CHAPTER XIV

DISTURBANCES AND ARMED RESISTANCE

1. Introductory

It will appear from what has been said in the preceding chapter that there was a great deal of discontent against the British rule among all classes of Indians. The disaffected people were not altogether oblivious of the various benefits they enjoyed under the British, to which reference will be made later. But as always happens, appreciation of the blessings received seldom outweighs the resentment for injuries suffered, even though the former excel the latter in degree or content. Besides, whatever may be the case in private relations of life, gratitude is a rare virtue in politics, and people have pretty short memory of political vicissitudes. It did not take the Indians long to forget the anarchy and confusion, as well as misery and distress, caused by the political turmoils of the eighteenth century. They did not stop to think what the British did, but rather laid stress on what they failed to do. Therefore popular discontent and disaffection continued to be the main characteristics of the British rule almost throughout the nineteenth century. These grew more and more intense as the years rolled by, mainly because the people became more and more politically conscious and looked upon the defects and shortcomings of the British rule as far more serious than they appeared to their predecessors. Nevertheless, it must be said that the Indians, in general, bore their grievances with patience and indifference characteristic of the oriental peoples. They murmured and grumbled; sometimes their complaints became more vociferous; occasionally they grew restive; but very rarely they thought of taking to violent means to remedy their grievances. So far as the masses were concerned, the expression of the public sentiment was restricted to partial and desultory manifestations and to petty acts of violence. The discontent among the intellectuals grew in volume, but they knew very well the might of the British and the weakness of their own people, rendering hopeless any attempt to gain reforms by force. Their opposition, though growing more and more intense, never found any expression except through writings and speeches, and the only means of remedy they could think of were prayers and petitions. Their faith in British justice, though shaken by repeated disappointments, never vanished, and they looked upon the British rule in India
as a divine dispensation which must be accepted with all its virtues
and failings.

But between these two extreme classes of passive sufferers, there
were groups of people led by brave individuals, who cast aside all
prudence and moderation and responded to the primitive human
instinct of violent reaction against injuries and insults without any
thought of its consequences. Weak and isolated though they were,
they never feared to rise in armed revolt against the all-powerful
British authority in order to defend their rights and religion, or take
vengeance for insults and injuries, true or imaginary. They had no
vision of the country as a whole and were not urged by any such
noble motive as freeing their motherland from foreign yoke. Their
outlook was limited by their own interests, narrow and parochial,
and the degree of resistance offered by them varied according to the
means at the disposal of each, for they never thought of any organ-
ized attempt on a general plan by the combination of different
groups based on common ends.

Nevertheless, these occasional outbursts form a significant
feature of British rule during the period under review. They serve
as unmistakable evidence of the discontent and disaffection noted in
the preceding chapter and, as Wilson puts it, deserve notice "as
indications of the feelings entertained by considerable portions of
the people in different parts of India towards their rulers".¹ They
also show the long, difficult and tedious process through which the
British evolved the Pax Britannica which was one of their greatest
gifts to India. History records the five major wars which the
British had to fight during this period, namely, two against Burma,
two against the Panjâb, and one against Sindh, and a few minor
campaigns such as those against Gwalior and Bharatpur. But the
numerous smaller campaigns against local risings are often ignored,
though, as will be seen, they not unoften proved to be serious out-
brakes backed by strenuous efforts and heroic endeavours. Some of
these are recorded below, and for the sake of convenience they are
arranged and classified according to the primary causes from which
they sprang, or the special circumstances that called them forth.

2. Disturbances in 1818-20

Some of the disturbances in West India may be directly traced
to the intrigues of the Peshwa Baji Rao II and his favourite lieutenant
Trimbakji Danglia, when they turned hostile to the British.²
Naturally they worked upon the minds of the Chiefs and tribes who
entertained no friendly feelings towards the British. Two of the re-
bellions stirred up in this way deserve special mention, namely of the Bhils and the ruler of Cutch.

The Bhils were primitive and predatory peoples whose settlements were scattered in the Western Ghats and the country at its base, their chief strongholds being in Khandesh. The Bhils in the plains were generally good cultivators, but those in the hilly regions were mostly freebooters. There was a rising of the Bhils in 1817-8 and the British Government asserted that it was stirred up by Trimbakji after his escape from the fort of Thana. The insurgents numbered about 8,000, but the troubles subsided, due partly to military action and partly to conciliatory policy adopted by Elphinstone. But there was a more general insurrection in 1819 when the Bhils entrenched themselves in several outposts and ravaged the neighbouring plains. Several British detachments, sent against them, destroyed the Bhil settlements, killed many of them, and subjected others to severe punishment.

The insurrection of the Bhils, however, continued with occasional lull. The situation was worsened in 1825 by the reported reverses of the British in the Burmese War. Sewram, a blacksmith, induced the Bhils of Baglana to rise, on production of forged letters purporting to be written by the Raja of Sātārā. In spite of vigorous military measures the predatory activities of the Bhils continued, and even the village patels were discovered to be in league with them. In 1831 the Bhils of Dhar were excited to rebellion by a political leader, Uchet Singh, who successfully fought with his Bhil levies against the ruler of the State, and the British had to intervene. Gradually the dual measures of coercion and conciliation succeeded in converting the Bhils into peaceful cultivators. There was a recrudescence of troubles in Malwa in 1846, but it was quickly put down.³

The Peshwa Baji Rao II also succeeded, by his intrigues, in sowing anti-British sentiments in Cutch and Kathiawar.⁴ When the Subsidiary Forces of Gaekwar were sent against the rebel chiefs of Kathiawar, Rao Bharmal, ruler of Cutch, despatched a body of Arabs to the aid of a refractory chief in Navanagar. Marauding bands from Wagār, a district in eastern part of Cutch, also carried on depredations in British territories. A British force, 4000 strong, was sent to Cutch, and Rao Bharmal concluded a treaty in 1816 by ceding some territories and paying the sum of twenty laks of rupees as indemnity. The peace, was, however, of short duration. The Jhareja Chiefs were alienated from Bharmal, and Ladhuba, a cousin of the Rao, and the daughter's son of a Jhareja Chief, was murdered by a body of Arab mercenaries. It was believed that this was done at the instigation of the Rao, and he also intended to kill the widow of
Ladhuba. Presumably, the pro-British attitude of the Jhareja Chiefs was at the root of the disensions between them and their ruler. In any case the British Government warned the Rao "that any practice against her safety or that of her infant, would incur the severest displeasure of the British Government". Irritated by this "interference in his family affairs, which he, with truth, averred, was unauthorised by the treaty, the Rao began to collect mercenary troops, and to call for the contingents of his chiefs with the unavowed intention of expelling the British from his country".  

Bharmal Rao sent five thousand troops against Arisir, a fortified town belonging to the father of Ladhuba's widow, one of the Jhareja chieftains who were under British protection. A British Division marched upon Bhuj on 24 March, 1819, and captured it without difficulty. Rao Bharmal submitted and was deposed in favour of his infant son. The administration was carried on by a Regency composed of Jhareja Chiefs, under the superintendence of the British Resident, and a British force replaced the troops of Bharmal. The integrity of Cutch was guaranteed for an annual subsidy of two lakhs of rupees. The establishment of British influence in Cutch was regarded with alarm by the Amirs of Sindh, and this feeling caused troubles in future.

The Regency had soon to face troubles from bands of Waghar and Khosa bandittis. After the settlement of Waghar district in 1816, many of its people, half-banditti and half-landholders, had lost their lands and fled to Parkar. They were joined by the Khasas, scattered remains of a tribe driven from Sindh in 1786 and forced to live in wild desert along the edge of Rann of Cutch, 'plundering and levying blackmail on the neighbouring districts'. The Waghar Chiefs and Khosas ravaged the villages in Cutch. The British invited the Amirs of Sindh to help them in putting down the ravages, and a detachment of troops from Sindh joined the British. But the Sindh troops were suspected of helping the Khosas, and it so happened that one night they (troops of Sindh) were exposed to British fusillade supposed to be directed against the Khosas who were encamped near by. The British explained it as due to confusion, but the Sindhis "represented the attack as the result of design". When the British pursued the Khosas across the boundary, the Sindh Government complained of it as a violation of its territory. A body of Sindhi troops entered Cutch, took Loona, a town fifty miles from Bhuj, the capital of Cutch, and laid waste the adjacent district. A British detachment drove away the Sindhis, and the Bombay Government immediately demanded to invade the country. The Governor-General in Council, however, was averse to war as
they thought that “the country (Sindh) was not worth possessing and its occupation would involve us in all the intrigues and wars . . . . . . .”7 This is an interesting commentary on the subsequent British policy towards Sindh narrated above in Chapter VIII. For the time being Sindh was saved. Its Government disowned the outrage of its troops and promised to restrain the Khosas and other marauders from any inroads into the British dominion. Accordingly a treaty was concluded on 9 November, 1820. The Waghar Chiefs were also conciliated by the restoration of their lands on condition that they would not commit any act against law and order.

The reported discomfiture of the British in the Burmese war once more kindled the dying embers of discontent in Cutch into a blazing flame. Shortly after the establishment of Regency the Jharejas were generally “dissatisfied with the control to which they were subjected”.8 Some of the Jhareja Chiefs, disaffected to the Regency, were banished and their territories were forfeited on charges of insubordination and rapine. They had sought refuge in Sindh, whose Amirs, “like the rest of the native princes, catching eagerly at the rumours of disaster suffered by the British Government”,9 secretly supported them. The reduction in the British force at Cutch appeared to the fugitive chiefs to offer a golden opportunity for the recovery of their forfeited lands and even the restoration of Rao Bharmal to his throne. With the connivance of the Amirs they assembled a body of about two thousand Minnis and Sindhis. At the beginning of 1825 they wrote a letter to the Resident calling upon him to “restore Rao Bharmal to the throne”, and crossed the borders. They ravaged the country and occupied the fort of Balari, near Anjar, thereby cutting off the communication between Bhuj and the rest of the province. They defeated the troops sent to recover Balari and even attacked Anjar. They were ultimately repulsed, and disappeared in the Rann, but “the large bodies of troops continued to be assembled on the frontier, menacing the province under British protection”. Large reinforcements from Kairon and Bombay enabled Col. M. Napier to restore order in the country.10

The causes of discontent in Cutch, however, lay deeper. The people disliked the British rule for its innovations, and suffered very much from the oppressive exactions of the British revenue system. Troubles broke out again in 1831. In order to allay the suspicions of the people and pacify the country, the British Government issued in 1832 a proclamation promising “to revert to the ancient usages and customs of the country in all respects and most strictly to uphold the same for the preservation of the public peace and tranquility”.11 Cutch gradually settled down to normal life.
The insurrection in Merwara, in 1820, was also an offshoot of the fall of the Maratha power. The British had acquired Ajmer, a part of Merwara, from Daulat Rao Sindhia in 1818, but the Mers defied the attempts of the British to establish their control over them. A force was despatched in March, 1819, against the recalcitrant peoples in some villages, who were carrying on depredations in the plains. This led to a general revolt in November, 1820. The rebels attacked the police in different posts and killed a number of them. A strong British force, helped by the troops of Mewar and Marwar, to whose rulers belonged the remaining parts of Merwara, crushed the rebellion at the beginning of 1821. The Mers were enrolled in a battalion of 8 companies of 70 men each.\(^\text{12}\)

3. Disturbances in 1824-26

A crop of violent acts may be directly traced to the early discomfits of the British in the First Burmese War, the exaggerated reports of which were circulated all over India. As Metcalfe wrote, "these produced an extraordinary sensation all over India, amounting to an expectation of our immediate downfall".\(^\text{13}\) The effect was aggravated by the march of troops from various military stations in the interior to the war front, for it created a belief in the popular mind that the resources of the British Government were wholly absorbed by the War. Besides, the knowledge that the task of maintaining order was consequently entrusted to weak, irregular forces acted as an incentive to local risings.

It has been mentioned above, that the recurrence of Bhil insurrection and troubles in Cutch in 1824 were both due to this cause. The spirit of revolt was, however, specially manifest in Upper India. As Shore observes, "in the course of 1824, there was scarcely a district, in the upper Provinces in particular, in which a spirit of disaffection was not more or less manifested".\(^\text{14}\) The most serious was the Gujar rising in 1824 near Shaharanpur. This territory formed a part of the Doab which was ceded by the Sindhia to the British after his defeat in the Second Maratha War (1803). The resumption of the enormous estate of Ramdayal, after his death, in 1813, by the British, had caused a revolt of the Gujars. Although this was suppressed, the discontent and disaffection remained, and once more found expression in 1824, when the situation was regarded as favourable for reasons stated above. Bijoy Singh, the Talukdar of Kunja, near Rurki, and a relative of Ramdayal, broke into revolt, and was joined by a notorious chief of bandits, named Kalwa, and adventurers from all parts of the country. With their help Bijay Singh rapidly organized a formidable insurrection. He established
his headquarters in the mud fort of Kunja, assumed the title of Raja and levied contributions from the surrounding districts. He also sacked the town of Bhagwanpur and plundered a strong treasure escort. A detachment of the Gurkha battalion and a small body of horse were sent against him. They attacked the fort of Kunja and took it after a fierce combat in which nearly two hundred insurgents were killed. It was revealed later that large reinforcements from many districts were coming to augment the force of Bijay Singh, but they were too late and could not join him before his rebellion collapsed after the fall of Kunja.\(^5\)

At a somewhat earlier date a religious mendicant at Badawar (in Patiala) organized a rebellion. He declared himself to be the Kali, the last *avatar* (incarnation) of the Hindus, and announced his intention to drive away the foreigners (the British) from India. He was arrested, but a large crowd, headed by a body of Akalis, came to effect his rescue. A body of horse was sent against them and they were easily dispersed.\(^6\)

The turbulent Jats, living in the district of Rohtak, to the west of Delhi, rose into rebellion shortly after the area passed into the hands of the British after the Second Maratha War. The events of 1824 once more made them active rebels, and they were joined by the Mewatis and Bhatts. Arms and ammunition were collected, communication with Delhi was cut off, Government property was looted, and there was public proclamation that the authority of the British Government was at an end. In Hissar an exiled chief, named Surajmal, at the head of four hundred matchlocks and a party of horse, took the fort of Behut. Similar proceedings also took place in the district of Rewari. The Government raised two additional regiments of Irregular Horse and increased the Gurkha Local Battalions.\(^7\)

The disorders spread to Bundelkhand where Nana Pandit, a *Jagirdar* of the Raja of Jalan, plundered the town of Kalpi and partially burnt it.\(^8\) In the Tapti valley considerable ravages were made by Shaikh Dalla (or Dulla), a notorious Pindari chief. He was joined by an impostor pretending to be Chimnaji Appa, the brother of the ex-Peshwa Baji Rao, and also by a body of Bhils. It is not unlikely that he was in league with the fugitive Appa Sahib, the ex-ruler of Nagpur. Troops had to be despatched against Shaikh Dalla in different directions before the depredations caused by him came to an end. He, however, became a local hero as is proved by the following popular folk-song:

*Below is the Earth, up above is Allah;\nIn between moves Shaikh Dalla.*\(^9\)
Reference has already been made above to the rebellion of the Bhils in the neighbouring region of Baglana. In Gujarāt there was an outbreak of the Kolis, a rude and turbulent people scattered over the province, from the borders of Cutch to the Western ghats. They committed depredations of all kinds and burnt and plundered villages even in the neighbourhood of Baroda. They entrenched themselves in the village of Dudama, near Kaira, which was enclosed by thick hedges of the milk plant, and defended by mud fort. A party of Bombay Native Infantry, in trying to storm the place, was exposed to a destructive fire and compelled to fall back. The Kolis, attacked by a stronger force, left their post and retreated to the Rann of Cutch, but after a short interval returned and renewed their ravages. In 1825 they were dispersed by a body of Dragoons and Native Infantry, and for the time being their depredations ceased. The Kolis revolted again in 1828, as there was acute discontent among them, most of them being thrown out of employment by the dismantling of the forts. A large body of troops had to be sent against them before the rising was suppressed.

There was a far more serious outbreak in 1839. Though the Kolis, joined by other turbulent elements, mostly took to plundering villages and committing other excesses, there was a political motive behind the outbreak. Three Brahmans led the movement, and felt bold enough to work for the restoration of the Peshwa, as the strength of the Poona garrison had lately been reduced. The rebels assumed the charge of the Government in the name of the Peshwa.

The Kolis broke into revolt again in 1844. Proceeding from their headquarters in the hilly country to the north-west of Poona, they carried on depredations in the districts of Nasik and Ahmadnagar, and next year proceeded as far as Sātārā. A strong military force brought the situation under control in 1846, but the embers of the revolt were not finally extinguished till the capture of all the leaders in 1850.20

Disturbances in 1824 were not confined to North India but also spread to the South. In December, 1824, a Brahman, named Divakar Dikshit, with a few associates, plundered Sindgi, about four miles to the east of Bijapur. He set up a regular Government of his own and made arrangement for the collection of revenues.21 There was a rising at Omrai, a locality in the neighbourhood. The headman, refusing to pay the revenue, sheltered himself in a stronghold, and from this base committed depredations on surrounding villages. A military force, sent from Sholapur in February, 1825, failed, and several officers were killed. After this the garrison evacuated the fort and dispersed into the jungles.22

442
DISTURBANCES AND ARMED RESISTANCE

There was a far more serious rising in Kittur, a small district near Dharwar. The chief of Kittur was one of the desais, who were originally independent chiefs in Bombay, but whose territories were gradually swallowed up by the Marathas. The desai of Kittur, however, was one of the few who retained his possessions. In recognition of his services to the British during the Third Maratha War, the desai of Kittur, who held Sampgaon and the greater part of Bidi in the Belgaum District, was raised to the position of a Ruling Chief by a grant from the British Government which declared the fief to be hereditary in his family. Shivalinga Rudra, the desai of Kittur, died on 11 September, 1824. He had no male issue, but it was alleged that prior to his death he left injunctions for the adoption of a son, which was accordingly done. The Collector of Dharwar, Thackeray, grew suspicious of the whole thing and, as a result of inquiries made, refused to recognise the adoption as a valid one. Pending the final orders of the Government of Bombay, he assumed charge of the effects of the late desai and the management of Kittur. This was highly resented by the members of the desai's family who naturally desired to keep the estate in their own hands. Thackeray, as a precautionary measure, sealed the treasury and placed a small guard at the inner gate of the fort. Thackeray himself, with two of his assistants and a small escort, a company of Native Horse Artillery, and one of Native Infantries, were encamped without the walls of the fort. Things appeared quiet till October 21 when Thackeray demanded of the treasury guards a bond rendering themselves responsible for the treasury. They refused to execute the bond, and two days later, insurgents, about 5,000 in number, closed the gates of the fort. When Thackeray proceeded to force the gates open, "the garrison rushed forth in such over-powering numbers as to overwhelm the party. Thackeray himself and three military officers were killed, and two European Assistants to the Collector and some Indian officers were taken and carried into a fort."

"The excitement occasioned by this transaction rapidly spread, and the people of the country between the Malprabha and Kittur manifested a disposition to join the insurgents. In order to prevent the spread of the rebellious spirit, a strong force, consisting of troops sent from Madras and Bombay, besieged the fort. The insurgent leaders, twelve in number, surrendered themselves on condition that their lives should be spared, the rebellion subsided, the ladies of the desai's family were imprisoned in the Bail-Hongal fort, and Kittur lapsed to the British Government."

Five years later, in 1829, another rebellion broke out at Kittur under the leadership of Rayappa, a village watchman of Singoli who
had taken part in the outbreak of 1824. He took up the cause of the adopted boy whose claim was set aside by Thackeray, and declared for the restoration of independence of Kittur. Soon Rayappa had a large following, who carried on systematic depredations in the neighbouring regions. As the disorder spread, even the Kittur militia refused to serve and regular troops had to be employed. But though isolated bands of insurgents were occasionally defeated, Rayappa evaded the British force till he was betrayed by one of his rivals who had joined him as a friend. He was condemned to death and was publicly hanged. An unfortunate episode occurred during the outbreak. The Government removed the widow of the late desai to Dharwar, although an excited mob resisted her removal. She died there in July 1829, presumably from the effect of poison.24

The reactions of the Burmese War also affected the Indian States and reference has already been made above, in Chapter III, to the cases of Alwar and Bharatpur.

4. Revolts due to annexation or deposition of rulers

Some of the outbreaks directly followed as a consequence of the policy of annexation. This is illustrated by the constant revolt of the nobility and the primitive hill tribes of Assam after its annexation by the British, to which detailed reference has been made elsewhere.25

The serious rebellious outbreak at Sambalpur falls under this head. After the conclusion of the Third Maratha War, Sambalpur came under the suzerainty of the British by the Treaty of 1826. Jait Singh, the old ruler, imprisoned by the Marathas, was restored to the throne by the British in 1818, but he died shortly after, and after a short rule by British officers Maharaj Sai was appointed his successor in 1820. On his death in 1827, his widow Mohan Kumari was permitted to succeed him. But there were other claimants to the throne, the chief among them being Surendra Sai. The pretenders to the throne caused serious disturbances, so much so that a regular force had to be sent against them. The Rani was deposed and removed to Cuttack, and Narayan Singh was set up as the ruler in 1833. But the old disturbances continued, and the situation was rendered worse by the rising of the Gonds under Balabhadra Deo (or Sai), Zamindar of Lakhapur. It was long before normal condition could be restored. But in 1839-40 Surendra Sai, the old pretender to the throne, again created serious disturbances. At last he was arrested with his brother Udwant Sai and uncle Balaram Singh for murdering the Zamindar of Rampur, and all the three were sentenced to life imprisonment.25a
DISTURBANCES AND ARMED RESISTANCE

Further illustration is afforded by the constant popular outbreaks in Burma after the Second Burmese War. This is particularly significant as it falsifies the British pretension that the British rule was welcomed by the people of Burma. There was an outbreak at Salween, led by a Karen, which "plunged the country into a state of anarchy", and in Syriam "there were numerous outbreaks of guerilla warfare and even more seriously sustained rebellions". Bassein was captured by rebels on April 18, 1852. So strong was the anti-British feeling that villages were destroyed for the offence of supplying fuel to the British steamers, and "none dared accept office under the new government". There was a general rebellion in 1854, and the leaders proclaimed that they had been commissioned (by the Burmese Government of Ava) to drive out the English. The upper part of the district was in possession of the rebels and the British forces had to fight hard against them before the revolt was suppressed. In 1857 the Karens took up arms against the British authority in Martaban. In 1858 a body of men, led by a fisherman of Twante (Hanthawaddy District), broke into rebellion.26

The most serious outbreak in Burma was the one led by Gaung Gyi at Tharrawaddy. He collected an army of 1500 men, consisting mostly of the disbanded Burmese troops, and attacked the town of Monyo in March, 1853. The town was destroyed and Gaung Gyi set up a parallel government of his own with headquarters at Tapun. He then crossed the Irrawaddy river and carried on depredations in the Henzada District. This led to a general disorder and the British official report admitted that a large tract of the country was in successful rebellion against the Government. The whole of Tharrawaddy was dominated by Gaung Gyi and the British administration there was completely paralyzed. "Gaung carried out a wholesale destruction of every village round Tapun in the very presence of British pickets and established a reign of terror throughout the whole area". The British army was mobilised and after strenuous efforts drove Gaung Gyi to the hills. Gyi ultimately crossed the frontier of British territory to Burma. On the news of the outbreak of 1857 in India, preparations were again made for an outbreak when Gaung Gyi was shot dead, in course of a skirmish, by the Burmese authorities.27

A revolt broke out in the district of Henzada in 1852, shortly after its occupation by the British. Nga Myat Htun, the leader of the revolt, collected an army and carried on plundering raids over the whole country including the district of Maubin. Early in 1853 he defeated the British troops led by Captain Loch, but was soon routed by stronger British forces.28
Some of the disturbances or violent outbreaks may be regarded as the result of arbitrary deposition of popular rulers. The deposition and banishment of Pratap Singh, Raja of Sātārā, to which reference has been made above, was followed by a wave of discontent all over the country, and a chain of disturbances in 1840-41, particularly in the region round Sātārā. These are popularly known as Dhar Rao’s ‘Bunds’ (rebellions) because they were first inspired and organized by Dhar Rao Powar of Karad. He and his associates were responsible for a series of petty skirmishes which were easily suppressed (1840). Greater importance attaches to the rebellion of Narsing Dattatraya Petkar, who is said to have met Pratap Singh when he was being taken to Banaras. Narsing, though blind of one eye, travelled widely and collected a band of Arabs and Rohillas. With a force of about 1,000 men he seized the fort of Badami in 1841 by a surprise attack, and announced by beating of tomtom that the place belonged to the Maharaja of Sātārā. He hoisted the flag of the Raja of Sātārā and took up the administration of the locality. After about four days the British troops arrived on the scene. Narsing and his men fought till all the bullets and ammunition were spent. Narsing was sentenced to death, but in consideration of his blindness the sentence was changed to transportation for life.

The evils of the annexation were seen in the large number of unemployed soldiers. Captain Duff summed up the situation as follows in 1832: “In the Peishwa’s territories in the Deccan, the risk of internal disturbances became considerable. A vast body of unemployed soldiery were thrown upon the country, not only of those who had composed the Peishwa’s army, both Mahrattas and foreigners, but those of the disbanded armies of Holkar, Scindia and the Rajah of Berrar. They were ready to join, not merely in any feasible attempt to overthrow our power, but in any scheme which promised present plunder and anarchy”.31

This is well illustrated by the revolt of the Ramosis. These once served in the inferior ranks of police in the Maratha administration. Chittur Singh, who revolted in Sātārā in 1822 as a protest against heavy assessment, gathered these Ramosis under his banner, and they played a prominent part in plundering the country and destroying its forts. In 1825 scarcity in Poona and reduction in the local garrison severely distressed them, and they broke into revolt in 1826 under the leadership of Umaji. For three years they scourged the country. Ultimately the Government pacified them by not only condoning their crimes but by land-grants and recruiting them as hill police.32
5. Revolts against new administrative system

Some of the outbreaks were the direct result, not so much of British annexation as of the introduction of British system of administration. This is illustrated by the risings in Kolhapur and Savantvadi, two Maratha States in Bombay. These two States, along with others, passed under the supremacy of the British as a result of the Third Maratha War. The British relations with these two States had been greatly strained for a long time owing to piratical practices of the people which caused injury to British trade. The British entered into several agreements claiming compensation for injuries, surrender of ports and territory, reduction of arms, and various commercial privileges. As repeated armed interference did not produce the desired effect, the British took over the direct administration of these States. Though the ruler was nominally retained, he had no power.

Early in 1844, Dajee Krishna Pandit, a member of the Bombay Civil Service, was appointed minister of Kolhapur, but he was made accountable to the British Political Agent alone. He introduced reforms in accordance with the British system, which were resented by the privileged classes of the old regime. The commercial privileges enjoyed by the British aroused the hostility of the trading classes. These elements spread discontent against the British among the soldiery and the common people, and excited them to rise in armed revolt. Some of the measures introduced by D. K. Pandit specially irritated the Gadkaris of Kolhapur. These were military classes who garrisoned Maratha forts and enjoyed lands for their service. After the Third Maratha War their services were dispensed with, and they had to pay revenues for the lands they held. This was a cause of great irritation as the Gadkaris were very jealous of their proprietary rights on lands. D. K. Pandit took away some other privileges of the Gadkaris, such as allowances for goats at Dussera and money presents at Diwali, and also began the counting of jack-trees and houses for taxation. All these highly irritated the Gadkaris and matters were brought to a head when D. K. Pandit reduced the number of Mamlatdars from 23 to 6. This reform was disliked by the Gadkaris as they were attached to their hereditary Mamlatdars, and they now feared that all their privileges and rights would be gradually taken away. Being encouraged by the sympathy of the people and promises of help by the nobility, and further encouraged by the report of paucity of British troops, the Gadkaris broke into open revolt in September, 1844, and closed the gates of the forts of Bhudargadh and Samangadh against the newly appointed Mamlatdars. The repulse of the British force who attacked the fort
of Samangad and the delay in recapturing the two forts provoked a rebellion in the city of Kolhapur. On October 4, 1844, the Patucks and Sibandis—a kind of local militia—joined the rebellion, and with the help of the palace guards seized D. K. Pandit and other officers who were favourable to British interests. The Diwan Sahib, the late Regent, and the nobles now openly espoused the cause of the rebels. Some old ministers who had been turned out by the British were recalled and took charge of the administration. These events turned the rising of the Gadkaris into a general popular revolt against the British. All the forts in the Kolhapur State were in a state of revolt, and insurgents began to raid adjoining British districts. Extensive military measures had to be taken before the situation was brought under control. The principal forts were re-taken by the end of 1844 and complete tranquillity was restored by February, 1845.33

The seriousness of the outbreak may be judged by the following summary of the Sātārā Residency Records:

"In October 1844 the insurgents imprisoned Daji Pandit, the Karbhari of Kolhapur and took possession of the city. Postal communications from Belgaum were cut off by them. Subhana Nikam reached Samangad with 500 insurgents and cut off all communications south of the Panchganga. The rebels captured the forts of Pannala and Pavangad. Raoji Waknis and Dinkarrao Gaikwad raised a standard of rebellion and placed guards round the town of Kolhapur and controlled all the communications. The rebellion gathered force and many people started co-operating with them.

"Vishalgadkar also joined the rebellion. The treasury of Chiodi was plundered by the rebels, who killed Government's guards, liberated the prisoners and burnt all Government records. The Government officers fled from the place.

"The fort of Samangad was captured by the rebels on the morning of 13th October. Colonel T. Ovans left charge of Satara in favour of Captain Hart on 12th November, 1844 and went to the Kolhapur war area. But he was taken prisoner on his way to Kolhapur and kept a captive for some weeks at the fort of Pannala. He was released by British forces and resumed charge of Satara Residency on 20th January, 1845."

The events in Kolhapur had their repercussions on Savantvadi whose people had already revolted against the British in 1830, 1832, and 1836. In 1838 the British Government deposed the Raja, Khen Savant, for his inability to maintain order, and appointed a European Political Superintendent to administer the State. He was supported
by a local corps under British officers. The discontented nobles fled to Goa, across the frontier, and planned revolt against the British. In 1839 they very nearly succeeded in seizing the fort of Vadi. The popular discontent was very acute and the initial success of the revolt in Kolhapur led to a similar revolt in Savantvadi by the garrisons of Vadi and Manohar forts. By the middle of December, 1844, the whole State was in full revolt and the British authority was confined to the town and the few military posts in the State. The rebels received support from Goa, and were helped in every way by the people. "A detachment under Major Benbow was paralysed. But Lieut. Col. Outram with four companies of the 11th regiment Native Infantry defeated the insurgents in the Akeri pass. The position of the rebels was immensely strengthened when Phond Savant, a leading noble of great power, and his eight sons joined the dissatisfied elements. Even Anna Sahib, the heir-apparent, made a common cause with the rebels by assuming a pompous royal style, and collecting revenues from villages. The insurgents consequently became so bold that they also opened negotiations with the officers of the tenth regiment. By 1845, the whole country was in utter disorder; there was no security even in places near British outposts. Martial law was proclaimed on 14 January, 1845. By the end of the month the backbone of the revolt was broken by the reduction of the forts of Manohar and Mintoshgarh and tranquillity was restored by the middle of the year.

There were similar revolts in the District of Vizagapatam. The British Government had taken charge of the estate of the Rauze family in 1827 and settled a pension of one hundred rupees per month on the person of Birabhadra Rauze. In order to compel the Government to increase the pension to three hundred rupees, Birabhadra gathered round him a body of adventurers who laid waste the neighbouring region. A price of Rs. 1,000 was put on his head in August, 1830, and it was later increased to Rs. 5,000; but to no effect. Martial law was proclaimed in 1832, but the disturbances did not die down till the capture of Birabhadra in January, 1833. Similar troubles were created by Jagannath Rauze in Suttivarain and Ankapilly estates in 1832 which continued for nearly two years.

There was also an outbreak in the Palkonda estate in 1831, a legacy of a similar rising in 1827, both being due to the attachment of the property of the Zamindar for non-payment of revenue. Predatory bands from the hills plundered and burnt villages even in the neighbourhood of Palkonda, and bodies of armed men attacked military pickets. Martial law was declared in 1832, and when the re-
bellion was suppressed in 1832, Palkonda estate was declared forfeited to the Government.\textsuperscript{36}

Far more serious was the rebellion of Dhananjaya Bhanja, Zamindar of Gunisur in Ganjam District. Unable to clear up the arrears of revenue, he openly revolted and took refuge in his Kolaida fortress. The Government resumed the Zamindary and sent a force against the refractory Zamindar. Gunisur was occupied on 3rd November, 1835, and Kolaida on the 9th. Martial law was proclaimed on November 12. The British troops were strongly opposed and harassed throughout their march, and the situation was thus described by the Collector: "The authority of Government is only acknowledged in this District where the influence of the troops extends,—the neighbouring zamindars, the Hill Chiefs, the Sirdars, the inhabitants of the country as far as I can judge, and, in many instances I suspect, our own public servants are adverse to the downfall of Gunisur family and the establishment of the power of Government.... We have been, and are still obliged to draw every article of supply from a very great distance.... The enemy in small parties.... commit outrages upon such villages or individuals as are suspected of being friendly to our cause.... The object of all parties here is to have a Raja and unless Government is prepared to establish and maintain its power by force, I at present see little hope of a return to tranquillity but by establishing a Rajah".\textsuperscript{37}

This description would be justly applicable to most of the recalcitrant estates. But the British Government, in most cases, chose the path of ruthless suppression instead of conciliation. When the rebellion assumed serious proportions, Mr. Russell was appointed Commissioner with full discretionary power to deal with the situation. He arrived at Gunisur on 11th January, 1836, and conducted a military campaign on a vast scale in which two Colonels, one Lieut. Colonel, three Majors, eleven Captains, and eleven Lieutenants took part. The Khonds joined the rebellion. They attacked the British force, cut off small British escorts, and blocked the passage of British troops by felling trees. Thus the war lasted till February, 1837.\textsuperscript{36}

The Zamindari of Parlakimedi was attached for arrears in 1829 and placed under the Court of Wards. The Zamindar, Jagannath Gajapati Narayan Deo, mobilized his peons (household troops) and tributary hillchiefs, and broke into revolt. Soon there was a general rising of the people who committed wide-spread depredations. The insurgents, hiding in jungles and protected by a number of forts, stubbornly held for a long time against the British detachments, but were ultimately overpowered in 1835 after their forts were reduced one after another.\textsuperscript{39}
The rising of the Bundela landowners, Madhukar Sha and Jawahir Singh, in Sagar in 1842 was also due to the assessment of land. They broke into rebellion, killed police officers and plundered several towns. This emboldened others to rise against the British. Dalen Sha, a Gond Chief of Narsinghpur, plundered Deori and neighbouring regions, and depredations continued for a year before the country was pacified.\textsuperscript{40}

In 1846-7 Narasimha Reddi, the descendant of dispossessed poligar of Kurnool, broke into rebellion as the Government refused to pay him the lapsed pension. He gathered a band of adventurers, estimated between 4000 and 5,000, and ravaged the country-side of Bellary and Kurnool for three months. He defied law and order and offered battle to Lieut. Watson. He was however caught and hanged in 1847.\textsuperscript{41}

The evils of the British revenue system also led to outbreaks in the District of Sandoway, newly acquired from the king of Burma. The people and the headmen of revenue-circles, called Thugiyis, were exasperated by the excessive demands and, in 1829, Maung Tha U, the Thugyi of Alegyaw circle, broke into open rebellion. At the head of a large body of discontented men he marched on Sandoway. Captain Gordon, who tried to repulse them, was killed. The rebels burned the police post and committed depredations on a large scale. Military operations were necessary and the insurrection did not end till the end of the year 1830. Similar outbreaks, though less serious in character, took place at Tavoy and Mergui in Tenasserim.\textsuperscript{42}

6. Revolts of the primitive tribes

A number of outbreaks, sometimes of a serious character, were due to the natural reluctance of primitive tribes, mostly living in hilly regions, to be brought under a regular system of British administration. This was illustrated by the risings of the various tribes in the north-east corner of Assam to some of which reference has been made above.\textsuperscript{43}

Some of the hill-tribes, however, dreaded the idea of slow penetration of the British into their country. They hated the feringhees and their rule and were bitterly opposed to the extension of their political and cultural influence in their immediate neighbourhood. A typical example of this is furnished by the conduct of the Khasis, a primitive tribe who occupied the hilly region between Jaintia on the east and the Garo Hills on the west. These three regions operated as a mountain barrier between the Brahmaputra valley or Lower Assam on the north, and the Surma valley or plains of Sylhet on the south.
Sylhet had come into the possession of the British by the Diwani grant of 1765, and during the eighties and nineties of the eighteenth century, there were many depredations committed by the Khasis in British territory. The Khasis remained quiet for a quarter of a century, but the reported discomfitures of the British during the First Burmese War emboldened them to resume their depredations which were put down without much difficulty.  

As the result of the Burmese War the British got possession of the Brahmaputra valley, as mentioned above. Mr. Scott, the Political Agent of Assam, conceived the idea of linking up this territory with Sylhet by a road passing through the entire length of the Khasi domains. It would considerably reduce the length of the military route between the two regions and give the British a strong grip over the Khasi who frequently created troubles. For this purpose treaties were concluded in 1827 with various Khasi chiefs among whom the territory was divided, the most renowned among them being Tirut Singh, the Chief of Nunklow. The construction of the road was, however, a matter of dispute. The British included it in the treaty, but the Khasi Chiefs strongly disliked the idea. A Bungalow was erected at Nunklow to serve as a sanatorium, and arrangements were made for the construction of the road, and these resulted in the presence of a number of Englishmen and Bengalis in the hills. Their arrogant attitude towards the Khasis was highly resented by the latter. The conscription of labourers for making the road was the occasion for much irritation on both sides. While the presence of these foreigners with radically different ideas and customs caused discontent, and some amount of nervousness, to the simple hill-folk, Tirut Singh, the Chief, was displeased at the refusal of the British to offer him help to which, he believed, he was entitled under the terms of the treaty. Further, Tirut Singh felt that the pomp and grandeur of the British officers and the big buildings constructed by them in his territory offered such a strong contrast to the simple life of the people that he was sure to be lowered in their estimation. There were also specific cases of complaint on both sides, the truth of which it is not easy to determine.

The cumulative effect of all these was a grim determination on the part of the Khasi Chiefs to drive away the “lowland strangers” from their country. There were about 30 States in Khasi hills each of which was a republic in miniature, under a Chief and an Assembly comprising all adult male members. The Chiefs of various States invited Tirut Singh to make a general inroad into Assam and expel the British from the plains as well as the hills. The leader of this movement was Bar Manik, the Chief of Molim, one of these petty...
Khasi States. Mr. Scott got an inkling of all this and made preparations to seize Bar Manik with the help of the Sylhet local corps. But in the meantime the insurrection had already begun on a large scale. On 5 May, 1829, a strong party of Khasis, aided by the Garos, raided Nunklow and massacred the European and Bengali inmates of the sanatorium. Lt. Bedingfield was killed on the spot, and though the other European escaped, he was seized on the way and cut off. No harm was done to the Assamese inmates.

The Khasis then burnt the Bungalow, released the convicts employed in the construction of the road, and proceeded towards Cherrapunji in search of Mr. Scott. It was "the signal of an almost universal rising among the Khasi chiefs," and the hill people in thousands joined the standard of revolt. The rebellion also spread to the Garo hills whose people joined the Khasis. Tirut Singh sent messages to the Bhots, Singphos and other hill-tribes, exciting them to throw off the yoke of the English. He even exhorted Chandrakanta, the ex-king of Assam, to rise against the British.

The British forces burnt Khasi villages, one after another, and established a sort of "economic blockade" prohibiting all trade and intercourse with the Khasis. Tirut Singh and his associates, with a military force estimated to be 10,000 strong, evaded the British, but occasionally swooped down upon the plains, causing alarm all over Assam. Once the panic was so great even in Gauhati, the headquarters of the British, that large number of people, including high officials, kept boats ready to evacuate at a moment's notice.

The long and harassing warfare with the Khasis continued for four years. There is no doubt that whatever may be its origin it gradually developed into a general insurrection, and it was the last fight of the confederacy of Khasi Chiefs to keep the British out of their country. But in the end they failed. Tirut Singh surrendered in January, 1833, on condition that his life should be spared, and his territory was restored to his nephew under certain conditions. Most of the other Chiefs had submitted to the British authority by the end of 1832.47

The Khasi rebellion had far-reaching consequences. While the British were engaged in a harassing warfare with them, the Singphos broke into open rebellion in 1830 under a Khantki Chief. The simultaneous rebellions of the Khasis and Singphos gave the discontented nobility of Assam another opportunity to strike a blow for their independence. The embers of the rebellion under Gadadhar in 1828, to which reference has been made above, had not yet died down. Haranath, the son of the ex-Bar Gohain who took part in the first rebellion, organized the second rebellion of the nobility
and planned to act in concert with the rebellious Khasis and Singphos. The nobility set up one Kumar Rupchand as their Raja, and sent envoys to the Chiefs of the Khamtis, Moamris, Nagas and Garos, calling upon them all to rise against the British. On 25 March, 1830, they attacked the military lines at Rangpur (in Assam), but failed and were put to flight. The leaders were apprehended and some of them hanged.\(^50\)

The Singpho rebellion, however, proved to be more serious. More than three thousand rebels, armed with muskets, spears and swords, marched against Sadiya and erected stockades; but they were defeated by Capt. Neufville on 27 February, and again on March 11, 1830. Though defeated, the Singphos remained in a mood of sullen discontent, and again rose into rebellion in 1839, in course of which Col. White, the British Political Agent, lost his life and eight others were killed or wounded.\(^51\)

In 1835, Tagi Raja, the Chief of the Kapaschor Akas, stirred up the hill people to rise against the British. He killed a number of British subjects and attacked the police outpost at Balipara. He was not subdued till 1842.\(^52\)

The Nagas broke out into insurrection in 1849 and killed the Indian officer in charge of a police outpost at a village near Dimapur. A strong British force brought the situation under control in 1850-51.

The Kukis, a wild tribe, had the strange custom of burying their deceased rulers along with human heads. They lived in the Lushai hills and the hill regions of Manipur and Tippera, and raided both Sylhet and Cachar for taking human heads. In 1826, and again in 1844 and 1849, the Kukis raided British territory, killed a number of men, and took their heads, with the result that South Cachar was almost deserted and the people moved to the north. Military raids against them in sufficient strength were not regarded by the British officers as feasible, as the Kuki Chiefs could raise 7000 men to defend the narrow mountain passes. A Kuki levy was accordingly raised to protect the British territory, and in 1850 many Lushai Chiefs submitted to the British authority of their own accord.

The Kolarian tribes of Chota Nagpur, accustomed to lead their free lives without any control, could ill brook the gradual extension of British authority in their territory. These tribes were ruled by petty chieftains, called Raja, who proudly claimed to have exercised independent authority for more than fifty generations. The British occupation of Singhbhum was highly resented by the Raja, who was known as the Raja of Porahat. His subjects, the Hos, zealously
guarded the frontiers and would not allow any strangers to enter into their territory. Though the Raja agreed to pay annual tribute to the British, the Hos remained recalcitrant. The Political Agent, Major Roughedge, entered Kolhan and Chaibasa in 1820, but met with a fierce resistance. Lieut. Maitland also had a similar experience, and we are told that "these savages, with a degree of rashness and hardihood scarcely credible, met the charge of the troops half way in open plain, battle-axe in hand". It was not till 1827, after many villages were burnt and a large number of Hos were killed, that they submitted. But they merely bided their time to rise again, and when the Mundas of Chota Nagpur broke out into revolt in 1831, the Hos joined them. This insurrection was caused by the new policy of farming revenue to outsiders, and the introduction of judicial and revenue regulations of the Bengal Government into the country. The rebellion soon spread over a considerable area, including Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Palamau and Manbhum. "Violence and pillage were universal and indiscriminate......... The villages are fired, the roads are blocked up, and all passers are plundered."53 The wrath of the rebels was specially vented upon the foreign settlers, about a thousand of whom were killed or burnt in their homes. The military forces found it difficult to control the situation. "On one occasion a squadron of cavalry encountering a body of six or seven thousand of the rioters was compelled to retire with some small loss".54 After extensive military operations the insurrection was suppressed in March, 1832. A few cases of unexampled bravery are on record. Some of the ringleaders fought to the last, and one, Buddho Bhagat, rather than surrender, perished with his whole family and 150 followers in defending his village. The insurrection was marked by ruthless severities on both sides, and Shore estimated that nearly five thousand square miles of territory had been almost laid waste in crushing the resistance of the Kols. The Hos continued to be refractory, and military operations had to be undertaken in 1836 and 1837 before they submitted to the British authority.55

Immediately following the Kol rising, there broke out the rebellion of the Bhumi in Manbhum, in 1832, under Ganganarayan, a disappointed claimant to the Barabhum estate. There was a long family feud between Ganganarayan and Madhab Singh, the Diwan of the estate. "Ganganarayan gathered a large force of ghatwals (keepers of the hill passes) and strengthened his position by attaching himself to the peasantry, who were also alienated by the exactions and excessive demands of the diwan. On 2 April, 1832, Madhab was attacked and murdered: the murderous gang then proceeded to plunder the whole country: Barabazar, a town of import-
BRITISH PARAMOUNTCY AND INDIAN RENAISSANCE

ance, was sacked, and all Government offices such as the Munstiff's cutcheri, police thana and the salt Darogha's cutcheris were burnt down. With his levies, which included the Chuars and numbered between two and three thousand men, he attacked Government troops. The situation became so threatening that in the first week of June, 1832, government force had to retire to Bankura leaving Barabhum to the possession of the rebel chief. Ganganarayan assumed the title of raja, and levied contributions from the surrounding country”. Soon Ganganarayan began to plunder all the estates to the east of Barabhum. The Bhumij Kols of the district joined him and the situation became fraught with danger. Different bands of British troops scoured the country towards the end of 1832, and the death of Ganganarayan, shortly after, put an end to the insurrection.66

The Khonds, a wild tribe occupying a large tract of territory called Khondmals, in the southern part of Baud, and neighbouring regions in Orissa, were notorious for infanticide and human sacrifices called Meriah sacrifice.67 The British attempt to suppress these inhuman practices,68 added to a belief that the British would appropriate their lands, exact forced labour, and impose taxes, etc., made the Khonds to break into an open rebellion in 1848. They surprised the camp of Capt. Macpherson and compelled him to surrender 170 Meriahs (intended victims for sacrifice) kept in his charge. Though beaten in a fight with Madras sepoys in April, 1846, one Chakra Bisayi, the nephew of an exiled Chief, organized a rebellion at the end of the year. The Khonds of Gumsur and the neighbouring regions joined the revolt which soon became a general insurrection of the Khonds and lasted for three years. “Villages were burnt, strong places occupied, jungles scoured by troops; but the Khonds, undaunted by defeat, held out in the depths of their highland lairs”.69 When, in 1848, the rebellion was suppressed, the exiled Khond Chief was recalled and placed at the head of Khonds. This wise step pacified the Khonds, but Chakra Bisayi and his followers kept up the fight and organized another rebellion in Gumsur in 1855. They, however, made it clear that they fought, not for maintaining the Meriah sacrifice which they decided to give up, but for the preservation of their rights and privileges which, they believed, were in danger. The Raja of Baud, unable to subdue his refractory subjects, the Khonds, made over the territory to the British administration (1855).60

The Santals, who have given their name to an area in Bihar adjoining to Murshidabad (in Bengal) on the west, were a primitive but very industrious people. They were forced to migrate from their ancestral lands on account of the excessive demands of the Zamin-
DARS after the Permanent Settlement, and occupied the plains skirting the Rajmahal Hills, after clearing the forests with great industry and labour. But the oppressions of the mahajans and traders from Bengal and Upper India, who lent them money at excessive interest and illegally recovered ten times their unjust dues, exactions of the police and revenue officials, dispossession of lands by the Zamindars, and the insults and indignities they suffered from the Englishmen goaded them into rebellion. The dishonour to their women by the ‘Sahiblok’ specially irritated them.

The Santal rebellion of 1855-6 was marked by some of the worst features of elemental tribal passions and open denunciation of British rule. But it was primarily, perhaps mainly, due to economic causes, and there was no anti-British feeling at the beginning of the outbreak. The main grievances of the Santals were against the “civilised people” from Bengal and Upper India who swarmed their country and took advantage of their simplicity and ignorance to exploit them in a ruthless manner. They turned against the Government when they found that instead of remedying their grievances, the officers were more anxious to protect their oppressors from their wrathful vengeance. The Santals were exasperated “when those among them who had made night-attacks on the houses of some of the mahajans were tried and punished, while their oppressors were not even rebuked”. Under the leadership of two brothers, Sidhu and Kanhu, who are said to have divine revelation, ten thousand Santals met in June 1855, and declared their intention ‘to take possession of the country and set up a Government of their own’. Sporadic depredations commenced immediately, but the movement assumed a formidable aspect by the middle of July, 1855. They assembled in different parts in parties of 10,000 each, cut off the postal and railway communications between Bhagalpur and Rajmahal, and were in complete control of this area. The Santals proclaimed the end of the Company’s rule and the commencement of the regime of their Subah. “Armed chiefly with axes and poisoned arrows, large bodies of these half-reclaimed savages carried fire and sword into scores of happy villages, attacked every outlying European Bungalow, murdered with equal readiness English planters and railway-servants, native police-officers, tradesmen, peasants, their wives and children, and even swarmed up to the larger European stations in the districts of Birbhum, Rajmahal and Bhagalpur”. They are even accused of “roasting Bengalis and ripping up their women”.

The authorities were taken utterly by surprise, and the panic-stricken natives fled by thousands. Even when troops were rushed
they could do little more than hold a few isolated posts. The Santals fled before the musketry, but found safe shelter in the thick jungles from which they could carry depredation. Some sepoy battalions fell back before them out of fear. A British force under Major Burrough was defeated, and the situation assumed "a very alarming aspect". The disturbed districts were handed over to the military and a regular campaign had to be conducted to suppress the rebellion. Even in August, the number of insurgents exceeded 30,000 men in arms. They showed no signs of submission and were openly at war with the British till February, 1856, when their leaders were arrested. Most inhuman barbarities were practised on the Santals after they were defeated.

7. *The religious cum political outbreaks.*

The most serious outbreak under this head was that of the Wahabis which will be dealt with in detail in Chapter XXIX. A minor instance is furnished by the Pagal Panthis, a semi-religious sect, whose members consisted mostly of the primitive tribes, Hajongs and Garos, living in the northern part of Mymensingh District, Bengal (now in E. Pakistan). Its founder was a darvesh or mendicant, called Karam Shah, but his son and successor, Tipu, was inspired by both religious and political motives. He consolidated his hold over the Garos and Hajongs by openly taking up their cause against the oppressions of the Zamindars who realized illegal cesses from them. He gathered round him a band of armed followers, and collected money by plunder. He then asked his followers not to pay rent above a specified minimum. In January, 1825, he led a mob of 700 and attacked and looted the houses of the Zamindars of Sherpur. The Zamindars fled to the headquarters of the Deputy-Collector, while Tipu stationed himself in an old fortified place and assumed royal powers. Tipu was soon captured, but the Government not only released him but conceded the justice of his demands, and made a more equitable arrangement to protect the cultivators. Though Tipu was again arrested in 1827, his followers, not satisfied with the new arrangements, took to arms in 1833, and collected a body of three thousand men armed with spears, swords, bows and a few matchlocks. They sacked the town of Sherpur, plundered the houses and set fire to the Police Station. The Magistrate applied for military force as the insurgents had taken complete possession of the whole region between Sherpur and Garo Hills, and begun to levy taxes from the cultivators. Military operations on a large scale were necessary before they could be put down.66

458
8. Disturbances due to general discontent

Sometimes serious disturbances broke out on such minor issues that the real causes must be sought for elsewhere, and will probably be found in the prevailing spirit of deep-rooted discontent due to a combination of political, economic and other causes. An apt illustration is furnished by the rising of the cultivators of Savda and Chopda in Khandesh in 1852. An order was issued in 1844 asking the landholders to provide stone boundary marks of their lands. When a revenue survey party under Davidson went to this region, there was a big demonstration against the order on the ground that neither stone nor labourers were available for the work. Although some civil and military officers came to help Davidson, he grew nervous at the numerical strength of the demonstrators, stopped the survey operation, and removed his camp five miles away. This was a signal for a popular rising. A mob of several hundreds surrounded the tents, and the European officers saved their lives by flight. A military force was called, but could not crush the popular spirit. The people of Erandol refused to lend their carts to the Government officers, intercepted their messengers, and even seized a Subadar-Major. The gates of the town were broken through by the military force and there was a mass arrest of leading men. But at Savda and Faizpur the people continued to be refractory. They set up a parallel Government and the panchayet collected revenue, punished criminals, and carried on the normal administrative business. The leaders and the people were overpowered by the military and the trouble ceased.68

Similar popular discontent was probably the root of risings which were ostensibly of political character. An impostor, pretending to be Appa Sahib, the exiled Raja of Nagpur, succeeded in gathering round him a band of Rohillas and others numbering about 4,000 men, and declared war against the British in 1848. He was actively supported by a number of Hindu officials, but was soon defeated and killed.67

There was a similar outbreak at Rawalpindi in 1853, four years after the annexation of the Panjáb in 1849. One Nadir Khan declared a person to be Peshawara Singh, a reputed son of Ranjit Singh, mentioned above.68 This prince really died several years ago, but it was alleged that he had escaped from the prison. A Hindu mendicant personified him and Nadir Khan organized a revolt in his favour, but it was shortly put down.69

9. Violent mass agitation

Unpopular official measures occasionally provoked violent mass demonstrations against the Government, though they did not lead

459
to actual insurrection. The agitation in Surat against the raising of salt duty from eight annas to one Rupee is a striking illustration. According to the official report, as soon as the new Salt Act came to be known on August 27, 1844, there was a considerable degree of excitement among the poorer classes. "This gradually increased throughout the 28th and by the 29th had attained to such a height that the whole of the Hindu population... assembled in front of the houses of the most influential sowcars and other inhabitants of the town, and by breaking their windows and demonstrations of violence obliged some of them to accompany the mob to Adalut (court) intending to petition the Sessions Judge who is Magistrate of the town. At the same time the whole of the shops were closed".

As the police on duty in the court premises closed the gates, "the people became exasperated and commenced an attack on them, pelting the police with tiles", and a regular fight took place, but the people ceased offering violence even before the arrival of the military force. Thereafter the mob was persuaded by some sowcars to return home peacefully. But then a report was spread that the Government had imposed new cesses on various necessaries of life. The Government issued a proclamation denying this, and explaining the reason for enhancing salt duty. But even then, the next day, i.e. on 30 August, the people were in great excitement and almost all the shops were closed, mainly because, it was believed, of the excesses committed by the police. The authorities promised to hold an enquiry and hoped the disturbances would cease. But this did not happen. The official report proceeds:—"Till this time the real character of the disturbances was not understood. They were generally supposed to be occasioned by the lowest classes of the Hindus... Circumstances however soon transpired which gave rise to the belief that the disturbances were of a more serious nature, not only confined to one class of persons but that the feeling of discontent was universal, from the highest to the lowest, and that instead of a common riot we were on the verge of an insurrection."

Crowds again assembled before the court, and had to be dispersed by force. But they "fell back towards the castle and joined the multitudes assembled there, which had by this time become exceedingly tumultuous, covering the whole esplanade to the edge of the ditch of the fort". One characteristic of the crowd was its strong anti-European spirit. European officers on the ramparts as well as European passers-by were pelted with bricks and tiles. The military drove away the crowd who kept up shouting "we will kill and be killed". The authorities became afraid of "a general rising of the whole population" and brought a gun into the castle. Being faced
with the alternatives of either reducing salt duty to the former rate or preparing to meet a regular insurrection, the authorities chose the former. The decision was met with "loud shout of approbation". In less than an hour shops opened and normal life was resumed.\(^7\)

Surat was the scene of another agitation in 1848 when the Government decided to introduce Bengal Standard Weights and Measures. The people took resort to a sort of boycott and passive resistance in order to get the measure cancelled. It was announced by placards that the people of each caste had agreed to expel any one of their members who adopted the new weights. The shop-keepers closed their shops and leading members of every caste issued notices appealing to the people not to sell or give anything to the Government servants or to work for them until the matter was settled. Every day large crowds assembled and proclamations were issued on behalf of the people that they had subscribed Rs. 50,000 to contest the obnoxious measure up to the highest court in England; petitions signed by 5,000 persons were sent for cancelling the new measure. The resistance continued for a week, but in this case also the authorities had to yield to the popular demand.\(^7\)

These two instances are significant in more ways than one. In the first place, they anticipate the type of popular resistance to Government which became a common feature in India's struggle for freedom more than half a century later. Secondly, they show an attitude of the Government towards popular feeling which gradually underwent a change for the worse. This will be evident from the way in which similar agitation in Surat in 1860 over the Income Tax Act was ruthlessly suppressed by brute force. The Bombay Times remarked that "even in the trying year 1857, there was no act of firmness and wisdom more worthy to be recorded than this suppression of popular disaffection at Surat".\(^7\) Evidently, the Sepoy Mutiny had turned the balance.

2. For the hostilities of the Peshwa against the British, see Vol. VIII.
3. SB—I, 156–60.
5. Mill, VIII. 313.
7. Ibid, 316, f. n.
8. Ibid, 315.
10. Ibid, 179.
11. SB—I, 164.
12. SB—I, 175.
According to SB—I, 15, “the desai was raised to the position of an independent ruler.”

Cf. Chapter V and also section 6 of this chapter.

Sambalpur DG, pp. 25 ff.

SB—I, 181.

SB—I, 192-3.

SB—I, 194.

Cf. Chapter VI.

Freedom Movement, Bombay, I, 55-62, which contains interesting original records on the subject. For short accounts of Nursing’s rebellion, cf. SB—I, 174; Bijapur DG, 452; these differ materially from the account given above on the authority of the original records.

SB—I, 136.

Ibid, 155.

The account is based on PIHRC, XIX. 68. A few new documents are published in Freedom Movement, Bombay, I, 63 ff. According to one of these, a statement of Bhide-Karkun before the Ratnagiri Magistrate, the general revolt was precipitated by an order from the British Government to keep the Raja and his brother in confinement. He further says that the garrison at Samangadh refused to pay revenues to the Mamladhar appointed by D. K. Pandit, as they considered it derogatory, but they were willing to pay it to him. Pandit thereupon asked for military force from Belgaum and thus the revolt began.

Freedom Movement, Bombay, I, 72.

SB—I, 170; PIHRC, XIX. 70.

SB—I, 146.

SB—I, 148.

Russell, Reports on the disturbances in the Zamindari of Gomposor, 15-16.

SB—I, 148-52.

SB—I, 145.

SB—I, 178; Sagar DG, 24.

SB—I, 152; Kurnool DG, 41-2; Cuddapah DG, 51.

SB—I, 190-1.

Cf. Chapter V (Assam) and Chapter XXXII.

Lahiri, 72 ff.

See p. 107.

See pp 128, 140.

Lahiri, 72-99; SB—I, 102-5.

See p. 140.

See p. 133.

Lahiri, 68 ff.

Lahiri, 102; SB—I, 110.

SB—I, 110.

Thornton, V. 202.

Ibid, 203.

SB—I, 98; Shore, Notes, II, 97-8; Thornton, 202 ff.

SB—I, 101-2.

For an authentic and well-documented account of the Meriah sacrifice, which was performed with most revolting cruelties, cf. BPP, Vol. 42 (1931), pp. 30 ff.

These attempts were highly creditable and partially successful. It has been estimated that over 1500 victims destined for the Meriah sacrifice were saved between 1837 and 1854. The last Meriah sacrifice is said to have taken place in 1855 (CHI, VI, 40; Trotter, I. 236-41).

Trotter, I. 77-9, 102-5.

There is a considerable literature on the Khond Rebellion. Cf. SB—I, 112; Trotter, I. 77 ff, 102 ff, 376; Angul DG, 28-31.

For the Santal rebellion, cf. K. K. Dutt, The Santal Insurrection of 1855-7 (Calcutta, 1940); Trotter, I. 368-74; SB—I, 114-5. For a general account of

62. Dutt, op. cit., 10. "You forced us to fight against you", said one of their leaders in the Birbhum jail. "We asked only what was fair, and you gave us no answer. When we tried to get redress by arms, you shot us like leopards in jungle" (Hunter, op. cit. 254).

63. Trotter, I. 369.

64. SB—I, 115.

65. SB—I, 105.


67. SB—I, 178-9; Yeotmal DG, 37-8; Trotter, I. 223-4.

68. See p. 255.

69. SB—I, 180.

70. For a detailed account of the Surat agitation, cf. *Freedom Movement, Bombay*, I. 1-16. The passages quoted are from an official letter reproduced in this volume (pp. 4-10). The italics are mine.

71. Ibid, 17-8.

72. Ibid, 21.
BOOK I.
POLITICAL HISTORY

PART II.
THE MUTINY AND THE REVOLT OF 1857-8
CHAPTER XV

THE OUTBREAK OF THE MUTINY, 1857

1. Beginning of the Mutinous Spirit

Early in January, 1857, a Brahman sepy, belonging to one of the British regiments stationed at Dumdum, about five miles to the north of Calcutta, was walking leisurely to his ‘chowka’1 to prepare his food, with his lota (water-pot, usually made of brass or bellmetal), full of water, in his hand. He was met on the way by a low-caste khalasi,2 attached to the magazine at Dumdum, who asked him to let him drink from his lota. The sepy, a high-caste Brahman, refused, saying: “I have scoured my lota; you will defile it by your touch”. The khalasi rejoined, probably with some amount of pungency and not without some inner delight: “You think much of your caste, but wait a little, the Sahib-log (Englishmen) will make you bite cartridges soaked in cow and pork fat, and then where will your caste be?”.3 The explanation was not long in coming. Towards the end of the year 1856, the military authorities in India proposed to replace the old-fashioned musket by the Enfield Rifle which required a particular species of cartridge, greased with lard made from the fat either of the hog or of the ox.4 These cartridges were being manufactured at Dumdum and therefore the khalasi was expected to know the details. To the consternation of the Brahman sepy it was explained by the khalasi that the end of these cartridges had to be bitten off with teeth. Subsequent investigations have proved beyond doubt that the statement of the khalasi was true in every detail.5

The Brahman sepy, terribly upset, lost no time in carrying the news to his comrades. The effect of the rumour can be easily understood by any one who knows anything about the religious ideas of the classes of people from whom the sepoys were recruited. To touch by the teeth the fat of the cow and the pig would violate the religious injunctions of both the Hindus and the Muslims. Further, the Hindu sepoys very rightly apprehended that by so doing they would not only pollute themselves beyond redemption, but would also be ostracised by their caste people. Those who know anything of the Hindu society in those days would readily agree that this fear was not only not unfounded, but would weigh even more heavily with many of them.
The rumour about the greased cartridges produced consterna-
tion among the sepoys at the cantonment at Barrackpur, 15 miles
from Calcutta, and they, along with their native commissioned
officers, placed the matter before the authorities. Hearsey, the Gene-
ral commanding at Barrackpur, was so much impressed with the
gravity of the situation, that he recommended that the sepoys might
be allowed at the depot to grease their own cartridges. The Govern-
ment accepted this suggestion on 27th January, and "transmitted
orders by telegraph to the Adjutant-General to issue only cartridges
free from grease, and to permit the sipahis to do the greasing them-
selves". The Adjutant-General "wired back that the concessions of
the Government would rouse the very suspicion they were intended
to allay; that for years past the sipahis had been using greased car-
tridges, the grease being mutton fat or wax; and that he begged
that the system might be continued". The Government "replied that
the greased cartridges might be issued, provided the materials were
only those mentioned by the Adjutant-General".6

It was also suggested by responsible Englishmen, outside the
army, that a representative body of the sepoys might be taken to
the manufacturing depots so that they might see with their own
eyes the whole process of preparing the cartridges.7 But this emi-
nently reasonable suggestion was not acted upon. The Government
did not evidently realize the depth of the feeling that excited the
sepoys; in any case, they did nothing that might allay the suspi-
cion of the sepoys, who not only firmly believed that the fat of
the cow and the pig was still being used, but, what was still worse,
that this was being deliberately done to convert them into Christia-
nity. Such suspicions, once roused, are very hard to remove and
have a tendency to grow from more to more. It was not long before
the effect of the rumour about the greased cartridges upon the
minds of the sepoys could be clearly seen. Acts of incendiari-
sm were reported from Barrackpur, as well as from Ranigunge where
a wing of the Barrackpur regiment was stationed.8 It was believed
at the time, and since proved on reasonable evidence, that these
were committed by the sepoys who "vented their rage by setting
fire to public buildings and their officers' Bungalows". The feeling
ran very high among the sepoys of the 34th N.I. stationed at
Barrackpur.9 On February 18 and 25, two detachments of the 34th
N.I. arrived in course of their routine duty at Berhampur, about
120 miles from Calcutta, where the 19th N.I. was located. There
can be hardly any doubt that the men of the 34th communicated
their feelings about the cartridge to those of the 19th. In any case,
on the 26th evening the latter refused to receive their percussion
caps for the parade on the following morning on the ground that they were suspicious of the cartridges. As soon as the news reached Mitchell, the Commanding Officer, he 'hastened in hot passion to the sepoys' lines' and rebuked them severely. This confirmed the suspicions of the sepoys, and at about midnight the regiment rose as one man, the sepoys loading their muskets and shouting violently. Mitchell wanted to use force against the sepoys, but yielded to the saner advice of the native officers. Next morning the excitement among the sepoys subsided. They fell in for parade and obeyed the orders as before. The Government instituted a Court of Inquiry and, on their findings, "determined to treat it as a local incident, which had attained undue proportions owing to violent measures taken by Col. Mitchell. The Governor-General in Council, therefore, resolved to disband the 19th".

The open defiance of authority by the 19th N.I. for the sake of their religion, even at the risk of sacrificing their all, put the other sepoys to a sense of shame and self-reproach, and served as an inspiration. Besides, the sepoys of the 34th N.I. very rightly felt that they were mainly responsible for the terrible disgrace which awaited the 19th N.I. Matters came to a head when Mangal Pandey, a sepoy of the 34th N.I., openly mutinied, single-handed.

On Sunday, 29 March, it was reported to Lieutenant Baugh, Adjutant of the 34th N.I., that a sepoy, named Mangal Pandey, had turned out in front of the quarter-guard of the regiment and fired at the sergeant-major. Baugh immediately galloped down to the lines. As soon as he arrived at the quarter-guard, a shot was fired and his horse fell under him. Seeing that Mangal Pandey was reloading, he fired, but missed. Then Baugh drew his sword and rushed in to secure Mangal Pandey, while the sergeant-major came to his aid. But Mangal Pandey severely wounded them with his sword, and both of them were knocked down by the treacherous blow of another sepoy. But a third sepoy, Shaikh Pultoo, came to their rescue. He held Mangal Pandey, and the two wounded English officers escaped. During all this time no other sepoy came to assist the officers or arrest Mangal Pandey. Meanwhile, General Hearsay, having heard the news, galloped to the place and saw, from a distance, Mangal Pandey striding up and down, vehemently calling upon his comrades "to join him to defend and die for their religion and caste." The General, accompanied by his two sons, reached the guard and ordered them to follow him. The men of the guard, after some hesitation, followed. As they approached, Mangal Pandey fired, but missed; then, having turned the muzzle of his gun towards his own breast he discharged it by the pressure of his foot. His self-
inflicted wound, though severe, was superficial, and he was conveyed to hospital. General Hearsey then reproached the men of the 34th Native Infantry for their passive demeanour. They answered in one voice, "He is mad; he has taken bhang (intoxicating drug) to excess." The General replied: "Could you not have seized him, and if he resisted, have shot him or maimed him?" They said he had loaded his musket. "What!" the General replied, "are you afraid of a loaded musket?" They remained silent, and when ordered by the General to go quietly to their lines, did so. Thus closed the first important episode of the Mutiny, showing that, though a spirit of sullen resentment overpowered the minds of the sepoys, and they were prepared to disobey, even defy, orders, they were not yet ready for the extreme step of breaking into mutiny, and there was not as yet any concerted plan of action regarding it.

Mangal Pandey and the jamadar were tried and executed, and the 34th N.I., like the 19th, were disbanded. The dishonoured sepoys of these two regiments returned in a sullen mood to their distant homes in Avadh, there to spread the story of the cartridges greased with the fat of the cow and the pig, which was sure to excite the masses who would, not unnaturally, look upon these sepoys as martyrs in the cause of their religion.

It was apparent ere long that the contagion was far more widely spread than was at first imagined. Unerring evidence was daily accumulating to show that the discontent and mutinous spirit had affected the sepoys of the whole Bengal Army located in remote parts of India. The incidents of Barrackpur were repeated at Ambala, at the other end of the country, towards the end of March. Here, again, we find the same piteous appeal of the sepoys to save their caste and religion by withdrawing the greased cartridges, the sympathy of the local officers but opposition of the General Government, followed by acts of incendiariism. Towards the end of April, a Sikh gave evidence "that the men had sworn to burn down every bungalow in the station in revenge of the order to use the cartridges".

The same scene was enacted at Lakhnau shortly after. But here the situation grew more serious than mere incendiariism. On May 2, the 7th Oudh Regiment refused to bite the greased cartridges, saying that they must do as the rest of the army did. On May 3, it was reported that the sepoys had threatened to murder the officers. Henry "Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of Avadh, acted promptly and other Indian regiments co-operated with him. Most of the mutineers fled at his approach, and the rest laid down their arms when ordered to do so. The regiment was later disbanded.
THE OUTBREAK OF THE MUTINY, 1857

Less than three months after the khalasi had told the Brahman sepoy the story of the greased cartridges, "it had become an article of faith with nine-tenths of the sepoys of Northern India". In the meantime another rumour was spread to the effect "that the officers were mixing dust ground from the bones of cows with the flour for their men's use, and throwing it into the wells". It had such a firm hold on the men at Kanpur, where the price of flour soared very high, that they refused to touch a cheap supply sent specially from Mirat because they feared that it had been adulterated. About the same time appeared the mysterious chapati ( unleavened bread made of flour which formed the staple diet for men of Upper India). It was widely spread over a large area, and its meaning and significance will be discussed later.

2. Mirat (Meerut)

Mirat was a military cantonment situated about 40 miles to the north of Delhi. At this important military station there were two regiments of Native Infantry and one of Native Cavalry. As against these, the British troops consisted of a dragoon regiment, a battalion of Rifles, and bodies of horse and foot artillery, "forming altogether the strongest European force at any post in the North-Western Provinces". Here, as elsewhere, the sepoys were excited by the rumours of greased cartridges and of bone-dust mixed with flour, and the usual acts of incendiaryism followed. The matter came to a head when, on 24 April, 1857, eighty-five troopers out of ninety, of the Third Cavalry, refused to touch the cartridges on the parade ground. They were tried by a Court martial and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment with hard labour, but the Commander of the Division reduced the sentence to half in the case of eleven of the younger offenders.

The sepoys were guilty of an offence which was solely due to their religious scruples. As will be related later, even the British Commander-in-Chief expressed the opinion that there was nothing to be surprised at the objection of the sepoys to use the greased cartridges. Yet, for this offence, the sepoys were sentenced to penal servitude and treated as felons. But if the sentence was a heavy one, it was executed in a way that outraged every sense of decency. On May 9, the condemned men were led to the parade ground which was open to the public and attended by all the troops of the station, both native and European. The reader may get a fair idea of the scene from the following graphic account given by Kaye, the great historian of the Mutiny.
BRITISH PARAMOUNTCY AND INDIAN RENAISSANCE

"Under a guard of Rifles and Carabineers, the Eighty-five were then brought forward, clad in their regimental uniforms—soldiers still; and then the sentence was read aloud, which was to convert soldiers into felons. Their accoutrements were taken from them, and their uniforms were stripped from their backs. Then the armourers and the smiths came forward with their shackles and their tools, and soon, in the presence of that great concourse of their old comrades, the Eighty-five stood, with the outward symbols of their dire disgrace fastened upon them. It was a piteous spectacle, and many there were moved with a great compassion, when they saw the despairing gestures of those wretched men, among whom were some of the very flower of the regiment soldiers who had served the British Government in trying circumstances and in strange places, and who had never before wavered in their allegiance. Lifting up their hands and lifting up their voices, the prisoners implored the General to have mercy upon them, and not to consign them to so ignominious a doom. Then, seeing that there was no other hope, they turned to their comrades and reproached them for quietly suffering this disgrace to descend upon them. There was not a Sepoy present who did not feel the rising indignation in his throat. But in the presence of those loaded field-guns and those grooved rifles, and the glittering sabres of the Dragoons, there could not be a thought of striking. The prisoners were marched off to their cells, to be placed under the custody of a guard of their own countrymen."^{19}

The effect of this scene upon the other sepoys and the people at large has been described by many writers on the authority of contemporary accounts. The comrades of the condemned sepoys fully shared the views for which the latter were imprisoned. As Malleson puts it, "they had not been insensible to the reproaches which their ironed and shackled comrades had cast upon them as they marched off, prisoners, to the gaol".^{20} Their passive acquiescence, they felt, would bring eternal infamy and disgrace upon them. That this was no mere idle fear is borne out by the fact that the people at large, and even some courtesans, taunted the sepoys for their pusillanimity. No wonder, therefore, that the excitement of the sepoys at Mirat was not merely of a passive character, as was the case in Barrackpur. As Forrest puts it, the troopers, "maddened by the spectacle, at once prepared for a revolt from the English rule, and in order to rescue their comrades resolved to dare the worst extremity".\(^{21}\) The details of the plot are not exactly known, but it is generally held that the sepoys, belonging to all the regiments, held councils together, and decided to rise in a body the very next day which, being a Sunday when the Europeans would be absent at the church, appeared to be very suitable for their purpose. On the other hand, there are grounds to believe that the outbreak was not definitely prearranged, but was precipitated on Sunday evening by the assemblage of the Rifles for church parade, when suddenly a cry was raised, "the Rifles and Artillery are coming to disarm all the native regiments", and the sepoys, followed by a mob, rushed wildly to their lines.\(^{22}\)
Whatever may be the circumstances leading to the actual outbreak, there is no doubt that the lead was taken by the Third Cavalry, to which regiment the condemned sepoys belonged. On May 10, Sunday, at about sunset, when the British Rifles assembled for church parade, the Third Cavalry looked upon it as the signal for their own imprisonment. Immediately, several hundreds of them galloped to the jail and released not only their comrades but also its other inmates. Meanwhile the infantry regiments had grown restive, and their officers hastened to the lines to pacify them. They showed signs of submission, “when suddenly a trooper galloped past, and shouted out that the European troops were coming to disarm them”.23 One of the regiments, the 20th, immediately seized their muskets, but the other, the 11th, still hesitated. But at this juncture the Commanding Officer of the latter, Col. Finnis, who was remonstrating with his men, was fired upon by the men of the other regiment and was immediately killed. The 11th regiment at once joined the other mutineers.

Then followed a scene of indescribable horror and confusion. The sepoys were joined by the convicts released from jail and other goonda elements, and they all set out to slay the Europeans and burn and plunder their houses. They killed indiscriminately, not sparing even women or children, and blazing houses all around threw their lurid light upon the scenes of plunder and desecration. It is probable, however, that this nefarious work, continued throughout the night, was done mostly by the criminals and the goonda elements who are never found wanting to take advantage of such a situation to serve their personal ends and satisfy their criminal propensities. Howsoever one might apportion the guilt, Mirat set an example which was only too closely imitated, ere long, in numerous localities over a wide area. But, as will be shown later, the British troops were more than a match for their Indian colleagues, not only in military skill, but also in perpetrating such cruel deeds. The sepoys had sown the wind and the Indians reaped the whirlwind.

The sepoys at Mirat knew full well that they could be easily crushed by European troops of the station. So, immediately after the first orgies of murder and plunder were over, they sat together to deliberate over their future line of action. There was no question that they must immediately leave Mirat, but the place of retreat was debated upon for a long time. It is generally held by the historians of the Mutiny, that under a pre-arranged plan they marched towards Delhi almost immediately after the outbreak had begun. But according to the testimony of Munshi Mohanlal, the mutineers at Mirat had not at first any idea of coming to Delhi, and it was only decided after
a long deliberation and discussion which fully convinced them that the advantages of such a course were greater than those offered by any other. As Mohanlal says that he got this information from two sepoys of Mirat, it is reasonable to accept it in preference to the other view.24

The sepoys must have left Mirat during the early hours of the night, for when a few hours after the outbreak, the British army, after inordinate delay, had advanced to quell the disturbances, the sepoys were nowhere to be seen, either in the town or in the lines, and the soldiers could only wreak their vengeance on the unarmed plunderers alone. By an incredible folly, the British commander did not take any measure to pursue the fleeing sepoys who, throughout their march to Delhi during that critical night, was apprehending at every moment that they would be overtaken and overwhelmed by the British troops.

The sepoys of Mirat reached Delhi soon after day-break on the 11th of May. Those who arrived first went straight to the Red Fort, and requested Bahadur Shah to take the lead in the campaign which they had already begun. After a great deal of hesitation, Bahadur Shah at last agreed, and was proclaimed Emperor.26 In the meantime, as more and more sepoys from Mirat arrived, the massacre of Europeans—men, women and children—began in full fury. There was no means of resistance, as both the civil and military authorities were taken completely unawares. Then the mutineers proceeded to the cantonment where the local sepoys joined them and cut off their own officers. Deserted by the sepoys, the remaining Europeans, both civil and military, fled from Delhi as best as they could, and in less than a week not one of them was left in that city. The great magazine, with its vast stores of ammunition, was blown up by the British officers themselves to prevent it from falling into the hands of the mutineers. The success of the mutineers was complete, and they became undisputed masters of the city of Delhi under the nominal authority of the titular Emperor, Bahadur Shah. The strongly fortified walls of the city offered a protection and security which they badly needed at the initial stage before the country as a whole caught the mutinous spirit, and the prestige of the Imperial House of the Timurids served as a symbol for rallying heterogeneous elements round a common banner.

So well was all this understood by the British, that they regarded the recapture of Delhi as the most immediate and important objective of their military campaigns. Thus the eyes of friends and foes alike were turned towards the Imperial city, and every reasonable man, not blinded by prejudices and passion engendered by ambi-
tion or self-interest, could easily perceive that the future of the entire movement depended upon the fate of Delhi.

1. Private cooking place of a sepoy.
2. A menial.
5. Evidence for this has been given in Ch. XXI.
6. Malleson—II. 44.
7. The suggestion was made in the Englishman, a Calcutta Daily, on February 3, 1857. I am indebted to Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri for this information.
8. These and other incidents, to which reference is made in this Chapter, are well-known episodes, mentioned in all standard books on the Mutiny. Hence they are not described in detail, and no reference to authorities is given.
9. N. I. stands for ‘Native Infantry’. The figure is that of the Regiment.
11. Malleson—II. 42.
13. Holmes, 89.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid, 90.
17. Malleson gives the date as 6th May (Malleson—II. 62), but this is evidently wrong.
18. Roberts—II. 49, f. n.; Kaye—I, Vol. I. 558 f. n. For this and other views supporting the objection of the sepoys to use greased cartridges, cf. Ch. XXI.
20. Malleson—II. 64.
21. Forrest—I. 34.
22. Holmes says he was “convinced of this by the argument of Colonel G. W. Williams, who collected a vast amount of evidence on the subject”. He also quotes the statement of a witness that “the said regiments did not plot anything beforehand. Had they done so, they would not have kept their wives and children with them as they did”. “Other witnesses gave similar replies” (Holmes, p. 99). On the other hand, as will be related in Chapter XX, the probability of a mutiny at Mirat was known in Delhi before May 10. It appears that while a Mutiny was talked about at Mirat for some days, no definite arrangement was made, and no particular date was fixed, and the actual outbreak was due to a sudden impulse on May 10.
23. Holmes, 100.
24. This point will be further discussed in Chapter XX with reference to authorities.
25. For details see Chapter XVII, Section 2.
CHAPTER XVI

THE SPREAD OF THE MUTINY

1. A General Outline

The news of the mutiny of sepoys at Mirat, followed immediately by the capture of Delhi and the declaration of Bahadur Shah as the Emperor of Hindusthan, created a great sensation all over India. Its immediate reactions could be found in an abortive rising of the sepoys at Firozpur on May 13, and the outbreak of violent disturbances at Muzaffarnagar, followed by the mutiny of sepoys, on the 14th. These two minor incidents apart, the sepoys, the civil population, as well as the goonda elements, although highly excited by “the most exaggerated reports of the total collapse of British rule”, remained in animated suspense for a week. Evidently, they regarded it as a mere accident or a passing phase, and expected at any moment to hear of the restoration of British authority. But as days passed, and every one of them brought evidence of lethargy and inactivity on the part of the British and stories of their disgrace and discomfiture in Delhi, the signs of reaction began to show themselves. A series of mutinies of sepoys, followed in many cases by the revolt of civil population, convulsed nearly the whole of Northern India. The first to rise was a detachment of sepoys at Aligarh on May 20, 1857. At first they remained not only unmoved, but quite loyal, and even delivered to the authorities a Brahman who had plotted to murder British officers. But when the conspirator was hanged in their presence, a sepoy pointed to the quivering body, and exclaimed to his comrades, “Behold! a martyr to our religion”. The effect was almost instantaneous. The sepoys rose in a body, drove away their officers, and left for Delhi. This was followed by mutinies in the Panjâb, at Naushera, on May 21, and Hoti Mardan during the next two or three days; but these were easily put down. Far more serious, however, were the series of mutinies in Avadh and North-Western Provinces,—at Etawa and Mainpuri (May 23), Rurki (May 25), Etah (May 27), Hodal, Mathura, and Lakhnau (May 30), Bareilly and Shahjahanpur (May 31), Moradabad and Budaon (June 1), Azamgarh and Sitapur (June 3), Malaon, Mohamdi, Varanasi (Banaras) and Kanpur (Cawnpore) (June 4), Jhansi and Allahabad (June 6), Fyzabad (June 7), Dariabad and Fatepur (June 9), Fategarh (June 18), Hathras (July 1), and several other localities.

In general these mutinies followed the pattern set by Mirat. The sepoys killed the officers and other Europeans on whom they
THE SPREAD OF THE MUTINY

could lay their hands, in many cases sparing neither women nor children. They also released the prisoners from jail, plundered the treasury, burnt Government offices, and then either set out for Delhi, or joined some local chiefs, or roamed at large, seeking to enrich themselves by indiscriminate plunder of both Indians and Europeans. There were, of course, exceptions to their general cruelty towards their late masters. In some cases the British officers were allowed to depart without any harm befalling them, and there are even instances where the sepoys watched over their safety during their flight. Thus, though many British officers and the members of their family were killed, many also succeeded in escaping to places of safety. Except in rare instances, as at Lakhnau (Lucknow) and Kanpur, the Europeans, or rather those among them that escaped or survived the massacre, quitted their stations.

The mutinies in Delhi and some other regions, notably Avadh, Rohilkhand and West Bihar, soon merged themselves into revolts of civil population against the British authority under local leaders. These will be described in the next chapter. A brief account of the principal centres of mutiny in other parts of India is given below.

2. Kanpur (Cawnpore)

The mutiny at Kanpur has achieved a notoriety beyond all proportions because of the part played by, or supposed to be played by, Dhondu Pant, alias Nana Saheb, the adopted son of Baji Rao II, the last Peshwa. Reference has been made above\(^1\) to his unsuccessful attempt to inherit the pension enjoyed by his father, the ex-Peshwa. It is not unnatural that he would harbour resentment against the English. But Nana certainly gave no outward sign of his disaffection, or even of want of affection, towards the British, until destiny threw him into the vortex of the mighty upheaval in 1857. In spite of the rejection of his appeal by the Court of Directors, which set at rest his hope of securing the pension granted to his father, Nana continued his cordial relations with the British officials throughout the six years that followed, and ingratiated himself with the local British community by many acts of kindness and hospitality.\(^2\)

Nana had inspired so much confidence in the British officials, both civil and military, that when the mutiny broke out at Mirat, and apprehensions were felt about the fidelity of the local sepoys, the Magistrate, Mr. Hillersdon, expected to suppress the mutiny, if it occurred, with the help of Nana. After consultation with Sir Hugh Wheeler, the Commander of the local forces, Hillersdon asked for the aid of Nana to guard the treasury, which was situated five miles away and contained more than a hundred thousand Pounds in cash. Nana
complied with the request and sent a body of his retainers with two guns. According to Shepherd, a contemporary writer, 'Nana Saheb offered his services; his offer was accepted and he came with 500 armed men and two guns'. Mowbray Thomson, one of the four survivors of the Kanpur tragedy, however, categorically states that 'Nana did not volunteer his services, but Mr. Hillersdon, after consultation with Sir Hugh Wheeler, sent over to Bithoor requesting the presence and aid of Nana Saheb; he came instantly attended by his body-guard and engaged to send a force of two hundred cavalry, four hundred infantry, and two guns to protect the revenue.' The retainers, whose number is variously estimated from two hundred to six hundred, posted themselves at Nawabganj which commanded both the treasury and the magazine. According to Tantia Topi's statement, he 'went with Nana and about one hundred sepoys and three hundred matchlockmen and two guns to the Collector's house at Kanpur. The Collector... said it was fortunate we had come to his aid, as the sepoys had become disobedient, and that he would apply to the General in our behalf. He did so, and the General wrote to Agra, whence a reply came that arrangements would be made for the pay of our men'. This took place on May 22, i.e. twelve days after the mutiny at Mirat, and on the 23rd the British women and children and non-combatants took shelter within an improvised entrenchment. On the whole the view that Nana's aid was sought for by the British seems to be more probable.

All this definitely proves that the British residents at Kanpur did not entertain the least suspicion about Nana's fidelity to the British cause. This has been clearly expressed, in connection with this incident, by Mowbray Thomson as follows: "The relations we had always sustained with this man had been of so friendly a nature that not a suspicion of his fidelity entered the minds of any of our leaders; his reinforcements considerably allayed the feverish excitement caused by our critical condition, and it was even proposed that the ladies should be removed to his residence at Bithoor, that they might be in a place of safety." 

Late at night on June 4, the 2nd Cavalry, and an hour or two later, the 1st Native Infantry mutinied, but did not attack their officers. The 56th N. I. joined the mutiny on the morning of the 5th, but the 53rd N.I. remained loyal. They resisted the pressure of the other sepoys to join them, and were peacefully engaged in their daily avocations, when "Ashe's battery opened upon them by Sir Hugh Wheeler's command and they were literally driven from us by nine-pounders". A detachment of this regiment, posted at the treasury, fought for four hours against the rebel sepoys. The loyal remnant
THE SPREAD OF THE MUTINY

of this regiment, 'though prepared to stand by their officers till the last, were not admitted into the entrenchment and were ultimately dismissed with a few rupees each and a certificate of fidelity'. This is not the only instance where the panic of the British, not altogether unjustified, led to suspicion, and suspicion led to mutiny or desertion of troops who would probably have otherwise remained faithful.

The mutinous sepoys, as could be easily anticipated, made straight for the treasury at Nawabganj, and Nana's retainers probably fraternised with them. As noted above, the faithful sepoys of the 53rd N.I. held their ground for four hours, but as no relief came, were overpowered and fled. The mutineers rifled the treasury, released the prisoners in jail, and took possession of the magazine. Then they marched towards Delhi and reached Kalyanpur, the first stage of the road.

So far the general course of the mutiny at Kanpur is known with certainty. But the dramatic events that took place on the 5th June at Kalyanpur are shrouded in mystery. Nana is the chief actor in the whole drama, and its different versions reflect the different attitudes entertained towards that hero. There is no dispute about the last act of the drama, namely, that the mutinous sepoys, instead of proceeding to Delhi, returned to Kanpur, on June 6, under the leadership of Nana. But there are differences of opinion on the two vital questions: (1) When and why did Nana join the mutinous troops? and (2) What induced them to return to Kanpur after they had proceeded one march on the road to Delhi?

First, there is the view that Nana had been in secret league with the sepoys long before the Mutiny and offered his help to the British only to betray them later and destroy them all the more easily. As noted above, the highest British officials at Kanpur had no such suspicion at the time, and as will be shown later, the idea was discredited by some British officials even after the Mutiny was over. This view is not supported by any authentic and positive testimony, and rests mainly upon the diary of Nanak Chand and evidence of witnesses who were not improbably in league with him and simply corroborated whatever he recorded. It should be remembered that the evidences were recorded shortly after the recapture of Kanpur by the British when everybody would come forward to save his skin or earn a reward by denouncing the conduct of Nana.

G. W. Forrest, who had to deal with these depositions in his famous collection of official records on the Mutiny, rightly observes: "There are, it is true, the depositions of sixty-three witnesses, natives and half-castes, taken under the directions of Colonel Williams, Commissioner of Police in the North-Western Provinces, but they
are the depositions of men who had, or thought they had, the rope round their neck. Their evidence is full of discrepancies, and must be treated with extreme caution.”

As to Nanak Chand, he was himself a base informer and a sworn enemy of Nana for a long time before the outbreak of the Mutiny. It has been proved beyond doubt that his so-called “diary”, on which some modern historians have relied, was not a day-to-day record of events, but really an account, put in the present shape, long after the events entered under different dates had occurred.

As regards the character of the man it would be sufficient to state that when his application for a reward was referred to G. E. Lance, Collector of Kanpur, the latter wrote as follows on May 15, 1862: “Nanak Chand was a common informer and had disgusted everyone that has had anything to do with him… I know that the officer (G. W. Sherer, Collector of Kanpur) latterly never admitted him inside his compound. His so-called diary is generally supposed to have brought him in a handsome sum of money as it depended upon what he received whether a person’s name was entered as a rebel or well-wisher.” Such is the man, on whom Sir George Trevelyan and T. Rice Holmes implicitly relied in giving an account of Nana and the mutiny of sepoys at Kanpur. Sober history cannot, however, place much reliance on what Nanak Chand says, and must dismiss, as quite unproved, the allegation that Nana was in league with the sepoys at Kanpur long before they broke out into mutiny.

Both Shepherd, writing in 1857, and Mowbray Thomson writing in 1859, seem to imply that Nana first joined the mutineers when they reached Nawabganj, where the treasury was situated, and to which place they proceeded directly from the cantonment. It is not a little curious that though both of them wrote from memory their own personal impressions, the incident is described by them in almost identical words. Thomson writes: “When they reached Nawabgunge the Nana came out to meet them and at their head proceeded to the treasury, where he had all the government elephants laden with public money”. Shepherd says: “It is reported that when the mutineers reached Nawabgunge, the Nana came out to receive them, and taking them with him proceeded to the treasury, where he had all the Government elephants well laden with the public money”. None of them could have any personal knowledge of the incident, and both relied on hearsay reports, as Shepherd plainly admits. But it seems from the very close agreement, noted above, that both of them probably drew upon an identical written report. There is, however, one significant difference between the two. Both say that Nana distributed a portion of the
loot among the mutinous sepoys, but whereas Thomson adds that 'Nana forthwith assumed their command', Shepherd is silent about it, and adds a different account in his book, published long after, as will be shown later.

Not much reliance can therefore be placed on the hearsay evidence of Mowbray Thomson and Shepherd. At the same time it has to be admitted that the reasons which induced Nana to join the mutineers cannot be determined with absolute certainty. We have no evidence of any person, who may be reasonably credited with a knowledge of the truth, save and except Tantia Topi, whose statement on this point runs as follows: "The three regiments of infantry and the Second Light Cavalry surrounded us, and imprisoned the Nana and myself in the Treasury and plundered the Magazine and the Treasury of everything they contained, leaving nothing in either. Of the treasure, the sepoys made over two lacs and eleven thousand rupees to the Nana, keeping their own sentries over it. The Nana was also under charge of these sentries, and the sepoys who were with us joined the rebels. After this the whole army marched from that place, and the rebels took the Nana Sahib and myself and all our attendants along with them, and said, 'Come along to Delhi'. Having gone three coss from Cawnpore, the Nana said that as the day was far spent, it was far better to halt there then, and to march on the following day. They agreed to this, and halted. In the morning the whole army told him (Nana) to go with them towards Delhi. The Nana refused, and the army then said, 'Come with us to Cawnpore and fight there'. The Nana objected to this, but they would not attend to him. And so, taking him with them as a prisoner, they went towards Cawnpore, and fighting commenced there." The subsequent portion of this account suggests that the position of Nana vis à vis the sepoys was not unlike that of Bahadur Shah, and though he was the nominal leader of the sepoys, they did not obey his orders.

As Tantia was a devoted follower of Nana, and himself a rebel against the British, his statement cannot, of course, be taken as unvarnished truth. At the same time it is to be remembered that the statement was a sort of dying declaration, made by Tantia at a time when he had nothing to hope or fear from the British. He and Nana had committed acts which could never be forgiven or forgotten, and he was in the hands of those whose recent conduct proved beyond doubt that they never forgave nor forgot. So he could not possibly have any motive for hiding his own or Nana's guilt; on the other hand, there was every temptation to create the impression that they fought a patriotic or national war against the hated English which would enshrine their memory in the hearts of their countrymen. So,
if Nana had taken the lead in the mutiny of sepoys, one would normally expect Tantia to have emphasized, rather than denied, the fact.

It is interesting to note that Tantia's version is supported by Nana's own statement in a petition, dated 20 April, 1859, addressed to Her Majesty the Queen etc. He says that he "joined the rebels from helplessness" and elucidates it as follows:—

"My soldiers were not of my own country, and I previously urged that so insignificant (gureeb) a person as myself could render no material aid to the British. But General Wheeler would not listen to me and invited me into the entrenchments. When your army mutinied and proceeded to take possession of the Treasury my soldiers joined them. Upon this I reflected that if I went into the Entrenchments my soldiers would kill my family, and that the British would punish me for the rebellion of my soldiers. It was therefore better for me to die. My ryots were urgent and I was obliged to join the soldiers".16

Here, again, one should not ordinarily put much faith in the statement of Nana made in a petition for mercy. There are, however, two considerations which might possibly lead one to think otherwise. In the first place, it agrees with the statement of Tantia Topi, quoted above, made only a few days earlier at a very distant place, after the two had been separated for a pretty long time. Secondly, in course of the correspondence that followed the petition referred to above, Nana repeatedly declared that he would fight till the last and did not fear to die as "life must be given up some day". This makes it highly improbable that he would deny his active participation in the mutiny, if it were true, merely out of fear. Besides, he must have known very well that the British were sure of unearthing evidence in favour of it, if it were a fact, after his surrender.

A somewhat dramatic account of the conversion of Nana is given by Holmes in his narration of the events that took place just before the mutiny broke out. "The mutineers had sent a deputation of their officers to sound the intentions of Nana. Introduced into his presence, the spokesman addressed him in these words: "Maharajah, a kingdom awaits you if you join our enterprise, but death if you side with our enemies". "What have I to do with the British?" replied the Nana, "I am altogether yours". The officers went on to ask him whether he would lead them to Delhi. He assented, and then, laying his hands upon the head of each, swore that he would observe his promise. The delegates returned to their comrades; and next morning the four regiments marched as far as Kullianpore, on the road to Delhi".17
THE SPREAD OF THE MUTINY

Holmes presumably based this account on Shepherd's later narrative. Dr. Sen, who refers to this incident more briefly, also cites Shepherd as his authority. As Shepherd was in Kanpur at the time, his narrative has carried weight with many. But there are certain circumstances which detract its value. In the first place, as noted above, the incident is not mentioned in Shepherd's account, dated August 29, 1857, i.e. almost immediately after the suppression of the mutiny at Kanpur. It is to be found only in his book published (first in 1862 and again in 1878 and 1886). Secondly, the whole paragraph containing the incident is put within inverted commas, showing that Shepherd quoted it from some other source whose identity he does not disclose. Thirdly, it is full of contradictions. It begins by saying that Nana, immediately after his arrival at Kanpur from Bithur, "began to tamper with the troops and succeeded in effectually corrupting the fidelity of the 2nd Cavalry and the 1st N. I.". As this is hardly consistent with the story of the deputation of the sepoys, it has been added that the Deputation was 'prompted', in other words 'stage managed', by Nana's brother and others, though the necessity of any such mock show in that critical moment is not quite evident. Nevertheless, after narrating the incident of the deputation, the writer of the para adds: "Thus it is evident that up to this time there was no understanding come to in regard to attacking General Wheeler, or where would have been the necessity for marching away from the station". The quotation ends here and Shepherd adds that "it was the golundazes of the Oudh battery who represented to Nana" the advantages likely to be derived from attacking the English in their entrenchments at Kanpur. Shepherd then resumes the quotation as follows: "A consultation was then held between the Nana and his advisers, in which Bala Rao and Azimulla took the lead. The folly of going to Delhi, where everyone of them was likely to lose his individual influence and power was discussed, and it was unanimously agreed that Nana was the proper person to assume the sovereignty in these provinces...". Shepherd then adds: "Accordingly the Nana proceeded to Kullianpore and told the mutineers he would double the amount of pay they received from the British Government if they would agree to stay and fight....". This also hardly fits in with the story of the Deputation which had already promised a kingdom to Nana.

Now, neither the story of Nana's tampering with the troops before the Mutiny nor that of the Deputation was known to Mowbray Thomson in 1859. As they do not occur in the first account of Shepherd, it is obvious that he himself neither knew nor heard of these incidents up to the end of August, 1857, but later got them...
from a secondary source, a written account, from which he quoted some passages. There is little doubt that the episode of the Deputation originated from the deposition of Kunhye Pershad (Kanai Prasad), a mahajan (trader) of Kanpur, recorded by Lieutenant-Colonel Williams before the end of March, 1859.

After referring to a secret meeting of Nana with some sepoys Kanai Prasad said: "Two or three days after this the sepoys mutinied. I also heard that some of the Native officers and troopers waited on the Nana with intimation that a kingdom was prepared for him, if he joined them with all his wealth, or death if he sided with the Europeans. The Nana replied that he was with them and had nothing to do with Europeans; he was then requested to lead the troops to Delhi, to which he assented...". Then the witness narrated how Nana assumed the leadership after taking an oath to that effect, was persuaded by Azimulla to give up the idea of going to Delhi, and "with Bala and Azimulla went to Kallianpur and got the troops to return to Kanpur". When asked about his source of information, the witness said he got all this information from Ramdeen, an attendant of Nana Saheb, by paying him Rs. 20, Rs. 10 each time for the information, which he collected because he feared for his life. But when asked 'what he had to fear from Nana', he merely said that he was afraid of a Risaldar of Nana, named Jwala Prasad, who bore a grudge against him and confiscated his property after the Mutiny.23

The nature of the information supplied by this witness about Nana's intrigue with the sepoys before their mutiny may be judged from the fact that Sheo Charan, who also deposed to it, does not refer to any of the sepoys who, according to Kanai Prasad, met Nana at a ghat on the Ganges. According to Sheo Charan, Tika Singh met Nana three or four days before the mutiny and told him: "We all, Hindus and Mahomedans, have united for our religions, and the whole Bengal army have become one in purpose—What do you say to it? The Nana replied, "I also am at the disposal of the army".24

The story recorded by Shepherd has been accepted, sometimes with unimportant variations, by many writers. But it cannot be regarded as an authentic story, as it was evidently based on gossips and hearsays, a good many of which, differing radically from one another, were given in deposition before Lt. Colonel Williams. Shepherd's version cannot therefore be given preference to the narrative of Tantia Topi.

Even many contemporary authorities refused to accept Shepherd's story as authentic and pointed out its inconsistency. Thus Sherer, the Magistrate of Kanpur, observes: "Nana was not clearly in league, previously, with the native soldiery, or it would not have..."
been necessary for him to pursue them down the road, and entreat them, with lavish promises, to return”. Thornhill. Officiating Commissioner, Allahabad Division, also endorsed the views of Sherer. He remarks: “Had any understanding existed between the Nana and the troops, there would have been no object in the march they made on the Delhi road. It was not until they had gone that the Nana seems to have finally determined on embarking on an enterprise in which he staked his life on the chance of gaining a throne as the founder of a new Maharatta dynasty”. Sherer and Thornhill recorded their views, respectively, in January and April, 1859.25

It may be observed that barring the brief statement of Nana and Tantia Topi’s more elaborate one, there is no other account which may reasonably be regarded as emanating from a person who was in a position to know the truth regarding Nana’s relations with the mutinous troops at Kanpur until he assumed their leadership on 6 June, 1857. Whether Nana or Tantia Topi told the whole truth may justly be doubted, but no one else, whose account has reached us, had any opportunity to know the truth. The historian is therefore forced to the conclusion that nothing can be definitely said beyond the fact that on June 5 Nana joined the mutinous troops who returned from Kalyanpur. Whether he yielded to threat or temptation, or was induced by both to place himself at the head of the mutinous troops, will, perhaps, never be known. It is not even certain whether he accompanied the troops to Kalyanpur and, if not, whether he went there in person to induce them to return, or left that task to his agents.

Sir Hugh Wheeler must have heaved a sigh of relief when he heard that the mutineers had proceeded towards Delhi, as he fully expected. But early in the morning of the sixth he received a letter from Nana himself warning him to expect an attack.26 Signs of the returning sepoys were visible from afar. For the sepoys were, as usual, busy plundering the citizens, burning their houses, and killing stray Europeans. After all this was finished, the sepoys turned their attention to the entrenchment where the British soldiers and civil population had taken shelter.

Even before the sepoys actually broke out into mutiny, General Hugh Wheeler had hastily constructed a place of refuge for the British community. It consisted of two one-storied barracks, made of brick, but one of them had only a thatched roof. These were surrounded by a shallow trench and a mud wall about four feet in height. This entrenchment constituted a defence of a very frail character, but nevertheless its construction and the removal of women and children into it on 21 May were irritating to the sepoys who could see in it a
clear evidence that their officers had no confidence in their loyalty. Into this miserable defence were now huddled up 900 souls, comprising about four hundred English fighting men, of whom more than seventy were invalids, and about 376 women and children; the rest were Indians including 20 sepoys, 44 regimental musicians and 50 servants. They had to defend themselves against three thousand armed sepoys well armed and supplied with all munitions of war.²⁷

But in spite of the disparity of numbers and the weakness of the defence, the defenders held out till June 25. Nothing is stranger in the whole history of the outbreak of 1857 than the ignominious failure of Kunwar Singh to take Boyle's house at Arrah and of Nana to overcome the flimsy defence at Kanpur, and these must ever redound to the eternal discredit of these two redoubtable heroes of the Mutiny.

The military operations at Kanpur may be briefly told. At first the sepoys merely bombarded the entrenchment, and day and night hurled a continuous shower of shot and shell, and bullets. Once, on June 12, they made an assault, but turned back after a few sepoys had been killed by the fire of the enemy. On June 23, they made another assault, but were "hurled back as before, in ignominious rout". On June 25, "a woman came into the entrenchment, with a letter from the Nana, offering a safe passage to Allahabad to every member of the garrison who had not been 'connected with the acts of Lord Dalhousie'. The offer was accepted and a regular treaty was signed on the 26th". It was provided that the entrenchment should be evacuated and boats with food supply would be provided by Nana for taking the besieged to Allahabad.²⁸ In pursuance of this agreement, on the morning of June 27, the besieged Englishmen got into forty boats kept ready for them at the Sati Chaura ghat. As soon as the last man had stepped into the boat, a bugle was heard and all the native boatmen jumped over and waded to the shore. Some Englishmen immediately fired upon them. Then the very sepoys who escorted the last batch of Englishmen to the ghat opened fire with their carbines. The fire was returned by the Englishmen and the sepoys retired. Shortly the troops and guns posted by the riverside came into action. One boat caught fire and the conflagration spread to the neighbouring boats, all of which had thatched roofs. Many, particularly the sick and the wounded, were burnt to death, while the rest, including some women with children in their arms, took to the river. Many of these were killed, and a number of them were made captives. A single boat escaped, but it was later seized, and only four of its occupants fled with their lives to tell the tale of this ghastly affair.²⁹ It was a terrible tragedy, and it has been suggested that
The whole thing was the result of a pre-arranged conspiracy. There is no satisfactory evidence in support of this charge save the fact that the soldiery had gone out to the riverside in force,—horse, foot and artillery. But this, by itself, cannot be regarded as conclusive evidence of a preconcerted conspiracy. On the other hand, it would appear from the testimony of one of the survivors, Mowbray Thomson, that it was the English who fired the first shot as the boatmen left the boats. Whether this provoked the sepoys to commit this cruel and inhuman massacre, which they undoubtedly did, cannot be determined now. But they had enough provocations already to urge them to the nefarious deed. News must have reached Kanpur of the equally inhuman cruelties, on a much larger scale, perpetrated by Neill in those very localities in U.P. to which the sepoys belonged. In Kanpur itself, the hands of the mutineers were guiltless of their officers' blood, whereas "every prisoner taken by the English was despatched without any formality". It is not unlikely, therefore, that the tragedy at Sati Chaura ghat was deliberately planned; but if so, no one knows by whom. It was said by some eye-witnesses that the murder was commenced at a signal given by Tantia Topi. Tantia, in his own statement, says: "I went and got ready forty boats, and having caused all the gentlemen, ladies, and children to get into the boats, I started them off to Allahabad... The sepoys jumped into the water and commenced a massacre of all the men, women, and children, and set the boats on fire." The signal, which Tantia Topi was seen to give, may be construed, according to his statement, as a signal to start the boats. On the other hand, several witnesses definitely stated that they heard Tantia to give orders for the massacre. But not much reliance should be placed upon these witnesses who were out to save their own necks or earn a reward. Such evidence would hardly be accepted by a criminal court as sufficient for conviction, but the Englishmen in those days were credulous enough to regard every sensational story as true, irrespective of the status of the informer, and howsoever incredible it might appear in normal times.

Nana was not present on the riverside. Though, as the leader of the sepoys, he must bear full responsibility for their action, there is nothing to indicate that he had deliberately plotted to murder the Englishmen. The whole tenor of his conduct goes against such an assumption. But whatever we might think of Nana's active participation in the massacre, and the measure of guilt justly attaching to him, his subsequent conduct cannot but be regarded as highly reprehensible. On the very day of the massacre a salute in honour of this event was fired, and Nana issued instructions to celebrate the
victory over the "white faces" with rejoicings and peals of artillery.

Henceforth Nana assumed the role of a conquering hero. On June 30, he was proclaimed Peshwa amid the usual pomp and ceremonies of olden times. He spent his time in his palace at Bithur with feasts and revels, and issued grandiloquent proclamations "from Painted Garden of the Peshwa". These contained despicable lies and vainglorious boasts which are no less amusing than contemptible. He also issued royal orders to sundry chiefs and officers and regaled them with tales of victory. They were ordered to proclaim by beat of drums in all cities and villages the glad tidings that "all the English at Poona and in Punna have been slain and sent to hell, and five thousand English who were at Delhi have been put to the sword by the royal troops".32

3. Jhansi

The mutiny rapidly spread to the south of the Yamunā river. The first to be affected were the sepoys at Jhansi. There were two forts at Jhansi, a small one in the Cantonment, and another outside it. On June 5, 1857, some sepoys peacefully took possession of the small fort under some pretext. On June 6, there was a mutiny of the whole force according to a pre-concerted plan, in which some persons, outside the army, also seem to have taken part. Some officers were killed or injured, and the rest of the Europeans took shelter in the other fort, also outside the town. On June 8, the mutineers promised personal security to all the Europeans provided they left the fort without taking any arms. But as soon as they came out of the fort, all of them—men, women, and children—were taken to a garden and massacred in cold blood. According to one account, 57 men, 12 women, and 23 children perished in this way, but another account sets the total number as 72. The mutineers proceeded to Delhi three days after this nefarious deed.

There is nothing to indicate that any leading part in this mutiny was taken by Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi, the widowed queen of Gangadhar Rao, the last ruler of Jhansi, who has been mentioned above as a victim of Dalhousie's Doctrine of Lapse.33 The Rani would have been more or less than a human being if she had not cherished strong sentiment against the British Government for setting aside the adoption made by her husband and annexing Jhansi.

"This very natural presumption of Rani’s feeling of antipathy towards the British has induced many persons to believe that the Rani had instigated the sepoys to mutiny, or at least actively helped the mutineers, by way of taking revenge against the British. There is
nothing to support this view. On the other hand, the Rani was no friend of the sepoys. She was forced by the mutineers to help them with money, guns and elephants. The Rani herself says that she was threatened by the sepoys that if she at all hesitated to comply with their requests, they would blow up her palace with guns; and she was, therefore, “obliged to consent to all their demands to pay large sums to save life and honour.”

The Rani’s statement that she acted under duress is also proved by independent evidence, including early official reports about the mutiny at Jhansi. It is further supported by Rani’s conduct and attitude after that mutiny. Immediately after the mutinous sepoys had left Jhansi for Delhi, she put herself in communication with the British authorities, sending a full report of the mutiny and condemning the conduct of the sepoys, particularly the massacre of the Europeans. The Commissioner of the Saugor Division, to whom she wrote as Jhansi lay in his jurisdiction, believed in her innocence and pro-British attitude. As all the British officials at Jhansi were killed, and the whole region became a scene of rapine and plunder, he appointed the Rani to rule the territory on behalf of the British till such time as they could re-establish a regular system of administration, and he issued a formal proclamation to that effect. The Rani accepted the position and carried on the administration of Jhansi in the name, or on behalf, of the British Government.

The Government of India, however, suspected her from the very beginning as an accomplice of the mutinous sepoys, both in respect of the mutiny and the massacre that followed. They accordingly issued instructions to collect evidence of her guilt. The Rani made repeated attempts to disabuse their minds, but failed. No heed was paid either to her protestations of innocence or to her unequivocal declaration of loyalty to the British. When she was at last convinced that the British were determined to bring her to trial for the massacre of the Europeans—but not till then—she decided to defend her honour by armed resistance to the British. She was faced by two alternatives, namely death by a hangman’s rope or a heroic death in the battlefield. She chose the more honourable course, with what consequence, it will be related later.34

4. The Panjâb

There were no serious troubles in the Panjâb, for as soon as the news of Mirat and Delhi reached Lahore, the authorities decided to disarm the sepoys. In most places the disarming took place smoothly. In Lahore 2500 sepoys, confronted by 600 European troops, laid down their arms without any protest. At Firozpur, one of the sepoys
regiments quietly gave up arms, but two hundred sepoys of the other mutinied. The rest left the station but were pursued. Some went to Patiala and were imprisoned there by its Sikh ruler; others were arrested by the villagers and taken to the authorities; and the remnant reached Delhi.

Preparations were made to disarm the regiments of sepoys at Jullundur, but in spite of the help rendered by the Raja of Kapurthala, the authorities had to change the date of arrangement twice for want of adequate European troops. The sepoys having got an inkling of this rose in arms and marched to Ludhiana. The Deputy Commissioner, helped by the Raja of Nābhā and with a small number of troops, failed to arrest their progress. On reaching Ludhiana the mutineers, “aided by the native garrison and the populace, attacked the houses of Government officials, released the prisoners, plundered the native traders, and finally marched to Delhi.” Ludhiana was an important strategic point commanding the Grand Trunk Road. But the sepoys made no attempt to occupy it. It is said that in their hurry to leave Jullundur they had taken blank instead of balled ammunition. But even the very brief presence of the sepoys at Ludhiana had the usual consequence. “Arson, murder, highway robbery, cattle-lifting and dacoity suddenly revived; and some of the offenders, when apprehended, naively accounted for their misconduct by confessing that they had believed the rule of the British to be over”. A punitive fine was imposed on the city and its population were disarmed.35

The sepoys at Kangra laid down their arms without any protest. The more difficult task of disarming two thousand sepoys at Multan with the help of 60 Europeans and loyal Indian troops was also smoothly accomplished. At Peshawar three thousand sepoys and five hundred sowars were disarmed without any difficulty, but a Company ran away under cover of night. They were hunted by the tribesmen, for prices were set on their heads, and many of them were blown away from the guns. An interesting episode occurred at Hoti Mardan. The British officers of the 55th N.I., stationed there, regarded the sepoys as thoroughly reliable, and were opposed to the idea of disarming them. When troops were sent from Peshawar for that purpose, the Commanding Officer, by way of protest, committed suicide. The 55th fled, but were remorselessly pursued. More than a hundred were killed, three to four hundred wounded, and about 120 were captured. The rest entered Swat. “Proclaiming themselves religious martyrs, they persuaded the king to take them into his service; and for a moment there seemed a danger that they might return with renewed strength to menace the Punjab. The virtual
THE SPREAD OF THE MUTINY

ruler of Swat was an aged priest, known as the Akhund. Had he espoused their cause, and, taking them with him, swept down upon the Peshawar valley, and preached a holy war against the infidels, he might have kindled the smouldering religious zeal of the population into such a flame as would have, perhaps, consumed the fabric of British power. Fortunately, instead of doing this, he expelled them from the country, only granting them guides to conduct them across the Indus. Then, in their misery, they resolved to throw themselves upon the mercy of the Maharaja of Kashmir. But at the instigation of the Deputy Commissioner, the Zamindars and clansmen occupied all the passes and the mutineers were forced to enter Kohistan where, in course of traversing the almost trackless rugged hills, many were drowned, and many stoned or slain in battle by the mountaineers whom the Deputy Commissioner hounded on against them. The remnants surrendered, and most of them were either hanged or blown away from guns.

Movable columns disarmed the sepoys at several cantonments, and there was no resistance except in a few places. At Jhelum the sepoys resisted, but were either killed or captured. The Raja of Kashmir arrested those who fled to Kashmir and handed them over to the British. Stray fugitives were captured by the villagers. The sepoys at Sialkot also mutinied, killed a few, and then left for Hoshiarpur. They were, however, pursued and destroyed. With a few minor exceptions, noted above, the sepoys surrendered their arms without any protest; some were even obliging enough to carry their arms to the bungalow of the commander.

Thus the mutiny in the Panjāb had some distinctive features. In the few cases where it occurred, it was, without exception, the result of attempt to disarm the sepoys. Secondly, the sepoys in the Panjāb nowhere succeeded in establishing their authority like their confreres in Avadh and Rohilkhand. Thirdly, very severe measures were taken against sepoys who were not disloyal or hostile, but whose only offence was to make an attempt to save themselves from the disgrace of being disarmed by flight.

But even some of the disarmed sepoys met with a tragic end. The disarmed 26th N.I. at Mian-Mir fled from the camp in a body on July 30, and being intercepted by two officers, killed them. How they were ultimately overtaken by Mr. Cooper, and he took a terrible, almost barbarous, vengeance on them, will be related in Chapter XIX.

With the exception of a small garrison in Khelat-i-Ghilzai, the sepoys throughout the Panjāb were disarmed, in spite of their past record, merely on suspicion. But the authorities in the Panjāb had
something more to their credit. They raised levies of turbulent frontier Pathans. "It was a master stroke of policy to enlist these turbulent people and remove them from their native districts where they might prove a constant source of worry and anxiety, and to take them far beyond the five rivers where their military instincts and greed for plunder would have the fullest play. The sepoys had gone to Lahore, Multan, Peshawar and Bannu as the instrument of the British imperial policy. The table was now turned on them, and the Panjabi Muslim and the Sikh, the tribesmen of Kohat and the Yusufzai country were united against the Hindustanis, Muslims and non-Muslims, by the common hatred they bore against them".  

5. Other Parts of India

The news of the mutiny at Jhansi led to that of the sepoys at Nowgong, who formed detachments of the Jhansi regiment, on June 10. On June 14, the sepoys in the Gwalior Contingent, recruited from Avadh, mutinied, and killed as many Europeans as they could, but allowed the women to go unharmed. For a long time this formidable body of well-equipped sepoys, though mutinous, had remained idle at Gwalior in the vain hope of being led by Sindhia against the British, though they might have played a dominant, if not decisive, part in the mutiny of Central India, Delhi, Agra or Kanpur. When they at last actually mutinied, it was too late for them to play any effective part.

At Indore the troops belonging to Holkar mutinied on July 1, and three hundred Bhils and two Companies of the Bhopal Cavalry, which formed part of the British garrison, were brought to oppose them. But ere long they cast in their lot with the mutineers. In the words of Ball, "by one impulse the whole of the troops that had assisted in the defence...deserted to the mutineers, threatening at the same time to shoot the officers if they ventured to interfere with them." Some Europeans were murdered, treasury was looted, and public property destroyed. The mutiny at Indore was followed by that at Mhow. Mutiny also broke out in several places in the Sagar and Narmada territories towards the end of June.

At Dhar, the Arab and Afghan mercenaries in the service of the Raja rose against the British. A number of Sindhia's troops had seized Mandasor and were shortly joined by a part of the mutinous cavalry of the Gwalior Contingent and other insurgent hordes, including Afghan and Mekrani Muslims. The leader of this motley body was Shahzada Firuz Shah, a direct descendant of the Mughul Emperors of Delhi, who had already declared a jihad against the British. He seized the town of Mandasor and formally installed him-
self as king. He "addressed circular letters to the neighbouring princes of Pratabgarh, Jawra, Sitamau, Ratlam, and the Chief of Salumbar, calling upon them to acknowledge the new power, but none responded except Abdul Sattar Khan, a scion of the ruling house of Jawra." By September the number of his followers increased to about eighteen thousand, and he sent troops against Nimach in November. They defeated a contingent force at Jiran and laid siege to the fort, but had soon to face the British troops under Henry Marion Durand, the Agent of the Governor-General in Central India, who had already suppressed the mutiny at Dhar. Firuz Shah's troops were defeated at Garoria and he himself fled from Mandasor which was retaken by the British. But his career did not end here and he occasionally emerged as a leader of the mutiny at far distant places, as will be described later.

Rājasthān, though generally unaffected, had its share, and the troops at the two important military stations, namely, Nasirabad and Nimach, mutinied respectively on May 28 and June 3. They followed the usual pattern and, after having plundered the cantonment and burnt many bungalows, proceeded towards Delhi. The people remained quiet, and the Rājput chiefs, particularly the Raja of Jodhpur, helped the British. The only exception was Thakur Kusal Singh, the Chief of Ahua or Awah, who had some specific grievances against the British. He joined the mutineers and defeated not only the troops of Jodhpur but also a British force under Captain Mason. But in spite of heroic resistance he ultimately surrendered. There was also a mutiny at Kotah where the rebel troops took possession of the city and kept the Maharaja a prisoner. But after six months they were defeated by the British forces.

Bengal was practically unaffected by the Mutiny with the exception of two sporadic outbursts at Dacca and Chittagong. On November 18, the 34th N.I. at Chittagong mutinied and followed the usual procedure. They found no sympathy among the people and, being defeated by the loyal native regiment, marched northwards through Sylhet and Cāchār. Being defeated, they turned towards the east and were joined by some discontented chiefs of Manipur living in Cāchār. But they could not enter Manipur, whose ruler, at the request of the British, sent his troops and captured a number of them. These were handed over to the British and the rest betook themselves to the neighbouring hills and jungles. On November 22, the troops at Dacca refused to be disarmed and mutinied, but being defeated, fled towards Jalpaiguri. There were some desultory outbreaks in the Bhagalpur Division, and two cavalry detachments at Madariganj
and Jalpaiguri mutinied. But these as well as the mutineers from Dacca were easily dispersed and forced to seek refuge in Nepal.

In Bihar, the most important military station was Danapur (Dinapore), near Patna, which was an important strategic position commanding the land and river-routes from Calcutta to Upper India. The sepoys were loyal during the month of June and the better part of July. Nevertheless, suspicion grew and William Tayler, the Magistrate of Patna, urged upon the Government that the sepoys should be disarmed at once. The Government left the final decision to the Commanding Officer at Danapur who, after some hesitation, followed a via media. Without inflicting upon the sepoys the dishonour of laying down their arms, he decided merely to take away their percussion caps, and thereby render their fire-arms harmless. In the morning the European troops were drawn up and the caps were carted away from the magazine past the indignant sepoys. In the afternoon, when the European troops were busy eating their dinners, another parade was held and the sepoys were asked to surrender the contents of the cap cases which they carried on their persons. "They answered the demand by firing on the officers". The Commanding Officer was away on a steamer in the river to prevent the sepoys from crossing the river, and the other officers hesitated to take any decisive action. So the mutineers repossessed themselves of the caps that had been taken from the magazine and marched towards the Son river. As the Son was swollen and difficult to cross, they could have been easily overtaken. But the folly of Mirat was repeated, and the sepoys were not pursued. They safely reached Arrah where Kunwar Singh, a Rājput Zamindar, joined them and converted the mutiny into a general revolt which will be described in the next chapter.

Mutiny also broke out in several other places in Bihar. In August some sepoys mutinied, came to Noada, destroyed the public buildings (September 8), and then marched towards Gaya. Rattray, with a small force of Sikhs and Europeans, advanced from Gaya to meet them, but the sepoys inflicted heavy loss upon this force and entered Gaya. There they liberated the prisoners and attacked the fortified house where the European residents had taken refuge, but failed to take it. The sepoys also mutinied at Deogarh, but were dispersed after a severe contest. The Ramgarh battalions mutinied at Hazaribagh, and their comrades at Sambalpur followed their example.

The mutinous spirit was not altogether lacking in the Deccan, but there was no actual outbreak of mutiny except at Kolhapur. There the sepoys mutinied on July 31, 1857, and after plundering the treasury marched towards the town. As the gates were closed,
THE SPREAD OF THE MUTINY

most of them returned to their lines, while a few, about forty in number, entrenched themselves into a small outwork adjoining the town. Reinforcement of European troops having arrived from Bombay, the sepoys in the outwork were overpowered. On the arrival of further reinforcements, the native regiment was disarmed.

Attempts at mutiny failed at Ahmadabad in Gujarat and Hyderabad in Sindh. A mutiny actually broke out at Karachi, but was easily put down.

1. See, p. 79.
2. Sen, 128, where other details of Nana's life are given.
5. The full text of Tantia's statement is given in Malleson, III, 514 ff., in English translation. The statement was recorded in Mushairi on April 10, 1859, in the presence of Major Meade, Commanding Field Force. Asked by Meade Tantia said: "I have, of my own free will, caused this statement to be written; and no one has forced me to do so, or held out hope or compromise of any sort to induce me to do so." Recently, the authenticity of the statement has been challenged on grounds which are merely a string of queries containing vague insinuations to which little value attaches so long as clear charges with evidence to support them are not forthcoming (Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh, I, xvi).

For a short summary of Tantia's statement, cf. Majumdar, pp. 158-63, 89-90. Tantia's statement about the help rendered by Nana to Hillerston, as quoted in the text, is fully supported by Nana himself in his petition which will be referred to later.
7. This is the correct date. Mowbray Thomson says: "On the night of the 6th of June the 2nd cavalry broke out" (p. 39). This must be due to oversight or loss of memory.
12. Quoted in Sen, 163. Mowbray Thomson (pp. 247-8) relates how even highly placed Indian officials blackmailed wealthy persons by forging letters in order to implicate them in the mutiny.
22. Shepherd, 30.
24. Ibid, cxxvi.
26. Holmes, 228. Kaye gives the date as 7 June (Vol. II, 313). The object of writing this letter is not apparent (cf. Sen, 138-9). To those who are not obsessed with the idea of Nana's treachery from the very beginning, the letter may justly appear to be the last friendly act of Nana towards the British, by way of previous warning of the changed role he would be henceforth forced to play, so far as his relation with the British was concerned.
27. Thomson, 30.
29. This is based on the account of Mowbray Thomson, one of these four survivors.
32. Ibid, 670.
33. See pp. 85 ff.
34. The evidences on which this account is based are discussed fully in Majumdar, 137-55. For the documents referred to, cf. BPP, LXXVI, Part I, 46, 49 ff.
35. The account, including quotations, is based on Holmes, 330-32.
37. Sen, 334.
38. Sen, 311, 318.