldar</i> of this name in both the 12th and 13th—both prominent in the revolt)	700
Regiment No. 15	800
Regiment No. 11 (Probably 13th Irregrs.)	600
(The number of men in all these 3 Regts. is palpably exaggerated).	

King's Cavalry

Tahuwar Khan <i>Ressaldar's</i> Regt.	500
The Tircha Regiment	700
The Memun-i-Shahee (Maiman-i-Shahi) Regt.	700
The Mesurrah Regiment	900
Ali Buksh Khan's Regt.	800
Mahomed Akbar's Regt.	900
The Regiment No. 9	1,000
The new Regt.	(1200 or) 120

Talookdar's Troops

Raja Hurdut (Hardat) Sing Bahadoor, Baraitch	200
„ Ruggonaut (Raghunath) Sing of Rubboah or Raipoor	200

The Ekowna ¹ men	150
The Changapoor men	150
Hurdut Sing of Churda	300
The Tepuraha men	100
The Bulraj <i>comars</i>	200
The Shahpoot ² men	100
Kishondutt Pandey's (Kishan Datt Pandey) men	1,200
Sadun Salgunge	1,000
Bhenga (Bhinga) men	300
Toolseepoor men	500
Nanpara men	400
Ruggonaut (Raghnunath Singh) Sing of Baiswara	1,000
Raja of Tiloi ³ (Shunker Sing) (800 or)	80
Sew Shunkur (Sheo Shaukar) Sing Jorapoor	500
Lal Bahadoor, <i>Sipah Salar</i> of Kali Kunkur (whom we killed)	1,000
Rampur Katowalah (men)	400
Bance Bahadoor Sing (Banie Madho Sing ?)	1,000
Raja Man Sing (Sultanpoor <i>Illaka</i>)	7,000
Raja of Amatie (Amethi)	2,500

Creatures of Man Sing

Rajah Suhuj (Sahaj) Ram of Bunturah (Banthra)	2,000
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¹ *Ikaina*, Pargana *Ikaina* Tahsil *Bahraich* Distt. *Bahraich*.—The capital of the pargana lies in latitude 27° 32' north and longitude 81° 59' east on the road from Bahraich to Balrampur, at a distance of 22 miles east of the former. (*District Gazetteers, Bahraich* 1903, p. 190).

² *Shahpur*, Pargana *Bihar* Tahsil *Kunda* Distt. *Partabgarh*.—A large village lying in latitude 25° 38' north and longitude 81° 28' east on the banks of the Ganges, adjoining Benti to the south, at a distance of 37 miles from Partabgarh and eight miles from Manikpur. (*District Gazetteers, Partabgarh* 1904, p. 220).

³ *Tiloi*.—In *Mohanlalganj* Pargana of *Rai Bareilly* District about a mile in the northwest of the aforesaid pargana.

REGIMENT OF COMMDT.	STRENGTH
Rajah Goorbux Sing of Ramghur (Ramgarh ¹)	2,500
„ Nawab Ali Khan, Mohomedabad (Mahmudabad)	2,200
„ Buljudur Sing of Palpoor	1,500
Soorujpoor Burhilah	2,000
Baley Doobe of Amooah	100
Oomaro Sing of Mowhah	1,000
Oomaro Sing of Ajuldhukwa	500
Jye Narain Sing of Dhorahrah ²	300
Balapore Rao, Khyrabad	800
Essanuggut ³ , Jaipurgas ⁴	500
Miscellaneous	300
This detail gives sepoy	7950
Oude Regts.	5600
Cavalry	7720
<i>Talooqdars'</i> men	32080
Total	<u>53,350</u>

(which numbers are being daily reinforced.)

N.B. some of the above names may have been incorrectly deciphered.

¹ Apparently, *Ramnagar Dhameri*.

² *Dhaurahra*, Pargana *Dhaurahra* Tahsil *Nighasan*—The capital of the pargana is a small town on the south bank of the Sukhni river in the centre of the pargana, standing in latitude 27° 59' north and longitude 81° 6' east at a distance of 20 miles by the unmetalled road from Lakhimpur. Other roads lead to Sisaiya on the road from Isanagar to Matera ghat, and to Kardhaiya on the road from Matera to Nighasan. (*District Gazetteers*, Kheri, p. 174).

³ *Isanagar*, Pargana *Firozabad* Tahsil *Nighasan*—The village is the headquarters of the taluqa of Thakur Raghuraj Singh of the Jaugre clan, the history of whose family has been given in Chapter III. It lies on the road from Dhaurahra to Mullanpur at a distance of about twelve miles from the former, in latitude 27° 54' north and longitude 80° 13' east on the high bank of the Kauriala which flows some four miles to the east. (*District Gazetteers*, Kheri, p. 190).

⁴ Probably Jai Prakash.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR AMMUNITION

The above 12 Regiments, which were in the British service, have their percussion muskets and plenty of ammunition with them, and percussion caps are being made in Lucknow as are all kinds of ammunition; artisans from Delhī have come for this purpose. Shells are also being made; large supplies of ammunition are also received from the *Moofussil* and revenue remitted for the same. English letters cannot be delivered at the Bailee Guard as messengers are shot when seen by the Europeans, or hanged when caught by the rebels.

SHORTAGE OF MONEY WITH THE REVOLUTIONARIES

The rebels are in bad spirits from the commander downwards. All cash and property, except what belonged to Allee Nukkee (late premier) had fallen into the hands of the sepoys. Gold and silver ornaments are being coined to pay the troops. District appointments have been made, but very little Revenue reaches Lucknow; money is demanded from every one, but little is forthcoming. If 3 (3000) or 4,000 Europeans fully equipped were now to arrive, Lucknow would be taken. Grain is scarce and very dear.

EUROPEANS SURROUND NORTH AND WEST SIDES OF QAISAR BAGH

The King's troops who were stationed at the northern earthworks, retreated on the advance of the European troops, who took possession of the Chuttur Munzil, Furrūh Buksh the *Embarrah*, some stables and Mungal Sen's house near the tomb of Nuwab Saadut Ali Shah. The Europeans have very closely surrounded the North and West sides of the Kaisur Bagh, in which the Begum and Shahzada Brijis Kudr and all the other Begums are residing; it is defended by the rebels on all four sides. About 6 (600) or 700 sepoys are in the magazine. On the 2nd of *Kartik* (*Sooddee*) all the followers of the *Rajas* and *Baboo*s concentrated an attack on the Chuttur Munzil and other buildings, so as to cause their evacuation, but the fire of the Europeans was so good that after losing about 100 men the rebels retreated; 10 or 12 Europeans were killed.

QAISAR BAGH STRENGTHENED

For 8 days there was no fighting and then it was renewed, the Kaisur Bagh was strengthened, entrenched and doorways

&c. built up. Great vigilance is now maintained there to keep out the Europeans; 4 guns are always kept ready at the chief gate and number of men are always ready for action.

REVOLUTIONARIES VIGILANT AT ALAMBAGH

4 Regiments of Infantry and 1 of Cavalry were kept on duty at Alumbagh, to prevent reinforcements reaching from Cawnpoor, but this they failed in doing, and these 5 Regiments have therefore been dismissed. 4 divisions have been told off against Alumbagh, one under the Uncle of Man Sing, one under Jeylal Sing of Attrowlea, one under Mirza Bakur Ali and the 4th under Heralal *Hakim* of Boiswarah, and they are now fighting. 8 Elephants and 40 Bullocks were brought away from the Alumbagh by the *Mahouts* under plea of going for food, and were made over to the *Sikar* (enemy). 4 Gentlemen and 2 ladies had been concealed by the *Talooqdar* of Maopoor (?). This became known, and sowars were sent off from Lucknow for them. The *Talooqdar* gave them up and sent 700 men with them; they are still alive; it is said one of the Orr's is of the number (and I fear Sir M. Jackson C. S. and sister). 4 guns are in position on the east earthwork bearing on the Bailec Guard, 3 on the north, 4 on the south and 5 on the west side; besides these 6 or 7 guns are in position in different lanes and streets about the place. Mutineers are daily coming in from Delhic. They say they left because they were not fed or paid. Shuruf-ood-Dowlah has been appointed—*Naib* (premier), Munowur-ood-Dowlah (our great friend)—General, Raja Jeylal Sing—Collector. Man Sing is Chief of the field force, Mamon (Mammoo) Khan—*Darogah* of the *Dewan Khana*, and Rajah Balkishon and Jowala Persad superintendents of supplies.

18th November 1857, 8 P. M. Heard that the Puttee party intended to move at once to a position a *coss* beyond Koodwah (in Oude). It is probable that this party is sent forward as an experiment to see if we attack them, for, having no guns with them, they can make off on our approach. Whereas if they are not attacked, the chief body of rebels from Bhadiyan¹

¹ *Bhadiyan*, Pargana *Miranpur Tahsil Sultanpur*—A village with an encamping ground on the Lucknow—Jaunpur road, lying at a distance of 10 miles south-east of Sultanpur and two miles south of the right bank of

will hereafter move forward and join them. The guns at Bhadiyan have been increased to 10. One is said to be an 18 pr. (pounder).

News received that the families of Man Sing and his brothers have been directed to set off for Nepal at once, as they are not safe in Oude. The fact was mentioned to Col. Pulwan Sing who said that *Jhung Bahadoor (Jang Bahadur) will never let them remain in his territory.*

19th November 1857, 11 A. M. Heard 11 guns fired at a distance in the Bhadiyan direction. It is now said that the enemy will invade the district in 2 or 3 columns. I doubt it much.

My conjecture of the 17th instant is correct; we hear that the Julalpoor¹ rebel force has fallen back on Shahzadapoor.

The Amati Raja has returned home having lost 300 men at Lucknow. I hope he may not join the Bhadiyan rebels, of which there is some probability. The *Rajcoomars* have sworn to conquer or die in the next battle. I do not, and never have believed, the report of Man Sing's death.

6 P. M. Heard that the rebels 4 (4000) or 5000 strong of which 3000 are fighting men, without sepoy or cavalry, moved to a place called the Phootia Nala today. A salute of 11 guns was fired when they started in the morning, and one which we heard at midday was on their arrival. It is still said that there is a want of unanimity in their councils, and that they are not in good heart, but if they come on with so many guns it will be rashness to attempt to stop them with the Goorkhas unsupported.

Midnight. Information received that the rebels would not advance again till Sunday. I hope this may be the case. Colonel Wroughton at the solicitation of Col. Pulwan Sing had determined on falling back on Jounpoor but has now made

the Gumti, in latitude 26° 10' north and longitude 82° 11' east. (*District Gazetteers, Sultanpur 1903, Pp. 166-67*).

¹ *Jalalpur, Pargana Surharpur Tahsil Akbarpur Distt. Faizabad*—A flourishing town situated on the right bank of Tons, in latitude 26° 18' north and longitude 82° 44' east, at a distance of 14 miles south-east of Akbarpur and 50 miles from Fyzabad. It is connected by a metalled road with Malipur station on the railway, while unmetalled roads run in all directions and lead to Akbarpur, Surharpur, Mittupur, Tighra, Ramnagar and Baskhari. (*District Gazetteers, Fyzabad 1905, Pp. 229-230*).

up his mind to hold on here, till something more of the movements of the enemy is known.

20th November. The Europeans are at Serai Kheta¹ to-day on their way to join us.

List of the Bhadiyan rebels received from the son of the *zemindar* of Chanda:

<i>Name of Zemindar</i>	<i>No. of men</i>	<i>No. of guns.</i>
Mehndi Hussun, <i>Nazim</i> (Personal followers)	900	1
<i>Nujeeb</i> Regiments	2,000	6
Raja Hoosen Ali	700	.
Kalka Buksh of Rampoor ²	200	..
Sogra Bebec of Manyarpoor ³	400	2
Raja Allee Buksh Khan of Mohumdeegaon	400	2
Buchgotee tribe	400	
Oodres Sing (Udresh Singh) of Meopoor	400	
Umres Sing (Umresh Singh) of Meopoor	300	
Isruj Sing	do	300
Dulput Shah of Bhadiyan	200	
Baijnath Sing of Shugurh ⁴	100	
Bukhtor (Bakhtawar) Khan and others of Umhut	200	

¹ *Kheta Sarai*, Pargana *Ungli* Tahsil *Khutahan* Distt. *Jaunpur*--A small town situated in 25° 53' N. and 82° 41' E. on the west side of the metalled road from Jaunpur to Shahganj, at a distance of 16 miles north from the former and 12 miles south of the tahsil headquarters.

² *Rampur*, in *Chanda* Pargana, Tahsil *Kadipur* Distt. *Sultanpur*.

³ *Maniarpur*--Situated in the Pargana and Tahsil *Sultanpur*. It is a village lying in the north-west of *Sultanpur* at a distance of about seven miles.

⁴ *Sheogarh*, in Pargana *Kumhrawan* in Distt. *Rai Bareilly* about a mile to the west of the aforesaid pargana.

<i>Name of Zemindar</i>	<i>No. of men</i>	<i>No. of guns.</i>
Sectula Buksh Sing of Nuunde Mow ¹	100	
Sowars, <i>Noukar Sirkar</i>	100	(? Irreg. Cavy.)
Urjoon Sing (Arjun Singh) and Jugesaur Buksh of Budlapoor (Jounpoor)	50	
Burrecar ² Sing (Brother of Roostum Shah of Dehra)	300	(Won't fight against us)
	7,050	11

A letter accompanied this list, saying that the rebels are disheartened, that Meludie Hussun has been induced to come on so far, by Hussun Ali Khan, the *Raj-Coomar* Chiefs and Kalka Buksh, against his wish, that only one of the guns has an elevating screw, and the rest are made fast to their carriages by ropes; three of the guns are of large size the rest small.

Lucknow news dated 2nd November. Two women in men's clothes who had been taking opium and other necessaries into the Bailee Guard have been apprehended and are in prison at the King's door. Fighting still going on. 4 men killed and 3 wounded on the side of the rebels. The Europeans in the Alumbagh make sorties to procure supplies from the nearest villages; in one of these sorties 10 or 15 *Nujeebs* (rebels) were wounded. The Europeans took away what *rustud* they could lay hands on. There is a report that some Europeans from Cawnpoor have arrived at Bunnee Banthara 18 *coss* from Lucknow (the number "18" is blotted in the original letter); the rebels were much alarmed on hearing this. Raja Hicha Ram received instructions to take an army and oppose the progress of the Europeans; he also received a *Khillut*. He has taken 4 Regiments with him. It is asserted that the European force numbers 2,000 as follows: 300 or 400 Europeans, 700 or 800 *Koormees* and *Chumars* from the neighbourhood of *Cawnpoor*, so dressed up as to look like Europeans, also 300 or 400 Sikhs—Infantry and Cavalry, and 600 or 700 miscellaneous,

¹ Apparently, *Naweman* in district *Sultanpur* on the left bank of the river *Gauti*.

² Probably Harihar Singh.

muzdoors and others and 4 guns. Orders have been issued to attack first the reinforcements at Bunnee Banthara and the troops at Alumbagh, after which operations will commence against the Bailee Guard. The *Moorchabundee* of the forces surrounding the Alumbagh is as follows:—1st—at the Talab Futeh Alee, Rajah Madho Sing with 1,600 men and 4 guns also Rajah Rambuksh Pokra¹ wallah with 700 men and 1 gun, and 500 sowars of 15th *Risala*. 2nd—at the Jurnel Bagh, talab Dwarka das Rao Dorrgabuksh commander with 2 Regiments the “*Jurrah*” and “*Burk*” and 1 gun, also Raja Suhujram with 1,000 men and 3 guns. 3rd at Husnapoor² 1 Regiment of 500 men. 4th—at the Fort of Jullalabad 1 Regiment (the 71st) also 500 *Nujcees* and 1200 sowars of the 12th and 15th Irregular and 2 guns. 6th—at Julalpoor (Jalalpur) Mullo Sing *zemindar* of Nara with 500 men. 7th—at Tipra Khairah the Regiment of Toorum Baz Khan 700 men. 8th—at Gurh Kuniarpoor, the Regiment of Wazeer Khan 500 men and 1 gun (*kala nag*). 9th—at Jhangeera Regiment Nasir Beg 400 men and 1 Goorda gun. 15th—200 *Nujcees* and 1 gun (the numbers omitted are not mentioned in the letter). 500 *Pasees* are also entertained to patrol. These are armed with bows and arrows; 300 *Bildars* to repair the defences are also entertained.

I have already related about one “At”³ Sahib and Orr Sahib and 4 other Europeans with 2 ladies and their children who were brought in from Mithopoor⁴, being in prison. I have since ascertained that orders were issued to kill them. On hearing this At Sahib and Orr Sahib consulted and promised that they would cause the evacuation of the Bailee Guard if allowed to live; they were not therefore killed, but are well.

News of November 3. Today the Begum, the Nuwab Shuruf-ood-Dowlah. Mummoo Khan, Munowur-ood-Dowlah,

¹ *Pokhra*, Pargana and Tahsil *Haidargarh* Distt. *Barabanki*—*Pokhra* is situated in the South of the pargana on the West side of the unmetalled road leading from *Haidargarh* to *Bachhrawan*, at a distance of five miles from the tahsil headquarters, in latitude 26° 35' north and longitude 81° 2' east. (*District Gazetteers*, *Barabanki* 1904, p. 250).

² Apparently, *Husanpur*.

³ Name not comprehensible.

⁴ Apparently, in *Mitauli* Distt. *Sitapur*.

Generals, Raja Man Sing and Raja Jeylal Sing and all the Commanders and Captains of Regiments and the *Sirdars* of Levies and *Sirdars* and *Baboos* were collected together and were entreated to make such arrangements that the Europeans might be defeated and turned out of the Bailec Guard and Alumbagh. All were sworn in, and the Begum obtained their signatures and seals to effect the above object. No day has yet been fixed for the attack.

Nawab Allee Nukkee Khan's house was dug into, a tomb in one of the apartments was also-dug into, 13 lacs of Rupees were found. Chundec Suhaec was instructed to produce 10 lacs for current expenses, the sum was afterwards reduced to 5 lacs. 3 lacs were found in the house of Aghaec, former *Nazim* of Sultanpoor. Deenanath *Mootsuddec* of Goorsuhaec gave 2 lacs; pay is being distributed to the army. The 5th N. Infantry by name.....has arrived from Delhie (the name of this Regimt. is illegibly written). This Regiment made a bridge of boats at the *Ghat*, but the Europeans from the Chuttur Munzil opened such a fire that many of the sepoys were killed and the bridge broken. The bridge of boats was then removed to near the Sidhar Kee Kotec (*Kothi*).

Benee Madho who had gone as *Nazim* of Azimgurh has returned to Lucknow and has reported that his army has been vanquished and his house plundered. Benee Madho has been furnished with some troops and instructed to entertain more men. He has departed. A *Hurkara* reported that three Regts. of Europeans and 2 guns were coming from the West, 300 sowars have gone to Mehandec Ghat and the *Zemin-dars* have been ordered to prepare to fight.

News of November 4. Raja Madho Sing went to fight the Europeans at Bunnee Banthara; there was a great fight, 200 men of the Raja were killed. The Raja had 2,000 men and 4 guns; 2 of these guns were captured. The Europeans encamped at Chilma Bazar, this is 4 *coss* south of Alumbagh. Madho Sing reported to the King that unless the Europeans were immediately opposed they would make good their way to the Alumbagh. The rebels were much staggered at this news. Some *Badshahee* Regiments were immediately dispatched and the sowars who had run away were abused. The residents of Lucknow are beginning to run away. The wounded were brought in by 40 men, 10 sowars were killed and 4 wounded; 30 or 40 Europeans are said to have been killed and wounded.

EUROPEANS MOVE TO CHHATAR MANZIL AND FARIHABAKHSII

It is said that the Bailee Guard is not any longer habitable, in consequence of which the Europeans have removed into Chuttur Munzil and Furha Buksh Kotee together with the ladies and supplies, but the *moorchas* in the Bailee Guard are still kept up. The Chuttur Munzil is not so susceptible of attack, hence the change of residence. The Europeans went during the night to the Golagunge *moorcha*; there was great row. 10 sepoy were killed and wounded. Nuwab Shuruf-ood-Dowlah and Maharaja Bal Kishon have sent their families away somewhere, all the *umlahs* have done the same. The Europeans are preparing a *muhalla* (? elevated battery) in the Chuttur Munzil; this has caused great alarm. At Sahib and Orr Sahib have been taxed with having promised to cause the evacuation of the Bailee Guard and have been told that now they must work the guns.

News of November 5. The Bailee Guard was attacked to day from 9 points (after this the writer gives his opinion as to the mode of attack we ought to adopt). The Europeans at Bunnee Banthara who have made some defences in a *Nalla* are surrounded by the rebels, and fighting is going on.

News of November 6. The Europeans above alluded to at Bunnee Banthara have a number of camels, bullocks &c. with them (? conveying ammunition and supplies). 300 of the rebels were killed and wounded at this place in the fight of yesterday. The sowars ran away. The Europeans afterwards made good their passage to the Alumbagh. The casualties among the Europeans are unknown, but it is asserted that 40 or 50 were killed and wounded. When this news (of the arrival of the Europeans at the Alumbagh) reached Lucknow, Shuruf-ood-Dowlah called Raja Jeylal, Raja Man Sing and other *Sirdars* and advocated a combined attack on the force at the Alumbagh; great consternation prevailed among the rebels. Raja Jeylal accordingly took 300 (sic,) Mutinous Regiments, 500 sowars, 200 *Bildars* and 4 guns and Raja Man Sing took with him 2,000 of his 7,000 men and went to make the attack. The Alumbagh is just now surrounded and severe fighting is going on. The Europeans get supplies from outside by making sorties. A sepoy who has returned from this place states that the battle is chiefly an artillery one, and that the musket balls of the Europeans reach

the rebel entrenchment and kill people, but that the rebels' matchlock balls do no harm to the Europeans. All are frightened, the *Sirdars* are consulting to make an attack, but no one has pluck to undertake it. To-day a mine was sprung in the Bailee Guard, its effect is not known yet.

A *Khakrobin* (*Mehuranc*)¹ who came out from the Bailee Guard was seized to-day, and taken to the palace. She states that the garrison is very watchful, that wheat and gram alone remain in store, the men each get $3/4$ seer of wheat, and the ladies and children get bread; the ladies are very down-hearted, but the gentlemen cheer them up and tell them that reinforcements are coming and that we shall gain the day. A ditch has been dug all round and piles driven in, and the barrels of powder have been placed underground. Two Regiments and 200 men of the Sappers and Miners, 300 sowars and 8 guns (*Ghorchure* : ? Horse Artillery) have arrived from Delhi. The Nuwab has entertained them.

Lucknow news from 7th to 19th November 1857

EUROPEANS CONTEMPLATE SURRENDER

A mine was sprung in the Bailee Guard yesterday and 3 Europeans killed, another in the "Seekhawala Makan" (stables) in which 20 Europeans were killed; their comrades wished to remove their bodies but were unable to do so. 12 sepoys were killed and fighting is going on. 16 Seikhs (Sikhs) deserted from the Bailee Guard with their arms and money. They were taken to the Begum and disarmed; from these it was ascertained that there are 700 European soldiers, 20 or 22 high officials, 50 lower officials, about 200 women and children, 300 Sheiks (Sikhs) and 200 sepoys with plenty of ammunition, in the Bailee Guard, and every one is very much on the alert. Fighting had previously ceased for 8 days, and the reason for this has now transpired. The Europeans in Bailee Guard entreated for permission to retire in peace on the honor of the sepoys (*hawn² sepoys ka*). The rebel leaders agreed to their going on condition that they left their Treasure and Arms. This was refused and so the matter ended

¹ Sweepress.

² Apparently "ba-Aan" meaning a word of honour.

(very questionable). The Sappers and Miners that came from Delhi are hard at work and mines are being dug. Fighting is going on in the Alumbagh and the Europeans have burnt down all the villages in that neighbourhood. The sepoy had become clamorous for money, when Kishoudutt Pandey advanced $1\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of Rupees to them. Mehndie Hussun *Nazim* of Sultanpore has reported that he has driven back the English army. The English had committed dacoities on Koireepore (? Koodwah) and Chanda where great battles were fought by the Oude people; this coming to the knowledge of the *Nazim* he at once came down suddenly on the English, killed most of them and drove the remainder into Jounpore where they now are, but he (the *Nazim*) is going to follow them up at once and drive them out of that place. This news was very well received at Lucknow and dresses of honor were bestowed on Mehndie Hussun.

FIGHTING CONTINUES

During the 8th of November, fighting was continued at both the Residency and Alumbagh.

9th November. The Sappers blew up a mine during the night, but without injury to the Europeans. The Seikhs who deserted the other day have been kindly received at Court and they have in return promised to bring over all the Seikhs in the Residency. Negotiations (negotiations) commenced when those inside said they would come out, if fraud was not intended towards them, and they were allowed to retain their money and arms and the assurances (*Bawn*)¹ of the sepoy were given them. Nothing further has transpired. A great fight took place with the Europeans that brought supplies from Cawnpore to the Alumbagh; but they made good their point, delivered the stores and returned to Cawnpore. The Lucknow bankers have been called on for 20 lacs of Rupees. They have protested and nothing is yet settled. Orders have been issued to all *Talooqdars* in Southern Oude to advance to the frontier and prevent the English from coming into Oude by assisting Mehndie Hussun; they have all been told to present themselves to the *Nazim*. Man Sing and the Amati (Amethi)

¹ Ba-Aan.

Rajah have represented that they have become great sufferers by the confiscation of all their property at Benares, and they claim compensation. They have been told that after the conquest they will be liberally dealt with.

During the 10th fighting was kept up and 4 sowars were killed.

ENCOUNTER ON KANPUR ROAD

11th November. An action has been fought between Echa Sing, the Mettawal and other *Talooqdars*, and the English on the Cawnpore road. The rebels got between the Alumbagh force and the English force at Bunnee Banthara and were so severely handled by the Horse Artillery that they fled in confusion, but the Mettawalla men stood; 200 of them were cut up and their 3 guns taken. The Europeans then went on to Alumbagh and took up their position there, surrounding it with guns. By this action great fear was instilled into the minds of the rebel army. *The road to Cawnpore is now secure to the English who have seized the grain and are burning all the villages along the line.* The Alumbagh is now full of ammunition and supplies.

The fighting at Bailee Guard was slack during the day, but it increased at night and 12 sepoy were killed. The Sappers were preparing a mine and the Europeans found it out; they countermined and blew up 17 of the Sappers and *Bilders*. An English letter has been seized; it would not be read, but the *harkara* was put to death; 4 spies have also been thrown into prison.

13th November. This morning the Europeans advanced to attack the "Lucknow *naka*" and the rebels were soon driven back. 500 sepoy and the Mettawalla men could not make good their escape and hid in a *nalla*; when the Europeans arrived close to their hiding place they were fired upon and 20 of them killed; they then fell back and fired grape at the enemy, but not before about 50 more of them had been knocked over. The Europeans then removed to another position, having killed about 125 of the rebels. All about Alumbagh is now covered with the tents of the Europeans and the Jallalabad fort has been destroyed. Raja Bukht Sing's son has joined from the Khira Band (*Khairabad*) *illaka*, and also the Mittee (*sic.*) Raja with 4,000 men, horse and foot. They have received *Khilluts* and have been posted at the advanced picket.

There will be a great battle soon. No fighting at the Residency this day.

16th November. This morning the Europeans started from the Secunderbagh *Purao*¹, and shelled and fought their way to the Shah Nujjuff. The rebel magazine was in the "Choupur Stables"; these and Sultanpoor (sic,) were burned. The 8th Regiment was in the Shah Nujjuff; they went off, and the Europeans took possession. The "Barlow" regt. was in the "*Khushkhana*", that place was shelled and the Regiment left it. The Kaisur Bagh is now being shelled from the Chuttur Munzil, the Residency, the Choupur Stables, the Bukashee *Gurce* (*garhi*) and Shah Nujjuff *makans*.

The English blew up a mine, leading from the Residency to Sobah Sing's Regiment. 2 guns and 70 persons were destroyed (this sentence is so badly worded that it is hard to say whether it was the English or the rebels that sprung the mine). The disposition of the troops now is on the west and east sides of the English; in the centre surrounding the Palace, the King's army; in the Satara Peshwa's house, the Moulvie; in Hazrat gunge the mutineers and the *Talooqdars'* men. Access by the Gooantee is closed except by the Stone Bridge. The fighting has been terrible this day, and the place is covered with bodies lying one over the other. The rebels, now reinforced by the Delhic Regiments have sworn to die in Lucknow; and further reinforcements are pouring in from the districts and all are now of one mind. Many Europeans are said to have fallen; of the 37th Regt. N. I. and Seikhs which were in the garden (? *Dilkosha*) 300 were killed and of the Raja's sepoy which were in the Martiniere 500.

17th November. Severe fighting from the respective positions. The Moulvi made an assault and many persons on both sides were killed. It is probable that the Europeans in Shah Nujjuff and Chuttur Munzil will unite and attack the Kaisur Bagh, but the latter is strongly defended and all the roads leading to it are closed, and guns in position. Captain Gujadur's arm has been shot off and another Captain was killed. The enemy are paralyzed (sic, : paralyzed) by the quantity of shells that are being poured into the palace. In the evening the Europeans in Shah Nujjuff attacke thed

¹ Sikandarbagh Camp.

Motee Muhul, and the Tara Kotee (Kothi) has been burned, and the Moulvi fled. The following positions on the Goomtee are now in the hands of the English, viz. Residency, Chuttur Munzil, Motee Muhul, Tara Kotee, Shah Nujjuff, the Choupur Stables, the Secunder Bagh, Martiniere, and the Dilkosha. The Palace alone remains. The Residency has been relieved and Lucknow is upside down. The casualties are numberless and the streets are stopped up with dead bodies. The Europeans took 6 guns.

18th November. Fighting began early this morning. The Europeans advanced their batteries too close to the Palace gate and commenced so hot a fire, that three of the rebels' guns were soon disabled, and 5 of their Artillery men killed. The shells told so severely on the Palace that a panic seized the garrison, and Sobah Sing's Regiment which was inside at once fled, and the Begums moved out; but the Chief Begum would not leave, and sending for the chiefs she ordered them to cut her head off and then run away. This brought them to their senses, and they commenced fighting again. In the meantime hundreds of *doolies* (palanquins) had left the Residency, and Chuttur Munzil by the Motee Muhul road and the banks of the Goomtee to the Shah Nujjuff, from there through the Martiniere and Dilkosha, and thus they got safe to Alumbagh. No one can cross the Goomtee except by the Stone Bridge, and that is guarded, nor can any rebel move between the Residency and the Alumbagh. Lots of people were watching the Europeans taking away the women in *doolies*, and every one now knows that soldiers alone occupy the Residency defences; property and the wounded were taken off in wagons. From noon till night the *doolies* were leaving and such is the name the Europeans have established, that no one dared to oppose them in this good work. Many men on both sides were killed this day, not less than 300 of the rebels and 50 or 60 Europeans. The Europeans had taken the Tara Kotee (Tara Kothi) and the Moulvi had fled. This afternoon the Moulvi with the rebels surrounded it; there are not more than 20 or 52 Europeans in it, and fighting is going on. The brother of Mummoo Khan *Darogah* and 4 *Golandaz* have been convicted of filling cartridges with bran and were today put to death. 20 camels and 8 elephants of the King's have this day been retaken by the rebels.

19th November. 5 of the Delhic Regts. and 6 guns arrived

at the "Shadurrah". The Chief Begum sent for them and said, her army was quite disheartened and was forsaking her, and she supplicated them in the name of *Khoda* (God) to help her; they agreed and at once joined in the attack on the Tara Kotee, firstly with their guns and then by assaults; the few Europeans in it were overpowered, and the place taken. 40 or 50 of the rebels were killed and 15 Europeans put to death. This has infused new confidence into the rebels, and a place has been approved of for a combined attack on the English by the whole rebel force in 3 divisions; one to attack the Chuttur Munzil, a second the Shah Nujjuff, and the third the Alumbagh; it remains to be seen how this will be carried out tomorrow. It is generally known that the Residency now is vacant, and that the Chuttur Munzil is our chief position; all property is said to be ready for removal. Man Sing and the rest are on the alert, ready to fight; and it is said 7 more Regiments are coming at once from Delhie, and reinforcement continues to pour in from the *Moofussil*. The English should expedite their movements.

Lucknow : news from 25th November to 2nd December 1857

BRITISH GARRISON WITHDRAWS

On Sunday night the Garrison with the ladies and treasure left the Residency and went to the Dilkosha, where they remained all Monday and Tuesday, during which days there was slight cannonading with little effect; on Wednesday they marched to Alumbagh and were followed by the rebel army. It was then proclaimed in the city, that the Europeans had abandoned the place, and addresses to the same purport were sent to the district authorities and to the King of Delhie. The Chief Begum has given Shuruf-ood-Dowlah written instructions to occupy Benares and Allahabad, and the Nuwab is making the necessary military preparations to carry out these orders. Councils of war are constantly being held but their proceedings are kept secret. Rewards and honors are being largely distributed to the *Sudder* and *Moofussil* authorities. It is well known that the "Lord Sahib" came and has taken away the ladies and treasure. It is known that the Bala Sahib, and the Nana Sahib with the Gwalior troops have surrounded Cawnpoor in consequence of which, the Com-

mander-in-Chief's retiring force won't be able to reach that place, and it will now have to march towards Allahabad in Gosaingunge¹. The War is now fully believed throughout Lucknow to be a religious crusade, and crowds of people are flocking into the capital from the districts to take part in the struggle. It was formerly reported that 17 camels, belonging to the British carrying 8 locked boxes had been seized by the rebels; these have now been opened and contain clothes and valueless things.

26th November. To-day the troops marched from Alumbagh to Bunnce Buntra (Banthara) and were followed by the rebels. Instructions have been sent to the *Nazims* of Sultanpooor and Goruckpooor to cooperate heartily, in collecting the *Talooqdars'* men and then to march on Azimgarh and Jounpooor and then on to Benares, and reinforcements are being sent from Lucknow to them. The vacancies caused by the fighting in the different Regiments have been filled up. Davie Deen *Hurkara* going from Lucknow to Jounpooor was seized and beaten, but the letter he carried was sewn up in the cotton of his *rezai*; after being detained a day, he was released and returned to Lucknow without delivering the letter.

27th November. The Gwalior force are still around Cawnpooor and the Commander-in-Chief is halting in consequence and Munsub Ali is taking measures to surround Sir Colin, and great oaths have been taken to do or die.

28th November. There was fighting to-day and 10 rebels were killed by shells.

29th November. The Europeans have reached Oonaoo and Chilawun and are watched by the rebels.

30th November. It is said that some of the Delhie Regiments have joined the Gwalior troops, and that some European troops have come over from Cawnpooor and joined the Chief at Oonaoo. Alumbagh has not been given up by the English, and they are now busy, strongly fortifying and repairing the neighbouring fort of Jallalabad, which we had destroyed.

¹ *Gosainganj*, Pargana and Tahsil *Mohanlalganj* Dist. *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).

It is said that in consequence of the Chief not being able to make good his retreat, the above arrangements are being made.

It is, however, still thought possible that the Europeans will again attack Lucknow, and the King's Palace is being fortified and entrenched very strongly to resist them. A number of our elephants, when out feeding, were seized by the rebels and the *mahouts* killed. There is disaffection amongst the rebel troops about pay, and bills are being drawn on the *Moofussil* authorities and *Talooqdars*; the latter object to pay, as they are supplying men and feeding them at their own expense; it remains to be seen how this will end.

1st December. The road from Jellalabad to Oonao is occupied by the English, but the troops are so much overwhelmed with the baggage, that they can do nothing and the Nuwab has given out to the rebels, that all plunder shall be given up to those, who may succeed in taking it away from the English.

2nd December. This day orders have been given to the whole force to turn out and plunder the English and to remember that the war is one of religion. It is said now that 7 more of the Delhie Regts. have reached Cawnpoor. A great battle has been fought and many of the Europeans have arrived at Alumbagh from that place. A *Hurkara* or the newswriter was sent towards Cawnpoor and was seized and at once killed, which the writer considers fortunate, otherwise his name would have been given up. The rebels say that it is impossible that so much Treasure can be permitted to leave Oude and they have sworn to take it. The Financial Commr. and the Commissioner have been prominent in getting Jellalabad made strong and ready.

Lucknow : news from 3rd to 17th December

3rd December. Jellalabad Fort is being fortified and the rebels are also fortifying and entrenching the Kaisur Bagh strongly. The guns which were left in the Residency have been ordered to be got ready. The *Talooqdars* have received remission of revenue to pay their troops.

4th December. There is a disturbance about pay. The old troops get 12 Rupees a month, and those that arrive now are offered 7 Rupees, which they refuse, and the Moulvi who has these latter on his side, talks of setting up as king.

5th December. News has reached Lucknow that the Nana and his brother with the Gwalior and Delhi troops have attacked Cawnpoor and driven the English into the entrenchments.

LUCKNOW FORTIFIED

6th December. Shuruf-ood-Dowlah went to look at the Alumbagh to-day and wished *moorchas* to be placed East and South, but no one will obey the order from fear of the Europeans. The Begum has paid 5 lacs to have a wall built round the city. The villagers have been told by the English authorities to occupy their villages and they are settling down. 3 Regiments have arrived from Dinapoor and have spread reports that an immense army of Europeans is coming up country in parties of 200, which has caused great consternation.

7th December. Mozuffer Ali has been appointed a General and is arranging for pay.

8th December. There has been a disturbance between the Delhic and Oude sepoy about pay, and the army appointed the Moulvi their Chief; matters were settled by Shuruf-ood-Dowlah promising to pay all 12 Rupees.

9th December. Slight fighting going on, cannonading from a distance; a few men got knocked over.

10th December. News has reached of the total defeat of the rebels at Cawnpoor with the loss of their guns, magazine and supplies; this has thrown open the road between Cawnpoor and Alumbagh. The bankers are being pressed for money.

11th December. Today 7 Regiments and a *Ressalah* who fled from Cawnpoor reached Lucknow and encamped in the Badshabagh. They say that their loss has been very great and that when the Nana fled, how could they fight? They confess to having lost 16 guns and all their magazine and supplies. The arrival of these men has increased the general consternation, and no one will stand before any army that may now approach. Ammunition is, however, being purchased in large quantities, and a very deep ditch is being dug round the Kaisur Bagh and breastworks thrown up in all directions. All those roads along which the Europeans formerly penetrated are being barricaded.

REVOLUTIONARIES FLOCK TO LUCKNOW

12th December. Two Regiments without arms or clothes

arrived from Cawnpoor, and reported the dispersion of the rebels. They give out that Lucknow is to be attacked from 4 sides and supplies cut off. The population are deserting the city in consequence of this information.

13th December. 3 more Regiments numbering 1,500 men have arrived from Cawnpoor; there are about 6,000 of these men now, and they have been sent out on picket duty.

14th December. It is now allowed that with the aid of Golab Sing and the Pattialah Rajah, we have established our power in Delhi. Cannonading has been going on at Alumbagh this day, but with little effect.

15th December. 500 sowars arrived from Delhi who said they deserted because they were not paid. The Europeans moved out to Mirza Mhow, 5 *Coss* from Alumbagh and brought in large quantities of supplies, burning the village.

16th December. Slight cannonading and the fortifications going forward.

17th December. Reports are ripe that the Nana has re-organized his forces and is again fighting at Cawnpoor, but 1,000 more men have come in from there today. Gun carriages are being got into order.

20th December. Cannonading has been going on all day. News reached that 1,500 Europeans were coming to reinforce Alumbagh and orders were given to obstruct them. Mahomed Hussun has sent 2 lacs of Treasure from Goruckpoor which has caused him to rise greatly in estimation; he has been told to go on recruiting and (to) invade to the eastwards. 300 sowars have joined from Delhi, but they have been plundered and are in a wretched plight.

HECTIC PREPARATIONS AT LUCKNOW

21st December. Today there was a fight at the Begum's palace between the sepoys and *Nujcebs*, in which 10 men were killed, and it was with great difficulty that the Officers settled matters. News has reached that the Nana and his brothers have been vanquished and have fled, but the Gwalior men are still fighting; 100 *doolies* with wounded rebels have arrived at Lucknow from Cawnpoor, and alarm has spread in consequence. Fighting is going on at Alumbagh, and the rebels have advanced their *moorchas*; the Adjutant of Barlow's Regiment, 3 gunners and 10 sepoys were killed. A very deep

ditch (is) being dug, round the King's palace so as to admit water from the Goomtee; 5,000 coolies are at work on this. The old canal, which was originally intended to let the Ganges into the Goomtee, is being repaired and on this work 4,000 men are engaged, all with a view to strengthening the place. Guns are being mounted and ornaments melted to pay the soldiery. The sepoys are in great alarm at the news that have been received of a large army of Europeans coming, and an army of Seikhs (Sikhs) from the N. W. to help them.

22nd December. There was a meeting to-day of all the Chiefs. The Begum said, "Great things were promised from the all powerful Delhie, and my heart used to be gladdened by the communications I used to receive from that city but now the King has been dispossessed and his army scattered; the English have bought over the Seikhs and Rajahs, and have established their Government West, East and South, and communications are cut off; the Nana has been vanquished; and Lucknow is endangered; what is to be done? The whole army is in Lucknow, but it is without courage. Why does it not attack the Alumbagh? Is it waiting for the English to be reinforced, and Lucknow to be surrounded? How much longer am I to pay the sepoys for doing nothing? Answer now, and if fight you won't, I shall negotiate with the English to spare my life". The Chiefs answered, "Fear not we shall fight, for if we do not we shall be hanged one by one; we have this fear before our Eyes". The party swore to stick by one another and then dispersed. All the roads leading to Kaisur Bagh have been closed except one, and officials only are admitted. There has been a great fight. The men at the *moorchas* were off their guard and were attacked from the Alum-bagh, surrounded, and lost three guns; the latter were turned against the rebels, and grape poured into them. The 37th, 2nd Robert's and Barlow's Regiments were in the trenches; but could do nothing; they forsook their arms and fled. 4 large guns, magazine, supplies to the extent of 1,000 maunds &c. &c, fell into the hands of the English; 400 or 500 rebels were killed or wounded. A number of sepoys took refuge in a village, the soldiers surrounded and set fire to it, and there the men were burned. The city is in a state of alarm. The Europeans seized 8 sepoys and 4 *Bunnyos* (*Banias*). The former they roasted, and the latter they imprisoned.

23rd December. Fighting is going on and the whole rebel

force is about to attack the Alumbagh. According to the requisition of Mehndie Hussun 100 sowars have this day left Lucknow for his camp and Regiment will follow. The army at Lucknow is numerically very strong but the sepoys are not in their right mind from fear. The sepoys are importunate for pay.¹

WITHDRAWAL FROM LUCKNOW

(Narrative of Events, dated November 25, 1857.)

The Commander-in-Chief marched to Alumbagh on the 12th. There was some harmless firing at that place on the 11th. His Excellency has been able to communicate with General Outram.

After several skirmishes on the 13th November, ending in the capture of two guns, the fort of Jullalabad, on the road to Lucknow from Cawnpore, was taken and blown up. After a running fight of two hours on the 15th at noon, the Commander-in-Chief occupied the Dilkoosha Park (Constantia) and the Martiniere. At 3 p. m., the enemy came forward to attack, but after a struggle of an hour was beaten back and repulsed heavily. An advanced picquet having cleared some villages across the canal, our troops took post there for the night. The loss was trifling: Lieutenant Mayne, Horse Artillery and Officiating Quarter-Master-General's department, and Lieutenant Wheatcroft, Carabiniers, killed.

On the 16th and 17th, after severe fighting, the enemy were driven out of several positions—Secundera bagh, the Barracks, and the Motec Muhul; and a junction effected with Sir J. Outram and Sir H. Havelock. By the last accounts the Commander-in-Chief was removing the garrison, and sick and wounded, to his rear. The list of killed and wounded in this last affair accompanies the narrative.

NANA IN AWADH

Oude—The Nana Sahib's followers have crossed the

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 26th February 1858, Nos. 226-228; National Archives, New Delhi.

Ganges into the Doab, but he himself is said to be still in Oude. *The people of Oude are hostile to the British Government.....*¹

EVACUATION OF RESIDENCY ORDERED

On the 18th the order was given that the Residency position was to be evacuated, and to be replaced by the Alum Bagh as the post which was to proclaim to the enemy that the British were not surrendering their authority in Oude. From a purely military or strategic point of view, the measure was probably a sound one; but it is open to question whether its advantage was not counterbalanced by the elation of the enemy, and their political interpretation of the withdrawal from the representative seat of British authority, and the hauling down of its flag.

It occupied five days to evacuate the Residency, and five days more, i.e. till the 27th to concentrate on the Alum Bagh and start from it for Cawnpore. Outram was left with 4000 men at what was henceforward called the Alum Bagh position, with the old Alum Bagh post at its apex, to menace and watch the city; while Sir Colin moved to Cawnpore, with the rest of the force and the rescued families that had been shut up in the Residency for the last six months.²

RETREAT FROM LUCKNOW

Telegraphic Message from Major General Windham to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Cawnpore, November 23, 1857 (4 p.m.).

Not a word from Lucknow for three days. One-half the Gwalior Contingent has crossed, and eighteen guns. The force at Shewalee has moved towards Akberpore. Captain Bruce's Police were attacked at Bunnee the day before yesterday; 74 killed. I sent Lieutenant-Colonel Fischer, and 400 of the 27th Madras Native Infantry, and two 9-pounders this morning at 3 a.m., to hold the place for the future; the police having absconded after the convoy of 300 Europeans I had sent, under command of Fischer, of Her Majesty's 53rd, had passed to Alumbagh with ammunition.³

¹ Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies* Inclosure 1 in No. 3, p. 138.

² Innes : "*The Sepoy Revolt*" Chapter II, Pp. 201-202.

³ Further Papers (No 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 32 in No. 4, p. 173.

LUCKNOW GARRISON RETREATS

Telegraphic Message from the Commander-in-Chief to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Lucknow, November 23, 1857.

LAST night I caused the garrison of Lucknow to execute its retreat from the Residency, covered by the relieving force, which then fell back on Dilkoosha, in the presence of the whole force of Oude. The women wounded, and state-prisoners, and King's treasure, and twenty-three lacs of rupees, with all the guns worth taking away, are in my camp; a great many guns were destroyed before the Residency was given up, those that were worth bringing having been transported with much labour and made available for our own purpose. The state-prisoners were brought with us.¹

REVOLUTIONARIES PREPARE TO RETAIN FREEDOM

As the time approached when Lucknow was again destined to revert to the possession of the English authorities—a fact to be realised only through torrents of blood and days of frightful carnage—it may be apropos here to observe, that during the interval between November and March, the defences of the city had been greatly strengthened and augmented. Although not surrounded by a fortified wall, as Delhi had been, its many miles of area, full of narrow streets and lofty houses, and occupied by an enormous military force, in addition to the ordinary population, constituted it a formidable stronghold. The city, it will be remembered, lies on the right bank of the river Goomtee, which there runs nearly from north-west to south-east; all the buildings on the opposite or left bank of the river being nearly suburban. After winding round the buildings called the Martiniere and the Dilkoosha, the river changes its course towards the south. The south-eastern extremity of the city is bounded by a canal, which enters the Goomtee near the Martinere; but there is no defined boundary on the south-west or north-west. Between the crowded or commercial part of the city, and the river there extended, previous to the revolt, a long range of palaces and gardens, occupying, collectively, an immense area, and known by the

¹ Further Papers (No. 6) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 33 in No. 4, p. 173.

several names of the Secunderbagh, the Shah Nujeef (Najaf), Shah Munzil, the Motee Mahal, the Kaiserbagh (or Palace of the King), the Chuttur Munzil, Fhurreeh Buksh (Farhah Bakhsh), the Residency enclosure, Muchee Bowun, the great *Emaumbarra* (*Imambara*) and the Moosabagh; these various palaces and stately buildings occupying an almost continuous line of five miles along the right bank of the river, and forming a belt between it and the poorer and more dense portion of the city. To cross the river, there were at this time three bridges—namely, one of stone, near the great *Emaumbarra*; an iron suspension bridge, near the Residency; and a bridge of boats, near the Motee Mahal.

In preparing for the struggle which they were well aware was before them, the rebels did not neglect the various precautions of defensive warfare; and rightly judging that the English commander would avoid a hand-to-hand contest in the streets, and would direct his attack towards the south-eastern suburb, they exerted themselves in strengthening that side of the city. In their plan of fortification they prudently treated the buildings and courts of the Kaiserbagh as a citadel, and interposed between it and the expected besiegers a series of formidable works. The exterior of these was a line of defence extending from the river to a building known as "Banks' House"; of this line the canal formed the wet ditch, and behind it was a rampart or embankment with guns. The second defence consisted of an earthwork beginning at the river-side, near the Motee Mahal; and the third, or interior defence, was formed by the principal rampart of the Kaiserbagh itself. All these lines consisted of well-constructed earthen parapets, or ridges fronted by wide and deep ditches, and strengthened at intervals by bastions. But not alone on these formidable works did the enemy rely; for, with prudent foresight, they had loopholed and fortified almost every house and enclosure, constructed strong counter-guards in front of the gateways, and placed isolated bastions, stockades, and traverses across each of the principal streets. The three lines of defence all abutted at one extremity on the river Goomtee (Gomti); and, at the other, on the great street or road called the Huzrut-gunge, which was one of the chief avenues, and was loopholed and bastioned. Nearly one hundred guns and mortars were placed in position upon the various works; and the number of troops collected for the defence of the place was computed as ranging

between ninety and one hundred thousand. Whatever the exact number of troops might then have been, it was certain that, at the beginning of March, the city contained above 60,000 revolted sepoy, and at least 50,000 irregular volunteers, and armed retainers of insurgent chiefs, besides the ordinary city population of some 300,000 persons; and upon this immense host of living beings, congregated and massed within the boundaries of Lucknow, the storm of war was about to burst with pitiless but just severity. The insurgent chiefs of Oude, with their followers, animated by a desire to avenge the wrong inflicted upon their native sovereign by the prostration of his throne, and the degradation of his kingdom to the level of a mere English province, were there assembled to make a last effort for native independence. The mutinous and revolted sepoy of the Anglo-Indian government, whose lives scarcely depended upon the alternative afforded by victory or defeat, were there also in their desperation; and the position of the mere resident population was necessarily compromised by their presence. This, however, was a result which the stern necessities of the war rendered unavoidable under any circumstances.¹

POOR RESOURCES OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES

The ingenuity of the enemy, but at the same time the poverty of his military resources, was evinced by the projectiles which were thrown from his mortars into our works during the blockade. The mutineers had two large mortars, but possessed no shells for them; and instead of shells fired huge cylinders of wood, which not unfrequently occasioned loss of life. Some of these were eighteen inches long by twelve diameter, and such was their weight that they must have pierced any but a very strong roof, if struck by them. They also threw in shells made of hollowed stone, of large size, which generally burst well, fired vertically a number of brass shells of small size; but these generally failed to burst, from some defect in the arrangement of the fuse.²

¹ Charles Ball : "*The History of the Indian Mutiny*" Vol. II, Pp. 246-247.

² Gubbins : "*An Account of the Mutinies in Oudh*", p. 369.

ATTACKS ON ALAMBAGH

REVOLUTIONARY FORCES DESCRIBED AS RABBLES

Letter from R. Strachey (Lt. Colonel), the Secretary to Govt., Central Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Allahabad, January 6, 1858.

With reference to the inquiry made in the seventh paragraph of your letter before adverted to, as to the nature of the force of the enemy on the Oude frontier and its armament, I am directed to say, that from the best information available which the Lieutenant-Governor considers to be trustworthy, the mass of the force is composed of the retainers of the *Talookdars* on the frontiers, armed with matchlocks and swords. Some few may have flint fire locks and muskets. Although there has been some sort of effort to organize them into regiments, they can still, in a military sense, be called only a rabble; but yet a rabble, composed of men of the military classes who have been accustomed to the use of arms, and to be constantly fighting with one another, and with the former King's troops, from their earliest youth.

ONE FOURTH GOOD FIGHTING MEN

The Officers, best able to judge, are of opinion that one-fourth of their numbers may be looked upon as good fighting men, who, though undisciplined, are capable of offering a certain resistance, and that the rest need not be much regarded.

ARTILLERY OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES

Their artillery has, in some instances, been well and bravely served. The guns are a miscellaneous collection of old brass and iron pieces, chiefly of small calibre, but some have been taken carrying 12-pound shot, and others of larger size are reported to be in their possession.....¹

Letter from Raja Jai Lal Singh to Thakur Prasad, Taluqadar of Tilo, dated the 29th Jamadi-ul-awwal, 1274 A. H. (15th January 1858).

You have not yet desisted from your evil attempts in spite of the postings of urgent *Sazawals* and have not yet removed your *Thana* from the villages of the *Taluqa* of Ahanwar,

¹ Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 31 in No. 2, Pp. 41-42.

the *zemindari* of Ghulam Sarwar Khan *Risaldar* of *Risala* 12. Such procrastination in obeying the urgent orders is likely to be harmful and productive of evils. Soon after the receipt of this letter, you must absolve yourself of procrastination and soon remove your *Thanas* from the villages of the *zemindari* of the above-named *Risaldar* and after securing a deed of agreement from his cousins Abdul Hakim Khan and Sayadat Khan send it here early. You should also pay the daily allowance and boarding charges of the *sazawals* posted upon you, at present and in the past. Be sure that if you show any hesitation in obeying these final orders, you will see the result with your own eyes and you will be totally ruined and uprooted. Considering these repeated orders, you must abide by them.¹

ATTACK ON OUTRAM ON 16TH JANUARY 1858

Telegraphic Message from Major-General J. Outram to the Governor General of India in Council, dated Alambagh, January 18, 1858.

The enemy attacked my position yesterday, 16th, in force, led on by a Hindoo fanatic, Buduke Dass Hunnooman, who was severely wounded and taken prisoner. The attacks from various quarters lasted, with slight intermission, from 10 A. M. till 9 P. M. Loss, on our side trifling; that of the enemy severe. This is the second attack within the last three days.²

CONCENTRATION AT LUCKNOW

NANA NEAR MALLAON

Telegraphic Message from Power to Campbell, dated Fatehgarh, February 10, 1858.

The force on the Ramgunge is reported to-day to be 2,000, with four guns; they send a few men across to reconnoitre. At Sandee there is a strong force of 4,000, with several guns, and the enemy hover about Meorah Ghaut and various other places opposite Mendhee Ghaut. They are also in force at Soorajpoor. The Nana is to-day at Nowbitgunge, near Mullaon; he has seized some boats at different places, which will be destroyed. A report has come in that several of Hurdeo

¹ Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

² Further Papers (No. 8) relative to. *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 30 in No. 2, p. 41.

Bux's villages have been attacked. Appa Sahib is recruiting at Seetulgunge, and has collected about 300 men. There is a regular chain of communications kept up from Bareilly to Lucknow by Shajchanpore, Sandec¹, and Bilgram**.

KUNWAR SINGH AT AYODHYA

Extract Paras 10 to 12 of a letter No. 53 dated 13th February 1858, from the Commissioner of Goruckpore (Gorakhpur) to the Secretary to Government, North Western Provinces, Allahabad.

Para 10. Since the above was written, the letter of our Gonda news-writer dated 12th or yesterday has been received. He reports the arrival at Ajoodhya of Koer Sing³ with 2,000 men of whom 800 only are sepoys. He declares he saw him seated with Rajah Man Singh in the latter's *Shewala*. The Rajah of Nurharpore, an absconded rebel of this district, was also with them. Raja Man Singh afterwards went down to the river and inspected the works that had been thrown up at the *Ghaul* to cover the passage; quantities of wood for planking the boats had been brought over; much ammunition had also been stored.

11. The news-writer's report is confirmed by the statements of several spies who have been to Ajoodhya and into the Camp of the Raja of Gonda, and the 14th and 15th are warningly given out as the days on which the crossing will take place, the strength of the insurgent forces is estimated at above 10,000 men.

12. I shall not be surprised to hear of their crossing within the next three days. The conclusion of a religious

¹ *Sandi*, Pargana *Sandi* Tahsil *Bilgram* Distt. *Hardoi*—A considerable town situated in latitude 27° 18' north and longitude 79° 58' east, near the left bank of the Garra river, on the road from Hardoi to Fatehgarh, which is metalled between Sandi and Hardoi. (*District Gazetteers*, Hardoi 1904, p. 242).

² *Bilgram*, Pargana and Tahsil *Bilgram* Distt. *Hardoi*—The headquarters town of the tahsil is a place of considerable size, lying in latitude 27° 11' north and longitude 80° 2' east on the old high bank of the Ganges, at a distance of sixteen miles south of Hardoi, eight miles from Sandi, and 33 miles from Fatehgarh. (*District Gazetteers*, Hardoi 1904, p. 176).

*Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 5 in No. 6, p. 103.

³ Marginal note in the Original—"We knew this long ago".

festival, and especially at a holy spot, is always held a propitious time for any great enterprise.¹

DIARY OF EVENTS IN AWADH

Lucknow news-letter from the 28th January to the 3rd February.

(28th). Cannonading all day, 17 casualties on the part of the rebels. Orders have been given to conceal the wounded as the sight of them creates alarm. Man Sing and the Ametic Rajah have reported that the English have bought over Jung Bahadoor with a promise of Goruckpoor, and a 6 anna share of Oudh, and it is therefore necessary that the Oudh Government should outbid the English. *The Begum has accordingly written to Jung Bahadoor, offering him Goruckpore, Azimgurh, Arrah, Chupra, and the Province of Benares, to unite with her. The whole energies and talent of Oudh are now devoted to attempt to buy over the Nepalese.* In accordance with the requisition of the Nazim, 3 more Regiments and some sowars have been sent towards Sultaupoor. It has been reported to the Begum that the English will advance 3 armies into Oudh. The Lucknow Treasury is empty and the Jewels of the favourite Mahals who accompanied the King to Calcutta, are now being converted into money. There is a report that Tatiah Rao is again about to attack Cawnpore. The Oudh people have now no hope from Futteh-gurh, and it is believed that the English are getting the upper hand in Rohilkund (Rohilkhand). Up to this time great energy has been applied to erecting three lines of defences at Lucknow, and a good deal still remained to be completed, but this day these works have been stopped and all hands are set to work to prepare ammunition.

(29th). Cannonading as usual, 12 rebels killed. A letter has been received by the Begum from Tatiah Rao, requesting a force to be sent to co-operate with him against Cawnpore, *several ambassadors have been sent to the Nipal Rajah concealed as "Kalundurana Fakeers".* Hurrie Sing, *Ressaldar*, and Captain Omrao Singh chiefs amongst the mutineers, have protested against such large reinforcements being sent away from Lucknow and it has been determined not to send away any more.

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 30th Dec. 1859, Supplement, No. 1374; National Archives, New Delhi.

(30th). Man Sing and Acka Sing have reported that their houses in the Amorah¹ *Pergunah*, have been plundered and destroyed. They have been told to cross their troops and revenge themselves; some Europeans reached Alumbagh today by bullock train.

(31st). 4 new guns are this day ready for use; pay has been distributed to the Troops.

(1st Feb.). Another grand assault on the Alumbagh has been determined on, and Shurreefood-Dowlah (Sharf-oddowlah), Genl., Mozaffur Ali Khan, Mamoo Khan *Darogha Dewan Khana*, and Chota Meeah (Chhota Mian), have sworn to lead the Troops on the occasion. A 2nd call has been made on the bankers for money.

(2nd Feb.). 3 Rebels have been killed today by round shot. Applications for reinforcements have been received from Khyrabad, Fyzabad &c. but nothing can be done from want of money. Those Regiment. even that had left Lucknow, have halted at different places, and sent in demands for pay, without which they won't proceed. The head of a European has been brought into Lucknow from Baiswarrah (opposite Futchpoor). It is said there has been an affray in that direction, that 6 rebels were killed, and 27 villagers seized and taken away by the English.

(3rd Feb.). Great arrangements were made for an assault this day, but it has been postponed. Nearly all the *Talookdars'* men have left Lucknow, 8 spies have been condemned.

6th Feb. to 5th March 1858

6th Feb. A *Hurkara* in from Puttee; there are a few men there, and the place is being strengthened. The *Nazim's* camp is at *Maharajgunge*, and 40 sowars have come from Lucknow to take Meludie Hussun to that place, as he is in disfavour. There are 11 guns and 12,000 men in camp, of whom 200 are sepoys, and 3 (300) or 400 sowars; the latter have just been re-inforced by 6 (600) or 700 more horsemen. At

¹ Apparently *Amona*, Pargana *Haveli Oudh* Tahsil *Fyzabad* Distt. *Fyzabad*—This village lies in the extreme western corner of the pargana, in latitude 26° 42' north and longitude 82° 4' east on the south side of the road from Fyzabad to Rai Bareli and at a distance of 8½ miles from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Fyzabad 1905, Pp. 190-91).

Bhudowra¹ Fort there are 1,000 men and 3 guns, and another thousand men with the *Tehseeldar* in Camp. The old Pertabgurh Fort which is in the N. W. corner of the town, has been repaired, and is occupied by 1,000 men of the Pertabgurh Rajah. Guns are in position on all 4 sides. There is another fortified building to the east of the above, which is held by 3 (300) or 400 men.

(7th Feb.). Men in from the *Nizam's*² (sic,) Camp; nothing new. They estimate the sepoys in Camp at 250 and the sowars at 1,000. The story is repeated of sowars having come to take the *Nazim* to Lucknow and it is said he was preparing to go. The Ghiaspore force to our right, is maintaining its position 3,000 strong with 6 guns. The 1,300 sepoys that were at Tanda with Koersing's nephew, have gone to Fyzabad. The Goruckpore *Nizam* (sic, *Nazim*) has been called on to furnish the accounts of his collections, and to explain why he abandoned the district. The *Hurkara* who brought this news heard heavy firing in the Bilwa Bazar direction on the 2nd instant.

(8th Feb.). A *hurkara* (has reached) in, who was at Goshaingunge on the 5th where he saw 3 or 4 Regiments of mutincers. On the 7th (yesterday) he left Hussunpore Bundoah (6 miles beyond Sultanpore) and there he saw 3 Regiments of sepoys, and heard that these men belong to Koer Singh's nephew, and they had just come from Fyzabad.

(9th Feb.). Spies in from the *Nazim's* Camp, which is still in the same direction. There are rumours of a move towards Jagdeeshpore³ and Chanda. 2 large guns are said to have joined this force, and the spies heard of 3 or 4 Regiments of sepoys having arrived at Sultanpore. It was said that the *Nazim* was waiting for these Regiments, to join him. (There is a general belief amongst the natives that this field

¹ Can be read as "Bhudowsa" also.

² Should be *Nazim's*.

³ *Jagdispur*, Pargana *Jagdispur* Tahsil *Musafirkhana* District *Sultanpur*-- The capital of the pargana is variously known as *Jagdispur*, *Nihalgarh*, and *Chak Jangla*. It is now commonly called *Nihalgarh-Jagdispur*, but the usage is not constant. *Jagdispur* lies at the junction of the roads from Lucknow to Jaunpur and from Rai Bareilly to Fyzabad, in latitude 26° 27' north and longitude 81° 38' east (*District Gazetteers*, *Sultanpur* 1903, p. 183).

force is to be allowed to go unopposed to Sultanpoor and that the rebels then mean to surround and attack us. Very unlikely as we should then be in a strong position). The Ghiaspoor force remains as before. A spy from Fyzabad gives the following detail of the force at that place, The 22nd N. I. the "*Salamut*" Regiment, the 40 N. I., and another Regiment, are there numbering 2,000 sepoys. Besides these 1,000 sepoys, who were at Tanda, have arrived at Fyzabad. 200 sowars had just reached with Koer Sing from Lucknow. There are besides these troops, 5,000 matchlockmen at Fyzabad. The fight at Belwa seems to have been premature; 1,000 sepoys were proceeding to join the *Rajwarrah* rabble, when they heard on the way, of their defeat. Bane Bahadoor of Nusrutpoor with 200 men has gone towards Fyzabad, taking his family and valuables with him.

10th February. Fyzabad news-letter to 4th instant.

The writer had seen a letter from Mehndie Hussain *Nazim* to Golam Hosen *Chukladar*, saying that great alarm prevailed in his camp, and half his force had deserted; he was hourly expecting an attack by this Field Force, and he desired the *Chukladar* to maintain his position at Ghiaspoor at all risks.

This day heavy firing has been heard in the direction of Belwa Bazar and alarm is spreading in consequence. There is a misunderstanding between Mahomed Hussun and his followers, and he is being deserted. The *Talookdars* are also deserting Mehndie Hussun. Oodres Sing, Umbres Sing, Raj Komar, Madho Pershad, Kishoon Pershad--Pulivars, have left him and returned home, leaving a few men in his camp; Man Sing left Shahgunge for Fyzabad on the 1st. Entrenchments were being prepared at the latter place, by the river's bank. Mozuffier Jehan has received a dress of honor from Lucknow and two mutineer Regiments have been placed at his disposal ("doubtful").

The Ghiaspoor force in status quo. Mahomed Hussun *Nazim* is said to have taken his force from Tanda to Fyzabad.

11th February. Of the 4 Regiments that have reached Hussunpoor one is the 13th. N. I. and another the 71st N. I. They have 3 guns with them, of which one is large.¹

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th Dec. 1859, Supplement, No. 1135, Pp. 329 to 332; National Archives, New Delhi. "Trial Proceedings of Babu Rustam Shah, Taluqadar of Derah in the Faizabad District".

Letter from P. Carnegie to Muir, dated Camp 3 miles beyond Chanda, February 20, 1858.

BATTLE OF CHANDA

I have the pleasure to inform you for the information of Government, that General Frank's Field Force won a complete victory over the rebels at Chanda yesterday. We heard the previous evening that 4 Companies of sepoys and 6 (600) or 700 rabble had come on to Chanda, that a general rising was ordered and that Mehdie Hussun and his force would join, as it were yesterday. This determined the General on leaving Singramow yester morn. When we got within a mile or two of the enemy, I heard from my spies that the enemy was 6 (6000) or 8,000 strong with 6 guns, and that Mehdie Hussun was at Warree distant 6 or 7 miles; at 11 o' clock we advanced to the attack, skirmishers & light guns to the front. Chanda was strongly fortified, but the cowardly rascals could not hold it half an hour; the skirmishers followed up the enemy for several miles, but could never close with them. The Cavalry charged and killed a few. I do not know how many the enemy lost, but I saw about 100 dead men. We had several men wounded, but none killed. I regret to say Mr. Venables received a spear-wound in the thigh, but nothing to speak of. About 2 o'clock the force was halted, when it was found that we had seized 6 guns. We were preparing to encamp, when it was ascertained that Mehdie Hussun's re-inforcements were coming on to attack us, 10,000 strong, 1,200 Cavalry and 11 guns. The force was immediately under arms, and the enemy showed himself; heavy firing took place, but it soon got dark and we bivouacked for the night. This morning I have ascertained that the first party which we beat, amongst whom were 2,500 sepoys of the 20th, 28th, 48th, and 71st. N. I., fell back on Lumbooh¹, 4 miles in our advance, and they mean to retire to Hussunpoor and perhaps to Lucknow. Mehdie Hussun and his gathering have gone off towards Warree. We have just heard that cavalry is coming from Cawnpore to join this

¹ *Lambhua*, Pargana Chanda Tahsil Kodipur Distt. Sultanpur -- A village on the road from Sultanpur to Jaunpur, at a distance of 13 miles south-east of the former, and lying in latitude 26° 8' north and longitude 82° 15' east. (*District Gazetteers*, Sultanpur 1903, p. 191).

force, a thing we very much want. It is probable we may halt here a day or two to let it come up. I have just made an excursion into the village and come on the house of the *Canoongo* of Sultanpoor; in it I found a quantity of papers and accounts and the outside boards of a Milton bearing poor A Block's name (sic.). You will excuse this scrawl, it is written on my knee and I know not when we may see our tents again.¹

NEWS-LETTERS FROM P. CARNEGIE

18th February 1858. A *Hurkara* in; states, he saw sowars going from Mehndie Hussun's camp to call the sepoys that are at Hussunpoor; he also heard that the *Nazim* marched from Pertabgurh towards Chanda and had halted at Nowabgunge and is now at Warree 8 miles south of Chanda. The *Nazim* has a Regular and an Irregular Cavalry corps with him, about 1,300 sabres; he has 12 guns with him of his own and some belonging to *Talookdars* and altogether he has 15,000 men with him. Another *Hurkara* in; he says that the *Nazim* and the sepoys are both moving towards Chanda. A *hurkara* in from Warree, who corroborates the above news of the *Nazim's* force at Warree. Another man mentions that 4 cos. (companies) of sepoys reached Chanda as an advance guard this day; the rest are a march in rear with 4 guns. Received a letter from a man in the *Nazim's* Camp, intimating that the Fort at Puttee had been ordered to be got ready for a siege, and that the *Nazim* would be at Chanda within the next day or two.

19th February. Marched to Koereepoor; when we reached that place, we met two *Hurkaras* who told us that Chanda was occupied by 6 (6,000) or 7,000 men of whom 500 were sepoys, and that the remainder of the sepoys and the *Nizam* (*Nazim*) would come up during the day; the spies saw 2 guns pointing down the road and heard that 2 more were in the Fort. At 10 A.M. we attacked and defeated the enemy and followed them some miles; a sepoy was taken who corroborated my information, and said that the main body of the 2,500 sepoys of the 20th, 28th, 48th, and 71st N. I. with guns had

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th Dec. 1859, Supplement, No. 1136. Pp. 333-34; National Archives, New Delhi. "Trial Proceedings of Babu Rustam Shah, Taluqadar of Derah in the Faizabad District".

come up during the morning. After the action, one of Mr. Venables's men brought word that Mehdie Hussun was on the move from Warree.

Towards evening we came in contact with his force at Amcerapoor, and silenced his guns. During the night he withdrew to Warree and fired a salute. In the first action we took 6 guns. We bivouacked on the field.

20th February. A Lucknow news-letter arrived in an illegible condition. Heard of Mehdie Hussun's being at Warree and that the defeated sepoy had fallen back on Hussunpoor.

21st February. A *Hukara* in from Hussunpoor, who saw the defeated sepoy arrive there. We marched to Lumbooh, but on reaching that place and on hearing that Baudiyan (Bhadiyan) (a very strong position in rear of a *Nullah* and front of a jungle) was only 3 miles on, the General pushed on there and it was well he did, for I afterward ascertained that in consequence of Roostum Shai preparing supplies for us, the rebels thought we should halt there; and on our starting for Lumbooh they got ready to march to Baudiyan. On their way they heard that we had anticipated them, and occupied the strong position, on which they made a forced march to Badsha-gunge via Rudowlee. A *Hukara* in from the *Nazim's* Camp who says, that 2 of the *Nazim's* guns are horsed and 3 are 18-pounders.

Lucknow news-letter from 11th to 18th; 22nd to 26th Feb. 1858

(11th Feb.). *Cannonading*. Europeans have reached Oonao from Cawnpore and there is a report that some have reached Salaon and have killed the *Tehsildar* there. It is said that Lucknow will be attacked from 4 points. All troops and *Talookdars* have been ordered into Lucknow from the *Mofussil*.

(12th Feb.). The rebels went to attack Alumbagh today, but returned unsuccessful. A war tax is ordered to be levied from the better classes according to their means, verging from 20,000 Rupees to 500 Rupees from each person; anyone refusing to pay is to be plundered.

The Gonda news-writer reports the defeat of the Gonda troops by the Belwa Bazar Goorkhas with the loss to the former of 100 men; Man Sing and others have been told to assist the Rajah.

(13th Feb.) *Heavy Cannonading.* Some one has stuck up a proclamation in the Kaisur Bagh on the part of the English saying that they are approaching, and that they mean to demolish Lucknow with round shot. Camel sowars have been sent off in all directions to call in troops.

(14th Feb.). *Fighting as usual.* Rajah Goorbuksh and his men have arrived. Much magazine is being prepared.

(15th). Sepoys are plundering Lucknow which is being forsaken by the inhabitants. Two Europeans have been seized.

(16th). *Heavy firing.* The rebels attempted an assault, but were driven back. 100 *Bildars* and 12 rebels were killed.

(17th). The Europeans made an attack upon the rebels' earth-works, killed 40 of them and retired. Some sowars and 4 mutineers' Regiments have reached Lucknow this day from the Cawapore direction.

(18th Feb.). The Gonda news-writer reports that the Rajah has again proceeded against the Goorkhas with 20,000 men. Troops are coming in from the districts and great plundering is going on. The sepoys are now, night and day, under arms and they are in great alarm.

22nd February. (Halted) nothing new transpired.

23rd February. Marched towards Sultanpoor, near Lora-mow, met 2 of my *Hurkaras* who said 15,000 of the enemy with 20 guns were in position waiting for us, in and about the *nullah* which divides the station of Sultanpoor from Badshah-gunge, and that the guns were so placed as to command the road.

The army therefore moved to the left, crossed the *nullah* beyond the reach of the enemy's guns, took him in flank and drove him from his position taking 16 mounted and 5 guns without carriages.

24th February. (Halted) Fyzabad news to 12th instant; on the 16th some of the Goorkhas crossed Chora Ghaut and occupied the Puhwar's Fort. The *Toman* that was on guard there fled. The same night the *Chuckladar* of Aldemow fled to Phoolpoorghaut, and in consequence of his so doing half his men deserted. The *Rajcoomar* Chiefs also deserted, during the night. Now there are only 20,000 levies, 100 sepoys and 3 guns, in this force. On the 20th before the *Chuckladar* could muster his men, *he was attacked and beaten by the Goorkhas*, and the next day, the latter occupied Tanda. Man Sing has separated himself from the rebels and is remaining quietly at

Shahgunge. Mehdie Hussun *Nazim* is now chief at Fyzabad, where there are 6,000 sepoy clamorous for pay. Dost Ali, brother to the *Nazim*, has fled, and he recommended Goolam Hosein to do the same.

25th February. Marched to Moosafir Khanah¹ 20 miles; spies brought word of parties of sowars ahead, and that Jugdeespoor and Khodoomaddee (sic), were occupied by 1,000 men and 2 guns, but that they would not stand. Chandka Pershaud also reported that the *Nazim* of Hydergurh was endeavouring to oppose us.

26th February. Marched to Jugdeespoor; seized a sowar on the road and 3 camel riders with despatches from Lucknow, ordering the different *Talookdars* to rise and oppose us and to collect supplies in case troops were sent out from Lucknow. The force evacuated this place as we left our last ground. Heard that Mehdie Hussun with a handful of men was at Goara Kutaree² on our left rear with 2 guns.

Lucknow news-letter from 19th to 23rd Feb., 27th Feb. to 5th March

(*19th Feb.*). Fighting going on; the rebel earthworks have been advanced.

(*20th Feb.*). 4 months' accounts of arrears of pay of the army have been prepared and payment is being made. This money has been raised by plundering the city. Another assault is being arranged and troops are pouring in. The Begum now wishes to treat, but Mummoo Khan Shurroof-ood-dowla and Oomrao Sing won't allow her, as the English word is more to be trusted.

(*21st Feb.*). News of 1,200 Europeans having come from Bithoor and fought at Russoolabad, the Oudh authorities fled and left the English in possession. It is also said that Europeans have occupied Safeepoor, Bangerpoor³, Futtehpoor,

¹ *Musafirkhana*, Pargana and Tahsil *Musafirkhana* Dist. *Sultanpur*—The headquarters of the tahsil lies on the road from Lucknow to Jaunpur, at a distance of 23 miles from Sultanpur, and is situated in latitude 26° 22' north and longitude 81° 48' east. Branch roads lead from here to Isauli, Jamun, Gauriganj, and Amethi. (*District Gazetteers*, *Sultanpur* 1903, Pp. 196-97).

² *Gora*, of the *Katari* Estate in *Sultanpur* District.

³ Apparently, *Bangarmau*.

and Meangunge¹, and that they are about to be opposed. There is a report in Lucknow, that at Cawnpore there are 3 or 4 Regiments of natives serving the English. The Begum is in correspondence with the Native Officers of these Regiments, and it has been settled that when they engage the rebels, the Regiments are to fire blank ammunition and afterwards they will turn round upon the Europeans. A Native Officer came from Cawnpore and arranged this and received 1,000 Rupees as a present. Fighting still at Alumbagh; an assault was made from 3 sides but the rebels were repulsed with great loss, not less than 250 killed. Councils of war are daily held.

(22nd). *No fighting.* Melmdie Hussun reports that he requires 10 guns and reinforcements, as the English are at Chanda, and he is preventing their advance. An answer was sent that there were no guns or men at Lucknow to spare, but camel men were sent out ordering *Talookdars* to join the *Nazim*. (I had not received this letter an hour when the news was corroborated by the apprehension of messengers with written orders on them).

The Gonda Rajah reports that the Goorkhas are entrenching Belwa Bazar and he asks for reinforcements. Man Sing and Sadun lal *Chukledar* of Baraitch have been ordered to aid him. The writer expresses an opinion that if Lucknow were attacked from the Moosabagh and Chinbut direction it would be easily taken, as it is less fortified in that direction.

(23rd Feb.). *Cannonading as usual.* Munsub Allee and Khan Allee have been sent out with troops to Russoolabad to prevent the approach of Europeans. The Begum has made known to the leaders that as they invariably run away, she intends to lead the next assault in person, and the Prince is to be kept in the rear. Preparations are being made accordingly. Mirza Allee Rajah² *Kotwal* has been told to prepare a list of

¹ *Mianganj*, Pargana *Asiwan-Rasulabad* Tahsil *Hasanganj* Dist. *Unao*.—This town lies in latitude 26° 48' north and longitude 80° 29' east, at a distance of 12 miles west of Mohan and 18 miles north-east of Unao, upon an unmetalled road from Lucknow to Bangarmanu, crossed a mile to the east by another from Sandila to Unao. A branch from the former leads south-west to Safipur from the centre of the town. It is 77 miles south-east of Fatehgarh and 34 west of Lucknow. (*District Gazetteers*, Unao 1903; p. 203).

² It should be "Raza".

houses with reference to levying a tax. The rebels have been divided into 4 parties called *first* the Delhi Force, *second* the West Force, *third* the *Nujeeb* Battalions and *fourth* the Artillery.

A *Hurkara* in from Fyzabad who says that there has been a misunderstanding between Mahomed^d Hussun and the sepoy about pay; which had been adjusted by the payment of 2 months' arrears. Man Sing was at Shahgunge, his brother Ramadheen at Oudh. There are 7 or 8 Regiments of sepoy in and about Fyzabad.

27th February. A *Hurkara* in from Melindje Hussun's camp which is still at Goara Kutaree, in a small jungle surrounded by *Nullahs*. The Ghiaspore Force went to oppose the Goorkhas at Bussia and were beaten. (This was the only force that was threatening the Jounpore district). A *Hurkara* in from Fyzabad &c.; at Shahgunge, he saw 2 Regiments of sepoy and 4 guns. Man Sing was there at Mhow with Rajah Jeylall; he saw 3 Regiments 3 guns and 30 sowars.

Another *Hurkara* states that at Soorujkoond, he saw 2 Regiments of sepoy with two guns.

At Ramghaut there were 2 Regiments of Infantry one of Cavalry and 6 guns. Bulkurum Sing^t of Puttee was in Ajoodiah with 1,200 rabble. At the Suruj Dooaree Ghauts there are two guns and 2 Regiments of sepoy.

Besides these there are 3 other Regiments of sepoy in Fyzabad and two on the west of the Town. Mahomed-Hussun is living in the Dilkhoosa and "*Mirza Chuckladar*" in Moostafagunge. *The sepoy are all abusing Man Sing, because he refuses to fight against the English.* At Mhow this man saw 2 Regiments of sepoy, 3 guns, and 30 sowars.

28th February. Camp Hydergurh. Heard that a *Chuckladar* had moved from this place towards the Goomtee as we left our last ground. He had 500 men and 2 guns with him.

1st March. Early in the morning, heard that Munsub Allee *Chuckladar* with 500 men and 2 guns was encamped close to the Fort of Naiapoor near the Goomtee and shortly afterwards Lt. Ackman went and attacked them, taking their guns and killing 100 men. Marched to Sulleempool 16 miles, where we found very strong and extensive earthworks, occupied by matchlockmen; but they soon abandoned the place.

May be 'Balakram Singh'.

At this place were discovered many papers belonging to Sufdar Ali and Kaim Ali *amils*. These two men had been at Jugdeespoor with 2 Regiments of sepoys and as we advanced they fell back to Mhona (Mahona), where the sepoys left them for Lucknow and their followers dispersed.

2nd and 3rd March. We remained halted at Suleempoor awaiting orders from the Commander-in-Chief. In the afternoon of the latter date, heard that the Rajah of Dhourara had fortified himself strongly 2 miles N.W. of Gosaingunge, in which he had 2 guns (another account said 4 guns) and 500 men. And that he had a number of persons in prison who had been seized at different times under suspicion of favouring the English.

4th March. Marched to Lucknow 18 miles and attacked the fort (of) Dhourara en route, capturing 2 guns and killing about 100 persons.

5th March. Received the following information from one of the enemy's Cavalry, who was seized yesterday. There are 5 (5000) or 6000 sepoys in the "Martiniere" and there are 30 or 35 guns in position in the neighbouring earth-works. At the Alumbagh entrenchments there are 25 or 30 guns. Ahmed Ali alias Chota Meeah, relieves the different guards daily with 200 men from every sepoy Regiment. At the Palace, 7 Regiments of *Nujeebs* keep watch. There are not less than 15,000 Cavalry (another account says 13,000), 13,000 old mutineers (one account says, 25,000) besides numberless new sepoys and 100 to 125 guns.¹

Letter from P. Carnegie to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India, Dated Camp near Dil Khosah (Dilkusha), the 5th March 1858.

Mr. Muir informed me that on entering Oudh, I should correspond with you; after this communication reached me, the Post was closed, and I had no opportunity of writing. We came in here last night, and I therefore take the liberty of sending a demi official communication to give the news; the usual narrative will follow. On the 1st instant we had a very dashing and successful Cavalry affair with the men of Mossahib

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December, 1859, Supplement, No. 1137, Pp. 335 to 342; National Archives, New Delhi. "Trial Proceedings of Babu Rustam Shah, Taluqadar of Derah in the Faizabad District".

Ali, a *Chuckladar*, in which we cut up 100 men, and took 2 guns, and yesterday on our way in, we attacked a Fort belonging to the same man, killed 150 of the enemy, and took two more guns. In this last action, I regret to tell you, James Innes, our Field Engineer, received a bad flesh wound through the rear of both thighs, which will confine him to bed for 3 or 4 weeks. He is in great spirits, and is going to be recommended for the Victoria Cross, for his conduct at the battle of Sultan-poor.

I beg to enclose two curious documents, which I found amongst other papers. One is a plan or map of Oudh and the neighbouring country and the other is a Pamphlet published in Lucknow on the advantages of Mahomedanism over Christianity.¹

SIMULTANEOUS ATTACK BY THE REVOLUTIONARIES ON ALL THE GHATS PLANNED

(*Narrative of Events dated February 18, 1858.*)

Fullyghur. 2,000 men are reported to be on the Ramgunga with four guns. At Sandee there is a force of 4,000, with several guns; they hover about Meorah Ghaut opposite Mendhee Ghaut. They are also in force at Scorajpore. 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 by the rebels between Bareilly and Lucknow, via Shalijehanpore, Sandee, and Bilgram. Raja of Scorajpore, Minncpoorie (Mainpuri) Raja, Kuttra Raja, Mossum² Alli Khan, and perhaps Bukhut Khan, are at Meorah Ghaut and Bilgram with a strong force of Cavalry and Infantry, and six or seven guns. Nirtul Sing commands Hushmut Alli's men, about 500, near Mendhee Ghaut; there are no guns there. The force at Nanamhow consists of 2,000 men and twelve guns. Munsub Alli, with 1,000 men and ten guns, is at Meangunge;

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th Dec. 1859, Supplement, No. 1138; National Archives, New Delhi. "Trial Proceedings of Babu Rustam Shah, Taluqadar of Derah in the Faizabad District".

² Probably "Muazzam Ali" or "Masum Ali Khan".

and at Sandee a force of 1,000 sowars, five guns. One attack is proposed on all the *ghats* at once.¹

20,000 REVOLUTIONARIES ASSEMBLE AT CHANDA

Message from Brigadier-General Franks to the Secy. to the Govt. of Alld., dated Camp Singramow, February 18, 1858.

I have the honor to forward herewith, for the information of the Governor General, a copy of a letter of the 16th instant, from Brigadier-General MacGregor, C. B., Military Commissioner *with Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, detailing his movements past and future.*

2. At the time of writing this letter he cannot have received the telegram from the Chief of the Staff, a copy of which is attached hereto, and which was forwarded to him yesterday by me.

3. A force of 20,000 men, of whom 2,500 are Sepoys and 1,400 Sowars, with twenty-three guns, will be assembled to-morrow, at Chanda, to oppose my advance to Sultanpore. I march tomorrow morning to Kooreepore. If the enemy remain where they are, I shall attack them on the 20th, having previously thrown my baggage into a strong position, and on that day I shall halt beyond Chanda, moving on towards Sultanpore the next day. If I am not opposed I shall march to Rampoor² on the 20th, from which I shall endeavour to reach Sultanpore in two marches.

4. I have placed a force, equal to a strong Goorkha Battalion, about 500 men, in the fort of Jaunpore.

5. I have the honor to request that the contents of Brigadier-General MacGregor's communication, and a notice of my intended movements, may be telegraphed for the information of the Commander-in-Chief.³

Telegraphic Message from Major-General Outram to the Governor General of India, dated Alambagh, Feb. 19, 1858.

The telegraph is now opened at this place, should Your

¹ Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in The East Indies*, Inclosure 1 in No. 5, Pp. 99-100.

² Probably old *Rampur Taluqa of Sultanpur.*

³ Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 23 in No. 6, Pp. 107-108.

Lordship have to communicate. All quiet here yesterday and today.¹

BRITISH ADVANCE AT LUCKNOW NOT POSSIBLE

Telegraphic Message from the Secy. to the Govt. of the N.W. P., to the Secy. to the Government with the Governor General, dated Benares (Banaras), Feb. 21, 1858.

General MacGregor writes from Camp Bura, February 19 in reply to your message sent to him by me as follows :

“It is impossible for us to be farther than Fyzabad or Sultanpore, if we take that road, by the 28th. Lucknow we cannot reach before the 7th March. If the Commander-in-Chief is waiting out of deference to the Maharajah, I can assure the Governor General that it is quite unnecessary; the Maharajah, though anxious to share the glory of the capture, does not expect to be in time, and does not wish the Commander-in-Chief to wait for him. We will, however, press on as soon as ever we get boats to cross, so that we may be at hand if required. I report daily, and will continue to do so; if we were across, however, we could not move till our ammunition arrives, and it has not come.

“I suppose the non-arrival of ammunition may be due to its having been sent to Dhoreebushall instead of to the point where the force was to cross the Gogra. Davies’ letter of this morning is being sent to the Governor General”.²

CLASH WITH BRITISH AT PHULPUR

(22nd February 1858)

Telegraphic Message from Brigadier-General MacGregor to the Commissioner of Benares (Banaras), dated Camp Burarce, February 23, 1858.

I have the honor to request you will be good enough to transmit immediately to Mr. Edmonstone, for the information of the Governor General in Council, the following telegram, and send me the answer by express—

“Since my last telegram our prospects have very much improved. The boats arrived the night before last, four

¹ Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 27 in No. 6.

² *Ibid.*, Inclosure 32 in No. 6, p. 110.

miles below this, and Colonel Rowcroft's force at once crossed the river. Yesterday, Brigadier Gungadoss' brigade joined them, and the whole force advanced to Phoolpore, where they met the enemy, and, after an action, lasting over an hour, totally defeated them, capturing three guns. Our tender point is now secure, and the brigade will, Captain Sankey thinks, be ready by the morning of the 25th. The Maharajah has proposed to make forced marches, and we will push on as fast as possible. Agreeably to instructions received from His Lordship, I have spoken to the Maharajah about leaving the Naval Brigade behind, and he is very much disappointed. He says that His Lordship promised they should go with him, and that I promised it too; that of course, if the public interest require it he will say nothing about it; he had expected it from the first, and he feels it very keenly. The Yeomanry Cavalry has also arrived, fifty, at Bibtee, and I have directed them to wait there until I get an answer to this telegram. They would be invaluable assistance to us; without Cavalry we cannot strike a decisive blow, and the Maharajah expects them to be joined to our force, where their actual use, great as it would be, will be equalled by the moral effect of their presence, which would give confidence to Goorkhas and the Maharajah, who have a fear of the enemy's Cavalry, and whose defective discipline renders them liable to attacks from that arm, while the presence alone of the Yeomanry would have a great effect on the enemy at Goruckpore, Belowa, and, perhaps, more than ever yesterday, could have literally destroyed the whole rebel force. The Naval Brigade, yesterday, proved of value; the light impetuosity of the Goorkhas, when checked by the enemy's fire, found on it a nucleus on which to reform. Major Richardson, who is now with me, having come here at my request, has assured me there will be no difficulty in preventing collision between the Yeomanry and the Goorkhas".¹

FATEHPUR CHAURASI DESTROYED

Service Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to F. Bradon, Calcutta, dated the 23rd February 1858,

Futtehpore Chowrassee has been destroyed, and two small Forts in the neighbourhood have also been dismantled.

¹ Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 39 in No. 6, p. 112.

General MacGregor on 20th telegraphs that the boats escorted by Colonel Rowcroft had arrived 4 miles below his position, and Colonel Rowcroft's Brigade had been moved across to the right bank of the Gogra; another brigade with 6 guns was to follow immediately and the boats were then to be moved up to Phoolpore where arrangements were to be made to cross over the whole of the Goorkha Force.¹

BEGAM, ON ELEPHANT, LEADS ATTACK ON OUTRAM

(25th Feb. 1858)

Telegraphic Message from the Commander-in-Chief to the Governor General of India dated Cawnpore, Feb. 25, 1858.

I have the greatest pleasure in forwarding to Your Lordship a telegraphic despatch just received from Sir James Outram.

"From Alumbagh, 25th February, 2 p. m. From Major-General Outram to the Commander-in-Chief at Cawnpore :-

"Enemy attacked this morning much in the same style as on Sunday. Their columns towards our right rear in great strength. Cavalry, Artillery, and Infantry moved out to intercept; took two guns and cut up a large number. The Begum and some of her principal officers were present in the field on elephants, but got back into the outworks before they could be reached. Our loss two killed and six or eight wounded, so far as yet known. Among the latter Colonel Berkeley and Captain Moorson, slightly".²

Telegraphic Message from the Commander-in-Chief to the Governor General of India, dated Cawnpore, February 22, 1858.

I lose no time in repeating the following message, for Your Lordship's information :-

Benares, 22nd February, from the Officer Commanding at Cawnpore, to the Chief of the Staff. The following message from Brigadier-General MacGregor, dated Camp Bara, 20th

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 25th June, 1858, No. 275; National Archives, New Delhi.

² Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 37 in No. 6, p. 111.

February, 1858 :—“The fleet of boats escorted by Colonel Rowcroft arrived last night four miles below our position. Immediately Colonel Rowcroft’s force was crossed over to the right bank, and this morning one of our brigades, with six guns, crossed, and the boats will be brought up to Phoolpore, where arrangements will at once be entered on for crossing the whole force. The Maharajah is in high spirits about it”.¹

Telegraphic Message from the Commissioner of Benares (Banaras) to the Chief of Staff, dated Benares, February 24, 1858.

JANG BAHADUR & MACGREGOR TO MARCH VIA
TANDA ON LUCKNOW

1. General MacGregor writes, on February 22nd, from Phoolpore, on the Gogra :—

2. The bridge is proceeding famously, and we shall cross on the 25th. The Maharajah and myself have agreed to march, via Tandah, on Lucknow, in eight marches, if possible. If we went by Fyzabad we must be detained. The ammunition is one march from here, and arrives tomorrow”.²

Telegraphic Message from the Officer Commanding at Benares (Banaras) to the Secy. to the Govt. with the Governor General, dated March 1, 1858.

JANG BAHADUR PUSHES ON LUCKNOW

From Brigadier-General MacGregor, C. B. dated 26th February, 1858, Camp Umberpore, received by express 5-30 p. m. March 1, 1858.

“To-day the Maharajah’s force marched to Umberpore, fifteen miles towards Lucknow, via Sultanpore. As we had determined to go by this route, it became necessary to have better protection for Goruckpore, so I have left both the Naval Brigade and Yeomanry Cavalry, in addition to the two Goorkha Regiments, under Colonel Rowcroft, for the defence of that district. This arrangement agrees with the latest expressed wishes of the Maharajah”.³

¹ Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 31 in No. 6, p. 109.

² *Ibid.*, Inclosure 38 in No. 6, p. 111.

³ *Ibid.*, Inclosure 30 in No. 6, p. 109.

CHAPTER SIX

**BRITISH ONSLAUGHTS ON LUCKNOW
AND ITS EVACUATION
BY REVOLUTIONARY FORCES**

SIX ATTACKS ON ALAMBAGH

In the course of the three months, from the latter end of November 1857, to that of February 1858, during which he held this position, Outram was attacked six times—on the 22nd December, the 12th and 16th January, and the 15th, 21st, and 25th February. The *first* attack, made by 4400 men, and 4 guns, endeavoured to get at the south of his position by circling round his right flank; but he drove them to flight by turning their rear and threatening their line of retreat. The *second* attack was in great force, some 30,000 men, in two bodies, attacking respectively the right and left of the position, but avoiding the Alum Bagh post at the apex. They were allowed to come somewhat near, and were then received with such a powerful fire of artillery and musketry as to drive them back speedily. This was done twice; afterwards the enemy concentrated against the Alum Bagh post, and were there finally routed by the fire of heavier metal.

The *third* attack was similar to the second, but in smaller numbers, and the enemy were, consequently, still more heavily punished. The *fourth* attack, led by the Moulvie, though most desultory and weak, lasted longer, and led to their occupying posts much closer to the British position, enabling them to attack still more suddenly than before. The *fifth* attack was on the front and both the faces; but Outram had now been joined by additional troops, including cavalry, and while the front attack was kept in check, the flank attacks were in turn assailed on their own flanks, and suffered very severely.

The *sixth* and last attack was the strongest of all but Outram had been still more reinforced, and had prepared for it. Checking the rest, he sent out two large bodies of cavalry and light troops to the right and left of the body of enemy on his right, and then getting at their rear caused them to fly precipitately, and inflicted very heavy loss. After this final victory, he was practically left undisturbed by the enemy; the Alum Bagh becoming the scene of the concentration of the various columns and troops from the south and west for the impending siege.¹

¹ McLeod Innes, "The Sepoy Revolt", Pp. 208 and 209.

ALAM BAGH ATTACKED BY THE REVOLUTIONARIES*(Narrative of Events Dated March 5, 1858)*

Lucknow. The enemy attacked Sir James Outram, at Alumbagh, on the 25th February. Two guns were captured from them, and a large number of the rebels were cut up. Our loss only two killed and six or eight wounded, amongst the latter Colonel Berkeley and Captain Moorson slightly. The Begum and some of her principal officers were present on elephants, but escaped.

The Commander-in-Chief arrived at Dilkoosha on the 2nd instant, and took up his ground in rear of the place after a skirmish with the advance guard of the rebels, in which a gun was taken from them. They have made a very complete line of works in front of the Commander-in-Chief, and were keeping up a heavy cannonade. The siege train was to close up on the 4th, half of it arrived on the 3rd. General Franks was to close on the Commander-in-Chief on the 4th. His Excellency is in communication with him.¹

BATTLE OF LUCKNOW

Telegraphic Message from the Commander-in-Chief to the Governor General of India dated Dilkoosha (Dilkusha) station, March 8, 1858.

Sir James Outram's advance took place, as ordered, the day before yesterday, the 6th instant, across the Goomtee; and his force, after driving the enemy, occupied a position across the Fyzabad road, leaving the Ghukkur Walla Kotec rather more than a mile in his front. Yesterday, the 7th instant, the enemy came out to make, a desultory attack against Sir James' front. As usual, he was driven off with the greatest ease. Brigadier Sir Hope Grant then, according to instructions previously given in a private note to Sir James Outram from the Chief of the Staff, made a wide, sweeping movement with the Cavalry and Horse Artillery, to the north-east through the cantonments, afterwards returning to his camp. He was not opposed. The preparations are in forward progress for making the attack, from both sides of the Goomtee. Discretionary instructions having (sic,—have) been given to

¹ Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 1 in No. 6, Pp. 101-102.

Sir James Outram last night, which were confirmed this morning, after I had reconnoitred the ground.

REVOLUTIONARIES REPORTED TO BE IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD
OF THE ROAD BETWEEN BANI AND KANPUR

*There are numerous reports, apparently much exaggerated, respecting the gathering of rebels in the neighbourhood of the road between Bunnee and Cawnpore. Colonel Maxwell, with Her Majesty's 32nd and 88th Foot has been ordered to leave Akbarpore, cross the Ganges, and advance on Lucknow. I trust that this will have a happy effect on the rebels alluded to.*¹

ATTACK ON LUCKNOW'S FIRST LINE OF WORKS

Telegraphic Message from the Chief of the Staff to the Governor General of India, dated Dilkosha (Dilkusha), March 9, 1858.

Sir James Outram having very ably carried out the instructions of the Commander-in-Chief, and effectually turned and enfiladed the *enemy's first great line of works*, the Martiniere was stormed by the 2nd Division, under General Sir E. Lugard, after it had been very heavily cannonaded. The action was principally one of Artillery; the loss being trifling in consequence. The lower end of the line of works on the canal alluded to, abutting on the Goomtee, has been seized by the troops. This closes operations of this evening. Sir James Outram has been ordered to shell the Kaiserbagh. He will commence tomorrow morning.²

NEPALESE FORCES REACH LUCKNOW

Telegraphic Message from Brigadier General MacGregor to the Secretary to the Govt. with the Governor General, dated Camp near Gangaganj, March 9, 1858.

The army under Maharajah Jung Bahadoor arrived this day within two marches of Lucknow. All the British officers quite well. Kindly send the paragraph to the newspaper, as all *daks* have been stopped for some time.³

¹ Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 16 in No. 9, p. 120.

² *Ibid.*, Inclosure 17 in No. 9, p. 120.

³ *Ibid.*, Inclosure 21 in No. 9, p. 121.

LUCKNOW DEFENCES ATTACKED

Telegraphic Message from the Chief of the Staff to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor General, dated La Martiniere, March 10, 1858.

The Commander-in-Chief is making gradual progress against the multiplied defences of the enemy. Banks' house was occupied in the forenoon, and an extended position taken up in its front, which is now held, while Sir James Outram has pushed his advances on the other side of the river. *The resistance to-day has been stubborn, and the enemy is in great numbers. Jung Bahadoor moves into line to-morrow.*¹

BEGAM'S HOUSE STORMED

Telegraphic Message from the Chief of the Staff to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor General, dated March 12, 1858.

On the 11th, Sir James Outram pushed his advances as far as the Iron Bridge, on the left bank of the Goomtee, and established his batteries so as to enfilade some of the enemy's works, and to command the Stone Bridge. After very heavy cannonading, the Begum's house was stormed in the afternoon of the 11th by a brigade consisting of 93rd Highlanders, 4th Punjab Infantry, and 1,000 Goorkhas, all of whom behaved with great gallantry. They were supported by the rest of Sir Edward Lugard's division. Maharajah Jung Bahadoor was to move close to the canal on the afternoon of the 11th and to take an active part in the operations of the 12th.²

ASSAULT ON LUCKNOW THE GORKHAS

Hukumnamah of Birjis Qadar addressed to Thakur Prasad, Taluqadar of Tiloi, dated 17th Jamadi-ul-Awwal 1274 A. H. (3rd January 1858).

On the perusal of the application of Rana Beni Madho Bakhsh Bahadur Taluqadar of Shankarpur complaining of his not getting possession of the Taluqa of Amawan mortgaged by Sayadat Khan *Malguzar* to the petitioner and his failure in acquiring possession in spite of the issue of *Hukumnamajal* in your name, the order to comply with the last order is being

¹ Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 22 in No. 7, p. 121.

² *Ibid.*, Inclosure 29 in No. 9.

despatched through two horsemen. You shall arrive at a compromise and communicate your compliance of the order. Consider this imperative.¹

Letter from Jung Bahadoor (Jang Bahadur) to Charles John, Viscount Canning, Governor General of India in Council, dated Camp Goruckpore (Gorakhpur), 26th January 1858.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's kind letter of the 19th January.

It will be my earnest anxiety and efforts to be always proved serviceable to Your Lordship and to the Supreme Government. I have not the good luck of being honored with any instruction direct from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief as yet about the movements of my force towards Oudh; but however I am in daily expectation of it. I shall be very glad to do in accordance to His Excellency's order and upon the good advices of Brigadier-General MacGregor. With my best compliments to Your Lordship.²

Letter from G. H. MacGregor, Brigadier General, Military Commander.

In continuation of my letter No. 130 of the 2nd instant, I have the honor to report for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council that the Burruck Regt. alluded in my letter No. 85 of the 18th. ultimo, which arrived here three or four days ago has been sent towards Burhul to bring up treasure and the first instalment of the ammunition &c. The Regt. marched this morning.

2nd. I have also the honor to enclose a letter in original from Captain Plowden in Military Charge at Belwa Bazar, which will put His Lordship in Council in possession not only of the latest news I have from the advanced division, but also of Maun Sing's recent proceedings and attitude.

3rd. The large convoy of ammunition reached Benares on the 31st ultimo and a portion was to be sent off that very

¹ Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*.

² Foreign Political Proceedings, Suppl., Original Consultations, 30th December, 1859, Nos. 3/1380-81; National Archives, New Delhi.

night, the rest following immediately. It should reach Burhul Ghat by the 8th.¹

Letter from A. C. Plowden, Military Commissioner, Gorkha force, to Andrew, dated Camp Bilwa, 4th February 1858.

I commenced a letter to you yesterday but before I had finished it Brenton had sent off the *dak*.

The enemy has been assembled (sic,) in great force within three miles of this for some days. They are said to amount to 10,000 men including 500 sowars and 8 guns.

Yesterday I assembled a meeting in my Tent for the purpose of consulting upon the advisability of attacking them this morning. I was not quite satisfied from the information I had received as to the strength of the enemy's position and force in Cavalry. Reports (reached) making the latter out to be from 500 to 2,000. Under these circumstances I deemed it prudent to abstain from attacking at present. To-day I have gained information which I believe can be depended upon. Yesterday a *Burkundauze* of ours was taken prisoner by a party of sowars and brought before the Rajah of Gonda. After questioning him regarding the strength of our force he was released. This man informed me that the strength of the Rebels was about 10,000—all a rabble with perhaps an exception of about 500 sepoys, 500 sowars and 8 or 10 guns. He saw six. They are not entrenched, and very much dissatisfied from want of *russua*² and money and many have gone to their homes. Other reports corroborate the fact of their dispersing. Run Sing is anxious to attack them to-morrow morning to which I have consented tho' I shall not be surprised to hear that by the morning they will have dispersed.

A confidential native of Mr. Cook's who has been made to Brenton as a spy has come in from Maun Sing to-day with a verbal message saying that he is willing to be of any assistance to us and will do whatever he is ordered. He also says that he is doing his best to get hold of the three ladies now prisoners in Lucknow to forward to us. He says it must be done very quietly and kept a secret by us otherwise their lives will

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, Supplement, 30th December, 1859, No. 972; National Archives, New Delhi.

² Rations.

be in danger. He desired the messenger to tell Brenton that Nana Sahib was in Lucknow getting together all the mutinous sepoys he could for the purpose of again attacking Cawnpore. He advised us to be on the alert, as this information was *puckah*; he also desired the messenger to inform Brenton that it was not his intention to fight against us, and that he has 4000 men at Shahgunge for his own protection.

He sent in Mrs. Duhan and her three children yesterday who says she has received the greatest kindness from Maun Sing. If he saves the other ladies, I hope, he may escape hanging.

Maun Sing says that their force near us is a mere rabble. The Goonda (Gonda) Rajah is quite alone here. The Bareitch (Bahraich) and other *Rajahs* whom he expected to join him have refused to come as also Maun Sing who wrote the Rajah to this effect yesterday. This accounts for the force dispersing.

Mrs. Duhan left for Goruckpore last evening. I enclose a plan of the attack I propose making to-morrow.¹

Letter No. 160 from Brig. General G. H. MacGregor C. B., Mily. Commissioner, to the Secretary to the Govt. of India, Foreign Department, Calcutta, dated 9th February 1858.

In continuation of my letter of the 7th instant No. 146, I have the honor to report for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor Genl. in Council, that the Headquarters of Maharajah Jung Bahadoor's army marched this morning from Goruckpoor to this place.

2nd. From time to time I have kept His Lordship in Council informed of the several causes which have detained us here, among which I trust, will not be reckoned any wish either of the Maharajah or of myself. We required no less than 5,000 carts to equip this force, with one month supplies accompanying it, and it would not have been safe to have entered Oude with less. The carts and supplies had both, the former mainly and the latter entirely, to be drawn from a district only just recovered from the enemy and where the civil power was yet scarcely established.

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings; Supplement, 30th December, 1859, No. 973; National Archives, New Delhi.

3rd. But besides this, we have been very short of small arm ammunition; the Maharajah only brought 130 rounds from Nepal and the whole army expended twenty and some regiments forty rounds at the capture of Gorruckpoor (Gorakhpur) alone. To have left the capital of the district and then halted, would have had a bad effect, so I deemed it best to wait until I believed I could safely recommender the Maharajah to go straight on, namely until I had news of the progress of our convoy being such, that I could calculate on its joining us by the time we had completed the operation of passing the river. Besides this, we have collected boats and material for bridging a river wider and more rapid than the Ganges, all of which had to be brought from a distance, as the enemy has removed all the boats on that part of the river, one bank of which is in Oude, to his own side, and daily and nightly watches every *G'at*.

4th For these reasons we have been thus long delayed but now I trust that our progress may be rapid and steady in prosecution of the object of the campaign and that His Lordship in Council will have no reason to be surprised at any delay.¹

Hukumnamah of Birjis Qadar to Ali Bakhsh, Taluqadar of Mahona, attached to Jagdishpur, dated 9th Rajab 1274 A. H. (23rd Feb. 1858).

It has been repeatedly reported that some hillsmen together with Englishmen intend coming over to this side via Sultanpur Camp and Saiyid Mohd. Husain Khan Bahadur, *Nazim* of Pashna Kot is in pursuit of them for their extirpation. Imperative and urgent orders are therefore being given to you to the effect that you should check their advance with your own men, pieces of artillery and Gohar troops cleverly and firmly and, in case you have to fight them, exhibit bravery to vouchsafe your honour both in this world and hereafter and put all of them to the sword. You should consider it your duty not to allow them to come over to this side. Seek our kindness by keeping yourself vigilant and wary.²

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, Supplement, Original Consultations, 30th December, 1859, Nos. 1-2/1383; National Archives, New Delhi.

² Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*. A similar *Hukumnamah* of Birjis Qadar, in these very words, was issued to Mst. Sughra, Taluqadar of Siyarpur, on 9th Rajab 1274 A. H.

Letter from Lieutenant S. Owen, Assistant Superintendent of Supplies, C. P., to Captain MacAndrew, Military Secretary, Camp Daudpore (Daudpur), dated Camp near Mousafir Khana (Musafir Khana), the 4th March 1858.

I have the honor to report for the information of the Brigadier-General MacGregor C. B. the circumstances under which a part of the convoy under my charge has (been) taken and destroyed by the enemy and my retreat with the remainders.

2nd. Allow me first to inform you that I had no guard of any kind with me. A *Jemadar* and a *Burkundaz* with the treasure and two *Chuprassees* who had their *Tulwars* (swords) were the only armed men that accompanied me.

3rd. Before sending me off with this large convoy C. Home Esquire, Superintendent of Supplies, applied to the General of Benares for a guard but none was available.

4th. On the 28th ultimo I marched from Ulwargunge to Shahabagunge passing to Sultanpore road. I had heard that General Frank had destroyed the city, but wishing to know for certain what I was learning (? having) in my rear, I went accompanied by a *Chuprassee* to see and gain information. At the station bazar Seevdeen Panday (Shiv Din Pandey), Pensioned late *Subadar* of the Grenadier Company 36th Regiment N. I., came and gave me notice that the city had not been entered by our troops and was at that time filled with Mussulmans who were not friendly to the English Government. He begged me not to venture across the river. I did not like this news but proceeded after my convoy.

5th. All appeared to be safe as a convoy accompanied only by a Commissariat *Chuprassee* had come up to me from Jaunpore and I relied on the knowledge the authorities there had of the state of the road.

6th. On the morning of the 1st instant I saw my convoy off and proceeded to follow it up at 10 A. M. As soon as I got on the road Soochut Tewarry, *Zemindar* of the village Cuchrava came cautiously up and informed me that there was danger ahead. On enquiring I learned from him that an organized attack was to be made on the carts at the next halting place or more probably the morning after when crossing the Kalloo Nuddee¹ I had ordered rather a longer march for this day than to the usual encamping plan in order to keep

¹ Apparently, *Kandoo Nadi* or *Kandoo Nala*.

my convoy away from the village, so that the *Mohra* who was in charge of the advance did not halt till he was at Moosafir Kanah. On receiving this information I despatched immediately 2 letters to General Frank's Column but they could not be sent beyond the *nullah* and came back to me that night.

7th. I resolved to go on and endeavour to secure the retreat, if possible of the Treasure, and as much of the convoy, as I could. If I had now fled to save my own life, every thing must have been lost as they had gone on far ahead.

8th. I learnt from the *Zemindar* that some of the enemy had been near me at my last camp but were now going on in my left to join the attacking party. This intelligence was shortly after confirmed by my seeing them in a body keeping parallel with and watching me, evidently to see if I had any suspicion of the intended attack. I took no notice of them, but proceeded leisurely with two *Chuprassees* till I came up about half past four P. M. At the halting place at Moosafir Kanah (Musafir Khana) here I found my letters were stopped. I offered any reward to be shown a road by which I might be able to get round them, through the Jungle to General Frank's Column. Here I heard that the enemy were in great force, that they had a line of pickets and sentries for several *koss* up and down the *nullah* and that it was not possible from the nature of the country to proceed even alone in that direction. I then organized a retreat and mounted five men who had *Tulwars* on the best baggage ponies I had, that they might accompany me as an advance guard. One by one they followed me, as I had started on foot. No suspicion was then raised in the minds of those watching our movements who, I believe seeing me seated on the plane where my tent had arrived, went off to the main body ahead of me; from what I heard they were then surrounding the convoy at such a distance that I might not take the alarm.

9th. I now gave orders that as I passed, every *Gharry*¹ should turn round and follow as fast as the bullocks would go but should the enemy appear, they were to get into the *Kats* or Jungles to drive off these bullocks and take off their wheels. The slaughter cattle I ordered to follow me as fast as they

¹ Apparently for Ghori (Mare).

could be driven. The treasure also accompanied me in front of the convoy. I kept with the leading cart and we thus got many miles on the road before the retreat became known to the enemy. As I found no force had been sent to our rear, we arrived at the last encamping ground without molestation. There the *Jemadar* told that he could get 10 armed men to accompany me. I therefore halted to get what carts could be brought up. I stayed here four hours to rest and feed the cattle and for the people with me to get food.

10th. At one A. M. on the morning of the 2nd instt. I again started but with no accession to our small force; the *Zemindar* alone returned with his *Tulwar*; he came on the leading *Gharry* (*Ghori*). I kept in advance with my five men expecting to find a party near Sultanpore to cut me off as I had heard that it was from thence the enemy had come who had accompanied me, on my left flank, in the last march; but we passed on with all speed and did not halt until we arrived at Lumood, a village belonging to Baboo Roostumshah where I hoped to get assistance or at least to find some one take an information of what had occurred. From this, I wrote to the Officer Commanding at Jaunpore and to C. Horne Esquire at Benares. It was here also I first heard of a force being near. After a halt of half an hour I started again to come to you but had to return, as my information was not to be relied upon, as to where the force was. I resolved to halt for two hours to enable me to learn what force was near me and where it was to be found. A sowar now came to my encampment and brought a letter from Mr. Forbes and as soon as possible after seeing to the escaped portion of my convoy, that had already arrived, I marched to the cantonments of Sultanpore where I met Roostumshah who informed me that 'I possessed all the information that I could give'. I therefore remained with him till the next morning when I had the honor of reporting myself to Colonel MacGregor. At present I am unable to give any idea of the extent of the loss sustained; I have reason to believe that very few of the slaughter cattle are missing, many *Gharries* (*Ghoris*) followed me into camp at Lomour, more near on the road and I expect much of the lost property that I cleared from the enemy at the *nullah* will be found in the villages. A large portion has been plundered by them during the retreat and much that had been thrown aside by the cartmen has been collected and saved by others.

The treasure-chest came on with me in advance and got safely into camp, after march and retreat of upwards of 50 miles. The *Zemindars* and people who were with me are in my camp and will afford all the information they can as to the circumstances connected with the retreat.

11th. I have been informed that the enemy had one or two guns and the strong body of sowars who searched the country for many miles to discover the treasure and myself.

12th. I am sorry to say there was some loss of life but I cannot yet learn to what extent. I only know of five men having been killed and one wounded. Baboo Roostumshah of Dera in the Fyzabad District has informed me that it must have been Ally Bux who made the attack; he was a convict in the Sultanpore Jail at the time of the Mutiny and has his fort on the banks of the *nullah* in the immediate vicinity of the spot where the convoy was attacked. He has between five hundred and six hundred men under his command inhabiting villages close to the *nullah* when I was attacked.

13th. I was informed that this force had been increased by the Raja Lall Madhow of Umetee¹ (Amethi) and Bukhtavur Khan of Uniah, near Budshapoor or Sultanpore cantonments; it was these men who kept near me in my last march. I trust the General will be satisfied that I did all that was in my power in such a trying and perilous situation. I could offer no resistance and had therefore to depend on my wit to extricate the convoy from the possession of the enemy into which it may be said to have already fallen.

14th. In conclusion I would beg permission to bring to the favorable notice of the General the pensioned *Subadar* and hope as a reward that his pension may be secured to him. Also the *Zemindar* Soochut Tewarry of Cuchnava² who afforded me information upon which I was enabled to form my plans

¹ *Amethi*, Pargana, Tahsil in *Sultanpur* District—This large and important Pargana occupies the south-western corner of the district, being bounded on the south by the district of Partabgarh, on the east by Asal and Miranpur, on the north by Musafirkhana and Gaura Jamun, and on the west by the Rai Bareilly district. (*District Gazetteers*, Sultanpur, p. 156).

² Apparently *Kachnaon* in Pargana *Jagdishpur* Tahsil *Musafirkhana* Distt. *Sultanpur*.

for the rescue of large portion of my convoy from the enemy's power.¹

Notification No. 349 by G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, dated Allahabad, the 20th March 1858. (With 6 Enclosures).

The Rt. Hon'ble the Governor Genl. has been pleased to direct that the following letter from Brigdr. Genl. G. H. MacGregor C. B. with its several inclosures, reporting an engagement on the 5th instant between the advanced Division of Maha Raja Jung Bahadoor's army under General Khurruk Bahadoor and the rebel *Nazim*, Mehndie Hosain, at the Kandoo Nuddee be published for general information.

His Lordship has pleasure in acknowledging the distinguished gallantry exhibited on this occasion by Genl. Khurruk Bahadoor and the native officers and men of the Nepalese force, and by Captain A. C. Plowden and the other British Officers attached there to, and in tendering his thanks to the various officers, both Nepalese and British noticed in the report of Brigadier-General MacGregor and also to the men composing the force for their valuable services.²

Letter No. 184 from Brigadier-General G. H. MacGregor, C. B., Military Commissioner, to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor General, Foreign Department, Allahabad, dated 12th March 1858. (1st Enclosure to the Ante).

5TH MARCH 1858

In forwarding for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General the report of Captain Plowden, the British Officer in Military Charge of the advanced division of Maharajah Jung Bahadoor's Army under General Kurruck Bahadoor³, of an action which took place on the 5th instant at the Kandoo Nuddee between the division and the rebel *Nazim*, Mendee Hossein, resulting in the capture of the enemy's only gun and the loss to him of nearly 600 killed with casualties to the extent only of 1 killed and 16 wounded on our part,

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, Supplement, 30th December 1859, Nos. 1388-89; National Archives, New Delhi.

² Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, No. 964; National Archives, New Delhi.

³ May be 'Kharak Bahadur'.

I have the honor to bring to the notice of His Lordship in Council the extreme gallantry and good conduct of the officers and men engaged.

2nd. I would particularly bring to (the) notice of His Lordship in Council the coolness and good management of Genl. Kurruck Bahadoor who in most difficult ground so admirably disposed his troops as to secure the splendid result above mentioned. To Brigadier Run Sing and Junga Doje¹ my best thanks are due and they will doubtless merit the approbation of Government.

3rd. Colonels Luchmun Goorung Teela, Bickrum Sing Tappah, Beemul Alic(?), Jusdeer Sing, Purtimoro Kover Ranajee, Srikrishn Sohoi² and Soorut (or Somrut) Tappah are favorably mentioned by Captain Plowden as well as Major Captus. Runoojul Sing Tappah, Soojun Sing and Meerwan Sing³ all of whom rendered active and excellent service.

4th. Captain Plowden also mentions the name of Lieutt. Aiteram Bishtah for his distinguished gallantry, he having cut down five of the enemy.

5th. My best thanks are due to Captain Plowden for the sound and judicious advice, which he gave regarding the disposition of the troops as well as to Captain Lane in Military Charge of Brigadier Junga Doje's Brigade, and to Lieutts. Francis, Gibb, Bogle, Sankey and Foote attached to the force as also to Lieutt. Owen, late 19 N. I., who volunteered his services.

6th. The Medical Officers namely Surgeons Mr. Clelland and Morton and Assistant Surgeons Playfair and Gee are favorably mentioned by Captain Plowden as well as Mr. Forbes, C. S., and Sergts. Hone and King of the Bengal Artillery.⁴

Letter from Lieutenant R. H. Sankey, Madras Engineers, on Special Duty to Captain MacAndrew, Military Secretary, dated Camp Sultanpur, 3rd March 1858. (2nd inclosure to the Ante dated 20th March).

GOMTI BRIDGED BY GORKHAS

In reporting for the information of the Brigr. General the completion of the bridge over the Goomtee yesterday

¹ May be Ganga Das.

² Sri Krishna Sahai.

³ May be Meharban Singh.

⁴ Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December, 1859, No. 962; National Archives, New Delhi.

evening I have much pleasure in ascribing the main portion of the design to H. H. the Maharajah Jung Bahadoor who from the outset took the most lively interest in the whole proceedings and the execution of the work, to the soldiers of the Goorkha Army whose cheerful bearing and ready adoption of the rough material at hand, was very remarkable.

2nd. The boats on the river had by some strange mistake been sent away previous to the arrival of the Force and all that I could count on for bridging a stream of some sixty yards, was one good sized boat, and two or three *dungies*, these latter of such dimension that even with good and careful workmanship none could be used singly as a pier.

3rd. Things were in this state when the Maharajah proposed (on the evening of the 1st instant) to unite his efforts to mine to secure the rapid crossing of the Force volunteering the aid of all the regiments.

4th. His suggestion was to erect with rough piles a series of piers at intervals across the shallow portion of the river (which occupied about 35 yards of the entire breadth) and to place what boats we could muster in the deep channel; there were to be thus eight piers on the left portion of the stream and one abutment on the right, the boats being arranged at intervals in the centre.

5th. In the actual execution of the work a slight deviation was made from this plan, first in regard to the piers whose individual distinctiveness was lost in the general piling of all the shallow part of the stream, and secondly, in the placing of three boats in the deep channel. Two new large ones having been secured in time to substitute for the *dungies*.

6th. I cannot hope, in the short description which I am compelled to give of this peculiar work, to convey a very accurate idea of the mode in which it was called so rapidly into existence, but I trust the small sketch attached to the report may serve to illustrate the matter.

7th. The several regiments detached for the work marched down about 7 o' clock in the morning and being told off to their respective task it was not long before a very perceptible commencement was made; the branches of all trees in the neighbourhood commenced falling under the *Kookery* (*Khukri*); piles with forked heads were rapidly prepared by the same ready implements, and the several heads of the piers began at once. Bricks were brought down for stuffing the hollow

piers, grass and *ruhur* for laying on the roadway, bamboos cut and trimmed and grass ropes manufactured. The approaches on both sides of the bridge were moreover set to work upon without delay.

8th. At first as mentioned, forked piles were sunk all round the positions indicated for the piers, but as each rough beam was added to the structure, its ends were supported by new piles, till a dense mass of longitudinal timbers (ranging to somewhat above five feet over the surface of the stream) having been placed prior to the formation of the actual roadway, the whole shallow portion of the stream was studded with perpendicular supports.

9th. The massiveness of this part of the structure can hardly be made appreciable by figures but when I state the flooring or rather substratum of the roadway consisted of a dense net work of large boughs (laid longitudinally) some hundred feet in length, fifteen to twenty feet broad, and five to six deep all supported on roughly extemporized piles, an idea may be formed of the labour devoted to the work.

10th. The abutment on the right bank presented difficulties from the bottom being hard *kimkur* rock, yet by employing some large *saul* timbers secured by piles in front, and by assiduous labor the connection with the first boat was successfully established.

11th. Bamboos, and over them grass or bundles of *ruhur* were spread transversely on the boughs to some considerable depth and over all earth; a railing was also added for security and the work was finished by 8 o'clock in the evening.

12th. It will be thus seen that in consequence of the arrangements made by the Maharajah and his frequent presence on the spot encouraging the soldiers, a stream of some sixty yards in breadth was successfully spanned, in thirteen hours.

13th. Brigadier Run Sing and Jode Adicaree (Jodh Adhikari) were throughout the greater portion of the time present and actively engaged in giving instruction, and Colonel Lall Sing (Lal Singh) as usual indefatigable in making himself useful when required.¹

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, No. 966; National Archives, New Delhi.

Letter from Captain A. C. Plowden, in Military Charge of 2nd Division Gorkha Force, to Captain MacAndrew, Secretary to Military Commissioner, dated camp before Lucknow, 11th March 1858 (3rd Enclosure to the Ante dated 20th March, Notification)

I have the honor to report for the information of Brigadier General MacGregor, C. B., particulars of an action, in which the advanced Division of the Goorkha Force under my Military Charge was engaged on the 5th instant against a Force of the enemy amounting to 4,000 men under the command of *Nazim Mendhee Hossein* which resulted in a loss to the Rebels of nearly 600 killed and the capture of one gun, whilst the casualties on our side were one killed and 16 wounded, two of the latter having since died.

2nd. Having received information that the rebels had taken up a strong position on the Kandoo Nuddce and had erected a Battery by the side of the bridge on the Lucknow road for the purpose of disputing our passage, and moreover that they had advanced across the bridge, I proposed a plan of attack which was approved of by General Kurruck Bahadur and successfully carried out.

3rd. The Division consisting of the strength as per margin (below) advanced in quarter distance columns at deploying distances, five Regts. forming the first line and two on either flanks as a reserve.

13 Guns
7 Regts. of Infantry
Aggregate Force 3800

4th. On viewing the enemy who was posted in detached parties extending from our left to right front I halted the columns and deployed into line. I was much deceived as to the nature of the ground between us and the enemy. What at first appeared to be level with a few fields of cultivation in front of the right Brigade afterwards proved to be deep ravines with bush jungle though the ground, in front of the left Brigade, was a plain facing the enemy battery. At this point our guns opened after a few rounds from the right, or Brigadier Run Sing Bahadur's Brigade, which caused the enemy in front to retire into the ravines; the advance was sounded. The right Brigade had scarcely advanced fifty yards when the enemy opened a sharp fire of

Musketry from a jungle on our right front. Presuming he was in greatest force in that direction, I requested Brigadier Run Sing Bahadoor to make an oblique movement in that direction which at once brought him in contact with the Rebels. The Brigade rushed gallantly into the Jungle with a loud cheer, formed a line of skirmishers and forced the Rebels to make a rapid retreat. The Goorkhas were quite at home in this mode of Warfare; their pursuit was so rapid through the ravines that numbers of the Rebels were very soon overtaken, shot and cut down. Many instances of individual bravery on the part of the Goorkhas were brought to my notice. There were several who each cut down three, and four of the enemy. The pursuit was followed up for two miles, when, the enemy having disappeared through a thick jungle, the "Assembly" was sounded and we formed our Camp on the Nuddee.

5th. The part taken in the engagement by the left, or Brigadier Junga Doje's Brigade, under the Military Charge of Captain Lane is described by that officer in a letter to my address, which together with one from Lieutt. Gibb, incharge of the batteries of the Division, are herewith annexed.

6th. I have now the pleasure to record the meritorious services of the Nepalese Officers. General Kurruck Bahadoor displayed great coolness and a generous confidence in my advice. Brigadier Run Sing Bahadoor, a smart and intelligent officer led his Brigade with great coolness and spirit assisted by the following Colonels of Regiments : Luchmun Goorung Teela, "Kallee Bahadoor Regt.", Bickrum Sing Tappah "Roodroo Doje Regiment"; Beemul Alee, "Nia Gooruck Regiment"; and Captain Major Runojal Sing Tappah, Commg. (Commanding) "Nursing Dull Regt"; also Colonel Jusdeer Sing and Major Soojun Sing, Commg. Batteries. Captain Lane brings to my notice the services of Brigadier Junga Doje and the following Colonels, Commg. Regiments in his Brigade, viz. : Colonels Purtimur Koer Ranajee, "Srinath Regiment"; Sri Krishn Sohay, "Junganath Regiment" and Somrat Tappah; "Shumshere Dull Regiment", and Captain Meerwan Sing, "Junganath Regiment", who together with the new commissioned officers and men of the Division merit the approbation of His Highness the Maharajah.

7th. My best thanks are due to the British Officers attached to the Division for the ready assistance I received from all in the field and have great pleasure in submitting their names

for favorable notice, viz.: Captain Lane in charge of Brigadier Junga Doje's Brigade; Lieutt. Francis Gibb, in-charge of the Batteries of the Division; Robertson Bogle who though attached to the rear Division joined Lieutt. Gibb's Batteries; Lieutt. Owen, late 19th Regiment N. I., and Sankey, Madras Engineers and Lieutt. Foote attached to the advanced Regiments of the right Brigade. Surgeons McClelland, Morton and Assistant Surgeons Playfair and Gee were unremitting in their attention to the wounded both in the field and subsequently.

8th. I cannot conclude without offering my best thanks to Mr. Forbes of the Civil Service. He was well to the front with a small party of sowars; his intimate knowledge of the country we have passed through and accurate information, he gathered, has been of great service.

9th. Brigadier Run Sing Bahadoor has brought to my notice the gallant conduct of Lieutt. Aiteram,¹ Bishtah of the "Roodroo Doje Regiment"², who cut down 5 of the enemy.

10th. Lieutt. Gibb mentions for favorable notice the names of Sergts. Hone and King of the Bengal Artillery.²

GORKHAS ADVANCE ON LUCKNOW

Letter from C. Powlett, then in Military Charge of 2nd Brigade, 2nd Division Gorkha Force, to Captain Plowden, in Military Charge, 2nd Division, Gorkha Force, dated Camp Hyderghur³ (Haidargarh) March 8, 1858 (4th Enclosure to the Ante dated 20th March).

I have the honor to furnish the following report of the part taken by the Brigade under the Command of Brigadier Gunga Doje to which I am attached in the Military Charge, during the action with the enemy in the morning of the 5th instant.

After passing Mussafir Khana⁴ about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, on emerging from some mango groves, upon an open plain, we perceived the enemy in our front occupying the banks of the Kandoo Nullah. The Brigade was formed into line, and the guns advancing opened fire on the enemy, which was replied

¹ Probably 'Het Ram' and 'Rudr Das Regiment', respectively.

² Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, No. 963; National Archives, New Delhi.

³ Tahsil *Haidargarh* in the present *Barabanki* District.

⁴ In *Sultanpur* District.

Colonel Jusdeer (? Jusdheer) Sing moved off to the right flank; owing to a deep dry *Nullah*, a little in front of the centre guns, they could not be advanced further.

I hope you will bring to the notice of the Brigr. General the efficient services of Colonel Jusdeer Sing and Major Sorjun Sing, Commanding Batteries and of all the officers and men under their respective commands; also the ready assistance given to the Nepalese Artillery by Lt. A. Bogle, Bengal Artillery and by Sergeants Hone & King of the Bengal Artillery, who had fired their guns very effectively, the former in particular, who in two shots silenced the enemy's gun. A return of ordnance captured accompanies.¹

Letter No. 185 from Brigadier-General G. H. MacGregor, C. B., Military Commissioner, to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor General, Foreign Department, Allahabad, dated Camp before Lucknow, 13th March 1858 (6th Enclosure to the Ante dated 20th March).

I have the honor to report for the information of the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council that the army under Maharajah Jung Bahadoor arrived at Lucknow in due course on the morning of the 11th instant.

2nd. From the time when we left the Gorruckpoor district up to the period of our arrival at Lucknow, the *Daks* have been at first irregular and latterly entirely stopped; so I am induced to send a short recapitulation of our progress.

3rd. On the 26th, we marched to Akberpoor and that day captured the very strong little fort of Berozepoor² of which operation I had the honor to forward the details with my letter No. 181 of the 4th instt. On the 27th we marched to Heree Simree burning by the way the strong Fort of Puntypoor, the place of the Rebel Bakur (Baqaar) which had been abandoned on the news of our capture of the other. A small gun was found here and a very large one at Akberpoor which burst. On the 28th we marched a very long march over a very bad road to Jey Singpoor where our commissariat carts did not get up and the men got no food till morning. In consequence we could not march the following day till near

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, 30th December 1859, No. 963; National Archives, New Delhi.

² *Bihrozpur*, near *Akbarpur*, Dist. *Faizabad*.

noon. We pushed on however to Sultanpooor on the 1st. Here so many of our carts were behind that, even if we had not had to bridge the Goomtee we would have had to have halted on account of the carts. On the 2nd the bridge was prepared as described in my letter No. 83 of the 4th instant and on the 3rd the army crossed.

4th. On the 4th we commenced our march to Lucknow and made the regular marches without once halting though we had very great difficulty in getting our carts along as the wretched bullocks were completely done up and the carts daily breaking down. We were obliged to abandon some for this latter cause having no spare ones nor any means of taking on the loads.

5th. Our leading division had to attack and defeat Mendee Hussein at the Kandoo Nuddee as described in my letter No. 184 of the 12th instant and we have come along steadily, notwithstanding our baggage being harassed by the enemy all the way.

6th. Mendee Hossein attacked and plundered a convoy or General Franks, under charge of Lt. Owen, late 19th N. I., whose report I enclose in original. I must express my surprise that so valuable a convoy should have been despatched by the Supdt. of supplies, Central Provinces, into the most disaffected part of Oude without any escort. I am happy however to say that a considerable portion was recovered and brought in by our Force.

7th. On the 10th, Rajah Man Sing suddenly made his appearance in Camp and tendered his submission. I allowed him to return home as he was unprepared to march, on his agreeing to come to the British Camp at Lucknow within ten days.

8th. On the 11th we arrived here and the same afternoon His Excellency the Comd. (Commander)-in-Chief received the Maharajah with due honor, greatly to his satisfaction. The visit is to be returned by His Excellency this afternoon. Our ground is to the left of His Excellency's position towards the Char Bagh; Yesterday we made a reconnaissance in force to our front and to-day we are engaged in driving the rebels from some gardens and enclosures there into the city.¹

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings Supplement, 30th December 1859, Nos. 1388-89; National Archives, New Delhi.

LUCKNOW IMAMBARA STORMED

Telegraphic Message from the Commander-in-Chief to the Governor General of India, dated Camp Qaisarbagh, March 14, 1858 (3 p. m.).

A breach having been effected with much difficulty in the *Imambara*, that building was stormed at 9 A. M. this morning. The troops following close on the retreating enemy, entered the *Kaiserbagh* with him; they were quickly supported, and we are now in solid occupation of it. Sir J. Outram has been ordered to cross the Iron Bridge, and to press the enemy from the opposite side of the river.....¹

FALL OF LUCKNOW

From Colin Campbell, General, Commander-in-Chief in India, to Viscount Canning, Governor General of India, Camp La Martiniere, dated Lucknow, March 22.

“My Lord,—I have the honour to announce to Your Lordship, that I transferred my head-quarters to the camp of Brigadier-General Sir Edward Lugard, K. C. B., at Bunnhura, on the 28th ultimo, the division which had been detached under Brigadier-General Sir J. Hope Grant, K. C. B., and that under Brigadier-General Walpole joining the next day.

“Having received tolerably correct information with respect to the lines of works which have been constructed by the enemy for the defence of Lucknow, it appeared evident to me that the necessity would arise for operating from both sides of the *Goomtee* when the capture of the city should be seriously entertained. Two very important reasons conduced to show the expediency of such a course, the one being that it would become possible to enfilade many of the enemy's new works; the other, that great avenues of supply would be closed against the town, although I could not hope to invest a city having a circumference of twenty miles. My first preparations, therefore, were made for the purpose of crossing the river. Bridges of casks had been previously constructed, and were ready in the Engineer's park.

“On the 2nd of March, I advanced on *Dilkosha* with the following troops :—Head-quarters of the division of arti-

¹ Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in The East Indies*, Inclosure 30 in No. 9, p. 123.

llery, and of the field artillery brigade, under Major-General Sir A. Wilson, K. C. B., and Colonel D. Wood, C. B., Royal horse artillery; Lieutenant-Colonel D. Aguilar's troops, Royal horse artillery; Lieutenant-Colonel Tombs, C. B., and Lieutenant Bishop's troops, Bengal horse artillery, under Lieutenant-Colonel Turner; two 24-pounders, and two 8-inch howitzers of the Shannon's naval brigade; two companies Punjab sappers and miners; the headquarters of the cavalry division, and the 1st cavalry brigade, under Brigadier-General Sir J. H. Grant, K. C. B., and Brigadier Little; Her Majesty's 9th Lancers; 2nd Punjab irregular cavalry; 1st Sikh irregular cavalry; the second division infantry, under Brigadier-General Sir E. Lugard, K. C. B.; consisting of 3rd brigade, Brigadier P. M. M. Guy, composed of Her Majesty's 34th, 38th, and 53rd regiments; 4th brigade, Brigadier H. A. Hope, composed of the 42nd and 93rd highlanders, with 4th Punjab rifles; and seized that position after a skirmish, in which a gun was taken from the enemy.

"When the brigades of infantry began to close on the advance guard the enemy opened several guns, which were in position in strong bastions along the line of the canal. This fire was heavy and well sustained. These guns commanded the plateau, and compelled me to retire the camp as far back as it was possible; but not so far as I could have wished, owing to ravines in rear. The palace of Dilkoosha was occupied as an advance picket on the right, and the Mahomedbagh on the left—heavy guns being placed in battery at both points, to keep down the hostile fire. During the whole of the 2nd, until these arrangements could be completed, the troops were much annoyed by the enemy's guns. After that day, until an advance took place, although the shot ranged up to, and sometimes into the camp, but slight loss ensued from this cause.

"On the 3rd and 4th, the remainder of the siege train, together with Brigadier-General Walpole's division, closed up on the Dilkoosha position—the right of our line resting on Bibiapore and the Goomtee, the left being towards the Alumbagh. There was an interval of about two miles between our left and Jellalabad, the right of the Alumbagh position. This interval was occupied by a regiment of irregular horse (Hodson's). Brigadier Campbell, with a strong brigade of cavalry and horse artillery, secured the extreme left, and

swept the country towards the north-west. Three infantry regiments were withdrawn from the Alumbagh, and joined the head-quarters' camp.

"On the 5th, General Franks, of the fourth division of infantry, came into direct communication with me. This officer had marched right across the kingdom of Oude, having signally defeated many bodies of insurgents, and kept his time with punctuality according to the orders given to him, with which Your Lordship is already acquainted. On the same day, the Goomtee was bridged near Bibiapore. While the bridge was being formed, the enemy showed on the left bank, causing the necessity of a disposition of troops and heavy guns. He did not, however, make a real attack. These guns were very useful in another respect; as their practice on the Martiniere silenced much fire which would otherwise have annoyed the pickets. They were accordingly kept on the same ground for some days, till the advance of the troops rendered them unnecessary.

"On the 6th, Sir James Outram, G.C.B., who had been withdrawn from the Alumbagh, crossed to the left bank of the Goomtee, with troops as below*; the fourth division, under Brigadier-General Franks, C.B., taking the place vacated by Brigadier-General Walpole in the line.

"The plan of attack, which had been conceived, was now developed, and Sir James Outram was directed to push his advance up the left bank of the Goomtee, while the troops in the position of Dilkoosha remained at rest till it should have become apparent that the first line of the enemy's works, or the rampart running along the canal, and abutting on the Goomtee, had been turned.

"The works may be briefly described as follows :—The

* "Force sent across the Goomtee under Sir J. Outram :—Lieutenant-Colonel D. Aguilar's troops, royal horse artillery; Major Remington's and Captain Mckinnon's troops, royal artillery, under Lieutenant-Colonel F. Turner; Captain Gibbon's and Middleton's light-field batteries, royal artillery, and head-quarters' field artillery brigade; H. M.'s 2nd head-quarters' field artillery brigade; H. M.'s 2nd dragoon guards (bays); H. M.'s 9th lancers; 2nd Punjab cavalry; detachments 1st and 5th Punjab cavalry, under Captains Watson and Sanford; 3rd infantry division, under Brigadier-General R. Walpole; 5th brigade, Brigadier Douglas, C.B., H. M.'s 23rd fusiliers; H. M.'s 79th highlanders; 1st Bengal fusiliers; 6th brigade, Brigadier Horsford, C. C. ; 2nd battalion rifles; 3rd brigade; battalion ditto, 2nd Punjab infantry".—Footnote in Ball's Book.

series of courts and buildings called the Kaiserbagh, considered as a citadel by the rebels, was shut in by three lines of defence towards the Goomtee, of which the line of the canal was the outer one. The second line circled round the large building called the Mess-house and the Motee Mahal; and the first or interior one was the principal rampart of the Kaiserbagh, the rear of the enclosures of the latter being closed in by the city, through which approach would have been dangerous to an assailant. These lines were flanked by numerous bastions, and rested at one end on the Goomtee, and the other on the great buildings of the street called the Huzrutgunge, all of which were strongly fortified, and flanked the street in every direction. Extraordinary care had been expended on the defences of the houses and bastions, to enfilade the streets. This duty was ably performed by Sir J. Outram, who pitched his camp on the 6th instant, after a skirmish of his advanced guard in front of the Chukkur Walla Kotee, or 'Yellow-house'. On the 7th, he was attacked by the enemy, who was speedily driven back.

"Having reconnoitred the ground on the 8th instant, I directed Sir James Outram to arrange his batteries during the succeeding night, and to attack the enemy's position—the key of which was the Chukkur Walla Kotee—the next day or the 9th. This was done in very good style by the troops under his command, the enemy being driven at all points, the Yellow-house being seized, and the whole force advanced for some distance through ground affording excellent cover for the enemy. He was then able to bring his right shoulders forward, occupying the Fyzabad-road, and to plant his batteries for the purpose of enfilading the works on the canal before alluded to. He lost no time in doing this, other batteries of heavy guns and howitzers being the following night to play on the works and the Kaiserbagh.

"While this attack was being made by Sir James Outram along the left bank of the Goomtee, on the 9th instant, a very heavy fire was kept up on the Martiniere, both from mortars and heavy guns placed in position, during the previous night on the Dilkoosha plateau. At 2 P. M. the 42nd highlanders, the 53rd, and 90th regiments, stormed the Martiniere, under the direction of Brigadier-General Sir Edward Lugard, K. C. B., and Brigadier the Hon. Adrian Hope. It was quickly seen that the enfilading fire on the line of the canal from the opposite

side of the river had produced the expected result. The 4th Punjab infantry, supported by the 42nd highlanders, climbed up the intrenchment abutting on the Goomtee, and proceeded to sweep down the whole line of the works, till they got to the neighbourhood of Banks' House, when it became necessary to close operations for the night. Major Wylde, 4th Punjab rifles, distinguished himself very much on this occasion. The line of works was strongly occupied by the troops, which had first entered and, by the 53rd regiment.

"On the 10th instant, Sir James Outram was engaged in strengthening his position; Sir James Hope Grant, K. C. B., being employed in patrolling towards the cantonment with the cavalry placed under Sir James Outram's orders—a system of extensive patrolling or reconnaissance having been established by my order, in that direction, from the time that the first position had been taken up across the Goomtee. At sunrise on the same day, a disposition of troops and heavy guns was made by Sir Edward Lugard for the attack on Banks' House, which was carried at noon, and secured as a strong military post.

"The second part of the plan of attack against the Kaiserbagh now came into operation viz., to use the great blocks of houses and palaces extending from Banks' House to the Kaiserbagh, as our approach, instead of sapping up towards the front of the second line of works. By these means, I was enabled to turn towards our own left, at the same time that they were enfiladed on the right by Sir James Outram's advance. The latter had already received orders to plant his guns with a view to raking the enemy's position; to annoy the Kaiserbagh with a vertical and direct fire; also to attack the suburbs in the vicinity of the iron and stone bridges shortly after daybreak, and to commence the iron bridge from the left bank. All this was carried out by Sir James Outram with the most marked success. The enemy, however, still held pertinaciously to his own end of the iron bridge on the right bank, and there was heavy cannonading from both sides till the bridge was afterwards taken in reverse. Sir Edward Lugard's attack on the 11th was pressed forward in like manner.

"The operation had now become one of engineering character, and the most earnest endeavours were made to save the infantry from being hazarded before due preparation had been made. The chief engineer (Brigadier Napier)

placed the batteries with a view to breaching and shelling a large block of the palaces called the Begum Kotec. The latter were stormed with great gallantry by the 93rd highlanders, supported by the 4th Punjab rifles and 1,000 Ghoorkas, led by Brigadier the Hon. Adrian Hope, under the direction of Brigadier-General Sir Edward Lugard, at 4 P. M. The troops secured the whole block of buildings, and inflicted a very heavy loss on the enemy, the attack having been one of very desperate character.

"This was the sternest struggle which occurred during the siege. From thenceforward, the chief engineer pushed his approach, with the greatest judgment, through the enclosures, by the aid of the sappers and of heavy guns, the troops immediately occupying the ground as he advanced, and the mortars being moved from one place to another, as the ground was won on which they could be placed. The buildings to the right, and the Secunderbagh, were taken in the early morning of the same day without opposition.

"During the night of the 12th, Sir James Outram was reinforced with a number of heavy guns and mortars, and directed to increase his fire on the Kaiserbagh; while, at the same time, mortars placed in position at the Begum's house never ceased to play on the *Imaumbarra*, the next large place, it was necessary to storm between the Begum Kotec and the Kaiserbagh. On Brigadier-General Franks, C. B. who had relieved Sir Edward Lugard, and the second division, with the fourth division, on the 12th. instant, devolved the duty of attacking the *Imaumbarra*. A column of attack was formed for that purpose by Brigadier D. Russell on the morning of the 14th.

"In the meantime, the Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, with a force of about 9,000 men and twenty-four field guns, drawn by men, had arrived, and taken his position in our line on the 12th. instant and moved close to the canal on the 13th. At my request, His Highness was begged by Brigadier General MacGregor, C. B., the special commissioner attached to him, to pass the canal and attack the suburbs in his front, and considerably to the left of the Banks' house. To this, His Highness acceded with much willingness; and his force was most advantageously employed in thus covering my left for several days, during which, from the nature of our operations, I was obliged to mass all the available strength of

the British force towards the right, in the joint attack carried along both banks of the Goomtee. The *Imaumbarra* was carried early on the 14th; and the Sikhs of the Ferozepore Regiment, under Major Brasyer, pressing forward in pursuit, entered the Kaiserbagh—the third line of the defences having been turned without a single gun being fired from them. Supports were quickly thrown in, and all the well-known ground of the former defence and attack, the Mess-house, the Tara Kotee, Motee Mahul, and the Chuttur Manzil, were rapidly occupied by the troops, while the engineers devoted their attention to securing the position towards the south and west. The day was one of continued exertion; and every one felt that, although much remained to be done before the final expulsion of the rebels, the most difficult part of the undertaking had been overcome.

“This is not the place for description of the various buildings successively sapped into or stormed; suffice it to say, that they formed a range of massive palaces and walled courts of vast extent, equalled, perhaps, but certainly not surpassed, in any capital in Europe. Every outlet had been covered by a work, and on every side were prepared barricades and loopholed parapets. The extraordinary industry evinced by the enemy in this respect has been really unexampled. Hence the absolute necessity for holding the troops in hand, till, at each successive move forward, the engineers reported to me that all which could be effected by artillery and the sappers had been done, before the assault.

“The 15th instant was employed in securing what had been taken, removing powder, destroying mines, and fixing mortars for the further bombardment of the position still held by the enemy on the line of our advance up the Goomtee, and in the heart of the city. Brigadier-General Sir J. Hope Grant, K. C. B., was sent out with cavalry on one side, towards Seetapore, to intercept fugitives, while another Brigadier marched with like orders in the direction of Sundecla, on a similar duty. They returned on the 17th to their former positions.

“On the 16th instant, Sir James Outram, with the 5th brigade, under Brigadier Douglas, supported by two other regiments (Her Majesty’s 20th and the regiment of Ferozepore), having crossed over the Goomtee by a bridge of casks, opposite the Secunderbagh, advanced, according to order through

the Chuttur Manzil, to take the Residency. During the first movements of this operation, a movement of the enemy in retreat across the stone bridge, became apparent. Sir James was ordered to press forward; and he was able, almost without opposition, not only to take the iron bridge in reverse, which was my principal object, but also to advance far more than a mile, and occupy the Muchee Bowun and Great *Imaumba*. In short, the city was ours. Brigadier-General Walpole's pickets, on the left bank, were attacked by the retreating enemy, who was, as usual, heavily repulsed.

"On the 19th a combined movement was organised. Sir James Outram moved forward directly on the Moosabagh -- the last position of the enemy on the line of the Goomtee. Sir J. Hope Grant cannonaded the latter from the left bank, while Brigadier Campbell, moving right round the western side from the Alumbagh, prevented retreat in that direction. The rout was now complete; and great loss was inflicted on the enemy by all these columns.

"On the 16th for the last time, the enemy had shown in some strength before the Alumbagh, which that day was held by only two of our regiments. Jung Bahadoor was requested to move to his left up the canal, and take the position in reverse from which our position at the Alumbagh had been so long annoyed. This was executed very well by His Highness, and he seized the positions, one after another, with little loss to himself. The guns of the enemy, which the latter did not stop to take away, fell into his hands.

"On the 21st Sir Edward Lugard was directed to attack a stronghold held by the Moulvie in the heart of the city. This he occupied after a sharp contest, and it now became possible to invite the return of the inhabitants, and to rescue the city from the horrors of this prolonged contest. Brigadier Campbell, with his cavalry, attacked the enemy when retreating from the city, in consequence of Sir Edward Lugard's advance, inflicting heavy loss, and pursued him for six miles.

"I beg to inclose Sir James Outram's own account of his operations, which were removed from my immediate superintendence till he recrossed the Goomtee, prior to the attack of the 16th. It was a matter of real gratification to me to be able to intrust the trans-Goomtee operation to this very distinguished officer; and after that had been conducted to my perfect satisfaction, to bring him forward again to put the

finishing stroke on the enemy while the extended position in the town was, of necessity, held by the troops, who had won it. My thanks are eminently due to him, and I trust he will receive them as heartily as they are offered.

"I have now the pleasing task of communicating to Your Lordship the name of an officer to whom, not only as commanding general, but to whom, in truth, the service at large is under great obligation – Major-General Mausfield, the chief of the staff, whose labour has been unceasing, whose abilities are of the highest order, and have been of the greatest use to me during the campaign. It is impossible for me to praise this officer too highly, or to recommend him sufficiently to the protection of Your Lordship and of the government".¹

AHMAD ULLAH SHAH'S STUBBORN RESISTANCE

With unaccountable pertinacity the Moulvie continued to stay in the city after the enemy had been driven from every position but the sacred Temple of Huzrut Abbas. He had the character of being brave, and his present attitude was one of defiance. Sir Edward Lugard advanced against him in the morning, and was so unfortunate in his arrangements, that the whole column was drawn into a long narrow street, and bore onward without knowing whither they went. Major F. Middleton and myself, assisted by four Seikhs, endeavoured to discover the cause of a commotion on our left flank, and suddenly came on the enemy in a large square, apparently preparing for retreat. We killed some, and Middleton was on the point of being shot by a sepoy whom he mistook for one of our Seikhs, when I undeceived him, and the mutineer fell dead by a bullet from his revolver. Before intelligence from us could reach Sir Edward some of the troops in the street were mowed down by grape from a couple of guns at point-blank range, and the pressure backwards almost amounted to a panic. The column paused, and fired at men behind walls, who threw down bricks from the roofs of the houses. The noise and confusion was very great. A few of the houses were forced by the Seikhs and Highlanders, and from one of them I discovered a passage from the street into the Temple. Middleton, always thirsting

¹ Charles Ball : "*The History of the Indian Mutiny*" Vol. II, Pp. 271-73.

for honour and glory, was again in front, and assisted by a Highland pioneer, we broke through two doors, and were beating at a third, when we heard sword cuts and the screams of women within the Temple. The thought occurred to us that the wretches were murdering their women. The blows at the strong door increased in force, the screams touching the heart of the generous Highlander; and, when it yielded to the hatchet, six of the 93rd, Middleton, and myself, pushed through the opening. The defenders who had not gone off with the Moulvie were shot, sabred, or bayoneted, and we found on the floor the warm but lifeless body of Shurf-ood-dowlah, the Prime Minister of the rebel government. He was suspected of corresponding with the English, and, refusing to buy his safety, was barbarously murdered by order of the Moulvie as he quitted the Temple; and it was this bloody deed that provoked the screams of the women.

This was the last fight for the city, and, by desire of Sir James Outram, I resumed my civil duties, to check plunder and other excesses, and to encourage the return of the citizens to their forsaken homes.¹

SACK OF LUCKNOW

.....What a scene of destruction meets the eye as we enter the great hall. It is no exaggeration to say the marble pavement is covered two or three inches deep with fragments of broken mirrors and of the chandeliers which once hung from the ceiling; and the men are busy smashing still. This mischief is rude, senseless, and brutal, but no one cares to stop it. I think of Kertch and sigh and pass on.

We are on the flat roof of the *Imambarra* mosque, and a few remote pandies amuse themselves by potting at us, but they are in too great a state of fear to make good practice. Below us, Sikhs and Highlanders are winding in front of the various doors and windows of the buildings around the court, like the denizens of an ant-hill, or, with jubilant shouts, dragging out some miserable pandy from his hiding-place.

There is not a space of four yards square which does not bear the mark of heavy shell blows and dint of iron. The

¹ T. H. Kavanagh : "*How I won the Victoria Cross*" (London 1860), Pp. 154-156.

courts are full of the wreck of the *Imambarra*, mixed with fragments of sepoy's clothing, accoutrements, horns filled with powder, firelocks, matchlocks, shields, and *tulwars*. Beyond us are the many tinted domes and cupola-spires, and the multiple-shaped roofs of the Kaiserbagh itself, from which there is still spattering fire of musketry. From the other side of the Goomtee beyond it, puff after puff of white smoke, and the heavy boom of the guns, show that Outram is still pounding away at the enemy, between the Kaiserbagh and the Iron Bridge. We are but a few minutes in the *Imambarra*, and then passing through a very lofty, and indeed magnificent gateway, from the principal court, we find ourselves actually in the Huzrutgunj. It is blocked up with troops, part of the 90th, some of the 20th and 97th, the 38th, are all there, and the 42nd are behind them, coming up in clouds of dust. I saw General Mansfield, and ran across the street to him. "Is it true we have the Kaiserbagh"? "Well, Colonel Harness and Napier have sent word that we have turned the inner line of defences. We are in the Kaiserbagh, but whilst this work (alluding to the firing) is going on, we can scarcely be said to have it".¹

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That we had got so far as the spot where I stood without very great loss was wonderful. All the casemates of the *Imambarra*, every parapeted house-top on the way to it, every portico, every colonnade in the courts, was blocked up with brick work, pierced in every direction for musketry. And now we were out in the street; we saw what murderous work it would have been to have forced a passage through what was in fact nothing less than a double line of crenellated parapets and walls, inaccessible to scaling ladders, swept by grape and case from the defences at right angles to the line of the street, and raked by the fire of projecting palaces and gables which would cross their musketry with that from the walls, the whole line of the advance being dominated by lofty mosques, *minars*, the flat-roofed houses of the street, and such citadels as the *Imambarra* itself would be when the gates were closed, and the Mess-house and the coachmen's houses. Such was the Huzrutgunj.¹

¹ W. H. Russell: "My Indian Mutiny Diary" edited by Michael Adwardes (London 1957), Pp. 97-99.

DESERTED APPEARANCE OF ROYAL COURTS

It was one of the strangest and most distressing sights that could be seen; but it was also most exciting. Discipline may hold soldiers together till the fight is won; but it assuredly does not exist for a moment after an assault has been delivered, or a storm has taken place. Imagine courts as large as the Temple Gardens, surrounded with ranges of palaces, or at least of buildings well stuccoed and gilded, with fresco-paintings here and there on the blind-windows, and with green jalousies and Venetian blinds closing the apertures which pierce the walls in double rows. In the body of the court are statues, lines of lamp-posts, fountains, orange-groves, aqueducts, and kiosks with burnished domes of metal. Through all these hither and thither, with loud cries, dart European and native soldiery, firing at the windows, from which come now and then dropping shots or hisses a musket ball. At every door there is an eager crowd, smashing the panels with the stocks of their firelocks, or breaking the fastenings by discharges of their weapons. The buildings which surround the courts are irregular in form, for here and there the lines of the quadrangle are broken by columned fronts and lofty porticos before the mansions of the ministry, or of the great officers of the royal household, which are resplendent with richly-gilt roofs and domes. Here and there the invaders have forced their way into the long corridors, and you hear the musketry rattling inside; the crash of glass, the shouts and yells of the combatants, and little jets of smoke curl out of the closed lattices. Lying amid the orange-groves are dead and dying sepoy; and the white statues are reddened with blood. Leaning against a smiling Venus is a British soldier shot through the neck, gasping, and at every gasp bleeding to death. Here and there officers are running to and fro after their men, persuading or threatening in vain. From the broken portals issue soldiers laden with loot or plunder: *shawls*, rich tapestry, gold and silver brocade, caskets of jewels, arms, splendid dresses. The men are wild with fury and lust of gold—literally drunk with plunder. Some come out with China vases or mirrors, dash them to pieces on the ground, and return to seek more valuable booty. Others are busy gouging out the precious stones from the stems of pipes, from saddle clothes, or the hilts of swords, or butts of pistols and fire-arms. Some swathe their bodies in stuffs crusted with precious metals

and gems; others carry off useless lumber, brass pots, pictures, or vases of jade and China.

Court after court the scene is still the same. These courts open one to the other by lofty gateway ornamented with the double fish of the royal family of Oude, or by arched passages, in which lie the dead scpoys, their clothes smouldering on their flesh.¹

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, dated Allahabad, 15th March, 9/50 p.m. Monday, to E. A. Reade, Agra.

By the Govr. Genl's. orders the following telegram just recd. from the C. in C. Hd. Quarters dated La Martiniere fifteenth March is forwarded for information: "It was reported in the afternoon of yesterday after the fall of the Kaisarbagh that the enemy were streaming out of the city in vast numbers in the direction of Sundeela. Up to the present moment there are still rebels in the city but I have no reliable information. Brigdr. Campbell who was well placed on the left of the Alam-bagh position started in pursuit at two A. M. this morning with a very strong Brigade of Cavalry and two troops of Horse Artillery. Brigdr. Genl. Sir Hope Grant advanced towards Sectapore this day with the view of intercepting fugitives who may be turned off by Brigdr. Campbell's movement. He has with him one thousand Sappers and two troops of Horse Artillery. He will be followed tomorrow by an Infantry Brigade and heavy Artillery. He is directed to halt at Sectapore for instructions. This is the direct road to Rohilcund. H. M.'s 75th Regt. a very weak corps has been ordered to leave Cawnpore tomorrow en route for Meerut.²

Telegraphic Message from Commissioner, Delhi, dated 16th March 1858, to the Editor of the Newspapers, Agra.

The following is from Lucknow: We have got possession of the Fureeh (Farah) Buksh palace, Residency, Muchee Bawan, and *Emambara*, with little or no opposition; a number of the rebels bolted this morning over the Stone Bridge and

¹ W. H. Russell: "*My Indian Mutiny Diary*" edited by Michael Edwardes (London 1957), Pp. 100-101.

² Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure No. 33 in No. 9, p. 123.

Lucknow is well nigh rid of them. They are believed to have taken a round about road to Fyzabad.¹

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, 17th March (11a.m.) Thursday, to E. A. Reade, Agra.

It is reported from Futteh Gurh under date the 15 March that the Nana is still at Shajeanpore² and that the chief rebels are with him. The rebels have again entered the Futteh Gurh District and attacked Kumpil³ and driven off the Police posted there. Genl. Penny must be close at hand. On the Jumna side the rebels who had entered the Ghatampur⁴ Pergunah have recrossed the river at Humceerpore. The Commander-in-Chief sends the following Intelligence to-day from Lucknow: "Yesterday the bridges were secured and the troops advanced and occupied the Muchee Bhowan and *Emambara*. Large bodies of enemy crossed the Stone Bridge an hour before the attack was commenced by Sir James Outram. Resistance was very slight as compared with that of the previous days. A Goorkha Division secured the enemies' position in front of Alum Bagh last night. Vast numbers of men, armed and unarmed, are evacuating the city by the outlet, they possess in the northward (sic). Our advances are today being gradually pushed on all sides of the line occupied by the troops particularly towards Gow Ghat and Mocsia Bagh in which direction the enemy are retiring. The point they intend to make for is not yet known".⁵

¹ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

² *Shajahanpur*.

³ *Kampil*, Pargana *Kampil* Tahsil *Kaimganj* Distt. *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 1911, p. 215).

⁴ *Ghatampur*, Pargana *Ghatampur* Tahsil *Purwa* Distt. *Unao*—There are two adjoining villages of this name, Ghatampur Kalan and Ghatampur Khurd, the former lying in latitude 26°20' north and longitude 80°38' east, to the west of the latter, which is situated at the northern extremity of the pargana, upon the road that leads from Unao to Dalmau in Rai Bareilly. (*District Gazetteers*, Unao 1903, p. 175).

⁵ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow. Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 36 in No. 9, p. 124.

REAR-GUARD ACTION BY THE RETREATING FORCES

Telegraphic Message from Brigadier-General MacGregor to the Secretary to the Govt. with the Governor General, dated Camp Charbagh, Lucknow, March 18, 1858.

The Goorkha force, under Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, occupied the Charbagh and Cawnpore Road in the city yesterday morning. *In the afternoon, the enemy, in great force, attacked our position in the city.* Their flank was, however, turned by the direction of the Maharajah in person, and they were completely defeated, with the loss of ten guns and all the waggons of a light field battery. One gun was one of our own 9-pounders. This morning our advance was renewed on the right, and we captured seven more guns, several of which belonged to the battery above mentioned. We now hold this quarter of the city one mile and a-half to the westward of the Cawnpore Road. The Goorkhas have passed the front of Alumbagh, and taken the rebel batteries opposed to it in reverse.¹

MUSABAGH STILL HELD BY REVOLUTIONARIES

Telegraphic Message from the Commander-in-Chief to the Governor General of India, dated Lucknow, March 18, 1858.

We are in possession of the greater part of the city. Jung Bahadoor has done good service in taking the line of works from which the position of Alumbagh was so long threatened, seventeen guns falling into his hands. In our advance on the right, yesterday, we were not opposed.

The first attempts at the restoration of authority in the city are being made, but until all resistance is put down but little progress can be expected. The inhabitants have fled the city, and are in the neighbouring villages. Everything will be done to reassure them. I expect the Moosabagh, the last post held by the enemy, to fall tomorrow morning, an attack having been organized.²

¹ Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 39 in No. 9, p. 125.

² *Ibid.*, Inclosure 40 in No. 9, p. 125.

Telegraphic Message from the Commander-in-Chief to the Governor General of India, dated Lucknow, March 19, 1858.

The Moosabagh, the last post held by the enemy, was taken this morning, the Cavalry being now in pursuit to the northward. Miss Jackson and Mrs. Orr have been saved; and arrangements are about being made for the withdrawal of part of the troops from the city, and I have requested Brigadier-General MacGregor to move Jung Bahadoor's in the same sense. I am occupied in arranging the details of the future garrison, which will be communicated to Your Lordship forthwith, when the Chief Engineer has completed a calculation I have called on him to furnish. No time will be lost in establishing the proper military position of the troops left here, and a strict instruction will be given to the Executive Engineer to allow no considerations whatever to interfere with the instructions he will receive on this account. It must be held to be paramount to every other. Will Your Lordship kindly communicate your instructions ?¹

CAPTURE OF MUSA BAGH

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, 20th March, Saturday, 9 a.m., to E. A. Reade, Agra.

The following message dated the 19th instt. has been received from Brigadier-General MacGregor: "The Moosa Bagh having been taken this morning there is no longer an enemy in Lucknow. Mrs. Orr and Miss Jackson arrived safe today in the Muharajah Jung Buhadoor's camp having been rescued by Capt. McNeill and Lieut. Boyle of the Artillery with a small party of Goorkas; they were protected by Meer Wajid Alee *Daroga* and have been well treated by him. The same intelligence has been reported by the Commander-in-Chief. Cavalry had gone in pursuit to the northward. Arrangements were being made for the withdrawal of part of the troops from the city and Commander-in-Chief was engaged in deciding on the details of the future garrison and in the selection of a proper military position."²

¹ Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 42 in No. 9, Pp. 125-126.

² Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Telegraphic Message from Chief Commissioner, Camp Panipat, to Commissioner, Agra, received on 21st of March 1858.

It is twelve noon Sunday 21st March 1858. About one hundred and twenty guns taken in Lucknow and lots of Ammunition. Mrs. Orr and Miss Jackson are safe.¹

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, dated 24th March 11-5 p.m., to E. A. Reade, Agra.

Brigadier Genl. Sir Hope Grant was sent on the 23rd March to disperse a body of Insurgents under Raja Jey Lall Singh at Korej. The operation was perfectly successful and the Brigadier Genl. took twelve Guns. He will return to his old quarters at the Cantonments this afternoon. There are reports from Futteygurh that the rebels are in considerable strength along the line of the River.²

AWADH PROCLAMATION AND ITS REPURCUSSIONS

From G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Govt. of India, Allahabad, March 14, 1858. (By order).

The Army of His Excellency the Commander in Chief is in possession of Lucknow, and the City lies at the mercy of the British Government, whose authority it has for nine months rebelliously defied and resisted.

This resistance, begun by a mutinous soldiery, has found support from the inhabitants of the city and of the province of Oude at large. Many who owed their prosperity to the British Govt. as well as those who believed themselves aggrieved by it have joined in this bad cause, and have ranged themselves with the enemies of the state.

They have been guilty of a great crime, and have subjected themselves to a just retribution.

The Capital of their country is now once more in the hands of the British troops.

From this day it will be held by a force which nothing

¹ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

² *Ibid.*

can withstand and the authority of the Government will be carried into every corner of the province.

The time then has come at which the Right Hon'ble the Governor General of India deems it right to make known the mode in which the British Govt. will deal with the *Talookdars*, Chiefs and Landholders of Oude, and their followers.

The first care of the Governor General will be to reward those who have been steadfast in their allegiance at a time when the authority of the Govt. was partially overborne, and who have proved this by the support and assistance which they have given to British Officers.

Therefore the Right Hon'ble the Governor General hereby declares that Digbyjai Singh—Raja of Bulrampore, Koolwunt Singh—Raja of Pudnaha, Rao Hurdeo Buksh Singh of Kutiaree, Kashee Purshad—*Talookdar* of Sissaindec¹, Zubr Singh—*Zimindar* of Gopal Kher and Chundee Lal—*Zimindar* of Moraon (Baiswarah) are hence-forward the sole hereditary proprietors of the lands which they held when Oude came under British rule, subject only to such moderate assessment as may be imposed upon them; and that these Loyal men will be further rewarded in such manner and to such extent as upon consideration of their merits and their position, the Governor General shall determine.

A proportionate measure of reward and honor according to their merits will be conferred upon others in whose favor like claims may be established to the satisfaction of the Govt.

The Govr. Genl. further proclaims to the people of Oude that with the above mentioned exceptions the proprietary right in the soil of the province is confiscated to the British Govt., which will dispose of that right in such manner as to it may seem fitting.

To those *Talookdars*, Chiefs and Landholders with their followers who shall make immediate submission to the Chief Commr. of Oude, surrendering their arms and obeying his orders, the Right Hon'ble the Govr. Genl. promises that their

¹ *Sissaindi*, Pargana *Nigohan* Tahsil *Mohanlalganj* Dist. *Lucknow*—*Sissaindi* is the largest village in the pargana, and lies in latitude 26°37' north and longitude 80°56' east, at a distance of about six miles south-east of *Mohanlalganj* with which it is connected by an unmetalled road. Similar roads lead north to *Bijnour* and *Lucknow*, south-east to *Nigohan*, and south-west to *Mauranwan*. (*District Gazetteers*, *Lucknow* 1904, p. 264).

lives and honor shall be safe, provided that their hands are not stained with English blood murderously shed. But as regards any further indulgence which may be extended to them, and the connection in which they may hereafter be placed they must throw themselves upon the justice and mercy of the British Govt.

To those amongst them who shall promptly come forward and give to the Chief Commr. their support in the restoration of peace and order this indulgence will be large, and the Govr. Genr. will be ready to view liberally the claims which they may thus acquire to a restitution of their former rights.

As participation in the murder of Englishmen and English women will exclude those who are guilty of it from all mercy, so will those who have protected English lives, be specially entitled to consideration and leniency.¹

Secret Letter No. 1939 from Secretary of State, East India House, London, to the Governor General of India in Council, dated 24th of March 1858.

MEASURES AFTER EVACUATION OF LUCKNOW

The Telegram from Calcutta dated the 22nd ultimo, which arrived this morning, conveys intelligence of the concentration of the Force under the Commander-in-Chief, and of that under Jung Bahadoor, upon Lucknow; *and we trust we may indulge the expectation that, ere this that City has been evacuated by the Rebels, and that no considerable Corps remains united against us in the field.*

2. If this happy result should have been attained, it will be very satisfactory to us to learn that you have deemed yourselves sufficiently strong to be enabled to act towards the people with the generosity, as well as the justice, which are congenial to the British character.

PUNISHMENT AND AMNESTY

3. Crimes have been committed against us which it would be a crime to forgive; and some large exceptions there must be, of the persons guilty of such crimes from any Act of Amnesty which could be granted but it must be as impossible,

¹ "The Hindoo Patriot", 29th April 1858, Page 135. "The Oudh Proclamation". -Ball : Vol. II, Pp. 276-277.

as it would be abhorrent from our feelings to inflict the extreme penalty which the Law might strictly award upon all who have swerved from their allegiance.

4. To us it appears that, whenever open resistance shall have ceased, it would be prudent, in awarding punishment, rather to follow the practice which prevails after the conquest of the Country which has defended itself to the last by desperate war, than that which may perhaps be lawfully adopted after the suppression of mutiny and rebellion, such acts always being excepted from forgiveness or mitigation of punishment, as have exceeded the license of legitimate hostilities.

5. While we may be unable to forget the insanity which, during the last ten months, has pervaded the Army and a large portion of the people, we should at the same time, remember the previous fidelity of a hundred years, and so conduct ourselves towards those who have erred, as to remove their delusions and their fears, and reestablish if we can, that confidence which was so long the foundation of our power.

DISARMING CONTEMPLATED

6. It would be desirable that in every case, the *disarming of a District*, either by the seizure of Arms, or by their surrender should precede the application to it of any Amnesty; but there may be circumstances which would render expedient a different course of proceeding. Upon these exceptional cases, you and the officers acting under your orders must decide.

7. The disarming of a District having been effected, with such exceptions under your License, in favour of Native gentlemen whose feelings of honor would be affected by being deprived of the privilege of bearing Arms, and of any other persons in whom you may confide, we think the possession of Arms should be punished in every case by a severe penalty; but, unless the possession of Arms should be combined with other acts, leading to the conclusion that they were retained for the perpetration of crimes, that penalty should not be death. Of course, the possession of Arms by Englishmen must always remain lawful.

AMNESTY TO WIN OVER AWADH REVOLUTIONARIES

8. Death has of late been but too common a punishment. It loses whatever terror it might otherwise have, when so

indiscriminately applied, but, in fact, in India, there is not, commonly a fear of death, although there ever must be a fear of pain.

9. In every Amnestied District, the ordinary Administration of the Law would, as soon as possible, be restored.

10. In carrying these views into execution, you may meet with obstruction from those who, maddened by the scenes they have witnessed may desire to substitute their own policy, for that of the Government. But persevere firmly in doing what you may think right, make those who would counteract you, feel that you are resolved to rule, and that you will be served by none who will not obey.

11. Acting in this spirit, you may rely upon our unqualified support.¹

BRITISH ATTITUDE TO RELIGION EXPLAINED

Abstract Translation of a Proclamation issued by Sir J. Outram, Chief Commissioner, Oude (Awadh), dated 27th March 1858.

As it appears that some *zemindars* who are the well-wishers of Government, entertain an idea that British Government intend to subvert their religion, it is hereby notified that the Government never contemplated such an act, nor is it likely that they will ever do so. Besides, the Christian Religion specially prohibits the forcible conversion of persons to Christianity and none can prove that the British Government have ever acted against this principle. Those therefore who are well-disposed should give up this idea, and without doubt or fear present themselves to the authorities at Lucknow.²

PROPOSED PROCLAMATION ACKNOWLEDGED

Letter from George Couper, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India, dated Camp Chinhhat, March 8, 1858.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 191 of 3rd instant enclosing a proclamation to be issued to

¹ Charles Ball : "*The History of the Indian Mutiny*" Vol. II, Pp. 481-482.

² Foreign Secret Consultations, 25th June 1858, Nos. 63-65; National Archives, New Delhi.

the land holders, chiefs and inhabitants of Oudh upon the fall of the capital.

2. In this proclamation an hereditary title in their estates is promised to such landholders as have been steadfast in their allegiance, and with these exceptions the proprietary right in the soil of the province is confiscated.

COMMENTS ON THE PROPOSED PROCLAMATION

3. The Chief Commr. desires me to observe that, in his belief, there are not a dozen land-holders in the province who have not themselves borne arms against us, or sent a representative to the *Durbar*, or assisted the rebel Govt. with men or money. The effect of the proclamation therefore will be to confiscate the entire proprietary right in the soil, and this being the case, it is of course hopeless to attempt to enlist the land-holders on the side of order. On the contrary it is the Chief Commissioner's firm conviction that as soon as the Chiefs and *Talookdars* become acquainted with the determination of the Govt. to confiscate their rights they will betake themselves at once to their domains, and prepare for a desperate and prolonged resistance.

4. Chief Commr. deems this matter of such vital importance that at the risk of being deemed importunate he ventures to submit his views once more, in the hope that the Right Hon'ble the Governor General may yet be induced to reconsider the subject.

TALUQADARS TO BE REGARDED AS ENEMIES AND TERMS TO BE OFFERED ACCORDINGLY

5. He is of opinion that the landholders were most unjustly treated under our settlement operations, and, even had they not been so, that it would have required a degree of fidelity on their part quite foreign to the usual character of an Asiatic, to have remained faithful to our Govt. under the shocks to which it was exposed in Oudh. In fact it was not until our rule was virtually at an end, the whole country overrun, and the capital in the hands of the rebel soldiery, that the *Talookdars*, smarting as they were under the loss of their lands, sided against us. The Chief Commr. thinks, therefore, that they ought hardly to be considered as rebels but rather as honorable enemies to whom terms, such as they could, without loss of

dignity, accept, should be offered at the termination of the campaign.

If these men be given back their lands they will at once aid us in restoring order, and a police will soon be organized with their co-operation which will render unnecessary the presence of our enormous army to reestablish tranquillity and confidence. But if their life and freedom from imprisonment only be offered, they will resist; and the Chief Commr. foresees that we are only at the commencement of a guerilla war for the extirpation, root and branch, of this class of men, which will involve the loss of thousands of Europeans by battle, disease and exposure. It must be borne in mind that this species of warfare has always been peculiarly harassing to our Indian Forces, and will be far more so at present when we are without a native army.

6. For the above reasons the Chief Commr. earnestly requests that such Landholders and Chiefs as have not been accomplices in the cold-blooded murder of Europeans may be enlisted on our side by the restoration of their ancient possessions, subject to such restrictions as will protect their dependants from oppression. If His Lordship agrees to this proposition it will not yet be too late to communicate his assent by electric telegraph, before the fall of the city which will probably not take place for some days. Should no such communication be received, the Chief Commr. will act upon his present instructions, satisfied that he has done all in his power to convince His Lordship that they will be ineffectual to reestablish our rule on a firm basis in Oudh.¹

ALL TYPES OF TALUQADARS FOUGHT AGAINST BRITISH

Letter No. 467 A from G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, to Major General James Outram, G. C. B., Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), dated Allahabad, 31st March 1858.

“Sir, In replying at once on the 10th instant to your secretary’s letter of the 8th, in which you urged reasons against the issue of the proclamation to the *talookdars* and landholders of Oude, which had been transmitted to you by the Right

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 30th April 1858, National Archives, New Delhi. & Charles Ball: “*The History of the Indian Mutiny*” Vol. II, p. 278.

Honourable the Governor General, my answer was confined to communicating to you the addition which His Lordship was willing to make to that proclamation without entering into the general questions raised in your letter. The Governor General desires me to express his hope that you will not have supposed that the arguments adduced by you were not fully weighed by him, or that your opinion upon a subject on which you are so well entitled to offer one, has not been received with sincere respect, although he was unable to concur in it.

2. "I am now directed by His Lordship to explain the grounds upon which the course advocated in your letter—namely, that such landholders and chiefs as have not been accomplices in the cold-blooded murder of Europeans should be enlisted on our side by the restoration of their ancient possessions, subject to such restrictions as will protect their dependents from oppression—is, in the opinion of the Governor-General, inadmissible.

3. "The Governor General entirely agrees with you in viewing the *talo kdars* and landholders of Oude in a very different light from that in which rebels in our old provinces are to be regarded. The people of Oude had been subjects of the British government for little more than one year when the mutinies broke out; they had become so by no act of their own. By the introduction of our rule many of the chiefs had suffered a loss of property, and all had experienced a diminution of the importance and arbitrary power which they had hitherto enjoyed; and it is no marvel that those amongst them who had thus been losers should, when they saw our authority dissolved, have hastened to shake off their new allegiance.

4. "The Governor General views these circumstances as a palliation of acts of rebellion, even where hostility has been most active and systematic. Accordingly, punishment by death or imprisonment is at once put aside by the proclamation in the case of all who shall submit themselves to the government, and who are not murderers; and whilst confiscation of proprietary rights in the land is declared to be the general penalty, the means of obtaining more or less of exemption from it, and of establishing a claim to restitution of rights, have been pointed out, and are within the reach of all without injury to their honour. Nothing more is required for this than that they should promptly tender their adhesion, and help to maintain peace and order.

5. "The Governor General considers that the course thus taken is one consistent with the dignity of the government, and abundantly lenient. To have followed that which is suggested in your secretary's letter would in His Lordship's opinion, have been to treat the rebels not only as honourable enemies, but as enemies who had won the day.

"In the course of the rebellion, most of the leaders in it, probably all, have retaken to themselves the lands and villages of which they were deprived, by the Summary Settlement which followed the establishment of our government in Oude. If, upon the capture of Lucknow by the Commander-in-Chief, before our strength had been seen or felt in the distant districts, and before any submission had been received or invited from them, the rights of the rebel chiefs to all their ancient possessions had been recognised by the government, it is not possible that the act would not have been viewed as dictated by fear or weakness. It would have led the people of Oude, and all who are watching the course of events in that province, to the conclusion that rebellion against the British government cannot be a losing game; and although it might have purchased an immediate return to order, it would not assuredly have placed the future peace of the province upon a secure foundation.

6. "You observe, indeed, that the landholders were most unjustly treated under our settlement. The Governor General desires me to observe, that if this were unreservedly the case, or if the proceedings of the commissioners by which many of the *talookdars* were deprived of portions of their possessions had been generally unjust, he would gladly have concurred in your recommendation, and would have been ready, at the risk of any misinterpretation of the motives of the government, to reinstate the *talookdars* at once in their old possessions. But it is not so. As a question of policy, indeed, the Governor General considers that it may well be doubted whether the attempt to introduce into Oude a system of village settlement in place of the old settlement under *talookdars* was a wise one; but this is a point which need not be discussed here. As a question of justice, it is certain that the land and villages taken from the *talookdars* had, for the most part, been usurped by them through fraud or violence.

7. "That unjust decisions were come to by some of our local officers in investigating and judging the titles of the landowners is, the Governor General fears, too true; but the

proper way of rectifying such injustice is by a rehearing where complaint is made. This you are aware is the course which the Governor General is prepared to adopt, and to carry out in a liberal and conciliatory spirit. It is a very different one from proclaiming that indiscriminate restitution of all their ancient possessions is at once to be yielded to the landowners.

8. "That the hostility of the *talookdars* of Oude who have been most active against the British government has been provoked, or is excused, by the injustice with which they have been treated, could seem to be your opinion.

"But I am to observe, that there are some facts which deserve to be weighed before pronouncing that this is the case.

9. "No chiefs have been more open in their rebellion than the Rajah of Churda, Bhinga, and Gonda. The Governor General believes that the first of these did not lose a single village by a Summary Settlement, and certainly his assessment was materially reduced. The second was dealt with in a like liberal manner. The Rajah of Gonda lost about thirty villages out of 400 but his assessment was lowered by some 10,000 rupees.

10. "No one was more benefited by the change of government than the young Rajah of Naunpara (Nanpara). His estates had been the object of a civil war with a rival claimant for three years, and of these he was at once recognised as sole proprietor by the British government, losing only six villages out of more than a thousand. His mother was appointed guardian, but her troops have been fighting against us at Lucknow from the beginning.

11. "The Rajah of Dhowrera, also a minor was treated with equal liberality. Every village was settled with his family; yet these people turned upon Captain Hearsey and his party, refused them shelter, pursued them, captured the ladies, and sent them into Lucknow.

12. "Ashruf Bux Khan, a large *talookdar* in Gonda, who had long been an object of persecution by the late government, was established in the possession of all his property by us; yet he has been strongly hostile.

13. "It is clear that injustice at the hands of the British government has not been the cause of the hostility which, in these instances at least, has been displayed towards our rule.

14. "The moving spirit of these men and of others amongst the Chiefs of Oude must be looked for elsewhere; and

in the opinion of the Governor General, it is to be found mainly in the repugnance which they feel to suffer any restraint of their hitherto arbitrary powers over those about them, to a diminution of their importance by being brought under equal laws, and to the obligation of disbanding their armed followers, and of living a peaceful and orderly life.

"The penalty of confiscation of property is no more than a just one in such cases as have been above recited; and although considerations of policy and mercy, and the newness of our rule, prescribe a relaxation of the sentence more or less large according to the features of each case, this relaxation must be preceded by submission; and the Governor General cannot consent to offer all, without distinction, an entire exemption from penalty, and the restoration of all former possessions, even though they should not have been guilty of the murder of Europeans—I have &c."¹

PROPOSAL REGARDING THE TREATMENT OF THE PEOPLE AFTER THE FALL OF LUCKNOW

Secret Letter No. 1954 from East India House, London, dated 19th April 1858, to the Governor General of India in Council.

Our letter of the 24th of March, 1858 will have put you in possession of our general views with respect to the treatment of the people, in the event of the evacuation of Lucknow by the enemy.

2. On the 12th instant we received from you a copy of the letter dated the 3rd of March, addressed by your Secretary to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner in Oudh, which letter enclosed a copy of the Proclamation to be issued by the Chief Commissioner as soon as the British troops should have command of the city of Lucknow, and conveyed instructions as to the manner in which he was to act with respect to different classes of persons, in execution of the views of the Governor General.

3. The people of Oude will see only the Proclamation.

ASSIGNMENT OF LAND TO THE LOYAL

4. That authoritative expression of the will of the

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th April 1858, Nos. 116-118; National Archives, New Delhi.

Charles Ball, "*The History of the Indian Mutiny*" Vol. II, Pp. 279-80.

Government informs the people that six persons, who are named as having been steadfast in their allegiance, are henceforward the sole hereditary proprietors of the land they held when Oude came under British rule, subject only to such moderate assessment as may be imposed upon them, that others, in whose favor like claims may be established, will have conferred upon them a proportionate measure of reward and honor, and that, with these exceptions, the proprietary right in the soil of the Province is confiscated to the British Government.

5. We cannot but express to you our apprehension that this decree, pronouncing the disinheritance of a people, will throw difficulties, almost insurmountable, in the way of the reestablishment of peace.

REASONS FOR THE POPULAR CHARACTER OF WAR IN AWADH

6. We are under the impression that the war in Oude has derived much of its popular character from the rigorous manner in which, without regard to what the Chief Landholders had become accustomed to consider as their rights, the Summary Settlement had, in a large portion of the province, been carried out by our officers.

SENSITIVENESS TO THE RIGHTS IN THE SOIL

7. The Landholders of India are as much attached to the soil occupied by their ancestors, and as sensitive with respect to the rights in the soil they deem themselves to possess, as the occupiers of land in any country of which we have a knowledge.

8. Whatever may be your ultimate undisclosed intentions, your Proclamation will appear to deprive the great body of the people of all hope, upon the subject most dear to them as individuals, while the substitution of our rule for that of their native sovereign, has naturally excited against us, whatever they may have of national feeling.

9. We cannot but in justice consider, that those who resist our authority in Oude, are under very different circumstances from those who have acted against us in provinces which have been long under our Government.

DETHRONEMENT OF THE KING OF AWADH

10. We dethroned the King of Oude, and took possession of his kingdom, by virtue of a Treaty which had been

subsequently modified by another Treaty, under which, had it been held to be in force, the course we adopted could not have been lawfully pursued, but we held that it was not in force; although the fact of its not having been ratified in England, as regarded (sic,) the provision on which we rely for our justification, had not been previously made known to the King of Oude.

11. That Sovereign and his ancestors had been uniformly faithful to their Treaty engagements with us, however ill they may have governed their subjects.

12. They had more than once assisted us in our difficulties, and not a suspicion had ever been entertained of any hostile disposition on their part, towards our Government.

13. Suddenly the people saw their King taken from amongst them and our administration substituted for his, which however bad, was at least native, and this sudden change of Government was immediately followed by a Summary Settlement of the Revenue, which, in a very considerable portion of the Province, deprived the most influential landholders of what they deemed to be their property, of what certainly had long given wealth and distinction, and power, to their families.

HOSTILITIES IN AWADII, LEGITIMATE WAR

14. We must admit that, under these circumstances, the hostilities which have been carried on in Oude, *have rather, the character of legitimate War*, than that of rebellion, and that the people of Oude should rather be regarded with indulgent consideration, than made the objects of a penalty, exceeding in extent and in severity, almost any which has been recorded in History as inflicted upon a subdued nation.

CLEMENCY OF THE CONQUERORS

15. Other conquerors, when they have succeeded in overcoming resistance, have excepted a few persons as still deserving of punishment, but have, with generous policy, extended their clemency to the great body of the people.

16. You have acted upon a different principle. You have reserved a few as deserving of special favor, and you have struck, with what they will feel as the severest punishment, the mass of the inhabitants of the country.

17. We cannot but think that the precedents from which you have departed, will appear to have been conceived in a spirit of wisdom superior to that which appears in the precedent you have made.

18. We desire that you will mitigate, in practice the stringent severity of the decree of confiscation, you have issued against the Landholders of Oude.

19. We desire to see British authority in India, rest upon the willing obedience of a contented people. There cannot be contentment where there is general confiscation.

20. Government cannot long be maintained by any force, in a country where the whole people is rendered hostile by a sense of wrong and if it were possible so to maintain it, it would not be a consummation to be desired.¹

Administrative Measures After the Fall of Lucknow; Memorandum by R. Montgomery, Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh).

1. The Policy adopted by the Chief Commissioner since the reestablishment of civil power in Oudh, had been strictly conciliatory, where consistent with justice.

CONFISCATION OF LAND TEMPORARILY DELAYED

2. With the Proclamation issued by the Right Hon'ble the Governor General the Chief Commissioner received also the practical interpretation of it which explained that though the crimes and excesses of the people in Oudh fully justified the sentence of confiscation of all their lands, yet the hand of mercy was for a while held out to delay its execution, that those who repented of their revolt might come and submit themselves to the clemency of the British Government. Where-soever the Proclamation was sent there also this interpretation accompanied.

3. Thus, all the inhabitants of Oudh have been invited to come in, and those who have complied, have been subjected to a preliminary examination before receiving a resettlement of their lands.

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 19th April 1858, No. 1954; National Archives, New Delhi.

LIBERAL REMISSIONS

4. Where a *Zemindar* or *Talooqdar* has not been implicated at all in hostilities against the British Government, or has rendered service to our cause, liberal remissions have been made in the settlements of the Revenue of his lands.

LANDHOLDERS NOT GUILTY OF ATROCITIES

5. Where landholders have fought against us, but have been guilty only of rebellion unaccompanied by acts of atrocity, the Chief Commissioner has shown the utmost consideration, and reinstated the men in their former possessions, demanding at the same time, active proof of their loyalty, such as the location of outposts, and giving aid in the collection of revenue.

FRIENDS OF NAWAB

6. There remains one class of people, the friends of the Nawab and the enemies of mankind, whose hands are imbrued in innocent blood, to whom no terms of mercy could be offered.

TALUQADARS ON THE BORDER STILL IN OPEN ARMS

7. The *Talooqdars* on the borders of Oudh, have nearly all been in open arms, and committed raids on the older Province. But to nearly all these men, terms may still be granted, and a list of those who stand excepted can be furnished when required.

8. From the reports of a *Tehseeldar* sent to Kalee Kunkur on the Ganges, and bordering on the Allahabad District, the Chief Commissioner gathers that most of the *Talooqdars* on that side of the Province would desert the rebel *Nazim* if they had some leader or place to rally round; similar information is received from many other quarters of the Province.

ZEMINDARS FRIENDLY TO BRITISH INSULTED

9. But in the present state of military affairs, the Chief Commissioner finds it impossible to protect the friendly *Zemindars* from the insults and attacks of the rebels, who now direct all their vengeance against the well wishers of the Government.

10. The Chief Commissioner therefore modifies for

a time, his expectation of active aid from isolated *Zemindars* in punishing the recusant. He still expects all those who are well affected to the British Government to give some sign of their allegiance.

11. This can be done by coming in or sending an agent to the nearest civil authority who will enquire into their conduct and antecedents. They will be expected to return or remain quiet in their own home, and not join or in any way aid the rebel forces.

12. No compulsion should be admitted as an excuse for joining and fighting in the opposition ranks. The people of Oudh are well accustomed to warfare and oppression. In the days of the Kings they would send their families to some place of safety, and there hold out against an army sent to enforce a legitimate demand. They can adopt the same course now towards the rebels who would turn them aside from their allegiance.

13. It is in the power of all well-wishers to collect and transmit correct information to the authorities, and this will be expected from all on our side.

14. Passive loyalty is thus generally to be admitted, but where influential *Zemindars* see their opportunity, they should combine to resist the exaction of rebel *Nazims*.

15. No proclamations to the above effect need be issued, but *Purwanahs* to individuals will be sent out by the different officers assuring them that the British Government will as assuredly mark and reward the conduct of all who obey orders now issued, as it will visit with the utmost severity, those who set at nought, the offers and orders of the British Government.¹

PROPOSED SYSTEM OF CIVIL ADMINISTRATION IN AWADH

Minute by James Outram, dated 17th August 1858.

Extract paras 35, 36 and 37 of the letter from the Governor General of India to the Secret Committee, dated 17th June 1858.

Para 35. "I will not trouble your Honorable Committee with a recapitulation of the reasons which appeared to me to forbid the adoption of Sir James Outram's suggestion, but

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th July 1858, No. 85; National Archives, New Delhi.

lest your Hon'ble Committee should suppose that I was without any previous expression of Sir James Outram's opinion on the subject, I wish to state that the unfavourable view taken by that distinguished Officer of the substance of the Proclamation was a cause of much disappointment to me.

36. "A very few weeks previously, the Chief Commissioner had sent to the Govt. of India an able and elaborate memorandum upon the system of civil administration to be adopted for Oude, after Lucknow should be subjugated. In this memo, dated the 15th Jany. 1858 are the following views".

SETTLEMENT WITH VILLAGE PROPRIETORS

"The system of settlement with so-called village proprietors, will not answer at present, if ever, in Oude.

"These men have not influence and weight enough to aid us in restoring order. The lands of men who have taken an active part against us, should be largely confiscated, in order among other reasons, to enable us to reward others in the manner most acceptable to a native. But I see no prospect of restoring tranquillity except by having recourse for the next few years to the old *Talookdarce* system. *Talookas* should only be given to men who have actively aided us, who, having been inactive now evince a true willingness to serve us and are possessed of influence sufficient to make their support of real value".

INDULGENCE

37. "Subject to the understanding that even to those who had been most active against us, indulgence should be extended upon their making prompt and complete submission; these opinions accorded exactly with my own, and although I was aware that there might easily be difference of opinion as to the mode of announcing and of carrying out punishment by confiscation, it did not occur to me that any such divergence of views as was subsequently intimated in the Chief Commr.'s letter of the 8th March, could occur between us. The belief therein expressed that there are not a dozen landholders in the Province who have not borne arms against us, seemed to go far towards justifying the general and sweeping terms of the Proclamation, to which alone I expected any objection on Sir James Outram's part".

As the paragraphs above quoted reflect injuriously on me, it is unfortunate for me that no copy of the Governor General's letter dated 17th June was furnished to Council until the 5th and only reached me on the 8th August—an interval of upwards of seven weeks. But as we are now aware that the delay was accidental and unintentional, I can only regret the circumstance; for it ought, I consider, to have been furnished to us in time to enable me to have sent home by the same mail which conveyed it, such explanation as it might reasonably be supposed I should be anxious to offer, under the imputation therein brought against me of official inconsistency, to apply the mildest term to the meaning of this extract.

But I have to complain that no copy of my Memorandum of the 15th January, from which His Lordship quotes, was at the same time transmitted to the Home authorities, or has to this day been forwarded.

As His Lordship considers that Memorandum “able and elaborate”, and as it submits my views as Chief Commr. in Oude of “the system of civil administration to be adopted in that Province, after Lucknow should be subjugated”, its having been so long withheld from the Govt. of India, and from the Hon'ble Court, can hardly have been warranted by any consideration of its insignificance and I now move therefore that it be called for, for the information of my Hon'ble colleagues, and for after transmission, should they think proper, to the Court.

SWEEPING MEASURES OPPOSED

In the meantime however I annex an extract from that Memorandum in my possession, so far as relates to the Oude *Talookdars*, and have under-scored the words quoted therefrom by the Governor General, that my Hon'ble colleagues may at once see how inadequately those words represent the whole tenor of the argument in which they are employed, and that the context of the entire passage from which His Lordship quotes, does not warrant the interpretation which he has been pleased to put upon those words. But, mistaken as His Lordship appears to have been at that time, as to my real sentiments with regard to the Oude *Talookdars*, I respectfully submit that the whole tenor of my correspondence with the Governor General, official or private, from that time up to the issue of the Proclamation might reasonably have assured

His Lordship that I would be opposed to so severe and sweeping a measure as general confiscation, and thus prepared him for such a divergence of views as was subsequently intimated in my letter of the 8th of March.

To prove this, I may be permitted, as His Lordship has quoted from one paper of mine which has not been placed on the records of this Govt., to quote from another official communication which I addressed through my secretary to Mr. Edmonstone, on the 15th February, one month after the date of the "Memorandum" and 3 weeks prior to my letter of the 8th March.

"The Chief Commissioner feels himself in a very embarrassing position. His Lordship is aware that he does not regard the rebellious *Oude Talookdars* in the same light as the mutineers, and would be disposed to let bye-gones be bye-gones to all those men who have taken no part in the atrocities, conditional on present and future good service".

I have no desire, nor would it become me, to comment on any portion of the Governor General's letter which does not concern myself, but as my official reputation would suffer, were the success which has attended Mr. Montgomery's exertions towards the pacification of Oude, to be attributed, as I understand to be assumed by His Lordship to the Proclamation even in its modified form, which I had declared, and here repeat, was calculated to obstruct pacification, I consider myself justified in pointing out that the only instances in which Chiefs and *Talookdars* of Oude had attended to my summons, were where they received personal assurance by letter on forwarding the Proclamation, thereby nullifying its effects. And as I believe Mr. Montgomery followed the course which I had adopted, I can have no doubt that all who have since submitted were induced to do so by similar letters, not by the Proclamation.

On the 30th March I thus informed His Lordship that I had sent the letters.

TWO CATEGORIES OF TALUQADARS

"Enclosed is a list of the few powerful *Talookdars* who have not taken an active part in the rebellion, to whom he has written assuring them that if they now come forward to support the British Govt., they will be put into as good a position as they were before annexation".

On the 3rd of April, the day on which I made over charge to Mr. Montgomery, it was reported to His Lordship (whether by Mr. Montgomery or myself I am not sure):

“The *Talookdars* are holding aloof and the Chief Commr. fervently hopes that there will not be any very serious opposition to the permanent establishment of our rule in Oude. Two lists are sent, one of the landholders who treated with us at Allam Bagh, the other of those who have come in under the terms of the Govt. Proclamation *combined with the Chief Commissioner's letter of assurance that those who come forward and do good service now will have their claims to the lands of which we dispossessed them reinvestigated*”.

As this was read by Lord Stanley in the House of Commons on the... (No date given in MSS.) I presume it must have been furnished by the Governor General but I believe that neither the latter report nor mine of the 30th March quite literally represents the whole tenor of these letters, which probably were couched in even the more liberal terms enjoined in the following telegram forwarded to me by the Governor General on the 24th March.—“The present Proclamation left it quite free to you to notify to any *Talookdar* who (sic,) you consider deserving of consideration, that if he now comes in and supports the Govt. none of his lands will be confiscated, and that his claims to the lands which he held before annexation will be reheard. If he has resumed possession of these last mentioned lands during the Mutiny, you can if you think fit, promise that he shall retain possession of them until his claims are reheard”.

As three mails have already intervened since His Lordship's letter was forwarded to the Hon'ble the Secret Committee, I hope my colleagues will consider that I am justified in requesting that this may be transmitted to the same authority by the mail of the 23rd instant, a copy of course being furnished to the Right Hon'ble the Governor General.

Extract from a Memorandum, suggesting measures for the Administration of Awadh, dated 15th January 1859.

“I deem it my duty to point out, that the reestablishment of good government and of peace and order is out of question until the population be thoroughly disarmed, and this measure should not be confined to Oudh alone, but should be carried out simultaneously throughout the Empire. I would take the greatest pains to ensure that the prohibition

to bear or possess any description of lethal weapon, shall be made known to every inhabitant of the province. Acknowledgments of the receipt of the Proclamation and also an affidavit that its contents had been read, should be taken from the head man of every village in Oudh.

“A reasonable time say one month should also be allowed to the people to come in to the Head-quarters of the nearest civil authority and lay down their arms for which a liberal price should be given. But that time once expired, the penalty for possessing arms should be death, and the stern decree should be rigidly enforced; only a few examples will be required and the disarming will then be effectual, as concealed weapons will be at once melted down or otherwise destroyed. But I am convinced that nothing short of this measure will effect it, and that unless the law be rigidly carried out, we shall never be able to restore perfect tranquillity to this portion of our dominions.

“The active co-operation of the landholders must be obtained, and this can best be done by declaring that the Govt. will regard the life of the offender as a sufficient expiation of the first offence against the provisions of the Proclamation committed on lands held by the same proprietors. But that if a second instance of the possession of concealment of arms on the same estate occur, the entire rights and interests of the owner of the land will be liable to confiscation.

“One such example will convince the lawless landholders of Oudh that the British Govt. is in earnest, and that they have at last met with their master.

“*The system of settlement with the so-called village proprietors will not answer at present if ever in Oudh. These men have not influence and weight enough to aid us in restoring order. The lands of men who have taken an active part against us should be largely confiscated in order, among other reasons, to enable us to reward others in the manner most acceptable to a Native. But I see no prospect of restoring tranquillity except by having recourse for the next years to the old Talookdaree system.*

“The Talookdars have both power and influence to exercise either for or against us.

“The village proprietors have neither. Talookas should only be given to men who have actively aided us, or who having been inactive now evince a true willingness to serve us, and are possessed of influence sufficient to make their support of real value.

“There will be no difficulty in settling the rent to be paid from each *Talooka*, and this should be distributed rateably over the several constituent villages, the exact amount to be paid by each villager to be settled among themselves.

“By this arrangement the *Talookdar* will be unable to raise his rents, and he should moreover be given to understand that, on his treatment of the people under him, his admission to raise at the revised settlement would in a great measure depend. This in my opinion would suffice for the protection of a body of men not one of whom, not even those, with whom the settlement was made to the exclusion of the old *Talookdars* (some of 80 years’ possession) have come forward to aid us in this juncture.

“The *Talookdar* should be responsible for the disarming of the population, the destruction of the Forts, and the apprehension of offenders, within the limits of his Estate. He should be made to feel that he holds upon a strictly service tenure, dependent entirely on the punctual discharge of his duties as a landholder; very influential men, or men who have done real good service during the present crisis, might have a portion of land in *Jageer*, conditional on constant and zealous service. This measure would enlist this powerful body of men on our side, while it entails no injustice on the cultivators of the soil, who have been accustomed all their lives to the *Talookdaree* tenure with power on the part of the *Talookdar* to raise his rents and libitum (sic.). In a word, the men capable of restoring order and confidence will be gained over, while the men who will be benefited by the restoration, but who will never move a hand or foot to obtain or hold such a blessing for themselves, will suffer no hardship and be in a much better condition than they were before annexation”.

The words underscored (Italicised phrases) are those of which Lord Canning availed himself in his quotation.¹

INCIDENTS OF AWADH ANALYSED

Letter No. 26/2 from Canning, Foreign Department (Secret), Allahabad, the 17th June 1858, to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors.

I have the honor to reply to your despatch No. 1954 of the 19th of April.

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 12th November 1858, Nos. 8/11 K. W.; National Archives, New Delhi.

That despatch condemns in the strongest terms the Proclamation which on the 3rd of March, I directed the Chief Commissioner of Oude to issue from Lucknow.

2nd. Although written in the Secret Committee the despatch was made public in England three weeks before it reached my hands. It will in a few days be read in every Station in Hindoostan.

DEFENCE OF AWADHI PROCLAMATION

3rd. Before the despatch was published in England, it had been announced to Parliament by a Minister of the Crown as conveying disapproval in every sense of the policy indicated by the Governor General's Proclamation. Whether this description was an accurate one or not I do not enquire. The Telegraph has already carried it over the length and breadth of India.

4th. I need scarcely tell your Hon'ble Committee that the existence of such a despatch, even had it never passed out of the records of the Secret Department, would be deeply mortifying to me, however confident I might feel that your Hon'ble Committee would, upon reconsideration, relieve me of the censure which it casts upon me. Still less necessary is it for me to point out that the publication of the document, preceded as it has been by an authoritative declaration of its meaning and spirit, is calculated greatly to increase the difficulties in which the Government of India is placed, not only by weakening the authority of the Governor General, but by encouraging resistance and delusive hopes in many classes of the population of Oude.

5th. So far as the despatch, and the mode in which it has been dealt with affect myself personally, I will trouble your Hon'ble Committee with very few words.

No taunts or sarcasms, come from what quarter they may, will turn me from the path which I believe to be that of my public duty. I believe that a change in the head of the Government of India at this time, if it took place under circumstances, which indicated a repudiation on the part of the Govt. in England of the policy which has hitherto been pursued towards the rebels of Oude, would seriously retard the pacification of the country. I believe that that policy has been from the beginning merciful without weakness, and indulgent without compromise of the dignity of the Govt. I believe

that wherever the authority of the Government has been reestablished, it has become manifest to the people in Oude, as elsewhere, that the indulgence to those who make submission, and who are free from atrocious crime will be large. I believe that the issue of the Proclamation which has been so severely condemned was thoroughly consistent with that policy, and that it is so viewed by those to whom it is addressed. I believe that that policy, if steadily pursued, offers the best and earliest prospect of restoring peace to Oude upon a stable footing.

6th. Firm in these convictions I will not in a time of unexampled difficulty, danger, and toil, lay down of my own act the high trust which I have the honor to hold; but I will with the permission of your Hon'ble Committee state the grounds upon which those convictions rest, and describe the course of policy which I have pursued in dealing with the rebellion in Oude. If, when I have done so, it shall be deemed that policy has been erroneous or that, not being erroneous, it has been feebly and ineffectually carried out, or that for any reason the confidence of those who are responsible for the administration of Indian affairs in England should be withheld from me, I make it my respectful but urgent request, through your Hon'ble Committee, that I may be relieved of the office of Governor General of India, with the least possible delay.

7th. I desire to say that I shall in that case resign my great charge into the hands of the Hon'ble Court of Directors with a deep and abiding sense of gratitude for the generous support, the unreserved confidence, and the considerate courtesy which I have at all times received from them.

I have nothing more to add upon the personal part of this question.

8th. But before I speak of the Proclamation I beg to call the attention of your Hon'ble Committee to certain paragraphs of the despatch before me which are pregnant with a signification far more momentous than the censure of any recent act or policy of the Governor General of the day. These paragraphs are numbered from 10 to 14 inclusive, and I believe that I shall not misrepresent their import by describing it as follows.

9th. They begin by pointing out a doubt whether the British Govt. was justified in taking possession of the Kingdom of Oude. The doubt is pointed out but is not resolved, nor is a distinct opinion expressed upon it.

LEGITIMATE WAR ON THE PART OF THE PEOPLE OF AWADH

10th. Certain facts are then referred to which, though they do not directly affect the question of our right to take possession of Oude, are cited as leading, in conjunction with the doubt above mentioned, to the conclusion that the hostilities which the people of Oude have been carrying on against us have rather the character of legitimate war than that of rebellion, and that the people of Oude should be regarded with indulgent consideration.

11th. It is altogether beyond my duty to discuss whether the course pursued by the British Government in taking possession of Oude was lawful and justifiable one; still less does it belong to me to say what line of conduct the British Government ought to follow if it be now determined that that course was not lawful or justifiable. But as to the indulgence due to the people of Oude, your Hon'ble Committee will I am sure do me the justice to admit that no misgiving, as to the character of our dealings with the Oude State, was necessary to induce me to declare without any injunction from yourselves, that the *Talookdars* and Land-holders of Oude must be viewed in very different light from that in which rebels in an old province are to be regarded. I found sufficient reason for this in the facts, that the allegiance of these men when they broke into rebellion was little more than a year old, and that they had become British subjects by no act of their own; that our rule had brought loss of property upon many of them, and upon some an unjust loss; and that it had diminished the importance and arbitrary power of all. I considered these facts to be a palliation of rebellion, even where hostility to us had been most inveterate; and therefore I put aside altogether the punishments of death, transportation and imprisonment, and whilst marking those who had rebelled with the penalty which in India, as elsewhere, has been again and again recognized as a fitting punishment of rebels—namely the forfeiture of their rights in the soil, I promised indulgence to those who should make prompt submission.

I felt that considerations of policy and mercy, and the newness of our rule prescribed this course. I recorded this in a paper already in the hands of your Hon'ble Committee; and I hope before closing this despatch to shew that the indulgence has been accorded promptly and liberally.

EFFECTS OF INDULGENCE

12th. But it is my first duty earnestly to beg your Hon'ble Committee to consider the effect which will be produced upon the province of Oude when it shall become generally known that the British Government speaks hesitatingly of its right to rule that Country. I cannot but fear that it will make a turbulent and warlike people more impatient than ever of subjection to authority and order. I fear that it will furnish a pretext for resistance to the Government of which many bad spirits will not be slow to avail themselves now and hereafter.

13th. But more especially do I fear its immediate effect. It cannot have escaped the notice of your Hon'ble Committee that although the rising against our *authority in Oude has been general, almost universal, it has been singularly devoid of a national character.* Except for the purpose of reducing our garrison in Lucknow, and afterwards of holding the City against us, there appears to have been no common cause amongst our assailants. Since the capture of Lucknow we have had against us the party of the Begum and her son, claiming to represent the Royal Family of Oude; the party of the Moulvie—a Mahumedan fanatic; the party of the *Nazim*, an adventurer without rights or property in the province; the Sepoys, who have passed from one leader to another according as they have been able to extort the highest pay; and a number of the *Talookdars* and *Zemindars*, some few of whom, at the head of bands of their own have plundered and oppressed their enemies and those whom they believed to be our friends, whilst others generally of less influence have been tempted or coerced into joining the ranks of the Begum or the Moulvie.

There is little concert or cohesion between any of these parties. Indeed between those of the Begum and the Moulvie there has been not only complete separation but open hostility.

14th. I cannot think that this want of unity will long continue if it shall once become manifest that the British Government hesitates to declare its right to possess Oude, and that it regards itself as a wrongful intruder into the place of the Dynasty which the Begum claims to represent. I believe that this would draw to the side of the Begum many who have hitherto shewn no sympathy with the late ruling family and that it is just what is wanting to give a national character to her cause.

15th. An uncompromising assertion of our authority in Oude is perfectly compatible with a merciful exercise of it; and I respectfully submit that if the Government of India is not supported in making this assertion, and in declaring that the recent acts of the people of Oude are acts of rebellion, and that they may in strict right be treated as such, a powerful temptation will be offered to them to maintain their present struggle, or to renew it.

16th. I now proceed to offer some remarks upon the Proclamation and I believe that the spirit in which the Proclamation was conceived and has been acted upon will be best shewn by the following statement.

EFFECTS OF AWADH PROCLAMATION

17th. When in January last about the time at which the Army of the Commander-in-Chief began to concentrate upon Lucknow, I left Calcutta for Allahabad; one of my chief motives for doing so was the obtaining of full, accurate and recent information in regard to the temper and disposition of the Chiefs and people of Oude; the extent to which they felt themselves aggrieved by the Government; how far that feeling was just; the nature of the influences at work amongst them; and other points requiring consideration before a decision could be taken as to the mode of dealing with the province. These were matters upon which formal references and reports would have thrown very tardy and inadequate light, seeing the condition to which our Archives and Official establishments had been reduced; and therefore in addition to the information received by Government from the usual Civil and Military sources I sought information and opinions from those who, from having filled posts within the province, or upon its frontiers, had had opportunities of becoming personally, and in some cases intimately acquainted with the *Talookdars* and *Zemindars*, and their followers.

18th. The conclusions at which I arrived were : *Firstly* that all questions of punishing with death, or even with transportation, or imprisonment, rebels, who, however inveterate and unceasing their hostility had been, were free from the stain of murder, should be set aside. I need not at present defend this decision, although at the time it was very far from meeting with general approval.

19th. *Secondly* that the one declared punishment for

rebellion should be the confiscation to the state of proprietary rights in the soil.

I have already said that this is a punishment which has been repeatedly enforced against rebels in India as well by Native rulers, as by the British Govt. It is one which admits of being easily tempered and relaxed with more or less of levity according as considerations of policy or mercy, and the past or future conduct of the powers to be punished, may prescribe. It in no way affects the honor of the most sensitive Rajpoot or Brahmin. It would provide the Government with the means of rewarding in the manner which is most acceptable to the Natives of India, the services of those who should be found to deserve reward. It would tend to the final settlement of many of those disputes respecting landed rights which have been the source of so much strife and animosity in Oude.

20th. *Finally* I came to the conclusion, that if a proclamation were issued on the capture of Lucknow (a point upon which I entertained doubts upto the last moment), it should be one not threatening confiscation as a possible contingency, but declaring it, pointing out however the means by which relaxation and indulgence would be obtainable and further that no attempt should be made to indicate the measure of relaxation and indulgence which might be conceded in particular cases.

21st. I will offer a few words in explanation of these last points.

I believe that the issue of proclamations is not the surest or safest mode of influencing the Natives of India. The experience of the past year has furnished examples of the ingenuity with which the meaning of such documents can be perverted, or their language misrepresented by the enemies of the State; and it is a fact, several instances of which have come to my knowledge of late, that the word of any English Officer of the Govt. even though a stranger, is more trusted than a printed paper. I should therefore have preferred to take in Oude the course which was afterwards taken in Rohilcund, and to place instructions in the hands of the Officers attached to the columns which marched through the country, leaving it to them to carry out those instructions, and to explain, in each District through which they passed, the spirit in which the Govt. desired to deal with the people. But I knew it to be very probable that no columns would be available for the

purpose in Oude, and that in that case much time might elapse before English officers would be able to penetrate the province. I therefore had recourse to a proclamation which might be disseminated by Native Agency.

22nd. That Proclamation was made to declare the confiscation and not to threaten it, because the Natives of India, whilst they attach much weight to a distinct and actual order of the Government, attach very little to a vague threat, whether conveyed by proclamation or otherwise, whilst it might safely be assumed that the spirit in which the clause treating of indulgence would be acted upon in the Districts which should be recovered, would gradually become known throughout the province, and have conciliatory effect.

Precaution was taken against perversion and mistranslation by publishing in the first instance none but vernacular versions of the Proclamation.

RELATIONS WITH TALUQADARS

23rd. I have said that the proclamation should not attempt to point out the different measures of indulgence which would be conceded in different cases. This, and some other preceding observations, will be best explained by a brief reference to the recent condition of the *Talookdars* and other Landholders, as regards their rights in the soil.

24th. When we assumed the Govt. of Oude in 1856, the greater part of the province was held by *Talookdars* who represented its Aristocracy. They have been called the "Barons of Oude". But this term, applied to them as a class, is misleading. Some had received titles from the kings of Oude, for services rendered, or by court favor; some few are the representatives of ancient families; but the majority are men distinguished neither by birth, good service, or connection with the soil, who, having held office under the Native Government as *Nazims* i. e. Governors or *Chuckladars* i. e. Collectors of Govt. rents or having *farmed* the revenue of extensive tracts, had taken advantage of the weakness of the native Government and its indifference to all considerations of justice so long as it received revenue, had abused the authority confided to them by that Government; and by means of deeds of sale, sometimes extorted by violence, sometimes obtained by fraud, had become the nominal proprietors and the actual

possessors of the villages, or the majority of the villages, which formed what they called then *Talookas* or Estates.

25th. Owing to the ascendancy which the men of this class acquired, the weakness of the Native Government, the venality of the Courts, and the absence of justice, the condition of the actual occupants of the soil of the province, was one of unparalleled depression. Their rights had ceased to exist, or were reduced to a mere shadow; they could get no protection from the Government; they were completely in the power of the *Talookdars* and were subject to every kind of oppression, tyranny and exaction. In numberless instances they were compelled by the *Talookdars* to execute deeds of sale, alienating whatever proprietary right they nominally possessed; and they lost but little by the act; for, the practical fruition of proprietary right they had scarcely known.

26th. Such being the condition of things in Oude, the Government of India, perhaps with more of chivalrous justice than political prudence, determined at once to reinstate these proprietary occupants of the soil in what were believed to be their hereditary rights, and to restore the ancient village communities; and upon the annexation of the Country the Chief Commissioner was instructed to make the settlement of the land revenue with the proprietary occupants of the soil, to the exclusion of middle men. This instruction was carried into execution in some districts with undue haste, harshly and upon insufficient evidence; and where this took place, injustice was done to the *Talookdars*, some of whom were deprived of villages which had long been attached to their *Talookas* and their titles to which were not satisfactorily disproved.

The injustice might and probably would have been corrected in making the revised Settlement; but this does not excuse or palliate the wrong.

27th. The mutinies broke out. It might have been expected that, when insurrection first arose in Oude and before it had grown to a formidable head, the village occupants, who had been so highly favored by the British Government, and in justice to whom it had initiated a policy distasteful to the most powerful class in the province, would have come forward in support of the Government, who had endeavoured to restore them to their hereditary rights and with whose (sic,) interests were identical. Such, however, was not

the case. So far, as I am yet informed, not an individual dared to be loyal to the Govt. which had befriended him. The village occupants as a body relapsed into their former subjection to the *Talookdar*, owned and obeyed his authority as if he had been their lawful suzerain, and joined the ranks of those, who rose up in arms against the British Govt. The endeavour to neutralize the usurped and largely abused power of the *Talookdars* by recognizing the supposed proprietary rights of the people, and thus arousing their feelings of self interest, and evoking their gratitude, had failed utterly.

TALUQADARS BENEFITED BY THE SUMMARY SETTLEMENTS ALSO
HOSTILE

28th. The time arrived when it became necessary to consider how the province should be dealt with upon the reestablishment of our power and authority in its Capital. On the one hand was the patent fact that those whom we had desired to benefit, and had to our thinking benefited, did not value the rights which we had restored to them, and that far from standing up in defence of those rights, and in support of the Government which had been the means of reviving them, they had acted in complete subordination to the *Talookdars*, and had been no less forward than these latter in their efforts to subvert the authority of that Government, and to expel its Officers. On the other hand was the no less certain fact that, with but few honorable exceptions, all the *Talookdars*, many who had not suffered in the smallest degree by our fiscal measures, and some who had benefited by them, having been allowed, at the settlement, to retain all, or nearly all the villages composing their *Talookas* on reduced assessments, had taken up arms against the British Govt.; had either themselves participated; or had sent their retainers to aid in the relentless attacks on the Lucknow Residency; had forcibly resumed the occupation of their *Talookas*; and had in many ways manifested their malignant hostility to the British Government.

29th. In these circumstances to have recalled the condition of things which existed immediately before the rebellion, thereby renewing the experiment which had been attempted in 1856, and restoring the occupants of the soil to the position of proprietary landholders, which they had but just proved themselves wholly unfit and unprepared to maintain, would have been to court failure. And, on the other hand, to have

reverted to the state of affairs as we found them upon taking possession of the Country, and thus to have acknowledged in the *Talookdars*, after they had, as a body, risen in arms against us, and helped to subvert an authority, rights which had been denied, and in most cases justly denied, when our power was unquestioned and unresisted, would have been to concede a victory to rebels, and to put a premium on insurrection; a course, which would have lowered the character of the Govt., and destroyed its influence, not only in Oude, but throughout India.

REBELLIOUS SPIRIT MANIFESTED BY ALL THE TALUQADARS

30th. Regard being had to the history of tenures in Oude; to the failure of the efforts made by the Govt. in 1856 to set up those, who were believed to be the hereditary proprietors of the soil; to their unworthy reception of the benefit bestowed upon them; to the rebellious spirit manifested by nearly all the *Talookdars* of the province, and to the inconceivable difficulties, which would have attended the adjudication of claims to proprietary right in the circumstances that have been briefly described, and which would have hampered the administration at every turn, the surest, the safest, the most politic, and a thoroughly just course, seemed to be to declare the proprietary right in the soil (to whomsoever appertaining for all classes, as such, had sinned equally) confiscated, and to reserve to the Government the right of hereafter disposing of it, as might seem fitting; at the same time notifying the intention of the Govt., to show indulgence to those who should tender immediate submission, and throw themselves upon its mercy.

31st. I apprehended little difficulty and so far as experience has gone, little has, I believe, been found in explaining to the *Talookdars* and Landowners with whom our Officers have come in contact, that the "confiscation" does not necessarily operate as a permanent deprivation of their rights; but that it places in the hands of the Govt. the power of punishing those, who shall still persist in rebellion, after life and honor have been guaranteed to them; of rewarding those who shall promptly come forward and give their support to the Govt., and to the cause of Order; of substituting in every case of restoration the undeniable title derived from the will of the Govt., for the doubtful title, which alone could be advanced by the

majority of those whom the order affected; and of attaching to the fiat of restoration such conditions of service, political and military, fealty, and good conduct, as the altered circumstances of the province have made essential to the firm establishment of our authority.

32nd. I have now stated the considerations which led me to frame the Proclamation in the form in which it was transmitted to you.

33rd. It was sent to Lucknow on the 3rd of March, and on the 10th I received from the Chief Commissioner, Major General Sir James Outram, a letter urging a reconsideration of the terms of the Proclamation, mainly on the ground, that it would render hopeless the attempt to enlist the *Talookdars* on the side of Order, and would drive them to a desperate resistance; and recommending that such Landholders and Chiefs as had not been accomplices in the cold-blooded murder of Europeans should be enlisted on our side by the restoration of their ancient possessions, subject to such restrictions as would protect their dependants from oppression.

34th This letter and the replies to it, including the additional paragraph, which Sir James Outram's opinion of the light in which the *Talookdars* and Chiefs would view the Proclamation, induced me to add thereto, are before your Hon'ble Committee.

35th. I will not trouble your Hon'ble Committee with a recapitulation of the reasons which appeared to me to forbid the adoption of Sir James Outram's suggestion; but lest your Hon'ble Committee should suppose that I was without any previous expression of Sir James Outram's opinion on the subject, I wish to state that the unfavourable view taken by that distinguished Officer of the substance of the Proclamation was a cause of much disappointment to me.

36th. A very few weeks previously, the Chief Commr. had sent to the Govt. of India an able and elaborate Memorandum upon the system of civil administration to be adopted for Oude after Lucknow should be subjugated. In this Memo; dated the 15th Jany., 1858 are the following passages :

"The system of settlement with so-called village proprietors will not answer at present, if ever, in Oude.

"These men have not influence and weight enough to aid us in restoring order. The lands of men who have taken an active part against us should be largely confiscated in

order among other reasons, to enable us to reward others in the manner most acceptable to a Native. But I see no prospect of returning tranquillity except by having recourse for the next few years to the old *Talookdaree* System.....
Talookas should only be given to men who have actively aided us, or who, having been inactive, now evince a true willingness to serve us, and are possessed of influence sufficient to make their support of real value”.

37th. Subject to the understanding that even to those, who had been most active against us, indulgence should be extended upon their making prompt and complete submission; these opinions accorded exactly with my own; and although I was aware that there might easily be difference of opinion as to the mode of announcing and of carrying out punishment by confiscation, it did not occur to me that any such divergence of views as was subsequently intimated in the Chief Commissioner's letter of the 8th of March could occur between us. The belief therein expressed that there are not a dozen Landholders in the Province who have not borne arms against us, seemed to go far towards justifying the general and sweeping terms of the Proclamation, to which alone I expected any objection on Sir James Outram's part.

38th. I afterwards had occasion to send my Military Secretary, Colonel Stuart, to Head-quarters, and I took the opportunity to explain to the Chief Commissioner that I wished him to give the most liberal interpretation to the Proclamation; that, for instance, the Proclamation left it free to him to notify to any *Talookdar*, who was deserving of consideration, that if he made submission and supported the Government, the confiscation of his lands would not take effect, and that his claims to property of which he might have been deprived upon the annexation of the province would be reheard; and that in the case of these having been resumed by him; he might retain them till the rehearing.

39th. On the 3rd of April Major General Sir James Outram being about to take his seat in Council at Calcutta, Mr. Montgomery succeeded to the Chief Commissionership of Oude.

40th. Mr. Montgomery had at my request done me the favor of visiting Allahabad before going to Lucknow, in order that I might have an opportunity of communicating unreservedly with him upon the discharge of his new duties.

I impressed upon the new Chief Commr. my wish that his dealing with the chief rebels should be as conciliatory as might be consistent with the dignity of the Government; and that he should treat liberally and generously all those, who tendered their allegiance and gave support to his authority. Mr. Montgomery expressed his intention to take this matter into his own personal management.

41st. On the 20th of April the Chief Commissioner wrote to me in an unofficial letter as follows:—

“I enclose a memorandum just given me by Captain Barrow which will shew Your Lordship the names of *Talookdars* who have attended in person or by *vakeel*. Generally speaking, indeed invariably, the feeling shewed by the men who came in, is excellent. They express great sorrow at the past and seem grateful for the consideration shewn to them”. A copy of the memorandum is enclosed.

It contains the names of twenty-six Chiefs of note and influence, in various quarters, some of them at a great distance from Lucknow who had either openly tendered their allegiance to the Government, or had taken the first steps towards doing so. So far as I am aware only one of these has swerved from his first intention.

At the date of this memorandum little more than a month had elapsed since the first appearance of the Proclamation in Lucknow.

42nd. On the 22nd May the Chief Commr. sent me a further memorandum from Capt. Barrow, which is also under this cover.

It describes the progress made and the state of feeling prevalent.

HOSTILITY OF THE TALUQADARS

It is right however that I should observe that of the three powerful *Talookdars* named in this memorandum, one only (Maun Sing) has sided with us actively. Of the other two, one (Madhoo Sing) is inactive, and the other (Benee Madho) is in arms against us.

43rd. From this last date the Chief Commr. has furnished weekly reports, which have been forwarded to your Hon'ble Committee in regular course.

44th. Latterly these have become less favorable. The rebels, under the leadership in some cases of *Talookdars*, have

approached nearer to Lucknow, have threatened, and in some places destroyed the Civil Stations, which we had established, and have killed some of the Native guards. But I am not, neither is the Chief Commr. of Oudh, disheartened by a temporary check in the progress which had been rapidly achieved.

In a letter received from Mr. Montgomery as I am writing, that gentleman says, "I had settled some 6000 villages and everything was progressing most favorably when a combination of circumstances prevented the progress of the settlement", but he adds, "I still say that the mass of the people are inclined to us. I get secret letters and messages but they dare not come forward in the face of the armed bodies which are hostile to us".

45th In an earlier part of this despatch I had occasion to speak of these bodies, which, although without cohesion and combination, are nonetheless capable of intimidating and persecuting those whom they believe to be well-disposed towards the Govt. They have latterly been greatly aided in this by the influx of fugitives from Rohilcund and Calpee (Kalpi) who have either joined them, or set up as independent Marauders.

46th. I never expected it to be otherwise. I never expected that, with the capture and occupation of Lucknow, the province would become submissive; and my anticipation of the contrary is recorded in the letter which on the 16th of January the Governor General in Council addressed to the Commander-in-Chief recommending that His Excellency's operation should, notwithstanding, be directed against Lucknow. Those operations were carried out with a skill, bravery and success which have won the admiration of the world. But it is no disparagement of the work of the great Soldier, who achieved that success, to say that the chastisement thereby inflicted upon the loose bands of mutineers, rebels, and plunderers, who were collected in and about the city, was not such as to expel them from the limits of the province, or to deter them from persevering in their work of murder and pillage in other districts of it.

47th. It is not in reason, that, what with the pressure of the mutinous Sepoys, now congregated in various parts of the province on the one hand, and the arts and threats of desperate adventurers acting as leaders on the other, violence and rebellion should not be kept alive, and that those who are well

inclined to make their peace with the Govt. should not thereby be deterred from doing so.

48th. No man is better acquainted with the Eastern Districts of Oude and their inhabitants than Mr. Wingfield, who is at present acting on that frontier of the province as Special Commissioner of Goruckpore. Writing on the 6th of June, Mr. Wingfield says—"Unsupported by the presence of British troops there are many *Talookdars* who to my certain knowledge are deterred from tendering their allegiance, which is their sincere wish. Had the garrison of Lucknow only been distributed about the province, threefourths of the *Talookdars* would, under the promises held out by the Proclamation, have been entirely on our side by this time".

Unfortunately the garrison of Lucknow could not be spared nor anybody of troops at all approaching it in strength.

49th. But when the season shall arrive at which the troops can again move rapidly over the Country, when the large police force now being raised by the Chief Commissioner at Lucknow shall have reached its complement and received further organization, and when it shall be manifest that we have the means of protecting or supporting those who return to their allegiance I cannot doubt the spirit, in which the Proclamation has been accepted in many quarters, will declare itself generally throughout the province.

50th. I have now described to your Hon'ble Committee the whole course of my proceedings in regard to the Proclamation of the 15th of March. I have at the same time explained the policy which has guided me, and I have informed you generally of its results.

I respectfully await your judgment.¹

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 17th June 1858, No. 26^{1/2}; National Archives, New Delhi.

CHAPTER SEVEN
**REVOLUTIONARIES' HECTIC
EFFORTS**

MAULVI AHMAD ULLAH SHAH

*Letter from Ali Muhammad Khan and Saiyid Kazim Ali to Ahmad Ullah Shah,
(26th March).*

Received your letter dated *Shabaan* 9, 1274 A. H. through a camel driver. You have written about the despatch of horses, but the difficulty is that all the state horses have been taken away by people on the way. Seven horses and mares were taken by Sital Singh, Adjutant of the *Nadiri Paltan* and two mares were captured by the *Zemindar* of Goera Mau. Raja Drig Bijai Singh, the *Tauqadar* of Mahona, has two horses and one mare. 27 mares were taken by the *Tilangas* of *Paltan Bol*. You can take these from them, and I believe you have already done so. The state now has 3 or 4 colts left, not fit for riding and one mare pregnant. Raja Drig Bijai Singh has been asked to send the two horses and a mare but he has not yet done so. As soon as he sends them one of the horses will be sent to you for riding. Now about your calling me with a following, the state of affairs here is that the people have not collected uptil now and those who had come have already been sent to you. As soon as a large number of men come together, I shall present myself before you. It is no use coming alone. By God's grace you have a large body of men and it has been heard that 8,000 men have come with you from Khairabad. Under these circumstances, I hope that you will advance farther than Bari and kill these enemies of our religion who have started recruitment at Lucknow. The victory will be yours. Please consider me your faithful servant. We are staying here on your strength.

Please accept best respects from your faithful disciple
Ali Muhammad.¹

Letter from Saiyid Kazim Ali to Ahmad Ullah Shah, dated Shabaan 12, 1274 A.H.²

It has been repeatedly learnt through reliable persons

¹ Rai Bareilly Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

² 28th March 1858.

that the Chaudhry of Tikait Ganj¹ has collected a great quantity of supplies for the English. It is, therefore, requested that you may please send a *Risala* of horsemen to capture all the provisions and to carry them to you. The Chaudhry may also be properly punished. (Usual Ending).²

*Letter from Saiyid Kazim Ali to Ahmad Ullah Shah, dated Shabaan 14, 1274 A.H.*³

Received your *Hukumnamah* asking for the supply of horses, ammunition and tents. You are perfectly aware how we left Lucknow. Nobody has brought with him anything but the clothes he had on. Even now we are so destitute that it is difficult to describe it. In spite of this, we are always ready to obey your orders and send whatever is possible. Consequently a mare, saved from the plunder of the royal belongings, is being sent with Abdur Rahim. God knows there is no ammunition left. But saltpetre and soda have been called for from Fyzabad and as soon as gunpowder is ready it will be sent up. We have no tent in the present destitute state, otherwise there would be no hesitation in its despatch. You perfectly know that we are your faithful and obedient servants ready to sacrifice our lives and property for you; but no arrangements are possible at present. I need not tell you of the plight we are in, as you are perfectly aware of it.

Top Script
Ordered

As you sow so you reap. I need only God's grace and care for nobody's assistance.⁴

Letter of Daljit Singh, Taluqadar of Budhipur attached to Ilaga Ram Nagar Dhameri, to Ahmad Ullah Shah, Dated 17th Shabaan 1274 A. H. (2nd April 1858).

Received your *Hukumnamah* of 17th *Shabaan* 1274 A. H.

¹ *Tikaitganj*, Pargana Kursi Tahsil Fatehpur Distt. Barabanki—Tikaitganj is the name of an important bazar lying on the road from Lucknow to Mahmudabad, at a distance of two miles to the north of Kursi, in latitude 27° 5' north and longitude 81° 5' east. (*District Gazetteers*, Barabanki 1904, p. 283).

² Rai Bareli Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

³ 30th March 1858.

⁴ Rai Bareli Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

informing of your safe stay at the house in the village, of realising the dues and of sending the reinforcement. This has given us immense pleasure and much satisfaction. My Lord ! The matters as they stand here are that in my *Ilaga* the *malguzari* of Chheda Singh *Tahsildar* who was appointed here by Raja Gur Bakhsh Singh, *Taluqadar* of Ram Nagar Dhameri, has been realised from the tenants while the residues have been taken by Ganga Bakhsh Singh *Tafriqdar*. The above-named Raja Gur Bakhsh Singh has deprived me of my *Ilaga* by giving it over to Ganga Bakhsh Singh & others. I have, therefore, been ejected. Ganga Bakhsh Singh has collected a following of 3 or 4 hundred Gohars and is bent upon my destruction. The aforesaid *Tafriqdar* particularly, has developed animosity against me since I accompanied you to his door. But I have faith in you and your help. I can hope for the safety of my life only on yourself. If you send a *Karinda* (agent), I shall have all the Government dues realised. But to defeat a man like Ganga Bakhsh, who is equipped with better means and commands a greater strength, is almost an impossibility unless your help is forthcoming. I find in you the source of my strength, and I may reach you with all my following if you so order me. In absence of the charge of the *Ilaga*, I am without the means of subsistence. A constant threat from him to be besieged and put to death has made it difficult for me to stay at home. Submitted.

May the sun of your wealth and prosperity ever shine.

Top Script

Ordered that the application of the petitioner with the details of the revenue should be forwarded to Lutf Ahmad *chakledar* and it should be written to the petitioner that he should report himself with his men. Dated 21st *Shabaan* 1274 A. H. (6th April 1858).¹

*Letter from Qadir Bakhsh, Darogha of Magazine, to Ahmad Ullah Shah, submitted for orders on 18th Shabaan 1274 A. H.*²

Because of the disturbance caused by the heathens I was driven out of the city of Lucknow, and I removed my

¹ Rai Bareli Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

² 3rd April 1858.

family to a safe place. I have sent to you all the ammunition stored at Sarai Agha Mir and thus obeyed your order. I left at Lucknow, belongings worth several thousands of rupees. I cannot fully describe the plight I am in. At the place I am staying now all the *Raisas* are Shia Musalmans. Shortly, all of them will present themselves to you for fighting the heathens. Therefore you are requested to be so kind as to send me the reply with a *Hukummamah* addressed to the *Nazim* of Khairabad about the ammunition, so that I may search out and collect all the ammunition available there and send it to you at an early date. You are so kind as to inform me about all that is taking place at Lucknow and about arrival there of the *Taluqadars* with their fighting forces. It has been heard now that the *Taluqadars* of Baiswara and Sultanpur have reached Lucknow, killed the heathens and have entrenched near Aish Bagh. Having been apprised of this happy tidings all the *Zamindars* and *Taluqadars* intend presenting themselves to you. An early reply to all that I have submitted may kindly be sent so that I may present myself before you without delay and pay my respects.

Ordered

The file of this case should be submitted for orders on the 22nd.¹

Letter from Saiyid Kazim Ali to Ahmad Ullah Shah, dated Shabaan 18, 1274 A. H.²

A great search was made for camels, but they could not be found at Bhitoli³. Munshi Mahmud Ali said that there was the need of elephants as well, which will be supplied later. The fighting *Risala* was emphatically ordered to report itself to you but it pleaded that it would go when all the horsemen assemble. The artillery men of Nasirabad also did not agree to going there with the cannon. I would present myself

¹ Rai Bareilly Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

² 3rd April 1858.

³ *Bhitauli*, Pargana *Bhitauli* Tahsil *Fatehpur*—The place which gives its name to the pargana is a small village, at a distance of 30 miles from Nawabganj and seven miles north of Ramnagar, in latitude 27° 11' north and longitude 81° 25' east. The village is in a most inaccessible situation, being on the north bank of the Chauka, a few miles above the confluence of that river with the Ghagra, Bahraughat being some five miles distant. (*District Gazetteers*, Barabanki 1904, p. 193).

before you with the horsemen but the *Mahajan* of Shahpur has not come. He must come by to-morrow and then I shall communicate what has been settled with him. Still, if you so order, I shall present myself without waiting for him to come.

Mahmud Ali asks me to convey his best compliments.

May the sun of your fortune ever remain shining on the sky of greatness.

Perused

Ordered

That a *Hukumnamah* be written to the name of Mammoo Khan saying, "This shows you have not yet absolved yourself of the evils you possess in your soul both internally and externally. God will give you what you deserve for your doings".

Another *Hukumnamah* be enclosed with this.

Dated *Shabaan* 20,
1274¹ A. H.

Two *Hukumnamahs* were issued.

Shabaan 20, 1274 A. H.²

Letter from Saiyid Kazim Ali to Ahmad Ullah Shah, dated 19th Shabaan 1274 A.H.³

Three English spies have been caught and they are now here at Mahmudabad. If you order they may be sent to you. Otherwise, kindly issue orders for compliance.

Best respects from Mammud Ali.

Ordered

A *Hukumnamah* should be sent to the petitioner that he should *challan* all the three spies and keep them in custody. They should not be allowed to escape.⁴

Letter from Daljit Singh, Taluqadar of Budhipur (Haqa Ram Nagar Dhameri), to Ahmad Ullah Shah perused on 19th Shabaan 1274 A. H.⁵

My Lord ! As I, your hereditary slave, have ever been faithful to the Government and as you have always been kind and indulgent to me, therefore, having noticed a certain in-

¹ 5th April 1858.

² Rai Bareli Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

³ 4th April 1858.

⁴ Rai Bareli Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

⁵ 4th April 1858.

cident, I am communicating it to you as an act of fidelity. Ganga Prasad, the nephew of Sahu Behari Lal, *Mahajan* of Lucknow who had taken shelter here with his family and immense wealth, first stayed at Fatchpur for some days and afterwards, on the arrival of the heathens at Kursi, fled to the *Ilaga* of Rompur on the other bank of the river and stayed there. Yesterday, in order to meet the heathens at Lucknow, he has moved with his wealth and family, to the house of Ganga Bakhsh, *Zemindar* of Shahpur (in Fatchpur area) and is staying there. He is expected to go to Lucknow in a day or two or even earlier. If he reaches Lucknow and gives two or four lacs of rupees to the heathens, this will add to their strength. If you want to have this amount of money, you may please despatch 500 or 1000 horsemen and foot-soldiers to Shahpur and order them to besiege the house of Ganga Bakhsh in order to keep back Sahuji from going to Lucknow and to exact as much money from him as possible.

I have reported the matter to you and the rest lies in your power.

May the sun of your prosperity shine forth.

Top script

Perused on 19th *Shabam* 1274 A. H.¹

Letter from Saiyid Kazim Ali to Ahmad Ullah Shah, dated Shabaan 20, Monday², in the night with the form of address "Shah Sahab, my Spiritual Guide! May your beneficence ever last!"

Today the army of Muhamdi and the *Anil* of the place entered Muhamadabad with a strength of about 4000. Better would it be if you make an advance. Under these circumstances you may please once more go to Bhitauli, the *garhi* of Raja Gur Bakhsh Singh, and direct the paid-army and the troops of the *Taluqadar* to all the different directions for punishing the heathens, so that the campaign may be systematically carried out. You will kindly inform me of the day when you intend going there, so that I may either reach myself or send Munshi Mahmud Ali to your presence.

May the sun of your beneficence and bounty shine forth.³

¹ Rai Bareilly Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

² 5th April 1858.

³ Rai Bareilly Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

Letter from Saiyid Kazim Ali to Ahmad Ullah Shah, dated 21st Shabaan 1274 A. H. (6th April 1858).

Received four *Hukumnamahs* about (1) the demand of Rs. 2000/- (2) the despatch of spics (3) the demand of camels and elephants and asking me to be present before you, and (4) calling Bihari Lal, the *Amil* of Muhamdi¹. The reply to the first is—Do you demand this money from me or out of the amount promised by Muhammad Yusuf Khan, the Collector? Please intimate in details so that arrangements may be made. The reply to the second is that all the three criminals are being sent to you under the protection of *Paltan Faghfoor* and they will probably reach your place to-morrow. The reply to the third is that two horsemen have been sent to Sadarpur², the place where the state elephants have been sent for grazing, and as soon as they are back to this place they will be sent to you. The reply to the fourth is that Bihari Lal, *Amil* of Muhamdi has, for arrears of pay, been taken captive by the army posted at Muhamdi. He is therefore in their hands and his movements are censured by them. I cannot do anything in this matter.

I have sent five horsemen with your letter for bringing the tent and the same will be despatched as soon as it is received.

It has been learnt through the *Harkara* that the Englishmen at Lucknow have made up their mind to attack Bari very soon. He heard this detailed account from the rabble accompanying the army at Mundeacon.

It is therefore requested that, in view of this, you will kindly take immediate action to safeguard and protect.

Please accept the best respects of your devoted disciple, Mahmud Ali.³

¹ *Muhamdi*, Pargana and Tahsil *Muhamdi* Distt. *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).

² *Sadarpur*, Pargana *Sadarpur* Tahsil *Sidhaulī* Distt. *Sitapur*—The capital of the pargana is merely a small village lying in latitude 27° 26' north and longitude 81° 8' east, at a distance of 30 miles south-east from Sitapur on the unmetalled road running from Bissan to Bansra and Rampur Mathura. (*District Gazetteers*, *Sitapur* 1905, p. 207).

³ *Rai Bareilly* Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

Letter from Saiyid Kazim Ali, Karinda of Ali Muhammad Khan, to Ahmad Ullah Shah.

I have sent your letter addressed to the counsellors of the Begam, without delay to the latter herself. I shall despatch the reply as soon as she sends it. I have also sent to her the list of your requirements enclosed with your *Hukumnamah*. There is a horse but there is no saddle. The Begam has been informed about it and the horse will be sent as soon as she orders. But it is necessary that you should send a letter under your seal with a trusted servant, because it has been learnt that the horse sent under a horseman, previously, did not reach you. This is why there is hesitation in sending the horse. All the troops that come here are being sent to you.

May the sun of your prosperity and greatness shine forth.¹

Letter from Saiyid Kazim Ali to Ahmad Ullah Shah, dated Shabaan 22, 1274 A. H.² (at night) with the form of address "Shah Saheb, my Spiritual Guide etc. ! May your beneficence ever subsist !"

The horseman, who had been sent to Sadarpur for bringing in the elephants, brought the news that the elephants had gone to Bhitauli. A letter has therefore been sent to Ali Muhammad Khan, *Darogha* at Bhitauli, calling for those elephants and they will be sent to you as soon as they reach here.

The horsemen who had been sent to Kursi for bringing in the tent have returned today and others will be sent to-morrow. You will please learn about all other things from Habibullah Khan *Risaldar* who is going to you with his *Risala*.

May the sun of your beneficence ever shine.

Please accept the best respects of your devoted servant Mahmud Ali.³

Letter from Saiyid Kazim Ali to Ahmad Ullah Shah, dated 22nd Shabaan 1274 A. H.⁴ with the form of address "Shah Saheb, my Spiritual Guide ! May you ever prosper !"

I am enclosing herewith a list of those names of the *Zemindars* of Bari and Biswan who have presented themselves

¹ Rai Bareilly Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

² 7th April 1858.

³ Rai Bareilly Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

⁴ 7th April 1858.

neither here, nor before you, nor have they paid the Government revenues. You are, therefore, requested to punish them as you consider best.

May the sun of your prosperity and greatness ever shine forth.¹

Letter from Aulad Hussain, Munzarimkar (Agent) of the Ilqa of Ram Nagar Dhameri, to Ahmad Ullah Shah, dated 23rd Shabaan 1274 A. H.²

To-day in the morning the *Tilangas* of the Guard posted with 3 cannon, said that they would not go towards Siddhaur³ as the heathens were reported to be there. Although I did my very best to admonish and persuade them but they did not move. I do not know how to take with me these 3 cannon. I greatly wonder at the impotency and lack of courage in the soldiers. They did not move even a *kos* or two and, therefore, with 15 soldiers of my own I am going towards Siddhaur. If I can anyway arrange I shall send the cannon, otherwise I shall submit a detailed report. Still the absence of courage in the soldiers has caused much dislocation.

Ordered

That this be submitted when the Court sits next time.
Dated *Shabaan* 25, 1274.^{4*}

Letter from Makhdam Bakhsh, Captain, Regiment 9, to Ahmad Ullah Shah, dated 25th Shabaan 1274 A. H.⁵ with the form of address, "My Spiritual Guide! the cause of my bliss in both the worlds. May you be blessed!"

I beg to submit to your Spiritual Highness that I, your disciple, had previously sworn by the *Quran* to remain loyal to my master Mirza Muhammad Ramzan Ali Khan, Birjis Qadar and in accordance with it, considering my solemn

¹ Rai Bareli Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

² 8th April 1858.

³ *Siddhaur*, Pargana *Siddhaur* Tahsil *Haidargarh* Dist. *Barabanki*.-- This town, which gives its name to the pargana, lies in latitude 26° 46' north and longitude 81° 27' east, at a distance of 18 miles south-east of Nawabganj. (*District Gazetteers*, Barabanki 1904, Pp. 270-71).

⁴ 10th April, 1858.

* Rai Bareli Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

⁵ 10th April 1858.

promises I escorted him to Bhitauli, the *Ilaga* of Gur Bakhsh, *Taluqadar* of Ram Nagar Dhameri. Therefrom, in order to remain true to my salt I marched to Saadat Ganj¹, by order. Between Nawal Ganj, Bara Banki and Saadat Ganj there is a distance of 6 *kos*. With me, your sincere disciple, there is an army of 1200 horsemen and foot-soldiers and also artillery. Submitting this for your information, I, your sincere disciple and one who is ready to sacrifice everything for you, will act up to your orders with the most heart-felt sincerity. Gajadhar Singh, Captain of Regiment 9, had captured a horseman with arms and accoutrement. When I learnt that he was one of your men I made every possible attempt to get him set free. At last I persuaded Gajadhar Singh and pledged myself for his liberty. Although he was set free but Gajadhar Singh through his wickedness did not give him back his belongings, except the horse and the sword. I am reporting this for your information. I, your slave, always consider myself present in your assembly and hope to receive your high favours.

May the sun of your spiritual guidance and worldly conquest ever shine on the horizon of victory.

Overleaf

Your devoted spiritual servants, Azizuddin, (MSS torn out) Saiyid Zahur Ali, Saiyid Haidar Ali, Hasan Ali and Chhanga submit their most humble and sincere respects to you.²

Letter of Daljit Singh, Taluqadar of Budhipur attached to Ilaga Ram Nagar Dhameri, to Ahmad Ullah Shah, dated before 26th Shabaan 1274 A. H. (11th April 1858).

On the day when you were staying at the house of Ganga Bakhsh Singh *Tafriqdar* in Shalpur and I was, with 50 or 60 men, at the door of the *Tafriqdar* till evening, I had to leave that place as many of my men had not even taken a bath. I

¹ *Saadatganj*, Pargana *Ramnagar* Tahsil *Fatehpur* Distt. *Barabanki* - Saadatganj is the name of a bazar, otherwise known as *Badshahganj*, situated in latitude 26° 59' north and longitude 81° 25' east, in the village of *Badshah-nagar* in the extreme south of the pargana. It lies on the unmetalled road running from *Safdarganj* to *Ramnagar* through *Bansa*, at a distance of sixteen miles north-east of *Barabanki*. (*District Gazetteers, Barabanki* 1904, p. 264).

² *Rai Bareli* Collectorate *Mutiny Basta*.

had, therefore, to trace my steps back to my place. I am now being blamed by the *Tafriqdar* for having called you here and to have created the disturbance. He believes that I should be killed and therefore he has collected at his place 3 or 4 hundred Gohar men from the neighbouring villages. Though he has so far desisted from this action due to the presence of your sawars, but the moment the sawars are removed, he would swoop down upon my house and besiege it. I have already brought it to your notice how Ganga Bakhsh *Tafriqdar* is bent upon taking my life & is harbouring grudge against me. His ill-will would be provoked if I happened to accompany you to his place. But encouraged by your assurance of my safety and to punish him for his mischief, I beg to report this matter with the hope that necessary steps will be taken. It has to-day been learnt through an informer that a troop of *Kafirs* (English) has come to Talab Bakshi and they are camping there. Submitted.

May the sun of your wealth and prosperity ever shine.

Ordered that the paper may for the present be kept in the *Sarishla*.

Dated 26th *Shabaan* 1274 A. H.¹

Petition of Umrao Singh and Ram Sahai, Qanungos of Kursi, addressed to Ahmad Ullah Shah.

(Salutations)—The state of affairs here is that the northern part of Lucknow presents a deserted appearance owing to the battle raging in the south, and the *Zemindars* and *Taluqadars* like Raja Drig Bijai Singh of Mahona are awaiting your arrival. We (illigible) the *Zemindars* of *Mauza Dohra* of *Pargana Kursi* (illigible) want to go to your presence. But we are not aware of your place of stay. Hence I beg to request to be allowed to take all those, whom I can, to your presence. If you so order, Maharaja Drig Bijai Singh may also personally reach your presence to do the needful.

May the sun of your wealth and power ever shine.

Top Script

Ahmad Ullah Shah's order : A *Hukumnamah* for Drig Bijai Singh be sent to the petitioner, to the effect that he should

¹ Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

accompany him with all his personal as well as Gohar troops together with the guns available, and should help the petitioner. Dated 4th *Ramzanul Mubarak* 1274 A. H. (18th April 1858).¹

Saiyid Kazim Ali Darogha's letter addressed to Ahmad Ullah Shah, dated 14th Ramzan 1274 A. H. (28th April 1858).

(After Salutations) Certain persons of this side have informed me that you are staying at Khairabad. I am, therefore, sending a sawar to you through whom you may please inform me of your departure. The *Rajas* of this side have assembled a body of 20 (20,000) or 25,000 men. Rana Beni Madho is also here (illegible)² with a following of about 15,000. The army with all the *Rajahs* will cross the river on *Ramzan* 16 and your presence on the same date there is also expected. Usual Ending.³

Saiyid Kazim Ali's (karinda of Ali Muhammad Khan Bahadur) letter addressed to Ahmad Ullah Shah.

(Usual Salutations).....My letter to you, already despatched, will give a detailed information. As to the details of ammunition with me (I may state) I had some bundles of cartridges loaded on an elephant; but even these were taken away by *Tilangas* yesterday, without my permission; and thus on oath in the name of God I say none of it is left with me, otherwise they would have been placed at your service. Night and day I am busy in getting the ammunition manufactured. I could get some saltpetre and sulphur collected at Kursi, but as you must have heard, it was lost to us because a troop of Europeans reached and dispersed the guard posted there. I have also requisitioned some ammunition from Faizabad which is soon expected. I shall then send you all that would have been manufactured (by then). I have sent Sadullah Khan, Captain, and the sawars in his company to you. Usual Ending.

Overleaf

P. S

There are 27 horses and a revenue clerk with the *Tilangas* of *Paltan Bol*. You can take them for your use.³

¹ Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

² Apparently, *Nagram*.

³ Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

Letter of a Taluqadar (Seal blurred in original) addressed to Ahmad Ullah Shah.

Two proclamations were received-- one announced that half the *Jama* of the *Ilagas* will be allowed free to all those *Taluqdars* and *Zemindars* who fight and kill the English. Hence it is notified to all the *Zemindars* and *Taluqdars* of Baiswara that all those who will help the *Sarkar* and cooperate with Rana Beni Madho Bakhsh Bahadur Diler Jang in killing the English and also send 50 men per thousand, will enjoy exemption from the payment of half of the *Jama* for 5 years. It is, therefore, incumbent upon all of them to cooperate wholeheartedly in winning this war and extirpating and killing the English and thus, by exhibiting bravery & manliness, to prove themselves worthy of the patronage of this *Sarkar*. But those who, in spite of this concession, keep aloof would not only forfeit this exemption but would, further, be punished.

Number two declares that those who have presented themselves before the English, have turned Christians. They will have to bear insults and abasement. Even then, their faults are being condoned and they should now join the *Sarkar's* army and the troops of Rana Beni Madho Bakhsh Singh in order to kill the English and thus give proof of their faithfulness.

My Lord ! I have all along been loyal and obedient to you. Since the beginning of the month of *Kunwar* I have been with the royal army and have thus endangered my life in pursuance of your orders. Now, I am in company with Rana Beni Madho Bakhsh Singh and according to your orders, am killing the Nazarines. I hope to be favoured by your patronage.

Submitted.

May the sun of your prosperity ever shine.¹

DRIG BIJAI SINGH

Translation of a Hindi letter from Raja Drig Bijai Singh to Rani of Dhaurara, Dated Bhadon Badi 4, 1263 F. L.; or A. D.—9th August 1857; or Hijri—18th Zilhijja 1273.

Raja Digbijja (Drig Bijai) Sing sends news of his welfare to Ranee Sahib. Mahadeo or God may keep welfare on both

¹ Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

sides. Your letter has been received with the news which is satisfactory. Particulars of this place are as follows:

I have received a *Purwanah* from Lucknow in my address saying "That *Sahub log* are in Dhorara, I must send for them". Therefore I write you, that it is proper that you should send them to *Sirkar*, otherwise blame me not for anything. Rest of the news was made known by the letter of Lala Paim Lall. You are at liberty to act as you like but be careful. By God's favor everything is all well. Favor me with the news of your welfare.

P. S. Subsequently I received a *Purwanah* from the King mentioning that the elephant driver of Gall Sahub said that about 10 ladies and gentlemen were prisoners with the Raja in Dhorara. I am therefore ordered by the King, as there is acquaintance between us, to send for them; and he says if you will not send them you will be under the same predicament as it is with Baily Guard's people. Hence I write you by way of relationship, that you may produce them immediately, or otherwise don't impute any blame to me hereafter if your case turns bad.¹

Extracts from Reports of the Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow, respecting Raja Drigbejai Sing (Drig Bijai Singh).

Raja Drigbejai Sing, *Talookdar*, Mohumud Nasir, *Chowdrec* (Chaudhri) of Koorsec, and Zalim Sing of Dharorah came with a force of 4,000 men and 4 guns, plundered 4 men and 8 prisoners and also destroyed the entrenchments of Mahona on 8th May/58 and on the 9th of the same month seized 14 carts and horses laden with provisions. 12th May: plunder (sic, plundered) Hyder Hoosain Khan of 1 Lac of Rupees; on the 10th May Raja Drigbejai Sing together with Chowdrec Mohumud Nasir and Mullik Faqueer Bux of Mysunda plundered the inhabitants of Tickait Gunj of property valued at 76,000, and seized the *Mahajuns*.

13th May: plundered Gous Mohumud (Ghaus Muhammad) of his property and seized the Royats of Akasur. 11th May: plundered 11 houses in the village of Bissarah. 13th May: This rebel located his *Thanah* in Teenah, and plundered Jugdeespoor, and on the 14th May plundered the inhabitants of

¹ "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Raja Drig Bijai Singh". Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*.

Akasur. The sepoys of this man seized an Aheer and plundered Toorawur, Gunsam (Ghan Shiam), and Gurgadeen Prisoners. With 50 Passics on 26th May last wounded Doorga and Rambux & seized 8 men. With Baboo Pirthee Paul, Faqueer Bux, Mohumud Nasir, and Mesahib Ally plundered and burnt the village of Burrowlie 23rd May. On the 28th May plundered the village of Dhorowra. On the 1st June in the village of Akasur fired a salute, and collected Revenue.

Located his *Thanahs* in Bunsawa, Cuckoo, Teenah, Nujramow, Gurgowlic, Akasur, Muhmoodpoor, Koorwamow, Dhowric, Tickait Gunj, Gurree (*Garhi*) Mohumudpoor, and collected Revenue.

On the 19th or 20th May a *Perwana* was sent through Ruttun Sing, *Talookdar* of Etounjah, requesting Drig Bejai Sirg to release the 8 *Burkundazes* he had seized; instead of complying with this request, he killed one messenger and imprisoned the other.

Through the instrumentality of this man the *Zemindars* of Itwaree, Umursunda, Bahta, Jubree, and Umurwah, attacked the *Burkundazes* of Mahona and killed two men, wounding the *Thanadar* & *Jemadar Duffadar* and *Chuprassies* while going their rounds, 28th May 1858. About the 13th of June destroyed the *Thanah* of Talab Buxee, burnt it and appointed his own *Tehseeldar* and insisted on the *Zemindars'* presenting themselves to him, also collected the Revenue, and prevented provisions from being brought into Lucknow.

The *Tehseeldar* of Lucknow says he plundered and destroyed the village of Akasund.

Plundered Ram Sirg *Duffadar* and the *Lumberdar* of Koorwamow of property valued at Rs. 1,360 (date unknown). According to deponents' statements, this man has been plundering several villages in the *Tehseel* of Koorsee. The Lucknow *Hoozoor Tehsildar* states this man has also forcibly established himself in the following villages, Mowan 6 *coss* north of Lucknow, Sursawa, Di (sic,) Khuntaree 7 *coss* north of Lucknow. Has burnt the village of Mehsunda, *Pergunnah* Koorsee, 20 miles from Lucknow.

12th May 1858—"Raja Drigbejai Sirg of Mahona has collected a large number of followers at his Fort of "Umurreca" with Guns, and is in direct communication with the rebels at Bawnugger, Byram Ghat, Killowlie, and the neighbourhood".

2. "It is reported that the rebel force after beating the

Tehseel (sic,) at Gooshaengunj attacked the *Canoongoe's* house at Salcympoor, and killed his son because the Father had entered our Service. It is remarked that the well wishers of Government, have a hard game to play; they attend us, and in their absence their families are cut up”.

24th May 1858—“I sent a *Chuprassee* in disguise to Raja Drigbejai Sing, *Talookdar* of Mahona, with an order, reminding him of his misconduct and of its fatal consequences; the *Chuprassee* was unfortunately found out and killed. Three other *Chuprassees* are reported to be under arrest by the same Raja”.

29th May 1858—“Gabor Sing, *Thanadar* of Koorsee with two *Jemadars*, 1 *Duffadar*, and 40 *Burkundazes* was patrolling between 5 and 6 miles from the *Thanah* when he was attacked by the *Zemindars* of Atwarce, Bhaita, Omra, Juburee and Amursunda who took advantage of some cover to fire upon the Police; two *Burkundazes* were killed outright, Dara Sing another *Burkundaze* has been so severely wounded that he is not likely to live; three others have been wounded, the *Thanadar* and *Duffadar* were wounded with arrows in the leg & some others slightly wounded. There is (?are) an Agent of the Begum, appointed *Chuckladar* of all these *Perghs*. (*panganas*), and the rascal Drigbejai Sing *Talooqdar*, who are putting the people up to mischief; matters are becoming very bad, and likely to remain so until “Drigbejai Sing is hung on a tree, and some Troops are stationed at Nawab Gunj; the Police are sure to lose pluck if nothing is done to assist them”.

12th September 1858—“Two troops of Lieutt. Sadlier's, Irregular Cavalry went out to patrol in the direction of Gooshaeen Gunj at Mooazzimnuggur, they met some rebels, who fired on them. The *Thanadar* of Gooshaeen Gunj went out to see what had occurred and heard the same story from a *Duffadar* of the Regiment. The *Tehseeldar* of Koorsee reports a collection of rebels about 30,000 strong in the vicinity of Futtehpoor, Raja Drigbejai Sing is again committing excesses and plundering villages”.

4th November 1858—“I have received good information to the effect that Drigbejai Sing with 600 or 700 men, and 2 Guns has advanced into Koorsee and has taken up his abode in the house of Mohumud Nasir, a public house with fortifications, and is demolishing all the houses around within range, and is clearing out the Gardens for encamping grounds for his troops; he has patrols of his Sowars on this (the Lucknow)

side of Koorsee. He is also levying a house tax of 1 Re. per house in Koorsee. He seems to think the British troops are too much occupied with Rana Bance Madho Bux, and Nurput Sing to think of him; until Drigbejai Sing's account is settled, the *Tehseeldar* of Koorsee can make little progress".¹

Letter from S. Martin to Lieut. Col. Abbott, Commr. & Supt., dated Lucknow, May 3, 1858.

I have the honor to furnish the usual weekly report of progress.....The *thannahs* of Murcaro, Koorsee, Chilandawan and Goshaeengunje were inspected, the entrenchments were nearly completed, Goshaeengunje excepted and the complement (sic,) of *burkundazes* had been filled up in every *thannah*, weapons & ammunition have been provided, the former have been obtained from the general disarmament of the country. If any *thanadar* applies to me for weapons I tell him to take them from the warlike villages in his jurisdiction, the consequence is the Police soon find out where they are to be had. The *thannah* & *tehsel* have been relocated at Goshaeengunj.

2. A road-police of foot and cavalry has been organised to patrol the Cawnpore road. The general state of the district under my charge is improving, but the minds of the people are liable to be affected by the possibility of inroads from the rebel cavalry, who make rapid marches through certain parts of the District. It is obvious that as long as the rebels can make raids with impunity the inhabitants of the country must suffer.

3. For instance they plundered the villages of Futtehpore & Sufdurgunj².

Crime—There are no aggravated cases of crime on the part of the population to refer to this week. What has been perpetrated is chiefly by the rebels at large. The sowars killed three people at Futtehpore where we have not yet got

¹ "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Raja Drig Bijai Singh". Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basia*.

² *Safdarganj*, Pargana *Partabganj* Tahsil *Nawabganj* Distt. *Barabanki*—A small town on the eastern borders of the pargana, a short distance from the Kalyani, which washes the village lands on the north and east. It lies in latitude 26° 55' north and longitude 81° 24' east. (*District Gazetteers*, Barabanki 1904, p. 264).

a *thannah*, they burned the house of a well-disposed person named Zamee Ahmed & plundered the *Bazaar*.

4. The *Talooqdars* of this District have all come forward with the exception of Raja Goor Buksh Sing of Ramnuggur Dhumeyrec and Raja Drig Bejai Sing of Malona; the latter has sent his *Vakeel*, but I require the personal presence of the Raja himself. They both promise to come forward, but it is to be seen how long they take to perform this purpose. In the course of a week or 10 days I hope to be able to report the settlement of all *talooqdarees* in this District; should any remain recusant I shall request special orders on the case.

5. The collection of revenue & admission of *cubooliyats* has been:

Tehseel	Amount of revenue collected	Number of <i>cubooliyats</i> filed	Remark
Lucknow	3,324	23	
Koorsee	2,811	60	
Newabgunie	4,338	20	
Goshaeengunje	7,144	36	
Ramnuggur	10	"	

6. The *Tehseels* of Ramnuggur could not be located for reasons, Capt. Reid, who was out with the Force at Ramnuggur, have (sic, has) already given. The Country about Ramnuggur was too disturbed to attempt to locate a *tehsael*. When Raja Goor-buksh Sing gives in his submission, and the *Ghats* at the river Gogra are watched, so as to prevent the rebels crossing to this side, a *Tehseeldar* can with safety be sent out to Ramnuggur but not till then. Where *Tehseeldarees* are endangered, if a company or two of *Seikhs* could be sent out to the *tehsael* it would be the means of restoring confidence.¹

Letter No. 19 of 10th May 1858 from S. Martin, D. C., to Lt. Col. Abbott, Commissioner.

During the past week I was only able to visit the *thanna*

¹ "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Raja Drig Bijai Singh". Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*.

of Chillawan owing to a sprain I have been suffering from in the ancle (sic.); the *tehseeldar* of Lucknow visited the *thanna* of Murcaoo. I was much pleased with the entrenchment made at Chillawan; it quite answers the purpose of a position of defence. The location of a *thanna* has had the effect of restoring confidence in a small *bazar* near the *thanna*, and I observed that a few cultivators had returned to what had hitherto been utterly deserted villages. I weeded some of the *burkundazes* whom I considered useless, and had them all paraded out to inspect their weapons and ammunition, with the exception of a few out of the one hundred; they all had matchlocks & swords.

2. The number of *thannas* I have at work are:

1. Murcaoo (Mariaoo), 2. Chillawan, 3. Mahona, 4. Talab Bukshee, 5. Bijnour¹, 6. Newabgunje, 7. Jhangeerabad, 8. Chihut, 9. Goshacengunje, 10. Koorsee, 11. Daiwa (Dewa).

But I regret to say that owing to the collection of a large number of rebels with guns in the Ramnuggur *Pergunnah* at Byram Ghat, Massoulee², Futtehpore, Saadutgunje & Ramnuggur, I have been obliged to withdraw the *tehseel* and *thanna* of Newabgunje to Chihut. It was obvious that the *tehseeldar* & *thannadar* could not possibly hold out against such large numbers with guns, and if the *tehseel* people had been defeated, the effect would have been much worse than retiring now, before there was any actual pressure from outside compelling them to do so. The *thanna* of Mahona has been burnt by Raja "Drigbejai Sing", and eight *burkundazes* taken prisoners. This *talooqdar* is a confirmed rebel, he pays not the slightest attention to my orders, and is too strong in his Fort for me to grapple with. The *thannahdar* of Mahona has been ordered to unite with the man at "Talab Bukshee".

¹ *Bijnour*, Pargana *Bijnour* Tahsil *Lucknow* Dist. *Lucknow*—The chief town of the pargana is situated in 26° 44' north latitude and 80° 5' east longitude, some three miles to the south of the city of Lucknow and two miles to the east of the metalled road to Cawnpore. (*District Gazetteers*, Lucknow 1904, Pp. 175-76).

² *Masauli*, Pargana and Tahsil *Nawabganj* Distt. *Barabanki*—A large village in the east of the pargana, at a distance of some ten miles north-east of the district headquarters and one mile east of the main road from Nawabganj to Bahramghat. (*District Gazetteers*, Barabanki 1904, p. 231).



3. In the Goshacergunjje *Pergunnah* there are some Dacoits, Anundee, Khooshal Koormee & others who amuse themselves by burning villages, & committing havoc. Plunder is now the order of the day with these rebels; they lay waste a *bazar* & those that resist payment of black mail they carry off to their camp to torture.

4. Under such a state of things revenue of course comes in slowly; it cannot be otherwise, for these armed bodies of ruffians show particular hatred towards those who attend our Court, *Sudder* or *Mafussil*, & therefore it naturally results that those who are willing to show their allegiance hang back. They remain neutral.

The collections are :

Tehseel	Amount of revenue collected	Number of <i>Cubooliyuts</i> filed	Remarks
Lucknow	4464-13-3	15	
Koorsee	1066- 0-0	81	
Newabgunje	987- 5-0	92	
Goshacengunjje	573- 0-0	10	
Ramnuggur	2- 0-0	2	
Total :	7093- 2-3	200	

5. Just as I was concluding this letter I have ascertained that the *tehsel* & *thanna* of Goshacergunjje have been attacked in great force by Moosahib Ullee Chowdree, Anundee & Khooshal Koormees. The *tehsel* and *thanna* people behaved very well; they lost 25 of their number at the least & inflicted a severe blow on the enemy, but all this will be separately reported to you. At length suffice it to say that the *thanna* & *tehsel* have retired on Urjoongunjje close to the Dilkoosha & Beebeepore Parks.¹

Letter No. 20 from S. Abbott, Commissioner and Superintendent, Lucknow Division, to S. N. Martin, Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, dated Lucknow, 11th May 1858.

In reply to your letter No. 19 of 10th Inst., and adverting

¹ "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Raja Drij Bijai Singh" Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*.

to the destruction of the *Thanah* of Mohonah, and capture of eight *Burkundazes* by Rajah Drig Bejai Sing, I beg you will take some means of intimating to that individual, that if he does not immediately send in the *Burkundazes* that (sic,) he will be hanged when captured, and his Estate confiscated.

2nd. I beg also that you will see to the comfort and treatment of the mutilated *Burkundaze* alluded to in your 3rd para.¹

Letter No. 34 from S. Martin, D. C., to Lt. Col. Abbott, Commr., dated Lucknow, May 17, 1858.

I have the honor to submit my report of proceedings for the past week : Owirg to circumstances over which I have no control I regret to say little or no progress has been made. It is obvious that as long as formidable bands of armed men, consisting of our mutinous sepoys & sowars, can march about the country unmolested the Civil power must in a great measure be in abeyance.

2. The *thannahs* & *tchseels* at work are:

<i>Tchseels</i>	<i>Thannahs</i>
1. Lucknow	1. Chillawan
2. Goshacengunje	2. Kakooree
3. Koorsee	3. Koorsee
4. Newabgunje	4. Talab Bukshee
	5. Mureaoo
	6. Chinhut, Newabgunje having amalgamated.
	7. Urjoongunje, Goshacengunje having amalgamated.

But I must apprise you that within the last few days since the rebels have taken possession of Newabgunje, and driven the police out of Goshacengunje the *Zemindars* have given up attending the *Tchseelee Cucheries*. It cannot be otherwise for, those, who do present themselves, are sure to suffer the loss of all their property & possibly the destruction of their families.

¹ "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Raja Drig Bijai Singh". Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*.

Such being their position I think little blame can attach to those who hold back for the present.

3. Now that I have established a sufficient number of sowars under a good *Deffadar*, besides those already out on the Cawnpore road, I intend to send a *Deffadar* & 10 sowars to patrol one or two of the *thannahs* daily. This will give confidence to the Police, & by the aid of their reports I shall be able to compare those I receive from the *thannahs*.

4. *Crime.* I receive daily reports of the excesses committed by Raja Dirghbijai Sing, talooqdār of Mahona; he has armed himself to the teeth at his own Fort, and daily commits depredations in the Country. At one time he plunders a whole *bazar* like "Tikaetgunje", at another he lays waste a village, & establishes a *thannah* of his own. You are aware by a previous report of mine that he drove in the *thanna* of Mahowa, and I have also acquainted you with the fact of his being in direct communication with the Moulvee. This large landed Proprietor like many others who are at present fighting against us should eventually be made to pay for his sins. After the evacuation of the *thanna* at Newabgunje some sowars & infantry entered the town & carried off a number of the wealthy inhabitants for the purpose of squeezing money out of them.

5. During the past week there has been collection of revenue:

Name of Tehseel	Amount of revenue collected	Number of <i>Cubooliyats</i> taken	Remarks
Lucknow	1315	2	
Newabgunje	14		
Goshaeengunje	—	—	
Koorsee	—	—	
Ramnuggur	—	—	
Total :	1329	2*	

Letter No. 55 from S. Martin, D. C., to Commissioner, dated Lucknow, May 24, 1858.

During the past week the *thannas* of Chintah, Chillawan, Mureaoo, Koorsee & Bukshce Talao have been visited. With the exception of the first named *thanna* the entrenchments have been completed. Chintah is behind hand because the

* "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Raja Drig Bijai Singh". Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*.

entrenchments were originally completed at Newabgunje, on retiring from which place I had to commence new works at Chinhut.

2. *The general state of the District is decidedly growing worse owing to the proximity of the Begum's troops & the unmistakable hostility shown by some of the talooqdars. Plunder is carried on daily. The Zemindars cannot leave their homes to bring in revenue. If they do, they are marked men, & must prepare themselves for entire loss of property. Our chuprassees are not able to move far from their tehseels without being caught & mutilated. I sent a chuprassee in disguise to Raja Dingbejai Sirg, Talooqdar of Mahona, with an order reminding him of his misconduct, & of its fatal consequences. The chuprassee was unfortunately found out & killed. Three other chuprassees are reported to be under arrest by the same Raja.*

3. *Crime.* In Newabgunje the armed followers of Mahomed Ameer & Goolam Abbas plundered Raoutee Hulwai's house & killed his brother.

Some rebels attacked the village of Ootraitia in the Chillawan thanna, wounded four men, two of whom are reported to be so badly wounded that they are not likely to recover.

At 'Dewa' Sawan Sirg on the one (side) Kcerut Sing & Duller (Diler) Sing on the other side quarrelled about the division of some plundered property; 12 or 14 men are reported to have been killed.

4. Hardly any revenue business has been done owing to the state of things referred to in Para. 3; *Zemindars* cannot come forward as long as they are liable to have their families taken prisoners & maltreated because they are supposed to be friendly to the British Govt.

Name of Tehseel	Amount of revenue collected	Number of Cubooliyats filed
Lucknow	1486-10-0	16
Newabgunje	0	0
Koorsee	28-0-0	0
Goshaeengunge	50-0-0	0
Ramnuggur	0	0
Total:	1564-10-0	16*

* "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Raja Drig Bijai Singh". Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*.

Translation of the petition of Hursookh Roy (Harsukh Rai), Tahsildar of Kosi.

FRESH FLARE UP: APRIL 1858

Towards the end of April, having heard of the arrival of some of the Rebel forces at Nawabgunje Bara Bunkce, he (Raja Drig Bijai Singh) again collected some Sowars and Sepoys, destroyed *Thanah* Mohona, and captured seven *Burkundazes*. The *Thanahdar* had taken refuge under Rajah Rutun Singh of Etoumja¹, only half a *Kos* from Mohona; Dirgbijye Singh (Drig Bijai Singh) proposed to capture him, but was resisted by Rutun Singh.

The Commissr. having heard of the fact issued an order to the Rebel with threat to hang him in default to release the *Burkundazes*, and sent it to the *Tahsedee* for delivery, but no one daring to go to the Rebel, the Rajah of Etoumja was requested to send the order to him which he did, but intimated that one of the two *Hurkaras* he had sent was killed and the other captured by the Rebel.

The Raja's letter was sent up for the information of the authorities and on which the charge of murder of the *Hurkara* was founded. However it has now been discovered that the man was not killed but was confined in an *Oubhree* (cavity to keep grain).

RAJA DRIG BIJAI SINGH LEADS

In the beginning of May /58, when the Rebels appeared towards Nawabgunje, Dirgbijye Singh plundered *Mouzah* Busaradi, *Gurhee* Mohomudpore and the Tikaitgunje *Bazar* to the amount of 10 (1000) or 1200 Rupees, and captured the brothers of Bhola Chowdree of the *Bazar* for providing supplies for the British Forces, but released them on being bribed.

He established his own *Thanahs* in the Tikaitgunje *Bazar* and at Koorsee, commenced collecting *Choongee* Tax, (Toll Tax) and altogether stopped the supplies for Lucknow from the North.

¹ *Itaunja*, Pargana *Mahona* Tahsil *Malihabad* Dist. *Lucknow*—A large village on the east of the main road from Lucknow to Sitapur, close to its junction with the branch road from Mal to Mahona; it is situated in latitude 27° 5' north and longitude 80° 55' east, at a distance of a mile and-a-half south-west from the pargana capital and eight miles north of Lucknow. (*District Gazetteers*, Lucknow 1904, p. 185).

He greatly oppressed the inhabitants of Koorsee in realizing from them one and two Rupees per house, and his *Thanahdar* Sheodeen Singh Thakoor of Mianpore ordered Blugwandass Bhat to be killed in default (of the) payment of the money demanded. The file of the latter case is in Court.

In June Dirghijye Singh attacked Muhsunda¹ with one Gun and 3000 followers, in which 3 persons of the village and two of his followers were killed but the *Zemindars* having run away during the night, he burnt and plundered the village of 8 (8000) or 10,000 Rupees. He subsequently attacked and took possession of *Mouzah* Khunjna.

He afterwards proclaimed that the Rebel Begum had appointed him *Chuklahdar* of the whole *Ilauqa* of Koorsee, and on every occasion of his going out a salute of 7 Guns was fired; he was thus enabled to effect the collection of Revenue.

Gungadeen and Hunwunt Roy, brothers of Debedeen *Kanoongor*, and several other *Zemindars*, who refused to pay the rent or obey him, were confined in an *Oubhree* and the villages of all those who had tendered *Kabooliyats* in the Bussaha *Tehseelee* were held to *Kham Tehseel*, and the Instalments of *Rubee* 1265 and *Khureef* 1266 were realised from the others.

He collected 20,000 Rupees from 81 villages in *Purgunah* Koorsee, Mohona, Mundeaon, and Futtehpoore in *Zillah* Lakhnow and *Purgunah* Barce *Zillah* Secetapore, and established his own *Thanahs* in the following places, viz. Tikaitgunje 200 men, Koorsee 100, Bhurouda 100, Behta² 50, Akasindh 50, Pudree 50, Usnee 100, and Gungolee 50 persons.

On several occasions he had attempted to abolish the Govt. *Thanahs* and *Tehseelees*, but was resisted.

On the promulgation of the Royal Amnesty the late Chief Commissr. required Dirghijye Singh's attendance through Nawab Munourooddoula, (Munawwar-ud-daulah), but he did not come; and again by order of Mr. Ross, Rajah Fuzund Alee *Taaloqadar* of Jehangeerabad³ gave him hopes

¹ *Muhsunda*—An ancient village in Pargana *Kursi* Tahsil *Fatchpur* Distt. *Barabanki*.

² *Behta*—In *Sareni* Pargana of *Rai Bareli* District about 5 miles in the north-east of the Pargana.

³ *Jahangirabad*, Pargana and Tahsil *Nawabganj* Distt. *Bara Banki*—This village lies at a distance of five miles north-east of *Nawabganj* and a mile and a-half north of *Damodarapur* station on the *Bahranghat* line, in

of pardon, but he gave no reply and moreover confined the Rajah's *Hukara* for some days.

In the beginning of Decr. /58 when the British Force reached Talab Bukshce he strengthened his fort and fought against them in which 15 Europeans were wounded. On the very night he bolted with his Guns and property across the Ghogra accompanied by Keerut Singh of Behtaec.

It is said in Feby. /59 he had obtained a certificate of some military officer and returned to Dhourara¹, but on the approach of a detachment he again ran away and is still at large.

Oomrao Sing of Bhurguhna, *Pergunnah* Mohona, his *Naib* and Shecodeen his *Thanadar* are also with him.²

BENI MADHO SINGH

Letter from Rana Beni Madho Singh to Bala Saheb, dated 6th Shawwal 1274 A. H. (20th May 1858).

Received your letter, enquiring about my victory and persuading me to despatch troops to you at Bahraich for punishing the heathens, through Raghubar Dayal and this added to my success and delight. I really won such a crowning victory through the auspicious fortune of the Government (of Awadh) and by your kindness that it was not possible to count the number of Englishmen and Sikhs killed. This was God's grace and the good luck of our Government that have all along been my helpers. The English have not yet been extirpated from this post.

(MSS not readable.....).

I am busy in punishing them. So long as they are not despatched to hell in this part, I cannot look to any other side. As the *Sarkar's* (Awadh) army is coming under Yusuf Ali Khan

latitude 27' north and longitude 81' 71' east. (*District Gazetteers, Barabanki* 1904, p. 224).

¹ *Dhaurahra, Pargana Dhaurahra Tahsil Nighasan Distt. Kheri*—The capital of the pargana is a small town on the south bank of the Sukhni river in the centre of the pargana, standing in latitude 27' 59' north and longitude 81° 6' east, at a distance of 20 miles by the unmetalled road from Lakhimpur. Other roads lead to Sisaiya on the road from Isanagar to Matera ghat, and to Kardhaiya on the road from Matera to Nighasan. (*District Gazetteers, Kheri* 1905, p. 174).

² "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Raja Drig Bijai Singh". Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*.

Bahadur I shall also report myself to him and then shall accompany him to Lucknow. (Usual Ending).¹

Letter addressed to Rani Beni Madho Singh by Shankar Lal, Commander of the Shankar Jang Paltan, and Haidar Khan, Commander of Qaisari Jang Paltan, dated Shawwal 18, 1274 A. H. (June 1, 1858).

My Lord ! We, your faithful servants, entrenched the whole night in the 'Lonar' of the Town of Sehsendi (Sissaindi) and remained vigilant. Two hours after dawn it was learnt through the men of Ayodhya Prasad that the English army under Tucker, accompanied by Kashi Prasad *Patwari* had arrived close to the *Mauza* of Nim Tikar with the same strength which they had at the time you fought against them at Simri², and had made a circle as indicated below. Maharaj Ayodhya Prasad told us that he intended to face them first and that we should therefore accompany him and encamp at some other place. According to his advice, we marched with both the *Paltans* at noon from Sehsendi and encamped in *Mauza* Tesandha of the *Ilaga* of Kori. Ayodhya Prasad and Raghunath Prasad have now gone to *Mauza* Rani of *Ilaga* Kori to protect their children who have taken asylum there. We have called them. If they reach here, it will be good, otherwise you will be informed. We are faithful and ready to sacrifice our lives. By your auspiciousness and good fortune these 200 men who now form the two *Paltans* are ready to face the heathens. I have by your permission, come here with Ayodhya Prasad, and am awaiting your orders for compliance. It has been learnt that uptil now i.e. four *gharis* before sunset, the English soldiers have not reached Sehsendi. Their pickets, however, have reached there.

Location and whereabouts of the English Troops.

2 *Kos* east of Bani,

¹/₂ *Kos* north of Nim Tikar³,

¹ Rai Bareilly Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

² *Simri*, Pargana *Dhaurahra* Tahsil *Nighasan* Dist. *Kheri*. A very large village situated in north latitude 28° 6' and east longitude 81° 2' on the road from *Dhaurahra* to *Kardhaiya*, where it joins that from *Matera* to *Nighasan*, at a distance of eight miles north-west of the town of *Dhaurahra*. (*District Gazetteers*, *Kheri* 1905, p. 246).

³ *Nim Tikar*—Is on the metalled road from Lucknow to Rai Bareilly in Pargana *Bachhrawan* about 2 miles in its north west.

1 *Kos* south of Schsendi,
 $\frac{1}{2}$ *Kos* east of Raipur,
 $\frac{3}{4}$ *Kos* south of Shahpur,
 $\frac{1}{2}$ *Kos* west of Bilora,
 May the sun of your prosperity ever shine !¹

Letter from Rana Beni Madho Bakhsh Bahadur to Ahmad Ullah Shah, dated 23rd Shawwal 1274 A. H. (6th June 1858).

You must have learnt the details of the capture, massacre and night assault on the heathens from my former petition. Bindraban, the rebel, resident of Ghatampur who, by his ill-luck, had joined the heathens, has been caught after a severe battle in which about 13 of our men were wounded. Money will be realized from him by way of fine. I was staying at Purai² when the intelligencers brought the news that Hira Lal Misra, Shiv Sahai Bajpai and Gauri Shanker with Chhabba—his *Karinda*, who has turned Christian—and also Shankar Bakhsh, the grandson of the *Talugadar* of Khajurgaon, accompanied the heathens with an army of 4000 English soldiers, Sikhs, and men of Bhir and 18 cannon and had come from Lucknow and stayed at Maurawan³. At this news I set out from Purai and encamped with my army, at Bhergaon which is 3 or 4 *kos* from the camp of the heathens. A battle will very soon take place, if God wills. Hence the capital city is free from the heathens and will remain as such. In my humble opinion it would be better if you march with your army to Lucknow. It will fall into your hands easily and without much effort and the boasters will be rooted out (MSS torn out)..... In the case of delay the ill-natured heathens will win over the rulers (*Rais*) of this side by tricks of diplomacy.⁴

Letter from Rana Beni Madho Singh to Peshwa Rao Saheb.

Your servant with a *Parwana* sent by you was coming

¹ Rai Bareli Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

² *Purai*—Is a roadside village on the road from Unao to Rai Bareli at a distance of about 12 miles from *Rai Bareli*.

³ *Maurawan*, Pargana *Maurawan* Tahsil *Purwa* Dist. *Unao*—A large country town, the headquarters of the pargana, lying in latitude 26° 26' north and longitude 80° 53' east. (*District Gazetteers, Unao* 1903, p. 196).

⁴ Rai Bareli Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

this way but he happened to lose the letter. Thus I failed to learn of its contents. Still I learnt of your welfare and of your kindnesses, to me, from him. May God bless you with success as this will in every way add to the felicity of faithful persons like myself ! The state of affairs here is this : The battle in the Capital city has been lost and the town has been completely vacated. The King (Birjis Qadar) has left Lucknow and reached Bahraich. He is busy there in collecting his own troops, and inviting *Taluqadars*, *Zemindars* and *Raises* to come together. I received an order from him for collecting an army of Gohars, royal servants, *Taluqadars* and of others in Baiswara and for keeping them ready. In accordance with his royal order I have collected an army of about 10,000 foot-soldiers and horsemen of the troops of the Govt. and of the *Taluqadars* in Baiswara. England has, at present, no soldiers. If an attempt is to be made here I am ready to take a share in the fight and if there is a battle at Lucknow, I shall be present with my army for punishing the ruffians..... (MSS torn out)..... I am sending a letter addressed to Rao Taty Bahadur through this messenger, (MSS torn out); it may be redirected to the place where he is staying..... (MSS Torn out).....¹

Letter from Rana Beni Madho Singh to Khan Sahib (Mannoo Khan), dated 1st Ziqaad 1274 A. H. (13th June 1858).

Your letter dated *Shawwal* 29, (June 11, 1858), informing that you were marching to Juggaur for fighting the English army and that 2 *gharis* before dawn there would be a battle and (desiring) that I should reach with the army and the guns for reinforcement, reached here to-day on 30th instant (June 12, 1858) an hour before dawn by *dak*. We cannot march without first distributing the pay of the soldiers to-day and uptil now no arrangement for its distribution has been made. Still considering that the battle is imminent I have resolved to march.

I then made the officers and the soldiers of the army concur with me and thus postponed the distribution of the pay both here and on our route. Then I marched from Simri on the 30th instant an hour before dawn. To-day we have

¹ Rai Bareli Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

encamped at Misrikh¹, sent Umrao Singh with 4000 foot-soldiers and horsemen for realising money from the *Ilaga* and for getting the *Thanas* of Badh and Kath vacated, but he has not yet returned. This morning I have sent a camel-rider to Umrao Singh asking him urgently to return with his army but he is still awaited. If it is not a question of the troops, no delay would be made. If God wills I shall send him forthwith and will not move anyway till I have all the short-sighted people (enemies) killed, by the grace of God and the good luck of the Government (of Awadh). Be sure, I enjoy no rest here and whatever I have said is, by God, true.

By God's grace and good fortune of the Government (MSS torn out).....they will be driven out. I shall soon reach the place.²

ACTIVITIES OF FIROZ SHAH

After the capture of Lucknow in March, 1858, a force of military police was organized for civil duties. The cavalry regiments were largely recruited from the Punjaub, and the infantry was composed of Siekhs, and men of every shade of religion, experience having taught that it was better to mingle the castes and disregard the prejudices so greatly pampered before. The cavalry with Captain Dawson was formed of Siekhs and Affghans, and the infantry—of Siekhs, Pascees, and other low caste men. Most of them had never been under fire prior to the little battle of Ruheemabad, where they were very forward in engaging the enemy.

The enemy grew bold, and began to replenish their treasury by plundering villages supposed to be friendly to us or backward in assisting them with armed men. The supplies of the city of Lucknow, moreover, were checked by the position of the rebels at Sundeela. Captain Dawson, therefore, consented to go on to Sundeela, sixteen miles west from Muliabad,

¹ *Misrikh*, Pargana and Tahsil *Misrikh* Distt. *Sitapur*—The headquarters of the tahsil is an ancient town, situated in latitude 27° 26' north and longitude 80° 32' east, on the road from Sitapur to Hardoi, at a distance of 13 miles from Sitapur. Other roads lead to Bari and Sidhaulti on the south-east, to Machhrehta on the east, and to Qutubnagar and Baragaon on the north-west. (*District Gazetteers*, Sitapur 1905, p. 191)

² Rai Bareli Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

to capture that important town, which was reported to be occupied by fifteen hundred infantry, two hundred cavalry, and five guns.

The time seemed favourable for attacking them, for the spirited progress of Sir Hope Grant towards Fyzabad and Sultanpoor had somewhat disheartened the rebels throughout the province. Our troops on the Cawnpoor road were also threatening Prince Feroze Shah on our left, and a rumour was circulating that the dreaded Highlanders were crossing the Ganges into the district.

On the afternoon of the 10th of August Captain Dawson advanced with a small force to Ruheemabad, where we were joined by two small *Talookdars*, some of the native gentlemen of Sundeela and Muliabad, and Chowdry Hushmut Ali, a handsome man, with considerable influence, who abandoned the cause of the rebels on the final occupation of Lucknow. They were accompanied by about four hundred matchlockmen on whose valor we could not depend. In the evening we rode, with a small escort of cavalry, to within five miles of Sundeela, and I sent a watchman of one of their own villages to warn the leaders that we would attack them in the morning, and be disappointed if they again ran away. A native is half beaten when you frighten him, and I was sure that the message would cause them to make early arrangements for retreat before they thought of defending the town.

It rained during the night. The morning was cool, and the country around rich in ripening crops of wheat. We started at dawn, and crossing a rapid stream by an old stone bridge, passed under the shade of a mango grove with its delicious fruit, on to an extensive plain studded with brushwood, and covered by the rain of the night. Midway to Sundeela we halted for breakfast, with the cavalry of the enemy watching in our front and on our right flank. Before we finished our repast a letter was delivered from Bharut Singh, (a good loyal Baron residing beyond Sundeela,) informing us that the enemy, in consequence of my message to the Chiefs, had been reinforced during the night, and now had six hundred cavalry under Prince Feroze Shah, three thousand regular and irregular infantry, under the notorious Chiefs, Namdar Khan and Gholab Singh, and five guns, one of which he described as large.

This was startling news, and it caused us to discuss seri-

ously whether we should proceed further with only fifty cavalry, and five hundred infantry, and no guns. The native chiefs were of opinion that we were too few, and frankly advised us not to rely on their followers. Hushmut Ali was the only one who concurred with us in thinking that there were only so many more to run away. From a mound we surveyed, through our glasses, large bodies of cavalry and infantry standing under extensive woods screening the town in our front. Captain Dawson arranged to attack them to the south (sic, south), and thus avoid the fire of the guns mounted on an earthwork commanding the high road. He made over the gallant troop of sowars to me, and with them I covered his advance from the rebel cavalry, who retired to the south, and assembled in columns of troops with the intention of sweeping down upon my handful of horsemen. I put on a bold front, and sent them further back, by a feigned charge, to secure Dawson a passage into the suburbs of the town, where a rapid discharge of small arms and cannon checked him for a few minutes.

The six hundred cavalry led by Feroze Shah drew closer, and their steady advance was so menacing that I was forced to decide at once between attacking them or going into the town. The first would have disheartened our infantry, who were already engaged at great odds, and I, therefore, invited the Sikhs¹ to say whether they would follow me. With one accord they lifted their swords, and called to me to go on. Feroze Shah drew nearer, but, as I turned to engage him, he halted on the edge of a large grove of trees, apparently uncertain what to do. I again asked the troop whether they would do it, as we went on as if to engage their centre, and received the same response. In another minute we suddenly turned from the straight line, and were engaged hand to hand with the left flank, which broke at once, and threw the whole body into such confusion, that they turned about and went away, pursued by the Sikhs.

Followed by a dozen Sikhs, I started after the Prince, who was conspicuous from riding a grey horse and being dressed in white. We became so mixed with the retreating cavalry, and in such peril from the difficulty of telling one from another,

¹Sikhs.

that he distanced us, and the desperate efforts made to cut our way through were stopped after a few minutes by a shot which disabled my horse and threw me to the ground. One of the enemy, passing at a gallop, struck at me while down. I threw up the hilt of my sword, and was slightly cut on the hand. A second cut through the heel of the left boot slightly wounded me. Another stopped so suddenly to reach me that his horse fell on his haunches, and I was enabled to seize him by the neck and drag him from his seat as the animal recovered itself. I spared him as a mark of respect to the cavalry, for he was a fine young Sikh who had deserted from the Residency during the siege of Lucknow. They were, however, greatly exasperated at his treachery, and while I was pursuing the enemy on another horse, he was sabred, and left for dead on the field.

We disabled about forty of the irregular cavalry, who were so well mounted that a couple of minutes' stoppage enabled them to get out of sight behind the woods and villages north of Sundeela. From thence they went hot haste, eight miles off, to the fort of Birrwa, to which place the infantry and three little guns were following them when I reached the rear of the town to hasten their movements.¹

ACTIVITIES OF FIROZ SHAH IN BANGAR MAU

Letter from "known" place "Same" (Mallawan), written on Wednesday, June 9 at 12 in the night and despatched on June 10, addressed to the office of Captain Adolphus Orr, Intelligence Department, Akhbar No. 55, submitted from Mallawan.

FIROZ SHAH AT BANGAR MAU

I am submitting the following news :—(1) It has been learnt today that Firoz Shah rebel, the Prince of Delhi, is still staying at Bangar Mau², 48 miles west of Lucknow. He has

¹ T. H. Kavanagh : "*How I won the Victoria Cross*" (London 1860), Pp. 172-176.

² *Bangarmau*, Pargana *Bangarmau* Tahsil *Safipur* Distt. *Unao*—This town lies in the centre of the pargana to which it has given its name, at a distance of thirty-one miles north-west from Unao, on the road leading from that place to Hardoi. It is situated in latitude 26° 53' north and longitude 80° 12' east, and is almost surrounded by extensive groves. (*District Gazetteers*, Unao 1903, p. 156).

a strength of about 4000 horsemen and *Tilangas*. Other rebels have deserted, but his horsemen, *Badmashes*, commit acts of plunder upto as far as Asiwan¹, which is 2 miles west of Mian Ganj and 32 miles west of Lucknow. It is rumoured that they will reach upto Mohan which is 16 miles west of Lucknow.

ZEMINDARS OF BANGAR MAU AND SAFIPUR

(2) It has, further, been learnt today that Firoz Shah, Prince of Delhi has summoned all the *Zemindars* of Bangar Mau and Safi Pur and encouraged them to rebel in order to support his claim for royalty. He said to them that he had exempted them from payment of Government revenue for 3 years; and could condone even the dues of the current year; but they must help him. As a result of this, the short-sighted *Zemindars* of *Ilaga* Bangar Mau go over to his side and gather a following.

(3) It has been learnt today that the above-named Firoz Shah has appointed Allah Dad Khan *Risaldar*, rebel, as the *Tahsildar* of *Ilaga* Bangar Mau and that he exercises all powers.

(4) It has been learnt that the above named Firoz Shah has made Safi Pur, which is 14 miles east of Bangar Mau and 40 miles west and north of Lucknow, his *Thana*, and has devised plans for setting up Narpal Singh, son of Jassa Singh, rebel, at Fatehpur Chaurasi².

RAJA OF MITAULI FIGHTS BRITISH FORCES

(5) It has been learnt from the news of Ahmadpur Khanjari that the Raja of Mithauli, *Ilaga* Muhamdi, which

¹*Asiwan*, Pargana *Asiwan* Tahsil *Hasanganj* Distt. *Unao*.—This town is situated on the bank of a fine lake in latitude 26° 48' north and longitude 80° 27' east, at a distance of 16 miles north-west of Mohan and 20 miles north of Unao on the unmetalled road leading from Lucknow to Bangarmau. Safipur lies eight miles to the south-west. (*District Gazetteers*, Unao 1903, p. 143).

²*Fatehpur Chaurasi*, Pargana *Fatehpur* Tahsil *Safipur* Distt. *Unao*.—This town lies six miles north-west of Safipur and twenty-five miles north-west of Unao, about two miles south of the road from Unao to Bangarmau and on the north bank of the river Kalyani, in latitude 26° 47' north and longitude 80° 16' east. (*District Gazetteers*, Unao 1903, p. 171).

is 72 miles north of Mallanwan and from Lucknow,—I can't say how many miles—fought the *Sarkar's* army at the place mentioned above and the aforesaid Raja took to flight after a crushing defeat. The *Sarkar's* army annihilated the rebel *Badmashes*.

REVOLUTIONARIES FROM KALPI TO MADHO GANJ AND THENCE TO SANDILA

(6) It has been reliably learnt that the rebel army of about 6 or 7 thousand *Tilangas* which has fled from Kalpi, and encamped at Madho Ganj¹ (on the side of Sandi), has marched away from Madho Ganj to Sandila. Today, it is at Ewaz Ganj and 46 miles west of Lucknow. But it has no gun.

REVOLUTIONARIES FROM KALPI TO SANDI

(7) It has been learnt today that about 6 or 7 hundred rebel horsemen, run-aways from Kalpi, have come from the side of Sandi to Mallanwan, which is 60 miles west of Lucknow and are staying there in a grove called Lakh Pera.

ZEMINDARS READY TO FIGHT BRITISH FORCES

(8) It has been learnt today that Gohar troops have collected at *Garhi Roya*², the place of the rebel *Taluqadar* of Roa Mau and an army of about 4 or 5 thousand including Gohars has been collected. The *Zemindars* of the *Taluqa* of Narpal Singh are ready to pledge that they will help him in every case.

NARPAT SINGH'S INFLUENCE

(9) It has been learnt today that the *Zemindars* of Shadi Pur and Gaurayya, 10 miles east of Bargar Mau have

¹ *Madhoganj*, Pargana *Mallanwan* Tahsil *Bilgram* Distt. *Hardoi*—The name of an important bazar situated within the limits of the village of Rudamau, in latitude 27° 7' north and longitude 80° 9' east, at a distance of 23 miles south-west of Hardoi. (*District Gazetteers*, Hardoi 1904, p. 217).

² *Rua*, Pargana *Mallanwan* Tahsil *Bilgram* Distt. *Hardoi*—This village lies in latitude 27° 8' north and longitude 80° 9' east, at a distance of two miles north-east of Madhoganj, close to the metalled road from Sitapur to Mehndighat, and 24 miles south-west of Hardoi. (*District Gazetteers*, Hardoi 1904, p. 242).

come to the rebel Narpat Singh's place, with a following of 200 matchlockmen and Narpat Singh has taken from them an oath that they will be his accomplices in rebellion.

(10) It has been learnt that Gulab Singh, *Karinda* of Chandrika Bakhsh, has sent a letter to Narpat Singh, the rebel, to the effect that the *Sarkar's* army is coming and Chaudhry Hashmat Ali and Bharat Singh—son of Ganga Bakhsh *Taluqadar*—are accompanying it. It has reached Malihabad which is 14 miles west of Lucknow. He has asked Narpat Singh to make adequate arrangements. He does not possess enough strength in this respect.

INFLUENCE OF PRINCE FIROZ SHAH

The conditions in this *Ilaqa* are:—The entire *Ilaqa* had gone against the *Sarkar* owing to Narpat Singh, the rebel. Now, because of the Prince of Delhi (Firoz Shah), they have become still more rebellious. They are now forming a league and are a queer sort of *Badmashes*, inasmuch as, they first showed loyalty to the *Sarkar* and now they are accomplices of the Prince of Delhi and of Narpat Singh, the rebel. Of the *Zemindars*, the Mewatis of Sital Ganj and the Afghans of¹ and Bangar Mau have become so obstinate that they have ravaged the whole *Ilaqa* and have blockaded the road to Lucknow, to the extent, that even the wayfarer cannot pass. Some bad characters of Mallanwan also have become their accomplices and are carrying on the acts of plunder.

(12) Petition no. 53 written on June 5 was actually sent on June 6 but the *haikara* was taken captive by the rebels. He hid the paper. For two days he was kept in prison and returned the letter after this. Consequently, I have sent this letter afterwards. The letter no. 54 written on Sunday, June 6, has been wrongly dated as June 5.²

WIDESPREAD DEFIANCE AND RESISTANCE

HOT WEATHER CAMPAIGN

The Awadh Theatre

The enemy in Oude now consisted of four actively hostile parties—

¹ Manuscript worm-eaten. Apparently, *Malihabad*.

² Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*.

1. The mutineer sepoy.
2. The resuscitated forces of the *Nuwabee*—the Begum's troops, as they may be conveniently called.
3. The Mahomedan followers of the Fyzabad Moulvie; and
4. The *talookdars* and their retainers and clansmen.

The numbers of the parties one and two had now diminished considerably. They had taken the leading part in all the military operations heretofore, had been now thoroughly defeated, and were somewhat sick of the struggle. But the Moulvie's force was becoming a more prominent factor in the struggle, and was acting as a focus of Mahomedan hostility; while the *Rajwara* men under their chiefs, all over the province, had started their old style of guerilla warfare which lay, not in aggressive and combined movements against the common foe, but in stopping and cutting off supplies, checking and harassing the movements of the troops and emissaries and officers of Government, making and threatening local attacks, frustrating every effort to introduce civil administration, and encouraging marauders and brigandage.

The *talookdarce* gatherings and warfare were mainly in Byswara and the south-east of Oude, but the three other parties collected in two groups: one on the north-west of Oude, towards the Rohilkund border, under the leading of the Moulvie; the other on the north-east. This consisted of all the four classes of rebels, who formed themselves into four separate bodies, though keeping together without any one recognized chief, while a large number of persons exercised more or less influence and command over the several sections; such as the Begum, Mummoo Khan, Jeylall Singh, the Nana's brother, various officers of the sepoy troops, and the like. These three gatherings came to a head not simultaneously, but at different and successive periods—the north-west first, then the *talookdars* in Byswara in May, and afterwards the north-east gathering in June.

Before dealing with these hostile bodies, Sir Colin arranged for securing proper command of Lucknow itself by constructing a large fortified position on the south bank of the Goomtee, facing the stone bridge, called the Mutchi Bhow (Machhi Bhawan) Fort. It was about half a mile each way, and included within its *enceinte* the old Mutchi Bhow citadel

at one angle, and the Great *Emambarah* and other large edifices at other points; and was bordered by a large clear esplanade on its landward faces, which had involved a sweeping demolition of the denser part of the heart of the city. Also the old Residency position was now surrounded with ramparts on a more correct trace, and formed a separate detached fort.

While these were in progress, and before dealing with the threatening gatherings in Oude, Sir Colin sent off troops to Rohilkund and also to Azimgurh, in the eastern theatre, which had been attacked, and was in difficulties.

The column directed against Rohilkund was commanded by Walpole, and was to sweep up the left bank of the Ganges to clear and settle those districts first. The part it played was important, and requires description. Walpole left Lucknow on April 7, and in a fortnight reached Rhodamow, near which was the jungle fort of Roya, held by a *talookdar* named Nirput Singh. He was not a man of any power or following, but his father, Jussa Singh, though he had not fought against the English in Oude itself, had been a staunch friend of the Nana, had joined him at Bithoor, and had been killed in one of his combats with Havelock. The son had followed in his father's footsteps, and had given a home and shelter in Roya to the Nana when driven out of Bithoor. Nirput Singh was now holding out in Roya, and had to be attacked. The fort was small—not, like some others, many miles in circumference. Its strength lay in its thick earthen walls and deep ditch, surrounded by an almost impervious thicket of bamboo jungle; which, however, as was the case with all such forts, was not equally strong all round, but had some faces weaker than others, and also gaps here and there by which access was easy. Putting aside the more powerful modes of attack, in which artillery and mortars come into play, the recognized and well-known mode of capturing these places without serious loss was to discover the weak points and gaps, and then force an entrance.

Now, General Walpole would not adopt any such plan. He had a splendid little force, the Highland Brigade (42nd, 79th, and 93rd), the 4th Punjabees (old comrades of the 93rd), the 9th Lancers, and a Punjab Cavalry regiment, with two batteries of Horse Artillery and some heavy guns and mortars. But he would not take advantage of the opportunities such a body of troops gave him. He did not reconnoitre. He did

not listen to the information tendered him. He simply sent his Highland regiments forward to pierce through and storm the defences at the strongest points. The result was a heavy loss in men and officers, especially in the death of that ideal soldier, Adrian Hope, and a positive repulse, inasmuch as the British force was withdrawn from the attack. Nirput Singh evacuated the fort during the night, and Walpole proceeded on with his force into Rohilkund; but this episode of Royā had a most serious effect. Its fame, as a matter of course, spread with exaggerations throughout the province, and emboldened the *talookdars*. So Sir Colin presently proceeded to conduct and control the operations in Rohilkund in person.

Hope Grant was left in command in Oude to meet and suppress whatever efforts the enemy might make. It was, doubtless, hoped at first that the enemy would be gradually scattered and dispersed; but it soon became evident that this could not be effected in this hot season, and that the organized and thorough crushing out of the rebellion must be deferred to the cold weather, present efforts being confined to the attack and dispersion of important gatherings. The first movement for this object was made on April 11, when Hope Grant led a force by the Sectapore road against the party of Mahomedan rebels, the north-western group, at whose head was the Moulvie. These men were really in touch with the insurgents in Rohilkund, but at present were still in Oude in the Mahona direction, at Barea, about twenty-five miles from Lucknow. Grant's column was about 3000 strong, with some eighteen guns, and contained British and native troops of all arms. As they neared Barea, the Moulvie tried to turn their flank and get at the baggage; but the flanking movement was detected and defeated, chiefly by the charge of the 7th Hussars. After this the Moulvie's men would not bide the British attack, but evacuated the village which they had occupied as their stronghold, and then withdrew in retreat and disappeared into Rohilkund, to form part of the gathering with which Sir Colin had to deal in that province.

From Barea, Hope Grant turned to the right to Mahomedabad and the Gogra, hoping to catch the Begum at Ramnugger or Bithoollee. But she fled on his approach, and so his immediate task was to co-operate with Jung Bahadur's army, which had started on its return to Nepaul.

Next, the gatherings on the north having been cleared

off for the present, he returned to Lucknow, and then dispersed a party of the enemy which had collected on the south, taking several of their forts.

But other clansmen gathered under an able chief, Beni Madho, who avoided any serious engagement, adopting instead the ubiquitous tactics of genuine guerilla warfare—skirmishes and surprises; ceaselessly harassing and then eluding the British troops, which he could easily do, as his followers (of whom he is said to have had over 80,000, chiefly matchlockmen, scattered over the district) knew every inch of the ground. Hope Grant was not long in seeing that against such an enemy as this our troops must during the summer heats and rains remain comparatively passive and on the defence. So leaving others for the present to maintain that attitude towards the enemy in Byswara, he started early in June to attack the hostile force; which had again gathered in the north-east, and, advancing from the Fyzabad direction, had concentrated at Nuwabgunge, eighteen miles from Lucknow. As already shown, this enemy was made up of four different parties, each under a separate leader, and was without much cohesion in the parties or unanimity and concert in the chiefs. There were sepoys of the regular army, troops of the old court of Oude, *talookdaree* troops, and such of the Mahomedans as had not followed the fortunes of the Moulvie into Rohilkund. These four groups kept more or less apart, instead of acting in unison under one acknowledged leader. Hope Grant had a strong division—two British and one Punjab infantry regiments, three batteries of artillery, some six squadrons of British cavalry, and 900 native cavalry. He marched against the enemy at night, turned the right of their position, and took them by surprise in the morning. They fought well, especially the *talookdaree* troops, who routed Hodson's Horse; but after three hours of hard combat they had to fall back, leaving 600 dead on the field. This victory dispersed the enemy, and had also the effect of checking and turning back other additional hostile bodies that were in motion to concentrate on Nawabgunge. The defeated enemy had fled in different directions—some to Gonda, some to Fyzabad; but apparently the largest column turned towards Sultanpore.

Shortly before this, Maun Singh, the Brahmin *talookdar* and *ex-amil*, who had hitherto tried to play a double game, and to stand well with both the British and the rebels, had

openly proclaimed his allegiance to the Government, and held his fort of Shahgunge in their interests. The enemy had appeared before his fort and besieged it, but now, on Hope Grant's approach to Fyzabad, they dispersed and disappeared. Maun Singh being thus relieved, Hope Grant moved on to Sultanpore, and here occurred the last real combat in the summer. The enemy were in considerable strength, 14,000 men, with 15 guns; and to attack them the Goomtee had to be crossed, as they were on its right bank. This operation occupied from the 25th to the 27th August, but at last it was effected, and the battle came off on the evening of the 28th. The enemy were the assailants but they were checked in their attack, then driven back, and finally put to flight, leaving Sultanpore in Hope Grant's possession.

During the next six weeks the operations were desultory and isolated, being directed chiefly to clearing and strengthening the posts which were to be used as the starting-points for the cold weather movements.

The enemy in Oude now consisted mainly of the *talok-daree* troops, followers of such chiefs and leaders as Beni Madho, the Rajah of Ameythee, Hunwunt Sirgh, and the like. Sir Colin determined to reserve his real attack on them till the winter, and meanwhile to save his men as much as possible from further exposure during the trying heat and malarious rainy season. The mutineer sepoys, who had belonged to the two northern gatherings, had now in great part disappeared and dispersed. Their cause was gone, and they had to make the best of their plight. But the Mussulman fanatics, and the adherents of the Oude *Durbar*, and of the Nana, were still in force. Moreover, the whole country population of the province was in dogged rebellion and had to be subdued; and Sir Colin was planning to effect this during the coming winter.¹

STRUGGLE FOR PURWA

Letter No. 25 from Captain H. L. Evans, Deputy Commissioner of Zila Purwa, to G. Couper, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Awadh, Lucknow, dated Unnao, the 31st March 1858.

I have the honor to report for the information of the

¹ Innes : "*The Sepoy Revolt*" (London 1897), Pp. 247-254.

Chief Commissioner, the progress that has been made in the re-establishment of authority and order in this district, since the 20th January, the date on which I came out here from Cawnpore.

LEADERS OF PURWA

2. The District is divided into two parts by the Cawnpore and Lucknow road running East-North-East from Cawnpore. South of it as yet our authority extends but a very little distance. The whole of the Poorwah *Tuhseel* comprising the Poorwah and Morawa *Pergunnahs*, is in the hands of the enemy, the former *Pergunnah* being held by Baboo Davee Buksh (Devi Bakhsh) and the latter by Rugbur Sing (Raghubar Singh) of Mowai and Oomrao (Umrao Singh) Sing of Kanta¹. They have collected, I hear, the whole year's revenue from most of the villages, using violence freely to effect their purpose. Davee Buksh has about 2000 men and 3 guns at Poorwah in a small recently strengthened fort. The others have no fort and would be easily driven out. Many *Zemindars* of this *Tuhseel* have come in and it would not be difficult to re-establish order, were Davee Buksh once settled.

BABU RAM BAKHSH

The whole of the Bhugwant Nugger² *Tuhseel* is in the hands of Baboo Ram Buksh (Babu Ram Bakhsh), a notorious villain, and Scrotton Sing (Shiv Ratan Singh) of Pathun Behar. Baboo Ram Buksh, it was who attacked the boats of the fugitives escaping from Cawnpore. He has committed much violence on the *Zemindars* and collected his revenue in full. He has been repairing and strengthening his fort at Dhondiakhera (Daundia Khera), and hopes to be

¹ *Kantha*, Pargana *Asoha* Tahsil *Purwa* Distt. *Unao*—A very large village in the south-western corner of the pargana, situated in latitude 26° 35' north and longitude 80° 45' east, at a distance of nine miles from the tahsil and eighteen miles east from the Sadr station. (*District Gazetteers*, *Unao* 1903, p. 191).

² *Bhagwantnagar*, Pargana, Tahsil *Purwa* Distt. *Unao*—This pargana was formed and the name of *Bhagwantnagar* given to it by Rao Mardan Singh, the ancestor of Babu Ram Bakhsh of Daundia Khera, who was Nazim of the district.

supported by the other Bais *Talookdars*. Neither he, nor Davee Buksh of Poorwah, nor Seorutton Sing of Pathun Behar, have cause of complaint against our Government. None were in possession of *Talooka* at our advent. I procured 3 villages for Davee Buksh; Ran Buksh was proscribed and forbidden to enter Oude, and Seorutton Sing was an outlawed dacoit when we came.

HARHA TAHSIL

4. The Oonam (Unnao)—Hurha¹ *Tuhseel* is partly in our hands; the Oonam *Pergunnah* and the northern part of Hurha *Pergunnah* wholly so. Kalka Persad *Kanoongo* and Thakoor Sing of Atchulgunge² hold the remainder, being about 2/3 of Hurha *Pergunnah*. They have collected 12 Annas in the Rupee, and are screwing out the remainder. I have a *Thanah* at Buntur, 4 miles from Hurha, one here and at Bushcergunge, and a large *Chowkee* at Targance. This and the Buntur *Thanah* are the only two posts we have south of the road.

RASULABAD TAHSIL

5. The Russoolabad *Tuhseel* north of the road is wholly in our hands, excepting Futchpoor Chowrasie, which is debatable ground. The enemy re-occupied it; but the loyal *Zemindars* (claimants to the *Zemindari*) aided by the Police have driven them out. There was, when I came out, only a *Thanah* at Secunderpoor³. This was attacked by Munsib Ali and saved only by the march hence of a detachment of

¹ *Harha*, Pargana *Harha* Tahsil *Unao* Distt. *Unao*—This village was formerly the headquarters of one of the tahsils of *Unao* and is distant about eight miles south-east from the Sadr station. It lies in latitude 26° 25' north and longitude 80° 31' east. The road between *Unao* and Rai Bareli districts passes about two miles to the north, a branch leading to *Harha* from *Achalganj*. (*District Gazetteers*, *Unao* 1903, p. 180).

² *Achalganj*, Pargana *Harha* Tahsil *Unao* Distt. *Unao*—A village of 1,977 inhabitants, lying in latitude 26° 27' north and longitude 80° 32' east, at the junction of the *Unao*-Rai Bareli Road, and that from *Purwa* to *Cawnpore*. It is about nine miles distant from the district headquarters and two miles north of *Harha*, which is connected with *Achalganj* by a short unmetalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, *Unao* 1903, p. 141).

³ *Sikandarapur*, Pargana *Sikandarapur* Tahsil *Unao* Distt. *Unao*—This village gives its name to the pargana, and the story of its origin is told in

3rd Battalion Rifle Brigade and Irregular Cavalry from Cawnpore. After General Grant's column had cleared Meeah-gunge, I posted a *Thanah* at Makic¹, 10 miles north of this, towards Russoolabad, and pushed the Secunderpoor *Thanah* to Pureer², leaving a small post at the former place.

ROLE OF MUSAHIB ALI

The Pureer *Thanah* has since been advanced to Suffee-poor, and Purcinda³ in Jhuloutun⁴ *Pergunnah* made over to Raja Dya Shunker, who had been dispossessed by us in favor of his nephew, Jeet Bahadoor, who turned rebel and joined Munsub Ali. Dya Shunker I ascertained had taken no part in the disturbances. I therefore directed him to re-occupy his *Tolooka* and eject the rebels' men which he has done.

MIANGANJ, FATEHPUR CHAURASI AND MOHAN

6. Meeahgunge (Asecwun), Futtephoor Chowrasie, and Mohan, I have entrusted to Hubeeboor-Ruhrnan, the *Chukladar*, whom we found there at the annexation. He was accused by the late Finance Minister Balkishen of being 2½ Lakhs in

the following article. It lies in latitude 26° 34' north and longitude 80° 23' east, at a distance of six miles west of Unao with which it is connected by an unmetalled road. Another road leads from Cawnpore and on to Thana on the Unao-Hardoi Road. (*District Gazetteers, Unao 1903, 239*).

¹ *Makli*, Pargana *Asiwan Rasulabad Tahsil Hasanganj Distt. Unao*—A very large village, forming the southern extremity of the pargana. It lies in latitude 26° 40' north and longitude 80° 28' east, between the roads from Hardoi and Sandila to Unao, of which the former is metalled. (*District Gazetteers, Unao 1903, p. 195*).

² *Pariar*, Pargana *Pariar Tahsil Unao Distt. Unao*—A small town lying in latitude 26° 38' north and longitude 80° 19' east, on the banks of the Ganges at a distance of 14 miles north-west of Unao. It is situated at the junction of two roads which connect the place with Salipur and Rasulabad. (*District Gazetteers, Unao 1903, p. 215*).

³ *Parsandan*, Pargana *Gorinda-Parsandan Tahsil Hasanganj Distt. Unao*—Parsandan lies in latitude 26° 36' north and longitude 80° 41' east, at a distance of 12 miles south of Jhalotar-Ajgain and 14 miles north-east of Unao. (*District Gazetteers, Unao 1903, Pp. 217-18*).

⁴ *Jhalotar*, Pargana *Jhalotar-Ajgain Tahsil Hasanganj Distt. Unao*—A small village of 682 inhabitants situated in latitude 26° 42' north and longitude 80° 39' east, at a short distance to the west of the metalled road from Ajgain to Mohan, about seven miles from the former and 13 miles north-east from Unao. (*District Gazetteers, Unao 1903, p. 188*).

arrears but the account was never proved, and I firmly believe the arrears existed only in Balkishen's imagination. When the outbreak took place he retired to his house at Ascewun, and though offered, declined employment. He has much local influence, hates Munsub Ali and the Futtehpoor Chowrasie rebel, and will be able, I think, to hold his own. There is a strong *Thanah* under him at Ascewun and a small one, to be increased when I get a good *Thanadar*, at Mohan. For Futtehpoor Chowrasie I have not succeeded in finding a good *Thanadar*, as the post is a very difficult one.

NAWABGANJ

7. The Nawabgunge *Tuhseel* is partly in our hands. There is a *Thanah* at Nawabgunge and a *Chowkie* at Jhuloutur. Sissendi, south of the road, is held by a loyal *Talookdar* but the rest of the *Tuhseel* in that direction is in possession of the Enemy.

8. In a few words, the road is the line of demarcation; south of it, with few exceptions, the enemy held, north of it is in our hands.

9. The people do not appear ill-disposed towards us. When with General Grant's Column, they invariably brought me most excellent information. A good many *Lumburdars* put in by us have been ousted. These were men who had been long dispossessed and whom we, by our order, were obliged to put in on their proving their claim. They had not had time to get fairly seated before the disturbances commenced and were accordingly ejected. The rebels committed the error of raising the assessment at least 25 per-cent above what I had fixed. This at once put most of the village proprietors.¹

RESISTANCE BY NAWAB ALI KHAN OF MAHMUDABAD

Extract of letters from Capt. Reid, dated Camp Birassee (Birasi) 14th and 15th April 1858.

NAWAB ALI KHAN AND IBAD ALI KHAN OPPOSE

"We are encamped at Birassee, six or seven miles from

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 28th May 1858, Nos. 416-17; National Archives, New Delhi.

Mahmoodabad and I have as yet received no reply to my communication to Nawab Ali Khan. He himself has fled across the Chouka¹, but has left a *karinda* with four small guns and some twelve hundred *diwalbunds*. If the *karinda* absconds, or does not come in before we attack the place, I think the Nawab's possessions should be finally forfeited and made over as soon as possible to some other party or parties. I believe such a measure would have a very good effect all over the country. *Nawab Ali Khan and his brother Ibad Ali Khan are the only men in this quarter, apparently disposed to show their teeth.*

BARU LAMBARDAR SURRENDERS

"The Baree *lumbardar* about whom I wrote yesterday, saying I had thought of asking the General to destroy his Fort, is now with me. He has protected a half-caste writer and his wife, and there is some truth in the excuse he makes, that he was obliged to be civil to the Moulvie while he was here. I have ordered him to go into Lucknow with Mr. Phillip within five days with his *kist*, and if he does so, I think he or they should get the *Ilaqua* as before.

MAHMUDABAD PEOPLE RESIST

"Up to till (sic),² yesterday evening the Mahmoodabad people apparently intended to hold out but they thought better of it and went off during the night, some I believe across the Chouka to Mathoora where the Nawab is supposed to be, and some to the Begum at Bithowlee.

WEAK FORTIFICATIONS AT MAHMUDABAD

"The fortifications here are of no strength; there is a *Pukka*³ house belonging to the Nawab which we *are going to blow up*. Tomorrow we go to Bithira, belonging to a brother of the Nawab called Ibad Ali Khan. These men appear determined to persist in their obstinate resistance to our authority and I think their estates should be given as soon as possible to some one else. Part might be given to well-affected *Talooqdars*,

¹ River *Chauka* which flows through *Sitapur* also.

² It should be "uptil"

³ Built of brick

and part settled with rival claimants, village *Mocuddums*, or otherwise disposed of.

"I am afraid we have now left the region of well-disposed *Zemindars* and from this to Ramnuggur we shall find nearly all of them hostile.

MAULVI EXPECTED TO GO TO KHAIRABAD

"I have heard nothing of the Moulvie beyond the report, that he went to Biswa after the fight. He is said to have very few followers and it is expected that he will go on to Khyrabad".¹

DEFEAT OF THE MAULVI OF FAIZABAD AT BARI

News of Khairabad and Sitapur etc., dated 18th April 1858, Saturday, from Khairabad proper, submitted by Jhau Lal, Akhbar Navis of Zila Khairabad and Sitapur, to Captain Orr.

Maulvi Faizabadi *Badmash* (Mischief Monger), myopic, was defeated by the English troops under Mr. Right at Bari. He came to Khairabad from Bari with 2500 horsemen, 1500 footsoldiers and three guns and stayed there for three days, and from there moved, with all his followers, to Maholi at a distance of 6 *kos*, situated in the *Ilaga* of Loni Singh, *Taluqadar* of Mithauli, Zila Muhamdi. The Chief inhabitants of the main city of Khairabad state that the Maulvi had gone to Raja Loni Singh at Mithauli but he flatly refused to give him quarter. It cannot be said if he stayed at Mithauli or moved away to some other side, but he had the idea of going to Mithauli when he was at Khairabad. Therefore I am trying to find out his whereabouts.

To-day, the 18th April—Saturday—Raja Har Prasad took two persons captive on the charge of spying. They were belaboured and asked to state truly who they were and by whom they were sent. They stated that they were spies in the service of Englishmen and that three divisions of the English Troops had started from Lucknow. They had encamped

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 28th May 1858, No. 412; National Archives, New Delhi.

near Atarya¹ Gaon and were coming particularly to Khairabad. Hearing this he (the Raja) started towards north for Laharpur² at a distance of 9 *kos* with a body of one thousand horse and foot and two guns. He has only these troops, and no irregular troops of the *Zemindars*.

Raja Har Prasad had gone to Oel³ seven or eight days back. There he was entertained by Raja Anirudh Singh who, it is believed, offered him some money as well. The next day he marched to Kheri from Oel. There also, Dina Singh and his younger brother, Gaj Raj Singh, *Taluqadar* Mahwa, came down from Garhi Parshad Pur and offered a feast. He then returned home. After this, he marched to Sibasa Parsandhi Garhi, with the above-mentioned army, and went to the *Thana* of Sikh (sic,) *Taluqadar*. He stayed there for 2 days and then returned to Khairabad and set off for Laharpur on April 18. The Camp buildings of Sitapur and Khairabad are now vacant. There are no soldiers close by. It is very easy and simply needs time to install the police *Thana* there.

All the dignitaries and the residents of the urban area of Sitapur and Khyrabad have fled away for fear of English soldiers. There is only one man left in every house and he is there in the hope of getting an assurance of amnesty.

BEGAM & HAR PRASAD DESERTED BY PETTY TALUQADARS

Raja Har Prasad called for the arrears of *Malguzari*

¹ *Ataria*, Pargana *Manwan* Tahsil *Sidhauli* Dist. *Sitapur*—This village gives its name to a station on the Lucknow-Sitapur and Bareilly State Railway N. E. R., lying in latitude 27° 10' north and longitude 80° 52' east, at a distance of eight miles south of Sidhauli and seven miles north to Itaunja in Lucknow. (*District Gazetteers*, Sitapur 1905, p. 137).

² *Laharpur*, Pargana *Laharpur* Tahsil *Sitapur* Dist. *Sitapur*—The capital of the pargana is a fair sized town, lying in latitude 27° 43' north and longitude 80° 54' east, at a distance of 17 miles north-east of Sitapur, with which it has communication by a good unmetalled road, which continues east to Mallanpur on the Ghagra. It is also connected by unmetalled roads running to Biswan on the south and Lakhimpur on the north. (*District Gazetteers*, Sitapur 1905, p. 174).

³ *Oel*, Pargana *Kheri* Tahsil *Lakhimpur* Dist. *Kheri*—This large village lies on the road from Lakhimpur to Sitapur, some eight miles south of the former, in latitude 27° 50' north and longitude 80° 45' east. (*District Gazetteers*, Kheri 1905, p. 232).

from Raja Anirudh Singh, *Taluqadar* of Oel, Gajraj Singh, *Taluqadar* of Mahwa, and Shiva Bakhsh Singh, *Taluqadar* of Katehr, *Zila* Muhamdi and Sitapur but they refused to pay and said that because the Company's rule had been re-established they would no more be his partisans and would send all the arrears of revenue to Englishmen at Lucknow and would present themselves to the District Officer when he would take over charge of the district and would abide by his orders. So, none of the *Taluqadars* and *Zemindars* is now on the side of the wicked Begam and Har Prasad. But they are confined in their fortresses with their armies and it is learnt that they intend coming over to your side. It is believed that if orders assuring them of amnesty and of entertaining no fears are sent, enveloped with the reply of this news-letter, it is possible that they may report themselves, if admonished.

Mr. Robert is at Mahmudabad and it has been heard that he is staying with his army at Paintipur¹ Bilahra.

NARPAT SINGH READY TO FIGHT

It has been learnt through spies and the inhabitants of the neighbouring places that Narpal Singh, nephew of Madho Singh *Zemindar* of Roayya *Ilaga* Sandila, *Zila* Mallanwan sent a letter to Baicha Singh, *Zemindar* of Bhutt, son of the late Jhau Singh, *Zemindar* of *Pargana* Machhrehla², District Sitapur, who is closely related to the person named above, for sending Gohar troops and asked Ali Bahadur Mughal, *Zemindar* Narsinghpur of Nimkhar (Nemi Sharanya) Misrikh to send a reinforcement. He is bent upon mischief and is ready, with his own followers and the followers of other *Zemindars* named above, in *Garhi* Roayya, for a fight and claimed to be a partisan of the wicked rebels.

¹ *Paintipur*, *Pargana* Mahmudabad Tahsil Sidhauri Distt. Sitapur—A small town in the south-east of the *pargana*, lying in latitude 27° 15' north and longitude 81° 11' east, on the road from Biswan to Bahramghat some four miles east of Mahmudabad and 42 miles from Sitapur. (*District Gazetteers*, Sitapur 1905, p. 199).

² *Machhrehla*, *Pargana* Machhrehla Tahsil Misrikh Distt. Sitapur—The capital of the *pargana* is a small town in 27° 25' north latitude and 80° 39' east longitude, on the road from Khairabad to Nimkhar, at a distance of about 16 miles south of the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Sitapur 1905, p. 178).

RAJA LONI SINGH ALERT WITH HIS SWORD

Raja Loni Singh, *Zemindar* Mithauli *Halqa* Muhamdi, is ready to fight a battle, in his *Garhi*, with a following, it is said, of 12,000 men. I am trying to find out his real strength.¹

ACTIVITIES OF THE MAULVI

Telegraphic Message from C. R. Lindsay, Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, received on 17th of May 1858.

The report of yesterday was that the Moulvie was entrenched at Ajutatahur three *cos*s east of Shahjehanpore. To-day's report says that the enemy is in force at Lodhapore² on the left bank of Kunnout (Khanaut) river. The Chief is expected at Shahjehanpore.³

MAULVI ON THE OFFENSIVE

Telegraphic Message from C. R. Lindsay, Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, received on the 21st of May 1858.

The Moulvie with four Regts. of Infantry and three of Cavalry with nine guns is in possession of Palee. He has a strong picket at Mooria (Moora) eight miles distant from Bijhpoorea (Bijehpoora) and just opposite to it Messrs. Clark, Dalmain (?) and Thurburn have been obliged to vacate Durceapore (Dharampur). The Moulvie will probably attack Sandee' and join Narput' Sing. There is a strong rumour from different directions that a part of the rebels are on this side of the Gauges somewhere in the Etah district.⁴

BATTLE AT BUNNEE (BANNI)

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, 21st May, 10:40 p.m., to E. A. Reade, Agra.

It is reported from Futtygurh that on the eighteenth instant the Commander-in-Chief engaged the rebel force at

¹ Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*.

² Perhaps it has been written for *Lodipur*, in the suburbs of *Shahjahanpur* District, on the east side of *Khanaut* River.

³ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

⁴ In district *Hardoi*.

⁵ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Hartora and Bunnee some two and a half *coss* east from Shah-jehanpore, and that the fighting continued till night. One of the entrenchments of the enemy had been taken.¹

MAULVI AT SANDI

Telegraphic Message from C. R. Lindsay, Futttyghur (Fatehgarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, received on 24th of May 1858.

The Moulvie with five hundred sowars some infantry and three small guns has reached Sandee. There are no rebels about Palce at this time, this is reliable information.²

ATTACK ON MUHAMDI

Telegraphic Message from C. R. Lindsay, Futttyghur (Fatehgarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 13th June 1858.

Report says that the Purwaya Rajah has been killed by the rebels; the Moulvey and Khan Bahadoor Khan are gathering men for an attack on Mahomedec. *The Nana is said to be on the other side of the Gogra; this requires confirmation.*³

ATTACK ON SHAHJAHANPUR

Telegraphic Message from C. R. Lindsay, Futttyghur (Fatehgarh), to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 15th June 1858.

Many of the chief rebel leaders and great *Talookdars* are meditating an attack on Shajehanpore. This is reliable. The Moulvie is Chief. The rebels are said to be in possession of Mohumdee; required information (sic).⁴

ACTIVITIES OF MAULVI AHMAD ULLAH SHAH & FIROZ SHAH

Letter No. 563 of 1858 from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oude (Awadh), to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, dated Lucknow, 26th June 1858.

There is not much to report for the past week.

¹ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

MAULVI AHMAD ULLAH SHAH ATTACKS PAWAYAN

Colonel Clarke reported from Futtehgurh on the 19th, that the Moulvi Ahmad Shah with 200 sowars and the Nawab of Najebabad attacked the Rajah of Poorwain (Pawayan)¹, near Mohumdee, on the 15th, when they were met, and defeated by the Rajah's nephew Nurput Singh, who shot the Moulvi and the Nawab.

FIROZ SHAH THREATENS UNNAO

The Delhic Prince Ferozeshah has collected his force to threaten Oonaw from the west, and the *Thannah* of Russoolabad is occupied by the rebels.

General Grant withdrew a portion of his force from Nuwabgunj on the 21st, leaving a sufficient body to hold that part of the country. Captain Reid, Deputy Commissioner, has been placed in charge of Nuwab Gunj and the surrounding country as far as the Ghogra, which is now clear of rebels.

Mr. Forbes reports from Dehra that the *Zemindars* around him are most favourably inclined, and are quite ready to make a demonstration as soon as there is any prospect of their being supported. Mr. Forbes has wisely abstained from making any regular settlements with them which would only provoke the hostility of the rebels.

Rajah Man Singh has made a request for ammunition, and is holding out as Oude *Talookdars* know how.

I am directed to forward the statements of collections, assessments and the stations of the Police.

No great depredations have been committed during the past week. The death of the Moulvi and the dispersing of

¹ *Pawayan*, Pargana and Tahsil *Pawayan* Dist. *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. Unmetalled roads lead from the town to Nigohi on the west, to Bisalpur on the north-west, to Puranpur on the north, to Khutar on the north-east and to Muhamdi on the south-east. (*District Gazetteers*, Shahjahanpur 1910, p. 208).

the rebel force by General Grant have produced comparative quiet.¹

DEATH OF MAULVI

Telegraphic Message from C. R. Lindsay, Futtyghur (Fatehgarh), 16th June, to E. A. Reade, Agra.

The Maulvi is dead, he was shot at Purwaen (Pawayan) when he went with (500) five hundred sowars. A follower of the Rajah of Purwaen cut off his head.²

ACTIVITIES OF NARPAT SINGH

Telegraphic Message from Vansittart to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor General, dated (Fatehgarh) April 25, 1858.

Intelligence has just arrived that Nurput Singh, of Roabee (Roayya), has collected together about 1,000 men, with six guns of all sizes, that he is threatening to coerce the *Zemindars* friendly to our cause; he is promised aid by the Begum.³

ACTIVITIES OF NARPAT SINGH, SUTEE PERSHAD (SATI PRASAD)—RAJA OF SHEORAJPUR—AND BENI MADHO

Telegraphic Message from the Judge of Cawnpore to Muir, dated Cawnpore, April 25, 1858.

The rebels have returned in force to Roeya, the fort where Walpole's affair happened. Nurput Singh is burning villages, and ravaging that district, flushed with his recent escape. Sutte Pershad, the rebel Rajah of Sheorajpore, will try to cross over to Calpee, and we have nothing to stop him. Benee Madhu with a considerable force, is threatening Oonao and the Cawnpore and Lucknow Road. No news from Calpee.⁴

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th July 1858, No. 86; National Archives, New Delhi.

² Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

³ Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 18 in No. 14, p. 152.

cf. Foreign Secret Consultations, 28th May 1858, No. 578; National Archives, New Delhi.

⁴ Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 19 in No. 14, p. 152.

Intelligences of Districts of Sitapur and Khairabad, dated April 27, from Garhi Oel, place of residence of Raja Anirudh Singh, Taluqadar and Zemindar of Kheri etc. by Jhau Lal, Akhbar Navis.

MAULVI OF FAIZABAD ATTACKS MUHAMDI

Maulvi Faizabadi *Badmaash* had been to Mohamdi with a following of 2000 foot-soldiers and horsemen and plundered all the inhabitants of the town proper. He is soon expected at Khairabad again. He plunders and devastates wherever he goes. He has three guns. Raja Anirudh Singh, *Taluqadar Oel*, states that he has a mind to go to Kheri for plunder. All mischief would be put an end to, if some Englishmen come to Sitapur.

RAJA HAR PRASAD

Raja Har Prasad, *Amil* of Khairabad, marched from Khairabad for Laharpur on Sunday, April 18 and has been there upto this day. He has one thousand men with two guns who are always hankering for their arrears of pay of the four months. He is anxious to flee away and has said to his men that they should keep.....(manuscript torn out)..... ready for.....(torn out).....transport.....(torn out).....are brought captive in *Begar* (Corvée). It has to be watched if he stays or flies away. He is certainly very much distracted.

RAJA ANIRUDH SINGH

Raja Anirudh Singh, *Taluqadar* of Oel, and other *Taluqadars* are levying revenues from the ryots with great oppression. There is a hue and cry in the *Ilaga*. All pray to God that the magistrates of districts should reach up to intervene.

Diwan Thakur Dayal *Bakshi* of the rebel army fled from Lucknow and reached here. He is staying in the *Garhi* of Raja Anirudh Singh, *Taluqadar* of Oel. In order to gather information, I went to see the Raja on the pretext of a ceremonial visit. I found Thakur Dayal, *Diwan Bakshi* of the entire army, both central and provincial, of the rebel Begam and Raja Anirudh Singh *Zemindar* sitting close together for enjoying fresh air in the nicely-built building of the *Kachahri*, close to the Bungalow, on the tank inside the *Garhi*, surrounded by four jungles and outside the tower.....(Mss. torn out)....

When I approached them and exchanged a glance with them, the Raja and the *Diwan* were taken aback. After usual salutations they asked me where I was coming from. I said, 'from Lucknow'. They asked me to tell them the state of affairs there and I replied, "The Englishmen have become complete masters of the Country; they and their armies have reached every where. The *Taluqadars* of the eastern side and of Mahona have paid one instalment of the revenue and have taken their deeds of amnesty. The Commissioner is about to enter Khairabad". After this the Raja asked me if I recognised Thakur Dayal, *Diwan* of the Begam. I said, "Why not? Well! Raja Sahib! Why do you deceive me? Thakur Dayal is sitting by your side and talking to you. You are a Chief and as such should fear earning a bad name. Why did you keep the *Bakhshi* of the rebel army, a criminal of the Company, in your *Garhi*? However, there is still time for you. Do not let him go anywhere. He might be sought for". The Raja wondered at this, left the place and retired to his residence and the *Diwan* who was staying at the house of Ram Charan *Munshi* went to his place. I also returned to the place where I was staying. I am now staying at another place unnoticed.

Raja Anirudh Singh, *Taluqadar* Oel, has sent his *Vakil*, Bal Govind to Lucknow. He may stay at his home in Khairabad for a day or two and then go to Lucknow. He will see the Chief Commissioner through Nawab Munawwur-uddaulah.

LONI SINGH READY TO GIVE BATTLE

There is a large army ready to give battle in the *Garhi* of Raja Loni Singh. There are rumours that the *Zemindars* of this neighbourhood are his accomplices. A *Harkara* will be sent to find out the truth.

By the grace of God everything is all right.¹

¹ Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*. Translated from the file of the "Trial of Raja Loni Singh".

BENI MADHO'S DOGGED RESISTANCE

Memorandum by Captain L. Barrow, Deputy Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), dated Lucknow, May 22, 1858.

MAJORITY OF TALUQADARS OF AWADH SURRENDER

With few exceptions the larger *Talookdars* of Oudh have sent in, by letter or *Vakeel* or in person tendered, their allegiance.

In the last 10 days great progress has been made, inasmuch as the Commissioner with the principal parties have (sic,) assumed a tone which shows they are more in earnest than their first letters led us to suppose.

Their excuses about coming into Lucknow in person to shew the sincerity of their professions have been in each case answered according to its merits. We have now quite sufficient partizans and information to be able to find out whether the excuses are valid or not. It is not distance but a generally insecure feeling, whilst so many armed bands are abroad, that prevents men leaving their homes.

SETTLEMENTS

Our progress in settlement to this time and the little opposition met with at the posts we have established shews the tone of feeling towards us is changing. A fortnight since no man would have undertaken to establish himself in any place 5 miles from a military post. Now we could get *Talookdars* or *Zemindars* over one-third of Oudh, or half to support our *Tahseels*. Witness our Posts*, established or proposed.

BENI MADHO'S OPPOSITION

The principal obstacle at this moment to our settlement and to the *Talookdars* presenting themselves to the Chief Commissioner is the want of Military Post at Fyzabad, and Bance Madho's holding out on the south-west.

Though Madho Singh and Maun Singh profess allegiance, it is remarkable that from the Sultanpore and Fyzabad Districts none have (sic,) come in. As regards Bance Madho's opposi-

*Marginal notes in the Original :—

Mulliabad, Sundeelah, Gopa Mow, Jyes, Futchpore, Sessendi, Neghohan (or Nighohi), Hossain Guige, Palee, Dal Mow, Durriabad.

tion we have already drawn off *several* of the *Talookdars*. Most of them indeed make excuses for not joining him and there are hopes of gaining him over, as he states through Munooroodowlah that "he" (sic, I) will always obey those who are in power". A day or so will decide his course.¹

The reports of officers, of the Commissioner, of the feeling of particular individuals on a particular frontier do not give a fair notion of the tone of feeling generally amongst the *Talookdars* of Oudh. Reports should be sent to the Chief Commissioner alone, and I earnestly trust no change in our Policy towards the *Talookdars* will take place at this moment. Let them tender their allegiance at Lucknow only. The Chief Commissioner can determine to dispense with personal attendance and prevent any inconvenience to the party as each case comes before him.

After such a *rebellion* as the present to know that every *Talookdar* is wavering, that most have tendered their allegiance by letter, or *Vakeel* and that many have personally attended, is fair progress to have been made in Oudh.²

LIAQAT ALI OCCUPIES SANDI

Telegraphic Message from Lindsay to Muir, dated Fatchgarh, May 25, 1858.

The Moulvie³ attacked and took possession of Sandee yesterday.⁴

LIAQAT ALI ATTACKS BILGRAM

Telegraphic Message from Lindsay to Muir, dated Fatchgarh, May 26, 1858.

The rebels were attacked on the 24th by the British at Shalhjeanpore, and driven back to Mohumdee, which place has been taken. 100 or 200 fugitives from Calpee attempted to cross the Ganges between Sheorajpore and Bidhore, *Zillah* Cawnpore, but were attacked and dispersed by the *Zemindars* of *Pergunnah* Rassolabad. The Moulvie Leakut Alli attacked Bilgram and plundered it. This is the man who attacked and

¹ There is a marginal note in the original "Banee Madho's tender of allegiance has just been received".

² Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*.

³ Maulvi Liaqat Ali of Allahabad.

⁴ Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 2 in No. 16, p. 157.

plundered *Pallee*¹ and *Sandee*, not the well-known *Ahmudoolah Shah* of Lucknow.²

NEWS RELATING TO THE EASTERN AND WESTERN PARTS OF SHAHGUNGE (SHAHGANJ)

Translation of a Petition of Raja Man Singh, dated the 26th May 1858, to the address of Major Barrow.

ACTIVITIES OF MEHNDI HASAN

Previously I have sent information regarding the mutineers by an *Urzee* forwarded through Nawab Moonowwuroo-ood-dowla Bahadar. I further beg now to inform you, that on Saturday the mutineer sepoy with other rebels reached Surwa Ghat, which is 13 *Coss* from Oudh and is not in my *Illaka*. Menhdee Hussain's men brought 25 boats from Tanda for crossing them and about 1000 rebels crossed the river, and encamped on the other side.

TALUQADARS OF BUDHAPUR, PIRPUR, SUMANPUR AND OTHERS JOIN MEHNDI HASAN

Then Menhdee Hussain himself joined these from Tanda. Orders were issued to all the *Talookdars* by the Begum for aiding Menhdee Hussain and for looking after me, and Menhdee Hussain forwarded them to the addressees. *Talookdars* of Budhapur, Peerpoor and Sumanpoor and others, are gradually coming in to his assistance in compliance with the order.

TALUQADARS' INTENTIONS AGAINST SHAHGANJ

The *Zemindars*, I had agreed on to bring over, have not come to me, and in consequence of my being known as the

¹ *Pali*, Pargana *Pali* Tahsil *Shahabad* Distt. *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).

² Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 7 in No. 17, p. 163. Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858, dated 27th May 1858, and also of 28th, 11 a.m. to E. A. Reade, Agra; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

well-wisher of the British Government, all the *Talookdars* have become my enemies and wish my destruction. They intend soon to besiege Shahgunge; they say that they will see Shahgunge first, and then attend to others. All the above is about the eastern part of the country. The following is about the west.

RAJA DEBI BAKHSH SINGH ENCAMPED AT MUHAMMADPUR

Raja Debi Buksh Sing & Gujadhur Captain, accompanied by mutineer sepoy & sowars, have crossed the River at Merocha Ghat, being $1\frac{1}{2}$ *coss* from Suhoora Ghat, and are encamped at Mohomedpoor. Wazeer Ally Bhutte, appointed by the Begum as the *Moonsurrim* of Durriabad, is also with the Raja. I think they must have now reached Suhoora Ghat, and will decamp by tomorrow, as they are making arrangements for crossing at Sura (Surwa) Ghat. Now I do not know what to do:—try to defend Shahgunge or oppose their landing at the *Ghats*; there being enemies on two sides of me. The receipt of the Begum's order alluded to above has changed the minds of all, both high and low, and every one is elated with pride. In short, I am attacked from every quarter. There is no wonder if Shahgunge be besieged in a short time. My *Mokudduns* too have, already, and are every day turning from me. I have sent my family to a comparatively safe place than Shahgunge, and I alone have remained to defend Shahgunge. I request that Mr. Wingfield of Goruckpore be telegraphed to come to my assistance, as I heard he has with him about 2000 Europeans & Madras soldiers.

Should there be delay in the coming of the aid, I am afraid the enemy may gather strength, and thus cause much annoyance, for now what can I do alone and unaided; besides, the well-wishers of British Government will in every way be the sufferers, & will in future be deterred from attempting to render any service to Government.

I therefore request an early answer.¹

Letter from Man Sing to Chief Commissioner, Awadh.

After compliment. I have already sent a statement of my case to the Chief Commissioner, and was told that as Mr.

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th July 1858, Nos. 63/69; National Archives, New Delhi.

Forbes was about to enter the district, I must refer to him, who will tell the Chief Commissioner, the result, and Mr. Forbes's report will be acted on. I, therefore, beg to say that I received orders from Major General Outram to put the Goorkhas across the river—and I accordingly expelled the rebels from Oudh and Fyzabad, and gathered 200 boats at the *Ghat* and prepared supplies all through my *ilaga* and by Captain Steel's order, erected a battery on the bank to cover their passage, and got the boats up from Oudh (the city) not without fighting, by means of which I put the Army across, and received *perwanahs* from the whole of the officers accompanying the force. After this, in obedience to Mr. Wingfield's orders, I kept up the Oudh ferry, in order that the Bilwa rebels might not be able to reach Bustee (Basti). It happened strangely enough, that these Bilwa rebels wrote to the Begum complaining that owing to my cruel interference, they could neither go to Mr. Wingfield, nor come to Lucknow. They procured (from her) orders to all *Zemindars*, *Talooqdars* and mutineers to join them and made preparations for my ruin so far that about a week ago all the *Talooqdars* from Gonda, Bahraitch, Buttanpore collected to the number of 30,000 and 40,000 men, and crossing by other ferries, arrived near Shahgunj. On hearing this I sent my family to Amethce and am now in Shahgunj with my Army and munitions of war. The rebels first invested my *thana* of Bindowlee. It held out for one day nobly and although the garrison was very small, they killed and wounded 190 sepoy with a loss of 10 men killed and 13 wounded. Today the rebel force has entered Fyzabad and Oudh and is about to invest Shahgunj. I am awaiting their arrival, armed, for the Government service. Government ought therefore to reinforce me with a very small force tho' (though) it be. There is no doubt that if you could get but a few English Infantry and thus co-operate with me, we should drive the rebels to the foot of the hills. If this be not possible, pray inform me of the best means for my safety. Further, I have not full assurance of the safety of my family, although I have sent them to Amethce, for, Raja Madho Singh is afraid to declare himself for either *Sirkar*; nay, this very fear prompted him to decline joining me in opposing the mutineers. What hope can I have of them? I beg for a place of safety for my family; therefore as far as I foresee they will be dishonored if they stay in this country. One more thing of importance I have to

mention is that the rebels intend to destroy Derah after destroying me. If you go to Derah, you should certainly bring a force of Europeans with you for all this country is united in treasonable design. All this disturbance has arisen from the delay which was occurred in chastising Bainswarrah.¹

MAN SINGH ATTACKED BY MUHAMMAD HUSAIN

Telegraphic Message from the Commissioner of Benares (Banaras) to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor General, dated Benares, May 27, 1858

The Commissioner of Goruckpore asks me to telegraph as follows: The Nusseerabad sepoys from Belwa, with the horse-battery guns, crossed the Gogra by 12 o'clock this day, when they were joined by Mahommed Hossein and 1,500 men from Tanda. The united forces proceed to attack Maun Singh, who wants aid from us and says that six regiments sent by the Begum have crossed twenty miles west of Udioodya (Ayodhya) to attack him from that quarter; we cannot help him. Mahommed Hossein has moved eastward. The Bansee (Bansi) *tehsel*, *thannah*, and town were sacked yesterday by insurgents from Oude. Maun Singh should be helped from Lucknow. Some sepoys and four guns remain at Amorha.²

RAJA OF KAPURTHALA TO MARCH AGAINST UNNAO

Telegraphic Message from the Judge of Cawnpore to Muir, dated Cawnpore, May 30, 1858.

The Kupoorthalla Rajah has arrived, and leaves tomorrow for Oonao. His own regular force consists of three guns, 200 Cavalry, and 800 Infantry. Lieutenant Hawkins, his escort, has 300 Infantry, and 100 Cavalry. Camp-followers between 3,000 and 4,000 men. The Rajah leaves for Oonao tomorrow. Both letter and parcel *dak* arrived safely from below. I hope you are better.³

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th July 1858, No. 72; National Archives, New Delhi.

² Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 4 in No. 17, p. 162.

³ *Ibid.*, Inclosure 14 in No. 17, p. 165.

REVOLUTIONARY FORCES FROM HAMIRPUR MOVE TOWARDS AWADH

Telegraphic Message from the Judge of Fatehpur to the Secretary to the Government with the Governor General, dated Fatehpur, May 30, 1858.

Some thousands of rebels, horse and foot, with eight guns, in three divisions, have crossed from Humceerpore side of Jumna, to Shicorajpore Ghaut, on Ganges. Last division came yesterday morning. They have crossed, and are crossing into Oude. Middleton's division is at Mohur on Trunk Road, this morning. Brigadier Carthew, with some Sikhs, 100 Madrassies and two guns, started for Mohur at midnight. Eighty Europeans on camels, some cavalry, and two horse artillery guns, sent from Cawnpore to meet him.¹

GUERRILLA WARFARE

Letter No. 431 of 1858, from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, dated Lucknow, 5th June 1858.

The Narrative of the events of the past week does not afford much subject for congratulation.

POLICY OF THE REBELS

The policy of the rebels has clearly been, to harass and drive in all our *thannahs* and outposts, avoiding as much as possible close contact with any disciplined troops.

POLICE OF BILGRAM JOINS MAULVI (LIAQAT ALI)

In the west the movements of the Maulvi as reported by Colonel Clarke, were directed against Hurdeo Buksh, whom he threatened by insulting letters, but did not actually attack. He inflicted mutilation on two Government servants but the Police of Bilgram are reported to have willingly deserted from the British Government and joined the rebel cause.

REVOLUTIONARIES TO JOIN BEGAM AND BENI MADHO

The Hindoos, however, have generally held aloof and

¹ Further Papers (No. 8) relative to *The Mutinies in the East Indies*, Inclosure 11 in No. 17, p. 164.

considerable confusion and alarm have been spread amongst their ranks, by the reports of a decided victory having been gained by the British near Mohemdee. This has driven the insurgents partly to the North-East and partly to the East, where they will endeavour to join Begum and Beni Madhoo, leaving the country around Sandee, and up towards the river Chowka comparatively free.

REVOLT OF THE POLICE OF RASULABAD

On the 31st May, Mr. Lawrence, Deputy Commissioner of Oonao, reports that the *Tehsildar* of Bangurmaoo had been obliged to give up his post, and the majority of the police at Rusoolabad had mutinied, and after demanding their pay, had joined the rebels on their approach from the west.

SANDILA, MALIHABAD AND KAKORI THREATENED

Sundeela was attacked on the 1st June, and Hushmut Alee *Tehsildar* was compelled to evacuate the place. The rebels at Oonao moved on to Mulliabad, where a strong *Thannah* had been placed, and even threatened Kakoree¹ which is only 5 miles from Lucknow. To save this place the Chief Commissioner has sent out a force of 900 Military Police under Captain Bunbury. The Police levies however are only lately armed and scarcely at all drilled.

PLAN TO ATTACK LUCKNOW ON 2ND JUNE

Towards the north, a large concourse of sepoy and rebel Rajas has been reported, but the numbers are very uncertain. Their declared plan was to attack Lucknow on the 2nd June from three sides at once and 9,000 Infantry and Cavalry with 68 guns took up a position at Navab Gunje on the 30th May, throwing out pickets who patrolled almost to Chinhut and within 8 miles of Lucknow.

The Brigadier Commanding sent out on the 1st June

¹ *Kakori*, Pargana *Kakori* Tahsil and Distt. *Lucknow*—The capital of the pargana is a considerable town lying due west of Lucknow, in latitude 26° 52' north and longitude 80° 48' east, at a distance of about eight miles from the district headquarters. About a mile to the north runs the metalled road from Lucknow to Malihabad, which is connected with Kakori. (*District Gazetteers*, Lucknow 1904, p. 189).

a force of 1200 men and 12 guns to Chinhut, where they are drawn up almost in front of the enemy. There is not a distance of 5 miles between the advanced posts of the two armies, and yet no attempt at an attack on our post has been made.

The Chief Commissioner would not wish to call in question the tactics of the Military, but he is strongly of opinion that these rebel armies are treated with far greater respect than such rabble forces desire.

On the slightest approach of British troops, the utmost panic precedes a general flight. But when they see the British troops hesitating to attack they borrow enough courage to make a show of advance and meanwhile harass and destroy the *Zemindars* who belong to our cause.

BENI MADHO ATTACKS SISSAINDI

Beni Madhoo was to have joined in the attack, but the presence of General Grant disturbed his arrangements. He however attacked and drove out the Post at Sassendie on the 31st ultimo.

RAJA OF KAPURTHALA TO HOLD PURWA AND TO PROTECT KANPUR ROAD

The arrival of the Kupoorthulla Raja with part of his force at Cawnpore, was announced on the 30th May, and the Chief Commissioner at once arranged to send out Messrs. Tucker and Elliott to join the Rajah and proceed to Poorwah, which it was intended he should hold during the rains thus protecting the Cawnpore road from the attacks on the east side. General Grant had arranged to leave 1200 men at Nawab Gunge between Bunnee and Oonao, and with the remainder of his force marched to attack the rebels at Sassendie on the 1st June. The Raja's force marched on the highroad as far as Bunnee and thence diverged to Poorwah, where they were met by General Grant on the 3rd instant.

No enemy stayed to oppose General Grant at Sassendie or Poorwah, and though they hovered around him and were continually within four or five miles of his camp, no force was sent out to cut them off.

GENERAL GRANT TO GIVE FINAL DECISION

The Chief Commissioner's intention of holding Poorwah with only the Rajah's troops has been modified within the

last 24 hours by the strongly expressed opinion by General Grant on the inability of the Rajah's force to meet a strong attack and the Chief Commissioner has left it to the General to give a final decision.

ONLY LUCKNOW DISTRICT IN THE HANDS OF THE BRITISH

Our position at the end of this week is shortly thus—

We hold Lucknow District and the line of road to Cawnpore, most of our other posts have been abandoned. Towards the north we have a small but efficient force stationed at Chinhut patrolling, picketing and watching, according to regular rules of war, a rabble army which it could destroy in one engagement.

Throughout the country of Oudh the rebels are complete masters and harass all the followers of the British.....

Mr. Forbes has reported his arrival at Jaunpore and will join Roostumsah (Rustam Shah) at Derah immediately. He confirms the report of Man Singh's difficulties.

Messrs. Tucker and Elliott are for the present at Poorwah.

Captain Reid, Dy. Commr., has accompanied the force to Chinhut, and Lieutenant Hawkins, Assistant Commissioner who has just joined the Commissioner, has accompanied Captain Bunbury to Kakori.

TEMPER & DISPOSITION OF THE PEOPLE

With so great a pressure on all sides of Lucknow, the Chief Commissioner believes that the only safety our well-wishers outside possess is in concealing their real feelings until more favorable times come round.

The amount of settlements last week, show an aggregate of Rs. 1,43,098 and the collections amount to Rs. 5,969. Annexed is a statement of police recruits as furnished by Major Bruce. Oudh District police are paralyzed by the revenge of the enemy who visit their relations with the punishment they would inflict on those who take a side openly against them. This makes it almost a matter of necessity that we should have chiefly foreigners in the new Military Police.¹

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th July 1858, No. 63; National Archives, New Delhi.

PURWA OCCUPIED BY REVOLUTIONARIES

Letter No. 461 of 1858 from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Governor General, dated Lucknow, 12th June 1858.

In my weekly narrative submitted on the 5th instant, I had the honor to report that the Chief Commissioner had referred to General Grant the question of locating the Rajah of Kupoorthullah's troops at Poorwah.

Sir H. Grant's opinion that the Rajah's levies would be more usefully employed at Bunnee, was confirmed, by the request of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that the civil authorities should make arrangements for holding that place, as he was obliged to move the 27th Regiment Mess to Cawnpore, to replace a Regiment despatched towards Gwalior, and accordingly the Rajah of Kupoorthullah withdrew from Poorwah on the 6th instant.

General Grant followed on the next day, when he broke up his force, sending some to join the troops at Nuwabgunj, and the rest into Lucknow.

Poorwah has thus been entirely given up by us, and of course immediately occupied by the rebels. A *thannah* however is still kept up at Sarawan¹ near Kantha² 6 miles east of Bunnee.

BENI MADHO NOT MAKING ANY DEMONSTRATION

The rebel Beni Madho has not made any demonstration, and dissension has sprung up in his camp. His chief adherent Rughbir Singh, deserting his cause has gone over to the Begum.

BRITISH EXPECT PASSIVE LOYALTY

There is no doubt that there are many *Zemindars* who

¹ *Sarwan*, Pargana *Maurawan* Tahsil *Purwa* Distt. *Unao*—A large village situated in latitude 26° 31' north and longitude 80° 53' east, on the south side of a large jhil and a mile west of the road from *Maurawan* to *Jabraila*, about six miles from the former. (*District Gazetteers*, *Unao* 1903, p. 237).

² *Kantha*, Pargana *Asoha* Tahsil *Purwa* Distt. *Unao*—A very large village in the south-western corner of the pargana, situated in latitude 26° 35' north and longitude 80° 45' east, at a distance of nine miles from the tahsil and eighteen miles east from the *Sadr* station. (*District Gazetteers*, *Unao* 1903, p. 191).

are friendly to our cause and would show themselves such, if they could but be sure of protection. But when they see that to proclaim themselves on the side of the British Government, without being prepared for the consequences, is to subject them to the immediate attacks of the rebels, the best affected amongst them are obliged to dissimulate.

The necessity of making great allowances for men placed in such a difficult position, has induced the Chief Commissioner to modify his expectations of active support from all who profess themselves British subjects, and I am directed to submit a memorandum on the past and future policy to be adopted in Oudh, till the returning cold weather permits more active measures.

The passive loyalty recommended by the Chief Commissioner has been already shewn by several *Talooqdars*. Hunwant Sing has sent over Rs. 2000 to Futtehpoor in payment of his *Rubbee* instalments. Rugonathsing of Kujagaon (Khajurgaon) has remitted Rs. 20,000 to the same Treasury.

DIG BIJAI SINGH AND MAN SINGH IN GREAT DIFFICULTY

Digbijai Singh, who so gallantly saved Lieutenant Thomson and De la fosse now finding himself hard-pressed by the rebels, arranges to send his family over the Ganges for safety whilst he and his followers wage war with their assailants. Rajah Man Singh who is holding out in the Fort of Shah Gung is in the greatest anxiety for the safety of his family, whom he sent to Raja Madho Singh of Amethee, but that Chief dreads the vengeance of the rebels, and will not declare himself openly, in consequence.

Mr. Forbes reports from Derah, which he reached on the 4th instant that the *Zemindars* of the Chanda *Purgunnah* of the Sultanpoor District, who are under the influence of Baboo Roostamsahai¹, are mostly in our favor, and are prepared to fight Mendee Hussun, who announces his intention of attacking Derah, as soon as he has overcome Raja Man Singh. Mendee Hussun has occupation of Fyzabad and Ajcodhia after taking the Fort of Tinnowlee, where a gallant though ineffectual resistance was made.

¹ Written as 'Rustam Shah' at some other places.

A copy of translation of a letter from Man Singh is (Encl. No. 2) forwarded for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General. His Lordship will observe the stress laid by Man Singh on the necessity for the appearance of an European force in Eastern Oudh.

NARPAT SINGH JOINING MAULVI AND FIROZ SHAH

On the western side of the province, Colonel Clarke, writing from Futch Gurh, reports that Nurpat Singh has restored and replenished his Fort at Roohia and joining the Moulvi and Feroze Shah, a Delhie Prince; they have the whole country to within a few miles of the Cawnpoor road in their possession.

RASULABAD

At Russoolabad Mr. Lawrence, Deputy Commissioner, has still some officials, who have retired from Suffeepoor and other more advanced outposts, and at Mulliabad, the Police force sent out from Lucknow, as mentioned in my last weekly report, has completely established itself. But all beyond is in the hands of the rebels.

The Chief Commissioner cannot but express his deep regret that Nurput Singh was not destroyed by General Walpole. The ill success at Roohia, and the fruitless marches of General Grant to the south have done incalculable harm throughout the Province.

STOUT DEFENCE OF BARI AND BISWAN

On the North-West, the *Talooqdars* of Barce and Biswa are at the present time maintaining a stout defence in the Fort of Biswah Deh, against the forces of the rebel Hurper-shaud (Har Prasad).

NAWABGANJ

On the north side the rebels have been accumulating their forces at Nuwabgunj Barce Bunkee (Bara Banki), and their picquets approach to Chinhut. General Grant is now moving out a large force to attack and disperse these Rebels.

The Chief Commissioner has directed Mr. Tucker to take up his quarters for the present at Bunnee and superintend the Deputy Commissioners of Oonao and Bunnee.

SETTLEMENT

A statement of the settlement, and collections for the past week is herewith submitted. The amount (Enclo. No. 3) actually collected is Rs. 2,96,716-15-6.

THANAS

The *Thanahs* and posts occupied by our Police, are also shewn in a separate statement. An express just received from Mr. Lawrence, announces the occupation of Hurha - 12 miles south-east of Oonao, by the rebels in force.

CRIMES

The number of capital punishments, inflicted since April, is wonderfully small, and with our limited jurisdiction, the difficulty of apprehending mutineers and rebels is very great.

VIOLENT CRIMES IN LUCKNOW

The Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow reports the occurrence of violent crimes in the District around Lucknow. One of his *Thannahdars* at Koorsee, when returning from his patrol, through a jungle was fired upon by the *Zemindars*, and two of his *Burkandazes* were killed, and six wounded.¹

APPREHENSIONS OF THE TALUQADARS LOYAL TO BRITISH

Letter from Raja Lal Madho Singh of Amethi to Major Barrow, dated 22nd June 1858.

Your letter arrived. You are very kind and I have great hopes from you, but I can show that it is not from any disobedient feeling that I have refrained from sending my *Vakeel* to Mr. Forbes which you call negligence. Every soul likes to preserve his life and honor, and just now that *war is going on between the King's Government and the British Government*. Every one can see that the King's Government army, never has, and never can overcome the British army, but all the people are getting ruined and destroyed while victory still

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th July 1858, No. 70; National Archives, New Delhi.

remains undecided, for the King's army destroys all the friends of the British and the servants of the British Government destroy all who remain quiet, considering them enemies; in fact the people are ruined in every way.

MAN SINGH AND THE TILOI RAJA

Maun Singh and the Tiloe Rajah have been ruined by the enemy and I beg you will consider what we are to do when the Government does not protect its own friends. This is the reason, the friends to the British Government hang back from sending in their allegiance to the British Government. We cannot resist and disobey the Government (not specified whether he alludes to King's or the British Government). Even now the King's troops have besieged Maun Singh who has sent his family here for protection. So that it is absolutely incumbent on me to care for their safety in the first instance, and I cannot for this reason, either go to reinforce him. Indeed it is almost certain that the King's army, after they have done with Shahgunj (*Jaraghat Karke*) will come to besiege me as a well-wisher to Government. If Government will not help us, we just perish for nothing. I beg you to consider and you will see that I only speak the strict truth. I know the British will conquer and I earnestly wish to present myself before some British Officer as a loyal subject as I was before, but I dare not for fear of consequences. I trust you will not deem me disloyal but consider the facts of the case and decide accordingly.

I have sent my *vakzel* to Mr. Forbes and he will obey his orders and keep up communications between me and him.¹

PROTRACTED WAR IN TILOI

Letter from Raja of Tiloi to Major Barrow requesting for assistance against the Revolutionaries, dated 27th June.

FIGHT IN TILOI

No answers have been received to my *Urzees*, and I feel, in great dismay, like a fish out of water, twisting round in distraction. The fight has now gone on in Tiloe for 26

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th July 1858, No. 90; National Archives, New Delhi.

days; we have killed thousands of the enemy, but my ammunition is spent, and I have received no help from you. I am trying to hold on as long as I can to pass the time, may be you will come to my aid. The rebels after a lengthened siege, have employed Rajah Sheo Durshun Singh to treat with me and have called on me to pay revenue according to the rate of 1262 (Fasli), and to promise and swear never to treat with or hold any communications with the English, and to call on me to aid them in fighting the English. I declined, so the enemy still oppose me, and are systematically burning every hamlet, village, *Gunj*, and *Bazar* in my territory, and plundering every person in it, and reducing me to the depth of distress.

WHOLE COUNTRY AGAINST RAJA OF TILOI

I shall now perish. The whole country is against my life, and no one helps me, and the rainy season has now come on and no cultivation can take place. I have amused the rebels with promises till your reinforcements can come to my aid, and thus I may be able to pass a week, otherwise I shall be compelled reluctantly to adopt any means, I can, to save myself. I trust you will kindly take care for me. The rebels are now assembling here in great numbers, but they are in careless ease, and if I saw any prospect of assistance from Government, I could muster my courage and put them all to the rout; let me not be forgotten.

SHAIKH FAZAL AZIM'S TERMS TO RAJA OF TILOI

Since writing the above, I have to state that when the rebels saw they could not take Tiloe, Shekh Fuzl Azim *Nazim* sent Rajah Sheo Durshun Sing and all the heads to me saying that it would be for my benefit if I come into their Government. I was at a loss for ammunition, even for food. I saw no hope of deliverance or aid. My *ilaqua* was all blackened with burning. My communications had been cut off by investment of the enemy, the country was against me. I therefore went to Fuzl Azim on the safe conduct his officers gave me. In the course of conversation, the *Nazim* demanded Rupees 40,000 and that I should enter into a solemn engagement, and oath never to hold any communication with the English, and to co-operate with *Nazim*. Forced by my extremity, and the utter hopelessness of aid, I was obliged to yield. Hostilities are therefore now at an end, but the enemy are still in

position all about, and refuse to remove their batteries till I pay the money. It is extremely hard to raise such a sum off hand, but by pawning and selling my wife's jewels and my house-hold property, I am just paying it. I am calling on God to save me. May He protect you; there is no one in the world to save me. My earnest and most repeated entreaty is, that even now a small force may be sent out. This will yet save my honor, and relieve my anguish and tread under foot the insurgents. I have no helper but you. I can say no more. All this is the doing of Rajah Sheo Durshun Singh and Bhugwan Bux and Mohun Singh. Though they cause me to write a lac of engagements, I will never leave you, and *by the blessing of God*, all difficulties may even now be mitigated. I care only for your approbation. Pray think upon your own name. Your name is the cause of all my misery¹

MAN SINGH SEEKS HELP AGAINST REVOLUTIONARIES

Translation of a letter from Raja Man Singh to Captain Reid, Deputy Commissioner, Nawabganj, dated 29th June 1858.

CONSEQUENCES OF ASSISTING GORKHA FORCE

You are already acquainted that I have already defended myself from thousands of Rebels and the following is my present condition, viz : that on account of my having assisted the Gorkha Force in their passage nearly 20,000 Rebels are investing my fort and for 12 days we have constantly been fighting, and every second or third day, they make combined attacks on me, but as yet they have had no success, their losses in killed and wounded have been about 400 men. The Rebels have been joined by Nadir Sai, Gura-bunsees (Gora Vanshiya) Rajah, Hussein Ali and a number of *Talooqdars* and are burning and destroying the villages and property of myself and *Amlah*, a number of whom they have caught, and imprisoned. I have written to Mr. Forbes for assistance of men and ammunition but as yet none have arrived, I have heard that you (Captain Reid) have arrived at Nawabgunje with a Force, and therefore beg you to come to my aid with

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th July 1858, No. 91; National Archives, New Delhi.

some Force, that you on one side and I on the other by a combined attack, may punish them, that this *Zillah* may be cleared of them. I have also heard that an attack on the Rebels at Zardpoor (Zaidpur)¹ is intended. In it are the houses of Goolab Sing, my maternal uncle, and also those of Kalka Sing and Balgobind, my servants. I therefore beg to request protections for them, that their property and honor may not be destroyed.²

MAN SINGH COMPELLED TO COME TO TERMS WITH BEGAM

Letter No. 594 from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Govt. of India with the Governor General, dated Lucknow, 3rd July 1858.

The reports from the different parts of Oudh during the last week give no intelligence of moment, save that Mr. Forbes, writing from Derah states, that Rajah Maunsing³ has been compelled to come to terms with the rebels' leader Mehndee Hussun, and the price demanded for immunity from further molestation is the gift of 3 lakhs of Rupees to the Begum, 4 months' pay to the rebels' Force, fifteen guns and his personal presence with the army.

As soon as these conditions have been finally arranged the rebel Forces propose attacking Roostum Sahai at Dera and Mr. Forbes has been directed to retire upon Jaunpoor.

REPRESENTATIVE OF RAJA OF AMETHI

The Rajah of Amethie has addressed the Chief Commissioner pointing out the difficult position in which he and

¹ *Zaidpur*, Pargana *Satrikh Tahsil Nawabganj* Distt. *Barabanki*—In the east of the pargana, lying in latitude 26° 49' north and longitude 81° 20' east. It stands on the north side of an unmetalled road running from Nawabganj to Siddhaur and Debiganj in Surajpur, at a distance of twelve miles from the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Barabanki 1904, Pp. 286-287).

² Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th July 1858, No. 92; National Archives, New Delhi.

³ There is a marginal note in Original as under:

General :—Mr Wingfield in a private letter Dt. 1st July says that Man S. (Singh) is alright, that the rebels have reduced to Rs. 25,000 & that Maun has refused to pay even that reduced sum put up in this letter.

all well-disposed men are placed, and earnestly asking for protection. A translation of his letter as also one from the Rajah of Tiloe, and one from Rajah (*No. 1*) Maunsingh are herewith submitted for the information (*No. 2*) of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General.

FORCES OF BENI MADHO

The Forces under the rebel Bence Madho are reported to be hutting themselves for the rains, and no attack on the Cawnpore road has been seriously threatened during the last week.

NAWABGANJ CONSIDERABLY QUIET

Captain Reid gives a favorable report of the country around Nawabgunj where the *Zemindars* are coming in more freely and take to quietly cultivating their fields. The relief afforded by General Grant's brilliant victory at Nawabgunj is felt not only in the absence of all panic in the city, but also in the decrease of violent crime in the neighbourhood.

RAJA DIRIG BIJAI SINGH

Raja Dirgbyjie Singh, who had advanced from Mohona to Buxshee Ki Talao¹ in the northern vicinity of Lucknow, has retired to his Fort, which it is reported he is prepared to evacuate rather than defend.

BEGAM IN BAUNDI

Captain Reid's scouts report that the Begum is living in the Fort of Boundet² on the other side of the Ghogra,—the east gate is the largest, where a gong is fixed, the next largest gate is to the north; at each of these gates, 2 guns are

¹ Stands for *Bakshi ka Talab* about eight miles from Lucknow city.

² *Baundi*, Pargana *Fakhrpur Tahsil Kaisarganj Distt. Bahraich*—A large village, in latitude 27° 27' north and longitude 81° 25' east, lying a short distance west of the road from Kurasar to Chahlarighat near Sisaiya, and connected with the main road from Bahraich to Bahramghat by a branch road leading to Marauncha. (*District Gazetteers, Bahraich 1903, p. 158*).

placed, and a force is encamped on all sides of the Fort, numbering about 15 (15000) or 16,000 including followers. Among these, there are 1500 cavalry and 500 mutineer sepoys, the rest are *nujeebs* and followers. No fugitive mutineers are now admitted into the Force, those that went have departed. The Begum says, "You went to fight and ran away, don't come here". There are also about 60 or 70 *shutre* sawars with the Boundee force, and 17 guns; 13 are outside the Fort of which only 5 are large, and drawn by 10 pairs of bullocks each. The Rajahs of Churda and Pyagpoor¹ visit the fort, and the reports regarding the Rajah of Boundee are, that he is either encamped on the banks of the River or in his Fort, and they talk among themselves of coming over.

PAWAYAN CHIEF REPORTED TO BE KILLED

Colonel Clarke has forwarded a report, which however requires confirmation, that on the 22nd June a large Rebel force, aided by some of the Mohamdee *Talookdars* assaulted and took the *Gurhee* of the Poowaen Chief who had sent in the head of the Moulvi to Shahjehanpoor. It is further reported that the Rajah or his brother Buldeo Singh was killed in the conflict.

NARPAT SINGH

At Rohia Nurpat Singh is gathering a large force.

NOT MUCH PROGRESS IN SETTLEMENT

There is not much progress made in the settlement department. Earlier on the day, when there were no obstacles to prevent the *Zemindars* presenting themselves, the Chief Commissioner had directed that when any man after due warning refused to come in and take up his lands, a settlement might be made with the next claimant. But circumstances have altered since then and the difficulty of

¹ *Pyagpur*, Pargana and Tahsil *Bahraich* Dist. *Bahraich*. A small town in the south of the pargana on the main road from Bahraich to Gonda at a distance of 17 miles from the former, in latitude 27° 24' north and longitude 81° 50' east. (*District Gazetteers*, Bahraich 1903, p. 214).

discriminating between those who can't and those who won't present themselves, is very great.

There are numerous claimants and moneyed men ready to come forward and purchase or farm the Estates, but the Chief Commissioner prefers to wait for a season till the thorough occupation of the province shall be effected and thus remove all excuse from those who hang back from allegiance. Rs. 3,83,735-0-6 have been collected during the past week.

The position of the various officers and of the police is the same as in last week's report. Major Bruce is actively drilling his police, and has received a large addition of Sikhs¹ from the Punjab. A return of enlistments is herewith submitted.²

ACTIVITIES OF REVOLUTIONARIES IN FAIZABAD

Letter No. 11 of 1858 from William A. Forbes, Deputy Commissioner, to Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), Lucknow, dated Camp Deyrah (Derah), July 3, 1858.

NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN RAJA MAN SINGH AND THE REVOLUTIONARIES

I have the honor to submit my diary of events for the past week.

2. During the early part of the week very strong reports were current that negotiations had been opened, and were on the point of being concluded, satisfactorily for the enemy, between Raja Maun Singh and the rebel force now before Shahgunge.

That negotiations were pending there is no doubt, but that they were at last brought to an abrupt conclusion is now no less certain, and I am happy to say that the condition which Maun Sing refused to accept was, that he should join the rebel cause in person. From the very heavy and sustained fire, which can be distinctly heard from Derah morning and evening, I fear the attack has become more determined.

¹ Sikhs.

² Foreign Secret Consultations, 30th July 1858, No. 89; National Archives, New Delhi.

3. It does seem most unfortunate that we cannot make the least movement to his relief. Four marches from Nawabgunge would cause the besieging force to melt, the rabble to their homes, and the sepoys across the Gogra to Gouda, and to the Begum at Bondee (Baundi). Even a reconnoitring party to Durriabad, two short marches, would cause the siege to be raised, or at least relieve Maun Sing from the enormous pressure now put upon him.

4. The surrender of Shahgunge will involve the loss of 8 or 10 lacs of Revenue to the state for the *Nazim* is putting on the screw in every direction and forestalling even the *Khurief* (*Kharif*) payments.

CHAKLEDAR GHULAM HUSAIN ACTIVE IN AKBARPUR

5. The *Chukledar* Golam Hussein, who had for some time disappeared from the scene, is now again at the head of a considerable force making a tour towards Acberpoor (Akbarpur) with the usual results, plunder and exaction.

6. On the 27th ultimo, the *Vakeel* of the Raja of Umethce appeared. The letter and papers he produced on the occasion, have already been forwarded for the Chief Commissioner's information.

BHETI AND KAJRAHAT ALSO SURRENDER

7. On the 29th ultimo, Baboo Jydot (Jai Datt) Sing of Bhetce, came in and tendered allegiance on his own part, and for Abhaidut Sing of Kajrahat and the Raja of Rooreirar (sic). All three are landholders of consequence, and I believe loyal but at present under severe pressure from the enemy.

8. During the week I have considered it expedient to establish a party in the fort at Chanda; it consists of 100 men, headed by the Chief Zubbur Sing of Rampoor. This measure will conduce to the protection of the small proprietors in the *Pergunnah* of Chanda, and to the establishment of some degree of confidence amongst the people, whilst at the same time, it commands the communications between this point and Jounpoor.

9. The rains may be said to have set in with some violence on the 28th ultimo, and a sufficient fall (rainfall) has enabled the ploughs to be set at work. It appears at

present to have cleared off again, but for no long continuance I hope.¹

REVOLUTIONARIES PROCEED TOWARDS SULTANPUR

Telegraphic Message from R. Simpson, Alld., 1st August, 9/45 p.m., to E. A. Reade, Agra.

Rajah Maun Sing joined the British camp at Fyzabad on the thirty July. The rebels who went southward are reported to be at Khupprahu thirteen miles from Sultanpore in a direction N. N. E. and at Birtypore about six miles in the same direction from Sultanpor. At Fyzabad the inhabitants are opening their shops.²

HELP FROM JANG BAHADUR SOUGHT

BIRJIS QADAR'S CALL TO JANG BAHADUR FOR HELP

Abstract Translation of a Letter from Ramzan Ali Khan, Mirza Birjis Qadar Bahadur, to His Highness the Maharaja of Nepal, dated the 7th Jeth, Samvat 1915 (9th May 1858).

After compliments--It is known to every one that my ancestors brought the British into Hindostan; but Bulvant Sing, the Rajah of Benares, was a cause of much annoyance to them, and therefore the province of Benares was given to them. A treaty was then signed by the British, in which they wrote that they would never act treacherously as long as the sun and moon should exist. But they have broken that treaty, and, dethroning my father, Wajid Ali Shah, have sequestered his state, palaces, and everything he had. Every one is acquainted with this event, as it took place only in *Samvat* 1912.

After taking Lucknow they intended to make war with you, for which purpose they collected a large force and magazine at Colonelgunge, which is situated below the hills; perhaps you are aware of this event.

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 27th August 1858, NO. 27; National Archives, New Delhi.

² Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

In former years great intimacy existed between our houses, insomuch, that your forefathers built a bungalow for my ancestors, for shooting and hunting purposes in Bhootwal.

The British, some time ago, attempted to interfere with the faith of both the Hindoos and Mohammedans, by preparing cartridges with cow's grease for the Hindoos, and that of pigs for the Mohammedans, and ordering them to bite them with their teeth. The sepoys refused, and were ordered by the British to be blown away from guns, on the parade ground. This is the cause of the war breaking out, and probably you are acquainted with it.

But I am ignorant as to how they managed to get your troops, which they brought here; and began to commit every sort of violence, and to pull down temples, mosques, *Imaumbarras*, and the sacred places.

You are well aware of the treachery of the British, and it is proper you should preserve the standard of religion, and make the tree of friendship between you and me fresh.

Therefore it is proper we should join in killing the British, which is the only way to save the religions of both the Hindoos and Mohammedans.

I have written briefly, but you can comprehend it largely. It is right that you should send me a reply quickly.¹

ATTEMPT TO PERSUADE JANG BAHADUR

Abstract Translation of a Letter from Mirza Ramzan Ali (Birjis Qadar) to His Excellency Maharaja Jang Bahadur, dated 13th of Jeth Badi, Samvat 1915 (11th May 1858).

After *Asees* (blessing)—I am well convinced that you pay great attention to religion and faith, and that it is very likely that you have been informed that temples and *Imaumbarras* have been broken down.

You are also aware that the British do not care either for the religion or life, of the Hindoos or Mohammedans; and their cunningness, and treachery, as well as their forgetfulness of favours, is not unknown to you.

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 27th August 1858, Nos. 97-108; National Archives, New Delhi.

You are also aware that my forefathers showed favour to the British, such as no one else would do, and they have, without any offence on my part, deprived me of everything.

Let bygones be bygones. I now write to you that it is proper for us to band together in the cause of religion, and act with reflection.

To you, both parties are the same. What shall I write more? My brief writing comprehends a great deal.

Let me inform you that the Moulvie Sahib is proceeding towards you on my part.¹

ATTEMPT BY ALI MUHAMMAD KHAN TO WIN JANG BAHADUR

Translation of a Letter from Ali Mahomed (Muhammad) Khan, Viceroy of Lucknow, to Maharnja Jang Bahadur, dated the 5th Shawwal 1274 A. H. (19th May

After compliments—Great intimacy existing between the two governments, it is unnecessary (sic,) for the members of either to attempt to increase it. Therefore I, Alee Mahomed Khan Bahadour, a viceroy of the state, remind you of it, and disclose my object in this friendly letter, informing you, that a friendly letter has been addressed by this state to His Highness the Maharajah of Nepaul, the purport of which will be known.

As the strengthening of the old friendship existing between the two states depends on the managers of both governments, who are bound in duty to do so, (and the sages and clever men of past ages have excelled in such matters) and especially at this period, when the British nation is bent on depriving the inhabitants of this country, of their religion, faith, dominions, and lives, and as no hope is left to any prince by this cursed nation, therefore, on the strength of our old friendship, and considering the vicinity of our frontier, I am led to believe that it would not be wise in any chief, to allow these enemies, who are now in their grasp, to escape.

Therefore it is proper for, and binding on, chiefs to enter into agreements to kill, and get rid of, these infidels.

It is hoped, that you will keep the object of this proposed matter in view, and renew the rites (sic,—ties) of friendship.

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 27th August 1858, Nos. 97-108; National Archives, New Delhi.

Believing me anxious to hear of your health, I hope you will always favour me with your correspondence.

May the days of prosperity befriend friends.¹

JANG BAHADUR APPROACHED AGAIN FOR HELP

Abstract Translation of a Letter from Maulvi Muhammad Sarfraz Ali, the Ambassador of the King of Awadh, to Maharaja Jang Bahadur (Without date) received June 6, 1858.

After compliments it runs thus.

Friendship has subsisted for a very long period, between the kingdom of Oudh, and that of Nepal, and nothing has been done on our part to interrupt it. It is therefore astonishing that you should have sided with the impure infidels, who are tyrants and enemies of the religion, both of Hindoos and Mahomedans, and have fought against the army of the faithful. The chiefs of every tribe should fight for their religion as long as they live. These execrated people have become the destroyers of the Hindoo and Mahomedan religion, and your friendship for them is unbecoming the dignity of Princes and Kings. There is a proverb, that, "*When Infidelity springs from Mecca, where can Islamism exist?*"² If you in person are prepared to destroy religion, how can it stand? I hope that having allowed the eyes of justice and kindness to rest on both creeds, you will make your arrangements, so that these enemies of the faith may abandon their present purpose, and meet with punishment; and for the thousands of Hindoos and Mahomedans whom they have slain without cause, you will have, nothing undone in the way of retaliation. By this means you will, in the first place, obtain renown in this world, and in the next; secondly, you will give satisfaction to our Government; and it will be the means of increasing friendship. From your kindness, I am in hopes that you will favor me with an answer to this letter, with your seal attached, that I may be enabled to report it to the King. For the express purpose of communicating with you, I have been appointed ambassador, and am now in Toolseepore. I enclose a copy of my credentials

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 27th August 1858, Nos. 97-108; National Archives, New Delhi.

² Translation of the Persian verse :—*Chu Kufr Az Kaaba Barkhezad, Kuja Manad Musalmani*".

(*sunud*). In return for your friendship and good wishes, it will be easy for the King to reward you. I have had an interview with Dummun Khan, and have told him all that is necessary; no doubt he will write and inform you. Moulvie Ahmed Oolah Shah, a very (pious) and celebrated and brave man, is in the neighbourhood of Lucknow, and is ready to fight with, and destroy the Infidels (*Kafirs*). I am one of his confidential servants, and have been deputed by him to negociate (negotiate) matters with you. Neither I, nor the servants of our Government, are acquainted with your titles, or those of your authorities, so we cannot address you properly. I am in hopes, you will send me word, how we should address you, and pray forgive any mistakes or omissions in this letter. I hope, for the future, you will look upon me as your sincere friend, and will not forget me. Seven Persian letters accompany this, addressed by Mohamed Khan Buhadoor Viceroy of Oudh, to different (Nepal) authorities, amongst them one for yourself; and two Hindce letters, under the seal of the King of Oudh, one for the King of Nepal, and one for yourself, will reach you. I am in hopes you will favor me with a reply; and that you will now pay such kind attention to the condition of Hindoos and Mahomedans that their religions may be preserved and the Infidels destroyed.¹

Abstract Translation of a Letter from His Excellency Maharaja Jang Bahadur, to Birjis Qadar Mirza Ramzan Ali Saheb Bahadur, of Lucknow, dated 22nd Asadh (17th July 1858).

Your letter of the 7th *Jeth Soode* (Wednesday, corresponding to the 19th of May 1858), to the address of His Highness the Maharajah of Nepaul, and that of 13th *Jeth Budi* of the present year (Tuesday, corresponding to the 11th of May 1858), to my address, have reached their respective destinations, and their contents are fully understood. In it is written that the British are bent on the destruction of the society, religion, and faith, of both Hindoos and Mohammedans.

Be it known that, for upwards of a century, the British have reigned in Hindostan, but up to the present moment,

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 27th August 1858, Nos. 97/108; National Archives, New Delhi.

neither the Hindoos nor the Mohammedans have ever complained that their religion has been interfered with.

As the Hindoos and Mohammedans have been guilty of ingratitude and perfidy, neither the Nepaul government nor I can side with them.

Since the stars of faith and integrity, sincerity in words as well as in acts, and the wisdom and comprehension of the British, are shining as bright as the sun in every quarter of the globe, be assured that my government will never disunite itself from the friendship of the exalted British government, or be instigated to join with any monarch against it, be he as high as heaven. What grounds can we have for connecting ourselves with the Hindoos and Mohammedans, of Hindostan ?

Be it also known, that had I in any way been inclined to cultivate the friendship and intimacy of the Hindoo and Mohammedan tribes, should I have massacred nearly 5 (5000) or 6,000 of them on my way to Lucknow ?

Now, as you have sent me a friendly letter, let me persuade you, that if any person, Hindoo or Mohammedan, who has not murdered a British lady, or child, goes immediately to Mr. Montgomery, the Chief Commissioner of Lucknow, and surrenders his arms and makes submission, he will be permitted to retain his honour, and his crimes will be pardoned.

If you still be inclined to make war on the British, no *rajah* or king in the world will give you an asylum, and death will be the end of it.

I have written whatever has come into my plain mind and it will be proper and better for you to act in accordance with what I have said.¹

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 27th August 1858, Nos. 97-108; National Archives, New Delhi.

CHAPTER EIGHT
PROTRACTED STRUGGLE

ACTIVITIES OF BENI MADHO AND NARPAT SINGH

Letter No. 642 of 1858 from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Govt. of India with the Governor General, dated Lucknow, 18th July 1858.

WARLIKE PREPARATIONS OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES DESPITE RAINS

I am directed to submit the diary of events for the past week.

2. The arrival of the rains has in a great measure put a stop to active proceedings on the part of the rebels, but reports are still brought in of warlike preparations and plunder being carried on.

BENI MADHO IN THE SOUTH-EAST OF THE KANPUR ROAD

3. Messrs. Carnegy and Lawrence report that the troops under Bence Madho and his followers, are plundering and burning villages south-east of the Cawnpore road.

NARPAT SINGH

4. Colonel Clarke writes that Nurpat Singh is collecting revenue, manufacturing powder, and has a large force in his fort. Lukurshah holds Sundeela, but has rendered himself unpopular by his treachery in plundering his friends.

5. In the direction of the Gogra the benefits of General Sir H. Grant's victory at Nawabgunj are very apparent, in the extended cultivation, and the submission of *Zemindars*.

MAN SINGH'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH REVOLUTIONARIES BREAK

6. I am directed to submit copy of a letter from Mr. Forbes, at Derah, who reports that Maunsingh's negotiations with the rebels, which were all but completed last week were broken off, because he refused to accept the condition of joining the rebel cause in person. Hostilities have been again opened, and with some vigor.

But the Chief Commissioner is glad to observe from

several reports, that the mutineer sepoys are evidently disheartened and disunited. They desert the rebel ranks often at a critical time and the *Talookdars* cannot place much reliance on such allies.

CLEMENCY WOULD HELP PACIFICATION

The Chief Commissioner thinks he perceives some desire on the part of these men to sue for terms, and perhaps the time may soon come, when those of the mutineers, who have not been actually implicated in shedding English blood, may be permitted to lay down their arms and retire to their homes. Such an act of clemency would undoubtedly tend to the pacification of the country, and might be extended without fear of misconstruction; so the Chief Commissioner thinks, because there are now no longer any formidable combinations in this part of the country. There are many sepoys driven solely by desperation to fight against us, who would gladly desert the mutinous ranks if they could find a door of repentance open to them.

In accordance with the wishes of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General, Mr. Tucker, Commissioner, has been directed to proceed to Allahabad and the south-eastern frontier of Oudh to negotiate with those *Talookdars* who wish to tender their allegiance; with this exception, no change in the disposition of officers, has taken place.

The jurisdiction of each officer is necessarily circumscribed to the limits of the Military or Police patrols. The collections for last week amount to Rs. 12,690.¹

A copy of Rana Beni Madho Bakhsh Singh's Petition, dated 9th Zilhijja 1274 A. H. (21st July 1858) addressed to the Vazier (Chief Munshi).

On getting the news of the *Kafirs* besieging the fortresses of Dhawan on the boundary of Chakla Ahlad Ganj and the fortress of Baroni on the boundary of the district of Partab-Garh, I marched out from my head-quarters and reached Salon. But (most unfortunately) the fortresses had fallen to the Nazarines before I could reach the place (so as to relieve them). The forces of the Nazarines continue to move from Soranam

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 27th August 1858, No. 26; National Archives, New Delhi.

to Partabgarh and (Mss. blurred). They have devastated and set fire to the two fortresses. At Soranam, there is an army consisting of horsemen, foot-soldiers and artillery and it is well-nigh possible they may pounce upon other fortresses of this locality. The conditions obtaining here are not very encouraging. The troops stationed at Salon demand their arrears of pay from the *Chakledar*, Muhammad Fazal Azim Khan Bahadur and the *Taluqadars*, who make professions of loyalty, harbour designs of the non-payment of half of the govt. dues as allowed to them by the *Sarkar*. Under such conditions it is not possible to pay the daily allowance to the troops, as sanctioned by the Govt. Nowadays, the excess of *Dastaks* on the above-named *Chakledar* is the greatest cause of the non-compliance of his orders by the *Taluqadars* and the troops. The *Chakledar* is therefore at his wits' end. The affairs here being all topsyturvy, there is every likelihood of the enemy's intervention. I, therefore, out of my anxiety beg to submit that if the persons at the helm of affairs in this *Sarkar* intend to continue the administration of this *Ilaga* in the hands of Muhammad Fazal Azim Khan, they should issue an order of censure to the army strictly enjoining upon them not to demand anything more than the daily allowance from the *Chakledar*, nor to disobey him, but to discharge their duties faithfully. They should also issue letters of remonstrance to the *Taluqadars* holding out threats of punishment in case of failure to pay up the *Wasil Baqi* of 1262 *Fasli* after deducting the *perchas* of *Baramad*. Another letter confirming confidence in him be issued to Muhammad Fazal Azim Khan stipulating therein, that after realising the arrears from the *Taluqadars* and making the payment of daily allowance to the troops, he should send the balance to the *Sarkar* and that he should do all he can to curb the power of the wicked. (I would suggest that) the *Sazawals* posted on him should also be removed. But (contrary to the above) if the men in authority there think of entrusting this work to some one else, (it is desired that) immediate orders may kindly be issued to the *Taluqadars* and to the army, pending which the *Ilaga* is likely to lapse into chaos. I have submitted this in token of my loyalty and faithfulness. Orders are being expected.¹

BENI MADHO MOVES TOWARDS KALEE KANKER (KALA KANKAR)¹

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, 23rd July, 4:50 p.m., to E. A. Reade, Agra.

We hear from Lucknow that Bance Madho and Rugonath Sing left their camp near Misser Khaira on the 19th July with thirteen thousand five hundred men of (all) sorts and seventeen guns and went either towards Kalee Kunker three miles north-west of Manikporc² on the Ganges or towards Partabghur.³

BENI MADHO MARCHES TOWARDS RAI BARELI

Letter No. 753 of 1858 from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, dated Lucknow, 24th July 1858.

ATTACK OF FIROZ SHAH ON MOHAN THANA

In the narrative of events for last week I reported the attack by Feroze Shah and Lukkur Shah on the Mohan Thanna. This occurred on the 16th and on the 18th intelligence was received of these rebels having barbarously cut off the hands of the *Thannadar*. They then moved on the *Thanna* of Malhar, N.-W. of Bunnee, which was evacuated by our Police, at their approach, but subsequently reoccupied. In a skirmish, 7 or 8 of the rebels were killed.

¹ *Kalakankar*, Pargana *Manikpur* Tahsil *Kunda* Distt. *Partabgarh*--A village standing on the bank of the Ganges, at a distance of four miles from Manikpur and 44 miles by road from Partabgarh, in latitude 25° -7' north and longitude 81° 22' east. (*District Gazetteers*, Partabgarh 1904, p. 186).

² *Manikpur*, Pargana *Manikpur* Tahsil *Kunda* Distt. *Partabgarh*--This ancient and celebrated town stands on the banks of the Ganges, in latitude 25° 46' north and longitude 81° 24' east, at a distance of 36 miles from Partabgarh, 16 miles from Salon and 36 miles from Rai Bareli, with all of which it is connected by unmetalled roads, and 36 miles from Allahabad, of which eight miles are along an unmetalled road, the remainder being the Grand Trunk Road, which it joins near the Sirathu station. (*District Gazetteers*, Partabgarh 1904, p. 193).

³ Original Telegrams sent by Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

LAKKAR SHAH

2. Lakkur Shah, who has been appointed General by Namdar Khan, the new *Chukledar* of Sundeela, threatens Mulliabad with from 4 (4000) to 5000 men; but before venturing on an attack he invites the aid of Hurlpursad who has upwards of 10,000 men in or about Khyrad.

RAGHUBAR SINGH, COLLECTOR OF BAIHWARA REPULSED

3. Rugoobur Singh, Collector in the Byswara country, has been repulsed by a village of Koormees, with the loss of 70 men, and he has himself been wounded in the eye.

BENI MADHO

4. Benec Madho had marched with 8000 men and 7 guns towards Rai Barcilly, leaving 5 guns with Ram Buksin, and five distributed over different parts of Byswara. Ostensibly his object is to aid Goolab Singh of Tiroul, but as he has taken only *Zemindars* with him there may be some truth in the report that he in reality desires to separate himself from the sepoys. He has more than once lately sent messengers to ascertain what treatment he might expect if he submitted. He expressed fears that Government will as before make a summary settlement for 3 years, and then take his estates, as a punishment for his offences.

SIDDHAUR

5. The rebels in force occupy Sidhour 12 miles from Nawabgunj, and south of Duriabad. Sidhour is off the line of General Grant's march towards Fyzabad, and the reports of scouts do not state any intention on the part of the rebels to oppose his advance.

6. The Fyzabad force under the command of General Sir H. Grant, consisting of 2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade, 1st Madras Fusiliers, 5th Punjab Infantry, one Troop R. H. A., one Battery R. A. H. N., 7th Hussars, 500 Hodson's Horse with 8 siege guns and a detachment of Madras Sappers and Miners, started from Nawabgunj on Thursday morning. And on the next day they were followed by H. H. the Rajah of Kupoorthulla's Contingent and a squadron and H. M.'s 2nd Dragoon Guards.

RAJA OF BULRAMPUR SURROUNDED BY BEGAM AND NANA

7. The Raja of Bulrampoor, in a letter received on the 23rd writes that the Begum, acting in cooperation with the *Talooqdars* and the Nana, has surrounded him with a force of 12,000 men. The Pyagpoor Raja, whose estate lies 14 miles south of the Bulrampoor Fort, has come to his assistance.

GENERAL BAKHT KHAN JOINS BEGAM

8. Some misunderstanding has arisen between Mummoo Khan and the Begum since the arrival at Boundee, of the wife of the former. Mummoo Khan has offered a reward of Rupees 3 for every deserter from the Begum's force. General Bukht Khan (the Bareilly *Subadar*) joined the Begum with 200 sepoys, 15 sowars, and one gun.

KHAN BAHADUR AT SIKANDRABAD

Khan Bahadoor Khan of Bareilly is at Secunderabad, 24 miles north of Mohumdee.

UDAI SINGH AND RUSTAM SHAH

9. Mr. Forbes reports that on the 16th Oodei Singh of Meapoor, one of the largest and most powerful *Zemindars* of the District, came in and offered his submission. The whole of the Aldemou Pergunnah lying on the Goomtee from the Jounpoor Frontier, to the vicinity of Sooltanpoor, acknowledges the influence of Baboo Oodei Sing and Rustam Sah. This accession of strength to our side effectually dispelled the gathering clouds, which Mr. Forbes had watched approaching with considerable anxiety.

DEPREDACTIONS OF GHULAM HUSSAN AND HAIDAR ALI KHAN

Goolam Hussun and Hyder Alee Khan had advanced from Fyzabad with a force, and commenced plundering to within ten miles of Dera, where Mr. Forbes is, but just when he expected a nearer approach, Goolam Hussun suddenly withdrew. This retrograde movement is attributed by Mr. Forbes partly to the defection of Oodei Singh from the rebel cause, and not a little to the movement of Colonel Berkeley's force from Allahabad towards Pertabgurh.

10. Mr. Forbes complains of the want of rain which may cause great distress, as without copious showers, the rice sowings will fail.

DARIABAD

11. Mr. Tucker having returned from Allahabad has accompanied General Grant's force to Fyzabad, taking with him Captain Reid, Deputy Commissioner, and Lieutenant Shaw, Assistant Commissioner. At Durriabad, the Civil authority will, it is hoped, be established without much difficulty; for the present, Mr. Bradford has been sent out as Civil Officer; Captain Ross has taken Captain Reid's place at Nawabgunj Bara Bunkee, being relieved in his turn by Lieutenant Clarke.

12. The collections for last week amount to Rupees 12,869-4-0.

MORE TALUQADARS SURRENDER

13. An improvement in the feeling of the landholders is visible. Besides Oodei Singh above alluded to, other *Talooqdars* have tendered submission.

14. The *Thakoorine* of Bhudrec¹ has sent in her *Vakeel*, and is lavish in her protestations. She is however reported to have had men in the Fort of Deewan when it was attacked by Colonel Berkeley's force.

15. Thakoor Bukshy, a Byswarra *Talooqdar*, has withdrawn from Bence Madho and sent in *Vakeel* to the Chief Commissioner, as also have Shere Buhadoor of Durriabad and Nurput Sing, Raja of Pyagpoor. Aga Jehan (Jan) of Aurungabad has paid in Rupees 2000 of his Revenue.²

FIROZ SHAH AND BENI MADHO ACTIVE

Letter No. 830 from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Govt. of India with the Governor General, Allahabad, dated Lucknow, 7th August 1858.

The report of events during the past week commences

¹ *Bhadri*, Pargana Bihar Tahsil Kunda Dist. *Partabgarh*—This village lies in latitude 25° 41' north and longitude 81° 34' east, on the road from Manikpur to Bihar, at a distance of 32 miles from Bela and 28 miles from Allahabad. (*District Gazetteers*, Partabgarh 1904, p. 171).

² Foreign Secret Consultations, 27th August 1858, No. 33; National Archives, New Delhi.

with the narrative of a deed of atrocity by Feroze Shah, the Delhi Prince.

JHALOTAR ATTACKED

2. On the 31st July, the Police Station of Jullotur, situate 5 miles north of Nuwabgunj on the Cawnpore Road, was attacked by 50 Cavalry and 100 Infantry, and, after an exchange of shots, the Police, 70 in number, tried to escape, but were pursued, and forty-five were taken prisoners and brought to Moorsheegunj near Russoolabad, where four were released, and the remaining forty-one were butchered in cold blood.

3. These Police were placed in a defensible Fort which they might well have held until they received support from Nuwabgunj distant only 6 miles and they disobeyed orders in venturing outside the Fort when attacked.

MOHAN

4. The enemy after this retreated to Mohan and were found to have further retired, when Brigadier Eveleigh went out with a reconnoitring party on the 4th instant.

5. The Chief Commissioner has now, with the concurrence of the Brigadier, sent out a Regt. of Police with a detachment of Cavalry under Command of Captain McHill (or Melvill) to hold Mohan.

6. Munsub Ally is reported to be disputing with Vilayat Ahmed the claim to be *Chuckladar*.

SANDI

7. Opposite Futtehgurh, and in the neighbourhood of Sandee, Hurdeo Bux has been taking an active part. On the evening of the 30th July, the rebels commanded by Kashaf Ali and Enayat Khan, surrounded the town of Synjuna, 7 Kess S. E. of Dhurmpoor¹ between the rivers Ramgunga and Gurra. Hurdeo Bux advanced with 500 followers and 2 guns,

¹ *Dharampur*, Pargana *Katiari* Tahsil *Bilgram* Dist. *Hardoi*—A small village, situated in latitude 27° 20' north and longitude 79° 45' east, on the right bank of the Ramgunga, at a distance of eleven miles east of Fatehgarh, 26 miles west of Hardoi, and fourteen miles from Sandi. (*District Gazetteers*, Hardoi 1904, Pp. 184-85).

attacked and defeated the enemy, capturing one gun, and having driven them across the river Gurra he pursued them into the Fort of Sandee, which he proceeded to invest, but from want of support he cannot (sic, could not) carry.

NARPAT SINGH

8. Nurput Singh has not ventured outside his stronghold at Royia, and the fear of the approach of a British force has rendered the hold of the rebels on Sundeela very weak. That place might be taken without difficulty, but it would require greater support than can at present be given, and no great advantage would be gained by anticipating by a few weeks the general onward move.

LONI SINGH

9. In a separate communication, the Chief Commissioner has submitted the petition of Rajah Loni Singh of Mithowlee, to be allowed to recover and restore to the Government, the Districts of Mohumdee and Sectapore.

KHAN ALI KHAN

10. Khan Ali Khan with a large force, stated to be 20,000 men, but evidently exaggerated, is near Powain¹ 12 miles west of Shahjehanpore.

HAR PRASAD

11. Hurpershaud heads a large force at present on the west side of Lucknow, and has moved down by Mahmoodabad in the direction of Nuwab Gung Bara Bunkee, North-East of Lucknow.

12. Mr. Bradford reports from Durriabad, that a body of rebels 6000 Infantry and 500 Cavalry, with guns, are near Sufdurgunj, half-way between Durriabad and Nuwabgunj, and are trying to cross over to join the Begum Trans-Gogra.

ROAD BETWEEN LUCKNOW AND FAIZABAD SAFE

13. The whole road between Lucknow and Fvzabad

¹ *Pawayan*—a Tahsil in *Shahjahanpur* District.

is open and safe, and stores and officers' property have passed along perfectly unmolested.

14. Messrs. Tucker and Reid, describe the country around Fyzabad as clear of rebels and perfectly tranquil.

The inhabitants of that city have manifested their joy at the return of our officers, and the release from the plunder to which the rebels had subjected them. The peasantry are decidedly not hostile, and the road between Fyzabad and Goruckpore is at present clear of rebels, and comparatively safe enough for the establishment of postal communication.

MAN SINGH TO HOLD TANDA. OFFER OF SURRENDER FROM
SAMMANPUR, TANDA, HASANPUR

16. Mr. Forbes reports that, since the occupation of Fyzabad he has received letters at Dera from 3 *Talooqdars*, Mullik Tuffuzul Hossein of Sammanpoor¹, Rajah Abbas Ali of Taudah, Rajah Hussain Ali of Hussunpoor, who have hitherto been actively hostile against us. The first two have been ordered to proceed to Fyzabad but the Rajah of Hussunpoor has been directed to remain in his estates.

17. The Fort of Shah Gunj, which was visited by General Grant and Mr. Tucker, accompanied by other officers on the 2nd August, is described as a strong place, likely to hold out against a vigorous attack. The villages around it had been completely destroyed, by the rebels. Man Singh was to have started for Lucknow ere this, to pay his respects to the Chief Commissioner, but has deferred it for the present. He has taken possession of villages during the disturbances, which do not belong to him, and these he is doubtless, unwilling to give up. A letter from him with a diary of the siege of Shahgunj is forwarded with this narrative.

RAJA OF GONDA

18. The majority of the rebels crossed over the Gogra, as was stated in my last report, and the Rajah of Gonda, who finds himself called upon to maintain a large force, is desirous of purchasing release from this expense and forgiveness for himself by offering to seize and send in Mahomed Hussun.

¹ *Sammanpore*, at the Tons in *Akbarpur* Tahsil in Distt. *Faizabad*.

It shews the curious feature of Man Singh's war with the rebels; this attempt of the Rajah of Gonda to negotiate with Mr. Tucker, is carried on through Rajah Man Singh.

MENIDI HUSSAIN

19. Mendee Hussun with 6000 Infantry, Cavalry and guns, took the road to Sultanpooor on the approach of General Grant. He halted for some days near Sooltanpooor on the bank of the Gomtee, but the latest information states that he has crossed that river and joined the rebels near Salone.

20. General Sir H. Grant had ordered a portion of his force, consisting of 1st Madras Fusiliers, Vaughan's and Sikhs, 1 Troop Horse Artillery, some European and Native Cavalry to march for Sooltanpooor on the 6th, but owing to the very heavy rain, its departure has been delayed.

RAJA OF AMETHI'S CONDUCT SUSPECTED

21. The Rajah of Amatee, whose conduct has long been doubtful, is accused by Man Singh of having joined the rebels. Mr. Forbes is much of the same opinion, and intelligence received through Rana Rugounath Singh, *Talooqdar* of Kujjoorgaon, is much to the same effect.

BENI MADHO

22. Bence Madho who for a time appeared to waver in his intentions, has been again active. Leaving Ram Bux at Missur Khera he is reported to have gone towards Salone, where the *Talooqdars* of Nain¹, Ramgolam Singh of Ateha², and Rajah Madho Singh of Amatee, agreed to join him. Hunwunt Singh too was sent for, and swore to the same effect.

¹ *Nain*, Pargana and Tahsil *Salon* Distt. *Rai Bareli*—A large village on the south bank of the Sai river, lying in latitude 26° 4' north and longitude 81° 25' east, at a distance of two miles north of the road from Salon to Rai Bareli, four miles from Salon, and eighteen miles from Rai Bareli. (*District Gazetteers*, Rai Bareli 1905, p. 199).

² *Ateha*, Pargana *Ateha* Tahsil *Partabgarh* Distt. *Partabgarh*—The capital of the pargana is situated in latitude 26° 6' north and longitude 81° 38' east, on the road from Rai Bareli to Raipur-Amethi, from which a branch takes off to Lalganj close to the village. It lies at a distance of six miles north of Sai river and twenty-six miles from Bela Partabgarh. (*District Gazetteers*, Partabgarh 1904, p. 164).

There appears to be little doubt now that the attack on the Government Steamer at Kalee Kunkur, was made with his approval, if not in his presence, and he has received a *Khillut* from Fuzil Azim, the pseudo *Nazim*, for this deed.

IMPORTANCE OF BAIWARA

23. From the unanimous accounts of the concentration of all *Talookdars* in Baiswara the Chief Commissioner expects that there a vigorous stand may be expected. It should be remembered that Baiswara is the Nursery of the Sepoy Army, 40,000 men being sent from that country alone to fill the ranks of our old army.

The collections during the past week amount to Rs. 7082/-/- and the settlements to Rs. 23,487/-/-.

The only change in the disposition of officers has been the transfer of Lieutenant Hawkins to Bunnee from Mulliabad.¹

BENI MADHO STARTS FOR SULTANPUR

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Alld., 22nd Augt. 1858, to E. A. Reade, Agra.

It is reported from Lucknow that Bane Madho started on the sixteenth August to join the Amecthee Raja who had summoned all the *Talookdars* of Baiswara to resist our Sultanpore column.²

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmorstone, Allahabad, 27th August 1858, 10/50 p. m., to E. A. Reade, Agra.

BENI MADIHO ARRIVES AT SULTANPUR

We hear from Lucknow that the crossing of the Goomtee by our Sultanpoor column was to commence on the morning of the 24 h. The rebels muster very strong but are said to be desperate. Bunnie Madho (Beni Madho) has joined them with thirteen thousand men of whom eight thousand are his own followers and eight guns.³

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 27th August 1858, No. 37; National Archives, New Delli.

² Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

³ *Ibid.*

BENI MADHO COLLECTING HIS FORCE

Letter No. 975 from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, Allahabad, dated Lucknow, the 28th August 1858.

I am directed to submit the narrative for the past week.

SULTANPUR

Captain Reid, writing from Sooltanpoor on the 25th, reports that General Sir H. Grant had commenced to cross the River Goomtee, and two Regiments, the Madras Fusiliers, and the 5th Punjab Rifles, 2 guns with elephants and baggage, had passed over without opposition, the rest of the force was about to follow.

HASANPUR

There was a considerable force of sepoy's near the Cantonment, and about 12,000 men with, it is said, 12 guns, near Hussnpoor; and Captain Reid reports that the enemy had withdrawn their outposts, and seemed preparing to concentrate their forces with a view to opposing our advance.

From Fyzabad and Durriabad, the reports are favorable and quiet generally prevails in these Districts.

DEWA

The Brigadier, commanding at Nawabgunj Bara Bunkee, North-East of Lucknow, sent out a detachment on the 27th to disperse the rebels in the vicinity of Dewa. Finding the small fortress of Aurra, 6 miles distant from Nawabgunj, evacuated, our troops destroyed it, and passed on to another Fort, near Kureemgunj (Karimganj) which however was too strongly imbedded in bamboo jungle to be attacked without mortars, and the force returned the same day.

SANDILA

The Police force under Capt'n. Dawson have occupied Sundeela permanently, and on the 26th, that officer accompanied by Mr. Kavanagh, moved out against the village of Kowa, which they cleared of rebels. Captain Dawson then advanced with his infantry and the Cavalry under command of Captain Melvill against the fort of Birwa which they found

too strong to be carried without guns; the fire of the enemy from the Fort was rather hot, and the Chief Commissioner regrets to hear that Mr. Kavanagh was wounded, and the total casualties on our side were 15 killed and 25 wounded. The enemy's loss must have been severe, as Capt. Melvill in one pursuit cut up 20. As the guns could not be brought up in time, Captain Dawson withdrew his men to Sundeela.

The feeling of the people generally however around Sundeela, is reported by Mr. Kavanagh as decidedly favorable, and 12 *Talooqdars* with 1237 armed followers have come forward, to help him in restoring order in the Mullaon District.

UNNAO

There is no particular news from Oonam (Unnao). The rebels collected in the early part of the week at Poorwa, but fled on a demonstration being made in that direction by Brigadier Eveleigh from Nawabgunj.

Beni Madho and the rebels generally in Baiswara, are collecting their forces in the direction of Pertabgurh and Sooltanpoor.

I am directed to submit the copy of letter from Colonel Clarke who has proceeded from Futtehgurh to Shahjehanpoor, to ascertain the feeling of the people on that side of Oudh. He reports favorably of the disposition of the people generally. Loni Singh, if admitted to terms, would doubtless cause a diversion in our favor.

There is no other news of importance.

The general state of quietness in most of the districts we have recovered is now sufficiently established to admit of the reintroduction of the ordinary routine of administration.

The collections for last week amount to Rupees 26737.¹

Letter of Salar of Shankar Jang Paltan addressed to Rana Saheb, dated 16th Rabiul Awwal 1275 A. H. (24th Oct. 1858)

My Lord !

Herewith I beg to submit the account of the battle of Jabraoli.

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 17th September 1858, Nos. 120-124; National Archives, New Delhi.

On 15th *Rabiul Awwal* 1275 A. H. (23rd Oct. 1858) the troops of General Bhawani Singh, Shiva Sahai Singh, Collector, and Sultan Singh, *Munsarim* with the object of extirpating the *Kafirs* had set out towards their camp which was at a distance of 6 miles, and besieged them. Shiva Singh's troops were hesitant to march out and therefore he asked me to move first so that his men might follow my troops. Accordingly, accompanied by the *Salar* of the *Paltan*, named Muhammad Jang and Chaudhry Sultan Singh, I set out ahead. We reached within gun-shot range and the battle ensued. The *Kafirs* in order to outwit our army ordered back their horsemen who were posted to the north and brought forth a troop to the south. The place where I had reached was an open plain and not an entrenchment. Chaudhry Saheb said to me, "Your troops are marching forward. The *Kafirs* want to deceive us. We will get no reinforcement. Therefore you should also form a *morcha* (entrenchment)". I then got busy in rallying together my men and in forming a *morcha* when suddenly I heard the guns fired by the *Kafirs* from behind. As I turned round I found the whole army retreating; Chaudhry Sultan Singh with my troops remained at the place. Had I got the knowledge that the army would deceive us in such a way, I would never have marched forward. I am very sorry that about 50 persons including officers, *Jamadars* and *Moharrirs* were wounded and killed in my *Paltan*. Had you been there you must have appreciated their sacrifice. You will learn about the details from Baij Nath Singh, *Risaldar*, Sadhu Singh and others. I received one slight sword-cut while my horse got two. I am enclosing a list of the wounded and the killed, ascertained till (the time of writing). Information about the rest will be submitted after investigation. When the *Kafirs* came near me I charged from the back of my horse who bolted. I fell down and was so badly hurt that I was removed to the camp on a cot. I would not have been saved if a number of the musketeers had not done so. Even now I am nearly lifeless. Many clever and brave officers courted death in this battle. As I was almost senseless and unable to move for three days I could not submit a petition. Hence the delay.

May the sun of your wealth and prosperity ever shine.¹

¹ Rai Bareli Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

MANSAB ALI

Extract from Firoz Shah's Kitab (book)--Copy of Parwanas.

Letter from Firoz Shah addressed to Mir Mansab Ali, Chaudhri and Chakledar of Rasulabad, dated 4th Zilhijja 1274 A. H. (16th July 1858).

As the *sanad* of the *Chakledari* of the villages of the *Muhal* of Rasulabad and Safipur has been given to you by Birjis Qadar in recognition of your rights and because I (Firoz Shah) have an identity of interest with him (Birjis Qadar) and your rights are old and perfectly established, therefore you should consider yourself permanently appointed to your office from my side as well and should exert yourself faithfully and assiduously in the discharge of your duties (Usual Ending).¹

REVOLUTIONARIES ACTIVE IN UNNAO

Letter No. 698 from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, dated Lucknow, 17th July 1858.

GENERAL

The reports of the last week represent a little more activity the part of the rebels.

FIROZ SHAH IN MOHAN

Ferozeshah and Lukurshah² alluded to in former reports after threatening to attack the *Thanah* of Mohan 8 miles N.-W. of Bunnee surrounded it on the 16th and carried off the *Thannahdar* and *Mohurer* (*Muharrir*) prisoners.

MALIHABAD ATTACKED

The same rebels announce their intention of attacking Maliabad, but it is very impossible (perhaps improbable) that they will carry their threat into execution.

¹ Unnao District Court Mutiny *Basta*.

² Lukurshah—appointed General by Namdar Khan, the Chakledar of Sandila.

KALKA PRASAD ATTACKED BASHIRAT GANJ

On the 8th instant Kalka Pershaud attacked a village near Busheerat Gunj (Oonao District) where a wedding festival was being celebrated, and after killing 3 men, carried off the Bridegroom, and plundered the wedding guests. Such an occurrence as this was not infrequent in the King's days.

ACHAL GANJ

On the 12th a patrolling party of 40 sowars sent out by Mr. Lawrence from Oonao made a gallant attack upon the rebels at Uchulgunj (Achalganj) and killed some fifteen men.

Mr. Lawrence reports that fears are entertained that the cultivation this season will be scarce owing to the ravages of the rebels.

MANSAB ALI

Munsub Ally with about 3000 men is at Meeangunj (Mianganj), and most probably aided in the attack on the Mohan *Thannah*.

KHAN BAHADUR KHAN IN THE VICINITY OF BILGRAM

Khan Bahadur Khan is reported by Colonel Clarke to be in the vicinity of Bilgram, and most of the Bareilly rebels are bivouacked near Mohumdee. The Cavalry receive 4 annas, and the Infantry one anna *per diem*, but the payments are irregular. They muster about 8,000 men and 7 guns.

DRIG BIJAI SINGH

Drigbijie Singh, who for a time hovered near Buksheeka Talao in the N.-W. vicinity of Lucknow, has joined these rebels at Mohumdee; and the country to the immediate N.-W. and north of Lucknow is now quiet.

POSITION OF SUPPLIES AT LUCKNOW IMPROVES

In the city itself, considerable improvement is visible and supplies come in regularly and without hinderance. There are few complaints of molestation by the soldiery, and the inhabitants now free from panic are settling in their houses.

BUNNEE (BANNI)

The Chief Commissioner received on Thursday from Major General Sir H. Grant, intimation of the intended move on Fyzabad, and in consultation with that officer, and by his advice, has arranged to move the Kapoorthullah Contingent from Bunnee to Durriabad after the British force has passed on to Fyzabad. Bunnee will be occupied by a Regiment of the police, and a detachment will be sent to Oonao.

REBELS AT DARIABAD

There is a collection of rebels at Durriabad estimated by Captain Reid at 10,000 men and 8 guns. At Fyzabad Mendee Hussein's force, stated to consist of from 15,000 to 20,000 with 6 iron and 3 brass guns, invests Rajah Man Singh's Fort of Shah Gunj, and lays waste the surrounding villages.

MUHAMMAD HASAN JOINS MENHDI HUSAIN

Mahommed Hussun, the pseudo *Nazim* of Goruckpore, who after his last defeat at Hurreeaghat by a small force sent out by Colonel Rowcroft, disappeared into Oude, has during the week joined Mendee Hussun's force before Shah Gunj. The fighting immediately slackened, and for the last few days, Mr. Forbes reports that he has heard little firing. Many of Baboo Roostam Sahae's villages have suffered severely from the plunder and exactions of the rebels.

BHARTIPUR IN SULTANPUR OCCUPIED BY MENHDI HUSAIN

The Fort of Bhurteepoor on the Sultanpoor and Fyzabad road, which had been attacked by a party sent out by Mendee Hussun, has fallen into the enemy's hands through the treachery of the garrison. Beni Madho has not shewn signs of activity lately, but seems rather desirous to sue for terms.

As an important move has been ordered by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the Chief Commr. thinks it may be of use to lay before the Government, the general state of the Province shewing in what quarter we may expect opposition to the British Troops.

The Fyzabad Division is completely a *talooqdaree*.

TALUQADARS DESERT

The principal *Talookdars*¹ have all declared in our favour, with but few exceptions²; some even acted on our side, and now holding out against our enemies³.

On the appearance of a force in this Division, cordial cooperation may be expected, and has been promised by many⁴; and submission from the rest. Amongst the exceptions *Benee Madho Buksh* may render it necessary to fight one more action in those parts; as from his being in the midst of the great recruiting district of the late Bengal army, it will enable him to keep together a respectable gathering.

The destruction of this party will also free the South-Western portion of the Lucknow Division and will render the settlement of the rest easy. *Durriabad* has no one of importance to oppose us. *Goor Buxsl.*⁵ *Singh* of *Ram Naggur* is our most important enemy in this Division, but he has shewn some inclination to give in; he may possibly fight with the *Begum's* Force *Trans-Gogra*.

Notes given in the margin of the original text :

¹ *Roostum Sahae*. *Madho Singh Amaithee*. *Man Singh Shah Gunj*. *Hanuwant Singh Kalliangarh*. *Jugal Singh Tiloe*. *Raghunath Khujoorgaon*. *Drig Bejay Singh Morarmou**. *Sudursun Singh Chundapore+*.

² *Benee Madho Buxsh*.

Ram Buxsh..... } Exceptions.
Debee Singh..... }

³ *Man Singh—Shah Gunj*. *Jugal Singh—Tiloe*.

⁴ *Hanuwant Singh*. *Man Singh*. *Thaokooraen of Bhuaree*. *Thaokooreen of Dhigwas**. *Nowroz Ally*. *Hannooman Pershaud*. *Tiloe Rajah* and a host of others.

⁵ Vide *Sleeman*, page 25 and 7 for mention of this man and *Hunvant Singh*, 2nd most powerful opponent.

* *Morarmou*—Is a village in *Pargana Sareni* of *Rai Bareli* District about 2 miles in the north-west of the *Pargana*.

+ *Chandapur*, *Pargana Simrauta* *Tahsil Maharajganj* *Distt. Rai Bareli*. This village lies in latitude 26° 22' north and longitude 81° 21' east, at a distance of four miles east of *Maharajganj* and two miles north of the road from that place to *Nigohan*. A branch road runs north-east to *Mau Gharbi* on the road from *Maharajganj* to *Inhauna*. (*District Gazetteers, Rai Bareli* 1905, p. 160).

x *Dhingwas*, *Pargana Dhingwas* *Tahsil Kunda* *Distt. Partabgarh*—Apparently, this large village stands in latitude 25° 51' north and longitude 81° 40' east, in the north-eastern corner of the *pargana* to which it gives its name, on the road from *Derwa* to *Dhanpur* or *Jalesarganj*, at a distance of about 22 miles from *Bela*. (*District Gazetteers, Partabgarh* 1904, p. 180).

In two districts of the Khyrabad Division—Seetapoor and Mullaon, the settlement operations have brought in nearly the whole of the *Talookadars* and large *Zemindars*; the settlement is more than 2/3rd completed in these two districts, in Mullaon especially the final settlement even now would be most easy, but for Nurput Singh of Rohia, who may still hold out, supported by Chundka Buxsh, another powerful *Talookdar*, with Feroze Shah and Lukkurshah two active foes; but the force we have enlisted in our favour in this District is so formidable that on the appearance of our Columns, the larger portion of the District would join us.

SITAPUR

Nurpershaud¹ (sic,) the *Chuckladar* in the Seetapoor District has a large gathering, but there are few *Chuckladars* whose forces will hold together, when we have a column to support in opposition to them; for, Native collectors of Revenue are viewed with too much hostility to be followed from anything but compulsion.

BAHRAICII DIVISION

Trans-Gogra or in the Baraitech Division, the final contest may be expected, but in this Division, there are many powerful *Talookdars*, and many of them have assured the Chief Commissioner that they only await support to declare openly for us; some have already done so.

GONDA RAJA

The Gonda Rajah will probably oppose us to the last and in this corner of Oude, the greatest resistance may be expected.

MUHAMMAD HASAN AND MENHDI HUSAIN

Mahomed Hussun and Mehndee Hossein, the *Chuckledars* with the Fyzabad rebels will, it is probable, concentrate here, for with the powerful cooperation of the *Talookdars* of Sultanpoor and Fyzabad itself, the latter will hardly hold out on the appearance of our troops.

¹ This name appears to be spelt for Har Prasad.

The disposition of Officers remains as last reported, but certain changes will be made to meet the Military movements and will be reported next week.

22. The collections for last week amount to Rs. 9,352-15-0.¹

Letter from Firoz Shah addressed to Mir Mansab Ali, Chaudhri and Chakledar, dated 6th Zilhijja 1274 A. H. (18th July 1858).¹

As my government have granted the *Sanad* of free-hold, exclusive of proprietary rights, to Sheikh Ali Hasan *Risaldar* of *Mouza Phikai*, you are, therefore, ordered to put him in possession of the above-named *Mauza*.²

(Firoz Shah's) Letter to Mir Mansab Ali, Chaudhry and Chakledar, dated 10th 1274 A. H. (22nd of July 1858).

I have been waiting for the fulfilment of your promise upto this time. The army is making importunate demands. Without the money promised by you, nothing can be done. You have not sent any money as yet. It is, therefore, ordered that you should soon send in the money promised, so that I may be relieved of the persistent demands of the army. If you cannot do this, send an unequivocal reply and despatch the persons committed, to me. When, in spite of my presence here there is so much delay in sending the promised amount, what reliance can be placed on your promises when I am away. It is, therefore, proper that clear reply be at once sent to me.³

Firoz Shah's Letter addressed to Mir Mansab Ali, Chaudhri and Chakledar of Rasulabad, dated 12th Zilhijja 1274 A. H. (24th July 1858).

Perused the letter of Dalpat Singh regarding the inability of realising the money to be levied from Safipur and about other matters. You are being ordered to arrange soon for the amount because the soldiers at Safipur are in trouble. An order has been given to Wilayat Ahmad for the dismissal of

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 27th August 1858, No. 30; National Archives, New Delhi.

² Unnao District Court Mutiny *Basta*.

³ *Ibid.*

the *Tahsildar* of Harayya¹ and in case of non-compliance necessary action will be taken.²

Firoz Shah's Letter addressed to Mir Mansab Ali, Chaudhri and Chakledar of Rasulabad, dated 14th Zilhijsa 1274 A. H. (26th July 1858).

Perused your letter. Be sure Ganga Singh and others shall not go to Safipur. You should make all haste in the collection of money. Now that Wilayat Ahmad is present here for giving account of the government money levied, his house etc. should not be confiscated till these accounts are settled and cleared. Puran Chand should also be taken captive. If he resists, steps will be taken, in case you send the information. It should be announced by beat of drum, in the *Ilaga* that all those from whom Wilayat Ahmad had taken money either by force or in the form of government revenue should report the matter in my presence and those who will not do so will be punished, if this is discovered.³

Firoz Shah's Letter addressed to Mir Mansab Ali, Chaudhvi, dated 26th Zilhijsa 1274 A. H. (7th August 1858).

Your letter has come to my notice. As you did not come in spite of repeated orders the work of the government was considerably delayed. This is why a new arrangement has been made. I have already written to you what I intended and therefore there is no use repeating it. You should now reach Rasulabad and make a new settlement of the *Ilaga* till further orders. You should act according to this new settlement. Later, necessary orders will be sent to you.⁴

MANŞAB ALI AND BENI MADHO

The following morning (26th Sept 1858) we heard the thundering noise of Colonel Bulwer's artillery, and, during the day, we learnt that he had surprised the rebels in the fort of Selimpoor; had carried it by assault, inflicting great damage; chased the enemy into the river Goompty (Gomti) : which

¹ Probably in *Kalyanmal Pargana* and *Tahsil Sandila Distt. Hardoi.*

² Unnao District Court Mutiny *Basta.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

engulfed a large number of them, and increased the casualties to about seven hundred. His detachment was composed of a wing of that splendid regiment, the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, two guns of the Royal Artillery, and a regiment of Oudh Military Police. Mr. Simon Martin, of the Civil Service, (one of the most amiable of the defenders of Lucknow), accompanied the force, and, with some native police, did good service in clearing the fortress. That officer held the important appointment of Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, and the heavy and responsible duties of his office rendered it necessary that he should return to the city at once. As European troops could not be left without a civil officer, on whom the commander was dependent for information of the rebels, and for some of his provisions, I was directed by Sir Robert Montgomery to join Colonel E. G. Bulwer, if well enough to do so. My wound had partly healed and I was beginning to regain strength. Tired of the dull life my confinement enforced, I was glad of the opportunity of returning to the field, and, the next morning, my tent was pitched, beside the gallant Colonel's, at Goosaingunj, twenty miles east of Lucknow, to which village he retired after the capture of Selimpoor.

Here I found the people more hostile than in the west of Oudh, owing to the presumptuous bearing of Bence Madho, who paraded the country with over twenty thousand of the hardest men in the province, and threatened death and destruction to all friends of the cursed *Feringee*. Munsib Ali, (a cruel upstart who was denied his estates on the annexation for plundering and oppressing his neighbours), carried out the menace on the bodies of all persons suspected of corresponding with the English. It was to destroy the mischievous power of this wretch that Selimpoor was captured; but the dread of his brother remained, and the people kept aloof, excepting in our immediate neighbourhood, where they were sure of protection. The crimes perpetrated by the monster were sufficient to deter the most loyal subject, for he sometimes disemboweled his victims, and I once heard of his loading an unfortunate scribe with powder, and firing him off as if he were a piece of ordnance. He was among the rebels drowned in the river Goompty (Gomti) in attempting to escape from the avenging arm of Bulwer; but a brother succeeded in crossing the stream who had been an active promoter of Munsib Ali's diabolical policy, and he endeavoured to organize a force to

arrest our further progress, encouraged by Bence Madho, who promised to fall on us by-and-by.

By long and frequent excursions into the country we deterred them from attempting to molest our small force on the heights of Goosaingunj, where I began the restoration of an old fort, in which a body of police were nearly annihilated a short time before. A native, who had gone through the siege of Lucknow, was promoted for his loyalty; and, several miles away from any support, and almost without ammunition, was posted in this dilapidated fort, with about fifty policemen, in the hope of his being let alone to collect some revenue from the villages around. Munsub Ali surrounded him: a sham fight was maintained all day, which exhausted the *Thanadar's* ammunition: a wretched little gun on one of the bastions burst itself, after terrifying the enemy by its noise. At night the strings of the gate were forced, when some of the defenders escaped through the darkness over the walls, while the *Thanadar*, followed by the rest, mixed unperceived with assailants, as the crowd of screaming wretches pressed in; and, in a very short time, he reported, in *propria persona*, the defence and disaster to his superior at Lucknow. This lucky man, after escaping two great sieges, was sent with the force of Colonel Bulwer; and, at the back of Mr. Simon Martin, he revenged himself on the bodies of the creatures in Selimpoor. He was a good, honest, servant, and I engaged him on the work of restoring the defences, although he made no secret of his dislike to being caught behind them again.....

* * * * *

Colonel Purnell, of the 90th Foot, commanded the force at Nawabgunj, which was located, in thatched sheds, on a dry sandy plain, and hid in a storm of hot dust, which blew hard in our faces as we rode into the lines. I had not been there since the ride from Lucknow in June 1857, to fetch in the families from the mutinous troops at Secrora, and it pleased me now to enter the place under circumstances so much more favourable. I saw the gallant commander, and after lunching with the officers of the 23rd Fusiliers, and showing my wound to Dr. Sylvester, (who thought me mad for venturing out), Cuthbert, Willes, and myself, recrossed the country to our little encampment, which we reached at night, after losing our way in the dark, and riding forty miles on a very hot day.

Our stay at Goosaingunj very much weakened the influen-

nce of the rebel leaders. They never ventured closer than fourteen miles, excepting at night, when small parties pounced on unsuspecting landholders, and either killed them, or carried them off to extort the payment of a ransom. We endeavoured, as much as possible to check these raids, and to give confidence to the peasantry, and succeeded till reports of a threatened advance by Bence Madho emboldened the rebels, and induced the authorities to move Colonel Bulwer's force further south, to Jubrowlee, to co-operate with Brigadier Eveleigh in resisting that redoubtable chief. I left Colonel Bulwer here to go into Lucknow to see my family, which had just arrived from Calcutta, and to settle them in a home till the war was over. My wife had been distressed by repeated rumours of my death, and the prognostics of friends that I could not escape the perils into which I was always rushing; and she was, therefore, glad to have ocular evidence of my existence after a separation of nine months.

Before she had recovered from the joy of meeting, an order reached me from the Chief Commissioner to proceed at once to Sundeela, where, he said, my presence with the force under Brigadier George Barker was indispensable. Previous to transporting the reader there, I will briefly tell the achievements of Bulwer's column after I was relieved by my friend Mr. James Anderson, Assistant Commissioner, one of Havelock's Volunteer Cavalry, with which he did good service during the advance from Allahabad to the relief of the garrison at Lucknow.

Shortly after leaving him Colonel Bulwer had a cavalry engagement, a few miles from his camp, with the infantry of the enemy, who had no time to get away; and the spirited young Mitford, Anderson, and the Colonel signalized themselves during the short combat, which sent over forty of the mutineers to paradise. Bence Madho, who was in the neighbourhood, excited by the British Commander's impudence, some days afterwards sent down upon him a host of foot and horse, supported by some great guns; and, as usual, they began the attack with drums and trumpets. The contending forces were very unequal in numbers and at the beginning of the engagement one of the two English guns was disabled. The enemy blazed away at a distance, and progressed so slowly that our small force had time to recover from its amazement; and Bulwer actively used the opportunity to feel the

left flank of Benec Madho; which proved to be so weak, in all but numbers, that Cuthbert's nine-pounder and the Seikh cavalry, led on by Bulwer, Anderson, Hawkins, Mitford, (who was wounded), and Pennington, pushed right into it. The whole mass of six thousand rebels and mutineers turned right about, and leaving their guns behind, flew in disorder after their great leader, who went off on an elephant to extol the stratagem by which he had discovered the prowess of his army. Bulwer good-naturedly accelerated their departure as much as possible, and he was afterwards the wonder of the neighbourhood till ordered to Poorwa, on the west of the Cawnpoor road.

There Benec Madho, reinforced by about fourteen thousand infantry, a second time cautiously attacked him in the front, and on both flanks, with three separate columns. The British leader had now more cavalry, and two guns. He patiently continued, nearly all day, the game of long bowls, at which natives are great adepts. Benec Madho, deceived by his inertness, spread out his strength to give Colonel Bulwer's force a final embrace, and obliged our two little guns to turn all round to resist his approaches, while the cavalry chased him back. At last the Colonel saw his chance, and improving it on the right by a dashing charge of cavalry led by Lieutenant Drummond, and another on the left led by Hawkins, he crushed the spirit of the enemy, and turned their faces homewards, which they made great haste to reach with the pressing help of the victors, who triumphantly brought back two of their guns. Colonel Bulwer had the modesty not to call these "pitched battles", nor were they; but his waiting to be opposed by such enormous numbers, and his skill in successfully resisting and then driving them back confused and dispirited, placed the two engagements among the best of the season. The calm courage and decision, the gentle temper, superior intelligence, and good practical sense of this officer, point to him as one well-fitted for high command.

Oudh is divided into twelve districts, and they cover an area of about 25,000 square miles. Towards the middle of October not a fourth of the province had submitted to British rule, and it was only where the English troops were stationed that there was a semblance of authority. A few police posts had been indiscreetly pushed out here and there to reassure the people; but the enemy soon surrounded and murdered

the policemen. Across the Gogra—a majestic river dividing the province in two—the rebel Government reigned supreme, and affected to govern the territory through two parliaments composed of reprobates elected by interest and bribery, who confined their parliamentary functions to enforcing payment of the land revenue in the name of the puppet King Birjis Kuddur, or of his mother the Begum, whom it never reached entire. Commissioners, and Deputy Commissioners, and Assistant Commissioners, purchased permission to administer civil and criminal justice and, armed with mandates bearing great illegible seals, they spread over the richest towns and villages, and did justice to nobody but themselves. Military officers, and their greedy followers, were fed and enriched at the expense of the people, who, despite of all this outrageous abuse of power, managed to be the gainers, and, therefore, preferred their misgovernment to the orderly and exacting rule of the English.

On the third day after quitting the force of Colonel Bulwer, I rode thirty-six miles in the morning to the camp of Brigadier Barker, who had retired to the shade of the mango groves of Sundecla after driving the enemy across the Goompty (Gomti). He had about 750 Europeans infantry and cavalry and 850 Native infantry and cavalry, with 14 guns—a force ample for the reconquest of the Western Districts of Oudh, where he had only two opponents, who stayed inside their defences at Birrwa and at Rohya. The first was held by Gholab Singh, the man that, after being defeated at Ruheemabad and Sundecla, beat Dawson back from his fort; and the second belonged to Raja Nurput Singh, who was notorious for resisting General Walpole, and killing the noble Adrian Hope. The inhabitants this side of Oudh were less hostile than elsewhere, and nearly all but those two chiefs had tendered their submission.

With the aid of Brigadier Barker I dismantled the fortresses in our neighbourhood, all of which were encompassed by broad belts of the bamboo plant that formed a beautiful impenetrable barrier. This precautionary measure greatly distressed the chiefs, as it degraded them in the eyes of their rebellious compeers, who jeered (at) them, from across the river, for their submission to so dishonour. Rather than endure the demolition of their forts two small chiefs deserted to the enemy, and they only returned to me on seeing that it was

useless resisting a dishonour in which all the Barons of Oudh were soon involved. I also forced them to surrender as many guns as we could discover, and to pay the arrears of land revenue not already collected by rebels.¹

BEGAM CONFISCATES MAN SINGH'S & RUSTAM SAHAE'S ESTATES

Letter No. 20 of 1858 from William Forbes, Deputy Commissioner, Derah, to Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh (Awadh), Lucknow, dated Camp Derah, July 24, 1858.

I have the honor to furnish my reports of events in this part of the country for the past weeks.

2. I mentioned in my report of the 17th instant the arrival in my camp of Baboo Oodres Singh (Udresh Singh) of Meapore with the exception perhaps of Baboo Roostum Suhae, my host, the most influential *Raj Coomar* Chief in the Fyzabad District. He returned to his estate, leaving his agent and 200 armed men at my orders and expressed his perfect readiness to exert himself to the utmost in the restoration of order, and to assist me further with men called upon.

RELIEVING FORCE TO MAN SINGH

3. The siege of Shahgunj still continues and the enemy have lately suffered severely in some attacks they made upon the fort. The last of these attempts is said to have been more decisively repulsed than usual, and the complete investment, which had heretofore existed, was broken. At Rajah Maun Singh's request the opportunity was not lost to send him lead, of which he stood most in need.

4. Rajah Maun Singh on the date of his last despatch had not apparently heard of the approach of a relieving force, but of this I have informed him; and if the advance is made, as I hope and trust it will, his position is secure otherwise his supplies of provisions will fail him I fear.

5. The plundering of villages and exaction on the part of the rebel *Chukladars* from *Zemindars* and *Muhajuns* have been carried on to a very great extent during the week. Every

¹ T. H. Kavanagh : "How I won the Victoria Cross" (London 1860), Pp. 188-96.

day brings in reports of villages "looted" and the wealthy inhabitants carried off as prisoners.

6. A proclamation has been issued during this period also from Mehndee Hussun, declaring the estates of Rajah Man Singh and Baboo Roostum Suhae confiscated by order of the Begum, and calling upon claimants to come forward and be settled with. This of course has met with some response and a settlement is progressing.

REVOLUTIONARIES AT BIRHAR

7. There is a strong gathering of mutineers in the Beerhur¹ *pergunnah* on the Gogra, where the Fyzabad and Azimgurh Districts meet, and they have lately been doing much damage in the latter district. The town and *Tehseel* of Koelsa² have been attacked and plundered and as I hear the police of the District have fallen back.

DAMAGE TO GHAZIPUR AND AZAMGARH

This force numbering about 1200 or 1500 men include those under Purgunsingh, a rebel *Zemindar* of Azimgurh, and those sepoys who have lately returned from the Jugdeespore Jungles in Arrah, and who in small scattered bands did so much damage in the Ghazeepore and Azimgurh country. Others from the surrounding country have also no doubt joined them; the Pulwar (or Puhwar) Rajpoots of Beerhur, and that frontier, being notoriously disaffected, and a contumacious race. The whole force is led now by a *Mouhvir* (clerk) named Allee Kurreem who has come up from Arrah with the mutineers.

¹ *Birhar*, Pargana *Birhar* Tahsil *Tanda* Distt. *Fyzabad*—This is a small and unimportant village on the banks of the Ghagra, in latitude 26° 39' north and longitude 82° 58' east, on a small branch road leading from Haswar and Chahora to Mansurganj, some two miles to the east, whence a road runs south to Jahaugiranj. (*District Gazetteers*, Fyzabad 1905, Pp. 203-204).

² *Koelsa*, Pargana *Kauria* Tahsil *Mahul* Distt. *Azamgarh*—This small village lies on the boundaries of parganas *Kauria* and *Atraulia* 26° 15' N. and 83° 1' E., on the road from Azamgarh to Fyzabad. It is distant 17 miles from Azamgarh and 10 from the tahsil headquarters at Ahraula, with which it is connected by the unmetalled road which passes through Koelsa from Maharajanj. (*District Gazetteers*, Azamgarh 1911, p. 241).

8. Up to the date of writing no news has been received of the actual march of the Fyzabad Field Force but information is expected hourly.

9. The success, which has attended Colonel Berkeley's march into the Pertabgurh *Pergunnah*, has had a marked effect upon this part of the country, and all east of Sultanpore is clear of the rebels.¹

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Alld., dated 29th July, 5 p.m., to E. A. Reade, Agra.

It is reported from Oude that the rebels who were besieging² Rajah Man Sing in his Fort at Shagunge, have commenced to disperse, on hearing of the approach of column under the command of General Sir H. Grant from Lucknow.³

REVOLUTIONARIES ACTIVE IN FAIZABAD AND SULTANPUR

Telegraphic Message from R. Simpson, Alld., dated 31st July, to E. A. Reade, Agra.

The Lucknow Column under Sir Hope Grant was fourteen miles from Fyzabad on the twenty-eighth inst. The rebel forces besieging Shagunge which have the main on the right bank of the Gogra broken into three divisions; the first division under three rebel Hindoo leaders, has gone towards Fyzabad. The second division called Nusseerabad Sandy force has gone towards Sultanpore on the Goomtee river. The third division under Sokun⁴ Sing has gone towards Tanda on the Gogra river. Mahommed Hussein is reported to have crossed the Gogra. The supposed strength of the Sultanpore and Tanda divisions about three thousand men each with indifferent guns.⁵

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 27th August 1858, No. 36; National Archives, New Delhi.

² *cf.* Foreign Secret Consultations, 27th Aug. 1858, No. 36, Para 3; National Archives, New Delhi. *Ante p.*

³ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

⁴ May be 'Suk Khan Singh' or 'Jokhan Singh.'

⁵ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Telegraphic Message from Simson, Allahabad, dated 31st July, 9-35 p.m., to E. A. Reade, Agra.

Genl. Sir H. Grant's column reached Fyzabad on the 29th July. The Rebels had crossed the river over Horse Artillery and Cavalry pushed on to the river Bank at Ajoodya and fired on the last boat of the retreating enemy. The rebels who went south will probably concentrate at Sultanpoor.¹

Letter No. 786 from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Govt. of India with the Governor General, Allahabad, dated Lucknow, 31st July 1858.

The progress of General Sir H. Grant's force toward's Fyzabad has occupied the chief interest during this week.

DARIABAD EVACUATED

Leaving Nuwabgunj on the 22nd as reported in my last week's narrative, the force marched to Durriabad which place was evacuated on their approach, by the enemy. A detachment sent towards the south at the same time dispersed the rebels at Siddhour.

FAIZABAD QUIET

Throughout the line of march no symptom of opposition appeared, and on the 29th instant General Grant entered Fyzabad which he found quiet, and well filled with the lower class of inhabitants, whose shops were open as usual, but no sepoy or armed rebels were to be seen. The day previous to his approach was spent by the large rebel force in escaping across the river Gogra and only the last boats of the retreating rebels were seen and fired into by our artillery.

MUHAMMAD HASAN

Muhumad Hussun decamped from before Shah Gunj and Mansingh now liberated from his state of siege, is actively planning to cut off the retreat of his besiegers. Those who went south may attack Roostum Sah at Dera.

¹ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

FIROZ SHAH AND LAKKAR SHAH PRESS UPON MALIHABAD

Nearer Lucknow the Chief Commissioner is glad to record a spirited little affair of the Oudh police, on the first occasion of their being called into action. For many days past the raids of Lukurshah, Hushmut Ali and Feroze Shah have caused considerable annoyance and their success at Mohan and Malha², alluded to in my last report, emboldened them to press close upon Mulliabad.

The movement of European troops under Colonel Maxwell from Muriaon cantonments towards Kakori on the road to Mulliabad induced Lukurshah to withdraw in the direction of Sundeela, and on the 29th the rebels having abandoned Ruheemabad, half-way between Mulliabad and Sundeela, Mr. Kavanagh, who had relieved Lieutenant Hawkins as Civil officer, thought the opportunity favorable for establishing a *Thannah* there. This was no sooner done, than the *thannah* was surrounded by the rebels from Sundeela. Yesterday 30th instant, Mr. Kavanagh at once proceeded from Mulliabad with 400 infantry and 90 sowars under command of Lieutenant Hrench (or French) and after a sharp skirmish drove the enemy out with a loss of 15 or 20 killed, and followed them up on the road to Sundeela. This little success will doubtless have the best effect.

NARPAT SINGH

Colonel Clarke reports that Nurput Singh, on hearing of the movement of Colonel Maxwell's force, at once withdrew into his fort of Rohya, and recalled his gun and men from Bilgram. He has now 1700 men and 9 guns inside his fort. The tidings of the approach of a British force although it is encamped only 3 miles from Lucknow in the direction of the rebels, has spread alarm amongst the rebels at Palee, Bilgram and other places to the west.

BENI MADHO AT SHANKARPUR

Beni Madhoo, after making a demonstration of going towards the South-Eastern frontier, has returned to his own

² *cf.* Foreign Secret Consultations, 27th Aug. 1858, No. 33; National Archives, New Delhi. Para 1. *Ante* p.

fort at Shunkurpore and his troops have ceased from all active proceedings against our outposts during this week.

NAZIM FAZAL AZIM

No satisfactory intelligence of the movements of Colonel Berkeley's force has been received from our scouts during the week but one evident result is the tender of submission to the Chief Commissioner on the part of the so-called *Nazim* Fuzul Azim, *Chukladar* of Salone and the commandant of his troops, Syud Mahommad Ruzak (Muhammad Razzaq). Their offer to lay down their arms if pardoned has been favorably received by the Chief Commissioner.

AMETHI RAJA

The conduct of the Ameti Raja in the Sultanpore District has been doubtful, and the reports regarding his intentions are varied, but at present the Chief Commissioner believes his asseveration that he has not joined the rebels. There is a report of a steamer having been fired at on its passing by Kalee (Kala) Kunkur on the Ganges, but without direct proof to the contrary the Chief Commissioner would hope that Hunwunt Sing was not implicated in this attack.

MORE ZEMINDARS SURRENDER

Some few *Zemindars* have come forward from Mohumdee, and in Mullapore Rajah Indur Bikram Singh of Dourara and Rajah Maun Buksh of Mullapore have sent in to tender their allegiance.

A letter from Mr. Forbes, Deputy Commissioner, dated from Dera is forwarded for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General, but the subsequent arrival of the British force at Fyzabad must have materially altered his position.

DARIABAD

At Durriabad the country is sufficiently clear of rebels to admit of the re-establishment of our Civil rule, and Major Carnegie, Deputy Commissioner, has been directed to take charge of that District making over the duties of the city of Lucknow to Mr. Wood.

The Chief Commissioner has directed Mr. Tucker to depute a Civil Officer to join Colonel Berkeley's force as soon as the road is open or should such be practicable.

The return of Police recruiting gives 1190 mounted and 5,280 foot police, all of whom are vigorously drilled under Major Bruce's superintendence, and some of the Regiments are sufficiently advanced in their drill to be able to take the duty of furnishing guards in Lucknow, and at cantonments.

The collections for the last week are Rupees 7254-0-0 and the settlements amount to Rupees 63,175.¹

REVOLUTIONARIES ACTIVE IN SULTANPUR, FAIZABAD AND MOHAN

Telegraphic Message From G. F. Edmonstone. Allahabad, dated 7th Augt., 2/25, to E. A. Reade, Agra.

SULTANPUR

The following has been recd. from Lucknow. All well at Fyzabad on the 2nd Augt. Two Regts. of the Rebel Nusseerabad force had left Chuprodec^a and crossing the river Goomtee had gone to Hussenpoor three miles south west of Sultanpoor. The Birtypoor Rebel force began crossing the Goomtee on the 31st July & are all over; they were apparently proceeding to Sultanpoor since the above was recd. Further intelligence from Fyzabad up to the 4th Augt. has arrived. The Rebel force near Sultanpoor is said to be composed as follows; sepoys 6,700; Irregular levy 8,900; Cavalry 1,500; Guns 11. The Rebels are said to intend moving on Pertabghur where all are to be collected. A force from Fyzabad were (sic,) about to start for Sultanpoor consisting of 1st Madras Fusiliers, the 1st Punjab Rifles, 1 Troop H. A., European & Native. Postal communication is being established between Fyzabad & Goruckpoor. Mohan on the Cawnpoor road was to be occupied on the 7th Augt. by a regt. of Police Infantry & about 400 Cavalry. (The Commissioner of Fyzabad

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 27th August 1858, No. 35; National Archives, New Delhi.

² Apparently, *Khapradch*.

reports very favorably of the apparent feeling of people. The *Zemindars* are shewing some disposition to eject the Rebels.¹

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, dated 13th August 1858, 3/30, to E. A. Reade, Agra.

The force for Sultanpoor marched from Fyzabad in the morning of the 9th. All well at Fyzabad. The country rapidly settling down. Commr. of Bunacs (Banaras) reports having recd. intelligence from Ghaseepoor² that the Oude rebels had circumvented the 7th Punjab Infantry and were coming down on Shahabad³ via Urrea; all the boats on the river are being stopped.⁴

FIROZ SHAH AND LAKKAR SHAH IN SANDILA

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, dated 15th Augt. 1858, to E. A. Reade, Agra.

The following information has been received from Lucknow on the 11th inst. A Police force under Captn. Dawson assisted by Mr. Cavanagh went to Sundeela to place a very influential man incharge, called Hushmut Ally. The Rebels numbered three thousand of which some five or six hundred were Cavalry & five Guns. Our force in the absence of official returns is supposed to have been about four hundred Infantry & fifty Sowars. The rebels resisted in the Town & Suburbs but were eventually driven out. The fight lasted two hours & half & ended in Captn. Dawson's capturing a Brass six-Pounder Gun complete with bullocks & ammunition.

The Rebels were led by Feroze Shah in person & with him were Lukkarshah & others of notoriety. The police

¹ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

² Apparently, *Ghazipur*.

³ *Shahabad*, Pargana and Tahsil *Shahabad* Distt, *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).

⁴ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

force returned after having established Hushmut Ally with his own seven hundred retainers. The enemy's loss is estimated at one hundred killed & wounded; ours at 13 killed & 17 wounded. The Sultanpore Column on the 11th was at Thulner 11 miles from Sultanpore & expected to reach Sultanpore next day. The country all quiet along the route of our Column from Fyzabad.¹

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, dated 17th Augt. 1858, to E. A. Reade, Agra, and elsewhere.

SULTANPUR

The following has been recd. from Lucknow. The Civil Officer with the Sultanpore column writes on the twelfth instant three miles North of Sultanpore. The Rebels have established posts at the ferries opposite Sultanpore and to four miles up the River Goomtee. Their main body under Mehendee Hooscin at Hussunpore four miles west lay south from Sultanpore across the River with Guns. Since receipt of the above a letter has arrived direct from Sultanpore dated the 13th inst. which states that on that date the town of Sultanpore was in our hands and the rebels had been defeated. The only body of rebels which showed fight was the Nusserabad Brigade. Our loss very trifling that of the enemy believed to have been severe.¹

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, dated 20th Augt. 1858, to E. A. Reade, Agra.

REVOLUTIONARIES ON THE BANK OF GOMTI

The Dy. Commr. of Sultanpore reports, through the Magistrate of Jounpore, that the Rebels finding that we did not pursue them, returned to the opposite bank of the Goomtee and opened a severe fire without however doing any damage. They are in great numbers, but are some by (somehow) held together by the Rajah of Amaithee.¹

BOLD RESISTANCE AT BIRWA

The cavalry patrolled daily towards that fort, and once went round it under fire of the guns of the enemy, who

¹ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

had no horse to oppose them, for Prince Feroze Shah got so bad a character (sic,) by his flight from fifty Siekhs, that he went twenty miles further off to other friends. On the evening of the 24th of August Captain Dawson decided upon reconnoitring Birwa with a force of five hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry, but, when he started the following morning, I learnt that it was his intention to attempt the capture of the fort, of which neither of us knew anything whatever. I ordered the native Chiefs to follow quickly with their two guns and their matchlockmen, and in vain recommended that ladders and hand grenades should be taken on.

Nearly all the villages on our route were deserted, and the guides were so terrified that they led us astray through high and wet fields of cultivation, and only recovered themselves as we neared the first fortified post of the enemy, which was precipitately abandoned by everybody but an idiot, who was shot. From the walls of the fort, which was built of mud on a high mound over-looking the country, we saw the long outer defences of Birwa, the inner works being completely concealed by graceful bamboo trees with their branches closely entwined. To the east, west, and north, the defences were hidden altogether by the same plant, which grew close up to the walls, and seemed to be impenetrable. The ramparts of the south front were crowded with armed men, and some of the enemy loitered in a hamlet below us, till Captain Melvill advanced with his cavalry, and drove them into the fort. Under cover of the brushwood the infantry approached and stopped on the plain facing the south line.

I again ventured to urge that the assault be delayed till the native Chiefs arrived with their men and guns, when they could be usefully employed in diverting the attention of some of the enemy to the west. But Dawson despised them, and at once advanced against the fort, from which a rapid fire of guns and matchlocks were (sic,) directed against him. I succeeded in drawing him, from the whole of the front fire, to the west angle, where he was able to form up his men, under cover, within a few yards of the walls. The native officers here asked to be led to the assault by me, and Dawson readily consenting, they followed me to the nearest bastion, from which we dislodged the enemy. With only fourteen men it was impossible to cross the ditch, which was twelve feet broad and fourteen feet deep. But the suddenness of the assault drove

the enemy from the breastwork overlooking us, and none of them would return till they observed me unsupported by the main body, which lingered in the jungle. My comrades now began to fall, and I was myself only saved, by the devotion of two Sikhs, who threw themselves before me, and were killed. I sent back a Sikh to urge on the reserve and, as he left, a bullet struck the revolver in my belt, and threw me down. I rose and was then slightly wounded in the shoulder as I pointed to the loopholes before us to frighten the enemy, who did not perceive that my pistol was unloaded. There was still time to benefit by the position I had gained, but no one advanced from the Jungle, and I was again wounded by a bullet which passed into the right shoulder, and splintered the top of the bone. The gallant fellows with me were killed or disabled, and I was alone for half-a-minute, when some Sikhs and Hindsoestances rushed to my assistance, followed by Captain Dawson, who went back for support on my offering to hold my ground. My wounds bled profusely, and in another minute my companions were all disabled. I was now weak and helpless, and with difficulty staggered back to the jungle, pursued by the fire and yells of the rebels, and protected by a miracle. Captain Dawson, supported by his spirited Adjutant, Lieut. French, attempted to force the defences, but the right moment for action was missed, and he was repulsed with the loss of many gallant men.

To attempt to capture one of the strongest forts in Oudh without ladders and without guns was presumptuous; but it was not impracticable, for the two defeats of the enemy at Ruheemabad and Sundeela had greatly disheartened them, and, if the first assault had been followed up, the place would have been abandoned. The native Chiefs reached us after the repulse, and, carried in a sedan, I employed their two guns, and matchlockmen, to check any impudent attempt to pursue us while the wounded were cared for, and the police rested under the shade of the trees at a distance. Captain Melvill, with his cavalry, cut up some of the rebels who flew from the fort at the first attack, and he prevented reinforcements reaching them from a neighbouring *Talookdar*. My wounds were bound up with a wet cloth, and in the evening the police force returned to Sundeela.

I posted Bharut Singh, *Talookdar*, in the fortification abandoned by the rebels on our advance, and with three

hundred of his followers, and two guns, he subsequently prevented their taking any advantage of our mishap. Dr. Cape skillfully extracted the bullet from my shoulder, and I endeavoured to discharge my office duties; but the pain increased, and I became so weak, that Captain Alexander Orr had to be sent out to relieve me and I was carried into Lucknow, where I was attended by the Civil Surgeon, Dr. Douglas.

A month after my departure a force of about twenty thousand rebels, with guns and cavalry, crossed the river Goompty; the Military Police did nothing to stop them and they were soon surrounded and besieged in the town of Sundeela. The infantry, under the command of Captain Dawson, with Graham, French, and Dr. Cape, successfully resisted the efforts of the enemy to reach the large buildings in which they were entrenched; and when Sir George Barker arrived, two days after, with a small force, (composed of the Rifle Brigade of the 2nd Battalion, the 38th and 88th Foot, and two squadrons of the 2nd Dragoon Guards), the police sallied out, and assisted to clear the town, which the rebels gave up with little opposition.

The enemy stopped at a village five miles off, and prepared to defend an admirable position on a mound with low brush-wood protecting their flanks. The following afternoon Sir George Barker attacked them. The police carried the right; the cavalry drove back the left; and the European infantry broke in upon the centre and captured the guns; the 2nd Dragoon Guards, commanded by the dashing Colonel Seymour, and the Police Cavalry led by Captains Graham and Chamberlain, and Lieutenant Hawkins, followed the enemy for several miles; and, before the pursuit closed, over fourteen hundred of the enemy encumbered the line of retreat, among carts, cattle, litters, tumbrils, and loose baggage abandoned in their great haste to get away.¹

REVOLUTIONARIES AT HASANPUR

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, 1st Sept. 1858, 7/30 p.m., to E. A. Reade, Agra.

The Telegram recd. from Lucknow within the last

¹ T. H. Kavanagh : "*How I won the Victoria Cross*" (London 1860), Pp. 182-186.

day or two informs us that on the 28th the rebels were active throwing shot into our camp near Sultanpore. On the morning of the 29th the cantonment was occupied without opposition the rebels retiring on Hussenpore where seven thousand of them with eight guns are still said to be assembled. The cantonments were found destroyed.¹

REVOLUTIONARIES ACTIVE IN AMETHI

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, 2nd Sept. 1858, 7/30 p.m., to E. A. Reade, Agra.

AMETHI

It is reported from Sultanpore in Oude that the rebels intend to fall back on Amcetea the stronghold of the rebel Raja Lall Madho Sing and partly on Mozuffernugger which is about 10 miles from Sultanpore.²

News-letter from Munna Lal Pandey to Captain Adolphus Orr, Superintendent, Intelligence Department, No. 133, news of the Zila Mallanwan etc. written on Saturday 10 p.m. in the night of September 4, 1858 and despatched on September 5, at 6 a.m. in the morning.

1. Billoo Harkara whom I sent on August 26 towards the north has returned today. He relates what he saw with his own eyes. From his narrative of August 31 and Sept. 1, the following information has been taken.

KHAN ALI KHAN

Khan Ali Khan is at Naurangabad³. He has a following of 8000 rebel horsemen, 4000 *Tilangas*, 3000 matchlockmen and 15 guns.

KHAN BAHADUR IN PIPRI

2. Khan Bahadur, the Bareilly rebel, is in *Mauza Pipri*⁴ and has about 2000 *Tilangas*, 2000 horsemen and eleven guns.

¹ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

² *Ibid.*

Marginal notes in the Original :

³ *Naurangabad*, 12 miles to the south-west of *Mithowlie*.

⁴ *Mauza Pipri*, 2 miles south of *Naurangabad*.

WILAYAT SHAH IN ALIPUR

3. Wilayat Shah, *Chela* (follower) of the late Dunka Shah, rebel, is in *Mauza* Alipur¹. He has six hundred horsemen, four hundred *Tilangas* and three guns. There is no rebel army in Sikandrabad and Gokaran Mahadev².

QAZI IN HAIDARABAD

4. There is a person named Qazi, a rebel *Tahsildar* of four *Muhals* and a resident of Kheri. This rogue is at Hyderabad³ and has a following of one hundred horsemen, eight or nine hundred *Tilangas* and three guns.

LONI SINGH

5. Raja Loni Singh, *Taluqadar* of Mithowlic, is in Mithowlic⁴ *garhi*. There is an army of 100 rebel horsemen and about 4000 matchlockmen and of bad characters in the *garhi*. There are also 19 guns.

NAURANGABAD

6. 100 horsemen, 400 *Tilangas* and matchlockmen with one gun have come, in the Naurangabad⁵, *Ilaka* Khyrabad Moghal Wala for the re-inforcement of Namadar Khan *Chakledar*, the rebel, who is in Berpara⁶.

¹ *Alipur*—1 mile west of *Mitnowlic*. *Hyderabad* is 25 miles to the west and 126 miles north-west of Lucknow—Marginal note in Original.

² Apparently *Gola*, Pargana *Haidarabad* Tahsil *Muhamdi* Distt *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).

³ *Haidarabad*, Pargana *Haidarabad* Tahsil *Muhamdi* Distt. *Kheri*—This village, which gives its name to the pargana, lies in latitude 28° 3' north and longitude 80° 25' east, on the east 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).

Notes in the margin of the Original :

⁴ *Mithowlic* is 102 miles north of *Lucknow*.

⁵ *Naurangabad II* is 22 miles north of *Sandila*. *Berpara* is (MSS torn away) miles east of *Naurangabad* and 20 miles north of *Sandila*.

GARHI PURWA

7. It has been learnt from the news of today, Sept. 3, that Gulab Singh, *Karinda* of Chandrika Bakhsh, Chandrika Bakhsh himself, Lakkar Shah *Badmash* and Jet Bahadur, Raja Parbandawala are all there in *Garhi Purwa*¹. There are also about 3000 matchlockmen and *Tilangas* and 11 guns, big and small.

LONA MAU

8. It has been learnt today, September 3, that Baldeo Singh, rebel *Zemindar* of Lona Mau² is in the *Garhi* of Deorhi³ where are about 300 matchlockmen and two guns. They are accomplices of Gulab Singh, rebel.⁴

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, 6th September 1858, 1/15 p. m., to E. A. Reade, Agra.

REVOLUTIONARIES IN SULTANPUR

It is reported from the Punjab that the men of the 62nd and 69th N. I. have broken away from Mooltan & the Adj. of the Bombay Fusiliers and four Artillery men killed. No further particulars received from Sultanpore, Oude. We hear that nearly all the Rebels are at Jugdeespore twenty miles from Sultanpore on the Lucknow road. They number about five thousand, and are said to have eight guns. In the Fort of Ameytee (Amethi) there are reported to be one thousand men and 22 guns.

The rest of the rebels have gone to their homes or to Biswara (Baiswara). The Boats at Sultanpore and the Bridge would probably be ready by the 2nd instant.⁵

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, 10th Sept. 8/15, to E. A. Reade, Agra.

The following has been received from Sultanpore Via

Nos. 1 to 3 are marginal notes in the Original:

¹ *Purwa* is 10 miles west-north of *Sandila*.

² *Lona Mau* in north of *Sandila*.

³ *Deorhi* is 5 miles north of *Sandila*. *Sandila* is 32 miles east and north of *Lucknow*.

⁴ Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*.

⁵ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Lucknow, to (upto) the seventh instant. At Baitecporc¹ there were one wing of Her Majesty's fifty third, one hundred of Vaughan's Seikhs (Sikhs), one hundred of seventh Hussars, two hundred Hodson's horse and two six-pounders. On the evening of the sixth instt. seven hundred sepoy and sowars crossed the Fyzabad and Sultanpore road; on the seventh they were at Kuppradee, and were supposed to be making for Tanda, where Beikoot Sing² their leader lives, and where they may communicate with some four hundred mutineers on the Azimgurh frontier. The Nusseerabad Brigade is said to be near Amethee with four guns. From other sources it appears that the rebel force which crossed from Boondee (Baundi) to Bairam Ghaut had advanced to Futtehpore. It is rumoured that Nawabgunge on the Fyzabad road is to be attacked by the rebels, and it has consequently been strengthened by a wing of Her Majesty's twenty third and four guns from Lucknow.²

REVOLUTIONARIES ACTIVE AROUND SULTANPUR

Letter No. 1049 of 1858 from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, dated Lucknow, 11th September 1858.

Beyond the movements of the rebels from the vicinity of Sultanpoor, there is not much to report for the last week.

REVOLUTIONARIES CROSS FAIZABAD AND SULTANPUR ROAD

2. A body of 700 Sepoys and Sowars crossed the Fyzabad and Sultanpoor road on the 6th instant, and marched to Kupra Deh (Khapradih), twelve miles east of Sultanpoor and in the direction of Azimgurh from whence they have gone towards Ackburpoor. Mr. Ellis, Assistant Commissioner, who was proceeding on duty in that direction, was nearly cut off by these rebels. General Grant sent a detachment to cut off their retreat, but the rebels appear to have got away.

¹ Apparently, *Pahtipur*.

² Probably 'Baikunth Singh'.

³ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

COMMUNICATIONS OPENED

3. Captain Reid from Sultanpoor reports that the post goes direct to Jounpoor, and communication has been opened out with Pertabgurh. Nearly all the surrounding *Zemindars* have either come in themselves or sent in their representatives. Raja Hussain Ali of Hussunpoor, has sent in his agent. The Amaithee Raja however is still refractory.

SEPOYS INFEST FRONTIER TOWARDS AZAMGARH

4. Mr. Forbes reports all quiet in the Fyzabad district, but several detached bands of sepoys infest the frontier towards Azimgurh. In order to disperse these rebels, he has called upon Roostum Sahai and Raja Man Singh to furnish a *Zemindaree* force of about 800 men with whom to establish police posts at Tanda, Jelalpoor and Ackburpoor. Mr. Forbes was to have accompanied this force, but owing to the near approach of the steamer "Koladyne" with Treasure, he has delayed his departure from Fyzabad.

ZEMINDARS RELUCTANT TO COME IN FOR SETTLEMENT

5. There is still great reluctance on the part of the *Zemindars* to come in for their settlements.

BEGAM'S FORCES

6. In Durriabad, there have been rumours of a threatened attack by the Begum's party from the Gogra side and by the Nusseerabad Brigade from the Sultanpoor side. The Begum's force has been estimated at 5,000 men, but has not yet crossed the Gogra. The Nusseerabad Brigade remains still at Judgeespoor on the southern side of the Goomtee; hesitating to move with this force, is Mehndee Hussain rebel, for some time kept to the dense jungle of Jugdeespoor.

7. To strengthen Nowabgunj Barra Bunkee (Bara Banki), and to support Durriabad, a Wing of H. M's 23rd R. W. Fusiliers marched from Lucknow on the morning of the 10th.

LUCKNOW, BANNI AND UNNAO TRANQUIL

8. In Lucknow City and District quiet prevails.

9. Bunnee, Oonaw(Unnao) and the surrounding country are reported tranquil.

SANDILA

10. At Sundeela Captain Orr has relieved Mr. Kavanagh who has not yet recovered from his wound.

11. The collections for last week amount to Rupees 16,249.¹

ACTIVITIES OF KHAN BAHADUR & BEGAM

News-letter from Baldeo Bux (Bakhsh), Resident of Mohalla Rang Mahal, Shah-jahanpur, dated September 12, 1858.

Before this, I have already sent a letter dated September 5, 1858 and another dated September 10 of the same year containing news of the rebel camp, together with copies of the depositions of the news agents and hope that you must have perused them. Today, Tika, *Zemindar* of Pakarya Sabha, Naurangabad and Pipri, which are situated 8 miles east of Muhamdi, came here and made a statement regarding the conditions prevalent there, before the Collector of the district, a copy of which is also being sent for your perusal. I have not yet received any acknowledgement or reply of the letters sent before this and request that replies may kindly be sent for this as well as for my previous letters.

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Deposition of Tika, son of Paiti Ahir, Zemindar of Pakaria Sabha.

ACTIVITIES OF JAN ALI KHAN AND INAYAT ALI KHAN

Question :—What statement have you to make ?

Answer :—I, the deponent, left the presence of the Collector of Shahjahanpur at 4 *gharis* before sunset, stayed at night in the city at the house of Lala Baldeo Bakhsh, as it was not the proper time to start. The next morning I started for Naurangabad and stayed at my home in Mankapur for the day. On Tuesday I started for Naurangabad and reached there about 6 *gharis* after sunrise. I found the *Zemindars* of

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 8th October 1858, No. 195; National Archives, New Delhi.

Bargawan¹ namely Jan Ali Khan and Inayat Ali Khan and others, still encamped with their army and guns at the same place and busy with realising revenues and calling forth *Zemindars*.

KHAN BAHADUR KHAN

Khan Bahadur Khan had just arrived from Naurangabad at the time I reached there and was talking to Jan Ali Khan about the expenses. Khan Bahadur asked for money to which Jan Ali Khan replied that it would be given only at the time of the first realisation of revenue. I heard this from the people of the army. Some time after, Khan Bahadur Khan left for Pipri seated in a palanquin and followed by his companions. The Nawab of Malagarh, who had also arrived, returned. I stayed at Naurangabad for sometime and then I started for Pipri and reached Khan Bahadur's camp. It was, then, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *pahar* before sunset that a horseman reached from the north and stated that a large number of people were killed in the battle fought at Pilibhit.

WILAYAT SHAH

Thereupon Khan Bahadur's army marched out and both Khan Bahadur and Nawab of Malagarh² with their armies and guns stayed at a village 4 *Kos* distant. I also stayed with this army during the night, and early in the morning preceded the army which was getting ready for the march. I swam across the Kath river at Chintowa Ghat and reached Alipu where Wilayat Shah, the disciple of the murdered Ahmad Ullah Shah was encamped. I found none except ten or twelve watchmen there in the camp and learnt, on enquiry, that the above-named Wilayat Shah, accompanied by the

¹ Apparently *Baragaon* Pargana *Srinagar* Tahsil *Lakhimpur* Distt. *Kheri*—A very large village in the east of the pargana, standing in latitude $27^{\circ} 59'$ north and longitude $80^{\circ} 55'$ east, some eight miles north-east of *Lakhimpur* and a short distance north of the road to *Dhaurahra*. (*District Gazetteers*, *Kheri* 1905, p. 167).

² *Malagarh*, Pargana *Agauta* Tahsil & Distt. *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* 1903, p. 269).

maternal grand-son of Khan Bahadur Khan had gone towards Pilibhit.

NAURANGABAD

After this I returned at once to Naurangabad. When I reached back to Chintowa Ghat, a temporary bridge was being made for the troops and for the other people to cross and the army of Khan Bahadur was encamped on that side of the stream. When I crossed the stream and reached the side of the army, I learnt that the army would encamp at Haidarabad that day and then march north to the *Ilaga* of Pilibhit. After getting this information I went to the village Shiva Garh where I found Raja Ashraf Ali staying with 2 or 3 hundred men and two guns, for the realisation of his dues from the country-side. I stayed for that day at Shiva Garh and the next morning on Thursday, came back to Naurangabad.

JAN ALI KHAN

The same day 300 horsemen of Jan Ali Khan quarrelled for their pay and went east to the Begam. After investigating into the above conditions I stayed there to find further details. The same day, it was learnt through the people in the army, that Jan Ali Khan received Rs. 2000 from the Rajah of Mithauli.

BEGAM SENDS REINFORCEMENTS TO JAN ALI KHAN

The next morning on Friday the Begam sent 200 *Tilangas* from the east to Jan Ali Khan and he quartered them in the grove of Utrain Purwas at Naurangabad and the same day one gun and 200 or 250 men more were sent by Debi Singh, Raghubar Singh and Tilak Singh, *Zemindars* of Bargain. Two guns and the men of these *Zemindars*, who had been at Pipri for sometime past, are still there and it is rumoured that one gun follows behind.

The day I came from Shiv Garh to Naurangabad, some troops of Jan Ali Khan with two guns plundered Maqsood Pur¹. Some men of the *Zemindars* of Bargain also accompanied

¹ In pargana *Pasagawan* Distt. *Kheri*. A tributary, Chuba, which arises a short distance to the north-west of Muhamdi joins the Gomti near Maqsoodpur.

him. Jan Ali Khan's troops with guns have gone to Pasgawan¹, and the men of the *Zemindars* of Pasgawan returned to Naurangabad Pipri. The Commander of the army, which has come to Pasgawan is the brother of Inayat Ali Khan, resident of Shahabad and(manuscript torn out).

I returned after seeing all these things.²

FAIZABAD ROAD BEING THREATENED

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Alld., 13th Sept., 9 a.m., to E. A. Reade, Agra.

The Civil Officer at Fyzabad reports that Raja Maunsing has promised to go himself with fifteen hundred men and three guns to intercept the rebels from Sultanpore who are making towards Tanda. The rebels' forces at Futtypore at Baiyhran Ghaut are still there and threaten the Fyzabad road.³

(Khub Chand Nazir, Adalat Shahjahanpur, gives details of his wanderings and taking service with the rebels as an apology for his conduct during the struggle of 1857 and in the end gives the following information about the armies of the revolutionaries at different centres on the date of writing this letter. (September 14, 1858).

NEWS

<i>Name of the rebel leader</i>	<i>Station</i>	<i>Accounts</i>
Khan Ali Khan resident of Shahjahanpur.	Naurangabad <i>Ilaga</i> of Muhamdi.	Staying at Naurangabad with 7000 horsemen 2500 <i>Tilangas</i> , 5000 <i>Najibs</i> and 16 or 17 guns. Day before Yesterday he went to Pasgawan and returned therefrom after one day's stay.

¹ *Pasgawan*, Pargana *Pasgawan* Tahsil *Muhamdi* Distt. *Kheri*—The capital of the pargana is a good village, though of no great size, lying in latitude 27° 49' north and longitude 80° 10' east, at a distance of nine miles south of Muhamdi, with which it is connected by an unmetalled road. (*District Gazetteers*, *Kheri* 1905, p. 240).

² Lucknow Chief Court *Mutiny Basta*.

³ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

<i>Name of rebel leader</i>	<i>Station</i>	<i>Accounts</i>
Loni Singh Raja of Mithauli.	Naurangabad <i>Ilaga</i> of Muhamdi.	Accompanies Khan Ali Khan with 2000 foot-soldiers, guns and ammunition.
Khan Bahadur Khan Nawab of Bareilly.	Haidarabad, <i>Ilaga</i> of Muhamdi.	Staying at Haidarabad with one thousand horse-men, 2 or 3 hundred <i>Tilangas</i> , one thousand <i>Najibs</i> and 8 guns.
Fazal Haq of Shahjahanpur.	Pihani, <i>Ilaga</i> of Muhamdi.	Staying at Pihani and Padroah with four thousand horsemen, nine hundred <i>Najibs</i> and 3 guns and is levying revenue.
Wilayat Shah, disciple of Ahmad Ullah Shah.	Alipur, <i>Ilaga</i> of Muhamdi.	Staying at Alipur with 900 horsemen and 500 <i>Najibs</i> .
Firoz Shah.	Khairabad.	Sent by the Begam of Lucknow to Khairabad.
Begam of Lucknow.	Bondhi. (or Baundi)	Staying at Bondhi on the other side of Sarda river, with foot-soldiers and horsemen. ¹

REVOLUTIONARIES ACTIVE IN FAIZABAD, TANDA, ETC.

Letter No. 1088 of 1858 from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, dated Lucknow, 18th September 1858.

I am directed to submit the narrative of events in Oudh for the week ending 18th Instant.

REVOLUTIONARIES AT AKBARPUR

From Fyzabad, Mr. Forbes reports, that the rebels are in force at Ackburpoor (Akbarpur) and have attacked the Police Post of Iltifat Gunj, which lies halfway between Fyzabad

¹ Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*.

and Tanda on the Gogra. This post was held by Baboo Rustum Schai several of whose men were killed.

TANDA

Rajah Abbas Ali of Tanda, reports the arrival of the mutineers there after the affair at Ilifat Gunj. Accounts agree fairly as to the number of the enemy being 3,000 infantry and 200 horsemen.

The enemy's picquets over the river Gogra, opposite to Ajoodhia, are strong and watchful, and Mr. Forbes's feint of an attack, by preparing boats, as if to cross over the river there, has had the effect of drawing the rebels away from the Amorha post.

MENHDI HUSAIN

The movement of the rebels across the Fyzabad and Sultanpoor road, mentioned in the second paragraph of my last week's report, was made by Mehndee Hussain entirely to divert attention from his own force. He is still in the Jugdeespoor Jungle, west of Sultanpoor on the Lucknow Road. Raja Lall Madho Singh of Amathce is continuing vigorously his preparations, collecting provision and ammunition in his Fort and Jungle.

Captain Reid reports favorably of the Sultanpoor District generally. The *Zemindars* are coming in rapidly to receive settlements of their lands.

PRATABGARH STILL IN THE HANDS OF REVOLUTIONARIES

Mr. Carnegie is at Pertabgurh but as the most part of his district is still in the enemy's hands the *Zemindars* though willing are afraid to come in.

The Steamer which was bringing up the Gogra treasure and commissariat stores to the Fyzabad and Sultanpoor force has been detained at Burhul for want of pilot.

DARIABAD AND RUDAULI

The Durriabad District has still been subjected to the rumours of a combined attack. The *Tehseel* of Rudowlee was attacked by the rebels on the 10th and the *Tehseeldar* with difficulty escaped. The rebels infest the Soorujpoor *pergunnah* where they are harboured by the *Zemindars*.

From Bunnee and Oonao on the Cawnpoor road all is reported quiet.

SANDILA

Captain Orr reported from Sundeela early in the week that Hurpershad, Lukkur Shah and Namdar Khan with a force of 7,000 men with 7 guns were about to cross from the Khyrabad *Pergunnah*, over the Goomtee to attack Sundeela. Namdar Khan did cross the river at the Huttia Hurru¹ Ferry 12 miles north of Sundeela on the 13th September with a few men, but returned again the next day. It is very doubtful whether Hurpershad would venture to attack Sundeela which has been strengthened by a detachment from the Military Police of 500 infantry and 300 cavalry under the command of Lieutenant Hill.

FIROZ SHAH AT NAURANGABAD

Feroz Shah and the other Delhi Princes are at Nowrunga-bad 14 miles south of Mohomdec with 1500 men and 5 guns.

Hushmut Ali who was sent by Mr. Kavanagh, acting under orders of the Chief Commissioner to Mean Gunj, 18 miles south of Sundeela, occupies that place with his followers and holds the surrounding country quiet.

NARPAT SINGH

Nurput Singh of Rohia has lost in a fight with some *Zemindars* his confidential agent Madho who had the entire management of Nurput Singh's affairs, he himself being paralytic.

Nearer Lucknow Drigbijai Singh of Malona had made his appearance again and having plundered the villages of Moway² and Sirsowa in the Lucknow *Tehseel* 12 miles north of Lucknow has ventured to establish his own posts there.

The Chief Commissioner has called for a report from all officers of the roads, ferries, forts, jungles and turbulent villages

¹ A mile south-west of *Kalyanmal*, Tahsil *Sandila* Distt. *Hardoi*.

² Apparently *Mewai*, Pargana *Mauranwan* Tahsil *Purwa* Distt. *Unao*—It is situated in latitude 26° 23' north and longitude 80° 59' east, at a distance of seven miles from Mauranwan. (*District Gazetteers*, Unao 1903, p. 202).

with the best halting places for troops throughout this province. This information has been ordered to be sent in by the 25th of this month and when compiled will be placed before His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

The collections for last week amount to Rs. 13,958/-

PROCLAMATION OF THE DELHI PRINCE

A proclamation issued by one of the Delhi Princes on the Azimghurh frontier has been intercepted by Mr. Forbes at Fyzabad, and a translation is forwarded for the perusal of the Right Honorable the Governor General.¹

REVOLUTIONARIES ENTRENCH IN AN ISLAND ON THE GHAGRA RIVER

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, 22nd Sept., 11 a.m., to E. A. Reade, Agra.

The following intelligence has just been received from Lucknow. The Civil Officer at Durriabad reports a successful action on the eighteenth against the rebels posted on an Island on the Gogra River. Two companys (sic,) of Europeans with Kuppurtullah contingent and some of Hodson's Horse drove three thousand rebels out of their entrenched position on the Island. The Rajah's artillery played on fugitives, sinking boat loads, and it is supposed that about one thousand were killed. Two of the enemies' leaders reported killed; our loss not severe.²

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, 24th Sept., 8 p.m., to E. A. Reade, Agra.

The following message has just been received from Lucknow. The Civil Officer with the column which left here on the night of the twenty-second to attack the enemy at Salimpore reports the position taken, five hundred of the enemy slain and their guns taken.³

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 8th October 1858, No. 196; National Archives, New Delhi.

² Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

³ *Ibid.*

ACTIVITIES OF RAM SINGH & MUSAHIB ALI

Letter No. 1112 of 1858 from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Govt. of India with the Governor General, dated Lucknow, 25th September 1858.

I am directed to submit the narrative of events for the week ending 15th instant.

DARIABAD

On the 18th Major Carnegie, Depty. Commr. of Durriabad, accompanied by the Kupoorthulla Contingent and two Companies of Europeans marched from Durriabad 12 miles north to an island in the River Gogra and attacked Ram Singh, who with 3000 men had taken up an entrenched position. The rebels were entirely routed with a loss of 450 men, and one gun. The casualties on our side were 1 European and 3 Sikhs killed besides several wounded.

MUSAHIB ALI

This defeat gave a check to the rebels on the north, but towards the south Mosahib Alee and his party harassed the country around Nawabgunj Bara Bunkee and drove in the police post of Sufdurgunj 10 miles east of Nawabgunj and again on the 22nd instant attacked the post of Purtabgunj 5 miles east of Nawabgunj.

Mosahib Alee had taken up a position at the village of Saleempoor on the Goomtee 24 miles east of Lucknow which he entrenched and having boats at his disposal was able to cross over the river with his force at will.

Whilst he approached within 2 miles of Nawabgunj on the north, his followers plundered the village of Bijnore 9 miles south of Lucknow and within 3 miles of the Cawnpocr road.

On the 22nd arrangements were made for attacking Mosahib Alee and a force of 250 Europeans, 500 Infantry, the Military Police, 700 sabres Military Police and 2 Horse Artillery Guns made a night attack and reached Saleempoor early the next morning. The official account of the proceedings has not yet been received by the Chief Commissioner who accompanied the force. He reports that the expedition was eminently successful. The enemy were surprised but stood to their entrenchments for a while. The place was carried

after a sharp fight, and with a loss to the rebels of about 700 men killed and 4 guns captured.

SALIMPUR

To cooperate with this force, orders had been sent to the Officer commanding at Nawabgunj to effect a movement in the direction of Saleempoor, in order to drive the rebels back. This movement was not as decisive as could have been desired. The rebels fled and escaped with but little loss.

Mosahib Alee escaped with some of his cavalry but his younger brother, and another leader named Khooshal were killed by the force operating from Lucknow and his force is completely broken up. Our Troops have now returned to Gooshaingunj 15 miles east of Lucknow which will be held by a Wing of H. M.'s 27th Regiment with 2 guns. To these Chief Commissioner has added two hundred infantry and 200 cavalry of the Military Police. Mr. Kavanagh has been directed to proceed there as Civil Officer.

From Fyzabad and Sultanpoor the District Officers report favourably. Raja Man Singh has moved with his force to Begumgunj and Iltifatgunj on the bank of the Gogra.

REVOLUTIONARIES COLLECT REVENUE

The Chief Commissioner receives intelligence from all sides that the rebels are commencing to collect the revenue of the autumn harvest, and he anticipates great loss to our revenue if active operations are long delayed. He has this day ordered notices to be circulated that any parties paying revenue will have no deduction made hereafter.

SISSAINDI ATTACKED

On the 23rd Lieutenant Thompson, Assistant Commissioner Bannee, with a detachment of Police under Lieutenant Smith attacked the Town of Sussendee 12 miles east where the rebels had established a Post and after a slight skirmish drove out the rebels, taking one large but unserviceable gun.

From Oonao and Sundeela there have been no news of importance.

The collections for the week amount to Rupees 14108.¹

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 15th October 1858, No. 278; National Archives, New Delhi.

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, 25th Sept., 6/10 p.m., to E. A. Reade, Agra.

The following details of the affairs at Selimpore had been recd. from Lucknow. The force which left on the night of the 22nd to attack the rebels at Selimpore consisted of 250 European Infantry, 400 Police Cavalry and 2 nine-pounder guns. They arrived at 9 A. M. of the 23rd having marched about 24 miles. Major Bulwer commanded the Cavalry, (and) at once surrounded the place. The position which was most strongly entrenched was immediately stormed. A prolonged conflict ensued and much house fighting resulting in a loss to the enemy of between 6 (600) and 700 killed and 4 guns taken besides a quantity of arms and elephants. It is supposed that 3 men of importance are killed, one being the brother of Moosahib Ally. Our loss is, as far as is known 2 Europeans killed and about 15 wounded. One officer, Lieut. Moore slight contusion. Police force 5 killed and 18 wounded.¹

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Alld., 28th Sept., 6 p.m., to E. A. Reade, Agra.

The following is from Lucknow dated 27th inst. The rebels who had established themselves at Sunsasgurli² after driving out the *thanah* were attacked on the twenty third instant by Lieutt. Smith from Bunnee with five hundred Police Infantry, forty five sowars and a three-pounder gun. The rebels fled without resistance leaving three killed and two taken prisoners. Our loss two men slightly wounded.³

REVOLUTIONARIES NEAR DARIABAD

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, 29th Sept. 1858, 9 p.m., to E. A. Reade, Agra.

The following message dated the twenty nine has been received from Lucknow. On the twenty seven at one A.M. the Kuppurthulla Contingent aided by eighty Hodson's Horse attacked some two thousand rebels located fifteen miles from the Derriabad in a South-Easterly direction beyond Sooruj-

¹&³ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

² It can be read as "Lunsasgurh" also, in the original text.

pore. The rebels fled and were pursued by the Artillery and Cavalry who captured two five-pounder guns and killed some fifty of the enemy. Our loss two or three slightly wounded.¹

DARIABAD, SALIMPUR AND DEEH

Letter No. 1152 of 1858 from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Govt. of India with the Governor General, dated Lucknow, 2nd October 1858.

I am directed to submit the narrative of proceedings for the week ending 2nd October.

SURAJPUR DARIABAD

2. On the 27 September, Major Carnegie, Deputy Commissioner of Darrecabad, proceeded with a portion of the Raja of Kupoorthalla's Contingent to Kuthaya 15 miles south of Durriabad, where about 2,000 rebels had collected; and had taken up a strong position in the Soorajpoor jungle, on the south of the Rurhee Nuddee². The enemy was defeated and pursued as far as the Gomtee; and lost 2 guns and 50 men.

EFFECT OF ATTACK ON SALIMPUR

3. The effect of the successful attack on Selemoor has been very apparent all round Lucknow; and in the direction of Nawabgunj Bara Bunkee, Sundeela, Bunnee, and Oonao quiet has prevailed.

4. The Brigadier commanding at Nawabgunj on the Cawnpoor road, marched on the 28th September to Rasoolabad, 16 miles west, but met no enemy, and the rain being very heavy, he returned at once to Nawabgunj.

REVOLUTIONARIES AT DEEH

5. From Fyzabad Mr. Forbes reports that the enemy had crossed the Gomtee in force above Sooltanpoor, and taken up a position at Deeh, about 20 miles West of Silka, on the Fyzabad and Sooltanpoor road; Rajah Man Singh was ordered to march to the Marhur Nuddee (river) near Bhadursa in order

¹ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

² Nuddee—a river.

to prevent the enemy making a move eastward, Capt. Payne being stationed at Silka for the same purpose.

6. Plundering and enforcement of revenue payment appear to have been carried on to a great extent in the East of Oudh.

7. From Sooltanpoor, Captain Reid writes that Raja Lall Madho Singh of Amethi is reported to have commenced burying his guns, and preparing for flight. Rumours of the approach of an over-whelming force, and superstitious fears caused by the appearance of the comet, have induced a belief that his destruction is inevitably at hand.

8. Treasuries have been regularly established, and opened for the ordinary business transactions at Fyzabad, and Sooltanpoor. The Mullaon Treasury will temporarily be opened at Sundeela.

9. The collections for last week amount to Rupees 23,697.¹

MALIHABAD

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated Allahabad, 6th Octr. 1858.

The following dated the 5th Octr. has been received from Lucknow. On the 3rd Octr. Hurechand with six thousand men and eight guns crossed the Goomtee ten miles north of Sundeela. He was joined by several other *Zemindars*. On the morning of the fourth, he came within three miles of Sundeela with twelve thousand men and twelve guns. Capt. Dawson at Sundeela entered a fortified enclosure with one thousand four hundred Infantry and sent his five hundred Cavalry back to Mulliabad. There are one hundred Police Foot at Raheemabad. On the 4th Octr. the rebels entered the western side of Sundeela. On the same evening a force of twelve hundred men H. M. 88th Regt. with two nine-pounder guns and two five and a half inch mortars, two hundred and fifty Police Cavalry and six hundred Police Foot marched to Muthela² whence they will advance with five hundred Cavalry sent back from Sundeela.³

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 15th October 1858, No. 279 National Archives, New Delhi.

² Can be read as *Mulhela* also.

³ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

FIGHT AT MIANGANJ

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to C. Beadon, Calcutta; H. L. Andisson, Bombay; T. Pycroft, Madras; Sir J. Lawrence, Lahore; E. A. Reade, Agra, dated Allahabad, 8th Octr. 1858, 4 p.m.

The Chief Commissioner of Oude sends the following from the Civil Officer at Nuwabgunge, Cawnpore. A force under Brigadier Eveleigh of four guns, one hundred and fifty Cavalry and two hundred Infantry met the rebels at Meangunge on the evening of the 5th. Captured two guns all they had; killed and wounded two hundred. The rebels numbered one thousand Infantry two hundred Cavalry and two guns, our loss two or three sowars killed five or six wounded. The Civil Officer at Sundecla reports that on the 7th October the rebels were driven out of the town after some hours fighting losing one gun and more than one hundred killed. Our loss is one Police Foot killed and one wounded; in Capt. Dawson's entrenchment one Artillery man killed; more not known but loss is very slight.¹

COMBAT AT SANDILA

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated Allahabad, 11th October, 6 p. m.

A force marched from Shahjehanpore on the 8th October and came up with the rebels at Beekhomer four miles on the other side of the Sookuta Nuddee; three hundred rebels were killed and two guns out of three taken. Our loss about twenty killed and wounded. The following has been received from Lucknow in continuation of yesterday's message regarding the action near Sundecla. Our column after taking the village of Pamoo four miles from Sundecla by assault pursued the enemy for ten miles, the enemy were beat up (sic,) of very difficult ground and there was a continued succession of single combats. Our loss, Europeans two officers wounded, Lieutt. Green of the Rifles severely, and seven Privates. Police four killed and forty-four wounded, five Hussars killed and twenty wounded, or missing; the loss of the rebels on the second day all agree in estimating at about one thousand killed on the

¹ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

field, and three guns captured. Many sepoys were in the field, two thousand Police Foot and five hundred Cavalry will be left at Sundecla.¹

FIGHT AT PAWAYAN : 8TH OCT. 1858

News-letter from Hidayat Ullah Khan, resident of Mohalla Terni, adjacent to Rangin Chopal, Shahjahanpur, to Captain Adolphus O.r, Superintendent of the Intelligence Department of Oudh (Awadh), dated October 16, 1858.

I have already submitted a detailed account of the fight with the rebels at Pasgawan and am now placing before you the remaining accounts of Powayan (Pawayan), 12 *Kos* north of Shahjahanpur. About 8000 rebels attacked Powayan on October 8, 1858, a *pahar* after sunrise. They fired many shots. As there is a huge trench, beside the *Garhi* of Raja Jagannath Singh, close to the village Powayan, they could not enter the town but fired from the outside. As, inside the *Garhi* also, there were some English army with four guns and Captain Dickens, besides the troops of the Raja of Powayan, the two armies showered shots on each other.

During the battle, two of the enemy's guns broke down, one burst at the mouth, another sank into the earth by a half, and one of their big officers was killed. They buried his body in a plain 3 *Kos* east of Powayan and Captain Dickens got it dug out after the rebels had left but it could not be identified. It is now said that he was one named Mosam Ali Khan, resident of *Mauza Farrukhabad*.

The rebels came to Powayan with eight thousand foot-soldiers and horsemen and four guns and retired after defeat to the village Pasgawan where other rebel groups were stationed. On October 12, Raja Jagannath Singh and his brother Baldev Singh presented themselves to Mr. Money (?) the Collector and applied for two guns which the Collector allowed him. On the 14th Oct., he set out for Powayan four *gharis* before sunset. The rebel attacks intensify towards Powayan and Shahjahanpur. Khan Ali Khan and others levy the revenues from *Zemindars* and others and distribute wages to the *Tilangas*, horsemen and *Najibs*. A horseman

¹ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

gets 6 as. and a foot-man an anna and a half per day and the Gohar troopers do not get any wages.

It is known at Shahjahanpur that on Oct. 8, when the rebels after the defeat took to flight and went to Padora where Khan Ali Khan met them, they told him that he did not help them. He reported that they had fled away like cowards. Then a *Tilanga* fired upon him and the bullet struck him on the shoulder. It was a rumour at Shahjahanpur that Khan Ali Khan was killed and that was even announced there; but it has now been learnt that he is alive and is at Pasgawan.

LONI SINGH

The rebels have congregated thus—Loni Singh, Raja of Mithauli's 1000 Gohars and 1 gun entered Pasgawan on Oct 14, 1858, and he himself is to reach on Oct. 15. Raghubar Singh, Raja of Pargayan's¹ (sic,) 2000 Gohars, one gun and 3 carts of ammunition entered Pasgawan. One gun belonging to Raghubar Singh, named above, has been captured by the English and he has only one left.

RAJA ASHRAF ALI OF MUHAMDI

Raja Ashraf Ali of Muhamdi is at Pasgawan with 4 guns and 4000 Gohar soldiers and 2 cart-loads of ammunition, one being full of shells and the other has gun-powder packed in casks.

RAJA JANG BAHADUR

Raja Jung Bahadur, the first authority in Dhekwa has swooped down upon Pasgawan with 2000 Gohars and one gun. He has no ammunition.

KHAN ALI KHAN

Khan Ali Khan has a following of 5 *Tilanga Paltans* and has four guns. Nothing is known about ammunition which is stored in a house at Pasgawan. There are also 3000 horsemen and Khan Ali Khan is the head of this whole army.

¹ This appears to be wrongly written for *Pasgawan*.

FIROZ SHAH

Firoz Shah has started for some place, name not known, with one thousand horsemen and one *Paltan* of *Najibs*.

MADAR ALI KHAN

Madar Ali Khan, a resident of Bareilly is the commander of Khan Bahadur Khan's army. He has only 1000 horsemen, 2000 foot-soldiers and 2 small field-pieces. He has a small quantity of ammunition loaded in a cart. He is staying in Pasgawan with this army. Pasgawan is situated 10 *Kos* east of Shahjahanpur and 10 *Kos* west and south of Muhamdi. The army at Pasgawan intends coming down upon Shahjahanpur. There are also troops in Mohi-Uddinpur, Sanwaria and Ratanpur but their strength is not known in details. It is heard that there are one or two hundred foot-men or horsemen for collecting revenue.

BRITISH SPIES BELABOURED

Gyan Singh, the man I had sent for the above-noted news also states that 4 spies were caught at Pasgawan on Oct. 14, 1858. They had a suspicious appearance and were therefore caught and belaboured. At last, one of them—a shepherd—admitted that he was a spy and the other three, like him also, were sent by Captain Dickens from Pawayan. Consequently the noses of all the three were cut by the order of Khan Ali Khan and the person who had confessed that he was a spy was also shot dead after his nose had been cut.

On Friday, October 15, 1858 at 4 *gharis* after sunrise, one platoon of Scotch Highlanders called *Inti Thath* and one Gorkha Platoon, with 6 guns mounted on horses and other means of transport reached Shahjahanpur. They have arrived from Bareilly and are going to Sitapur. It is believed that the army posted at Shahjahanpur will also go with them to Sitapur. One picket of horsemen of *Risala Multani* is posted at Gauri, 5 *Kos* south-east of Shahjahanpur and one of its horsemen happened to go alone to one of the villages where there happened to be some rebels who cut his head and took possession of his horse and arms. The horsemen of his picket brought his dead body over to this side.

Today on October 16, 1858, there was a strong rumour in the city that the rebels had reached close to Shahjahanpur.

All the residents of Shahjahanpur were agitated and struck with terror. The army of the British thereupon reached the bank of the river Khanaut to face them. A part of the army went over to the other side of the river and another remained this side. At last the short-sighted rebels did not come to this place and upto this time when a *pahar* of the day is still left they are not traccable. The British army is ready to resist them if they come. Whatever happens will be communicated later on. I have not yet appointed *Harkaras* as ordered. Their appointments will be made after their salary is known and the names of four, after their appointment, will be communicated to you. I have sent a letter intimating the conditions obtaining here and enquiring about the salary of the *Harkaras*, on Oct. 8, 1858 but, as no reply has so far been received, it is requested that the orders be communicated to me.¹

REVOLUTIONARIES ASSEMBLE AT PASGAWAN

News-letter from Baldeo Bux (Bakhshi), Muhalla Rang Mahal, Shahjahanpur, dated October 17, 1858.

I am herewith submitting a report about the assemblage of the rebel army in the *Ilcqa* of Pasgawan and a list, name-wise of their officers, prepared after repeated investigation and enquiry through trusted men deputed for this purpose. A copy has been sent to the Collector of the District and another is being sent for your perusal.

Pasgawan proper is 12 *Kos* cast of Muhandi and Shahjahanpur.

Here is a person named Soba Singh *Subedar*. His place of residence is not known. He has 150 *Tilangas*, two guns of average size and 2 boxes of ammunition. It is known as the *Paltan* of 150 *Tilangas* and is named as *Paltan Gool*. The *Tilangas* of this *Paltan* are

Mauza Sanwaria—This village is one *Kos* south of Pasgawan. At this station—

(1) Jan Ali Khan, Commander of the entire army posted in the *Ilaga* of Pasgawan is staying here.

(2) Mazhar Ali Khan, brother of Jan Ali Khan with an army of 1000 rebel horsemen, 5 guns and four cartloads of ammunition.

¹ Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*.

old rebels and *Badmashes* and bad characters who were formerly in the service of the company.

(3) 20 stalwart *Tilangas*, old *Badmashes* called volunteers, are under Jan Ali Khan. They guard the magazine and are highly trusted.

(4) One Zarroo Khan, whose place of residence is unknown, is called *Kaptan* and has a body of 500 *Tilangas*, two guns and 2 boxes of ammunition.

(5) There is a person named Ganga Singh. He has 300 *Tilangas*, one gun and one box of ammunition. There are two *Paltans* named after their commanders, namely *Paltan* of Zarroo Khan *Kaptan* and *Paltan* of Ganga Singh.

(6) There is a person named Ilahi Bakhsh whose place of residence is unknown. He has 500 men newly recruited, but no gun.

(7) Mazhar Ali Khan resident of Khairabad is a *Kumedan*. He has one hundred newly recruited men but no gun.

(8) A certain person named Mian Sahib has 700 horsemen, 1500 foot-soldiers. Among his horsemen there are new recruits as well as old *Badmashes* but his foot-soldiers are all new recruits. There are no guns.

(9) One hundred men have been sent from Mithauli by Raja Loni Singh and a letter has been received that the

remaining 300 men and 2 guns will be sent on the *Daschra* day.

Mauza Mohi - Uddinpur, which is 3 *Kos* west of Pasganwan, has - (1) Inayat Ali Khan a resident of Shahabad with a body of 1100 new recruits and 50 newly recruited horse-men and one gun belonging to Raja Ashraf Ali Khan and one box of ammunition. The foot-soldiers have four officers :-

(i) Basharat Ali, resident of Shahabad.

(ii) Mohd. Bakhsh whose place of residence is not known.

(iii) Mohd. Ali Khan whose place of residence is also not known.

(iv) Mir Khan, resident of Pali. Sheikh Mohd. Ali is *Risaldar* of the cavalry and these 4 persons are *Kumedans*. The eleven hundred men form 4 *Paltans* and the 50 horsemen, a *Risala*. It is known to all that Inayat Ali Khan is the commander of 4 *Paltans* and one *Risala*. Every one of the four *Kumedans* has the strength shown against him:- -

Basharat Ali	100
Mohd. Bakhsh	300
Mohd. Ali Khan	400
Pir Khan	200
Total number under	<u>1100</u>

(2) Raghubar Singh¹, *Ilqadar* of Pasgawan has a following of 200 *Tilangas* who have come from the east and have been kept by Raghubar Singh and 500 men of his own service and of his own brotherhood, two guns and two boxes of ammunition.

(3) Maulvi Fazal Haq resident of Shahjahanpur with a following as detailed below: -- *Tilangas* 300, footmen newly recruited 1000, horsemen, old and new combined 200 and two guns of average size and two boxes of ammunition. He had been staying in Mohi-Uddinpur till now, but has since marched off to *Ilqar* Shahabad.

EMOLUMENTS TO THE REVOLUTIONARIES

It has been learnt about the rebel army that the *Tilangas* and horsemen realise their *Chandi* money any way but the new recruits do not get any *Chandi* money i.e., they have not received their pay for a month. They are short of ammunition but have received ample supplies of food etc. which are being sent by *Ilqadars*.

Saiyid Nisar Husain of Pihani is in-charge of supply. His name is among the *Kumedans*. He has no separate *Paltan*. Sometimes he brings *Top Danish Ali Wale* (men of Danish Ali's artillery) and fifty or a hundred Musalmans of his own brotherhood and of his native town. Nisar Husain has also been entrusted with the work of prompting the *Zemindars* to render help in lieu of exemption of land revenue and in hopes of plunder.

1. This name may be read as 'Raghubir Singh' also.

**KHAN BAHADUR, FIROZ SHAH, ISMAIL KHAN, WILAYAT SHAH
AND BANNEY MIAN ON MUHAMDI SIDE**

There is a rumour that on the Muhamdi side at Biror and Naurangabad, 7 or 8 *Kos* east of Muhamdi, there are seven or eight thousand rebel *Tilangas*, horsemen and new recruits and six or seven guns under Khan Bahadur, Firoz Shah, Ismail Khan, Wilayat Shah and Bunney Mian. But the persons sent for investigation have not yet returned and the report will be submitted with actual details after their return. Persons have also been sent to find out the true news about Fazal Haq who has marched with his following towards Shahabad and about Mazhar Ali Khan, brother of Jan Ali Khan who is known as the General of the army in Mauza Sheora.¹

JALALPUR, AKBARPUR AND BHADAISA

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, dated 18th October 1858, 9 p.m., to E. A. Reade, Agra, and elsewhere.

The Civil Officer at Fyzabad reports as following: Major Raikes' Column fell in with four thousand of the Rebels near Jallalpur on the 14th and killed seventy. No loss on our side. Col. Kelly expects to be at Atrawlee. On the 14th Sir Hope Grant is believed to be at Ackberpore on the Tons River, Col. Simson and Major Raikes at Jallalpur, Col. Payne at Silka and Rajah Maun Sing near Bhadissa.²*

REVOLUTIONARIES RETREAT

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, 22nd October 1858, 9 p.m., to E. A. Reade, Agra.

The following intelligence from Mr. Cole dated 20th Oct. is supplied by the Dy. Magistrate of Sassaram. Col.

¹ Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*.

² Apparently *Bhadarsa*, Pargana *Haveli Oudh Tahsil Fyzabad* A small town on the southern borders of the pargana, lying in latitude 16° 38' north and longitude 82° 7' east, at a short distance west of the main road from Fyzabad to Sultanpur, and ten miles south of the district headquarters. (*District Gazetteers*, Fyzabad 1905, p. 198).

* Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

Turner hearing that the enemy were in full march on Sacreeta marched with his column from Loha headed the enemy with his camel corps at the village of Baga. Sir H. Havelock pressing their rear with his cavalry killed three hundred rebels and about two hundred more in the days' fighting, columns are in pursuit. Our loss one officer, Scriven, Camel Corps, killed, two others wounded and seven or eight men killed or wounded. The following is from Lucknow. The Dy. Commissioner of Pertabghur reports as follows. A force went from Sultanpore on 20th to Doodpoore, defeated Nusseerabad Brigade and took three guns, three elephants and all their materials. The rebels have fled towards Kandoo and Jugdeespoor. The police officer at Sundeela reports the fort of Birwa ten miles north-west of Sundeela was taken on the twenty-first, our loss about fifty wounded not many killed. Lieut. Carnegie of the Engineers badly wounded in blowing open the gate.¹

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, to E. A. Reade, Agra, received on 24th October 1858.

The following intelligence is supplied from Lucknow twenty-three October. The Civil Officer at Jubrowlee reports that five thousand rebels and four guns attacked them this morning. The rebels were repulsed losing about one hundred fifty killed and all their guns. Our Cavalry pursued for six miles, Lieut. Madford of Hodson's horse severely wounded. Our loss trifling, none killed.²

BENI MADHO THREATENS PURWA

Letter No. 1331 from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oude (Awadh), to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Govt. of India with the Governor General, Allahabad, dated Lucknow, 30th October 1858.

FALL OF AMETHI EXPECTED

Since the despatch of last week's narrative, no great progress has been made in the settlement of the Fyzabad Division, but the fall of *Gurh* Amathee which may be expected in a few days, will be doubtless the signal for the landholders in the south-east extremity of Oudh, to submit.

¹ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

General Grant by the last accounts, had defeated the enemy at Kandoo Nudde, and was marching to the west of the Amathee Fort. On the 24th a force marched from Partabgurbh to Deolce, the Rajah of which Fort fled. His guns were taken, and his fort demolished.

BENI MADHO THREATENS CHAMBERLAIN

Bence Madhoo, collecting a force of 10,000 fighting men has for several days threatened Lieutenant Chamberlain at Poorwah. He was accordingly strengthened by Major Bulwer from Introwlee. Yesterday 29th having been fixed by the Begum for an assault, Beni Madhoo made a vigorous attack on all sides of the Poorwa force, but was repulsed after five hours' fighting, with the loss of two guns.

DESTRUCTION OF FORTS AND DISARMING OF THE PEOPLE

The Fort of Birwa, the taking of which was reported in my last week's narrative, has been dismantled by Mr. Kavanagh, Assistant Commr. and several other minor forts which were empty have been destroyed. Around Sundecla the people are being disarmed, and the country is settling into quiet.

MARCH UPON ROHIA

On the 26th Brigadier Barker advanced from Sundecla to attack Rohia in concert with Colonel Hale from Sandec. When within 3 miles of the Fort, on the morning of the 28th, Brigadier Barker learned that Nurput Singh, with his guns and 500 men, had decamped during the previous night, and gone to the north. The Inner Fort was found in ruin, and the outer defences were very weak. Mr. Kavanagh at once commenced the work of demolition, which was to be completed in 4 days.

The Column under Command of Colonel Hale, which left Futch Gurbh on the 18th instant, met with no opposition in entering Palee, and on the 25th took possession of the city and Fort of Sandec. Enayat Alee, with all his force evacuated the place, during the previous night leaving Hurdeo Bux to garrison the town. Col. Hale moved on the following day to Bilgram to co-operate with Brigadier Barker against the Fort of Rohia. Previous to this advance, Nurput Singh had made an effort to secure terms, and the Chief Commissioner offered

him life, honor, & freedom. These offers were conveyed to him by Mr. Berkeley on the 25th, but failed to have effect.

Mr. Berkeley reports that the country around Bilgram and Sandee has suffered much from the ravages of the rebels and cultivation is somewhat scanty.

Brigadier Troup's Column had by last accounts from Colonel Clarke, advanced about 5 miles from Busgaon, and from thence the Brigadier intended to move on Burar.

The Chief Commissioner has directed all officers to call upon *Talooqdars* to furnish strong police posts, and to be responsible for the country, when once our forces have driven away the rebels, until arrangements for a Regular Police can be made.

Major Barrow has been deputed to accompany the Commander-in-Chief as Civil Officer during His Lordship's Military tour through Oudh, and Captains Steel and Thompson, have been placed under his orders.

Lieutenant Eckford, who reported his arrival here on the 27th has been sent to Introwlee, Mr. Anderson having moved on to Poorwa. Lieutenant Hawkins has been this day ordered to remove, from Bunnee to Oonao, Mr. King having been deputed to Bangurmou.¹

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 12th November 1858. No. 196; National Archives, New Delhi.

CHAPTER NINE
RETREAT

**PROCLAMATION BY THE QUEEN (OF ENGLAND) IN COUNCIL,
TO THE PRINCES, CHIEFS, AND PEOPLE OF INDIA**

“Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the colonies and dependencies thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia, Queen, Defender of the Faith.

“Whereas, for diverse weighty reasons, we have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons in Parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the government of the territories in India heretofore administered in trust for us by the Hon. East India Company.

“Now, therefore, we do by these presents notify and declare that, by the advice and consent of aforesaid, we have taken upon ourselves the said government; and we hereby call upon all our subjects within the said territories to be faithful and to bear true allegiance to us, our heirs and successors, and to submit themselves to the authority of those whom we may hereafter from time to time see fit to appoint to administer the government of our said territories, in our name and on our behalf.

“And we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability, and judgment of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin and councillor, Charles John, Viscount Canning, do hereby constitute and appoint him, the said Viscount Canning, to be our first Viceroy and Governor General in and over our said territories, and to administer the government thereof in our name, and generally to act in our name and on our behalf, subject to such orders and regulations as he shall, from time to time, receive from us through one of our principal secretaries of state.

“And we do hereby confirm in their several offices, civil and military, all persons now employed in the service of the Hon. East India Company, subject to our future pleasure, and to such laws and regulations as may hereafter be enacted.

“We hereby announce to the native princes of India, that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Hon. East India Company are by us

accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained; and we look for the like observance on their part.

“We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

“We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

“Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure.

“And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.

“We know and respect the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the state; and we will (desire) that generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India.

“We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, and led them into open rebellion. Our power having been shown by the suppression of that rebellion in the field, we desire to show our

mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been thus misled, but who desire to return to the path of duty.

“Already in one province, with a view to stop the further effusion of blood and to hasten the pacification of our Indian dominions, our Viceroy and Governor General has held out the expectation of pardon, on certain terms, to the great majority of those who in late unhappy disturbances have been guilty of offences against our government, and has declared the punishment which will be inflicted on those whose crimes place them beyond the reach of forgiveness. We approve and confirm the said act of our Viceroy and Governor General, and do further announce and proclaim as follows :—

“Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been or shall be convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. With regard to such, the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy.

“To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators in revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed; but, in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstance under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance, and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in a too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men.

“To all others in arms against the government, we hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offences against ourselves, our crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits.

“It is our royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with their conditions before the 1st day of January next.

“When by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people”.

The royal declaration was accompanied by the following notification of the Governor General of India :—

“Foreign Department, Allahabad, Nov. 1.

“Her Majesty the Queen having declared that it is her gracious pleasure to take upon herself the government of the British territories in India, the Viceroy and Governor General hereby notifies, that from this day all acts of the government of India will be done in the name of the Queen alone.

“From this day, all men of every race and class, who under the administration of the Hon. East India Company, have joined to uphold the honour and power of England, will be the servants of the Queen alone.

“The Governor General summons them, one and all, each in his degree, and according to his opportunity, and with his whole heart and strength, to aid in fulfilling the gracious will and pleasure of the Queen, as set forth in her Royal Proclamation.

“From the many millions of Her Majesty’s native subjects in India, the Governor General will now, and at all times, exact a loyal obedience to the call which, in words full of benevolence and mercy, their sovereign has made upon their allegiance and faithfulness.

“By order of the Right Honourable the Governor General of India.

“*G. F. Edmonstone.*

“Secretary to the Government of India
With the Governor General”¹.

REJOINDER TO QUEEN VICTORIA PROCLAMATION BY THE BEGUM OF OUDE (AWADH)

“At this time certain weak-minded, foolish people have spread a report that the English have forgiven the faults and crimes of the people of Hindostan; this appears very astonishing, for it is the unvarying custom of the English never to forgive a fault, be it great or small; so much so that if a small offence be committed through ignorance or negligence they never forgive it.

The Proclamation of the 1st November 1858, which

¹ Charles Ball : “*The History of the Indian Mutiny*” Vol. II, Pp. 518-19.

has come before us, is perfectly clear, and as some foolish people, not understanding the real object of the Proclamation, have been carried away, therefore we, the ever-abiding government, parents of the people of Oude, with great consideration, put forth the present Proclamation, in order that the real object of the chief points may be exposed, and our subjects be placed on their guard.

“It is written in the Proclamation, that the country of Hindostan, which was held in trust by the Company, has been resumed by the Queen, and that for the future, the Queen’s laws shall be obeyed. This is not to be trusted by our religious subjects, for the laws of the Company, the settlement of the Company, the English servants of the Company, the Governor General and the judicial administration of the Company, are all unchanged. What, then, is there now which can benefit the people, or on which they can rely ?

2. “In the Proclamation it is written, that all contracts and agreements entered into by the Company will be accepted by the Queen. Let the people carefully observe this artifice. The Company has seized the whole of Hindostan, and, if this arrangement be accepted, what is there new in it ? The Company professed to treat the Chief of Bhurtpore as a son, and then took his territory; the Chief of Lahore was carried off to London, and it has not fallen to his lot to return; the Nawab Shumshooddeen Khan, on one side, they hanged, and, on the other side, they *salaamed*¹ to him; the Peishwa they expelled from Poona, Sitara, and imprisoned for life in Bithoor; their breach of faith with Sultan Tippoo is well known; the Rajah of Benares they imprisoned in Agra. Under pretence of administering the country of the Chief of Gwalior, they introduced English customs; they have left no names or traces of the Chiefs of Behar, Orissa, and Bengal; they gave the Rao of Furrackabad a small monthly allowance, and took his territory. Shahjehanpore, Bareilly, Azimgurh, Jounpore, Goruckpore, Etawah, Allahabad, Futtehporc, &c. . . our ancient possessions they took from us on pretence of distributing pay; and in the 7th article of the treaty, they wrote, on oath, that they would take no more from us. If, then, the arrangements made by the Company are to be accepted, what is the diff-

¹ Saluted.

erence between the former and the present state of things ? These are old affairs ; but recently, in defiance of treaties and oaths, and, notwithstanding, that they owed us millions of rupees, without reason, and on the pretence of the misgovernment and discontent of our people, they took our country and property, worth millions of rupees. If our people were discontented with our royal predecessor, Wajid Ali Shah, how comes it they are content with us ? And no ruler ever experienced such loyalty, and devotion of life and goods as we have done. What, then, is wanting that they do not restore our country ? Further, it is written in the Proclamation, that they want no increase of territory, but yet they cannot refrain from annexation. If the Queen has assumed the government, why does Her Majesty not restore our country to us when our people wish it ? It is well-known that no king or queen ever punished a whole army and people for rebellion ; all were forgiven ; and the wise cannot approve of punishing the whole army and people of Hindostan ; for so long as the word "punishment" remains the disturbance will not be suppressed. There is a well known proverb — "A dying man is desperate" (*umarta kya na karta*). It is impossible that a thousand should attack a million, and the thousand escape.

3. "In the Proclamation it is written, that the Christian religion is true, but that no other creed will suffer oppression, and that the laws will be observed towards all. What has the administration of justice to do with the truth or falsehood of a religion ? That religion is true which acknowledges one God, and knows no other. Where there are three Gods in a religion, neither Mussulmans nor Hindoos — nay, not even Jews, Sun-worshippers, or Fire-worshippers can believe it true. To eat pigs, and drink wine, to bite greased cartridges, and to mix pig's fat with flour and sweetmeats, to destroy Hindoo and Mussulman temples on pretence of making roads, to build churches, to send clergymen into the streets and alleys to preach the Christian religion, to institute English schools and to pay people a monthly stipend for learning the English sciences, while the places of worship of Hindoos and Mussulmans are to this day entirely neglected ; with all this, how can the people believe that religion will not be interfered with ? The rebellion began with religion, and, for it, millions of men have been killed. Let not our subjects be deceived ; thousands were deprived of their religion in the North-West,

and thousands were hanged rather than abandon their religion.

4. "It is written in the Proclamation, that they who harboured rebels, or who were leaders of rebels, or who caused men to rebel, shall have their lives, but that punishment shall be awarded after deliberation, and that murderers and abettors of murders shall have no mercy shown them, while all others shall be forgiven. Any foolish person can see, that under this Proclamation, no one, be he guilty or innocent, can escape. Everything is written, and yet nothing is written; but they have clearly written that they will not let off any one implicated; and in whatever village or estate the army may have halted, the inhabitants of that place cannot escape. We are deeply concerned for the condition of our people on reading this Proclamation, which palpably teems with enmity. We now issue a distinct order, and one that may be trusted, that all subjects who may have foolishly presented themselves as heads of villages to the English, shall, before the 1st of January next, present themselves in our camp. Without doubt their faults shall be forgiven then, and they shall be treated according to their merits. To believe in this Proclamation, it is only necessary to remember that Hindostanee rulers are altogether kind and merciful. Thousands have seen this, millions have heard it. No one has ever seen in a dream that the English forgave an offence.

5. "In this Proclamation it is written, that when peace is restored, public works, such as roads and canals, will be made in order to improve the condition of the people. It is worthy of a little reflection, that they have promised no better employment for Hindostanees than making roads and digging canals. If people cannot see clearly what this means, there is no help for them. Let no subject be deceived by the Proclamation¹".

CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION

Letter from General Clyde, Commander-in-Chief, East Indies, to Viscount Ganning, Governor General, dated Camp Parlabgarh, 3rd November 1858.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's letter of the 1st instant, conveying to me the

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 17th Dec. 1858, Nos. 250/54.: National Archives, New Delhi.

gracious Proclamation of the Queen, and Your Lordship's instructions as to the manner in which execution shall be given to Her Majesty's merciful intentions.

RAJA LAL MADHO SINGH ASSURED

In pursuance of those instructions I this morning sent a letter, of which a copy is enclosed, to the Rajah Lall Madho of Ameethie (Amethi), to summon him to my camp to make due submission.

I discovered on my arrival at Pertabghur that Major Barrow had already sent emissaries to the Rajah and that he had guaranteed a recognition of his proprietary right. This being the case, in order to prevent suspicion and misapprehension, I deemed it right to give my additional guarantee to Major Barrow's promises, although otherwise in obedience to Your Lordship's instructions I should not have gone so far till submission had been made.

The Rajah is desired to be in my camp on the 6th instant, and is warned not to compel me to cross the Saec¹ with a hostile intention, which I shall do on the 7th instant if he does not make his appearance as ordered.

On the 2nd instant I sent instructions to Major General Sir Hope Grant and to Brigadier Wetherall not to attack Rampoor Kushca till the Rajah of that place had been required to come into camp under the Proclamation.

I presume this instruction had not come to hand, as Brigadier Wetherall yesterday attacked & carried Rampoor Kushca in obedience to the general tenor of the orders previously communicated to him.

A circular drawn for the guidance of Officers holding independent Commands towards giving execution to Your Lordship's instructions, which the Adjutant General will have the honor to submit to Your Lordship, has been sent to Allaha-bad to be printed.²

¹ The river *Sai*.

² Foreign Secret Consultations, 26th November 1858, No. 3; National Archives, New Delhi.

RAJA OF AMETHI ASKED TO SUBMIT

Letter No. 145 from Lord Clyde, The Commander-in-Chief in India, to Rajah Lall Madho of Amethi, dated Army Headquarters, Camp Partabgarh, the 3rd November 1858.

By order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General, the Commander-in-Chief sends a copy of the gracious Proclamation of the Queen of Great Britain to the Rajah Lall Madho of Amethie.

The Queen promises mercy and forgiveness to all men except those stained with the blackest crimes.

It is the earnest desire of the Commander-in-Chief to save the further effusion of blood and to give the greatest effect possible to the gracious intentions of the Queen.

He, therefore, in the name of the Governor General invites the Rajah of Amethie to come into Pertabghur and to make his submission. His safety is guaranteed by the Commander-in-Chief.

If this invitation is not acceded to, the Commander-in-Chief will be compelled to close his forces round Amethie, and the Rajah will be liable to the fate which the Commander-in-Chief by order of the Queen now endeavours to avert from him, his family and his followers.

The Commander-in-Chief arrived at Pertabghur yesterday. It is his desire not to cross the Sacc with a hostile intention to the Rajah.

He will wait until the 6th instant. If by that time the Rajah has not given token of his allegiance to the Queen, the Commander-in-Chief will cross the Sacc.

The Commander-in-Chief gives his additional guarantee to the promises made to the Rajah of Amethie by Major Barrow.¹

FINAL WINTER CAMPAIGN IN OUDE (AWADH)

(An account by Innes)

Having held his hand during the hot weather and rains of 1858, in order to save his troops, Sir Colin had determined

¹ Foreign Secret Consultations, 26th November 1858, No. 4; National Archives, New Delhi.

that, during the coming winter, the Province of Oude should be thoroughly subjugated; and the general outline of his scheme was this : The Gogra, running through the province somewhat parallel to the Ganges, divided it into two parts, north and south, the southward part being itself sub-divided into two, east and west, by the line of road that ran from Cawnpore to Lucknow and onwards. Each of these three parts was to form a separate theatre of operations. The two to the south of the Gogra were to be attacked first, and simultaneously; and such of the enemy in them as were not crushed were to be driven into the district north of the Gogra, which would thus form the final seat of operations. The flanking districts of Rohilkund on the west, and Azimgurh on the east, were meanwhile to be held in force by our troops.

In the two theatres south of the Gogra, Sir Colin had three lines of Oude troops with which to operate. On the west was the Rohilkund line; on the east was the Azimgurh line, besides those remaining in those districts themselves; and in the middle was the Cawnpore and Lucknow line, with Lucknow as the great centre of all. The troops in the two outer lines were to advance inwards, beginning at their southern ends, and so gradually to edge the enemy off to the north, and then drive them across the Gogra. The middle line at the south end was held by Eveleigh, who was to operate to the east or west according to the exigencies of the occasion.

Now, the region north of the Gogra, lying between it and the Nepaulese Himalayas, into which the enemy were to be driven, is a triangle, with its apex at the west and its base at the east, where the space is wide and the mountains are distant from the river. As the mountains run westwards, they incline towards the river, till at length they meet it at its debouchure, forming the apex of the triangle. Sir Colin's plan, in this final part of the war, was to guard the Gogra strongly so as to prevent any slipping back of the enemy into the southern districts; and then, having formed a line, so to speak, at the base of the triangle on the east, to sweep upwards through the narrowing districts, forcing back the enemy before him till they should be dislodged, or captured, or driven into Nepal.

Further, in the eastern of the two southern parts Sir Colin had to deal with a crowd of large jungle forts, and with the clansmen of the district; he therefore determined to hem

these in and coerce them locally as much as possible. So the lines from Lucknow round by the Gogra to Fyzabad, and along the Goomtee, were very strongly held; and, in attacking any fort, he designed to concentrate on and around it, so as to make escape almost hopeless, and lead, if possible, to its surrender without fighting. Afterwards, as he drove the enemy before him, and captured their towns and positions he proposed to occupy them with police and so re-establish civil administration.

In October the operations began; and first of all in the western district south of the Gogra, for here the ball was opened not by the British, but by the rebels. The enemy collected in force, 12,000 men with twelve guns, and marched on our post at Sandeela in the heart of that district, on the 3rd October. On the 6th, its garrison, which had shut itself up in the Fort, was relieved by a small party under Major Maynard, which forced the enemy off for some four miles; and then on the 8th, Brigadier Barker with a strong brigade arrived from Lucknow. Barker, after a fierce fight, in which he lost eighty-two men killed and wounded, defeated the enemy thoroughly; and a few days afterwards he turned the tables, attacking and taking their Fort of Birwah.

The projected movement inwards into that part of Oude from the Rohilkund side began on the 18th. Under the orders of General Scaton, who kept watch over Rohilkund itself, two columns penetrated Oude; one under Colonel Hale from Furruckabad at the south end, towards Roya and Sandeela; the other under Brigadier Troup from Shahjehanpore, further north, towards Sectapore.

While Hale advanced from the west, Evelyn cleared the ground along the Ganges towards him from the south end of the middle line up to Sandeela. Then Barker, co-operating with Hale, captured Roya on the 28th October; and thus the south part on that western theatre was cleared of the enemy, and held by our own police; while the Ganges became free for navigation.

Brigadier Troup on the north, when desiring to move from Shahjehanpore on Sectapore, found that he had first to deal with the Rohilla Chief, Khan Ali Khan, who had remained at Philibeet (Pilibhit); so he began by defeating him and driving him across the Gogra. Having thus gained the clear command of that frontier, at the extreme west of Oude, he

then crossed the boundary into Oude, and took the fort of Mithoolce (Mitauli).

In the next month (November) Brigadier Barker advanced northwards from Sandeela, clearing the country right and left, and at the end of the month secured Khyrabad and Biswah; leaving, however, a gap on the Lucknow side, though nearing Troup on the other flank. To co-operate with him, Brigadier Troup, after capturing Mithoolce, also moved northwards in advance of his left; driving the enemy before him to Aligunge, near the Gogra, across which most of them were forced after a sharp action on the 17th. Then he turned to his right, marched along the right bank of the Gogra, and reaching Biswah on the 2nd December, effected his junction with Barker.

At this time Eveleigh, in the middle line, had been directed to operate on the north-west of Lucknow, to fill up the gap between Lucknow and the site of Barker's operations. In doing this he took the fort of Oomeria, on the 2nd December.

So that now all that western district had been subdued, and all its rebel troops, with one exception, driven across the Gogra by Barker's forward and Troup's flank movement. That exception was that Prince Feroze Shah, when being hemmed in on the Gogra near Biswah, dodged and escaped through our troops with some 1500 men, and, doubling back south by Sandeela to the Ganges, crossed it and then the Jumna, and finally joined the Central India rebel army; so disappearing from the scene of Oude.

Thus was the western district cleared and subdued by the beginning of December; and we now turn to contemporary operations in the eastern district, which were conducted under the personal guidance of Sir Colin Campbell.

Before they were begun, our troops held in force the line from Sultanpore via Pertabgurh to Allahabad, and also from Sultanpore north to Fyzabad; but, since it was essential to prevent any opportunity for the enemy to escape eastwards across the Sultanpore-Fyzabad line into the Azimgurh districts, Sir Colin began his operations by strengthening the Sultanpore position, and detaching Hope Grant to his eastward flank to co-operate with a column which he directed to advance under Colonel Kelly from Azimgurh into Oude. This Colonel Kelly did, driving the enemy before him, and securing Akbarpore, and then Tanda, near which he halted, on the 30th

October, to watch and guard that flank during the ensuing operations.

The flank within which he wished to hem in the enemy being thus provided for, Sir Colin's first step in his direct operations westwards was to send forward a brigade from the south-east corner under Wetherall towards Rampore Kussia, the stronghold of the Khanpooria clan, and there to co-operate with Hope Grant in capturing it. But Wetherall did not wait for that co-operation, and finding the weak point of the Fort in an otherwise almost impregnable triple circle of defences, attacked and stormed it on the 3rd November, with a loss of 80 men.

Continuing westwards, the next point to be attacked was Ameythee (Amethi), a very strongly fortified position belonging to its powerful chief, the Rajah Lal Madho Singh, who had been conspicuously friendly at the outbreak, and instrumental in aiding English families and escorting them into security. To operate against this fort, three columns concentrated on it: on its east, Pinckney's (Sir Colin with it) from Pertabgurh; on its south, Wetherall's from Rampore Kussia; and on its north-west, Hope Grant's. While thus concentrating, Sir Colin summoned the Rajah to surrender, which he did eventually on the 10th November; not, however, till he had seen, from the strength of the attack by which he was menaced, that resistance was hopeless. But though he surrendered personally, most of the garrison, some 4000 men, of whom 1500 were sepoys, had evacuated the fort and escaped during the night.

The next move, still westwards of course, was against Shunkerpore, the stronghold of its Chief, Beni Madho. The three columns that had taken Ameythee were to concentrate on it on its north, east, and south; while Eveleigh's brigade, from Poorwa on the Lucknow-Cawnpore line, was to advance on it from the west. But the latter was delayed by the resistance he met with on the way. As with Ameythee, so Sir Colin summoned Beni Madho to surrender. The Fort was a huge one, some eight miles in circumference, but its defences were incomplete and full of gaps; and Beni Madho, who was a soldier of ability, knew he could not hold it. He replied accordingly that he would evacuate the Fort, but would not surrender personally, holding himself a subject of the Nuwab of Oude, and not of the British Government. So he and his followers, said to be 15,000 men, with several guns,

marched out of the Fort on the night of the 15th, taking their route to the west towards Doondea Khera. On their way, however, they were met by Eveleigh, on the 17th, and defeated, with the loss of three guns, though their escape westwards was not averted.

On becoming, next morning, aware of Beni Madho's flight, Sir Colin sent off (1) Wetherall's brigade, now Taylor's, towards Fyzabad, to prevent his circling round to the east, and to keep that line secure; and (2) Hope Grant to Roy Bareilly and Jugdespore (Jagdishpur), to its north, to get into more immediate contact with Beni Madho, if he should be trying to escape in that direction. After leading a detachment to destroy the Fort, Sir Colin himself followed on to Roy Bareilly with Pinckney's brigade to effect a junction with Eveleigh. On the 19th he heard of the successful combat of the 17th, and gathered that Beni Madho had been effectually kept to the south between Doondea Khera and the Ganges. To hem him in, he continued his march westwards parallel to the Ganges, up to Buchraon (Bachhrawan) between Doondea Khera and the river. There he turned, on the 21st, to his left, and bore down on Beni Madho on the morning of the 24th. He found the opposing force drawn up in line of battle, with its back to the river, and its front protected by a jungle of thorny scrub, which had been filled with skirmishers. Sir Colin advanced against Beni Madho in line; infantry in the centre, cavalry on the flanks, guns between the infantry and cavalry, and the whole preceded by skirmishers. These last forced the opposing skirmishers back through the jungle; and on the latter emerging from it defeated, the enemy's entire line broke and fled along the banks of the river without ours having to come into action at all. Beni Madho escaped along the river bank, then turned and fled north; and eluding the several columns that met, but only checked his progress, he crossed first the Goomtec and then the Gogra.

Meanwhile the troops that had been all along left on the Lucknow-Fyzabad line had tackled and defeated all the local gatherings, and gradually driven them all to the north of the Gogra, including the Begum, Mummoo Khan, Nirpat Singh, the Nana, and the rebels that followed them. Thus by the end of the month the eastern district of Oude south of the Gogra had been cleared of the enemy, and police posts and civil administration established; while the precisely similar

measures, already described, were being carried out in the western district.

And now the last part of the programme, the finale, the subjugation or expulsion of the enemy in the triangular tract on the left of the Gogra, had to be carried out. A necessary preliminary to this end was the construction of a bridge at Fyzabad, the point on which the line that had to sweep up the district must turn. This had been effected by the strenuous exertions of Lothian Nicholson, R. E., with the support of the Fyzabad garrison, against the persistent fire and opposition of the enemy on the opposite bank. These were under the command partly of the *ex-amil* Mehndee Hussun, and partly of the Gonda Rajah, the recognized head of the federation of the whole of the Rajpoot clans on the left of the Gogra. The arrival of Taylor's brigade (from Shunkerpore), and afterwards of Hope Grant's column, enabled action to begin at once. And so, on November 25, Hope Grant had crossed the bridge, had attacked and routed the Gonda Rajah's and Mehndee Hussun's following, and had thus secured the means for starting the required movements and operations.

Here Hope Grant remained till about December 6, clearing the line across the districts to the hills as well as he could, capturing Bunkussia and other forts belonging to the Gonda Rajah and other chiefs, and awaiting the arrival of a column from Goruckpore under Rowcroft, which was to take part in the final operations.

After defeating Beni Madho, Sir Colin had returned to Lucknow; and now, on the 5th December, he started thence with a very strong column—an infantry division, a cavalry brigade, and some fourteen guns—en route to Fyzabad via Nuwabgunge Barabankee. But on reaching this latter point he heard that the enemy, under Beni Madho, were encamped at (another) Nuwabgunge, on the other side of the Gogra, close at hand, at its passage at Byram Ghaut, and were holding the Fort of Bithoorlee¹, and threatened to recross the river southwards. So Sir Colin halted to protect that passage, and sent orders to Hope Grant to advance (up the left bank of the Gogra) to Secrora, which lay on the east, close to Bithoor-

Apparently, *Bhitault*.

lee. This movement led to the enemy's evacuation of the position they were occupying; and accordingly, leaving a sufficient force to hold the Byram Ghaut and construct a bridge there, Sir Colin proceeded with the rest of his column to Fyzabad.

On the 14th the active operations began. Sir Colin's column advanced from Fyzabad to Secrora; Rowcroft's column, which had come up on the right, was directed northward across the Raptce, and then turned to the left to Toolseepore, whither also Hope Grant was detached to co-operate with him; while Eveleigh's brigade followed in the rear, as a reserve and to stop any doubling back of the enemy.

Rowcroft, on the right, then advanced against Toolseepore, captured it, and was there joined by Hope Grant, whose cavalry prevented the enemy doubling back. From this point they were instead driven steadily forward towards Bhinga, till at length, in the first days of January, the insurgents were forced across the frontier and took refuge in Nepal, leaving all their guns in Hope Grant's possession.

Meanwhile the main column, under Sir Colin, had advanced from Secrora on the 15th December against Baraitch (Bahraich), where the Begum and the Nana were, with the troops that still adhered to them. It reached Baraitch, which the enemy evacuated on its approach, retreating towards Nanpara and Pudnaha. From Baraitch a force had to be detached under Colonel Christie to move close up the left bank of the Gogra, to aid our posts on the other bank in preventing a repassage by the enemy; with whom it had a smart action on the 23rd December. Sir Colin was somewhat delayed in his advance from Baraitch, partly from having to wait till Hope Grant came sufficiently forward on his flank, and partly to enable the police arrangements to be properly organized; on the 23rd, however, he made his advance towards Nanpara. On arriving there he found it deserted; but the enemy were said to be at Burgidia, a short distance ahead, and he moved on it on the 26th. Finding them drawn up for action, he formed up his troops on their front, and then suddenly moving on their left, he attacked them on that flank; on which they fled precipitately, abandoning their guns. Next day, the 27th December, the force advanced on the neighbouring Fort of Musjidia, which was shelled for three hours and was then found to be abandoned. These forts were all in a corner or

neck of the triangle in which the space between the river and the mountains was the narrowest.

During the 28th and 29th the enemy were being pressed up further and further towards the hills into the narrow space where the Raptée debouches from the mountains and reaches the plain; till it became known that they were massed at a spot called Bankee, and meant to make a last stand there. Their position was at the edge of forest ground. Sir Colin, moving his force forward during the night, attacked them in the early morning with his Horse Artillery and Cavalry, and then with skirmishers. The enemy never made any attempt at a resolute stand, but kept retiring before the skirmishers, who, with the guns and cavalry, advanced, following them up. At length they were forced back from the jungle into more open ground, with the Raptée behind them. Thereupon the 7th Hussars and 1st Punjab Cavalry charged them, driving them headlong into and across the Raptée. With this episode, in the last day of December 1858 ended the long-sustained war in Oude.¹

FORT OF SIMRI CAPTURED BY BRITISH

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated Allahabad, 11th November 1858.

The Fort of Simree² in Oudh was taken by Brigadier Eveleigh on the 9 (9th Nov.) with the loss of only two Europeans killed, and three or four wounded.

Madho Singh of Amethce has surrendered to Major Barrow, Civil Officer with Commander-in-Chief's Camp.³

BRITISH OCCUPY FORT OF AMETHI

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, 11th Novr., 7 p. m., to E. A. Reade, Agra.

The fort of Amethce is now occupied by our troops,

¹ Innes : "*The Sepoy Revolt*" (London 1897), Pp. 260-71.

² In *Rai Bareilly* District in the west on the border of *Unnao*.

³ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade. 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

the sepoys have fled. The quantity of ammunition and guns taken not yet known.¹

REVOLUTIONARIES AT MUHAMDI

News-letter from Chhedi Lal, resident of Shahabad staying then at the house of Dulha Rai, Mukhtar of the Rani of Jai Pura, Mohalla Unchapura, Shahjahanpur, to Captain Adolphus Orr, Superintendent Intelligence Department, dated November 12, 1858.

I had, as an act of loyalty, sent a number of letters by *duk* giving the information about the rebels during their stay at Pasgawan, but the reply of only one of these was received. But, since the British troops have encamped at Pasgawan for the punishment of the rebels and pickets have been stationed, the spies have stopped moving for fear of life; consequently I have been forced to suspend the despatch of news-letters. Besides, I have been suffering from malarial fever for about a month and have been undergoing treatment in the Govt. Hospital. Although I have recovered, still I am so weak that I cannot walk about and am, therefore, unable to despatch letters. As by our good luck and the good fortune of the Government, the rebels have taken to flight and the British rule has been fully established in Muhamdi and Mallanwan and the *Tahsildars* and *Thanedars* are going to their respective stations, I now request that you will be so gracious to grant me a certificate testifying to my loyalty and to my services in despatching news, so that it may prove useful to me and I may be able to produce it before the district officers in order to win their favour.

LONI SINGH STILL ACTIVE

As the *Sarkar's* army is quelling the power of the rebels on all sides and all the rebels are stationed in the jungle of Muhamdi and the army has encamped at Kalwa 4 *Kos* from Mithauli, Raja Loni Singh through his short-sightedness and evil intentions is ready to create trouble and rebellion. He has come out of his *garhi* and entrenched at a short distance outside.

¹ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Rooms, Lucknow.

NARPAT SINGH AND FIROZ SHAH COMBINE

Narpat Singh Rohiawala and Firoz Shah, etc. have joined with their troops and guns at Minaoli. On November 9 of the current year the British army sallied forth to crush the rebels. After a short combat the rebels unable to resist the British army dispersed and took to flight. They fled to the jungle and left the *garhi* which is now in Government's possession. A large number of the rebels were killed although only 7 or 8 were wounded on the Government side.

MUHALS EXCEPT MUHAMDI FREE FROM REVOLUTIONARIES

This was a great victory and now there is no rebel chief having a good following of men and guns, in this neighbourhood, except at Muhamdi. The following *muhals* are free from rebels and have each a *Thana* and *Tahsil* of the *Sarkar*:—

Detailed list of the *Muhals* which are free from rebels:—Bangar Mau, Bilgram, Rohia, Mallanwan, Banosa, Sandi, Pali, Sironnagar¹, Shahabad, Naktora, Muhamdi, Pasgawan, Padora, Baror², Aurangabad, Pihani³, Mithauli, Saadat Nagar⁴, Gopa Mau⁵, Phusia.

A large number of the residents of Shahabad who had taken service with the rebels have returned home since the rebels have gone back to these jungles. Now all those rebels

¹ Apparently *Saromannagar*, Pargana Tahsil *Shahabad* Distt. *Hardoi*—This small pargana lies to the south of Shahabad, between Pali on the west and Bawan and Sara North on the east; to the south lies pargana *Baiwan* of the *Hardoi* tahsil. (*District Gazetteers*, *Hardoi* 1904, p. 263).

² Apparently *Barora*—In Tahsil *Dalmau* of *Rai Bareilly* District about 5 miles west of *Dalmau* near the road from *Dalmau* to *Partapgarh*.

³ *Pihani*, Pargana *Pindarwa* Tahsil *Shahabad* Distt. *Hardoi*—The capital of the pargana is a considerable town, lying in latitude 27° 37' north and longitude 80° 12' east, on the unmetalled road from *Sitapur* to *Shahabad*, at a distance of 16 miles north of *Hardoi*. (*District Gazetteers*, *Hardoi* 1904, p. 236).

⁴ *Saadatnagar*—Is in *Hardoi* District in *Sara North*, Pargana *Sara*.

⁵ *Gopamau*, Pargana Tahsil *Hardoi* Distt. *Hardoi*—This is, with the exception of *Sandila*, the largest pargana of the district. Along the whole of the eastern side it is bounded by the *Gumti* river, which separates it from the parganas of *Chandra*, *Misrikh*, and *Aurangabad* in *Sitapur*. On the south it is bounded by *Sandila* and *Balamau*, on the west by *Bangar* and *Bawan*, and on the north by *Sara South*, *Mansurnagar*, and *Pihani*. (*District Gazetteers*, *Hardoi* 1904, p. 190).

who had been in the jungle are scattered in Muhamdi and live a wretched life. The strength of the army and the number of guns with the rebels could not be ascertained because of their stay in the jungle and due to the blockade of the ways. The rebels harass all strangers who enter the jungle, make them captives, and subject them to punishments and severities. If they doubt some one to be a spy they kill him. This is why I cannot submit any information. Still to the best of my efforts I shall be communicating the condition of the rebels.¹

BENI MADHO STILL FIGHTING

Letter No. 1425 from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, dated Lucknow, 13th November 1858.

I am directed to submit the narrative of events for the past week.

In the Fyzabad Division, the Fyzabad District is quiet, and the work of dismantling forts progresses favorably. But there are 196 forts, in this District alone to be destroyed.

From Sooltanpore, the Commissioner reports favorably of the submission of sepoys, and rebels generally.

The surrender of Lall Madhoo Singh of Amethce was happily brought about on the 10th instant, and will have the best effect, and will induce others to follow his example.

Already in the Baiswara country many of the *Zemindars* have returned to their allegiance and settled in their villages.

FALL OF SIMRI

Brigadier Eveleigh, on the 8th instant, marched from Poorwah, defeated the rebels under Oomrao Singh 4 miles from Simree, which place he took on the 9th instant.

BENI MADHO TO SHANKARPUR

Beni Madhoo and his force fled to Shunkerpore, but the landholders generally in the country around have tendered their submission.

¹ Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*.

DESTRUCTION OF FORTS

Lieutenant Ekrore, Assistant Commissioner, stationed at Jubrowlee has been active in destroying Forts in the vicinity of his position.

MENHDI HUSAIN

From Durriabad, an expedition was sent, as mentioned in my last week's report on the 5th instant to intercept a body of rebels under Mehndee Hussun, but did not fall in with them.

THANA AT SIDDIHAUR

A *Thannah* has been established by Mr. Bradford at Siddhour, thus occupying the country between Durriabad and the Gomtee.

The Mullaon district is almost completely clear of rebels; detachments of Police, and the force under Brigadier Barker's Command occupy most of the important points from whence the Civil Officers radiate, and vigorously disarm the people and destroy forts.

NO GREAT PROGRESS IN SITAPUR AND MUHAMDI

From the Seetapore and Mohumdee districts no great progress has been reported, or can be expected till the large force collected at or near Mithoulee under Lone Singh, Khan Buhadoor, and Khan Ali Khan, are disposed of.

ROYAL PROCLAMATION SENT TO BEGAM'S CAMP

The Royal Proclamation has been sent into the Begum's Camp at Boundee, and has been made known to nearly all the chief rebels, in many of whom a desire to avail themselves of the Royal clemency is already visible.

The total amount of revenue settled up to the 6th November is Rupees 52,30,935 or nearly one half of the entire Revenue of the Province.

The collections for the past week amount to Rs. 60,064.

Mr. Crommelin, Assistant Commissioner, has been posted to the Oonao district, and a transfer has been made between Mr. Carnegie and Captain Orr, the great local experience of

the latter officer being requisite for the Baiswara country at the present juncture.¹

BATTLE OF SHANKARPUR

Leaving a garrison in the place last named, Lord Clyde next moved his camp to Kishwapore, on the route to Shunkerpore, the stronghold of Bainie Madhoo (already known to our readers as Beni Madho). Of the position and strength of the enemy the most formidable accounts were current; but it was yet considered possible that the chief might elect to come in under the amnesty, rather than hazard everything by a useless and irritating resistance; and, with a view to ascertain his intentions while the choice was yet open to him, Major Barrow, the political agent at head-quarters, on the 5th of the month (November), addressed to him the following letter from the camp at Oodeypore :

“The Commander-in-Chief having received the fullest powers from the Governor-General to deal with all insurgents either by force of arms or treaty, as may seem to His Excellency to be right according to the offences and claims to consideration of each individual, sends the Proclamation of the Queen of Great Britain to Rana Bainie Madhoo. The Rana is informed, that under the terms of that Proclamation his life is secured on due submission being made. The Governor General is not disposed to deal harshly; but Bainie Madhoo must recollect that he has long been a rebel in arms, and but very recently attacked Her Majesty’s troops. He must, therefore, make the fullest submissive surrender of his forts and cannon, and come out at the head of his sepoy and armed followers, and with them lay down his arms in presence of Her Majesty’s troops. The sepoy and armed followers will then be allowed to go to their homes without molestation, each of the former receiving a certificate from the Commissioner. When complete surrender and submission has been made, Bainie Madhoo will not have cause to distrust the generosity and clemency of the Governor General; and even his claims on account of estates he may consider himself wrongfully deprived of, may be heard; but,

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 26th November 1858, No. 248; National Archives, New Delhi.

in the meantime, before submission is made, and the arms of the Rana, his sepoys and followers, publicly laid down, no treating is allowed by the Governor General. The Commander-in-Chief warns Bainie Madhoo to lose no time. His columns are closing round the Rana, and any delay on Bainie Madhoo's part will deprive him of the benefit of the Queen's mercy, and render it impossible for the Governor General to exercise generosity in his behalf. The fate of himself, of his family, and of his followers, is in his own hands".

Early on the 15th the troops encamped at Kishwapore, about three miles from the outer ditch of the jungle of Shunkerpore; but the Commander-in-Chief was precluded from immediate advance on the place while waiting the reply to the letter referred to. Sufficient time had certainly elapsed for the purpose; but there was a possibility that it had not reached the hands of the party to whom it was addressed; and the instructions of His Excellency were most positive, that no attack should be made on any of the forts of Oude until it had been ascertained that the Chief who owned each had received a copy of the Queen's Proclamation. During the interval, however, the place was well reconnoitred, and found to be much less formidable than had been represented. The camp of the Commander-in-Chief was pitched at a line nearly parallel to the east side of the jungle, at a distance of nearly three miles; the column of Sir Hope Grant was encamped at an angle to the right flank of the former, at about three miles' distance, and so arranged as to invest the north-eastern face of the fortification, the south side of which was covered by a dense jungle; and, on the west, a column advancing from Simree, under Brigadier Evelyn, was calculated upon for co-operation in that direction. Strong pickets of cavalry and guns were thrown out from both camps. And thus matters rested until the night of the 15th, when a messenger arrived from Shunkerpore with the following letter, professedly from a son of Bainie Madho:—

"I have received Your Excellency's *purwannah*, and with it the Proclamation. I beg to say that I was formerly *caboolintdar* (*Qabuliyatdar*) of this *ellaga* (*Ilaqa*), and am still in possession of the same; and if the government will continue the settlement with me, I will turn out my father, Bainie Madhoo. He is on the part of Birjies Kudr, but I am loyal to the British Government, and I do not wish to be ruined for my father's sake".

This communication, although from the son, was believed to be the composition of Bainie Madhoo himself, who also sent in, by the bearer of it, a letter to the rajah of Tiloi, then with the camp, and who had recommended Bainie Madhoo to make his submission. In the reply of the letter, he took high ground as a faithful subject of the king of Oude, and told the rajah, that one king was all he could serve, and that he had pledged his fealty to Birjis Kudr, and should not desert him or his cause. The messenger who came in with the letters, and who was also a spy belonging to the English camp, declared that, although from 600 to 1,000 men had deserted from the enemy, there were still 4,000 men and 40 guns within the works. Precautions against surprise were now redoubled: the pickets were warned to be on the alert, as the enemy were said to have upwards of 2,000 horse; and as the night advanced, all, except those who were in advance of the line of tents, retired to rest. About two in the morning, intelligence was received at the camp, that as soon as the moon had gone down the enemy had commenced evacuating their position. The country between Lord Clyde's camp and Shunkerpoore was intersected with gullies, and covered with jungle; and as no reliable information could be obtained of the exact route of the enemy, it was judged prudent to remain dormant until daylight, but, in the meanwhile, to send instructions to Sir Hope Grant to take up the pursuit as soon as the track of the rebels could be observed. At day-break it became evident that Bainie Madhoo had fled, and that his boasted stronghold had been deserted without firing a shot in its defence. The traces of wheels along the outside of the works, showed that the enemy had carried off at least a portion of his guns, and that he had taken a long sweep to the west of Sir Hope Grant's pickets, and marched in the direction of Roy Bareilly. The advance was then ordered on the fort, and the Beloochs entered and found it quite empty, the bastions disarmed, and the jungles desolate. They were relieved by a wing of the Queen's 5th fusiliers; and Lord Clyde, after a hasty inspection of the place, rode off to overtake Grant's column, and give him instructions for the pursuit of the flying enemy. The appearance of the fort and works, on the morning of the 16th, is thus described:—

“The outer works of the fort consisted of a very deep but narrow ditch, and a low parapet of irregular trace, inside which nothing could be seen but dense jungle. There was no en-

trance visible till we had ridden southwards about two miles. Several hamlets and villages, quite deserted, lay outside the ditch; and only cats and dogs inhabited the streets. In one there was a small and very handsome Hindoo temple, covered outside with hideous idols. All these villages offered the greatest facilities for resistance in the hands of a determined enemy, and could only have been cleared, in such a case, by very hard fighting or severe vertical fire. Through one of those villages lay the road to the outer fort. A bastion of earth towered above it, but the flanking fire was indifferently directed. The gateway was of bamboo, and opened upon a ramp across the ditch to a strong mud wall, winding over a tortuous street, access through which into the interior was obtained by a wooden gate, of no strength. Inside, the place was somewhat like Amathic, only that the central residence was not so fine. An old Brahmin, very sick, was the sole human being to be met with; an elephant was tied by chains in the courtyard of the fort; gun-bullocks wandered about; and *dhoolies*, tents, a spring van, litters, and various stores lumbered the enclosures, which were full also of bedsteads and a few articles of furniture. Only a few old matchlocks could be found after the minutest search; and, as if in mockery, four very small brass guns, mere children's playthings, were laid out in a row in front of one of the verandahs. In the women's apartments, some miserable daubs, left upon the walls, showed the wretched taste of the occupants. Idols abounded in the rooms; some bad engravings, a portrait of the Duke of Wellington; and embossed drawings of wild beasts were hung in the *divan*, in which were also glass chandeliers, covered with linen bags. In the rooms around the courts, immense quantities of *ghee*, nuts, wheat, and corn were found; also a laboratory for making powder, and about 9,000 lbs. of that article, of native manufacture. It is probable that most of the good guns of the forts in Oude were sent into Lucknow, or were captured by Havelock and others in the earlier fights. It is certain that Bainie Madhoo took only nine with him when he fled".

The moment Shunkerpore fell, Brigadier Eveleigh was ordered to follow Bainie Madhoo; and, on the 17th, his column marched to Grinwarra. His instructions were—not to be diverted from the chase, or to lose sight of the flying rebel for a moment, when once up with him. In the pursuit, the men had to pass through the village of Berwa, the inhabitants of

which appeared friendly, and, in reply to the inquiries of the officers, assured them there was no enemy near the place; but just as the rear-guard of the column, with the guns, were clearing the village, three guns opened upon it, accompanied by a fire of musketry from the houses. To unlimber, and return the fire with interest—to charge back on the streets, and clear them, was but the work of a few moments; the treacherous rebels were then chased out of the place, leaving their guns, and flying in the direction of a village fort called Simree, on the way to which they were intercepted by a strong rear-guard under Major Mills, which opened upon them with its horse artillery guns, and drove them from the Simree road to the south-west in great disorder.

Having placed a small force in the fort of Shunkerpore, the column of the Commander-in-Chief marched from its camping-ground at Kishwapore, at 8 p. m. of the 18th of November; and, after effecting a junction with Colonel Bulwer's force from Poorwah, reached Grinwarra at ten on the following morning, when spies confirmed the intelligence already received that Bainie Madhoo had fallen back towards Dnoonchia Kera. In order to facilitate Evelyn's pursuit of the rebel, Lord Clyde relieved him of all his heavy guns, and took them with his own to Roy Bareilly. The whole of the 20th was occupied, at that place, in making necessary arrangements: the sites for various camps were determined upon; and at midnight the troops again marched forward. The appearance of Roy Bareilly, at this time, was thus described:—"It was long after three o'clock in the morning before we were clear of the wonderful labyrinth of deserted streets and tottering loopholed keeps, barbicans, portals, and battlemented walls, which bear witness to the former greatness of Bareilly¹. The crenellated and turreted walls seemed, in the moonlight, of great solidity and of great height. The city is but a collection of feudal castles, old baronial forts of the nobles of Oude—at the base of which, and in the adjacent spaces, is a stratum of hovels, perforated by tortuous narrow paths, and surrounded by the noble old wall. Scarcely a living being came forth to look at our noisy array as it passed on. Hate and fear lived within those dark dwellings. When we first approached, all the people fled.

¹ Stands for *Rai Bareli*.

Some of them had consciences guilty of blood; for here had British officers been murdered".¹

SHANKARPUR

Telegraphic Message from G. F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, 18th November 1858, to E. A. Reade, Agra.

The following intelligence has been received from Major Barrow, dated Shunkerpore the eighteen. Brigdr. Eveleigh's Column attacked eight thousand of the Shunkerpore fugitives took three guns and dispersed them with loss. This portion of the Baiswara quite clear of Rebels. Salone district settling down and all out-*Tehseel* posts being established.²

BENI MADHO SINGH AT DAUNDIA KHERA

Letter No. 1509 from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, Allahabad, dated Lucknow, 27th November 1858.

GENERAL

In my last week's narrative I had the honor to report the discomfiture of Bence Madhoo by Brigr. Eveleigh, and the dispersion of his followers.

DAUNDIA KHERA

They collected together again at Doondea Khera on the Ganges and remained till attacked by the Commander in-Chief in person on the 24th instant, when they fled after a short resistance, leaving, it is said, 500 dead on the field or drowned in the Ganges and 7 guns. Bence Madhoo escaped to the north-west, and was last heard of at Kurdahia 12 miles east of Poorwa, and is believed to be making for the Gogra to join the Begum. His forces are entirely dispersed, and he is without guns.

No other military operations have been reported during

¹ Charles Ball : "*The History of the Indian Mutiny*" Vol. II, Pp. 537-39.

² Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

the week and I am directed to submit the Chief Commissioner's observations on the state of the different districts.

FAIZABAD

The Fyzabad district continues quiet and in the extreme east and south, Mr. Elliott, Assistant Commissioner, reports that a considerable improvement in the disposition of the people is observable, and heinous crime has not been reported. *Thannahs* have been established throughout this district.

SULTANPUR

In the Sooltanpoor district, the authority of Government has been fully established in three out of four *Tehseels*, and more than half of the fourth, Jugdeespore, has been restored to order.

REVOLUTIONARIES FROM BAIWARA

Until the rebels who are fugitives from Baiswara have been entirely driven out, or reduced to submission, the country around Jugdeespore will be more or less disturbed, as the extent of jungle gives shelter to marauders.

DISMANTLING OF FORTS AT AMETHI

The Deputy Commissioner is at Amaithee restoring confidence, dismantling the Fort, and disarming the people and the same measures were being carried out in the eastern part of the district by Mr. Ross the Assistant; six forts have been destroyed, and 16 are undergoing demolition. 129 sepoys have submitted under the terms of the Royal Proclamation.

SALON

From Salone, Captain Orr reports that he has established 6 *Tehseels*, and finds the country settling down very satisfactorily. 2,104 arms have been collected, and 141 sepoys have come in. Owing to the paucity of Civil Officers, this Dy. Commissioner has been somewhat oppressed with work, but Mr. Walker, Extra Assistant, has now been sent to his aid, and other assistance will be afforded in time.

SETTLEMENT IN BAIWARA

Major Barrow has ably conducted the operation of negotiation and settlement, as he passed through the country of

Baiswara with the Commander-in-Chief, and has established *Tehseels* and Police Posts, placing them partly in the hands of *Talooqdars* who have bound themselves to preserve order, and partly under the Military Police.

DARIABAD

An active watch has been kept in the Durriabad District to intercept the rebels as they cross the Fyzabad road which runs from west to east, through this District. But the number of troops required for this purpose is greater than can be supplied from Durriabad, and on the 24th instant a body of 3000 or more contrived to escape though with great difficulty, and closely pursued towards the north.

REVOLUTIONARIES OF BAIWARA

The majority of the rebels from Baiswara are collected at Hydergurh on the Goomtee, where they have been pursued, and it is reported, have been attacked by Brigadier Horsford but no official announcement of the result has been sent.

British authority is established in all that part of the Durriabad District north of the Goomtee, and the disposition of the people is on the whole improving, but Durriabad has been noted for harbouring Dacoits, who, secure in their forts and jungles from all attacks, used to practise robbery as a lucrative profession.

FAZAL AZIM SUBMITS •

Several rebels of note have sent in to offer submission, and Fuzul Azim, the so-called *Nazim* and notorious rebel leader, has given himself up to Mr. Bradford. Fifteen sepoy have been admitted to pardon.

MORE SUBMISSIONS IN LUCKNOW

The Lucknow District is in *status quo*, and there is nothing to record beyond the submission of Hindpal Singh, owner of the Naraingurh Fort, and of Keerut Singh of Buttai, and Juskurun Singh, all men of note.

DISARMING AND DISMANTLING AT MALLAON

In the Mullaon District, the work of settlement, disarming and dismantling, progresses satisfactorily; 41 forts

have been destroyed, and 88,615 arms of all kinds collected; Mr. King, Assistant Commissioner, has been particularly active in this last duty.

In most part of this District, a friendly spirit is displayed by the people, but in the north east of the Bangurmow *Per-gunnah*, the temper of some villagers is obstinate, and in a few, almost defiant. On the banks of the Goontee there is a reluctance to come in, and give up arms. Brigs. Barker and Hale's forces, and the Oudh Military Police, are stationed throughout this District.

UNNAO

Within the last few days, the whole of the Oonao District has been brought under our Government, and Major Barrow reports having established a strong Police Post and *Tehseel* at Puthun Bahar, 10 miles north of Doondia Khera. Thirteen forts have been destroyed under Mr. Lawrence's direction.

Mr. Balmain reports from Mithowlee that the Mohamdee District and the northern *Tehseel* in the Lucknow District has (sic, have) been recovered, and *Tehseel* established. The people are represented to be peaceable but backward in rendering aid to the District Officer. The Sectapore District of all the country Cis-Gogra alone remains now in the hands of the rebels.

A statement of arms collected and forts destroyed is herewith submitted.¹

FLIGHT OF RANA BENI MADHO

Letter No. 1557 of 1858 from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to G. F. Edmoystone, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, dated Lucknow, the 4th of December 1858.

I am directed to submit the Narrative of Events for the week ending 4th December.

BENI MADHO

The pursuit of Bence Madho has resulted in his precipitate flight across the river Gogra and the detachments of

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 17th December 1848, No. 247; National Archives, New Delhi.

rebels, who, in my last week's report, were described as broken up and dispersed, have mostly settled down quietly in their villages. About 5000 of them however have followed their Chief in small parties into the Baraich (Bahraich) Division.

JAGDISHPUR

In the Jugdespore *Pergunah* of the Sooltanpore District, there is still insecurity, owing to the ravines and jungles which give shelter to the rebels. A strong police post has been ordered to be established at or near Jugdespore and will patrol and quiet the country.

The Sooltanpore and Salone Districts, are all now re-organized, and in these as well as in Fyzabad, Durriabad, and Oonao Districts, which form the Eastern (sic,) portion of Oudh, strong military and police posts are stationed. The *Zemindars* are generally reported to be quiet and favourable to our rule and are aiding in the work of dismantling the fortifications. They are however in every direction backward in giving up arms.

On the Western side of Oudh, the Mullaon District is the most advanced in settlement and re-organization.

The Sectapoor district has, during this week, been almost entirely recovered and Brigadier Barker has established a strong post at Biswa, thus opening the road to Lucknow.

DRIG BIJAI SINGH JOINS BEGAM

By order of the Right Hon'ble the Commander-in-Chief a column was despatched to take the fort of the rebel Chief Drig Bijji (Drig Bijai) Sing of Oomeria who has pursued with impunity for the last 8 months a course of plunder and oppression in the northern vicinity of Lucknow. Having fired a few shots from his fort on the approaching force, he evacuated it during the night with his followers and crossed the Gogra to join the Begum.

COUNTRY BETWEEN SITAPUR AND LUCKNOW

With his flight, and the occupation of Biswa¹ by Briga-

¹ *Biswan*, Pargana and Tahsil *Biswan* Dist. *Sitapur*—The headquarters of the tahsil is a considerable town situated in latitude 27° 29' north and

dier Barker the country between Seetapore and Lucknow South of the rivers Chauka and Gogra, are entirely in our hands and strong military posts will line these rivers to prevent the enemy re-crossing to the South.

General Sir H. Grant has made a steady advance from the extreme East of the Baraitch Division and now occupies Gonda.

NEW POSTINGS OF BRITISH OFFICERS

In consequence of the sickness of Col. Clarke, Commissioner of Seetapore Division, which compels his departure for England, and the re-occupation of districts, several changes have been necessarily made in the disposition of the Civil Officers, and are now detailed.

Mr. Forbes, Deputy Commr. of Fyzabad, has been appointed to officiate temporarily as Commr. of Seetapore. Mr. Bradford has been sent in his room to Fyzabad. Lieutt. Thompson has been sent to Seetapore as offg. Deputy Commissioner with Messrs. Kavanagh and Fisher as Assistants. Mr. Crommelin has been transferred from Oonao to Durriabad. Captains Steel and Ross, Messrs. Bunbury, Rockford, Ross, and King have been placed under Major Barrow's orders for employment in the Baraitch Division, for which the Commander-in-Chief's force marches tomorrow mornirg.

BEGAM'S PROCLAMATION

I am directed to submit for the information of the Supreme Government, the translation of a Proclamation issued by the Begum in the name of her son Birjis Kudr which professes to be a comment on Her Majesty's gracious warrant of clemency to the rebels. This counter Proclamation does not appear to have been very widely circulated as yet.

The number of arms taken, forts destroyed, and collections received, are shewn in the accompanying statement.¹

longitude 81° 0' east, at a distance of 21 miles east of Sitapur, with which it is connected by a metalled road. A second metalled road leads southwest to Sidhauli, communicating with the railway and the main road from Sitapur to Lucknow. (*District Gazetteers*, Sitapur 1905, p. 145).

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 31st December 1858, Nos 3.021-25; National Archives, New Delhi.

FIROZ SHAH AT KHAIRABAD

News-letter from Munna Lal Pandey to Captain Adolphus Orr, Superintendent Intelligence Department, dated 18th November 1858, 9 o'clock in the night, despatched from Sandila.

HAR PRASAD, LAKKAR SHAH AND FIROZ SHAH AT KHAIRABAD

I beg to submit the following news :

Today on November 17, it was learnt through Ram Din *Jamadar* of *Harkaras* and Bhogia *Harkara* that Har Prasad rebel, *Chakledar* of Khairabad, Lakkar Shah *Baamash* and Firoz Shah rebel, are all staying at Khairabad with a body of eight or nine thousand men and eight guns and the picket is stationed on the river-bridge, two miles to the south. The rebels are encamped in a garden south of Khairabad at the place where previously there was the camp of Har Prasad, but they intend going to the side of Bari. There is no army of the rebels at Machbrehtha. A camel-rider of Har Prasad, rebel, named above, had come with a letter for Agha and other Moghals.

RAJA OF MITHAULI IN THE NORTH OF JUNGLE

Today, it has been learnt through Chhabba and Lalta, *Harkaras*, that the Raja of Mithauli, Jan Ali Khan and other rebels are staying with ten or twelve thousand men and eight or ten guns at a distance of 24 miles north of the jungle of Mithauli. Government's army is in Mithauli and the *Garhi* is being pulled down.¹

AFFAIRS OF BAIWARA PROMINENT

Letter No. 1469 of 1858 from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, dated Lucknow, the 20th November 1858.

The progress of the columns under the immediate orders of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, through the country of Baiswara, has formed an object of great interest during the past week.

MOVEMENT AGAINST BAIWARA

After the submission of Raja Lall Madho Singh and the

¹ Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*.

surrender of his Fort and Guns on the 10th instant, a movement was ordered against the rebel leader Benec Madho to whom His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief addressed a letter of warning, calling on him with his followers and sepoys, to submit and lay down their arms as a condition of receiving good treatment at the hands of the Government.

SHANKARPUR EVACUATED

The clement offers of the Commander-in-Chief were, the Chief Commissioner regrets to say, rejected by this rebel Chief and on the approach of the British army he evacuated his Fort of Shunkerpore on the night of the 15th instant, taking with him his Guns. The British force on arrival found only one elephant left. The work of demolishing the Fort was at once commenced while General Grant started in pursuit of the rebels, who, taking a northerly direction, unexpectedly fell in with Brigadier Eveleigh's column at Bheerwa between Rai Bareilly and Dalamow.

FLIGHT OF BENI MADHO

Brigadier Eveleigh had passed the village of Bheerwa unaware of the flight of Benec Madhoo from Shunkerpore, when the Enemy's Guns suddenly opened on his rear; a short action resulted in the complete rout of the enemy with the loss of the Guns taken away from Shunkerpoor, and 100 men killed.

BENI MADHO'S FOLLOWERS SCATTERED

This total defeat has scattered Benec Madho's followers some of whom came as far as Poorwa yesterday (19th) and took advantage of the smallness of the force there to plunder the *Zemindars*, and rapidly to retire. His family has been sent in the direction of Kawhyar (or Kumhyar) Ghat on the River Gogra, and reliable information intimates that it is his intention to take that course if possible in his flight to join the Begum.

Whilst it is a subject of regret that this rebel Chief of the Baiswara clan has thus obstinately refused the royal grace so mercifully extended by Her Majesty the Queen, still the Chief Commissioner considers it as a matter of great congratulation that the country of Baiswara whose people are the most warlike, and the most worthy to cope with our arms has been thus cleared of the rebel armies without bloodshed, and whatever may be

the final determination of the Government regarding the Estates and persons of the fugitive Chief and his followers, there is satisfaction in the knowledge that the utmost forbearance, and most lenient offers have been proffered by the British Government, and almost thrust on their acceptance.

The rebels having counted the cost of refusing such terms, have, with wilful obstinacy, sealed their own ruin.

Major Barrow and Mr. Martin, the latter of whom was sent on the 14th to join Brigadier Eveleigh's column as Civil Officer reports that the *Zemindars* of Baiswara are rendering ready submission and the breaking up of the Baiswara *Talooqdars*, some of whom have fled with their Chief, will relieve from much oppression the subordinate landholders.

EXTENSION OF BRITISH AUTHORITY

In other Districts the progress of reorganization has been successful.

British authority is extended throughout Fyzabad and Police Posts are established in all but the extreme Eastern *Pergunnah*.

The Deputy Commissioner (started) rapidly disarming the People and dismantling numerous forts altogether. The Chief Commissioner considers that the Fyzabad District under the very able management of Mr. Forbes is in a satisfactory state.

In the Durriabad District Mr. Bradford has had difficulties to contend with in the settlement of the country owing to the frequent passages of rebels from Baiswara to the country Trans-Gogra on one side or the other; the troops stationed at Durriabad have been constantly moved out of late, and during the past week the Kupoorthulla Contingent has been in pursuit of the rebels who were flying from the Gomtee towards the Gogra at Bhyram Ghaut.

The activity displayed by the Rajah's troops and their power to make long marches, deserves special mention by the Chief Commissioner. In consequence of the reported intention of Bence Madho to cross the Gogra at Kumhyar Ghaut, east of Durriabad, the Contingent has been ordered to watch closely in that direction, and throughout the whole line of road between Lucknow and Fyzabad arrangements, so far as the strength of the Column will admit, have been made to intimate the rebels' flight.

In the Lucknow District general tranquillity prevails, save to the immediate North and North-West where Drig Byjie Sing (Drig Bijai Singh) still remains undisturbed, no forces having moved in that direction since General Grant's march in April. This part however will now be immediately cleared by our troops.

From Mullaon, the rebels have been entirely driven away, and the work of settlement, disarming and dismantling of forts, progresses with great vigor (vigour) under Major Carnegie.

Mr. Lawrence is likewise actively employed in his District of Oonao (Unnao), and reports, that with the exception of the immediate vicinity of Poorwa, the Civil Government of his District has been fairly reestablished. The temper of the people is good; their disposition civil. This in fact may be said of the whole of Oudh where our rule has been firmly established. The return of the sepoy and rebel leaders being no longer dreaded, the people have no hesitation in expressing their feelings of satisfaction at the prospect of peace and quiet.

Crime would appear to be not very prevalent or of a very serious nature as yet, but this cannot be expected to last, when we return to the settled state of things. *Desperation and poverty will drive many to commit dacoities and deeds of violence which it will require all the energy and force of District Officers to repress.*

From the Khyrabad Dn. the intelligence is good so far as it goes, but no great progress in reorganisation has been made. The want of Civil Officers for this Division is greatly felt.

LONI SINGH RETIRES

Lonee Sing evacuated his fort after firing for a few hours on Brigadier Troup's Column and has retired with the other rebel leaders, Khan Bahadoor, Khan Ali and others, towards Khyrabad.

A return is submitted showing the number of arms collected and of forts destroyed.

The amount of collections during the past week is Rupees 41,042/--¹

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 30th December 1858; No. 200; National Archives, New Delhi.

LONI SINGH AT NABI NAGAR

News-letter from Munna Lal Pandey sent to Captain Adolphus Orr, Superintendent Intelligence Department, despatched at 7 in the day, dated 23rd November 1858 (Districts Muhamdi and Khairabad).

I beg to submit the following news :

Today, it was learnt from Nanda *Harkara* that on November 19, Loni Singh the rebel Raja of Mithauli is staying at Nabi Nagar¹ with about 2000 men and 2 guns. They intend going still farther north.

RATAN SINGH

Ratan Singh rebel, the *Taluqadar* of Kateh² is in his *garhi* with 200 matchlockmen and one gun. He has not yet reported himself to the English authorities and it is believed he will take to flight when the English army reaches. His son, Umrao Singh, who had come with the rebel Raja Har Prasad Singh, *Chakledar* of Khairabad³ was killed in the battle of Jamun. This is why the above-named *Taluqadar* considers himself a rebel and is afraid of the Government's army.

REVOLUTIONARIES AT MALLANWAN

Today, it has been learnt from the news of 29th November, through Bhima *Harkara* that a rebel *Paltan* of 5 or 600 rebel *Tilangas* is stationed at Mallanwan.

GULAB SINGH

Gulab Singh rebel, *Karinda* of the *Taluqadar* of Puswa⁴ Chandrika Bakhsh, has fled away. Chandrika Bakhsh is stationed at Haryaon⁵ with a body of 300 *Tilangas*, one hundred horsemen and six hundred matchlockmen i.e. one thousand men in all and three guns.

Notes on the margin of the original manuscript from 1 to 3 :—

¹ *Nabi Nagar* is 30 miles north of *Mythowlic* (Mithauli) and from Khyrabad (MSS torn) miles north.

² *Katehr* is 30 miles west and north.

³ *Khyrabad* is 48 miles north of *Lucknow*. *Laharpur* is north west of Khyrabad.

⁴ Apparently, *Purwa*.

⁵ '*Haryaon* is 24 miles west and north'—marginal note in the Original.

Today, it has been learnt from the news of November 21, through Ram Prasad *Harkara* that the rebel *Tahsildar* of Biswan, name not known, is stationed at Mallanwan Biswan, with a strength of about 20 or 25 horsemen and eight hundred matchlockmen, in all about 1000 men and at Bari there is the *Thana* of the rebels which has 50 matchlockmen but no guns.

RAJA HAR PRASAD, YAQUB KHAN AND LAKKAR SHAH AT KHAIRABAD

Today, it has been learnt through Suba *Harkara*, that, on November 21 the rebel Raja Har Prasad *Chakledar* of Khairabad, Yaqub Khan *Kumedan*, Lakkhar Shah *Badmash* with other run-away rebels are staying with a strength of 10,000 men and 10 guns at Khairabad. A picket of 50 soldiers is stationed at the Rahimabad bridge. Three hundred rebels with one gun were at Machhrehita. Mr. Carnegie, the Deputy Commissioner of Mallanwan reached Machhrehita for a sudden onslaught and the rebels fled away. Three of them have been taken captives by the above-named gentleman who brought them to the Camp of the *Sarkar* at Nimkhar (Nemi Sharanya). One of these two is wounded and the other two are all right.

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*

I left Sandila and reached Hathialharan on November 22 and met my *harkaras* who had gone out for news from *Zila* Muhamdi, on the way. I am, therefore, submitting the news I collected from them orally, today on November 23 at 6 in the morning. I shall start alone today and stay at Misrikh.¹

BATTLE OF BISWA

Letter No. 5053 from G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, to the Deputy Commissioner, Hamirpur, dated Allahabad, 6th December 1858.

I have the honor to forward for your information the annexed copy of a Telegraph message (quoted below) despatched to the Political Agents at Gwalior and Rewah, and to the Agent to Governor General for Central India.²

¹ Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny *Basta*.

² Hamirpur District Court Mutiny Records, File No. 8., p. 5; Central Records Office, Allahabad.

“Feroze Shah with 1500 sowars, fled from Biswah in Oude, and was making, when last heard of, for the Ganges intending to cross near Kanoje (Kannouj) and enter Bundelcund and join Tantia Topye. Notice has been sent to Cawnpore, Mynpoorie and Agra”.

LEADERS STILL ACTIVE

News-letter sent for information of the Magistrate and Collector of Hamirpur by the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), 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 Mhow Ghat, but finding that impossible they went up the river to Akumghat above Bilhour and below Kanouj.

Their numbers are—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—Feroze Shah, a Delhi Prince. Lukkur Shah. Goolab Shah *alias* Peerjee. Mohsin Aly Khan of Mow Shumshabad (Furruckabad) who passed himself as an European. Fuzul Huq Moulvie, formerly *Sherishtehdar* in the Delhi Commissioner's Office—several of his relations have held high appointments under Government. His brother is now in the employ of the Puttialah (Patiala) Rajah. Hurree Singh of the 12th Irregular Cavalry. Jarceb or Yacoob Khan of 12th Irregular Cavalry. Summund Khan of Jhujjur. Saligram 11th Cavalry. Diler Singh of Parechitgarh.

These men were last seen at sunrise on the 6th instant at Akum Ghat, by the *Kotwal* of Sundeelah, 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 (Kalpi) en route to Runthumbour (Ranthambore) 20 *Koss* distant from Kotah in the Jyepoor territory. They hope to join Tantia Topye who, they believe, rules at Agra.

Summund Khan will probably make for his own country.¹

REVOLUTIONARIES AT OTHER STATIONS

Telegraphic Message from H. B. Godall, Mainpuri, to E. A. Reade, Agra, dated 8th December 1858.

I glean the following from two messages dated 7th received this morning from Meerun ka Sarie. Three Companys (sic,) European & four companys (sic,) Police Battalion sowars or near (sic,) 150 Infantry arrived at Eroul on the 6th. The Rebels had all left. Troops were in pursuit at 9 A. M. yesterday. Share started to join them in the afternoon the wire is being received at Eroul. The rebels had burnt Eroul & Luckerpore & gone south Khoga Nugger six miles south of Tirwa² ten miles west of Luckerpore also said to have been plundered. *Report says that Tantia Topce has arrived at Russoolabad.* Hennesey & Alexander go to Luckerpore this morning. Another message dated today says that the rebels are at Russoolabad in Cawn-pore & at Asim Beylas in Etawah district they are making for Shahyedoor.³

Letter No. 1633 from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, Allahabad, dated Lucknow, 11th December 1858.

The reports from all the Districts, in the Province-Cis-Gogra, for the past week, represent the country as quiet, and free from armed bodies of rebels.

PRINCE FIROZ SHAH REPORTED PROCEEDING TO CENTRAL INDIA

One untoward occurrence has happened in the sudden flight to the south, of 900 Cavalry led by Ferozeshah and other men of note. It would appear that on the defeat of this Delhi Prince at Biswa on the 1st instant, he fled with his follo-

¹ Hamirpur District Court Mutiny Records, File No. 8, Pp. 2-3; Central Records Office, Allahabad.

² *Tirwa*, Pargana and Tahsil *Tirwa* Dist. *Farrukhabad*—This town, in 27° 5' N. and 79° 47' E., lies 25 miles south-east of Fatehgarh, and consists of two parts, old Tirwa and Ganj, or Market Tirwa. (*District Gazetteers, Farrukhabad* 1911, Pp. 261-2).

³ Original Telegrams sent to Mr. E. A. Reade, 1858; Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow.

wers to Mahumdabad, with the intention of crossing the Gogra and joining the Begum. But he received an intimation from the Begum's Camp, that he would not be permitted to cross, her funds, it is believed, being at too low an ebb, to allow of her adding to her force.

Finding himself placed in a dilemma, with Brigadier Barker's force behind, and a column advancing from Lucknow in front, his escape by the Gogra suddenly cut off, Ferozeshah formed hastily the bold determination to make direct for the Ganges and across to Central India. Leaving Biswa on the morning of the 4th with 900 followers, mounted and equipped, he dashed across the Goomtee river and the Mullaon District, without drawing rein till he reached the Ganges on the morning of the 5th at Nanamow Ghat. The passage of the river at this point he found impracticable, but proceeding a few miles higher up, he, by the aid of elephants procured boats from the opposite bank, and crossed his party near the old city of Kanouj by the morning of the 6th and continued his flight towards Central India.

The earliest intimation of their flight was transmitted by the Chief Commissioner by Electric Telegraph, as well as by letter to the various District Officers in the N. W. Provinces, and doubtless these fugitives will ere long be intercepted.

A report was circulated that the Nawab had accompanied this force, but independent of the information which the Chief Commissioner from time to time receives of the movements of this man, which states him to be still hiding near Chanda the circumstances attending the flight of this party, and the ascertained fact of its being undertaken on a sudden emergency render it very improbable that the Nawab was of their number.

The evacuation of Oudh by Ferozeshah, Lukkur Shah, Moulvi Fuzul Huq—a bitter foe of the Government, which had given high offices and appointments to himself and many of his family—has tended greatly to facilitate the progress of pacification.

ISMAIL KHAN SURRENDERS

Ismail Khan, a leader of some note, who lately lost 9 guns in a fight with Brigadier Troup at Thundooa, surrendered himself with about 400 followers to Major Carnegie within the last week, and others are coming in. Amongst them the rebel leader Mehndee Hussun, who besieged Maun Singh in his

Fort of Shah Gung, and afterwards opposed our occupation of Sultanpore, now sues for terms.

The movement on Bhyramghat (Bahram Ghat), of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, who left Lucknow on the 5th inst. with his force, has cleared the Ram Nuggur *Tehseel* in the Lucknow District, of all armed rebels, and the *Tehseel* Establishments are working, and collections coming in, at every *Tehseel* throughout the Districts south of the Gogra.

District Officers are actively engaged in destroying Forts, and collecting Arms, as the returns submitted in an appendix shew.

From every District the Chief Commissioner receives reports of heinous crime being scarce, but he has reason to believe that it is rife, but is not reported yet by the Police, who have not hitherto been properly organized.¹

BENI MADHO, DEVI BAKHSH, NARPAT SINGH, GULAB SINGH ETC. CONTINUE THE FIGHT

Letter No. 1677 of 1858 from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, dated Lucknow, 18th December 1858.

The Chief Commissioner continues to receive favourable reports from the Districts of Oudh, Cis-Gogra.

The officers are employed everywhere in completing settlements, disarming the people, and destroying forts.

DISARMING OF AWADH

No symptom of disaffection or resistance is now openly visible, but the Chief Commissioner is alive to the great difficulty of disarming completely the whole Province, the inhabitants of which part with their weapons with so great reluctance. Where the Oudh Military Police are available, they are employed on this duty and a column, Commanded by Colonel Carmichael and placed at the Chief Commissioner's disposal by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, has been sent into Baiswarra and the country around Jugdeespoor to expedite the dismantling of forts and the delivery of arms. So soon as the

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 31st December 1858, No 23; National Archives, New Delhi.

military operations in the Baraitch Division shall have been concluded, the Chief Commissioner will employ all the Military Police available, on this very important duty.

**BENI MADHO, DEVI BAKHSH, NARPAT SINGH AND GULAB SINGH
STILL IN OPPOSITION**

With the exception of the few leaders of note as Banee Madho, Devec Buksh, Nurput Singh, Golab Singh, and some others, nearly every landholder south of the Gogra has submitted and returned to his Estates.

GONDA

On the north of the Gogra, very satisfactory progress has been made. A large portion of the District of Gonda is now in our hands, and Captain Ross officiating Deputy Commissioner, is establishing police posts in the southern portion of his jurisdiction. General Sir H. Grant was by the last accounts, approaching Bulrampoor, which has been actively threatened lately by the rebels.

BALA RAO TOWARDS NANPARA TO JOIN NANA

Bala Rao is reported now to have left that side, and is making for Nanpara to join the Nana.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, after meeting Sir H. Grant at or near Gonda, has rapidly moved to Baraitch, driving the Begum and her party towards Nanparra.

BENI MADHO AND BEGAM

Major Barrow reports that Banee Madho, who is with the Begum, is now anxiously desirous of terms, and the Begum would surrender if she could detach herself from her troops. The Chief Commissioner regrets to find that the Rajah of Gonda has, at the eleventh hour, rejected the offers of pardon, and sent an insolent reply to Major Barrow's letters. Many Sepoys have surrendered to Major Barrow in the Baraitch Division, and the large army of rebels is rapidly melting away.

Since the last report, the Chief Commissioner has taken an opportunity of releasing from the Lucknow Prison 98 men, who were under sentence of imprisonment or transportation, for having joined in the rebellion, but against whom no act of atrocity had been charged. At the same time, the two state

Prisoners Mirza Hyder Shekoh and Humayoon Shah of the House of Delhi, who had been placed in confinement by the late Sir H. Lawrence, at the commencement of the outbreak have now been liberated.

Returns of arms collected, forts destroyed, and Revenue received during the past week are submitted in the appendices.

The Chief Commissioner regrets that no Returns have been received from Fyzabad; the officiating Deputy Commissioner will be called upon to explain the omission.

UNNAO, SULTANPUR

The Districts of Oonao and Sultanpoor show the greatest progress in disarming. Seetapore is very indifferent, and the others shew nothing remarkable. The Chief Commissioner hopes that future Returns will show generally greater progress.¹

MUHAMMAD HUSAIN TO NANPARA

Letter No. 15 of 1858 from C. Wingfield, the Chief Commissioner of Goruckpore (Gorakhpur), to G. F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated Camp Bustee (Basti), the 20th December 1858.

I have the honor to acknowledge your letter no. 5154 dated 10th December and to state in reply that in obedience to the instructions therein given I have conveyed to Mahomed Hussain through a *ẓmindar* of this district, one of his chief supporters and confidants who has lately surrendered, assurances of the reliance he may place on the merciful intentions of His Excellency the Governor General towards himself and his nephew if they make immediate submission, in consideration of their having saved the lives of Colonel Lennox and his family.

Last accounts however represent Mahomed Hussain as in full flight to Nanpara and the Jungles still further west, so it is by no means certain the message will reach him.

With regard to the 2nd para of your letter His Excellency will have seen from a correspondence that has lately passed between Mahomed Hussain and myself through the medium of the Deputy Magst. Seikh Khyrooddeen Ahmed (Shaikh

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 18th December 1858, No. 243; National Archives, New Delhi.

Khairuddin Ahmad) that I have already laboured unsuccessfully to convince him of the hopelessness of adhering to the cause of the Royal family of Oudh. It would be useless therefore, nor would it become me, to say more on that head. His Lordship will also have seen that I made the service rendered to Colonel Lennox the basis of opening communication with Mahomed Hussain.

Though it is a matter with which our Government has no concern yet in order that an unduly favourable estimate may not be formed of his character from this single act of humanity, I would draw attention to the foul murder by him of the Banker Randutt in open court, the circumstances of which are detailed in the official papers on the Annexation of Oudh. Could he have been apprehended at the time, the Oudh Government would, at the instance of Colonel Sleeman, most assuredly have put him to death.

I may also mention that his landed property is very trifling, under 1000 Rs. per annum, I should say.¹

PROGRESS OF THE CAMPAIGN IN AWADH

Letter from Clyde, Commander-in-Chief, to Canning, Viceroy and Governor General, dated Headquarters' Camp on the Raptce (Rapti), 7th January 1859.

REVOLUTIONARIES DRIVEN ACROSS GHAGRA

When I last had the honor to address Your Excellency, on the progress of the Campaign in Oudh on the 25th of November 1858, I reported that the first half of it had been brought to a conclusion, the rebels having been for the most part, driven across the Gogra, with the exception of the Seetapore district, which stretches from the border of Rohilkund (Rohilkhand) to the neighbourhood of Lucknow.

CAMPAIGN AT AN END

It is now my pleasing duty further to report to Your Excellency, that the Campaign is at an end, that there is no longer even the vestige of rebellion in the Province of Oudh, and that the last remnant of the mutineers and insurgents has

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 18th March 1859, No. 12; National Archives, New Delhi.

been hopelessly driven across the mountains, which form the barrier between the Kingdom of Nepal and Her Majesty's Empire of Hindostan.

BRITISH TACTICS IN JULY

These results have been attained by following the course of action first initiated in the month of July, when the Campaign of Oudh, for the reduction of the country really commenced viz., by not committing the troops to a forward movement until I should be ready to support it on every side, and so to convert a march into thorough process of occupation, as was done in the Doab last year, after the battle of Cawnpore.

Due preparation once made, the troops have always been instantly thrown forward, in spite of every difficulty of season, and their work rendered permanent.

OPERATIONS IN BIHAR, GORAKHPUR AND AWADH

Hence it arose that the campaigns in Behar, Goruckpore and Oudh, have been always treated as a whole, and I have in great measure continued to trust to my own judgement, to fix the date when decisive operations should commence in each territory, with due regard to the general plan, from the great outline and features of which a departure has not at any time been permitted.

BRITISH ADMINISTRATION IN AWADH, GORAKHPUR AND BIHAR

It is with no ordinary feelings of satisfaction and of thankfulness to the Officers and Soldiers of the Army, who have displayed such unwearied constancy, perseverance, and fortitude in giving execution to my orders, that I have it consequently in my power to announce to Your Excellency, that on the 1st January, the last day of clemency permitted under the Proclamation of Her Gracious Majesty the Queen, it was reported to me, by the Special Commissioner attached to my Camp in a civil capacity, that the Law and Civil Administration had been re-established in every district in Oudh, similar reports having been made respecting Goruckpore and Behar a few weeks previously.

31ST DECEMBER 1858

On the 31st of December 1858, the rebels were engaged

for the last time by me, as a Military body in Oudh, and driven across the border. The force actually with me is encamped close to it.

BEGAM IN NEPAL.

The Begum, with her immediate followers, having been as yet deaf to the offers of Her Majesty's clemency, has sought an asylum in Nepal; while nearly every Chief or Talookadar, I may say almost without an exception, whose hands have not been imbrued in murder, has surrendered, and is now in the course of making an amicable arrangement with the Chief Commissioner of Oudh.

DISARMAMENT OF PEOPLE AND DISMANTLING OF FORTS

The disarmament of the people, and the dismantling of the forts of the country, have proceeded rapidly under the protection of the Columns and Garrisons left in different parts of the Province, as the general advance of the long line pressed further onwards, until at length it was arrested by the mountains of Nepal, the frontier of Her Majesty's ally.

Many hundred guns, and about three hundred and fifty thousand arms of different descriptions, have been collected in Oudh and more than three hundred forts have been destroyed.

A considerable number of the mutineers have surrendered, and been allowed to retire to their homes, and the population of the country is settling down in all directions, in the most satisfactory manner.

I now present to Your Excellency a slight sketch of the Military movements of the last six weeks.

STATE OF AFFAIRS AFTER THE EVACUATION OF SHANKARPUR

It will be in the recollection of Your Excellency, that a few hours after the evacuation of Shankerpore, on the 16th November, 1858, by Bainic Madho (Beni Madho), the force which had been concentrated for the reduction of that place, was broken up, Brigadier Taylor, C. B., H. M.'s 79th Highlanders, having been sent with a strong Brigade of all arms to Fyzabad, with orders to cross the Gogra at that point.

Sir Hope Grant had been ordered to march in a direct line to the Goomtee. Leaving his force under Brigadier Horsford, C. B., Rifle Brigade, to reduce the country stretching from

Sultanpore to Lucknow, Sir H. Grant repaired with the Head-Quarters of Hodson's Horse to Fyzabad, according to instruction, to take charge of the first Trans-Gogra movement.

He was desired to assume Command of the Troops in the Goruckpore district, under Brigadier Rowcroft, Bengal Native Infantry and to combine them with the Troops at Fyzabad, for the purpose of commencing the clearance of the Trans-Gogra district, arrangements being at the same time made to support the movement from Lucknow and the various posts held between that city and Fyzabad. In the meantime an excellent bridge had been completed, at the latter place, by Lieutenant Colonel Nicholson, Royal Engineers.

GONDA RAJA AND MENHDEE HOSSEIN (MEHNDI HUSAIN)

Sir Hope Grant gave effect to his instruction in his usual brilliant manner, crossed the Gogra on the 25th November, and engaged a large body of insurgents under the Raja of Gonda and Melndee Hossein, taking 6 guns, and utterly routing the enemy, with but small loss to himself.

GONDA OCCUPIED BY BRITISH

Gonda was then occupied by Sir Hope Grant, and Brigadier Rowcroft was gradually pushed forward across the Raptce to Heer in the Goruckpore district; this latter movement driving the rebels, who had so long annoyed the western frontier of that district, into Toolseepore, in Oudh, to the North of the Raptce.

It had now become necessary for Sir Hope Grant to stop his forward movement, until the advance along the line had been made, otherwise, that which we most dreaded, might probably have taken place, and the rebels passing round his right flank under the mountains might have invaded Tirhoot and Behar. He was accordingly warned to use the greatest care to prevent such a catastrophe, and to confine himself to that duty for the present.

AFTER DAUNDIA KHERA

In the meantime the other Brigades of the army had not been idle. After the fight of Dhoondea-Khaira, I moved, by forced marches, to Lucknow with the Troops.....

Another Brigade, broken up in the Roy Bareilly district,

furnished Moveable Column which respectively under Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, Royal Artillery, and Lieutenant-Colonel Carmichael, H. M.'s 32nd Regiment, pursued Bainie Madho to the banks of the Gogra, Lieutenant-Colonel Carmichael taking up the running as it were, from Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon.

While Lieutenant-Colonel Carmichael was in pursuit, Brigadier Horsford intercepted Bainie Madho, who, flying in confusion, was driven with his followers across the Goomtee, by Brigadier Horsford's Cavalry and Horse Artillery under Lieutenant-Colonel Sir William Russell, Bart., 7th Hussars. All these Officers distinguished themselves by the decision and celerity of their movements.

SEETAPORE (SETAPUR)

Finding, on my arrival at Lucknow on the 28th November, that I should be obliged to stop there a few days to make certain arrangements, and to meet demands of the correspondence (sic,) of the Army, which had latterly accompanied me I was not allowed to halt, but was pushed on at once under Brigadier Eveleigh, C. B., H. M.'s 20th Foot, to assist in the reduction of the Seetapore district.

FORT OF OOMERIAH (UMARIA) OCCUPIED

On the 2nd December, Brigadier Eveleigh occupied the Fort of Oomeriah after a sharp resistance; he remained there for three days, engaged in levelling it to the ground. This fort, owing to its position, had hitherto barred the North-West road from Lucknow, and had been for a long time a source of much inconvenience. Brigadier Horsford having completed his prescribed duty on the right bank of the Goomtee, had now marched through Lucknow. Another Brigade, formed under Brigadier Purnell, C. B., H. M.'s 90th Light Infantry, at Nawabgunge Barabunkee, was joined to him.

FOLLOWERS OF BAINIE MADHO (BENI MADHO)

I left Lucknow on the 5th Dec., and reached Byram Ghat with Brigadier Horsford's Brigade, on the next day. I found Bainie Madho's followers, who had retreated before Lieutenant Colonel Carmichael, still lingering on the opposite

side of the river. Sir Hope Grant having been previously ordered to occupy Secrora in their rear, they quickly disappeared, and retreated Northwards as soon as they became aware of his march from Gonda to that place.

It appeared to me unavailing to delay the campaign during the tedious process of collecting boats and materials to bridge the Gogra.

Leaving, therefore, Brigadier Purnell with his Brigade to effect that purpose, I marched at the rate of twenty miles a day to Fyzabad, crossed the Gogra at that place, and thence proceeded, in two marches, to Secrora, followed by Colonel Christie, H. M.'s 80th Foot, with a detail of troops. Sir Hope Grant waited to receive me at Secrora by appointment, while his troops had been already pushed one march on their way to Bulrampore, on the Raptee.

BALA RAO IN POSSESSION OF TOOLSEYPORE (TULSIPUR)

The Major General was now instructed to commence his movement immediately on Toolseypore, by causing Brigadier Rowcroft to bring forward his Right Shoulder, and invade the Toolseypore territory from the North-West corner of Goruckpore. A strong post was also formed at Simree, to ward off the chance of the Brigadier's advance being turned to the Eastward. *Bala Rao was reported to hold Toolseypore in considerable strength.*

BEGAM AND NANA RETIRE

I then marched forward to Baraitch with Brigadier Horsford, *the Begum and her forces retiring from Boondee (Baundi) and the Nana from Baraitch as I moved on.*

GONDA

At the same time Brigadier Eveleigh who had been directed on Fyzabad, was ordered to take post at Gonda, to form a reserve to the Columns moving North-ward, to settle the country and level the fort.

GUARD OF GOGRA (GHAGRA)

Brigadier Purnell was desired to assist in the guard of Gogra to the North-West, one of his Regiments, H. M.'s 23rd Fusiliers, marching up the small Doab, between the Chowka and Sarjoo, to Mullapore, with two guns and a detachment of Irregular Cavalry. In the same manner Brigadier Troupe (Bengal Native Infantry) who, after the fall of Biswa,

had taken post at Jehangirabad on the Chowka, was ordered to H. M.'s 60th Rifles, with two guns, and the detachment of cavalry, across that stream, and to extend the remainder of his force to the left.

ROHILGUND (ROHILKHAND) FRONTIER

The various forces at Mohmdec, Shalajehampore, Phillibheet (Pilibhit), Madho, Tenda (Tanda) &c. on the Rohilcund Frontier, were put well on the alert, so that no resource might be left to the Rebel forces but to surrender or to take to the hills of Nepaul.

CHRISTIE DETACHED FROM BARAITCH (BAHRAICH)

To cause this pressure to be still more felt before the last advance was made, Colonel Christie was detached from Baraitch, and ordered to march up the left bank of the Sarjoo to Durmapore. He left Baraitch on the 21st the movement of the various Columns having been delayed by rain some days.

On the 23rd I left Baraitch, passed Nanparah on the 26th, and after marching twenty miles on that day, attacked a considerable body of rebels at Burguddeah. Their left flank was turned. They fled after making a slight resistance, and were pursued until nightfall, leaving their guns in our hands.

MUSJIDIAH (MASJIDIA)

On the 27th the force marched on the Fort of Musjidiah. This place was taken after three hours of vertical fire from two mortars, and a cannonade from an 18-pounder and an 8-inch Howitzer; the infantry being carefully laid out to command the enemy's embrasures and parapets.

I have much satisfaction in dwelling on the manner in which this Fort was captured, with a very trifling amount of loss to the Troops engaged. The Chief Engineer, Colonel Harness, Royal Engineers, has reported it to be one of the strongest, as respects artificial defences that he has seen in India. But, like all others, it was without bomb proof cover, and consequently, fell easily into our hands, after few hours of well directed fire.

EVERY BRIGADE WELL PROVIDED

As Your Lordship is aware, every Brigade has been

carefully provided throughout the war, since the fall of Lucknow, with heavy guns, to ensure similar results in the attack of the Forts of Oudh.

NANA'S FORCES IN THE VICINITY OF BANKEE (BANKI)

On the 29th, the Troops returned to Nalparah and made a forced march on the night of the 30th to the vicinity of Bankee, *where the enemy had loitered under the Nana*. He was surprised and attacked with great vigor, driven through a jungle which he attempted to defend, and, finally into and across the Raptce, the 7th Hussars entering that river with the fugitives. On this occasion, the Troops distinguished themselves, more particularly the 2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade, under Colonel Hill, and the 7th Hussars under Lieutenant Colonel Sir William Russell. I have to deplore the loss of Major Horne, 7th Hussars, who was drowned in the waters of the Raptce. He had the left wing of the Regiment. Captain Stisted, who led the 1st Squadron, was rescued with great difficulty from a similar fate. The next day it was reported that all the bodies of rebels which had been retreating before us from the day of our arrival at Beyram Ghat, had either surrendered or passed the Nepal frontier. In these various affairs 18 guns fell into our hands.

Colonel Christie had a successful skirmish on the 23rd December, and took two guns in pursuit. He then made a circuit to the North by Pudnaha, and rejoined my Camp on the 3rd January.

BALA RAO DRIVEN FROM TOOLSEYPORE (TULSIPUR)

In the meantime Brigadier Rowcroft attacked Toolseypore on the 23rd December *driving Bala Rao from that point to the foot of the mountains*, and taking two guns. Sir Hope Grant was alarmed about his flank being turned to the Eastward and to the North of Goruckpore. Acting according to his instructions, and with great judgement, he made that point absolutely safe, *before renewing his attack on Bala Rao*. That being done he advanced through the jungle on that leader, and took fifteen guns from him, almost without the show of resistance on the part of the rebels; the latter dispersing and seeking refuge in the adjacent hills, and Bala Rao flying into the interior, as the Nana, his brother, had done before him.

RESISTANCE OF 1,50,000 SUBDUED

Thus has the contest in Oudh been brought to an end, and the resistance of 1,50,000 armed men been subdued with a very moderate loss to Her Majesty's Troops, and the most merciful forbearance towards the misguided enemy.

WATCHING THE NEPAL FRONTIER

For the present Brigadier Horsford has been left watching the Nepaul frontier, where the Raptce debouches from the mountains. A similar arrangement will be made in the Foolsey-pore district. I propose to give charge of the position to Sir Hope Grant, and to return to Lucknow myself forthwith. . . .¹

FALL OF OUDH (AWADH)

The strategical movement of troops which was to effect the complete subjugation of Oudh, began by the advance of a splendid column from Siahjehanpoor, under the command of Brigadier Troup, and of a smaller force from Furruckabad under Brigadier Hale of the 82nd Foot. Both were to co-operate with Brigadier Barker in expelling the enemy from the positions held south-west of the river Gogra. To the south-east of Oudh, Lord Clyde had collected a large force, with his usual train of heavy guns and baggage, preparatory to marching against the stronghold of Bence Madho, who continued to disregard the efforts of the Governor General to save him. At Fyzabad, our most active and fortunate General, Sir Hope Grant, had constructed a bridge of boats across the Gogra, and he was impatiently waiting for the orders to go over and attack the army of the Begum. Brigadiers Wetherall, Eveleigh, and Horsford, had taken their places for the contest, and the return of the cold weather had made the troops impatient for the final trial of strength.

Brigadier Barker and myself communicated with the columns coming from the west, through Chowdry Hushmut Ali, a man whom I never found backward; through Bharut Singh, a spirited little chief who still held the fort near Birrwa where I had placed him after our repulse in August; and through

¹ Charles Ball : "*The History of the Indian Mutiny*" Vol. II. Pp. 563-566.

Hurdeo Bux, an influential chief who, in the early days of the mutiny, risked his life, and property to protect Messrs. Edwardes and Probyn when flying from the massacre of Furruckabad with their families, and never afterwards abandoned our cause. Brigadier Barker, (one of the most active and intelligent Officers in the service), was most eager to commence his share of the business, and, on receiving Lord Clyde's instructions, he lost no time in reconnoitring the Fort of Birrwa. I provided him with such plans and information as was obtainable, and it all tended to convince him that he had one of the most formidable forts in the province to capture at the very onset of the campaign. Accompanied by a strong escort he leisurely examined as much of the fortifications as were visible through the bamboo jungle, although the enemy, by opening their guns, attempted to keep him off. I had received my wound in leading an assault upon the south-western angle of the defences; now it was proposed to attack the eastern face from a small village perched on a mound, from which, we were told, the interior works could be bombarded. He made demonstration towards the mound as if to force the enemy off; but the artifice did not dislodge them, and the Brigadier, having no wish to bring on an engagement, returned to Sundeela with two of the escort wounded.

At two o'clock the following morning, and while it was yet dark, Brigadier Barker left Sundeela with infantry, cavalry, artillery, and sappers, to attack Birrwa. He reached it at dawn, but not before tidings of his approach had gone to Gholab Singh, who fired a salute of guns from the ramparts as the head of the column emerged from the low jungle firing the south face of the fortress, to advise us of his determination to resist. Under shelter of the trees the troops breakfasted while the Brigadier arranged for the occupation of the mound, from which the enemy loudly challenged him to come on. At eight o'clock the Oudh Military Police (led by Captain Dawson), and the Rifle Brigade (under the intrepid Major Oxenden), were pushed across a morass for the purpose of attacking the north face of the village. A heavy fusillade from the mound was maintained at the infantry, and a couple of light guns that struggled through the water; but, as soon as they crossed it, the enemy slackened fire, and on observing some of them in full retreat towards the fort, I ventured to gallop into the village alone. The sight of a mounted English-

man, armed with a long sword, very much quickened their flight. The Rifles at once turned into the village, and the Brigadier searched in vain for the spot from whence he was to see interior of the defences. Nothing but a green flag rising above the foliage of the bamboos was visible, which indicated the position of the fort, and served as a guide for the Officer at the mortars.

The 88th Regiment was advanced to the south through high cultivation, and I was galloping across to a small party fearlessly pushing straight up to the outer works, when my attention was attracted to two privates who ran panting at the tail of my Arab.

The rifles were sent down from the mound, through a splendid grove of trees, to the verge of the bamboo belt, where only a few yards of the south-west bastion of the inner fort were faintly visible. Dawson, with his Sikhs (Sikhs), was on the left, and the Horse Artillery, and 88th Foot, were on the right. With extraordinary boldness Brigadier Barker pushed up his eight-inch howitzer, and an eighteen-pounder gun, to within a hundred yards of the bastion, trusting to the cover afforded to the gunners by the jungle. The Sikhs crouched along to the north gate, which the enemy kept open for escape when in peril. Major Maynard, with his desperate Irishmen, gradually worked round to the point attacked by me in August, and thereby secured access to the eastern gate of the outer works. The rebels were a thousand strong in the morning, but in the afternoon it was clear, from the diminished resistance, that the faint-hearted had gone off through the jungle that extended for miles to the north and completely checked any attempt at pursuit. About two o'clock P. M. the noisy cheers of the 88th were heard eastward, and soon after the Brigadier learnt that they had effected a lodgment in the outer defences, and driven the enemy to the inner work, which was protected by a great ditch forty feet across, and thirty-five feet in depth, with water in some places.

The breach in the bastion being practicable by three o'clock a storming party was formed, with a reserve, by the Rifle Brigade, and the Punjab Sappers carried the ladders. Lieutenant Carnegie, of the Bengal Engineers, was deputed to blow open the eastern gate, and Captain Dawson, of the Military Police, was instructed to seize the north escape, and prevent the rebels getting away through the jungle. The

assault was admirably managed, and, in a few minutes, the breach was mounted, the gates forced, and the enemy driven into a large house in the centre of the fort, and cut off from every chance of escape. Major Maynard was met by a discharge of grape. Captain Carnegie succeeded in nailing a powder bag to the gate; thinking the fuse had failed, he intrepidly returned with a lighted port fire, and reached just as the powder exploded, shattering the gate to pieces and burning him in a frightful manner. He was so blackened that the assaulting party mistook him for a native as they rushed through the ruins, and he narrowly escaped being bayoneted. Ersign Richards, of the Rifles, was first in at the breach, and dangerously wounded; Major Goodenough followed, and was shot in the hand; Serjeant Malony, of the Rifle Brigade, and the assaulting party, with difficulty clambered after them through the rubbish, for the ladders proved to be too short for the ascent. Lieutenant Alexander, who commanded the storming party, came back with an arrow in his shoulder. Dawson reached the north escape in time to drive back the rebels, who got jammed (sic, jammed) in the gateway by their too great eagerness to get away.

Darkness was approaching, and the cavalry posted outside the jungle had no chance of meeting any of the rebels. The noise and confusion within the fort grew awful as all the assailants pressed in to crush the desperate men in the doomed house, from which the unfortunate wretches kept up a fatal fire through loopholes. The Brigadier sheltered his men, and was making arrangements to blow in the east wall of the house, when the Irish broke loose in chase of a flock of geese, and did not return to their places till all the birds were caught and many of the pursuers killed. After this excitement had subsided, the Brigadier was importuned by Captain Dawson to let him go into the house with his Sikhs and finish the day's business. He thanked Dawson for the proposal, but declined to expose him to certain death, for the building just then could only be entered by a window little more than two feet square. The Chief turned to attend to the work of the engineers, and was immediately pulled round by the cheering of the men, which was excited by Captain Dawson's passage through the window. Knowing the cruel fate that Dawson was recklessly braving, he called to the soldiers to follow him quickly; and a Rifleman reached in time to save

Dawson who scrambled out with one arm nearly off, while his saviour hopelessly struggled inside a narrow dark passage and was cut to pieces. The arm was amputated, and Dawson died soon after a victim to his own rashness.

The straw along the roof was set fire to, and the flames drove the defenders to the lower rooms, in which they were closely packed, when the barrels of powder piled against the east wall exploded with a tremendous crash, and filled the yard with the ruins. It was now dark. With loud cheers the assaulting party entered the inner apartments, stepping over the bodies of the rebels killed by the explosion, and fearlessly encountering the survivors in the midst of the burning building, where a horrid scene of carnage terminated the fight. Gholab Singh, the leader and five more, escaped to an inner room, and there resolutely defended themselves. The Brigadier withdrew his soldiers from the house, and left the defenders to be devoured by the flames fast spreading to the apartment. At midnight he returned to Sundeela with all but the 88th Foot, and a regiment of Military Police, which were left under the command of Major Boileau, Commandant of Police, who was present rendering good service throughout the attack. After warning the sentries to prevent the escape of Gholab Singh, he rested by my side on the floor of a cold room, and was talking of the gallantry that had captured so strong a fortress in eight hours, when we were called to arms by the rapid discharge of musketry. On running to the spot we discovered that Gholab Singh had suddenly dashed through the guards, leaped forty feet from the top of the nearest bastion to the bottom of a dry ditch, and escaped to the jungle. Two of his companions were suffocated in the burning room, two more were killed in the desperate leap, and only one accompanied Gholab Singh in his flight. It was a gallant—a very gallant escape, and, great as was the disappointment at losing so dangerous a leader, his courage was highly extolled, and I could not lament his flying from the dreadful fate that awaited him. He was of humble origin, but shrewd and unscrupulous. The widow of the Chief of Birrwa had admired his manly proportions, and admitted him to her confidence. He assumed the management of her affairs, and, at last, ruled as lord over all. He afterwards died fighting against us in the mountains of Nepaul, and thus closed a career common enough in India.

In a week the fort was levelled to the ground and made completely indefensible by the destruction of the dense bamboo jungle around it. The capture of this important stronghold instilled fear into the rebel leaders throughout the district and produced offers of submission from chiefs beyond it, which the generous policy of the Government empowered me to accept, for it was distinctly announced to all civil officers with troops, and to the military commanders, that it was not to be a war of retribution, and that force was only to be used when persuasion failed to procure submission to our authority.

Raja Nurput Singh, of Rohya, was the only *Talookdar* who rejected our pacific overtures, and he sent me word by a spy, that he was in the hands of the mutineers, and powerless to accept them, supposing he could credit our forgiveness of the death of so many English soldiers in the ditch of his fortress. The influence he gained by that disaster was mildly exercised, and his part of the rebellious province was freer from violence than any other. Had General Walpole been more cautious there is no doubt that this man would not have had the death of so many Englishmen to frighten him from his allegiance. He was aged, and a cripple.

Nurput Singh repaired his defences, and spread it abroad that he meant to die within them rather than surrender. He had 1200 infantry, and about 200 cavalry, and eight guns were mounted on the ramparts. Brigadier Hale, from Furruckabad, forced the rebels from Sandee, and he was advancing towards Rohya when Brigadier Barker broke ground at Sundeeela, and, leaving a police regiment behind to guard the stores, marched onward to meet him. On the afternoon of the second day he halted within seven miles of Rohya, and I sent in the last invitation to Nurput Singh to surrender. No answer was returned. In the morning Brigadier Hale approached from the west, and Brigadier Barker advanced to a large village south of the fort, where they were to concert a plan of attack, and begin the bombardment. Within three miles of Rohya a revenue defaulter, in irons, informed us that Nurput Singh, leaving his prisoners behind, had evacuated the fort during the night, and gone to the north with all his guns and treasure. We galloped forward to see if it was so, and were only stopped at the gate by a flock of geese, which were soon fastened to the saddles of our escort. A few miserable villagers vanished through the opposite gate on hearing us approach.

The boys and Police Cavalry, under Colonel Seymour, were sent in pursuit of Nurput Singh; and, after being out all day, returned without discovering his track, for the villagers pretended ignorance or endeavoured to mislead him. The country for nearly twenty miles was so covered by brushwood that he could make no progress without guides, while it afforded superior cover for the retreat of the enemy.¹

PROPOSED ACTION AGAINST BENI MADHO

Letter No. 238 of 1859 from S. A. Abbott, the Commissioner and Superintendent, Lucknow Division, to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), dated Lucknow, Commissioner's office, the 30th May 1859.

I beg to annex a list of persons proposed to be proclaimed rebels by the Dy. Commissioner of Roy-Barreilly received with letter No. 141 dated 26th instant. I solicit the expression of the Chief Commissioner's sentiments on the subject. There are two men I have noted who are charged with murder, and atrocities. On them should be fixed a heavy reward, but for such men as Bence Madho and the others who are charged with rebellion merely, I think it would be hardly advisable to proclaim them. We can confiscate their territory and property as absentee rebels, but to set a price upon them is of little use.

If Bence Madho comes in tomorrow, I suppose we should not do more to him than we have done i. e. confiscate his territory.

However it is a political question and the Chief Commissioner may probably not agree with me in this opinion. I would only proclaim and proscribe murderers, or aiders and abettors in murders, and treat the rest with contempt, confiscating all their property we could lay hands on.²

NO TERMS TO NANA SAHEB

Letter No. 3294 Foreign Department, Fort William, dated 3rd June 1859, to Major General Hope Grant, Commander, Awadh force.

Your letter No. 238 d/ the 23rd ultimo to the address of of the Govr. Genl's. Military Secy., with enclosure having

¹ T. H. Kavanagh : "*How I won the Victoria Cross*" (London 1860), Pp. 199-207.

² Foreign Political Consultations, 15th July 1859, Nos. 261/64; National Archives, New Delhi.

been laid before the Council I am directed by H. E. the C-in-C. to inform you that your circular of the same date to the officers commanding frontier posts is approved with reference to the circumstances under which it was issued. It was most proper to annul Major Richardson's letter.

But I am desired to state that your circular must be held to have been entirely superseded and rescinded by the orders conveyed in my letter No. 2675 d/ the 13th May to the Secy. to the Govt. of the N. W. Provinces, of which a copy is herewith transmitted.

You will be so good as to communicate these orders to the Officers commanding frontier posts and inform them that if the Nana surrenders or be taken he is on no account to be released, that he is to be sent forthwith to take his trial for the crimes of which he is accused, and that if he offers to surrender he must be told that no conditions will be made with him and that he will receive a fair trial and nothing more.¹

A copy of this correspondence has been sent to the Ch. Commr. (Chief Commissioner).²

OFFENCES OF MUHAMMAD HUSAIN CONDONED

Letter from G. Couper, Secretary to Government North-Western Provinces, to the Chief of the Staff (No. 669, dated Allahabad, the 3rd June 1859).

I am desired to express the acknowledgements of the Lieutenant-Governor for your letter No. 32 dated 27th ultimo. As however His Excellency the Governor General in Council has been pleased to condone the offences attributed to Mahomed Hussein, His Honor is of opinion that there is no necessity for issuing any instructions to Sir Hope Grant regarding his future treatment of that individual.³

¹ There is a note in the margin : Ordered that in continuation of the Extt. from this Deptt. d/13th ultimo No : 2676, a copy of the above correspondence be sent to the Mily. Deptt. for information & communication to His Exe : the Commr.-in-Chief.

² Foreign Political Consultations, 15th July 1859, Nos. 261/64; National Archives, New Delhi.

³ Foreign Political Consultations, 5th August 1859, No. 100; National Archives, New Delhi.

BEGAM AND HER ASSOCIATES TOWARDS NEPAL

Letter No. 1466 of 1859 from Major L. Barrow, C. B., Special Commissioner, to T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Lucknow, dated 4th January 1859, Camp Bankee (Banki).

In continuation of my letter No. 1446 dated 2nd instant, and with reference to the enclosures, detailing the course pursued in regard to the Begum, I have the honor to transmit herewith the reply of Mummoo Khan.

2. I have communicated verbally, that no further communication will be held with these parties until they present themselves.

BEGAM AND HER FORCES IN THE PASS IN NEPAL.

3. The Rebels are still collected in the pass in Nepaul territory. I herewith forward a sketch of the position. Shut up here, they can give us trouble within this Province. It is difficult to ascertain the number of actual fighting men still left, but it is not large, the greater number have dispersed; they have 7 indifferent guns.

4. I have not yet quite ascertained from Captain Bunbury, if any armed party remains opposite to General Grant or not, but I am disposed to think no rebel body of consequence exists now within Oudh limits.¹

TERMS FOR PEACE

Translation of a letter from Ali Muhammad Khan alias Mammoo Khan, to Major Barrow.

I have received your letter d/ 21st November, in reply to mine, stating that there was no necessity for you to write to me again, that the Commander-in-Chief had issued orders to make certain conditions with me, and that a picket will be sent to escort.

By the contents of this letter, it is evident that His Excellency wishes to satisfy us in every way. It is also manifest by the orders of His Excellency, that the lives and honor of the Queen Dowager, her followers, and myself, will be well protected.

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 15th July 1859, No. 413 G. Q. & K. W.; National Archives, New Delhi.

It is customary with both English and Natives, that no treaty can be executed without the sanction of Government.

Although we are well satisfied with His Excellency's orders, and believe that the Government will not omit any point to better off our circumstances, we hope that His Excellency will report to Government and write plainly the orders which the Government may be pleased to issue in regard to this *Sirkar*, and that as usual, they may be published.

After this is done, the Queen Dowager will not delay to present herself.

I know the Commander-in-Chief has power in no way to interfere with political affairs, and that a pardon even cannot be granted without the sanction of Government, but the Commander-in-Chief has power to report.

The Special Commissioner can write to the Chief Commissioner, who can make a similar report and get things settled speedily.

I write in truth, that the Queen Dowager who is a woman, cannot comprehend the meaning of the Proclamation issued by the order of Her Gracious Majesty the Queen. She wishes to know plainly, how she is pardoned, and what suitable allowance will be settled upon her.

As both His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and the Chief Commissioner, are generous hearted, and the Government is also willing to cherish us, I have troubled you in this affair.

You must positively use your good offices and inform me how long it will take to obtain and publish the sanction of Government. In the meantime, a stop should be put to military operations on both sides.¹

CORRESPONDENCE WITH NEPAL

Abstract Translation of a letter from Maharaja Jang Bahadur Ranaji, Prime Minister & Commander-in-Chief of Nepal, to the Begam of Lucknow, her officers and followers, dated Pus Sudi 11th (Saturday) Sawvat 1915 (15th of January 1859).

After compliments—Be it known, that an intimate friend-

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 15th July 1859, No. 413; National Archives, New Delhi. "Translation of a letter from Aly Mahomed Khan alias Mummoo Khan, to the kind and affectionate Saheb Major Barrow".

ship exists between the British Government and the Nepal State; and both of them are bound by Treaty to apprehend and surrender to the other, the enemies of either. I therefore write to you, that if you should remain, or seek an asylum within my territory and frontier, the Goorkha troops will most certainly, in pursuance of the Treaty agreed upon by both the high states, attack and make war on you, and be it also known, that the Nepal State, will neither assist, show mercy to, nor permit to remain in its territories, or within its frontier, those who have been so faithless and ungrateful as to do mischief, and raise animosity and insurrection, against their Masters, of whose salt they have partaken; to whom they owe their change for the better; and by whom they have been fostered.

Judge for yourself! Who will be so foolish to whom God has given a particle of wisdom as to leave a most Powerful (Monarch) and side with a weak one, to assist him in his animosity against the former?

I pity your present condition, and so warn you, as I have done before with a view of doing you good, that if you wish to save your honor and life, surrender yourself, with those that have not murdered British ladies and children, officers, etc. etc. to the Commander-in-Chief, or to any other British authorities. By doing this your honor and life, as well as the lives of others, will be saved. Consider these words of mine, and take one for a thousand. You are your own master, do what is best for your interests.¹

Abstract Translation of a letter from Birjis Qadar to Maharaja Jang Bahadur, Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Nepal, dated 27th Jamadi-us-sani 1275 Hijri (1st of Feby. 1859).

After the usual compliments.—Your letter of the 8th of *Magh Sambat* 1915 (26th Jany. 1815) with becoming contents, and also desiring me (*Sirkar*) with my Army, *Rajahs*, *Talookdars*, etc. to come to Chitoun, has been duly received and perused. Indeed I have perceived with my own eyes the generous qualities and bravery, for which you are renowned throughout the world. An Ambassador of the British came to you to ask your

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 15th July 1859, No. 4131; National Archives, New Delhi.

aid, and you did not decline. From this I am fully confident, that your magnanimity and bravery (qualities for which you are famous), the treaty which existed between my forefathers and your Government and the consideration of faith and religion, will not allow you to fail in any way in giving us assistance, when I shall reach you with all the *Rajahs*, *Talookdars*, Chiefs, and my army. Therefore I have determined to start, and the answers to the questions contained in your letter, I will give at our personal meeting. You are also aware of the violation of promises of which the British have been guilty with my forefathers, for they had left nothing undone to render the treaty with the British binding. I will also explain to you at our personal interview, how the British have been attempting to meddle with the faith and religion of the subjects and the Army.¹

Abstract Translation of a letter supposed to be written by Nana Dhundoo Panth to Maharaja Jang Bahadur Ranaji, Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Nepal, dated 28th of Jamadi-us-sani 1275 Hijri (2nd of Feby. 1859)

After *Assees* (blessings)- -

Your letter dated the 8th of *Magh Sumbut* 1915 (26th Jany. 1859) to the address of the Begum of Lucknow, inviting her with all the *Rajahs*, and *Talookdars*, and the army in her train to Chitoun, came to hand, and the contents have been perused. I had heard of your generosity from every one high and low, but now I am sure of it. Although your seven brothers possess great qualities, yet you are like the Sun in the midst of a cluster of 9 stars. Indeed I have heard of Chiefs of Hindoostan of past ages, and seen those of the present, but I have found you without a rival. For, you have not refused to give your aid even to the British, who are opposed to you in everything; that you did, at their request, and for your own renown. This generous act of yours, makes me hope confidently that when I arrive with other Chiefs at Chitoun, you will in consideration of the relations that for many years have existed between me and your Government not fail to give us your aid. As a poet says, "You, who are kind to your enemies cannot make your friends hopeless". I have no hope from

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 30th Dec. 1859, Supp., No. 541; National Archives, New Delhi.

anyone in the world but from you; in all respects you are master of my acts; do what you think best for me. With such hopes I have determined to come, with a view to gain the object of my desire. The violation of promises, and breach of treaties on the part of the British Government towards the Chiefs of Hindoostan, are so well known that any description is superfluous. Moreover the British have attempted to destroy the faith and religion of the people of India, which attempt has caused this great outbreak and Mutiny. Before my departure, I sent by my brother Srimunt Maharajah Gungadhur (Gangadhar) Rao Bala Saheb Peshwa Buhadoor, a friendly letter in order to obtain your summons, and he will relate every particular to you in detail, when you meet him.¹

BEGAM MOVES TOWARDS NEPAL

Letter No. 25 of 1859 from Captain C. H. Byers, Assistant Regent at Nepal Incharge of the Residency, to R. Simson, Under Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department at Fort William, dated Nepal Residency, the 18th of February 1859.

GUNS OF THE BEGAM

I have the honor to report for the information of His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council, that on receipt this morning of a letter from the Chief of the Staff, mentioning Brigadier Horsford's having taken 14 guns from the rebels in an action near Sitha Ghat, I at once rode down with the news to Maharajah Jung Buhadoor, who was much gratified at hearing it; but he says, he suspects the captured guns were taken, not from the main body of the rebels who are with the Begum, but from her rear guard, who were mentioned by Major Captain Beer Bhunjun Manjhee in his memorandum forwarded with my letter No. 22 of 14th instant, as having been left in charge of 26 guns, said (in the letter) to have been buried, which evidently could not have been the case.

2. The minister had just before my arrival received some letters dated the 9th instant from Beer Bhunjun Manjhee in which he informs His Excellency that owing to the illness of the Begum the camp had been halted for two or three days

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 30th Dec. 1859, No. 542; National Archives, New Delhi.

near Sheopore, but that he anticipates her reaching Sekrolah Ghat on the Gunduck, by the 27th instant. The rebels have been much delayed on their march by heavy rain and hail storms. He has not yet ascertained the numbers, but when the forces are crossing the Doonia Gurhee Ghat he intends stationing people to count, and will forward the result. He enclosed a list of 55 persons of note who are with the Begum, the abstract translation of which I have the honor to forward.

3. In a short note which the minister received by the same *dak*, from his brother, General Budri Nursing, he was told that Mummoo Khan had written to him, offering him privately 15,000 rupees in cash, as present, which the latter had refused and also, that two or three *Rajahs* had offered him jewels to give them an interview, which he also declined.¹

Abstract Translation of a letter from Maharaja Jung Bahadur Ranaji, Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Nepal, to Birjis Qadar Mirza Ramzan Ali Saheb Bahadur, to the Begum Hazrat Mahal, and to the Nawabs, Amirs, Rajahs, and soldiery, dated 6th Phagun (Wednesday) Samvat 1915 (23rd Feby. 1859).

After compliments -- Be it known, that in the Treaty, between the British Government and the State of Nepal it is written, that murderers, belonging to either Government, are to be mutually surrendered to the other State, therefore those amongst you who have committed murders must be surrendered to the British Government, agreeably to the Treaty, and according to their request. If you continue in my territory, in accordance with the Treaty, we shall be obliged to make war upon you, and compel you to leave, for which reason this letter is written to you, that you must quit this country within ten days from its receipt. If you do not, after the expiration of this term, the British, and the Nepalese troops will combine, and drive you out. Even if you do throw down your arms, you will not obtain an asylum from the Nepal Govt.; and if you offer 20 crores of rupees, even then you will receive no assistance from me, nor from pity, will you get any help. So be assured, that within ten days, you must leave this country, and beware that you do not come armed to the Eastward of

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 30th Dec. 1859, Supp., No. 545; National Archives, New Delhi.

Jewani. If you do, you will not be able to say that the Goorkhas have murdered you, for if any of you attempts to come to the East of Jewani, during the term of ten days, you will not get the benefit of the truce. Those amongst you who have not murdered British ladies, children, officers, and subjects, throw down your arms at Jewani, and come to Hetounda, where an Escort of my troops will convey you to Segowlie; and there British officers will give you *purwanahs*, and send you to your homes. Those, who have not shed blood, may be assured of their safety. You may believe every word that is here written. For which reason, when you thoroughly understand this letter, act upon it. The gallant Colonel Bulbudra Sing has been sent to convey this letter; and explain its contents.¹

Abstract Translation of a letter from Bala Rao, to Commander-in-Chief, General Badri Nar Singh, dated Chait Badi, 6th Samvat 1915 (24th March 1859).

My *Asirbaa* (blessings) to Commander-in-Chief, General Badri Nursing. I have been surrounded on all sides by Divisions of English soldiers, and my troops are in entrenched positions, but I have sent my family and children up the hills for safety. Now what is the order for me? We have come as cows into your jurisdiction. Kill us, or save our lives; it is in your power to do whatever you like. No one has up to this day ever killed a person who has sought an asylum from him. Now I cannot move from this place. Please to send me a reply.²

Abstract Translation of an (purbattiah) Urzer³ (Arzi) from General Badri Nar Singh to Maharaja Jang Bahadur Rana, Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Nepal, dated 8th of Chait Badi Samvat 1915 (24th March 1859).

After the usual compliments—Persons, who were sent to seat of war to gather news, and the sepoy's that collect revenue, having brought intelligence that the British forces have been beating our subjects, and that the women of our subjects have been fired at, I could not send any other spies into the Teraie to obtain news. Ajodhia Meser, a Bhojpooreah,

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 30th Dec. 1859, Supp., Nos. 556/57; National Archives, New Delhi.

² Foreign Political Proceedings, April 22, 1859, No. 1460, Cons. No. 205; National Archives, New Delhi.

³ Petition or Application.

who had come to Bootwul to trade, was seized and detained by the rebels, from being mistaken for a spy from the British Camp. He saw the battle. Mehur Singh Manjhee, and Dabee Das have written an account of the action from his description, which is enclosed herein, and from which you will know all. Provisions for my troops have hitherto been supplied from the Teraie, but in consequence of the coolies having been beaten on their way up and the supplies plundered and as a great many ryots have been seized by the British troops as *Begaries*, some have run away to the plains (*Moogluna*), others to the jungles, and the supply of provisions from the Teraie is utterly stopped. The troops are suffering from want of supplies; how can I keep them at this place? Our supply will somehow suffice for a day or two, but if it does not come from the Teraie, I will fall back one or two stages on some place in the hills, that can provide us with food, and encamp there. I have been ordered to oppose by firing at any armed person who attempts to ascend the hills. The order that has come to me from you, makes no difference between an Englishman and a rebel; it only enjoins me to attack all armed troops that may ascend the hills; I will act up to it. The purport of the *Purwanah* is, that I am to fight with any troops that may attempt to ascend the hills. In case the British troops ascend the hills, is this order to remain the same? or am I to give way to them if they attempt to come up? May I soon be favored with a reply to this question. The Begum has returned to her force. Heavy firing of artillery and small arms is heard without interruption. The *Nuwaby* force is at the foot of the hills; that of the British is in the Jungles, and is surrounding them on all three sides, viz. East, West and South. If they are beaten by the British, they will ascend the hills. It is some 25 or 30 *Koss* distance from Tara Gurrhee to Noakote; should they come where I am stationed, I will fight and oppose them, but they can ascend at many other places within this 25 or 30 *Koss*, and we shall have to fight to prevent their going to the Northward, at any place where they may assemble. There were some fifty of our sepoy in the *Chowkee* of Kunchun Khola, by which road some 1000 or 1200 rebels began to ascend the hills; our sepoy seeing them, commenced firing. The rebels at the same moment threw down their arms on the ground, and taking grass in their mouths, cried "we are Cows," and saying (*sic*.) they were Cows how could our sepoy fire them?

Our sepoy's at the *Chowke* ceased firing, and told them not to remain in our territories, and pushed those who were foremost down by the neck, thus preventing them from ascending the hills. I enclose a letter from Hustbeer Sahac, and two from Dittas Mehur Sing Maujhee and Dabee Das, to my address; and the copy of a Persian letter written by me to Mr. Bird. The purport will be known from perusal. May I be favored with a reply to this letter soon. Pray overlook any mistakes in this writing.¹

Letter No. 45 of 1859 from Lieutenant Colonel G. Ramsay, Resident at Nepal to Colonel R. D. Kelly, Commanding Field Force, Nepal frontier, (Nichlord (?), dated Nepal Residency, the 1st of April 1859.

I have the honor to forward for your information a copy of a letter that I have this day addressed to the offg. Foreign Secretary at Calcutta with an abstract translation of a deposition of one Rajgiri Gosacen which formed one of its enclosures.

2nd. Should the circumstance complained of by the Gosacen prove to be true, I beg that you will cause him to be paid for the goats which he declares have been taken from him and that you will do all in your power to encourage the inhabitants of the Terai not to desert their villages, should you again have occasion to cross the frontier.

3rd. Pray communicate to me, as soon as you possibly can, for the information of the Goorkha Government, your movements and operations within its territories, which tho' sanctioned by the *Durbar* are nevertheless viewed by it with a very jealous eye.²

Telegram from Colonel Walter, then Commanding 35th Regiment at Dinapur, to Colonel Stewart, Secretary to the Government to the Governor General, Calcutta, dated 6th April 1859, 6 p. m.

I have just received the following from Col. Kelly, Commanding in the Nipal frontier. *From Col. Kelly Commanding Field Force to Col. Stewart, Secy. to Govr. Genl. Calcutta, Camp near Bootcul, 31st March 1859.* I was misinformed yesterday

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, 22nd April 1859; No. 1460, Cons. No. 209; National Archives, New Delhi.

² Foreign Political Proceedings, 22nd April 1859, Cons. No. 204; National Archives, New Delhi.

when I wrote that the rebels had returned to the first range of Hills. I learn from an Afghan *Shazada*, a relative of the late Shahsoojah (Shahsinuja), who came in yesterday with 60 or 70 *walaties* that the rebels under Bala Rao and the Nana were still between the 1st and 2nd ranges of Hills suffering greatly from scarcity of food. Mahomed Hossein, they say, tried to come yesterday but was prevented by them. It will be of course impossible for me to attack them at such a distance, 14 miles from this and over such ground; especially as they have a picket on the ridge, it will be impossible to surprise them. All I can do is to leave force here to watch them while I proceed to Beluwah to join the force stationed there under Lieutt. Col. Ross, 73rd Regiment and drive them westward towards Toolseepore. The wing of H. M.'s 34th Regt. and two guns Royal Artillery will not arrive here till tomorrow morning when they, with a wing (of) 3rd Sikh Infantry will remain here to watch the rebels while I march at the same time towards Tuleah with two guns Royal Artillery, detachment H. M.'s 13th Regiment and two squadrons Jat Horse and a wing (of) 3rd Sikh Infantry and act with Lieutt. Col. Ross' force against the rebels. 4 P. M. Mahomed Hossein has just come in with one hundred fifty retainers; he promised to bring in twelve hundred of his followers tomorrow or next day. There are still, he says, between 6 or 7 thousand armed sepoy and about two thousand sowars, many of them without horses, between the 1st and 2nd Range of Hills. These are commanded by Bala Rao and the Nana. The Begum is still farther back. The sepoy have detained his wife and family as prisoners. He is of opinion the sepoy must have surrendered the day before yesterday from starvation, had not the Goorkhas supplied them with provisions. The sepoy of the Nana and Bala Rao alone prevent the others from coming in. The Gonda Rajah and Nusseerabad Brigade have alone gone westward and are in the Jungle, other (sic) of Peeperhee, with about 3000 men.

No Order.¹

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, April 22, 1859; No. 1460, Cons. No. 125; National Archives, New Delhi.

Letter No. 170 of 1859 from T. D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated Lucknow, 6th April 1859.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1142 dated the 18th ultimo, enclosing a list of persons who were with the Begum in the Nepal territories.

2. In reply I am directed to forward for submission to His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council a brief description called for therein, of most of the parties indicated in the list.

**A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE PERSONS OF NOTE, MENTIONED
IN THE LIST FURNISHED BY MAJOR CAPTAIN BIR BHANJAN
MANJHI**

BEGAM OF LUCKNOW

By name Huzrut Muhal, one of the wives of the Ex-King and mother of Berjees Kudr; took a most prominent hand in the Rebellion.

BERJEES KUDR (BIRJIS QADAR)

A boy of 10 or 12 years old, son of Huzrut Muhal.

NAWAB MAMMOO KHAN

Formerly the *Darogah* of the Begum; assumed the title of Nawab at Bonree (sic.); paramour of Huzrut Muhal; consequently the Chief of the rebel band.

LORD BUKSH KHAN

Supposed to be Bukht (Bakht) Khan, formerly a *Subadar* of artillery in the Company's army, and mutinied at Bareilly; was made rebel Commander-in-Chief at Delhic and accompanied the rebel troops from Delhic to Lucknow.

USUF (YUSUF) KHAN COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

A relative of Mummoo Khan; had great power during the rebellion and plundered the city of Lucknow.

NAWAB KHAN BUIIADOOR (BAHADUR) KHAN

The *Nawab Raees* of Bans Bareilly of the family of Hafiz

Ruhmut (Rahmat) Khan. Took a most active part in the insurrection in Rohilkund; was a pensioned *Suddor-ool-Suddoor* of Bareilly.

GENERAL ABID KHAN

A relative of Mummoo Khan, late a resident of Kewalhar, one *coss* south of Mulhiabad.

GENERAL GUNGA SING (GANGA SINGH)

Formerly a *Subadar* in the 41st N. I.; Commanded a Division of rebel troops at Lucknow; was wounded whilst leading an attack on the Alum Bagh and is a notorious rebel. He took a principal part in the murder of British at Futtebgarh.

GENERAL AHSAN ALLY (ALI)

A friend and relative of Mummoo Khan; fought against the Bailee Guard and Alum Bagh; in fact took a most active part throughout the insurrection.

GENERAL DULGUNJUN SINGH (DALGANJAN SINGH)

Not known.

GENERAL TELUCK RAM TEWARY (TILAK RAM TIWARI)

Not known.

RANA BENEE MADHO BUX (BENI MADHO BAKHSH)

Talooqdar of Sunkeypore in the Baiswara District, received the title of *Delair Jung* from the Rebel Begum Huzrut Muhal. Fought against the Bailee Guard and took a most prominent part in the rebellion throughout.

RANA OOMRAO SINGH (UMRAO SINGH)

Brother of the Raja of Akowna (Ikauna); was in arms against us in the Goruckpore District, the latter part of last year.

RAJA DIRIG BIJAE SINGH (DRIG BIJAI SINGH)

Talooqdar of Mohona, resided at his Fort Oomeria; took an active part in the rebellion throughout last year; killed and mutilated great numbers of our police and closed the Cawnpore road against all supplies coming into Lucknow.

RAJAH NURPUT SINGH (NARPAT SINGH)

Not known.

CHOWDREE NURPUT SINGH (CHAUDHRY NARPAT SINGH)

Son of the late notorious rebel Jussa Singh of Futtehpore Chowrassee in Oudh; joined in the attack on the Futtehgurh fugitives; a firm friend of the Nana who resided with him when he entered Oudh.

RAJAH GOLAB (GULAB) SINGH

Karinda of Chundka Bux *Talooqdar* of Birwa¹ in the Saudeela District; a notorious bad character. Fought against us at Birwa; assumed the title of *Rajah* lately.

RAJAH HURDUT SINGH (HARDAT SINGH)

Talooqdar of Bounree; took a most prominent part in the rebellion. The Begum with her followers took refuge with him at Bounree.

THAKOOR RAM GHOLAM SINGH (THAKUR RAM GHULAM SINGH)

Talooqdar of Rampore Kusseah; fought against Brigadier Wetherall's Column in November 1858.

RAJAH DABEE BUX SING (DEBI BAKSH SINGH)

Talooqdar of Gonda in the Baraitch Dy. (Division); a noted rebel.

COLLECTOR MEER MOHEMED HOSSAIN (MIR MUHAMMAD HUSAIN)

Nazim of Goruckpore during the rebellion, and was very conspicuous throughout. Pardon was offered to him by the Governor General which he would not accept.

KHAN ALIY (ALI) KHAN

Resident of Shahjehanpore; was one of the leaders in the 1st Chinhut affair; took a most prominent part throughout the rebellion; was wounded at Lucknow.

¹ *Birwa*.—About 3 miles north of *Hathaura* in *Balamau* Pargana, Distt. *Hardoi*.

COLLECTOR SEWSUHAË (SHIV SAIJAY) BY CASTE A KAIT
(KAYASTH) OR UGGURWALA (AGARWAL)

Was an Assistant to Genl. Usuf Khan, resident of Lucknow; another person by name Sew Singh Collector, was a notorious bad character and was very active in plundering and creating disturbances during the insurrection.

COLLECTOR RUGBUR SING (RAGHUBAR SINGH)

Formerly a *Khasburdar* or orderly of the Eunuch Deanut ood-Dowlah on a salary of 4 Rs. per mensem; resident of Baiswarra; a noted dacoit and rebel.

OOMRAO JAN (UMRAO JAN)

Formerly a *Fakeel* and *Moonshie* of Moosabibood-Dowlah (singer); during the rebellion became one of the chief advisers of Mummoo Khan. Resident of Lucknow.

BIUGWAN BUX (BHAGWAN BAKIISH)

One of the *Thakours* of Num¹; a bad character and dacoit.

MOOFTAHOOD-DOWLAH (MIFTAII-UD-DAULA)

Grandson of the late Futeh Alli Khan, a Brahmin convert who was the King's Treasurer.

MOHUN SINGH CHOWDARY (MOHAN SINGH CHAUDHRY)

Not known.

MEER MEHINDEE (MIR MENHDI)

Tutor to Birjees Kudr; Superintendent Intelligence Department during the rebellion.

RAJAH OUDIT PURGAS SINGH (UDIT PRAKASH SINGH)

Talooqdar of Ekona in the Baraitch Div. (Division).

HAKHEEM RAZA

Hakeem Hussun Ruzah, Tutor to Shurfood-Dowlah, who was the Prime Minister during the rebellion. This Hakeem had charge of the *Dewanee Adawlut* under Birjees Kudr.

RAJAH JOAT SINGH (JYOTI SINGH)

Talooqdar of Churda in the Baraitch Division; gave will-

¹ Probably *Nain*.

ing shelter to Nana Rao and his followers in his Fort for some time; fought against us in Goruckpore in March and April 1858 and afterwards in November of same year in company with Bala Rao, made an incursion into Buinnee committing great ravages.

BRIGADIER-MAJOR GOPAL SINGH

Not known.

CAPTAIN OOMRAO SINGH (UMRAO SINGH)

A *Subadar* of the 6th Oude Irregular Force. Prior to the annexation *Subadar* Major in Captain Barlow's Regiment. Resident of Kantha in the Baiswarah District, but for some years had his family at Colonel Gunj Secrora. He had great influence in the *Durbar* of Birjees Kudr.

CAPTAIN RUGNATH (RAGHUNATH) SINGH

By caste a Tewaree Brahmin. Prior to the annexation was in Captain Bunbury's Regiment; subsequently transferred to the 2nd Oude Military Police under Captain John Hearsey. He was also a leading character during the rebellion.

CAPTAIN SUNGUM¹ SINGH, CAPTAIN SOOREEJ SINGH (SURAJ SINGH),
CAPTAIN RAM SINGH

Subadars of the Regular Native Infantry and were leading characters at Lucknow during the rebellion.

CAPTAIN AUSAN SINGH

Formerly a *Havildar* in the Artillery attached to Captain Bunbury's Regiment before the annexation; subsequently a *Subadar* in the 2nd Oude Mily. Police under Captain John Hearsey. Took a prominent part in the insurrection and raised a Cavalry Corps at Lucknow.

CAPTAIN MADHO SINGH

Was a Pay *Havildar* in the 2nd Oude Military Police.

CAPTAIN DRIGPAL SINGH, CAPTAIN SEWDUT SINGH (SHIVDAT SINGH)

Supposed to have been promoted to their present ranks at Bounree or subsequently.

¹ This name may be 'Sangam Singh' or 'Sangram Singh'.

CAPTAIN GUNGA (GANGA) SINGH

A *Subadar* of the Company's service; took an active part in the rebellion at Lucknow, and subsequently was at Bangur Mhow with the Rebel Prince Feroze Shah of Delhie.

CAPTAIN NUZZUR ALLY (NAZAR ALI)

Not known.

CAPT. ANUNDEE (ANANDI), CAPTN. SARDAR SINGH,
CAPTN. RUNJEET SINGH (RANJIT SINGH)

Subadars of the Company's service and were leading characters at Lucknow during the rebellion.

KOCHUCK (KOCHAK) SULTAN

Prince Kochuck Sultan, one of the sons of the rebel Emperor Ubdool Muzzuffler (Abul Muzzaffar) Sarajoodeen Buhadloor Shah of Delhie.

After the fall of Delhi the undermentioned came to Lucknow:

Kochuck Sooltan, son of the Emperor.

Mirza Ubboo (or Abbas), Grandson of the Emperor.

Mirza Boolakee (Bulaqi), son-in-law of the Emperor.

Feroze Shah, nephew of the Emperor.

YUSUF KHAN

Son of Azim Khan of Khyrabad where Yusuf Khan's houses are. He is a relative of Mummoo Khan but is supposed to hold the same position with Mummoo Khan's wife as the latter does with the Begum. Was first made Collector of Lucknow and subsequently Commander-in-Chief; he had great power during the rebellion and plundered the City of Lucknow. He is also a relative or intimate friend of Chowdree Hushmut Ally. Some of Yusuf Khan's relations live at Mulliabad.

GENERAL KHODA BUX (KHODA BAKHSI)

Zemindar of Dadroc near Mohumdabad in the Durriabad District. He took an active part in the rebellion; throughout was a Commander against the British at Nuwab Gunj Bara Bunki in June 1858 and at Nanpara in January 1859.

COLLECTOR KHAN ALLY (ALI)

Formerly *Chuckladar* of Sooltanpore and of Khyrabad also. He has been inhabitant of Lucknow for 20 years, and fought against us at Bitchpooria near Futtehgurh and at Lucknow.

NAWAB NAIB OOMRAO JAN (UMRAO JAN)

Native of Lucknow and late *Karinda* or *Vakeel* of Moosahibood-Dowlah who is at present in Calcutta with the King. This man was one of the chief advisers of Mummoo Khan and discharged the following duties during the rebellion.

MOHTIMAM RASAD

Bukshee of the whole rebel forces; *Nawab Naib*. His family is said to be in Lucknow.

LORD JOWALA PERSHAUD (JWALA PRASAD)

A Kannoujcea Brahmin of Byswara (some village near Doondea Khera); was one of the four men who instigated the Cawnpore rising and directed the massacre; he received the title of *Resalahdar* from the Nawab.

OODIT PURGASS (UDIT PRAKASH)

Rajah of Dhowna.

JOTE SINGH (JYOTI SINGH)

Rajah of Churdah.¹

Telegram from Brigadier Horsford from Gondu via Faizabad, to Military Secretary, Calcutta, dated 13th April, 5 p.m.

Reports that the number of rebels stated to come south, is exaggerated. Force under Begum, Nana and other Chiefs in Nepal between Soine and Kurs Valleys said to be increasing.²

Telegram from Colonel Walter, then Commanding 35th Regiment at Dinapur, to Colonel Stewart, Military Secretary to the Governor General, dated 14th April 1859, 12 o'clock.

I have just received the following from Col. Kelly Com-

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 30th December 1859, Supp., No. 550; National Archives, New Delhi.

² Foreign Political Proceedings, 22nd April 1859; No. 132, National Archives, New Delhi.

manding on the Nepal frontier. *From Col. R. D. Kelly Commanding Field Force to Col. Stewart, Military Secretary to Govr. Genl., Calcutta, Camp Russoul (Raxaul), 10th April 1859.* Intelligence received from Mr. Morgan, Civil Officer with Col. Simpson's force, Lotun, to-day—One of my spies brought in a sepoey 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, Bijees Kudr, Khan Bahadoor Khan and the Nana were in the fort of Niakote 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 2000 fighting men close to our position near Ruttonpore. Devi Buksh, with a large force, was well away to the west of the Dakharari and far from Tookepore. 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 Saliktobari 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 Brigr. Rowcroft that a party of rebels had passed our posts, I have despatched the following force under Lieutt. Col. King, H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry to Bassec : Two guns (sic) Battery Royal Artillery Wing H. M.'s 13th Light Infantry Wing 3rd Sikhs one squadron I. A. T. Horse.¹

Telegram from Major Henry, then Commanding Field Force at Lotan, to Colonel Simpson, Military Secretary to the Government, Calcutta, dated Camp Lotan, 15th April, via Gonda 18th April, 9 a.m.

A letter from the Goorkha general at Nyecakot states that the Rebel Army is encamped under cover of the Jungle from Seinar & Ruttonpore to Peeprah. Nana Rao & Dalla Ram are encamped north of Seinar and some rebels are en-

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, April 22, 1859, No. 128; National Archives, New Delhi.

camped near Bootwul and west of it. The latter is dated the 13th April.¹

Abstract Translation of an Urzee (Arzī) from the Rebel Camp on the part of all the rebel officers, sepoys &c. to Maharaja Jang Bahadur, bearing the Seals of (1st) Ram Bakhsh, General of First Division, (2nd) of Mansa Ram, Brigade Major, First Division, (3rd) of Ganga Singh, Lord, Nasirabad Division; no date.

We the *Nizamtee* and military, foot, cavalry, and artillery men, have all mutinied against the British, the reasons for which are as follows :—For a century ago the British arrived in Hindoostan and gradually entertained troops in their service, and became masters of every state. Our forefathers have always served them, and we also entered their service and we, as well as our children have received every kind of support from the govt. of the Company and we also were ready to serve them and wish them well. By the mercy of God, and with our assistance the British also conquered every place they liked, in which thousands of us, Hindoostani men were sacrificed, but we never made any excuses or pretences, nor revolted. Besides, our good acts towards the British are well known in every country. But in the year 1857 the British issued an order that new cartridges and muskets which had arrived from England were to be issued; in the former of which the fats of cows and pigs were mixed; and also that *atta* of wheat mixed with powdered human bones was to be eaten; and even distributed them in every Regiment of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. In Meerut there were the 11th Regiment N. I., the 20th Regiment N. I., 3rd Light Cavalry. They gave these new cartridges to the sowars of the 3rd Light Cavalry, and ordered them to bite them; the troopers objected to it, and said that they would never bite them, for if they did, their religion and faith would be destroyed. There have been many kings in Hindoostan but none have taken our religion and faith. The British also have been in India about a century, but they have never before acted in this manner. Upon this the British Officers paraded the men of the 3 Regiments and having prepared 1400 English soldiers, and other Battalions of European troops and Horse Artillery, surrounded them, and

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, 22nd April 1859, No. 120; National Archives, New Delhi.

placing 6 guns before each of the infantry regiments, loaded the guns with grape and made 84 new troopers prisoners, and put them in jail with irons on them. On this, we thought that if we also objected, our lives and faith would be destroyed for nothing—for which reason we fought with the British and went to Delhie. Previous to this, when the British had told Babu Koonwar Sing of Bhojepore to eat the wheat flour prepared by govt., he had replied, that he was a simple subject, but that when the men of the army, who were his brethren, had partaken of it, he would have no objection. The reason, that the sowars of the said Cantonment were put into jail, was, that we should be frightened into biting the new cartridges; on this account we and all our country-men having united together, have fought here and there with the British for the preservation of our faith and not for the sake of treasure, country, &c. The British say that we have only revolted for treasure and country, and by such deceptions have prevailed on those *Rajahs* and Chiefs to give them aid who do not pay a single thought to faith or religion. The 7 *Akleems* (Countries) having risen on the misrepresentation of those against us, we have been compelled to make war for two years and the *Rajahs* and Chiefs who are with us in faith and religion, are still so, and have undergone all sorts of trouble; we have fought for two years in order that our faith and religion may not be polluted. If the religion of a Hindoo or Mussalman is lost, what remains in the world? We could not get any relief, for the British received aid from all the *Rajahs* and *Sirdars*, for which reason no good resulted. To preserve our religion and faith we have fought every where and have undergone great troubles and starvation (it is a long story) but no profit resulted; now we know that there is no one to preserve our faith, and the British have with magic contrived to get every one on their side, and by giving large sums of money are endeavouring to get us apprehended. We have now come to the conviction that there is but one country of the Brahmanical thread left, the remain¹ (sic,) of which is known throughout the country, and we have heard from our forefathers, that whoever might achieve a victory would be from the Northward. For this reason we

Apparently 'renown'.

have, Hindoos and Mohamedans, come into your territories that at all events some arrangements may be made for us. In this hope, all the troops, *Rajahs* and *Ilakadars*, with Her Gracious Majesty The Begam have come up to this place, after undergoing starvation, and stumbling over the hills, in the hope that should you protect our Brahmanical thread it will be no wonder. God has made you master of a country at this time, and this increased our hopes in approaching your threshold. If the *Rajah Sahib* taking our poor state into consideration, should preserve our faith and religion, God, who is glorious, will exalt his position; with this hope we have signed this *Urzee* and sent it to you. May the sun of prosperity and wealth ever shine upon you. We hope for a reply.¹

Abstract Translation of an Arzi from General Badri Nar Singh, Governor of Pulpa and Bootwul, to Maharaja Jang Bahadur Ranaji, Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Nepal, dated Chait Sudi 15 Samsat 1915 (17th April 1859).

I received your *rooka* of the 4th of *Chait Sooder Sambat* 1915 (Thursday) (6th April 1859) on the 10th (12th April 1859). I have written to *Kajee Chundrabeer Blundaree*, *Sirdar Hustbeer Sahae*, *Soobadar Tirbhoowan Ghurtee* and the other officers associated with them, to enquire from the *Chowdharies*, *Kanoongoes*, *Mokuddums* and *Ryots* &c. of every village, *Tuppa* and *Zillah* by taking their depositions and *Mochulkas* with their seals and signatures attached to them in the most careful manner and to send me in one paper a true report of whether the rebels or the British forces, have committed the following outrages within our frontier, i.e. who have plundered and burnt our villages? killed our ryots? violated our women? &c. but that the slaughter of cows cannot be satisfactorily ascertained from the *Tharoos* and that if it has not been witnessed by *Goorkhalies* it will not be proper to inform the *Resident* of it, for the *Tharoos* speak of their lives having been taken, of their wealth having been plundered, and say anything else that may come across their minds. It is not to be inferred and written down that cows have been slaughtered upon such assertions. The fact should merely be reported if it be positively true as we are communicating with the King of Kings

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 13th May 1859, No. 326; National Archives, New Delhi.

(*Shahenshah*). If anything be written that has never happened, it must be discredited and the writers severely punished, as such statements will cause bad feeling between the two Governments.

When the answers come to my *perwanahs* I will send them with my *urzee* which shall be as carefully correct as possible. The family of Bala Rao has gone away as you must have learnt from my former *urzee*.

I lately sent word through Brigadier Colonel Pulwan Sing Bushnait to the Begum and Birjis Kudr to the following effect. The British troops that came to fight with you in these territories have returned to their own country. If you wish to go to your own troops, go and take them away from our borders. If your troops will not leave our country, the Goorkhals shall force them to leave it. You will not get an asylum here. If you say that you have neither concern with your troops nor with war, and that you will go and live in your own home in Hindoostan, provided, some arrangements be made for your support, the Governor General has already directed that you, the Begum and Birjis Kudr in consideration of your being of a royal house and one of you a woman, arrangements shall be made for your support, according to your rank, provided you have not committed murder. Go then and throw yourself on the mercy of the British Government, I will give you a company of *sepahces* to take care of and to escort you as far as Goruckpore, and I will write to Maharajah Jung Bahadur and will obtain for you a *perwanah* from the Resident. Choose which one of the two measures, above proposed to you, that you may like best, and let me know. I will write to Maharajah Jung Bahadur about it and will be guided by his instructions.

To these words the Begum evaded giving me a direct reply for 3 or 4 days, sometimes saying one thing at others another. She is very wanting in politeness and her words are uncourteous, she cannot be persuaded to anything. Moreover, these questions having been put to her at a time when her son is dangerously ill she replied, "Why do you trouble me when I know not whether my son will die or will recover? I will think and reply to your proposals".

At last she has given me a plain answer that she will not agree to either of my two propositions. Her object, I think, is to pass through our mountains to Ladack and from

thence to go to Mecca and pass her days in devotion, or she wishes first to ascertain what she may expect to get, if she throws herself on the mercy of the British Government, and then to give me her reply. I have however told her that I am ignorant of what is in the mind of the Governor General. Birjis Kudr is very sick with the foul (malarious) fever. My *Baids* (doctors) as well as his are treating him and if ague does not come on within two days the doctors say it is impossible that he can live.

Many of the families of the *Rajahs*, *Nuwabs* and *Baboos* and of the camp followers who had previously come up here have gone away, but those that remained behind told the Brigadier Colonel when he read your orders, that they too are going themselves. If any remain here and say that they will throw themselves on the protection of the British Government, I will give them *sepahces* to escort them to Goruckpore.

I enclose an original letter to my address from the Commissioner of Goruckpore and two copies of my reply one to Colonel Kelly and the other to the Commissioner himself.

I beg you will overlook any irregularity in writing this petition.¹

Abstract Translation of an Arzi from Sirdar Siddiman Singh Raje Bhandari to Maharaja Jang Bahadar, Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Nepal, dated Sowaree Kote in Dang, Jeth Sudi 12 (Saurday) (11th of June 1859).

I reached Sowaree Kote in Dang on the 7th of *Jeth Soodce* (Tuesday 7th June 1859) and on the next day I intimated my arrival to Bala Rao who in reply, sent me word to say that he was sick, but would see the Sirdar (me) on any day he might like to come; accordingly on the 9th of *Jeth Soodce* (9th June) at 9 o'clock A. M. accompanied by Captain Dhowkul Trappa, I went to Bhysali in Dang, and saw Bala Rao in a garden, who was sick of the ague and could not rise from his bed. He has a small force with him, and has posted picquets all around the place where he is residing with his own family and the women of his followers. People say that Nana Rao has taken up a position to the southward with a large force, on the road by which British forces were expected to come. After making enquiries about his health &c., Bala Rao asked me what

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, 22nd April 1859, No. 203; National Archives, New Delhi.

orders had I brought; upon which, I gave him Your Excellency's letter to his address. After hearing the whole of the letter read, he said, "His Excellency (*hu-zoor*) has written me a very threatening letter; there is no occasion for threats on his part, I am ready to obey his orders. His Excellency has given an asylum to a Mahomedan woman (meaning the Begum) and tho' (though) being Chuttree, he is ready to turn out any families who are a (sic,) Brahmin. Is this the duty (*Dharrum*) of a Chuttree?" Upon these words I told him, that, to give protection to murderers and to those who are ungrateful to their masters, is not the duty of a Chuttree. *In giving Asylum to women and children we make no difference between those of a Moosutman, of a Brahmin, of an European or of a native Christian. All have been made by God and in our opinion the women and children of all are alike.* If you give up the European officers and ladies as well as native Christians, both male and female who are in your Camps, I have been ordered to give protection to your families also. Bala Rao said, "As you have come on a mission from His Excellency, I will place my families in your charge. It is true that a daughter of the Judge of Furruckabad (the only European with me) who has received a bullet wound, which I caused to be cured was with me, but she has lately been made over to Colonel Bird. If I had had any more European ladies with me why should I have kept them behind? I have saved many ladies and have sent them to the British authorities. The troops who had eaten the salt of the British Government committed murders and the blame has fallen on me. There was formerly an European Bugler in my Camp, but he died of the ague; his sons and his wife are here, take them away with you if you please". He then called them, he placed them in my charge and told them that they were in my charge. The Christians then said that Bala Rao had saved their lives and that they were ready to jump into wells and forfeit their lives, if he wished it. Two men and a woman (their mother) Christians were then made over to me. After that I said to him that if he had sent the daughter of the Judge of Furruckabad to Mr. Bird he must have some receipt for her in his possession, upon which he produced a Persian letter with an English signature attached to it, a copy of which I enclose. I told him that there were more gentlemen and ladies and children and other Christians, both male and female, in his Camp, and with that of the Nana Rao, and that if he

did not search for, and make them over to me, it would not go well for him (Bala Rao). Upon hearing this he said to me, "If you do not believe my words you can search for them yourself and ask the Christians, that have been made over to you". Upon this Bala Rao, who was very weak, from the effects of the malarious fever, fainted from too much fatigue caused by this long conversation. On recovering his senses after water had been put into his throat, I took my leave saying he was too weak for me to remain with him. The Christians accompanied me to my tent from whom upon my enquiry as to the number of European ladies and other Christians in the Camp of the Nana and Bala Rao, I took the deposition which I enclose herein. Two of these Christians have severe fever but medicines are being administered to them. At the time of my taking leave from Bala Rao he told me to take his family with me that same day, but I replied that as I was much fatigued I would take rest for two or three days after which I would take charge of his family. After 2 or 3 days I will enquire thro' (through) spies, from every one of Nana and Bala Rao's men and will probably expend some money in obtaining the information whether there are any European gentlemen and ladies and other Christians in their camps, or not and should they be given up, I will bring them and also the families of Nana and Bala Rao to Thara Gurrhee. If I positively ascertain that no European gentlemen or ladies or other Christians are in their Camps, I will return to Thara Gurrhee with only the families of Nana and Bala Rao and the Christians that have been made over to me. Great sickness prevails in the rebels' Camps, and the number of deaths averages 3 or 4 *per diem*. I pray that any irregularity in writing this petition may be over-looked.

P. S. These Christians say that their brothers are residing at Toolseepore and that they are anxious to go there, but I will await your instructions on the subject as to whether I am to send them to Toolseepore, to Khatmandoo or to keep them here.¹

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, 15th July 1859. No. 231, Pp. 265-67; National Archives, New Delhi.

Abstract Translation of the deposition given by George Allen, one of the Christians lately surrendered to Sardar Siddiman Singh Raja Bhandari, on the 9th of Jeth Sudi (9th June) Thursday.

My father, William Allen, Drummer of the 1st Regiment N. I. (*Gillis-ka pultun*) encamped in Cawnpore, died of fever and dysentery in the village of Gubdee in the Bootwul District about 25 or 26 days ago.

The Mutineers (*Sepahees*) murdered 3 persons in Cawnpore, viz. : First Cornet player William Alliook—my uncle, and also his wife, and Flute player Andrew Lodrick.

The names of those that survived at Cawnpore are, myself—George Allen, my brother—William Allen and our mother Mrs. Allen.¹

REVOLUTIONARIES IN NEPAL

Letter No. 72 of 1859 from Lieutenant Colonel G. Ramsay, Resident at Nepal, to Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department at Fort William, dated Nepal Residency, the 13th of June 1859.

I have the honor to report for the information of His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council that Maharajah Jung Buhadoor has for the past ten or twelve days shewn much impatience with reference to the Begum Huzrut Muhal who has been giving a good deal of trouble to General Budri Nur Sing at Noa Kotc, and he lately proposed, *provided I would advise the measure*, to invite her to Khatmandoo that *he and I* together might influence her to accept the terms of our Amnesty and return to the British Provinces.

BEGUM (BEGAM) UNWILLING TO SURRENDER

Budri Nur Sing complains both against that lady and her attendants, who treat him with great disrespect and will not listen to anything that he says. He can get no answer from the Begum to any one of the propositions that the Durbar has made to her viz. : to surrender herself to the British Government under a promise of pardon and of an honorable position and maintenance should she not have shed the blood of British subjects; to return to the rebels' camps and again share their

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, 15th July 1859, No. 232, p. 268; National Archives, New Delhi.

fortunes; or, to remain in Nepal in the position of a private individual under a written pledge that she shall hold no communication with the rebel leaders or with their troops, or with the people of Hindustan.

BEGAM DETERMINED TO SEE JUNG BUHADOUR (JANG BAHADUR)

The Begum says that she is determined to see Jung Buhadoor herself and to learn from his own lips what his intentions regarding her may be, and the General thinks that she will accede to one or other of His Excellency's proposals, if she be allowed an interview with him, and he recommends that he may be ordered to send her up immediately to Khatmandoo, or else that she may be removed to Pokra, a large valley in the interior where she will be effectually cut off from all communication with her friends and followers, but, if Jung Buhadoor will not consent to either of these arrangements he hopes that he may be directed to expel her from the Country. In either of these cases, he says, he will only have one duty left; that of driving back the rebels, should they attempt to ascend the Mountains to penetrate into the interior.

JANG BAHADUR NOT TO ALLOW VIOLENCE AGAINST BEGAM

Jung Buhadoor has from the first consistently declared that he will not allow any violence to be used towards that lady, but that if she persists in remaining in Nepal she shall be permitted to do so, much as he will regret being obliged to afford an asylum to her.

In reply to his applications for my advice in this matter, I have told His Excellency that I cannot consistently (sic,) with my duty interfere in it, nor can I have any personal intercourse with the Begum whilst she remains a Refugee in this state and in open and bitter enmity towards my own Government, and I have referred him to your Under Secretary's letter No. 247¹ of the 30th of January last, in which it is stated that, His Excellency in Council has no desire that the Begum should be forcibly made over to the Government of India, and that "it is by no means the wish of the Governor General in Council that an

Marginal note in the Original :

¹ 'Put up with No. 14 from Nepal which was specially circulated on 11th Feby. last. It has not yet reached'.

asylum in Nepal should be refused to her if the Maharajah desires to give it¹; and with regard to his frequent enquiries as to what treatment the Begum will receive if she surrenders herself to us, I have explained to him that her surrender must be unconditional.

UNCONDITIONAL PARDON ASSURED TO BEGAM

His Excellency reads the last part of the 3rd para² of the letter I have just quoted, as containing a direct promise of unconditional pardon to this lady and connects it with the assurance contained in the penultimate paragraph of the *Khureeta* from the Governor General to the Maharajah of Nepal, dated 7th of January, received with your predecessor's letter No. 69 of the 9th of that month; but I have told him that he must also bear in mind His Lordship's declaration conveyed in the following passage from Mr. Simson's demi-official letter dated Shergotty the 22nd of Jany. viz.³: that rebel leaders must submit themselves to the mercy and generosity of the Government unconditionally, their lives and honor being safe if they have not taken part in the murder of British subjects. This applies to all, from the Begum down to those of the lowest rank amongst them. "*They have been contumacious rebels to the last, and have kept rebellion alive in others so long as they had a foot on British soil. They are now fugitives and exiles, and the Governor General will listen to no pretensions on their part to bargain for terms*".

I have reminded His Excellency too, that, the Governor General then said that he would be glad, if by the influence of the Nepalese Government the great mass of the rebels could be brought to avail themselves of the opening, the Government had left them (the opportunity of a free pardon) "*before it is too late*" and that such being His Lordship's sentiments upwards of four months ago, since when the Begum's followers

Marginal notes in the Original .

¹ 'A copy of which was delivered to the Minister as directed in its last para'.

² "The Nepalese Government will however bear in mind that there is no intention on the part of the Governor General to deny to the Begum an unmolested residence in India and maintenance so soon as she shall have made submission".

³ The Begum Hazrat Mahal will receive all the consideration which is due to her as woman and a member of a Royal house. Political power she shall never have; and she will do wisely to secure by prompt submission a generous treatment and an honorable position for the rest of her life.

have been fighting against us and making raids into our provinces, and that lady has herself applied to him for armed assistance, for the purpose of making conquests within the British Provinces, I cannot lead him to hope that the Governor General will now consent to modify his offer or that he will permit me, either personally, or through the medium of the Goorkha Government to make any precise stipulations with her, as to what will or what will not be her exact position should she surrender herself to the British authorities.

CRITICISMS OF "THE FRIEND OF INDIA"

On the morning of the 3rd instant, Jung Bahadoor had apparently made up his mind to send for the Begum to Khatmandoo, but "*The Friend of India*", newspaper of the 26th of May, was received here *that day* by the orderly officer, who, as is his custom, immediately explained its contents to him. The paper contained some very sharp strictures against His Excellency, which seem to have occasioned him to change his plans, for in the evening he met me by design and drove with me for some distance in my carriage without even mentioning the ladies' (sic,) name nor did he then refer to the attacks upon himself which he had just seen in the paper, though they had evidently prompted him to seek the interview, but he confined his conversation to a long explanation of his reasons for not having taken any active part against the rebels since they first entered his country, and to professions of assistance when the season arrives in which his troops can act against them.

On the 4th instant, Dr. Oldfield was paying a professional visit at Thappa Tully, when the Minister directly adverted to the opinions expressed in "*The Friend of India*", and said, "let the papers wait until the cold weather; they will then see what I intend doing & then will praise me instead of abusing me", and in the course of their conversation, he observed; "your troops come into the jungles and fight against the rebels and submit to all kinds of privations, because their fathers and mothers and sisters and brothers have been put to death by them, but you must recollect that my troops have no such injuries, to avenge; no such feelings to incite them"; and the Maharajah spoke the truth. There is no real sympathy in our cause here either on the part of the soldiery, of their officers, or of the *Durbar*.

MAHARAJA URGED TO CATCH NANA, BALA RAO AND OTHERS

In the course of our drive the Maharajah said, "what can I do to serve your Government ?

"How can I possibly help you at this season of the year when my troops cannot leave the mountains"? I said, "Catch the Nana and two or three or other such leaders and give them up to us! You can easily do so, if you are determined to seize them. You might have caught the Nana the other day when he was in the inner valley near Bootwul with British troops on three sides of him, and your own troops on the fourth". He replied, "True! I could catch the Nana and Bala Rao and others, at any time I liked, but it could only be by *Dughabazie* (Treachery). I will do nothing that is *be-emancee*, (Dishonorable)".

I trust that, in meeting Jung Buhadoor's applications for advice respecting his future conduct towards the Begum in the manner I have done, I have acted in consonance with the wish of His Lordship in Council. I shall continue to refuse to influence the *Durbar's* policy in her case and in that of other rebel leaders, unless I am directed to do so, believing that I shall thus be carrying out the spirit of the orders that have been passed regarding them.

For the present, the Minister has given up all idea of sending for the Begum to Khatmandoo.¹

Abstract Translation of an Arzi from Lachhman Singh Raje Bhandari to Maharaja Jang Bahadur Ranaji, Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Nepal, dated Thara Garhi Asarh Badi 4 (Sunday) Samvat 1916 (19th of June 1859).

I reported in my former *Urzee* (*Arzi*—petition) that at the interview which I had with Bala Rao, he told me, that he had made over to me, the whole of the Christians he had with him, and that he wished me to take away his family with me that same day; but that I had told him in reply, that I was much fatigued and that I would take them away after three days, during which three or 4 days I should be able to ascertain positively thro' spies whether there were any European ladies in his Camp or not. During the three or four days that I

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 19th August 1859, Nos. 183/184; National Archives, New Delhi.

remained there, I sent for a person who is acting as *Khansaman* (steward) and has access even to the ladies of Bala Rao's family and gave him 25 Rs. and after tempting him by telling him that I would keep him in my service, and that he would not have to accompany Bala Rao but that I should support him and that he should not suffer any annoyance, I asked him how many English ladies and children (both male and female) were with the Nana and with Bala Rao. He told me that there were only these three Christians in their Camps and that there were no English Ladies or children there (either male or female). He assured me that he was certain of this and that he had access even to the female apartments. I also employed other persons and spies by expending a little money and upon my enquiring from them also they confirmed the statement that there were no English ladies or children in the Camps. After three days, Bala Rao sent for me and said, "Maharaja Jung Bahadoor has told us that if we made over to him the Christians we had with us he would take into his protection our own families also, so according to his order we have made over these Christians to you. You must now take them into your protection and also our families. It depends on the Maharajah's pleasure whether he treats them with honor or makes them over to us after treating them with disrespect; we have placed them in the Maharajah's protection (*Surrun--sharan*)".

FAMILIES OF NANA & BALA RAO SURRENDERED TO RANA JANG BAHADUR

In order to fulfil my promise, after finding that there were no English ladies in their Camps, I have sent the families of the Nana and of Bala Rao together with those of the other *Rajahs* to Thara Gurhee and shall keep them in places to the right and left of it. I have also returned myself to Thara Gurhee. At the time of my taking leave of Bala Rao, he presented me with a necklace of pearls of 4 rows with a diamond-mounted pendant, and he gave another (of a single row) with a diamond pendant to Captain Dhowkul Thappa and said that we ought to accept them as parting gifts, but we returned them saying "we consider that we have received what you have given us but we are not permitted by our orders to take them away with us". The Christian woman and 2 men had no clothes. I therefore prepared some for the 2 men for 2/2 Rs. at Dang

and paid them 2 Rs. for their road expenses; the woman asks for a dress such as is worn by ladies and says that she has no money for her expenses. What are Your Excellency's orders in the matter? Where am I to keep them? And what am I to do regarding their clothes and expenses?

I enclose a paper of intelligence brought by some other spies from the perusal of which it will be seen that Baboo Bulkurun and Bullee Singh are oppressing our subjects; if some arrangements are ordered in this matter it will be well, such is my opinion but I await your instructions. I hope that any irregularity that may have crept into this petition may be overlooked.¹

INTELLIGENCE BROUGHT BY GANGA AND GUNGADIHAL (GANGA DAYAL) SPIES

Baboo Bulkurun and Bullee Sing with a body of about 5 hundred followers are to the north-west of Towled between the river Banganga and the Bel Nuddee and Bullee Sing is committing many outrages in our territories; he lately seized Kesoon Muhto (Kishan Mehta) one of our subjects and having taken him to the place where he (Bullee) is residing he caused him to be tied up and has commenced flogging him in order that he may extort from him 25 thousand Rupees which he has demanded of him; he has been committing other outrages also besides this one.

Baboo Muhabeer Sing is residing with 19 men at Soorbee Ghat Bullooa Gaon.

NANA AT DEOPUR

The Nana and Hurdut Suwace (Sahae), the Rajah of Boondee, are residing with 9 thousand of the Nusseerabad rebels on the hills of Deopoor in Deokutree.

BALA RAO IN DANG

Bala Rao is at Chowghurra in Dang and is sending away the troops who are with him towards the place where the Nana is encamped. Rajah Debee Buccus Sing (Devi Bakhsh

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, 15th July 1859, No. 237, Pp. 272-274; National Archives, New Delhi.

Singh) and Nawab Mummoo Khan have encamped together in one place with their troops.¹

Abstract Translation of an Arzi from Sirdar Siddhiman Singh Raja Bhandari, to Maharaja Jang Bahadur Ranaji, Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Nepal, dated Thara Garhi 7th of Asarh Badi (Wednesday) Samsat 1916 (22nd of June 1859).

On my enquiring from the Christians lately surrendered to me by Bala Rao whether there were any ladies or other Christians (male or female) in the Nana's or in Bala Rao's Camps they told me that "there were none except we two brothers and our mother". When I brought these persons with me to Sowareekote in Dang I told them that they need not be afraid of the Nana or of Bala Rao and that they ought to tell me whether there were any English ladies or other Christians remaining in their Camps or not. They replied that there might be one or two ladies in the Camp of Mummoo Khan with the Nusserabad rebels. Upon this I sent for the son of Narsing Padheca Toolsipoor, and ordered him to go to the Camp of Mummoo Khan to make enquiries and he brought me back the following intelligence; viz.: that there formerly were two English ladies but that the rebels, after the action with Colonel Kelly's Column (which took place on their return from Chitoun) being tired of carrying them about with them from place to place, murdered them. I have transmitted this account for Your Excellency's information. I had orders from Your Excellency to make strict enquiries in Bala Rao's Camp and I accordingly did so, and found that there were no ladies or other Christians there, and Bala Rao even told me to search his *Rumwas* (ladies' apartments). If Your Excellency says that I had orders to make enquiries in Bala Rao's Camp only, why did I do so in other places? I beg to explain that I did so on the statement of these Christians (lately surrendered to me). If Your Excellency sends me orders to make enquiries in the Camps of the Nana and Mummoo Khan also, I will do it a second time but I have made particular enquiries in Bala Rao's Camp and have ascertained that there are no ladies or other Christians there, but how can

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, 15th July 1859, No. 238, p. 274; National Archives, New Delhi.

I know if they be concealed in the Jungles ? Besides, I have circulated an order among the *gwalas* and villagers who reside in the neighbourhood of the Jungles that whoever will strictly search and may bring (true) intelligence of females (with white faces) concealed or kept by any one in the Jungles, he shall receive a reward of 50 rupees from me.

FAMILIES OF NANA AND BALA RAO ESCORTED

If Your Excellency says, I had orders to bring away the Nana and Bala Rao's families only and why did I bring away the families of other *Rajahs* I beg to explain that, on my taking leave of Bala Rao the previous day, he asked me with whom he should send his family to me. I told him that Pran Padhea was a respectable man of the place; and that he might send them with him. At the same time I told Pran Padhea to bring with him only the families of the Nana and of Bala Rao, and I returned myself to Thara Garhee with the three Christians. One or two other *Rajahs'* families mixed themselves up with those of the Nana and Bala Rao and Pran Padhea having been unable to distinguish them, has brought them also here. I have, however, told them that they must go away, *as I have permission to give protection to the families of the Nana and Bala Rao only, but they say, "We have sought the protection (surrin) of the Goorkhas. Kill us if you like; we women have committed no offence nor have we murdered any British subjects";* and upon my telling them that their companions (*yar*) had done so, they said that those who have been guilty of any offences or have committed murder, should receive punishment but that they (the women) who have not committed any such acts ought to have an asylum granted them.

What are Your Excellency's instructions regarding them ? Am I to allow them to remain here, or to turn them out of the place ? I enclose a *Ahureeta* from Bala Rao and hope that any irregularity in this petition may be overlooked.¹

Letter No. 78 of 1859 from G. Ramsay, Resident at Nepal, to Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Govt. of India in the Foreign Department, dated Nepal Residency, the 23rd June, 1859.

In continuation of my letter to your address, No. 76 of

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, 15th July 1859, No. 240, Pp. 276-77; National Archives, New Delhi.

the 18th instant, I have the honour to forward for submission to His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council abstract translations of an *urzee* to Maharajah Jung Bahadoor from Sirdar Siddiram (Siddiman) Sing Rajc Bundaree (Bhandari), dated Bala Rao's Camp, the 11th instant, and one of its inclosures. The other inclosure, purporting to be a copy of a letter from Colonel Bird¹ to Bala Rao, is appended in original, exactly as it reached me, as it is in easy Oordoo (Urdu), and its spirit can best be understood by hearing it read in the vernacular. That letter (if it be authentic) clearly hold's out hopes to Bala Rao, should he consent to surrender himself, which, after what has been reported regarding his connection with the Nana and participation in his crimes—it is hardly possible to believe, can ever be realized. It is not merely courteous, but it is friendly in its tone and even Jung Bahadoor remarked when he sent it to me, that, although it conveys no direct promise of pardon, it is calculated to lead to the belief that pardon may be extended to, at all events, that it will be solicited for that reprobation.

2nd. It appears from Sirdar Siddiman's report that two Christian Buglers of the name of Allen, and their mother, have been given up to him but that Bala Rao declares there are no other Christians or Europeans, either in his own or in the Nana's Camps; and that after he (the Sirdar) has satisfied himself upon this point, he intends to return to Tara Gburree with the families of those leaders; but I have requested that he may again be told that we possess reliable information of the presence of two European female captives with the Nana, and that he shall not leave the camp until he has made every possible exertion to obtain possession of them.

3rd. As the Buglers have expressed a wish to be sent to Toolseepore, I have suggested that they may be forwarded to that Station, and made over to the chief Civil or Military authority there, and I am writing to the Chief Commissioner of Oude, to whom I am sending copies of the accompaniment to this letter, to issue such instructions regarding them as he may think proper.²

¹ Marginal note—Evidently by the context from Mr. Bird or Bart'.

² Foreign Political Proceedings, 15th July 1859, No. 230, Pp. 264-265; National Archives, New Delhi.

Letter No. 83 of 1859, dated Nepal Residency, the 4th July 1859 from Lieutenant Colonel G. Ramsay, Resident at Nepal, to Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Deptt., Fort William.

After I had prepared my letter to your address of the 2nd instant, No. 82, Maharajah Jung Bahadoor sent me another *Urzee* from Sirdar Siddiman Sing Rau Bhundarce dated the 22nd ultimo, an abstract translation of which I have the honour to enclose reporting that one of his intelligencers has obtained information in the Camps of the Nana and of Mummoo Khan, in confirmation of the statements of the Drum Major of the 17th N. I. and his wife, viz.: that there were two English ladies in the rebels' camp up to the period of Colonel Kelly's action near Bootwul on the 28th March last who are said to have been put to death immediately after that battle.

2nd. It may, therefore, be considered as an established fact that *two ladies were actually brought by the rebels into the Terai* but it is much to be feared (the hope must not be abandoned) that they have met with a sad and violent end; I shall, however, encourage Jung Bahadoor to believe that the report of their death is being spread to prevent further enquiries and attempt to effect their liberation and I shall continue to urge him to use every exertion to trace them and to impress upon the Terai officials the extreme importance we attach to obtaining really correct particulars of their present position or of their past fate.

3rd. I propose to forward copies of this letter and of its accompaniment, also of paras 3 and 4 of my last letter¹ to your address to the Chief Commissioner of Oude, who may be able to obtain from the Bondee Rajah (if that Chief really be about to give himself up as Jung Bahadoor states he is) certain intelligence respecting these unhappy ladies for he appears to have kept almost entirely with the Nana and with Bala Rao since they first crossed into these territories.

4th. The *Khureeta* from Bala Rao to which Sirdar Siddiman's *Urzee* gave cover merely contained a brief acknowledgment of the receipt of Jung Bahadoor's letter demanding the surrender of the captives and referred His Excellency to the Sirdar for an account of all that had passed between them.²

¹ 'No. 82'.—Note in the Original.

² Foreign Political Proceedings, 15th July 1859, No. 239, Pp. 274-76; National Archives, New Delhi.

Letter No. 4122, dated Fort William, the 8th July 1859 from C. Beadon, Secretary to the Govt. of India, to Major G. Ramsay, Resident at Nepal.

In reply to your letter, dated 23rd ultimo No. 78 and its Enclosures, one of which is said to be a copy of an Urdu letter from Colonel Bird (or Bart), but which appears more probably to have been written by Col. Brasyer, C. B., to Bala Rao, holding out hopes to him, should he consent to surrender himself, I am directed to acquaint you that the Governor General in Council entirely concurs in the view taken of this letter by you and by Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, G. C. B.

2nd. His Excellency in Council observes that there is some mistake as to the name of the writer regarding which enquiry will be made, but if it be the authentic production of any British Officer, the Governor General in Council will take such measures as the narrated issue of so misleading a letter may require.

3rd. In order to guard against any mistake on the part of Bala Rao himself, His Excellency in Council requests you to inform Jung Bahadoor that it is the fixed purpose of the Government that Bala Rao shall, upon submission, be brought to trial, and that he will be dealt with according to the part which he may be proved to have taken. Clear notice of this must be given to Bala Rao; and you will endeavour to effect this thro' the Nepaulese Government.¹

CONDUCT OF THE BEGAM

Letter No. 391 from Lieutenant I. F. MacAndrew, Officiating Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Oudh (Awadh), to the Secretary to the Government, Foreign Department, dated Lucknow, 21st July 1859.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 4159 d./ 8th instant, enclosing copy of one addressed to the Resident of Nepal, and with reference to the 5th Para of the letter regarding Mummoo Khan's share in the murder of the European captives at Lucknow to observe that the conclusion therein come to on this subject has probably been formed on information demi-officially conveyed by the Chief Commissioner; he, therefore, now begs to represent that though

¹ Foreign Political Proceedings, 15th July 1859, No. 233, p. 269; National Archives, New Delhi.

some of the early witnesses deposed to the Begum having objected to their murder, and this was the preconceived opinion of Europeans, further investigation does not confirm it. A great number of persons have now come forward, who give evidence as to the active part taken by Mummoo Khan in the execution of the European prisoners; but not one of them says any thing in exculpation of the Begum; on the other hand there is evidence to shew that the heads of Europeans killed in the different combats were exhibited to her and in particular there is strong testimony to the fact that the head of Mr. Deverine (or Devere), a Telegraph employee, murdered at Bunnee in the execution of his duty, while the Commander-in-Chief was before Lucknow in November 1857, was sent on to the Begum's private apartments, that she might feast her eyes on the sight, and that the bearer of the Trophy was rewarded with a Dress of honour.

The Chief Commissioner inclines to think her a woman of a savage disposition, who delighted in the blood of Europeans, and therefore little likely to have raised her voice on the side of mercy, even on behalf of her own sex. One thing is certain, that had she been disposed to have saved the ladies, she could easily have done so, by removing them into her private apartments from where the sepoy's even would not have ventured to drag them. It is further clear from the testimony of Meer Wajid Ally that it was matter of notoriety that one of the ladies was niece of the former Chief Commissioner.

The Chief Commissioner has thought it right to lay these facts before His Excellency as they might tend to a withdrawal or modification of the terms offered to the Begum under the impression that her conduct was far different.¹

Abstract Translation of a letter from Maharaja Jang Bahadur, to Mammoo Khan, the Nana Rao, and Raja Beni Madho Bakhsh, dated Kunwar Badi (September 1859).

From the letters which I have lately received from you, I know all your circumstances.

When you first came into Nepal, I believed that you wanted an asylum in the country; but your troops soon commen-

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 29th July 1859, No. 324; National Archives, New Delhi.

ced plundering our villages, beating and often killing the ryots, and violating their women. I have therefore now become convinced that such is not your object and that you have merely come here for purposes of plunder and of oppression.

But, notwithstanding all your violence, I have hitherto, solely out of consideration for yourselves, put up with all this misconduct upon the part of your followers, but I cannot bear it any longer and I require that they shall now lay down their arms at the Towleywa *Cutchery* and proceed quietly to their homes in the British Provinces.

The door of pardon is still open to all who have not committed murders.

If your troops will not disperse and leave this country, the British forces will soon come up from the southward and from the westward and the *Goorkhas* shall advance from the northward and from the eastward and shall attack them, and they will so entirely destroy them that no traces of their existence, not even their names, shall remain.

The British and the Goorkha Governments have been at *peace, and upon most friendly* terms for the last 42 years, and we are bound by Treaty with each other to surrender all murderers. For which reason, were you to produce all your riches, we should not attend to your requests or do any thing that might be likely to lead to misunderstanding with so very powerful Government. We will shew your troops no mercy whatever.

If your females and children do not desire to leave the country, we will not force them to do so, but they shall remain in it subject to the conditions we formerly made with them, that is, they shall hold no communication with their relatives in the plains of India, nor with other persons, British subjects there nor with any one except by our permission.

I will receive no more *urzees*, and will listen to no overtures of any kind either from your *Oomras*, or from your troops; so I now write distinctly to warn you not to expect me to do so.

You are now very few in number, you have but few weapons or guns, very little treasure, scarcely any munitions of war and have quitted your own *Raj*; do you suppose that you can fight against the British Government? The British are as powerful as the planet Saturn. You could not gain from them 4 inches of territory even if you were to sacrifice the whole of your lives in trying to do so. You may depend upon

the truth of this. I am writing it for your benefit. Their country is the whole of Hindustan.

Even if you formerly thought that we should go to war with a powerful nation like the British and break our Treaties with them out of mere friendship for yourselves, do you think that we could do so now that you have committed every kind of outrage and violence in the country, have plundered our villages and deprived the wives of our subjects of their caste?

I advise you to leave this country and to throw yourselves upon the mercy of the British Government.¹

Abstract Translation of a Yaddasht from Maharaja Jang Bahadur Ranaji, Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Nepal, to Lieutt. Col. George Ramsay, Resident at Nepal, dated the 29th of Kumbhar (Monday) Samvat 1916 (10th of October 1859).

After compliments it runs thus--

I have had the pleasure to receive your *Yaddasht* (Memorial) of the 1st instt. and have comprehended its contents.

Altho' previous to this, I had requested in a former *Yaddasht*, that the British troops should not cross into the Nepalese Territories, I now give permission for them to do so till the 5th of *Aghun* of the current year (15th of November next) for purpose of attacking and killing the rebels.

After that date, if the rebels located in the Nepalese Territories make aggressions upon the Territories of the British Government, & after being attacked by the British troops they return to these Territories, they may pursue them into the Nepalese Teraie and kill them, but they ought not to come into Bootwul, Thara Gurrhee, Chauguria Gurrhee, and Patoo Khola, or into the higher ranges of Mountains.

After the lapse of the first 5 days of *Aghun* the Nepalese troops will descend into the Teraie. I hope therefore that strict orders may be issued by the British Government to the officers commanding the British forces not to come into places occupied by Nepalese troops, or into the above-mentioned places, and that they will respect the lives, and property of Nepalese subjects and the honour of their women; a copy of which order I beg that you will be so kind as to obtain for me.

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, 30th Sept. 1859, Nos. 204/6. & K. W.; National Archives, New Delhi.

If the rebels choose to come into places occupied by Nepalese troops or into the higher ranges of the mountains, they shall either be killed or turned out.

I also beg to say that in consequence of the depredations of the rebels, which have been continued for the last 8 or 9 months, the British troops that may come into these territories must not expect to obtain any assistance from us in the way of supplies or coolies.¹

FATE OF THE REVOLUTIONARIES

British Campaign in Awadh; Fate of leading Revolutionaries—Maulvi of Faizabad, Lal Madho Singh of Amethi, Beni Madho Singh- Rana of Shankarpur, Devi Bakhsh- Raja of Gonda, Narpal Singh of Rohia, Raja Man Singh, Mehdi Husain, Firoz Shah—Prince of Delhi, Begam of Awadh, Mammoo Khan, Aman Singh and Jwala Prasad.

The course of action adopted by Sir Colin Campbell, in July, 1857, for the reduction of Oude, was similar to that which he had followed in the Doab, after the battle of Cawnpoor. By never committing the troops to a forward movement until they could be supported on every side, he converted a march into a thorough process of occupation; and at the beginning of the year 1859, was able to report to the Governor General, that there was "no longer even a vestige of rebellion in Oude".²

The campaign was wearisome to the troops, but at its close, nothing remained for them to do, except to continue the pursuit of the few insurgent leaders who seemed resolved never to be taken alive. This small number included the noblest, bravest, and ablest of the rebels—such as the Begum of Oude, with a small band of devoted Rajpoots; Prince Feroze Shah, of Delhi; and Khan Bahadoor Khan; it likewise comprehended the Nana, and his hateful associate, Azim Oollah, both of whom were of course beyond the pale of mercy. Their cruel treachery at Cawnpoor was denounced by the Begum, and Prince Feroze Shah, as having brought a curse on the native cause. Yet the offer of 15,000 failed to induce the people to betray the *Mana*; and when, at the close of 1858,

¹ Foreign Political Consultations, Proceedings of 30th December 1859; National Archives, New Delhi.

² "Lord Clyde's despatch of January 7, 1859". -Note in Original.

his fortunes were utterly desperate, a hill chief, named the *Rajah of Churda*, sheltered him and his family for weeks in his jungle fort, and, on the approach of the British troops, fled with him into the Terai, the atmosphere of which was pestilential to natives, and fatal to Europeans.

There were, however, exceptional cases, in which rebel chiefs fell through the treachery of two or three compromised individuals. The first of these betrayals was that of the *Mool-vee of Lucknow or Fyzabad*, for whose apprehension £5,000 and a free pardon was (sic,) offered. On the 15th of June, he arrived before Powayne, a small town, sixteen miles north of Shahjehan-poor. The rajah of the place was, it is said, extremely anxious to improve his position with the British, which he had reason to fear was a dangerous one; therefore he caused the Moolvee to be shot while engaged in a parley; delivered over the dead body to the nearest British magistrate, and received the blood-money.¹

Among the chief leaders who surrendered themselves to the Commander-in-Chief, was the head of a powerful Rajpoot clan—*Lall Madhoo Sing*, of Ametic. Sir Colin (or rather Lord Clyde, for he had by this time been made a peer, in acknowledgment of the public service rendered by the relief of Lucknow) appeared before the fort of Amethic on the 11th of November, 1858, but hostile operations were stayed by the submission of the rajah whose antecedents have been already related,² and who protested against the decree for the disarmament of his followers and surrender of his arms; urging, with truth, that his fort had sheltered English men, women, and children when in danger; and his arms, which were very few, had been used for the same purpose. He likewise complained boldly of the seizure of his property at Benares, and the refusal of all redress or explanation of the matter.

Bainie Madhoo, the Rana of Shunkerpoor (another Rajpoot of similar rank to Lall Madhoo Sing, and whose

Footnotes in the Original—

¹ Russell.—*Times*, February 11, 1859.

² At page 233; where a mistake has been made in the name of the rajah, arising from the confusion which existed in the accounts sent home to England at the time the erroneous paragraph was published. Lall Madhoo Sing is the name of Rajah of Amethie; Bainie Madhoo Sing, that of the Rana of Shunkerpoor.

son had married the daughter of Kooer Sing), abandoned his fort on the approach of Lord Clyde (November 15), and marched off, with his adherents, treasure, guns, women, and baggage, to join the Begum of Oude and Birjis Kudder, who was, he said, his lawful sovereign, and must be obeyed as such. He proved his sincerity at heavy cost; for though offered his life, his lands, the redress of injuries, the full investigation of grievances—he rejected all, and became a homeless wanderer in the Terai, for the sake of the Begum and her son, to whom he had sworn fealty.¹

Dabee Bux, Rajah of Gondah, was another of the most determined rebels. A native chief predicated (sic,) of him and of Bainie Madhoo, that they would not surrender—the latter because he had promised not to desert Birjis Kudder (and he never broke his word); the former because he was fond of fighting, and had done nothing else all his life.²

Nirput Sing, of Royea, a Rajpoot chief of inconsiderable rank before the mutiny, raised himself to eminence by the unflinching resolve with which he stood aloof from proclama-

Footnotes in the Original—

¹ One of the causes which are said to have strengthened the resolve of Bainie Madhoo, is as follows :—“A kinsman and great friend of his resided, at the time of the outbreak, on his estates between Allahabad and Futtehpoor. The commissioner (Chester), aware of his character, wrote to him to say that he was to remain in his house, and give us such aid as he could render. He did so : he provided coolies, transport, and stores for our troops. Some Sikhs quarrelled with his villagers; and in the fight, it is said, a few men lost their lives. The zemindar was called in to Futtehpoor, and he and his elder son were hanged. The second son fled to Bainie Madhoo for protection, and was assured that he would never be abandoned. Out of the 223 villages on Bainie Madhoo's estates, 119 were taken from him on the second revision, after annexation; but, as he was assured that any complaints of unjust treatment in former days, would be considered in the event of his submission, it must be supposed he had some strong personal feeling at work [to account] for the extraordinary animosity he has displayed against us”. Russell : *Times*, January 17, 1859.

² Since the above page was written, the prediction has been verified. In November, 1859, Jung Bahadur marched his forces into the Terai, and encountered Bainie Madhoo, who with 200 men, withstood the Gorkas, but was killed with half his followers. The death of the Gondah Rajah, and the surrender of the Gondah Ranee, with eighty-nine followers, have been officially reported. Also the deaths of Bala Rao, of Cawnpoor; General Khoda Buksh, Hurdeo Purshaud, Chuckladar of Khyrabad, and many others.—*Times*, January 21, 1860.

tions and amnesties; partly, perhaps, because they were so vaguely worded, and so tampered with,¹ as to inspire little confidence in the intentions of the British Government for the better administration of India. It was currently reported of him that he had vowed (alluding to his crippled condition), "that as God had taken some of his members, he would give the rest to his country".²

Maun Sing himself had been driven, many months earlier, from his pretended neutrality by *Mehndie Hussein*, who had summoned him, in the name of the Begum of Oude, to join her cause in person, at the head of his retainers; and not receiving a satisfactory answer, had besieged him in his fort of Shahgunj; whereupon the intriguer had been compelled to seek aid from the British, and decisively join the cause which, by that time (July, 1858), was beyond question the stronger. This chief and his brother, *Rugber Sing*, have played a winning game, in a manner quite consistent with the account of their previous lives, given by Colonel Sleeman. *Mehndie Hussein*, "a fine, tall, portly man, with very agreeable face"; his uncle, *Meer Dost Ali*, and several other of the Oude leaders, surrendered themselves into the hands of the Commander-in-Chief in January, 1859, encouraged by the conciliatory tone the government had gradually been induced to assume. "I was twenty-five years in the service of the King of Oude", said *Mehndie Hussein* as he entered the British camp; evidently implying that he could not, as a man of honour, help fighting in the cause of one he had served so long. Lord Clyde behaved

Footnotes in the Original—

¹ Certain leading civilians, although "old, valued, and distinguished" public servants, evinced their repugnance to the amnesty in a most inexcusable manner. Mr. Russell gives a case in point. "It will be credited with difficulty that a very distinguished officer of the government, whose rank in the councils of the Indian empire is of the very highest, actually suggested to one of the officers charged with pacification of Oude, that he should not send the proclamation till he had battered down the forts of the chiefs; and yet he did so. Had a military officer so far contravened the orders of his superior, nothing could save him from disgrace and the loss of his commission. A more disgraceful suggestion could scarcely have been made to a man of honour; one more ruinous to our reputation, more hurtful to our faith, certainly could not be imagined".—*Times*, December 21st, 1858.

² Russell.—*Times*, February 11, 1858 (should be 1859—Ed). Narput Sing is said to have been slain at the same time as *Bainie Madhoo*.

with frank courtesy to the fallen chiefs; invited them to be seated; and expressed his hope that they would now settle down as good subjects of the British Crown. "I have been fifty years a soldier", he said; "and I have seen enough of war to rejoice when it is at an end".

Other well-known Oude chiefs, including *Prithee Pal Sing*, had previously thrown themselves on the mercy of the government, and were, in several instances, treated with less severity than might have been expected. When the vengeance fever subsided, the Europeans began to draw distinctions between the insurgent leaders, and to admit, and even praise, the courage and steadfastness with which certain of them endured prolonged suffering. This change of feeling is very marked in the case of *Prince Feroze Shah*, of Delhi: his military daring, hair breadth escapes, and skilful horsemanship, are spoken of with admiration; and even Anglo-Indian journals (the *Delhi Gazette*, for instance) plead his cause, urging his reported intercession on behalf of the European ladies and children massacred at Delhi by the mutinous sepoys of the East India Company. Few persons, now, but would regret to hear that the prince had perished either by jungle fever or the hands of the executioner. A still stronger interest attaches to the *Begum of Oude*; of whom it has been said, that she, "like all the women who have turned up in the insurrection, has shown more sense and nerve than all her generals together".

Mummoo Khan surrendered himself, having been previously dismissed (from) the service of the Begum, "for want of courage and devotion". *Oomar Sing* (the brother of Koorer Sing) has surrendered; so also has *Jowallah Persaud*, one of the Nana's chief leaders. At the close of the year 1859, the *Begum* and *Feroze Shah* were the only leaders of any note still at liberty. The prince was believed to have escaped into Bundelcund, with a very small following. The Begum had less than 1,500 adherents, "half-armed, half-fed, and without artillery".¹

¹ R. Montgomery Martin: "*The Indian Empire*" Vol. II, Pp. 496-500.

APPENDIX A

LUCKNOW CITY AND ITS BUILDINGS

Not much was added to the city till up to the middle of the sixteenth century, and its subsequent extension seems to belong to three periods. First that of the Emperor Akbar, who seems to have taken a great liking to the place, when *muhallas* were built to the south along the line of the Chauk. Secondly that of Asif-ud-daula, under whom the greatest extensions in the city were made. In his time all the central parts of the city were built, and fifty-two villages are said to have been taken up. And lastly, that of the fifth Nawab, Saadat Ali Khan, brother and successor of Asif-ud-daula, who built all the city which stretched towards the east. The present oldest inhabited parts are the old Hindu wards—the Bajpei¹, Katari, Sondhi, Banjari, and Ahiri *tolas*, which are situated round and to the west of the Chauk.²

In the time of the Emperor Akbar one of the principal sections of the inhabitants was still the Brahmans, and the free-thinking monarch, wishing to do them an honour, caused the Bajpei sacrifice to be performed, and gave them a lakh of rupees; from which time they became known as the Bajpei Brahmans of Lucknow.

Mirza Salim Shah³, the son of the Emperor, founded Mirza Mandi, part of which lies to the west of the *enceinte* of the present fort. Jawahir Khan was *Subahdar* at the end of Akbar's reign, and Qazi Mahmud of Bilgram, his *Naib*, built Mahmudnagar and Shahganj to the right and left of the Chauk, and the Akbari Darwaza at the southern end. During the reign of Jahangir, Laet called Lucknow a "*magnum emporium*".⁴

The next *Subahdar* that is mentioned is Sultan Ali Shah Quli Khan, of the time of Shah Jahan, who had two sons, Mirza

¹ Since demolished.

² The position has materially changed now.

³ Afterwards known as 'Jahangir'.

⁴ Laet's "*India*," Ver. Ed. 1631, p. 70.

Fazil and Mansur, who built Fazilnagar and Mansurnagar in the same line as the Chauk further south. Ashraf Ali Khan, a *Risaldar*, of the same time, built Ashrafabad on the east side of the Chauk, and his brother built Musharrafabad or Nautabasta, a continuation of it to the south. Pir Khan, another *Risaldar*, built Garhi Pir Khan, which lies to the west of the city in the Daulatganj *thana*.

The *muhalla* of Rani Katra, on the east of Daulatganj *thana*, was built by the wife of Girdha Naga, *Subahdar* in the time of Emperor Muhammad Shah. This *Risaldar* was the nephew of Chhabile Ram, Governor of Allahabad, who, on his uncle's death, raised a rebellion and attempted to hold for himself the province of which his uncle had been governor, but he submitted in time and was appointed to the governorship of Oudh (—*Siyar-ul-Mutaakhirin*).

The present Machchhi Bhawan fort¹ includes a much larger space than the old fort of that name, which consisted only of the building on the south of the road, noticeable for its round earthen bastions. This was the old fort of Lucknow, and was famous for its strength fully two centuries ago. According to an old proverb, "he who holds Machchhi Bhawan holds Lucknow". The high ground across the road, within the defences of the fort surmounted by a small mosque, is Lachhman Tila, the site of the original Lachhmanpur. Behind the Machchhi Bhawan itself, in a south-west direction, an open space occupied by ordnance stores marks the sites of the Mubarak Mahla and Panch Mahla, the oldest houses in Lucknow, built by the family of Shekhs, who formerly owned territory here. When Saadat Khan, the first member of the late reigning family, came here as *Subahdar* in 1732 A. D., he hired these houses from the owners at a monthly rent of Rs. 565. The money was paid at first, but, by a natural transition of sentiment, his successors got into the habit of looking on the houses as their own, and after Safdarjang and Shuja-ud-daula had respectively written agreements to pay rent, but had never done it, Asif-ud-daula gave up that farce altogether, and confiscated the houses outright. It is well known how, on the 1st of July, 1857, the garrison which held this fort evacuated it

¹ Now included in the areas occupied by the Medical College, Lucknow.

and joined the Residency, and how skilfully and successfully it was blown up by the retreating party.

Saadat Khan was made Governor in A. D. 1732, but found his authority contested by the Shekhs of Lucknow. They had now for a long time been celebrated, and their power may be attested by the fact that their family supplied more than one of the Governors of Oudh. It is said they opposed his entry at the Akbari Darwaza, and he had to pitch outside; but he took the gate by the time-honoured stratagem of a banquet, at which he left the Shekhs carousing and entered the city. This was the last of the Shekhs. They had a drawn sword pendent in their gateway, the Shekhan Darwaza, to which they made all newcomers bow as token of their supremacy, and this was pulled down by the new governor, and bowed to no more. Saadat Khan built the *Katras* of Sayyad Husen Khan, Abu-Turab Khan, Bagh Maha Narain in the Chauk; those of Khudayar Khan, Bizan Beg Khan, in the Saadatganj *thana*; of Muhammad Ali Khan, and Sarac Mali Khan in Daulatganj; and of Ismailganj, since demolished, to the east of the fort.

Abul-Mansur Khan, his son-in-law and nephew, (A. D. 1743), the Nawab Wazir, lived at Delhi, but he built the fort of Jalalabad, some three miles to the south of the city, for the intimidation of the Bais of Baiswara, and took from the Shekhs their Panch Mahla or five-storied house, giving them in exchange seven hundred acres of land in Dugawwan and rebuilding for himself their old stronghold, which was thenceforth called the Machchhi Bhawan fort from the Machchhi, the fish, which formed the crest of the *Subahdar*. And Newal Rae, his *Naib*, sank the wells of the stone bridge that leads over the river by the Machchhi Bhawan fort, but he did not live to complete it. He was soon afterwards killed in the fight with Ahmad Khan Bangash, Nawab of Farrukhabad, and it was not finished till the time of Asif-ud-daula. The bridge was for a long time the only one across the river, and the principal line of traffic to Sitapur, Fyzabad, and the Trans-Gumti districts. Abul-Mansur Khan also built a thatched house, a '*bangla*', at Fyzabad, which became, under Shuja-ud-daula, the capital of the province, and is still often known by the name of '*bangla*'.

After the battle of Buxar, Shuja-ud-daula (A. D. 1753), son of Safdarjang, dwelt at Fyzabad, and the city received no additions during his rule.

But Asif-ud-daula (A. D. 1775), son of Shuja-ud-daula, after his quarrel with his mother, returned to Lucknow, and the greatness of the city dates from his time. He built the *Daulatkhana* along the banks of the river to the west of the fort, the Rumi Darwaza, the fine old gateway that still leads out of the Machchhi Bhawan fort, and the great *Imambara* where he lies buried. This edifice was built in the year of the great famine in A. D. 1784, to give some relief to the famine-stricken people. It is said that many of the respectable inhabitants of the city were compelled by want to place themselves amongst the workmen, and that to save their honour and keep them unknown, their names were told over, and their wages always paid at night. This building may be said to consist of one large hall of immense size and magnificence. Its dimensions are 167 feet long by 52 broad, and is said to have cost a million of money in building. The magnificent ornaments and gaudy decorations with which, as is wont with *imambaras*, its walls were covered in those days are now gone; and being within the walls of the fort, it is used as an arsenal for the stores of the garrison¹. The architects were invited to submit their plans to a competition; Asif-ud-daula only stipulating that the building should be no copy of any other work, and that it should surpass anything of the kind ever built in beauty and magnificence. Kifayat-ulla was the name of the successful competitor, and it would be hard to say that his conception, as it stands before us in the present day, falls at all short of the large and liberal stipulations of the monarch. The building is as solid as it is graceful, built from very deep foundations, and no wood-work is used throughout. Asif-ud-daula, at his death, was buried in it.

The Residency, standing on a considerable elevation about three hundred yards from the bank of the Gunti, was another of the works completed by this sovereign. The Residency is far too famous a place, and too generally known to require a very detailed description. When Asif-ud-daula resided in his palace, the *Daulatkhana*, the Resident was accommodated in one of the buildings attached to it; but when Saadat Ali made the *Farhat Bakhsh* his own dwelling place, he built the Residency close to it. At first no military guard was

¹ Now there are no stores.

attached to the Resident, but when Colonel Bailey held this office, a guard of honour was appointed, and a house built for it by Saadat Ali close to the gate of the Residency enclosure, which thus obtained its world-famous name of the Bailey-guard gate. The plans and descriptions given in Mr. Gubbins' and other books are very full and complete.

Outside the city and across the river is to be found the palace of Bibiapur; it was built by Nawab Asif-ud-daula as a country residence, in which to enjoy hunting and other sports. When a change of residents took place, the new resident on his first arrival used to take up his abode here. The next day the Nawab Wazir came to meet him with a procession, and conducted him to the Residency, riding with him on one elephant. When it was decided to depose Wazir Ali Khan, the adopted son of Asif-ud-daula, in favour of Saadat Ali Khan, it was in this palace, according to native report, that the Governor General Lord Teigumouth held a great *darbar* of all the Lucknow court, and informed Wazir Ali of the order for his deposition, and from thence he sent him off to Benares, which was the place fixed on as his residence.

The country houses at Chihut, also the garden, pavilions at Aish Bagh and Char Bagh (the latter now occupied by the railway station), were built by Asif-ud-daula, as were also the Yahiaganj and stables annexed. The Wazirganj that gives its name to the present police *thana*, which he founded in the name of his adopted son Wazir Ali Khan, Amaniganj, Fatehganj, Rakabganj, the Nakhkhas, Daulatganj, Begamganj, and Nawabganj,—these are all situated in the Wazirganj and Chauk *thanas*.

Other *Ganjs* founded in his time were: The Ahata Khansaman, built by the king's chamberlain, who on its completion invited the Nawab to an entertainment in it.

The Takaitganj and the Bazar Takait Rae, which are both in the Chauk, built by the king's prime minister Maharaja Tikait Rae.

The Tirmaniganj.

The Tikri.

The Chhaoni Hasan-ud-din Khan.

The Hasanganj Baoli.

The Bhawaniganj.

The Balakganj and the Kashmiri *Muhalla*, which are in the Saadatganj *thana*.

The Ahata Surat Singh.

The Niwazganj.

The Tahsinganj.

The Khudaganj of Nagaria, which was founded by the mother of Asif-ud-daula on the same day on which she laid the first stone of Aliganj, on the north side of the river.

The Amberganj.

The Mahbubganj.

The Top Darwaza, in the Daulatganj thana.

The Khayaliganj.

The bazar Jhauhal, in Wazirganj, founded by Maharaja Jhauhal, Kayath, finance minister.

Hasanganj was also founded by Hasan Raza Khan on the north side of the river.

The people are never tired of talking of the liberality of Asif-ud-daula and his munificence. His name is first on the lips of the *Bavian*, and as he takes his seat in his shop in the morning, he is wont to repeat a distich, somewhat profane, in his honour:

*Jis ko na de Maula,
Tis ko de Asif-ud-daula.*

(‘To whom the Lord does not give,
Asif-ud-daula will’.)

The following building though constructed by a private individual deserves mention. The Martiniere, also known by the name of Constantia, was built by General Claude Martin. He designed the plan and elevation of it, and showed them to Asif-ud-daula who expressed a desire to buy it, and offered to give a million sterling for it. His death, however, broke off the bargain, and General Martin himself died before it was finished, and directed that it should be completed out of the funds he left to endow a school there. He ordered his body to be buried in it as a precaution to prevent any future ruler from confiscating it. During the rebellion the mutineers dug up his tomb and scattered his bones, some of which however have since been restored to their original resting place. This building now contains a school at which 120 boys are clothed and educated.¹

¹ The college is now one of the premier Christian institutions of Uttar Pradesh.

Saadat Ali Khan, half brother to Asif-ud-daula (1798), took to building palaces and embellishing the city. He bought the *Farhat Bakhsh*, which is opposite the river next to the Chhatar Manzil, from General Martin for Rs. 50,000, and built the Terhi Kotli under the Residency, and the Lal Barahdari, and the Dilaram opposite to the Chhatar Manzil, and the Dilkusha palace, which stands on some high land outside the city to the north of the present cantonments, and from which a fine view of the city, the river, and the surrounding plain may be had; and the *Hayat Bakhsh* (Banks' bungalow), occupied before the mutiny by Major Banks, and now the residence of the Chief Commissioner, the *Nur Bakhsh*, the Khurshaid Manzil, the Chaupar Stables, and Sikaudar Bagh, within the walls of which such signal retribution befell the 2,000 of the rebel troops at the hands of Sir Colin Campbell's force in November of 1857, and on west side of the city, the Saadatganj, which he ordered should be the only market-place of the city.

The *Farhat Bakhsh* (or giver of delight) was the royal palace from the time of Saadat Ali Khan till Wajid Ali built the Qaisar Bagh. That part of it which overlooks the river was built by General Martin, and sold by him to the Nawab Wazir. The rest of the building, and the great throne-room itself, was built by Saadat Ali Khan. This throne-room, known by the names of the *Qasr-us-Sultan*, or the Lal Barahdari, was set apart for royal *darbars*, and at the accession of a new king it was the custom for the Resident to seat him on the throne, and then to present a *nazar* to him, in token that the British authority confirmed his assumption of the government. It was in this room that the attempt on the throne by the Badshah Begam and Munna Jan took place, which is recorded by Sir W. Sleeman in the second volume of his journey through Oudh, and it was in pursuance of this custom that the insurgents attempted to force the Resident, Colonel Low, to present an offering to Munna Jan as he sat on the throne, thinking thus to confirm the usurper's authority.

The other *Ganjs* built in his time were Rakabganj, Jangli-ganj, and Maqbulganj in Ganeshganj to the west of the city; Golaganj and Molviganj in the Wazirganj *thana* and the Rastogi Muhalla in the Chauk.

Ghazi-ud-din Haidar, son of Saadat Ali Khan (A. D. 1814), the first king, built the Moti Mahal palace, the Chini

Bazar, the Shah Najaf on the banks of the river, in which he ordered his remains to be laid, the Chhatar Manzil Kalan, which faces the river and the Chhatar Manzil Khurd (the lesser), which lies behind it. Round the latter also he built the *Darshanbilas* and *Chaulakkhi* houses, the present Civil Court and Chief Engineer's Office.

Between the great quadrangle of the Qaisar Bagh and the Chini Bazar stand the two tombs of Saadat Ali Khan (called after his death *Jannat Aramgah*) and of his wife Murshidzadi. Both these tombs were built after their death by their son Ghazi-ud-din Haidar, who thereby displayed a very uncommon amount of filial affection. The spot on which Saadat Ali's tomb now stands was formerly occupied by a house in which Ghazi-ud-din Haidar lived during his father's reign; and it is reported that when he came to the throne and occupied Saadat Ali's palace, fully appreciating the change in their respective situations, he remarked that as he had now taken his father's house, it was but fair that he should give up his own to his father. Accordingly he gave orders to destroy his former abode, and raise on the site a tomb to Saadat Ali Khan.

The pile of buildings known by the name of Moti Mahal includes three separately named and distinct buildings. The Moti Mahal, properly so called, was built by Saadat Ali Khan, and forms the northern part of the enclosure. It owes its name to the fancied resemblance of a dome in it (now destroyed) to the curve of a pearl. Along the river face Ghazi-ud-din Haidar built the Mubarak Manzil and the Shah Manzil, the latter being close to the former bridge of boats, the former east of it. The Shah Manzil was the scene of the celebrated wild beast fights. The smaller animals were put to fight inside the enclosure of the Shah Manzil, and the combats between tigers, &c., also took place there, strong cages and a safe arena having been provided. But the fights between elephants and rhinoceroses, which required to be viewed at a safe distance, took place across the Gumti on the level ground in front of the Hazari Bagh, the king and the court watching them from the verandah of the Shah Manzil. This king also laid out the Valacti Bagh in honour of a foreign wife.

The Qadam Rasul, or Prophet's foot-print, is a Muhamadan place of worship, built by Ghazi-ud-din Haidar on a mound artificially raised. It contained a stone bearing the impress of the foot of the Prophet brought from Arabia by a

pilgrim. During the rebellion the holy stone was carried off, but the author of the sacrilege is not known.

Badshahganj, on the north-side of the river, opposite the Machchhi Bhawan, was founded by him on his attaining to the dignity of sovereign, conferred on him by the British Government, and he dug the canal which skirts the east and south of the city. The canal leaves the city for the district : it was originally intended for irrigation but has failed.

The following *muhallas* were also built in his reign — Mehndiganj in the Saadatganj *thana*, the Deorhi Agha Mir in Wazirganj (founded by his favourite minister Agha Mir). Agha Mir or Motamad-ud-daula built a handsome *sarai* known as Agha Mir's, to the south of the Chauk *thana* on the east side of the Victoria Road, and the Karbala near the Wingfield Park.

Nasir-ud-din Haidar, son of the last monarch (A. D. 1827), built the great Karbala in Iradatnagar, in which he lies buried, and founded Ganeshganj and Chandganj on the north side of the river.

The Tarawali Kothi, or Observatory, was built by Nasir-ud-Din Haidar under the superintendence of Colonel Wilcox, the Astronomer Royal, and was provided with very excellent instruments. The Colonel died in 1847, and Wajid Ali Shah dismissed the establishment. The astronomical instruments were carefully put by, but disappeared in the rebellion, and were probably broken up by the rebels. The Fyzabad Moulvi, Ahmadulla Shah (known as Danka Shah, from his always having a drum beaten before him when he went out) made it his headquarters during the rebellion, and the rebel parliament used frequently to hold its meetings here.

The space in front of the Tarawali Kothi, between it and the Qaisar Bagh, is fraught with melancholy and solemn recollections. In this spot two separate parties of Europeans, one consisting of those sent in by the Dhaurahra Raja (Miss Jackson, Mrs. Green, Mrs. Rogers, Mr. Carew, Mr. J. Sullivan, on the 24th September, 1857), with the addition of some persons captured in the town, deserters from the Bailey-guard and the other of the victims of the Mitauli Raja's gratitude and hospitality (Sir M. Jackson, Captain Orr, Lieutenant Burns, Sergeant Morton, on the 16th November, 1858), completed the tale of sickness, imprisonment, indignity, and despair, by suffering a cruel martyrdom. A memorial has been

put up to commemorate these massacres, almost on the spot where they occurred. Both of them were chiefly owing to the fury of the defeated sepoys when they could no longer resist the advance of General Havelock and of the Commander-in-Chief, but both were also instigated and encouraged by the leaders of the rebellion, and the nobles of Oudh. One of these leaders, Raja Jai Lal Singh, a man of large territorial possessions, and of great influence with the mutineers, followed the first party of prisoners to the fatal scene, and mounted one of the gates of the Qaisar Bagh, since destroyed, in order better to feast his eyes on their dying agonies, and to applaud the prowess of his sepoys. Two years had elapsed since that time; he had been received into favour; his rebellion had been condoned under the amnesty, and haply he persuaded himself that the memory of that deed had faded away, that even he might hope to die the common death of all men, and be visited by the visitation of all men. But justice, though slowly, was following surely in the criminal's track. Like the storied cranes of Ibycus, it came on him when he least expected it, from the quarter where he thought himself safest. His own confidential servants turned against him, link after link, a wonderful chain of circumstantial evidence developed itself, and heaped the guilt with deadly certainty on his head. On the 1st day of October, 1859, on the very spot where his crime was committed, he paid the extremest penalty of the crime.

And this was followed, on the 12th of October, by the execution of Bandeh Husen and Fatch Ali, who had hunted down and brought into Lucknow some of the poor captives and massacred them here.

The Roshan-ud-daula Kothi, the present district Kachehri, was built by Nasir-ud-din Haidar's minister, whose name it bears.

Muhammad Ali Shah, uncle of Nasir-ud-din Haidar (A. D. 1837), built the splendid Husenabad *Imambara* as a burial place for himself; it consists of two large enclosures, one of which is at right angles to the other. Leaving the fort by the great Rumi Darwaza, a broad road near the Gumti, about a quarter of a mile long, conducts to the gate of the outer quadrangle. The visitor standing a little west of the road can take in at one view the great *Imambara* and Rumi Darwaza to the right, with the Husenabad and the Jama Masjid to the left. The whole forms, as Bishop Heber remarks,

one of the finest architectural views in the world. This king also laid out the road that leads to it from the Chhatar Manzil through the fort along the banks of the river.

Along with the Husenabad *Imambara* Muhammad Ali Shah built a magnificent tank, which stands by the side of the road, and began a mosque at a short distance from the *Imambara* which was intended to surpass the Jama Masjid (at Delhi) in size, but which he never lived to complete. It stands still unfinished, with the scaffolding gradually rotting away, untouched since the day he died. He also began a watch tower, a 'Sat Khandā', or seven-storied (storeyed) tower, from the top of which he might look down on his finished work, 'the great Babylon that he had built', and enjoy its beauty and splendour, but the work was never finished, and the tower only reached its fourth storey.

The great tomb of Hakim Mehndi Ali Khan, situated to the east of Golaganj, and near Mina Shah-ki-Dargah, was erected by his nephew, Munawar-ud-daula, during this reign.

Amjad Ali Shah, son of the last king (A. D. 1841), built Hazratganj, made the metalled Road to Cawnpore, laid the iron bridge over the Gumti, and built his own Mausoleum in Hazratganj. Amin-ud-daula, his minister, founded the Aminabad Bazar, one of the great thoroughfares of the city which leads into the Cawnpore Road.

The iron bridge was brought out from England by the order of Ghazi-ud-din Haidar, but he died before it arrived. His son, Nasir-ud-din Haidar, directed it to be put up in front of the Residency, just where a small temple and *ghat* now stand on the opposite side of the river. He gave the contract for erecting it to his own engineer, Mr. Sinclair, who commenced sinking wells (which are still visible) on which to found the piers, but failed before any great progress had been made. The bridge was thus again delayed till Amjad Ali Shah, the 4th king, took up the project and completed it.

The Qaisar Bagh, the great work of Wajid Ali Shah, the ex-king's reign, was commenced in 1848, and finished in 1850 A. D. at a cost, including furniture and decorations, of eighty lakhs. Qaisar is the same word as Caesar, a title adopted by the kings of Oudh, and used by them on the royal seal.

To describe this palace, it will be best to suppose the visitor to enter at the north-east gateway, which faces the open space in front of the Tarawali Kothi. We pass up the open

court in front of the gate called the *Jilaukhana*, or place where the royal processions used to form up and prepare to start from, and turning to the right through a gateway covered by a screen, we cross the Chini Bagh (so-called from the large China vessels with which it was decorated), and going under a gate flanked by green mermaids we come to the Hazrat Bagh.

On the right hand we have the Chandiwali Baradari which used to be paved with silver, and the *Khas Muqam* and Badshah Manzil, which used to be the special residence of the king. The Badshah Manzil has been before alluded to as having been built by Saadat Ali Khan, and included by Wajid Ali Shah in the plan of his new palace. His Wazir, Nawab Ali Naqi Khan, used to reside above the mermaid's gateway we have just passed under, in order that he might be close to the king, and obtain instant information of all he was doing. On the left we have the large confused pile of buildings called the *Chaulakkhi*, built by Azim-ulla Khan, the royal barber, and sold by him to the king for four lakhs. It formed the residence of the Chief *mahals* and of the queen. The rebel Begam held her court here, and it was in one of the stables near this that our captives were kept for weeks. Proceeding along the roadway, we pass close by a tree paved round the roots with marble, under which Wajid Ali Shah used to sit in the days, when the great fair was held, dressed in the yellowish clothes of a *faqir*. Moving onwards we pass under the great Lakkhi gate (so-called from having cost a lakh in building), and come into the magnificent open square of the Qaisar Bagh proper, the buildings round which were occupied chiefly by ladies of the Harem. In the month of August a great fair used to be held here, to which the whole town was admitted. Proceeding past the stone Barahdari, now fitted up as a theatre, and under the western Lakkhi gate, which corresponds to the eastern one just described, we have on our left the building known as the *Qaisar Pasand*, surmounted by a gilt semicircle and hemisphere. It was built by Roshan-ud-daula, the minister of Nasir-ud-din Haidar, and confiscated by Wajid Ali Shah, and given by him as a residence to a favourite *mahal* (concubine) *Mashuq-us-Sultan*. In the under-stories (storeys) of this building the Dhaurahra party of captives were confined, and from it they were taken to be killed. On the right is another *Jilaukhana* corresponding to the eastern one, by which we entered the palace, and turning down it we find ourselves outside the

Qaisar Bagh, and opposite the Sher Darwaza, or Neill gateway, under which General Neill was killed by a discharge of grape shot from a gun posted at the gate of the Qaisar Bagh which we have just left.¹

¹ "Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh" (1877) Vol. II., H. to M., Pp. 365 to 74.

APPENDIX B

**EXTRACTS FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF
THE TRIAL OF RAJA JY LALL SING¹**

Sept. 13, 1859

CHARGES

These proceedings having been examined by superior authority, the 4 separate charges against the Deft. are altered and he is put on trial on the following charges : --

1st Charge. Being a leader in rebellion, in organizing a rebel Governt., in having placed himself at the head of the rebel sepoys and murderers, in becoming the spokesman of the Rebel officers to the Begum and medium of communication between the rebel army and Brijis Kudr, in holding high office, in having a jail for the confinement of Christians and encouraging the arrest and extermination of Christians generally and their followers.

2nd Charge. Aiding and abetting in the murder of Mrs. Green, Miss Jackson, Mrs. Rogers, Mr. Carrew, Mr. J. Sullivan, Mrs. Feelow (insane), Baptist Jones, Barkar and other Christians and Mamood Khan Kotwal in all 22 or 23 persons on the 24th Sept. 1857.²

The argument regarding these charges contained in the foregoing pages remains unchanged, and it is only for me to add that there is ample proof to convict the Deft., and the witnesses to each point contained in these charges, are noted in the accompanying 2 tables for facility of reference. The Deft's. claim to having saved a European female is neither made good by documents nor witnesses, and in the case of Mukka *buniya*, he was accused of plundering our adherents many months before he and his *quandon*³ Moonshi, Wajid Ali, quarrelled.

¹ Spelt for the name "Raja Jai Lal Singh".

² Marginal note in the Original—Committing Officer's Summary. Govt.Ver : Jy Lall Sing.

³ Appears to have been spelt for 'Khandan'.

Govrnt. Vs. Rajah Jy Lall Sing

DECISION

In considering this case it will be necessary to keep in mind that besides the two distinct acts of massacre that were committed in Lucknow in Sept. and Novr. 1857, there were many isolated cases of murder of Christians perpetrated between the end of June/ 57 and the capture of the city in March/58.

Of the two massacres above alluded to the first was that of 3 females and 2 males, viz. Miss Jackson, Mrs. Green the step daughter of Sergt. Rogers, Mr. Carew and Mr. J. Sullivan; which took place on the 24th Sepr./ 57 the day before Havelock's force reached the Residency. These persons were sent in by the Rajah of Dowrerah.

The second was that of Sir M. Jackson, Capn. P. Orr, Lt. Burnes and Sergt. Morton the day before the Comm.-in-Chief relieved the Residency, about the 16th or 19th Novr. 57. This party was sent in by the Rajah of Mitowlic, and left that place on the 20th reaching Kaiserbagh on the 26th of Octr. (Mrs. Orr and Miss M. Jackson who were saved, were of this party).

A number of East Indians and natives who had deserted from the Residency garrison or been seized in the city, were also killed with the first or Dowrera party, in all 22 or 23 persons—Christians or their well wishers, and it is in regard to the murder of these persons, known in the proceedings as the Dowrerah party, that the Defendant is now put on his trial; and altho' much mention is made in the different statements of the 2nd party, it must be kept in mind that the Defendant is not charged in respect to it.

Before proceeding further it may be well to allude to the antecedent of the Deft. He and his father have long been amongst the most trusted servants of the Kings of Oude. Originally of low caste and origin, they raised themselves to power and when Oude was annexed the Deft. was deputed by the Ex-King as an ambassador to the banks of the Ganges to meet Brigadier F. Wheeler in command of the army of demons-

'N. B. The C-in-C. opened fire on the Kaiser Bagh on the 20th. Novr.'—Note in the Original.

tration on that occasion, and to this effect the Def. holds a letter from the Brigadier.

Again, to show the influence he had at the rebel court, I quote from a very carefully kept journal of the Intelligence Depart.—“The Begum and Prince have written letters and sent a *Vakeel* to the Nepal Rajah, thro. (through) Rajah Jy Lall Sing to the effect that a good understanding and friendly feeling have always existed between Nepal and Oude, it is therefore improper in (for) Nepal to join the English, on the contrary bearing in mind former friendship, it should join Oude in exterminating the English”.

Again we have documents bearing the Def.'s seal of Office passing orders to *Talookdars* at once to restore their possessions to mutineers who had murdered their officers—and we have blank orders of the rebel Court made over to him to fill in names and circulate directing the extermination of “the infidels”.

Such being the influence at Court of the Def. it is not to be wondered at that we find him taking the very earliest opportunity of setting up a rebel Government.

2. It has long been the popular belief that the Sepoys alone were answerable for the Lucknow massacres. That erroneous impression is satisfactorily removed by the present enquiries, which have been very ably conducted by Major Bruce, C. B., Chief of the Police, under the orders of the Chief Commr. That the sepoys were largely guilty there is no shadow of doubt but that influential men of Lucknow joined and headed them, is also very clear; and that the Def. was the most prominent of those who did so, I shall now proceed to show.

On the 30th of June occurred the disaster of Chinhut which was at once followed up by the rebels flocking into the city and by the siege of the Residency—*The rebel Head Quarters were established in the 32nd Barracks.*

At this time Khan Ali Khan, an *Ex-Chukledar* of Salone dismissed at the instance of Genl. Sleeman for his many excesses, was the *Naib* of Nawab Ali, *Talookdar* of Mahomdabad, the first of his class who openly rebelled. Around this man's standard the Sectapoor murderers speedily flocked; under Khan Ali Khan they fought at Chinhut; and we find this person and Burkut Ahmud *Ressaldar* of Irregulars (since killed) at their head on arrival at Lucknow. This was on the Tuesday; on the following Thursday we find the Def. according

to the evidence of Mattadeen witness at once presenting himself to the soldiery and being elected as their mouthpiece and chief.

A difference of opinion now arose as to who was to be set up as king, the Cavalry wishing for Sooliman Kudr, son of Mulka Ahud, the Infantry and the Defi. for Brijis Kudr, on the ground that while any of them lived the throne was the birthright of the ex-king's offspring in subordination however to the Emperors of Delhi. *The Defi's influence carried the day.* His confidential Secretary, Mattadeen, who had served father and son many years, deposes to the Defi. taking a paper from the Begum to the rebel officers which he induced them to sign, and which the Begum kept as her *sunud* (or title deed). The Defi. then went to head the procession of rebel officers who were going to crown the puppet king—and he sent back the above named witness with a message to Mummoo Khan to say the officers were approaching and to prepare for the coronation, and he immediately followed with those officers and took a prominent part in the ceremony, but more particularly in drawing out certain papers that were reduced to writing on the occasion. He was also concerned in appointing the minister and other officers of state, and for these services he received honors and substantial rewards.

That the Defi. was prominent in setting up the rebel Govern. is corroborated by the evidence of Moonshi* Wajid Ali, Syud Eusoof and to some extent by other witnesses. We next see him taking a leading part in looking after the fortifications and preparations, and in assembling the Court for the performance of Civil and Military work, in organizing an Intelligence Department and looking after the wounded. He is then found digging up the Treasure of the Ex-minister Ali Nukkie Khan and of the Ex-Nazim, the Aghaie, for the benefit of the rebel *Durbar*, and he becomes the jailor of the misguided individuals who deserted from the Baillie-guard, and who were taken to him from the Sepoy lines. We then find him forwarding these prisoners on the demand of Mummoo Khan for the avowed purpose of being murdered.

Such is the evidence of the Defi's own *Moonshi*, on whose

* 'N. B. There are 2 of the name, Moonshi Wajid Ali and Meer Wajid Ali Darogah'.—Note in the Original.

statements some reliance may be placed, for he was the means of obtaining the release of some Christians, and the influence the Deft. exercised in setting up the rebel Govt. &c., is further proved by the before named Moonshi Wajid Ali, also a dependent of the Rajah, whose evidence is clear and conclusive. This last witness also deposes that the Rajah kept the rebels together by paying them with the money he dug up at Ali Nukkie Khan's house.

The Deft. pleads not guilty to this charge but admits two points; 1st that he advised the minister to appoint a Court which was done, and he (the Deft.) used to enquire into petitions, lay them before this Court and report the result to the Minister; and 2nd that at his suggestion a jail was established of which he had charge and on some occasions he sent up prisoners from his jail on demand. He qualified these two admissions by saying that his object in suggesting both institutions was to protect person and property from the ravages of the sepoys, and more especially the lives of Christians.

The defence on this charge is not assisted by the witnesses cited, the more influential of whom go rather to damage the Deft's. case, than otherwise; for they admit that he did act as a go-between; that at an early date after Chinhut he posted sepoy-sentries round the Kaiser Bagh; that he was playing a prominent part at the coronation and that he had a jail. Those of the witnesses who are most favorable to the Deft. simply depose that they did not hear of his being a leader.

Taking things in the order in which they occurred I have discussed the 3rd charge first, and cannot but consider every one of the distinct acts of leadership adverted to in that charge to be most fully proved by the evidence of which I have given a summary, and I shall now proceed to the 1st charge.

About the beginning of Sepr. 1857 (perhaps the 5th or 6th) Mrs. Green, Miss Jackson, Mr. Carew and others were sent into the *Durbar* by the Rajah of Dowerah. They were first of all taken to the house marked A on the plan, where Meer Wajid Ali, witness, seems to have had some control over them. They were then according to the statement of the same witness taken to the Nageena Walla barradurree (see plan) where they were kept for a day or two. Here the witness says he lost all control of the prisoners who were made over to the sepoys. Next, the witness states, they were taken to the S. W. corner house of the Kaiserbagh (marked B) where

they remained until they were taken off to be massacred. But the other witnesses, chiefly men of the Purtullawalla guard, depose that the route from the first house the prisoners occupied was as shown by the black dotted line, and that the prisoners were confined not in the Kaiserbagh, but in the *Kaiser Pussund*, beside the Baillie guard deserters and other people. Unfortunately Joseph Johannes who could have cleared up this discrepancy, had been removed before the Dowraah prisoners reached. The great mass of evidence is in favor of the dotted line route, and I am inclined to rely on it, but be that as it may, on the approach of Havelock's Force a general impression seized the rebels that the rescue of these prisoners was the main object of the advance. The witnesses Meer Wajid Ali, Moonshi Wajid Ali, Syud Eusoof, Mattadeen and Doorga *Harkara*, all depose to a Court now being held at which Deft. was present, and Moonshi Wajid Ali says that at that Court, Deft. and Capt. Muckdloom Bux &c. expressed a determination to kill the prisoners. The Court adjourned at 2 P. M. Meer Wajid Ali then deposes that about 3 P. M. there was firing at the Alum Bagh and great confusion amongst the rebels, when the Deft. came to the Chandee Walla Barradurree and said to Mummoo Khan that the Mily. officers were coming to demand the prisoners and he should not oppose them or it would be bad for him. Ali Jan, witness, corroborates this and adds that Mummoo Khan said, "go and tell the minister"; Cashee Kattewalla represents this to have occurred at an earlier hour of the day. Ali Jan deposes that while they were yet speaking Muckdloom Bux and his sepoy arrived and with Mummoo Khan went off to the *Kaiser Pussund* for the prisoners, when witness left. Wajid Ali confirms this and says Muckdloom Bux, Bahadoor Ali, Goolam Sufdur, and their sepoy came and took Mummoo Khan to the *Kaiser Pussund*. Kewul Ram, Abdool Lateef, Gungaram, and Boopnaram depose that Khoda Yar Khan went to the *Dewan Kannah* at this time and demanded the list of Christian prisoners in the name of Mummoo Khan, which was prepared and copied out by these witnesses and given to him—and that Khoda Yar Khan (since killed) was prominent at this stage is also clear from the evidence for the defence. The List having been read over and the party having got possession of the prisoners, 22 or 23 in number, they took them outside the *Durra Dowlat* marked C on the plan, and killed them. Meer Wajid Ali heard that Mummoo Khan did not witness the

slaughter. Meer Abbass, *Naib* Jailer who was in-charge of the prisoners deposes to Mummoo Khan and Muckdoom Bux coming and demanding them from him, when they were all handed over, 22 or 23 persons. Ramzan Khan Purtullawalla, Munour Ali Beg, Sufdur Ali &c. confirm this. The prisoners were then withdrawn by the route marked by a black drawn line; when they reached the Gnandee Walla Barradurree, Ramzan Khan, Munour Ali Beg, & Sufdur Ali deposes to the Deft. meeting the procession with a number of followers. From this point Mummoo Khan went off to the *Jehannoomah*, where the Begum was living, (see Ramzan Khan's stat.) and the procession accompanied by the Deft. moved on. This is confirmed by Munour Ali Beg, Sufdur Ali and Fussedood Deen. On coming to the outer gate marked D (since knocked down) the Deft. is said to have got on the top of the gateway, and to have watched the massacre, by the 4 witnesses last named, which took place at the spot indicated on the plan. Mr. Elliott also deposes to seeing the Deft. on the gateway, and Capn. Fida Hosen amongst the throng, but there is some confusion in this witnesses (sic) statement, because he says this happened at the Sher or Neill gateway, which is not the case. Ramzan Khan, Munour Ali Beg, Sufdur Ali, Doorga & Fussedood Deen witnessed the last act of this sad tragedy, when first muskets & subsequently swords were used. Gunga & Ram-sing afterwards saw the bodies bearing gun-shot and sword wounds.

The Deft. denies this charge *in toto*, and says that he was deputed to Ali Nukkie's house before the murder, & that about the time of the massacre he went straight off to Alumbagh. Rajah Maun Sing, witness for the defence, says he has never satisfied himself whether the Deft. was present at the murders or not. Sufdur Ali says the Deft. went with the other Chiefs to oppose Havelock at the Alumbagh, and during his absence from the Kaiserbagh the murders were committed. Hisamod Dowlah can say nothing on this charge nor can most of the other witnesses. Emdad Ali & Jaukie depose to witnessing the massacre without having seen the Deft. there, although the latter was standing at the gateway on which the Deft. is said to have mounted.

Having traced every movement connected with this sad scene the share the Deft. had in that cold-blooded massacre, is brought home to him, in accordance with the first charge,

and the witnesses for the defence have to my thinking, failed in making good a refutation.

2nd Charge. It seems that on the 18th or 19th Novr. /57 Messrs. Harrington & Debire (or Devere) of the Telegraph were engaged with an escort in repairing the line not far from Alum-bagh. They were pursued by 200 rebel suwars, the latter fell into the enemies' hands & was killed. His head was cut off and sent to the Begum. Syed Eusoof deposes to having seen the Def't's. relative present a carbine which he took from the murdered man to Brijis Kudr, & get shawl in return, as a mark of approbation. Ali Jan witness saw the head of a European said to have been brought in a basket on a coolie's head, by a relative of the Def't. It was lying at the minister's house, now occupied by Dr. Innes, and the Begum sent for it to look at; a reward was paid for it and there was a general laudation of the Def't's. masterly performance in having secured a 'Telegraph Officer's' head. Meer Wajid Ali heard the facts from the last witness. Mattadeen deposes that while the Def't. was out on one of his patrolling excursions, he cut off and sent in this head to the Begum under charge of his son-in-law. Abdool Rassak deposes that in those days the charge of the Clawnpoor road was intrusted to the Def't. One of his patrolling parties under Misree Sing *Ressaltar* cut off the head and took it in. On that day the Def't. was at Talkatora. Some wire was also sent in. Moonshi Wajid Ali deposes that the Def't. caught the Telegraph Officer, who offered 3 or 5 Gold *Mohurs* for his release, but the Def't. was obdurate & had him beheaded; he then took the money and sent in the head, demanding a reward. Ramzan Khan saw the head & heard the Rajah had sent it—his relative brought it in. Dittah, witness, deposes that a suwar brought a head to Jy Ram, a relative of Def't. and said the Def't. had sent it for the purpose of being taken to the Durbar. Jy Ram then went & delivered it. Gunga saw the head & heard from thousands that the Def't. had cut it off and sent it in from the Bunnec direction. Ram Sing deposes that a head had been sent in from Kantha (N. B. the head of a soldier of H. M.'s 34th Foot) and 3 days afterwards the Def't. sent in one from the Bunnec Road. Gopal, Moosahib Ali and Munsub Ali all saw the head.

There is very hard swearing as to this matter of the head. The Def't. denies the charge. Rajah Maun Sing says the Def't. had nothing to do with this matter personally, but certainly

it was done by a party under Misree Singh who was under the Deft's orders. Sufdur Ali, witness for the defence, saw Misree Sing bring in the head and get rewarded. Sunoola¹, also for the defence, on the other hand says, no, Misree Sing was not there, but his men were. Hisamod-Dowlah knows nothing of the matter, and the other witnesses only know from hearsay.

Mr. Harrington of the Telegraph was with Mr. Debire when the latter was killed beyond the Alumbagh, and he records that they were out with a cavly. party laying down wire, when they were pursued and the deceased, being a few paces behind, was overtaken and killed. This being the case and taking into consideration that during this diabolical war no prisoners were made, we must, I think, admit that the deceased met his death at the hands of an enemy, rather than a murderer, and in this view of the case the portion of the charge about the head must be relinquished. But that the Deft. was guilty of procuring the arrest, leading to the murder of Christians and their followers generally, is in a measure admitted by himself when he says that he advocated with the minister the establt. of a jail, from which prisoners used to be sent up by him, and it is evident also, from the statement of the witnesses Lalta Pursad, Dya Kishin, Joseph Johannes and Long Assay, who escaped after having been in his jail, as also the witnesses who deposed to his sending in the Baillie guard deserters with a nominal roll when demanded by Mummoo Khan for slaughter.

We now come to the 4th and last charge.

Meer Wajid Ali deposes to the Deft. going out to meet the Nana, as a mark of honor, and he was subsequently deputed along with the witness, to locate him in state in the *Dowlut Kannah* palace. Mattadeen *Moonshi*, deposes that the Deft. deputed his own brother Rugbur Diyal and his *Bukshee* to go as far as the banks of the Ganges to bring in the Nana and for this service Rugbur Diyal got dresses of honor from the Begum and the Nana, and the Deft. himself conferred one on the *Bukshee*. Abdool Russak deposes to Rugbur Diyal going out to bring in the Nana. *Moonshi* Wajid Ali deposes that the Deft. with both his brothers went out as far as Futtehpoer Chourassee to bring in the Nana, and established him in the *Dowlut Kannah*

¹ Apparently, spelt for Sana-ullah.

Palace and sent carpets and other necessaries there for his use for which he and his brother got dresses of honor from the Nana.

In respect to this charge the Deft. admits that he visited the Nana at the *Dowlut Kannah* and that his brother went to meet him at Futtchpoor; but he pleads that in this visit he acted under orders—and that he is not answerable for the acts of his brother with whom he is at enmity. The two brothers have an undoubted coolness, but they were living at the time of which I write under the same roof, if in different apartments—and Mattadeen says that a 3rd brother who was living with them, communicated freely with both. The younger brothers went to the rebel Court under the Deft's. protection, and all the orders of the Court, for whichever brother intended, were issued to the Deft.—the eldest of the three; moreover the Dy. Commr. of Fyzabad has pointed out that amongst the Deft's. papers a document had been found couched in congratulatory terms, at the prospect of Rugbur Diyal presenting himself to the British authorities at Lucknow, for now the family property there would be saved. For these reasons the plea of enmity with his own brother breaks down, and there can be no manner of doubt the Deft. deputed his brother to fetch the Nana and that he himself went to inaugurate the advent of this murderer at the *Dowlut Kannah* is admitted by the Deft.

To Sum Up

There is the clearest possible proof of each and all of the detailed acts of Leadership charged against the Deft. He is proved to have placed himself at the head of the murderous sepoys whose hands were yet red with the blood of their Christian victims—those very sepoys to whom the Deft. and his witnesses would fain transfer the responsibility of the murders of our fellow countrymen, and he is also proved to have been mainly instrumental in organizing the rebel Govt.

There is strong evidence which has not been refuted to show that the Deft. advised the surrender to the murderers of the victims, and followed them to the scene of the massacre.

The evidence is conclusive and the fact is admitted by the Deft. that he used to have all Christians sent into his jail by the sepoys and that he hunted up those that had served the English in any way.

And lastly, proof is forthcoming that the Deft's. brother was deputed to bring to Lucknow the rebel murderer and proclaimed offender Nana Doondu Punt, and that the Deft. visited the Nana when he arrived, he does not attempt to deny.

For these reasons, I commit the Deft. Rajah Jy Lall Sing to the Sessions Court to stand his trial on the charges which have been brought against him, and to which he has pleaded.¹

Signed: P. Carnegie,
D. Commr. of Lucknow.

¹ "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Raja Jai Lal Singh". Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny *Basta*.

APPENDIX C

FIROZ SHAH AND HIS ANTECEDENTS

Firoz Shah Shahzada, son of Nizam Bakht, a direct descendant of the first Bahadur Shah was a nephew of the King of Delhi. Two years prior to the outbreak of the struggle in 1857 he is said to have proceeded on pilgrimage to Mecca. He returned to India and landed at Bombay at a time when the struggle had already assumed formidable dimensions. Whilst on his way to Delhi, at Diolpur he found himself threatened with capture by the British for his being a relative of Bahadur Shah. Consequently he had no option but to flee back to Morar-ki-chhaoni and join the Mhow revolutionaries in their attack on Agra.

According to intelligence reports from Central India and letters received at Indore it was alleged that Firoz Shah reached Sitamai in August 1857 and posed as a *Faqir* from Mecca proclaiming at the same time that he was *Badshahzada*. Within a few days of his arrival at Khachrode he gathered round himself a band of revolutionaries and captured Mandisore. On the fourth of *Muharram* (i.e. 20th August 1857) he was placed on *Masjed* at Mandisore under the name of Shahzada Humayun Saah. He was assisted by the Mewatis, Vilaitis, Hindus, and all others, Horse and Foot in the service of His Highness Maharaja Scindia, numbering about seventeen to eighteen thousand.

After the collapse of the Revolutionary Govt. at Delhi and retreat of forces from that place under Bakht Khan, Firoz Shah participated in an attack on Agra. He recounted this battle in his proclamation issued on 17th February 1858 in apologetic terms, saying that he had no intention to announce war before everything was in order but the over-enthusiasm of the army led to premature fight. As a result of this they suffered defeat. Firoz Shah was averse to plunder, pillage and reprimanded soldiers for such lapses. He was quick in diagnosing the reasons for the defeat of the revolutionaries when he said in the above proclamation that the delay in defeating the English was caused by people killing innocent women and children without any permission from the leaders whose commands were not obeyed. He exhorted people to avoid such practices and proclaim a sacred war.

After his defeat at Agra in the month of *Safar* (September) he went towards Rewa and remained there for some time. On arrival of the Jodhpur Legion in Rewa he accompanied them to Farrukhabad remaining there a short time with the intention of going towards Lucknow. In November he is reported to have sent his troops against Nimach and defeated the British at Jiran.

On the retaking of Farrukhabad by the British on 3rd Jan. 1858 Firoz Shah moved towards south and took shelter at Jhansi, where he received all help and protection from Maharani Lakshmi Bai. He was reported to be at Jhansi till the end of Feb. 1858. It was there that he issued his famous proclamation of 17th Feb. 1858 which was later on publicized by Qutub Shah from Bareilly. In this he disclosed his future plans and recounted his achievements during his sojourn at Jhansi, Farrukhabad and other places. During this period he procured ammunition and collected an army of 1,50,000 old and new men. He also succeeded in collecting considerable treasure and munitions of war and declared publicly that all those who were in the service of Mirza Bujis Qadar at Lucknow and of Khan Bahadur at Bareilly should not join him. Later on Firoz Shah was heard of at Lucknow where measures were being adopted to defend the city against British aggression.

After the retreat of the revolutionary forces from Lucknow in March 1858, Firoz Shah accompanied other leaders to Bareilly via Shahjahanpur. He intended to go to Najibabad. On arriving at Moradabad en route to Bijnaur he was forced to offer a battle to the forces of the Nawab of Rampur. Having captured Rampur guns he went to Bareilly where he remained till it was retaken by the British. On the re-occupation of Bareilly by the British troops, Firoz Shah, Khan Bahadur Khan, Ismail Khan, and other leaders who had remained for its defence retreated to Muhamdi. Thence he proceeded to Sandila. He stayed there during the rains, the whole district having fallen into his possession. From there he went to Muhamdi and had several encounters with the British troops; retreating thence arrived at Biswa Bari. After a skirmish there he arrived at Mahmudabad from whence he crossed the Ganges unopposed between Fatchgarh and Kanpur with about 2000 fighting men of which 1500 were cavalry. [Ed.]

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GLOSSARY

- Adawlut—A court of Justice.
 Akbar—Great.
 Akhbar Deorhiat—News of the palace.
 Akhbar Mulki—Political News-papers.
 Akhbar Navis—News-Writer.
 Akhbar Shahar—News-papers of the city.
 Akleem—A clime.
 Alla-Akber (Allah-o-Akbar)—God is Great.
 Ameer Jaesh (Ameer of the Jaesh)—Commander of a legion.
 Amil An official who collected revenue under the Nawabs.
 Amda (Umlah)—Officials of the Court.
 Asces—Blessings.
 Ata—See Atta.
 Atash Bazi—Fire-Works.
 Atta—Flour; Any grain ground to powder.
 Baboos—A word used for a gentleman.
 Badmashes—See Budmashes.
 Badshahee—Kingship.
 Bagghi—See Buggby.
 Baiddars—A labourer who digs with a spade; A digger.
 Bakhsbi—See Buxshii.
 Banias—See Bunnyas.
 Baradari—A summer house with several indoors.
 Baramad—Recovery.
 Barkandaze—See Barqandaze.
 Barqandaze (Barkandaze, Burkandauze)—A Soldier wielding a matchlock; a watchman.
 Bawn (Ba-Aan)—On honour.
 Bazar—Market.
 Begar—Work done without payment under compulsion.
 Beldar (Bildar)—Labourer who digs with a spade.
 Bhusa—Chaff; husk; straw.
 Bildar—See Beldar.
 Budmashes—Wicked, Immoral (persons).
 Buggby—A four wheeled carriage drawn by horses.
 Bullum-teer—One who voluntarily joins an army.
 Bunnyas (Banias)—Grocers.
 Burkandauze—See Barqandaze.
 Buxshii (Bakhsli)—A pay-master.
 Cabooliyat—A written agreement; Contract.
 Canoongo—A superintendent of Patwari's village papers.
 Chackladar—See Chukledar.
 Chakldar—See Chukledar.
 Chandi Money—Pay.
 Chandni—Moonlight; bedsheet; white cloth spread over a carpet; a canopy.
 Chaprassce—See Chupprassce.
 Chilmun—A curtain of split bamboo sticks.
 Chokidar—See Chowkydar.
 Chowkee—A watch house; a guards' post.
 Chowkydar (Chokidar)—A watchman; a sentry; a guard.
 Chuckladar—See Chukledar.
 Chuckledaree—The duty of a Chakledar.
 Chukla—A unit of a number of villages for the purpose of collection of revenue.
 Chukl dar (Chakladar, Cluckladar, Cluckladar)—Contractor or farmer of revenue in Oudh.
 Chumar—A shoemaker; a skinner.
 Chupprassce—A peon.
 Chupprasse—See Chupprassce.
 Commedan—A Commander.

- Goss (Koss)—A distance of two miles.
 Cossid (Qasid, Cossud)—A messenger; Express Courtier.
 Cossud—See Cossid.
 Cotwal—See Kotwal.
 Cutcherry—See Kucherry.
 Dabeer—A scribe; a writer.
 Dafadar—An official of the Indian army.
 Dak—Post.
 Damad—Son-in-law.
 Darbar—See Durbar.
 Dar-i-Daulat—See Durr-e-Daulat.
 Darogah—See Darogha.
 Darogha (Darogah)—Overseer or Superintendent of a department.
 Darogha of Deorhiat Superintendent of Royal palaces.
 Darogha of Dewan-i-Khas—Superintendent of Privy Council.
 Darogha of Dewan Khana—Superintendent of Dewan Khana (Hall of Audience).
 Darogah of Vuzeer's Dewan Khana—Superintendent of the Minister's Hall of Audience or Court.
 Daroghah By tool Ijrah—Superintendent of the Issue Office.
 Daschra—The tenth day of the bright half of the month of Jyestha; the tenth day of the bright half of the month of Ashwin.
 Dastaks—Permit; licence; a summon or order to appear.
 Dast Band—Swathes for the hands; a type of ornament for hands.
 Deewan Khana (Dewan Khana, Dewan Khanah)—Hall of Audience.
 Deorhi—An ante-chamber; porch.
 Devancee (Deewanee)—The post of minister; civil (as opposed to criminal).
 Dewan (Diwan)—A Court-minister.
 Deewanee—See Devancee.
 Dewar Khana—See Deewan Khana.
 Dewan Khanah—See Deewan Khana.
 Dhak—A type of tree growing generally in unfertile places.
 Dhuk Dhuki—A kind of ornament worn on the breast.
 Diwan—See Dewan.
 Dolee—See Doolcy.
 Dooley (Dolee, Doolic)—A kind of litter.
 Doolic—See Dooley.
 Doshala—A shawl; an embroidered wrapper.
 Dowlut Khana—A place of residence; An abode; Royal palace.
 Duffadar—An official in the Indian army.
 Duffer—Office.
 Durbar—The Court or levee of a prince.
 Durr-e-Daulat—Royal palace.
 Ed—A solemnity, feast, festival; Eed-ul-fitr, the festival of the breaking of the Ramzan fast.
 Eed—Eed.
 Elaka—see Elaqua.
 Elaqua (Elaka, Ilaka, Ilaka)—Estate.
 Emaumbara (Emaumbara)—See Imambara.
 Emaumbara—See Imambara.
 Fakeer (Fukeer)—Mendicant.
 Fasl—Agricultural year.
 Feringees (Firangis)—Frank; a European.
 Firangis—See Feringees.
 Foujdaree Adawlut—A criminal court.
 Fouj Walas—Men of Military.
 Fukeer—See Fakeer.
 Futeh Islam—Victory of Islam.
 Ganj—A market-place; granary.
 Garhi (Gharhi)—A space of 24 minutes; time.
 Garhi (Gurce, Gurhee)—A small fort.
 Gernaali—Generalship.
 Gharry—Ghari or mare.
 Ghat—A landing place, ferry, ford.
 Ghauts—See Ghat.
 Ghazee—See Ghazie.
 Ghazie (Ghazee)—A conqueror, hero, gallant soldier (specially combating infidels); a general leader of an expedition.
 Ghee—Butter clarified by boiling and straining.

- Ghorchuree—A type of cannon drawn by horse.
- Golandaz --See Golundaze.
- Golundaze (Golandaz)—A gunner; A marks-man.
- Goolundauze --See Golundaze.
- Guddee—Cushion; a seat; a throne.
- Guree --See Garhi.
- Gurh—A fort; Castle.
- Gurhee--See Garhi.
- Hafeze—The Mohammedan who has learnt the whole of Quran by heart.
- Hakim --Officer; ruler.
- Halwa --A kind of Sweetmeat.
- Harkarah (Hurkara)—A runner; a forerunner; a carrier; a postman.
- Havildar--A petty officer in an Indian army or armed police.
- Hookum Namah--See Hukumnamah.
- Howadar Airy; ventose.
- Howdah --An open seat placed over the back of an elephant.
- Hukunnamahs (Hookum Namah) --Orders.
- Hukunnamajat--Orders.
- Hulqa A circle.
- Hulwai—A confectioner.
- Hurkara --See Harkarah.
- Huzoor—His Eminence.
- Huzur Tahsil--The system of Revenue collection in Oudh wherein a Zemindar was freed from all the superintendence of local authorities and paid his revenue direct into the Royal treasury.
- Huzur Tehsildar—One who collects the revenue of Huzur Tahsil.
- Ijara—A farm, sold or let for a fixed sum.
- Ilakas --See Elaqua.
- Ilaqa—See Elaqua.
- Illaka—See Elaqua.
- Imam—One who stands before or is followed; a head, chief, leader, specially in religious matters.
- Inam Akber--The great Imam.
- Imambara—A place for the performance of religious ceremonies and meetings in commemoration of the martyrs of Karbala.
- Itlanamahs—Notices.
- Jaesh --A legion, army.
- Jagheer-- See Jagir.
- Jaghir--See Jagir.
- Jagir(Jagheer, Jaghir)—A possession in land granted either in perpetuity or for life, as a reward.
- Jail-Khana—A prison.
- Jaloose (Julus)—Procession.
- Jama--Rent for land.
- Jangi - Warlike; martial.
- Jehad -Waging war (specially against infidels).
- Jemadar (Jamadar)-- A petty official of an Indian army.
- Jheel--See Jhil.
- Jhil--Lake.
- Julus --See Jaloose.
- Jungee See Jangi.
- Kachahri--See Kucherry.
- Kachehree. --See Kutcherry.
- Kaffir An infidel; Europeans in those days were generally called Kaffirs by Hindus and Muslims both.
- Kafirs See Kaffirs.
- Kamar-bandi shawl--A Shawl girt about the loins.
- Kanoongoe—A superintendent of patwari's village papers.
- Kantha --An ornament for the neck.
- Karbala --Name of place in Iraq, noted for the murder of Imam Husain, son of Ali. In India, the place where *Tazias* are buried in earth. Generally some sort of tombs are also built over these places of burial.
- Karinda—One who works for another; an agent.
- Karindah-- See Karinda.
- Khakrobin--Sweepress.
- Khareef—A crop which is reaped in autumn.
- Khas-burdar—Orderly.
- Khasdan--A type of small betel box.
- Kheelut --See Khilat.

- Khelat -See Khilat.
 Khilaat -See Khilat.
 Khilat (Kheelat, Khulut, Kbelut, Khillaat, Khillut) -A robe of honour.
 Khilat Khana -A place where robes of honour and other jewellerys are kept.
 Khillut -See Khilat.
 Khoda -God.
 Khukrie -The scimitar of a Naipali.
 Khulut -See Khilat.
 Khushkhana -A room, the doors and windows of which are fitted with *khias* screens.
 Kist -Instalment.
 Koormees -A caste among Hindus whose profession is farming.
 Koran -The sacred book of the Muslims, and believed by them to be the inspired word of God. It is written in the Arabic language.
 Koth Havildar -A petty officer of an Indian army.
 Kothi (Kottee) -A mansion; a dwelling house.
 Kottee -See Kothi.
 Kotwal (Cotwal) -Highest police officer of the City.
 Kotwalee -The chief police station in the city.
 Kotwali -See Kotwalee.
 Kucherry (Cutcherry) -A Court of Justice.
 Kuptan -Captain.
 Kurbulla -See Karbala.
 Mahajan -A banker; a money-dealer.
 Mahal -Palace.
 Mahal Darogha -A superintendent of the palace.
 Mahants -See Mubants.
 Makans -Houses.
 Mala -Chaplet.
 Malgoozars (Malgozars, Malguzars) -Land-holders; payers of revenue.
 Malgozars -See Malgoozars.
 Malguzars -See Malgoozars.
 Malguzari -Rent paid for land.
 Mal Khana -Store house; a ware house.
 Mauza -Village.
 Meer Moonshi -The chief scribe, or the chief secretary.
 Meliturance -Sweeppress.
 Meem Sahib -An European lady; madam.
 Moafice -A free-hold land.
 Mookuddums -See Mokuddums.
 Mofussil -The suburb of a town.
 Mohalla -The part of a city; a ward.
 Mohars -See Mohurs.
 Mohurs -Gold coins.
 Mohurrir -A scribe; a clerk.
 Mokuddum -A village head-man.
 Moolunka -Binding agreement; a bond.
 Moofussil -See Mofussil.
 Mookhteyar (Mokhtar) -An attorney; an agent.
 Moonshce -See Moonshi.
 Moonshi (Moonshic) -A scribe; a clerk.
 Moonshic -See Moonshi.
 Moonsarrim -The head clerk of a Court who is entrusted with files; Manager; a subordinate settlement officer.
 Moorcha -See Morecha.
 Moorchabundee -Entrenchment; fortification.
 Moosafir Khana -See Musafir Khana.
 Mootsudee -A scribe; a writer.
 Morecha (Moorchha) -A battery; Entrenchment; fortification.
 Moulvee -A learned Muslim (one who is specially versed in Arabic and Persian).
 Mubal -A ward comprising many villages.
 Mubals - (or Mahals) Wives of Ex-king Wajid Ali Shah.
 Mubant (Mahant) -The head of a monastery; a prior.
 Mundeel -Turban.
 Munsli of Kuchehri Khas -A clerk of the Royal Court.
 Murhalla -Halatage; storey; stay.
 Musafir Khana -A halting place for passengers; an inn.
 Mussnud -Cushion; a big pillow.

- Mutsuddee—A scribe; a clerk; a manager; an accountant
 Muzdoors—Labourers.
 Naib—Deputy.
 Naib Dewan Khana—The deputy of Diwan Khana.
 Naib Risaladar—The deputy of a Risaldar.
 Naib Tomandar—The deputy of a Tomandar.
 Naik—A military officer of the lowest rank.
 Najeeb (Najib, Nujeeb)—A militia man.
 Najib—See Najeeb.
 Naka—Extremity of road or path; entrance to a city.
 Nala—See Nullah.
 Nalla—See Nullah.
 Naqqar Khana—The place where a kettle-drum is played.
 Nauratan—An ornament for the neck.
 Nawaby—The office of a Nawab; the state of being a Nawab.
 Nayabat—Deputyship.
 Nazar—See Nuzzurs.
 Nazim—Head of District who had very wide executive and judiciary powers.
 Nazool—The plot of ground lying in or near a city belonging to the Government.
 Nazrana—Present; gift.
 Noukar—Sirkar—Government servant.
 Nujeebs—See Najeeb.
 Nullah (Nalla, Nala)—A ravine; a canal, a rivulet.
 Nawab—The Governor of a town; the title of a Muslim ruler.
 Nuzool—The plot of ground lying in or near a city belonging to the Government.
 Nuzur(Nazar, Nuzzer)—An offering; a present.
 Nuzur—See Nuzzur.
 Oublee—A small room mainly to keep grain.
 Pagri—A turban.
 Pahar—Duration of three hours' time.
 Paltan—A brigade, corps, battalion, regiment.
 Pargana (Pergamah) An area composed of a number of villages.
 Parwana—See Perwana.
 Passee—A low caste among Hindus.
 Peer—A founder or chief of any religious body or sect.
 Perchas—Letters.
 Pergamah—See Pargana.
 Perwana (Perwanah, Parwana)—A command; an order; a royal edict.
 Perwanmah—See Perwana.
 Peshwa—Guide; the head of a party.
 Piyala—Cup.
 Poorbeeah—An easterner; Sepoys of Oudh.
 Puckah—Strong; ripe.
 Pundit—Learned; a Brahmin.
 Purao—A halting place; an encampment.
 Pure (*Puri*)—Unleavened cake fried in oil or ghee.
 Qaba—A close long gown worn by men.
 Qasid—See Cossid.
 Rais—A noble man; a grandee; a rich person.
 Rajabs—Hindu ruling chiefs.
 Rajecoomar—Hindu prince.
 Rajee—Agreed.
 Ressala—See Risala.
 Ressalah—See Risala.
 Ressaldar—See Rissaldar.
 Rezai—A quilt.
 Risala (Ressala, Ressalah, Russala)—A troop of horses.
 Risaldar—See Rissaldar.
 Rissaldar (Ressaldar, Risaldar, Risaldar)—An officer of Indian infantry.
 Roomal—A handkerchief.
 Roubakaree—The proceedings of a law suit.
 Rounds—Wandering about.
 Rubee—The Crop reaped in the spring season.
 Rumal—*Rammal*; Geomancy.
 Russala—See Risala.

- Russud—Provision; supplies.
 Rynts—The subjects.
 Sahib—Master; when used separately a term applied to Europeans.
 Sahib-e-Dustak (Sahib-i-Dastak)—An officer in charge of the Royal letters.
 Sahib logue—Europeans.
 Sahukar—A money-lender.
 Salam—Salutation.
 Salami—Act of saluting; salute.
 Salar—Chieftain; General; Commander.
 Sarishtadar—See Sheristadar.
 Sarkar (Sircar, Sirkar)—Government.
 Sawars—See Sowars.
 Sazawal—A land steward; a monthly revenue-collector.
 Seekhawala Makan—House having iron rods.
 Shalzada—Prince.
 Sharista (Sarishtha)—A court; a department; an office.
 Shatranji—A kind of carpet.
 Sheristadar (Sarishtadar)—A head-officer of a court in India; the superintendent of a vernacular office in Indian Court.
 Shewala—See Shiwala.
 Shiwala (Shewala)—A temple dedicated to Shiva.
 Shuhda—A rogue; a wicked person.
 Shutrs—Camels.
 Sipahi Paltan—An army of sepoy.
 Sipahis—Soldiers.
 Sipahsalar—Commander-in-Chief.
 Sircar—See Sarkar.
 Sirdars—Leaders.
 Sirkar—See Sarkar.
 Sooba—See Soobah.
 Soobah (Sooba)—Viceroy.
 Sooddee (Sudee)—The bright half of a lunar month.
 Sowars—Horsemen.
 Subadar (Subedar)—A Governor of the Province.
 Subedar—See Subadar.
 Sudder—Chief; principal.
 Suddor-ool-Sudoor—Chief Judge.
 Suddur—See Sudder.
 Sunnud—A grant; a charter; a certificate, a diploma.
 Supurdnamah—A charge certificate.
 Surufraze (Sarafraze)—Eminence; exaltation.
 Syees—A groom.
 Taalooqdar (Taloqdar, Talookdar, Taluqdar)—Possessor of an estate.
 Tahseeldar (Tahsildar, Tuhseeldar)—Collector of revenue.
 Tahsil—The office or court of a Tahsildar or collector of revenue.
 Tahsildar—See Tahseeldar.
 Tai-Khana (Tah Khana)—a cell; Cellar.
 Talab—Tank.
 Talooka—See Talooqa.
 Talookdaree—Possession of an estate.
 Talookdars—See Taalooqdar.
 Talooqa (Talooka, Talooquah, Taluqa)—Estate.
 Talooqdars—Holders of Estate; Big zemindars in Oudh under British rule who were governed by a special Act.
 Talooquah—See Talooqa.
 Taluqa—See Talooqa.
 Taluqdars—See Taalooqdars.
 Tamadar—See Tomondar.
 Tamancha—Pistol; revolver; a small musket.
 Tanjan—An open palanquin.
 Terai—See Terai.
 Tatter—See Tuttee.
 Tehseelee—See Tahsil.
 Tehsildar (Tuhseeldar)—A collector of revenue.
 Telangas (Telingahs, Tilangas, Telungahs)—Indian soldiers.
 Telingahs (Tilangas)—See Telangas.
 Telungahs—See Telangas.
 Terai—Marshy ground; a valley; a meadow.
 Thakooring—Wife of a Thakur.
 Thana—A police station.
 Thanadar—An officer of Thana.
 Tilangas—See Telangas.

- Toman—Ten thousand; a corps of ten thousand.
 Tomondar—Commander of a Tuman or ten thousand soldiers.
 Tuhseeldar—See Tehsildar.
 Tulwars—Swords.
 Tuttee (Tattee)—Fence; hurdle.
 Umlah—See Anla.
 Urzee—Petition.
 Vakeel—See Vakil.
 Vakil (Vakeel)—Agent.
 Vazier—See Wazeer.
 Vilaities—Foreigners, Europeans.
 Wajib-ul-Urz (Wajib-ul-Arz)—Petition.
 Wallah—By God.
 Wasil Baqi—Sum realised and due.
 Wasiqa (Wusecqua)—A type of pension peculiar to Oudh granted to the successors of the family of the Nawabs of Oudh out of the interest of the loan given to the East India Company by the Nawabs from time to time.
 Wasiqadar—Holders of Wasiqa.
 Wazcer (Wazier, Wazir, Wuzcer, Vazier)—Minister.
 Wazier—See Wazeer.
 Wazir—See Wazeer.
 Wilayati—Foreigner.
 Wusecqua—See Wasiqa.
 Wuzcer—See Wazeer.
 Zameendar—See Zemindar.
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