

The Great Indian Revolt of 1857

Flames, Fire and Freedom



K.B. Srivastava

Foreword by Dr. B.M. Sankhdher

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DR. K.B. SRIVASTAVA

Foreword

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To My Parents
and
Wife Smt. GEETA

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Foreword

The Revolt of 1857 constitutes a watershed not merely in the history of India and England but also in the annals of the entire human race. Never in the history of the world, perhaps, such a fierce conflagration or eruption of horrid volcano occurred till that time. This heroic uprising was indeed unprecedented and unparalleled. It was no less significant than the glorious American War of Independence, the great Industrial Revolution of England and the most inspiring French Revolution of 1789. Astonishingly the Uprising of 1857, in which countless revolutionaries sacrificed their lives had unbreakable links far and wide. Besides Barrakpore, Meerut, Delhi, Kanpur, Lucknow, Bhopal, Gwalior, Jhansi, Shahjahanpur, Bareilly, Moradabad, Sambhal, Kota, Dharwar, Poona, Udaipur, Patiala, Hissar, Allahabad, Satara, Agra, Banaras, Gonda, Gorakhpur, Hyderabad, Mysore, Calcutta, Ajmer, Nasirabad, Neemuch, Faizabad, Rewari, Jhajhar and Rewa, subtle, secret, sophisticated intimate links existed among the revolutionaries in Rangoon, Lahore and Kathmandu.

Bahadurshah Zafar, Zinat Mahal, Mirza Mughal, Mirza Sultan, Maharani Lashmibai, Nana Saheb, Azimullah Khan, Begum Hazrat Mahal, Kunwar Singh, Tantya Tope, Bhaskar Rao Nurgundkar, Raja Narpat Singh, Ganga Singh, Raja Umrao Singh, Raja Banimadhav Singh, Firoz Shah, Bakht Khan, Yusuf Khan, Ranjit Singh, Mohtiman Prasad and Birjis Qadar-all the revolutionaries were closely connected with each other through

a remarkable secret communication network. It was simply unbelievable that lacs and lacs of people were receiving inspiring messages and proclamations of the leaders of the upheaval, effortlessly, in a fast manner.

The Rebellion of 1857 was creating *flames* and *fire* almost everywhere and it was demonstrating clearly *India's* great love for *Freedom*.

The Revolt of 1857 was a tremendous success. From Oudh alone a petition signed by 80,000 people was sent to Victoria Queen of England in 1856 requesting her to check the unbridled aggression, violence, and maladministration of the East India Company in India but it to unfortunate the Queen did practically nothing to check the flow of blood in this country.

The East India Company, a mercantile concern, fell like a castle of sand.

It was realized by the British Parliament that the responsibility of administering a great country like India, with its great glorious Vedic tradition and excellent culture, could never be entrusted to a trading firm, with its ignorant, corrupt, and narrow-minded officials such as Robert Clive, who cut his own throat with a sharp knife, because the Parliament, Press and the People in English were not prepared to pardon him for his frauds, bribes and acts of violence; Warren Hastings, who had to be impeached by the Parliament in England, for hanging Maharaja Nand Kumar, and the maltreatment of the Begums of Oudh; Viscount Wellesley, who had to be recalled because of his absurd expansionist policies; Lord Auckland, who was responsible for the ghastly massacre of 16,000 British soldiers in Afghanistan; Lord Hardinge, who like a petty shopkeeper, sold out Kashmir for a few lacs of rupees and James Dalhousie, who in a wild, dictatorial manner wanted to annex every independent Indian state under some pretext or the other, including the ridiculous and insensible policy of doctrine of lapse.

For the Co's blunders, England had to pay a heavy price. The Queen of England had to submit an unconditional apology to the people of India. England had to suffer the loss of some of the finest Britons—James Nicholson, Sir H.M. Wheeler, John Wedderburn, Rev. Henry Polehampton, James Neill, Sergeant Major Middleton, Captain Cowan, Lt. Dorin, Major James,

Brigadier Handscomb, Lt. Grant, Lt. Colonel Birch, Lt. Smalley, Dr. Hill, Mrs. Christian and her Husband, Mrs. Thombrille and her husband, Cunliffe, Clarke, Ricketts, Jordon, Captain C.D. Burton, Dr. Saviell, Cantear, Charles Manson Captain C.W. Russell, W.H. Napier, Captain F. Andrews, Lt. J.N. Bradshaw, Lt. Col. R.A. Yule, Lt. J.R.S. Fitzgerald, Capt. E. Knox, Lt. S. Jackson and countless other men, women and children—An English poet in the service of the East India Company, had confessed in 1834 :

“We live among them like a walking blight,
Our very name the watchword of affright,
No sympathy, no pity, no remorse,
Our end is profit and our means are force.”

The poet felt that such inhuman attitude of the British was dangerous and pregnant with horrible consequences :

“And ever you know what deluge sweeps the ground,
The roaming waves have compassed you around,
I can but warn you of the fearful flood,
Oh! check it Britain, for its waves are blood.”

The poet felt in 1834 that the time had come when the people of India would revolt against the British maladministration and corruption. They would ‘rise to life and light’ and humble the British power:

Year after year augments the dreadful sum,
Of rankling anguish ominously dumb;
There needs but one superior to the rest,
To rule the chords that are in every breast;
There needs some surpassing act of wrong,
To break the patience that has bent so long;
There needs but some short sudden burst of ire,
May chance to set the general thought on fire;
There needs but some fair prospect of relief,
Enough to seize the general belief;
Some holy juggle, some absurd caprice,
To raise one common struggle for release.

And like a sleeper starting from his dream,
Who sees the phantoms vanish at his scream,
The nation shall rise to life and light,
And scarcely find a foe to brave its might.

The poet further remarked :

My country 'tis the crisis of thy doom,
Thy morn of brightness or thy eve of gloom;
The leaf of fortune quivers in the gale,
Oh! seize it e'er the darker side prevail,
'Tis thine to see the noble fabric fall,
Or grid its weakness with an iron wall.

In this work, an attempt has been made to understand the real nature of the Revolt of 1857.

The study is, indeed, stimulating and scholarly.

Delhi

DR. B.M. SANKHDHER

Preface

The Revolt of 1857 had its distinctive features due to its widespread character in Oudh. So far the works that have been published on this subject have not been able to explain clearly the causes and the nature of this peculiar characteristic of the Revolt in Oudh. Failure to do this is more due to the fact that the published writings on this fascinating Uprising of 1857 had emphasised annexation as the sole major cause for the Revolt in Oudh. Hence, in this work an attempt has been made to analyse and examine critically the factors which made the Revolt so widespread and powerful in Oudh. Though almost all the historians of the Uprising of 1857 are surprised at this dimension of the Revolt yet they have not answered the question in any detail. However, in this work an attempt has been made to show as to how the post-annexation British policies in Oudh created tremendous social and economic discontent among various sections of the people, which accounted for the widespread nature of Revolt. Hence, the post-annexation British policies have also been examined and scrutinized.

The research works so far published on the Revolt of 1857 in Oudh are mostly narratives or written on the basis of self-experience e.g., Martin Richards Gubbin's "An Account of the Mutinies in Oudh and Seige of the Lucknow Residency;" George Hutchinson's "Narratives of the Mutinies in Oudh" etc., but these works are neither critical nor analytical. The narratives have failed to present a complete or comprehensive portrait of the events which occurred during the Revolt. Some of the accounts

are biographical and hence they are confined to the personal experience of the authors. As such, events which took place beyond the realm of their personal knowledge have been left untouched and the descriptions suffer from a tendency to overemphasise personal experiences. Even those who painted the picture on a wider canvas have also not taken into account the district court records available in the courts of the different districts of Oudh, records of the Lucknow Chief Commissioner's Office and some of the records of the National Archives of India, New Delhi. As such, even the narrative part of the Revolt in Oudh is also not complete. In this work an attempt has been made to present a complete and well connected account of the events in Oudh which also provides fresh materials for analysing the causes of the widespread nature of the Revolt.

Oudh, the term media of Hindustan, where the features of scenery, Climate and National Character, common to the lands both east and west of it are concentrated. This land of beautiful scenery, excellent climate and fertile soil came under the *de-facto* sovereign rule of Mohammed Ameen, better known as Saadat Ali, when he took advantage of the decaying power of the later Mughals to establish his rule over this region. Invasion of Nadir Shah on Delhi proved a blessing in disguise for him. Saadat Ali died on March 19, 1751. After the death of Saadat Ali, acute rivalry and struggle for power among his close relations took place for succession in which Safdar Jang, his son-in-law, emerged victorious. On his death on October 5, 1751, Safdar Jang was succeeded by Shuja-ud-Dowlah.

During the period of Shuja-ud-Dowlah, the rising British power came in close contact with the Nawabs of Oudh, when Shuja-ud-Dowlah alongwith Mughal Emperor Shah Alam and Mir Kasim, the Nawabs of Bengal were defeated by Sir Hector Munro in the battle of Buxar in 1764. This defeat compelled him to sign the Treaty of Allahabad with the British, on August 16, 1765, by which, the East India Company acquired the privilege of free trade in Oudh. With this commenced the period of commercial exploitation of Oudh and the financial exploitation of the Nawabs by the Company.

When Warren Hastings became the Governor, he decided to make Oudh a buffer state between the British possessions of

Bengal and the growing menace of the Maratha invasions on Bihar and Bengal. This factor along with the greed for money from the rich Nawabs of Oudh made Warren Hastings and his successors to maintain friendly relations with the Nawabs of Oudh but at the same time to keep on pressing for more and more money. These factors were responsible for the tragedy of Rohilla War and the infamous Begum of Oudh's episode during the Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings.

Under the great imperialist Wellesley, Nawab Saadat Ali of Oudh was made to sign the treaty of 1801, by which the Nawab of Oudh had to cede to the British some lands in Doab, yielding an annual revenue of Rupees 1,35,23,474, 8 annas and 3 paise. The defence of Oudh was also taken over by the British, and by Article VI of the treaty, the British got the right to interfere in the domestic administration of Oudh. Since then this particular clause was utilised by the British for constant interference in the affairs of Oudh to beg more and more money and the height of their ill-treatment to Oudh was reached when they used this very article as a ground for annexation of Oudh in 1856 which was the major political factor for the outbreak of revolt there.

At the time of annexation the agricultural set-up of Oudh was composed of the following classes namely Talookdars, Zamindars, Independent Coparcenary communities, Sub-settled Coparcenary communities, holders of Sier, Daswant etc. holders of occupancy rights, tenants at will and Day Labourers. The post-annexation British policy in Oudh affected adversely many of these classes directly or indirectly. An attempt has been made as to how these policies contributed for the bringing up of the uprising and also for its widespread nature in Oudh.

Chapter 1 shows the geographical location of Oudh, its agricultural set-up and how the *de-facto* rule of Saadat Ali was established there. It deals with the Anglo-Oudh relations upto the period of Wajid Ali Shah. In this chapter an attempt has also been made to show the unique character of Anglo-Oudh relations by analysing constant British interference in the internal and external affairs of Oudh. This chapter is based on the records of Foreign Secret, and Foreign Political Department.

Chapter 2 covers the political background for the Revolt in Oudh. Annexation of Oudh was the major political cause of the

uprising. British relations with Wajid Ali provided an opportunity for the annexation of Oudh in 1856. In this chapter an effort has been made to analyse and explain the impact of annexation of Oudh and to show it as the major political factor for it. This chapter is based on the records of the Foreign Political and Foreign Secret Departments.

Chapter 3 is an attempt to bring out the social and economic impact of annexation and also of the post-annexation British Policies in Oudh. An effort has also been made to explain as how these factors affected not only the life of various classes of the people of Lucknow but also of the sections of people living outside Lucknow, more particularly the Talookdars, Zamindars, etc. This chapter is based on the records of the Abstract of the Proceedings of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh in the Political Department, Oudh Abstract Proceedings (Financial), Oudh Abstract Proceedings (Revenue), Home and Foreign Department records and Oudh Papers.

The theme of Chapter 4 is Lucknow in turmoil. This chapter is an attempt to narrate and analyse the main events which took place in Lucknow and also the factors responsible for them. As Lucknow was the capital of Oudh, fierce fighting took place at many points e.g., Residency, Alam Bagh, Char Bagh, Iron Bridge, Macchi Bhawan, Chinhut, etc. This chapter is based on the records of Foreign Political Department, Foreign Secret Department and Military Department records.

In Chapter 5 an effort has been made to provide a complete and vivid picture of the events of the other divisions of Oudh like Bahraich, Faizabad and Khairabad. Fierce battles were fought in all these divisions and particularly at Mullaon and Muhumdi in Khairabad division, Sultanpur, and Salone of Faizabad division and Bairomghat and Secrora of Bahraich division. This chapter is based on the records of the Foreign Political Department, Foreign Secret and Military Department and some published materials.

Chapter 6 deals with the hectic efforts by the revolutionaries and the ultimate result. In this chapter an effort has been made to give a complete account of the activities of the revolutionaries. The causes of the downfall of the revolutionaries have also been discussed. This chapter is based on the records of the Lucknow

Secretariat Record Room, U.P. State Archives and National Archives of India.

Chapter 7 provides a biographical data of the important leaders and commoners associated with the revolt in Oudh. Many new persons and their activities have been brought into limelight in this chapter. This chapter is based on the records of Lucknow Secretariat records and the records of Foreign and Political Departments.

Chapter 8 contains my conclusions drawn on the basis of events, their causes and the widespread nature of the revolt.

To make this book as comprehensive and critical as possible, the writer has consulted the following sources:

- (1) Records of Foreign Secret Department, Foreign Political Department, Home Department and Military Department preserved in the National Archives of India, helped in constructing a chronological account of the British policy towards Oudh and a complete account of the events in Oudh.
- (2) Records of Lucknow Secretariat helped in giving a connected account of the activities of the Revolutionaries.
- (3) Oriental Records, preserved in the National Archives of India, helped in analysing the views of the King.
- (4) *Dalhousie Papers* acquired by the National Archives of India from England proved extremely unvaluable in analysing the views of Lord Dalhousie towards the King of Oudh.
- (5) Letters from Nana Saheb to French Government—acquired by National Archives of India from France, proved very useful in discussing the economic causes and the nature of the Revolt in Oudh.
- (6) Amongst the published original source material, Selections from the letters, despatches and other state papers preserved in the Military Department of the Government of India, 1857-58, edited by George William Forrest, Oudh papers, Parliamentary Papers, etc. have been of great help to the writer. Lt. C.H. Mecham's *Sketches and Incidents of the Seige of Lucknow and Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh, Volume II*, have also

helped the writer for these chapters. In addition to these materials, some other published. J.A.B. Palmer's "The Mutiny outbreak at Meerut," Metcalfe's "The Aftermath of Revolt," A.L. Srivastava's "First Two Nawabs of Oudh" also proved very helpful. Throughout the course of this study, the author has tried to remain objective and has not allowed any pre-conceived notions to supervene his analysis. In addition to all these materials, further papers relating to the Mutinies in the East Indies, presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, proved very helpful in discussing the views of the British individuals in respect of the Revolt of 1857.

The author expresses his deep gratitude to Dr. K.N. Sinha, Head, Department of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in History, University of Jabalpur, who has infused into him the desire to carry on research on the present subject. Without his inspiration and constant guidance at each step of the present work, this could not have been prepared and completed. In spite of his heavy engagements, he always extended his guidance and helped the author whenever and wherever he approached him.

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The last but not the least, the author extends his thanks to the members of the staff of the National Archives of India, New Delhi, Uttar Pradesh State Archives, Lucknow Secretariat Office and National Library, Calcutta for all the help ungrudgingly extended by them to him.

DR. K.B. SRIVASTAVA

1

Indo-British Relations Upto 1857

Revolt of 1857 in Oudh is an important and fascinating facet of the Great Uprising of 1857 against the British rule in India. The Revolt in Oudh was the product of the annexation of this territory by the British in 1856 as well as of the post-annexation British policies in that state. On the eve of its annexation, Oudh extended between the extreme latitudes of 25°34' and 29°6' north, and longitudes of 79°45' and 80°11' East.¹ The Ganges and the Himalayas formed its natural frontiers separating from other neighbouring Governments. Nepal marched with it all along the north, with a frontier for the first sixty miles to the east, running along the foot of the lowest range of the Himalayas, and from that point advanced for some distance into the sub-Himalayan Tarai. To the east and west it was enclosed by the older acquired districts of the North-West Provinces by the Company with Jaunpur, Basti and Azamgarh on one side and Shahjahanpur, Farrukhabad and Kanpur on the other.²

Oudh was the terra media of Hindustan, where the features of scenery, climate and National Character common to the lands both east and west of it were found concentrated. The greater part

of the country was under wide cultivation. The scenery of Tarai areas was quite unique. The entire area was covered by forest; small rivulets, springs, etc., while the other areas of Oudh were rich in small plants, hedges, mango-groves, etc.

This land of beautiful scenery, excellent climate and fertile soil, came under the *de facto* sovereignty of Mohammed Ameen, better known as Saadat Ali Khan, in the year 1738. He was the foremost among the Mughal Governors who raised the banner of revolt against the decaying power of Delhi. The invasion of Nadir Shah on Delhi proved a blessing in disguise for this architect of the independence of Oudh. During this attack of Nadir Shah, Saadat Ali Khan was summoned to Delhi to assist the Mughal Emperor but he betrayed the Emperor and took refuge in the camp of Nadir Shah. Saadat Ali Khan also persuaded the *Nazim* to desert their common suzerain and to help the invader. Saadat Ali Khan, then, retired to Faizabad where he proclaimed his independence. He was, however, taught a lesson by Nadir Shah for his treachery. After the capture of Delhi, Nadir Shah called Nazim and Saadat Ali Khan and exclaimed, "But I will take revenge on you with all my wrath, which is the instrument of the vengeance of God."³ He then spat upon their beards, and dismissed them with all possible ignominy.⁴ After this insult Saadat Ali Khan swallowed poison and died,⁵ but according to Dr. A.L. Srivastava, he was ailing for some period and died on March 1719 and was buried outside Shahjahanabad.⁶

After the death of Saadat Ali Khan, there was a dispute for succession to the Governorship of Oudh. Sher Jang and Abulmansur, later known as Safdar Jang, who was closely related to Saadat Ali Khan, were in the field of the battle of succession.⁷ "Both applied for the help of Nadir Shah for getting the throne of Oudh. Safdar Jang was married to Saadat Ali Khan's daughter and was being backed by the Hindu Vakeel of the late Viceroys with an offer of a Nuzzur of two million sterling, he was, of course, invested with the Government."⁸ Ultimately Abulmansur succeeded and soon after the departure of Nadir Shah the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah conferred on him the title of Safdar Jang (Lion of Battle).⁹ Safdar Jang ruled comfortably upto 1754 and died on October 5, 1754. Safdar Jang was a very able administrator and adorned Oudh with fine buildings.

Safdar Jang was succeeded by Shuja-ud-Dowlah in 1754, "who is described as the infamous son of a still more infamous Persian pedlar, and who enjoys the extensive province of Oudh, as a reward for a service of uncommon villainies."¹⁰ Actually it was Shuja-ud-Dowlah who could not save Oudh from the clutches of the Britishers in spite of his best efforts. His attitude towards the English is evident from a letter written by Raja Ram Narayan of Patna to him in which the Raja had requested him for help against the British.¹¹ Shuja-ud-Dowlah was, in fact, anxious to help the Raja. This fact may be supported by the Battle of Buxar in which Shuja-ud-Dowlah joined the allied armies and had direct confrontation with the British. But he had no control over the circumstances and Oudh lost its independence during the time of Shuja-ud-Dowlah. A.F.M. Abdul Ali's remark about the character of Shuja-ud-Dowlah is very interesting, he says, "Shuja-ud-Dowlah in his own temper was slothful, negligent and careless, but so valorous that, with that single quality of his, he found means to contain the zamindars and the other refractory people."¹² Franklin describes the Wazir as "an excellent Magistrate, a lover of justice, and anxiously desirous of the prosperity."¹³ Still stronger is the praise bestowed by Jonathan Scott. He says, "as a prince he was, wise and true, dignified in character, as a private man, affable, human and generous. . . . Sincerely beloved by his own subjects, even sons of Hafiz Rahmat wept at his death."¹⁴ But it was an irony of fate that in spite of these qualities the new born state of Oudh soon fell a victim to the British during Shuja-ud-Dowlah's regime.

The Battle of Buxar in 1764 gave a new turn to the course of events. The defeat of the joint army of the Nawabs of Bengal and Oudh, at the hands of Major Munro paved the way for British interference in Oudh. After the defeat, Shuja-ud-Dowlah fled to Bareilly, where he managed to win the sympathy of Pathans, Afghans and the Marathas. With the help of these, he again challenged the Britishers but once again the luck did not favour him and was defeated by General J. Carnac in 1765 near Jangmau. After this defeat he fled to Farrukhabad.¹⁵

Here, on the advice of Ahmad Khan Bangash, the Nawab of Farrukhabad, Shuja-ud-Dowlah wrote a letter to General Carnac in 1765, in which he expressed his sincere desire for friendship.¹⁶ In reply General Carnac also extended hand to friendship.¹⁷

Hence, Shuja-ud-Dowlah visited the camp of General Carnac on May 27, 1765 and was given a warm reception.¹⁸ Seeing the Nawab in a miserable condition, the British took advantage of the situation and proposed to conclude a treaty. As Shuja-ud-Dowlah was not in a position to reject the offer, the Treaty of Allahabad was signed on August 16, 1765.

According to this Treaty, the districts of Kora and Allahabad, were given to the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam II, to meet his expenses.¹⁹ The East India Company also acquired the privilege of free trade in Oudh. Shuja-ud-Dowlah was required to pay Rs. 50 lacs as war indemnity. Further, there was provision for sincere friendship and mutual assistance in case of invasion on either party.²⁰ By this treaty Oudh not only lost the districts of Kora and Allahabad, but by giving free hand in the trade, Shuja-ud-Dowlah had almost bartered away the financial resources of Oudh to the Britishers.

The impact of this treaty was soon visible on the economy of Oudh. It very much crippled its trade and commerce. In this way the Britishers penetrated into the land of Oudh so deep that in the end, they swallowed up that country. Since Shuja-ud-Dowlah was at the mercy of the Britishers, they tried to extract as much money as they could. Actually it is very difficult to justify the attitude of the Britishers because after the surrender, Shuja-ud-Dowlah was being robbed by them.

In the year 1773 another treaty with the Nawab of Oudh was concluded. According to this treaty, the districts of Kora and Allahabad were restored to the Nawab on payment of Rs. 50 lacs. The expenses on the Company's forces were fixed at Rs. 21,000.²¹ In this way the Britishers were successful in extracting more money from the Nawab. The last occasion for extracting money during the period of Shuja-ud-Dowlah came, when the Nawab asked for help to Britishers against Rohillas for realising Rs. 40 lacs. The Rohilla Chief had promised the Nawab of Oudh to pay Rs. 40 lacs for protection against the Marathas.²² But the Marathas never attacked Rohillas so there was no occasion for help. But Shuja-ud-Dowlah insisted on the payment of Rs. 40 lacs. The Rohilla chief failed to pay Rs. 40 lacs.²³ Shuja-ud-Dowlah asked the help from Warren Hastings for realising this amount. The Governor-General visualised a very good opportunity to extract some more money from the Nawab. He sent

English forces against the Rohillas, under the command of Col. A. Champion. Comprehensive instructions were issued to Col. Champion relating the conduct of war.²⁴ Ultimately, Champion defeated Rohilla Chief Hafiz at Katra²⁵ and he was beheaded by British forces. Col. Champion fought bravely and won the battle.²⁶

After the death of the Rohilla chief there was none to resist. The Nawab as well as the Britishers both were benefitted at the cost of Rohillas. There was a strong opposition from the members of the Governor-General's Council. Francis was critical of Warren Hastings and he condemned the Governor-General for this heinous act.²⁷ Whatsoever may be the justification of the British intervention in Rohilla affairs, it is very obvious that only due to monetary gains the British took keen interest and fought a battle on behalf of Shuja-ud-Dowlah. The Rohilla policy of Warren Hastings was also criticised by the Court of Directors.²⁸ After this victory, Shuja-ud-Dowlah started the consolidation work of his territory. But he passed away on January 26, 1775.

He was succeeded by Asaf-ud-Dowlah who governed Oudh for twenty-two years.²⁹ Though he was the only legitimate son, but he was perturbed by the behaviour of his other illegitimate brothers.³⁰ His relations with his mother were also not cordial. So he was perplexed by these domestic problems. He went to Faizabad for realizing money from his mother for his own use.³¹ With the help of British officers he introduced some reforms in the military administration of Oudh.³² He died in the year 1797. The only noticeable event of this period was a treaty with the British Government on May 21, 1775. The chief clause of this treaty was that "The Vizier should cede Banaras and Ghazipur, worth Rs. 23 lacs annually, to the Company; raise the monthly subsidy from Rs. 2,01,000 to 2,60,000 for the service of British Brigade and agree to dismiss all foreigners from his service and to deliver up Kasim Ali and Sumroo, if they should ever fall into his hands." He further consented to pay all arrears due to his father. In return, he got assurance for the defence of Oudh.³³

Vizier Ali, succeeded Asaf-ud-Dowlah, but he was deposed by the Britishers in favour of Saadat Ali. Saadat Ali ascended the throne of Oudh in 1798, with the help of the British, and a fresh treaty was concluded by Sir John Shore, who was a firm believer in the policy of non-intervention. Perhaps, financial

consideration had led the Governor-General to deviate from his accepted principles and compelled him to adopt the course of uncommon severity towards Oudh. The treaty of 1798 exposed the British hypocrisy and virtually put Oudh in the hands of the East India Company. According to this treaty, the "Friends and enemies of either shall be friends and enemies of both."³⁴ Further the Fort of Allahabad was given to the British for ever. Under the cover of this treaty, the British troops were now permanently stationed in Oudh at the expense of the Nawab. The treaty of 1798 tied the hands of the Nawab. It curtailed the independence of Vizier Ali. Without the consent of the British, the Nawab was not in a position to have friendship with any other power. Furthermore, by making stationery of the British forces in Oudh, a permanent feature and an additional burden was also imposed on the Nawab. This monetary burden proved fatal for the economy of Oudh. As such, Sir John Shore paved the way for British interference in the affairs of Oudh. His successor, Lord Cornwallis, also concluded a treaty in 1788,³⁵ which was of a commercial nature.

Lord Wellesley arrived in India, planned to establish British supremacy in India by his system of subsidiary alliance. Under the garb of this alliance, he wielded command over a large number of Indian States. Now a few words about the clauses of the subsidiary alliance would not be out of context. According to this, the Indian powers were prohibited from carrying on negotiations with any other state without the knowledge and consent of the British Government. The greater principalities were to maintain a native force commanded by British officers for the preservation of the public peace; and they were each to cede certain territories in full sovereignty to meet the yearly charges of this force. The lesser principalities were to pay a tribute to the paramount British power. In return, the British Government was to protect them, one and all, against foreign enemies of every kind.

Lord Wellesley's desire to take Doab impelled him to ask the Nawab of Oudh to disband his own army and raise a British force at his own expenditure. After a short resentment the Nawab agreed to the proposals of the Governor-General. Actually so far Oudh is concerned first of all Wellesley was interested to strengthen the power of British by maintaining a British force in

Oudh at the cost of the Nawab. Secondly, he was interested in the regular payment of the enhanced subsidy. Lord Wellesley was quite correct in his thinking because due to maladministration, the economy of Oudh was at the verge of bankruptcy. Thirdly, he was not in mood of seeing a strong native army in Oudh to repeat the Buxar episode. From the British point of view, the thinking of Lord Wellesley was quite correct. But, on the other hand, on humanitarian ground, the activities of the British may be criticised. The Nawab of Oudh was quite sincere to the British. After the Battle of Buxar the Nawab did not give any opportunity to the British to complain. The Nawabs of Oudh were very humble and submissive, and at the same time, they were very good paymasters. So, Lord Wellesley should have been satisfied with the arrangement made by Sir John Shore. Whatsoever may be the reasons and justifications, Lord Wellesley took keen interest in implementing his policy. He concluded a treaty with the Nawab of Oudh in 1801. This treaty threw Oudh in the arms of the British. A few words about the clauses of the Treaty would be desirable. By this Treaty, Saadat Ali, the Nawab of Oudh, had to cede to the British some lands in Doab, yielding an annual revenue of Rupees 1,35,23,474, 8 Annas and 3 pice.³⁶ The defence of Oudh was taken up by the British. The Nawab got rid of the problem of defence. By Article VI of the Treaty, the British got the right to interfere in the domestic administration of Oudh. The Article runs: "His excellency engages that he will establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives, and prosperity of the inhabitants, and His Excellency will always advise with and act in conformity to the Counsel of the officer of the said Honourable Company."³⁷

Patan's remarks on this treaty is very interesting. He was of the opinion that this treaty was a fruitful source of perplexity.³⁸ In this way, Oudh was virtually under the British and the Nawab was only a *de jure* authority.

After Wellesley left India, the British authorities were divided about the policy of non-intervention. The Residents were quite keen to enhance their position by reducing the rights of the Nawab of Oudh, but the court of Directors were quite moderate. In this tug-of-war, it was the personality and ability of the Nawab

which played a vital part. Since Saadat Ali was an enlightened ruler and he showed keen interest in the reformation of the administration of Oudh, he was determined to augment the revenue and centralize the power. In spite of the best efforts of the British to check the military power of the Nawab, he could raise his army as well as revenue of Oudh. Kaye and Malleeson's remarks relating to Saadat Ali are worth-quoting : "If there was at any time, hope for Oudh, under purely native administration, it was during the Wazirship of Saadat Ali, for he was not a bad man, and he appears to have had rather enlightened views with respect to some important administrative questions."³⁹ Henry Lawrence's remarks on Saadat Ali is also very interesting. He says, "Saadat Ali's maladministration was mainly attributable to English interference to the resentment he felt for his own wrongs; and the bitterness of soul with which he must have received all advice from his oppressors, no less than to the impurity with which they enabled him to play the tyrant."⁴⁰ Whatsoever may be his character and relation with the British it is obvious from his efforts that he was sincere to his people. In spite of all these odds Saadat Ali introduced certain reforms in the revenue administration of the state. He introduced system. He was very good and sympathetic to small farmers but very tough to big land-holders. He was quite confident that without the support of the British it was not possible to pull on. So, he always tried to please the British also. In 1812, he concluded a treaty with the British for settlement of all the disputes between East India Company and Oudh.⁴¹ He died on July 18, 1816.⁴²

Saadat Ali was succeeded by his eldest son, Rufsat-ud-Dowlah, under the title of Ghazee-ud-din Hyder. His accession delighted Colonel Baillie, and the British Government. A number of reforms were introduced. It was discovered by the Governor-General that Ghazee-ud-din Hyder loved reform as little as his father had done.⁴³ It was also discovered that both Nawab and the Resident had been puppets in the hands of a Munshee of the Residency who, by threatening Ghazee-ud-din with the fate of Vizier Ali, contrived to keep him subservient to his own wishes in the name of the company, allowing the Resident to fancy himself as the friend and councillor of the Nawab. Due to these intrigues, the Governor-General asked the Resident not to interfere in the affairs of Oudh and Col. Baillie was removed.

During the Nepal War, the British were in need of money, and Ghazee-ud-din Hyder offered a handsome amount as loan to the British Government. In return, the Governor-General awarded the title of King to Ghazee-ud-din Hyder. So Ghazee-ud-din Hyder became the first King of Oudh. Lord Irwin says about this title, "The title which had no effect outside Oudh, was the price of the loan he had advanced to the company."⁴⁴ This act of Lord Hastings excited a rivalry between the Oudh and Delhi families. The Nawab was promoted simply to reduce the prestige of the Great Mughals. With the title of King the powers of the Nawab were not enhanced but led to an antagonism with the Mughal Emperor at Delhi.

Whatsoever may be the weakness of the Nawab of Oudh, their loyalty to the British was well known. They always remained loyal and sincere to the East India Company. On the other hand, the British were always interested in their own benefits and they never hesitated in taking any step to fulfil their own lust. The nature of the relationship between the East India Company and the Nawabs of Oudh was very unique. The Residents, as representatives of the British Government, were the real administrators. The Governor-Generals always supported the view of the Resident, who were officials on the spot. So the position of the King was always very awkward. Actually the real authority vested in the Court of Directors, and as such, the hierarchy was like on the following pattern, Queen, the Supreme Authority, Court of Directors, who were exercising their powers through the Governor-Generals and then the Governor-Generals who were controlling the administration of the different Indian States through the Residents. In this way, the Nawabs were directly under the Control of the Resident and the Governor-General. The Nawabs were not in a position to place their grievances before the authorities in England. In certain cases, the Court of Directors were favourably disposed towards the Nawabs, but they could not check the Governor-General for his highhanded behaviour with the Nawabs. The Nawabs were on the mercy of the Residents as well as Governor-Generals. In this context, the remarks of Paton is very apt. He says : "No minister in Oudh can expect to rule the state with efficiency unless he is supposed to have a goodwill of the Resident."⁴⁵

Actually there was tension in both the camps, i.e., the British and the Nawab, relating to their power and prestige. Under such a tense atmosphere, Ghazee-ud-din Hyder was carrying the burden of administration and ultimately he had to conclude a Treaty with the British Government, in 1816. This treaty was concluded for "the transfer to His Excellency of the District of Khyreeghur and of certain lands conquered by the British Government from the Raja of Nepal, in communication of His Excellency's second loan to the British Government and for the exchange of Pergunnah belonging to His Excellency the Vizier for that of Nabobgunge belonging to the British Government."⁴⁶ It has already been said that in exchange of the loans granted by the Nawab to the British Government the title of the King was conferred on him. Since the Nawab was timid and weak, there was not any remarkable change in the attitude of the British. However, taking the opportunity of the situation, Lord Amherst also concluded a treaty with the King of Oudh in 1825, regarding settlement of the loans given by the King of Oudh to the company.⁴⁷ It would be out of context to deal with the clauses of the treaty. This settlement was the only episode during the tenure of Lord Amherst.

New trend in the relationship was visible in the time of Lord William Bentinck. With the arrival of Lord William Bentinck, there was a change in Oudh also, i.e., Ghazee-ud-din Hyder was succeeded by Nussur-ud-Dowlah in the year 1827. Though Bentinck was supporter of the policy of non-interference yet he showed a keen interest in the affairs of Oudh. After sometime of his arrival he started manipulating the means of interference. He concluded a Treaty with the Nawab of Oudh in 1829. By this treaty, the King of Oudh promised to pay Rs. 62 lakhs and forty thousand to East India Company as loan.⁴⁸ After this, in the year 1831, the Governor-General paid a visit to the King of Oudh and discussed with the King about the deteriorating administration of the Kingdom of Oudh. In his minute dated July 30, 1831, he had expressed his opinion about the maladministration of Oudh. The minute runs : ". . . . As this state of mis-government continues to prevail in a greater and more aggravated degree than any former period, as will be presently shown, it becomes necessary to consider, whether under all the circumstances of our position in relation to the state of Oudh, any justification is to be found,

either in the letter of the spirit of our engagements, for the forbearance to apply a remedy to evils, which no possibility could have existed for a period and to such an extent except under the safeguard of our protection and power."⁴⁹ Further, the Governor-General was of the view of that important clause of the Treaty of 1801, i.e. as such a system of administration as should be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects and calculated to secure the lives and prosperities of the inhabitants of act according to the advice of the Supreme Government"⁵⁰ was never observed by the King. The Resident's observations relating to the administration of Oudh is very interesting and worth-quoting. He wrote : "But with the present reign the administration has become still more vicious. The country has been going to ruin and for want of order, arrangement or stability in the Government, oppression and anarchy universally prevail. . . . No revenue system on equitable principles can be ever effected by the unaided efforts of the Oudh Government. Constant oppression and the habitual breach of all contracts have so completely destroyed their confidence in their rulers that they cannot be expected to trust them again. . . ." ⁵¹ Further, the Governor-General was fully convinced with the remarks of Maddock, the then Resident, about the personal character of the King of Oudh. Maddock's view was, "His present Majesty was bred upon among women and all his ideas are effeminate. He has no sound talents and less habituated for business and the Government of his country must devolve upon other's hand. But he is extravagant and wasteful in his expenses."⁵²

In this way Lord William Bentinck emphasised on the observation of the Treaty of 1801, whereas the Resident was very much critical to the administration and personal character of the King. Lord William Bentinck was very keen for positive reform so he held a meeting with the King of Oudh on January 21, 1831. In the meeting Mr. Prinsep, Maddock and Captain Bension were also present. The Governor-General had a very comprehensive conversation and suggested, rather warned the King of Oudh, for maladministration, particularly in field of revenue. The Governor-General suggested that he should immediately introduce a general system of reformation in his administration.⁵³ In a letter, the King of Oudh explained the difficulties of his civil servants in collecting revenue.⁵⁴ The Resident, Sir Charles

Metcalfe, also suggested for certain changes in the administration and expressed his opinion to take the administration of Oudh in the hands of the Company.⁵⁵ In a minute dated September 27, 1831, W. Blunt also expressed his dissatisfaction on the maladministration of Oudh. He was of the view that, "The misrule and oppression under which the subjects of the Oude Government have long suffered, is too well known to admit of any question as to the urgent necessity which exists for a complete reform in the civil administration of those territories. The defective system of Revenue administration, the oppressed and impoverished condition of the agricultural classes, the declining resources of the country and general insecurity of life and property, and evils for which there appears to be no effectual remedy but a mere direct and active interference on the part of the Government in regulating the internal administration of that province."⁵⁶

John Low, Resident at Lucknow, had also vehemently criticised the revenue administration of the King.⁵⁷ In the beginning, Lord William Bentinck was in a mood of experimenting the policy of non-interference, so the Resident was asked not to interfere in the ordinary matters unless he was asked to. The Resident became merely an observer. Since Bentinck was anxious to see some improvement in the administration, it is why he gave some time to the King for improvement and asked the Resident not to interfere in the affairs of Oudh. But at the same time he warned the King about the consequences if the reforms suggested by him were not implemented.

Now it was high time for the King of Oudh to do justice with this chance. His Prime Minister, Nawab Mumtazimood Dowlah Mehndee Ali Khan, who was a very able person, introduced a good number of reforms in every field of the administration, particularly in the field of Revenue Administration. He most vigorously and fearlessly applied the shears of retrenchment to the overgrown and overpaid establishments of the Government. He also put a check on Amils and other officers, who were behaving like despots. He made easy the procedure of the revenue collection and gave a new impetus to the Zamindars as well as the peasants. He became an active reformer.⁵⁸ He also made certain rules and regulations for the conduct of Chukledars.⁵⁹ But the able Prime Minister could not continue for a long period, and

Nawab Roshamuddaulah was appointed as Prime Minister in his place.

After the appointment of the New Prime Minister, again the anarchy prevailed and the crack in all the machinery of administration being manifested. The Resident warned the King but the King failed to improve the situation. The Resident wrote to the King that there was no improvement in the administration.⁶⁰ The Court of Directors were also of the view that the administration of Oudh may be taken over, but the Governor-General-in-Council deferred the decision and he wrote a letter to the King of Oudh in which he warned the King about misgovernment, mal-revenue administration and disobedience of the Treaties. In the end, the Governor-General wrote, "you may rely on it that this warning will be the last."⁶¹

The Resident was very much critical about the personal defects of the King Nussurood-deem Hyder. He was of the opinion that the King was reckless and spends lot of money for private and selfish matters. His company was not good, a drunkard, etc.⁶² He again advised the King for introducing reforms in the administration. However, this is one side of the coin. All the British authorities were critical, but if we analyse the facts, we can confidently say that in the mis-government of Oudh, the British officials were playing a very potent role, e.g., the Resident was poking his nose in all fields of administration. Actually the King was never kept free to think about his subjects, because he was always thinking about his own problems, i.e., problem of succession, problem of money, etc. He was the head of a crippled administration, so how it was possible for him to execute an effective administration. It was the British who were the real administrators and to a very good extent, responsible for the bad administration. Of course, the King cannot be acquitted of this charge, and he was equally responsible for the maladministration. In this way both the parties were responsible for the deteriorating administration of Oudh.

Before his death Nussurood-deen Hyder signed a deed of engagement for friendship on July 7, 1837,⁶³ and after signing this deed he could not live in the world for a long period. Nussurood-deen Hyder died in 1837 and was ultimately succeeded by Mohammad Ali Shah. This time, the British Government actively interfered in the succession of Oudh. In spite of the requests from

Kywan Jan and Moonah Jan (*alias* Faridum Bakht) the British Government supported the cause of Mohammed Ali Shah. Because there was an understanding between Mohammad Ali Shah and the Britishers, the claims of Faridum Bakht was overlooked. Though Faridum Bakht tried his level best to persuade the British, but he could not succeed. He wrote to the British Government about the treachery and tyranny of Col. Low and forwarded his claim for the Kingship of Oudh.⁶⁴ But the British Government turned a deaf ear towards these requests. Since the King was bound by the word, a treaty between the King of Oudh and the British was signed on September 11, 1837.⁶⁵ This treaty put Oudh entirely on the mercy of the British Government.

In a minute dated December 13, 1839, the Governor-General observed that, "The treaty which I negotiated with the King of Oudh, was as thought at the time of its conclusion, and still think founded on the clearest principle of equality. I had before the death of the late King, recorded my opinion of the Treaty of 1801 and of the difficulty which resisted under it of enforcing its conditions and of securing that good government in Oudh was its prominent object."⁶⁶ Again he had pointed out a good number of defects in the administration of Oudh. Even he was of the view that this treaty was a very mild step. He further said that the "treaty of 1801 had signally and wholly failed to have the beneficial effect which might have been expected from that the assertion of a right without a definition of the means of enforcing it has been found to be practically of very little value and that the state of things, which has been, in consequence induced, has been a subject of frequent regret, and even of serious reproach to the British Administration."

The reform of the internal administration of Oudh was urged upon Saadat Ali Khan by Major Baillie for four years from 1808 to 1873 and many successive plans proposed in vain. These plans were rejected because in the event of their failure, as was said by the Government of that day. Government might be reproached with the loss of revenue which might ensure, and Major Baillie was instructed to relinquish the introduction of any particular system, but to urge the Vizier to reform in his own way. In the end, the idea of effecting any permanent reform was given up, the result of the negotiation having convinced the Government that with a province of Saadat Allee's temper and

talents there was no medium course. "After the death of Saudat Allee Khan and when the Government had fallen into the hands of his weak successor that state of Police of Oudh and indeed every Branch of its administration become even worse..."⁶⁷

The Governor-General was very much in favour of curtailing the military of the King in this context. He observed, "that the mode of administration be adopted which may seem best calculated to secure the welfare of the people but for the safety of our power and for the maintenance of peace, it is essential that the whole military force of India should remain in our hands."⁶⁸

In this way Lord Auckland had justified the Treaty of 1837 and W. Morison, in a minute dated January 28, 1839, had criticized certain articles of the Treaty of 1837. He said, "The Honourable Court and Secret Committee declares that it was unjust to the sovereign of Oudh to impose on him the new scheme of Military Establishment, until he has been fully tries, upon the principles of the treaty and arrangements of 1801, but I conceive that the Government was fully unwarranted in considering that the power of advice in the Resident had proved to be no security whatever for good Government and it must of necessity be so, if the entire executive authority remains in other hands. To impose, however on the sovereign of Oudh, the obligation to consult before issuing any orders, and to require him to conform to the advice given after consultation, would obviously be a transfer of the entire sovereignty to the Resident, without responsibility, which surely we would never approve."⁶⁹ He was rather of the view that there should be effective control on the Military power of the Nawab and civil administration should remain in the hands of Nawab.⁷⁰ In a minute dated January 19, 1839, J.C. Robertson had also criticized the Treaty of 1837 particularly the clause of Auxiliary force.⁷¹ Again, in a minute dated February 1, 1839, Hon. W.W. Bird had also expressed his displeasure over the provision of Auxiliary force in the treaty of 1837.⁷² In this way there was a difference of opinion about the Treaty. It was also doubtful whether all the articles were approved by the Court of Directors was shown to the King of Oudh or not. In this context in a minute dated August 17, 1854, Hon. J. Dorin had remarked, "There can be no doubt of the abrogation of the treaty of

September 1837 by the Home Authority but it does not appear whether that abrogation was ever communicated in full to King of Oude."⁷³

In a minute dated August 14, 1854, Lord Dalhousie had given a very clear account of the views of the Secret Committee, and in the end of his minute, he had quoted the Despatch of Secret Committee dated July 11, 1839 in which they had asked Governor-General to inform to the King of Oudh about the abrogation of the Treaty, and they also asked the Governor-General to convey the King of Oudh their relations should be based on the treaty of 1801.⁷⁴ John Low observed that "the Governor-General informed the King of Oudh that he has been relieved from all expenses connected with Auxiliary Forces but he did not inform about the other alterations."⁷⁵

The Governor-General always tried to persuade the Court of Directors to accept the Treaty of 1837 but failed in his efforts. The Court of Directors never gave green signal to the Treaty of 1837. However, the Governor-General took initiative and informed the King of Oudh on July 8, 1839 about the abrogation of the clause of auxiliary forces and he never informed the King about complete abrogation of the Treaty.⁷⁶ The King of Oudh was in illusion and he could not know the real thing till the time of Lord Dalhousie. Again, in the year 1838, a deed of trust was also signed.⁷⁷ The crippled King tried his level best to satisfy the British Government as well as to improve the deteriorating administration of his Kingdom. King Mohammad Ali Shah proved his worth by introducing reforms in every field of administration.⁷⁸ On one hand he took positive steps to check the deterioration in the administration and on the other hand he maintained good relations with the Britishers also. He prepared code of reforms in Oudh.⁷⁹ According to the code, the major points of reforms were:

- (1) Division of the country into Zillah and pergunnahs.
- (2) Nomination of district-officers and regulate their conduct.
- (3) Thana of each district was to be placed under nazim.
- (4) Rules for fouzdary courts.

- (5) Prohibits individuals in taking law in their own hands.⁸⁰

But Mohammad Ali Shah could not live long and passed away on May 17, 1842⁸¹ and his funeral took place on the same day.⁸² On the occasion of the death of the King, 67 guns were fired from the Fort of Allahabad.⁸³

Muhammad Ali Shah was succeeded by his eldest son Sooryea Jah Amjad Ali Shah. He had managed in his life-time to get Amjad Ali Shah appointed, as his successor. Actually this was the prize of his loyalty to the British.⁸⁹ Amjad Ali Shah always tried to keep better relations with the British as well as he was very much anxious to obtain the title and other false honours. So he requested the British Government to confer on him all the titles of the father.⁸⁵ The Governor-General granted his request without any hesitation.⁸⁶ The King was not in favour of complete independence. He was lacking self-confidence, so he always tried to have the positive protection of the British. He requested the British to conclude a Treaty.⁸⁷ To please the British, he sent Rs. 10,000 for the recreation of European army.⁸⁸ Further, the King proved very helpful during Punjab wars. On the request from the King for treaty, the Governor-General informed the King of Oudh through a letter that he contemplates no change in the foreign policy observed by the British Government in its relations with Indian Princes.⁸⁹ The British Government was very much satisfied on the birth of a legitimate son to the King.⁹⁰ All the formalities were observed by the British Government on this occasion.⁹¹ However, till now there was no change in the attitude of the British Government. But the King of Oudh was troubled by the domestic conspiracy piloted by Padshah Begum and Moona Jan.⁹² The King informed the British Government about these intrigues. But he got a very discouraging reply. He was informed that the British Government will act with a sense of justice.⁹³

In this way the things were going on in a hotch-potch manner. Though the King of Oudh was always in a mood of a formidable alliance with the British on some positive grounds but he failed in his efforts. The Britishers were convinced that maladministration was prevailing in Oudh and they were of the view that the King was responsible for this. In the time of Muhammad Ali Shah, Maj. Gen. G. Pollock had suggested for

certain reforms and was anxious to see them implemented by the heir apparent Amjad Ali Shah.⁹⁴ Since Amjad Ali Shah was very much keen to improve the condition of Oudh, he tried to complete the reforms suggested by Major Gen. G. Pollock. In a letter dated September 5, 1844, the King refuted the charges that the suggested reforms were not implemented by the King.⁹⁵

J.R. Davidson, officiating resident at Lucknow, was to the view that administration of Oudh was deteriorating day-by-day and the King had failed to do any good to the administration of Oudh.⁹⁶ Under these circumstances Amjad Ali Shah passed away on February 13, 1847.⁹⁷ He was succeeded by Wajid Ali Shah. The period of Wajid Ali Shah was the saddest one in the entire history of Oudh. During this period, the Anglo-Oudh relations took a new turn which ultimately resulted in annexation. Since annexation played a very dominant role in creating the atmosphere for Revolt against the British, it would be desirable to analyse Anglo-Oudh relations during Wajid Ali Shah's regime in detail.

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86. *Ibid.*, No. 86.
87. *Ibid.*, Nos. 39-40.
88. *Ibid.*, No. 41-42.
89. *Ibid.*, August 17, 1844, No. 52.
90. *Ibid.*, August 30, 1844, No. 58.
91. *Ibid.*, No. 60.
92. *Ibid.*, January 8, 1842, Nos. 69-77.
93. *Ibid.*, No. 79.
94. *Ibid.*, February 1841, No. 78.
95. *Ibid.*, October 5, 1844, Nos. 158-59.
96. *Ibid.*, November 21, 1846, No. 287.
97. *Ibid.*, August 14, 1847, No. 117.

2

Political Background of The Revolt of 1857

Annexation of Oudh is important facet of Dalhousie's policy towards the Indian states. However, this annexation played a vital role in creating conditions for the uprising of 1857 in Oudh. Generally, historians unanimously hold the view that the deposition of the King was the main political factor for the uprising in Oudh. It generated a feeling of hostility towards the British in the minds of people. Sudden and unexpected annexations which came as the bolt from the blue for the King and the Oudh administration can be better explained, if the British relations with Wajid Ali Shah, the last King of Oudh are also analysed.

In 1847 Wajid Ali Shah ascended the throne of Oudh and he was keen to maintain friendly relations with the British Government. This is evident from his letter of November 29, 1857 written to the Governor-General in which he expressed his sincere desire of firm ally and good friend of the English.¹ However, the internal administration of the country was continuing to deteriorate under him and though the Governor-

General gave a favourable response to his expression of friendship, still he advised the King to check the recruitment of eunuchs, etc. on the high posts.²

It may be noted here that there was a written agreement between the Company and the King by which the King was prevented from appointing eunuchs, singers and other unfit persons in Government service directly or indirectly in the name of other persons.³ But the King never adhered to this agreement. Col. Richmond, the British Resident at Lucknow, adversely commented on the conduct of the King in this respect and painted a gloomy picture of the state of affairs in Oudh due to the presence of eunuchs and singers in the administration and also because of the defective mode of the realisation of revenue.⁴

Col. Richmond was succeeded by Sleeman in 1848, however, he also formed a highly unfavourable opinion about the King and his administration. In his report of February 23, 1849, submitted to the Company's Government about the administration of Oudh, he expressed his utmost dissatisfaction about the administration of the country. He expressed the view that on one hand, the administration was deteriorating while on the other hand, the landed aristocracy was gaining strength due to the local and corrupt government and the Court at Lucknow. Almost every Department of the Government, like revenue collection, general security and administration, etc. were in the grip of corruption.⁵ He submitted another report on July 21, 1849, on the affairs of Oudh in which he suggested that some measures of reform should be immediately introduced. Some major reforms like dismissal of eunuchs from the services reorganization of the judiciary, creation of an efficient police force, etc. should be introduced. He further observed that there should be proper and cordial understanding between the King and the landed aristocracy without which the administration can never run on smooth lines.⁶

It seems that these highly adverse comments of the Residents coloured the views of the Governor-General about the affairs of Oudh. In his Minute of August 3, 1849, Dalhousie observed that it was high time to take some decisive step so far as Oudh was concerned.⁷ In Oudh, Sleeman continued with his interest in the affairs of the country. He suggested the King to remove the Talookdar of Sultanpur as he was corrupt. He wanted

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that the King should also punish those who did not pay their contribution for maintaining the troops stationed at their place.⁸

The King of Oudh also expressed his anxiety to remove the maladministration. In a letter to Sleeman dated July 4, 1849, he gave an account of the reforms introduced in the administration, it seems that severe strains were developing in the relation of the King with the Resident, which is evident from his other letter to the Resident in which the King charged him for prevailing maladministration in the country, he alleged that the Resident was lending his ears to some of the ex-ministers and Zamindars who were busy in defaming the King.⁹ Now there was a continuous exchange of notes between the King and the Resident, one in which he asked the King to introduce the reforms in administration and the other always maintained that reforms were progressively introduced and the administration was improving.

The Governor-General was constantly fed with the narratives about the maladministration. Raghubar Dayal and Mukund Lal of Lucknow sent a memorial to the Governor-General, requesting him to grant their protection against the atrocities of the King. The Governor-General had become so unfavourable to the King that he condemned the administration of Oudh.¹⁰ There was also a revolt in the King's Regiment which was due to the non-payment of the arrears of pay.¹¹ An attempt was also made by some persons on the life of Sleeman during Moharram of 1853. He was much infuriated and asked the King to thoroughly investigate this episode. Sleeman suspected that one Wassee Alee who was closely attached with the court, might have a hand in this plot. He even closely examined him but Wassee Alee totally denied this charge.¹² This was followed with a lengthy correspondence between Sleeman and the King on this subject. The Resident firmly maintained that Wassee Alee was "still in intimate consultation with some of your (king's) servants."¹³

However, the King continued to deny the allegation. He stated that he had made a thorough inquiry into the charge "in order to satisfy the King of His Lordship the Governor-General in Council"¹⁴ and the three eunuchs along with Wassee Alee had solemnly deposed that they had nothing to do with this episode and also had no knowledge of it. But the Resident continued to

disbelieve the stand taken by Wassee Alee and other eunuchs. He observed that men who were capable of making such attempts, would never hesitate to deny their participation in them when questioned. It was for the ruler's interest in discovering truth and do justice to "disregard such denials and adopt other measures to secure the evidence required for their conviction."¹⁵ He emphasized that he had "no doubt whatever that the attempt was made by the two armed men to enter the Residency with an evil intent, or that they were instigated to do so by someone about Your Majesty's durbar."¹⁶ Hence now it was for the King to ascertain who these persons were. He also pointed out that Wassee Alee in his deposition had dilated "on his known good character"¹⁷; but the reputation of no man could "be worse than his"¹⁸ ever since he had any influence in the Durbar. In order to support this charge, the Resident quoted an incident of 1839 in which Wassee Alee was involved. It was pointed out that as early as 1839 Col. Caulfield, Officiating Resident, had reported that the whole of Lucknow considered Wassee Alee to have caused the assassination at noon day of Ishwari Prasad, a Munshi of the minister; Caulfield also personally considered him to be the investigator of that crime.

Hence, the Resident expressed his deep suspicion about the crime. According to him, "From his (Wassee Alee's) conduct during his connection with the Oudh Durbar it is manifest that his disposition to evil is inveterate, and that his mind is always bent on evil purpose; and as long as he remains in your (King's) Durbar, there can be no peace or security for any honest man. He will always busy himself in bringing about things calculated to bring your Government into Odium, and giving pain and annoyance to others."¹⁹ The resident had become so suspicious about the conduct of Wassee Alee and even of the King and his police, that he was reluctant to allow the *Toman* of King's police to remain in the Residency. According to him the Commandant of that *Tonam* was closely connected by marriage with Wassee Alee, and hence he had no confidence in them. He requested the King to remove them immediately. He plainly wrote that as long as Wasee Alee was at Lucknow, he could not place confidence in any of King's *Sipahees*.²⁰

Liking to such a strong attitude of the Resident about the episode, the King attempted to pacify the Governor-General, by explaining the actions taken by him and assuring him of his friendship with the British Government. In a letter dated November 12, 1853 to the Governor-General, the King observed that he was in receipt of his letter of the 28th which contained the expression of his "regret and displeasure at the attempt made by persons to enter the Residency with level designs and your (Governor-General's) desire that all search should be made to discern and bring to punishment the offenders."²¹ The King explained that the truth was that during the month of Mohurrum of this year on the 5th, he had heard of the attempt of some one to enter the Residency, and on receiving a letter from the Resident requesting that the old *Toman* of police on duty should be removed and another formed and placed under the supervision of the superintendent of the Frontier police, he had forthwith ordered the arrangement to be carried with effect.

The King reiterated the friendship subsisting between the two Governments and emphasized that the welfare of his state depended entirely upon the support of the Company's Government. He assured that he considered "the cultivation of that friendly feeling as above all things necessary"; and he most earnestly desired "to protect everybody and more especially the servants of the British Government high or low, nor "shall I (king) ever neglect this duty. It is not possible for me (the King) to neglect any means for the protection of the resident; and God knows that I am more solicitous for his protection than my own all my country, my troops and my revenues are at the service of your Lordships Government and you are my supporter and my protector against external and internal enemies, and all my troops, clearly and infantry, new or old, are available for that purpose, and will be held at your disposal."²²

He further assured the Governor-General that he considered it a high disgrace attracted to his Government if any such evil designs against the Resident were to be accomplished. He would never neglect "to trace and bring to punishment the persons engaged in so atrocious an offence. The alliance and friendship between the two Governments have subsisted for more than a hundred years, and is known to all the world; and I (King) hope that as long as the sun and moon last nothing will occur to alter

or diminish them. I pray therefore that your Lordship will continue to honour me with your friendly letters."²³

In a Minute, the Governor-General had expressed his opinion on this subject. The Minute runs, "The letter of the King of Oudh in reply to that which was addressed to him by the G.G., relative to the attempt made to assassinate the Resident during the last Mohurrum is unsatisfactory; doubly unsatisfactory when read in connection with Col. Sleeman's report of His Majesty's proceedings. No reward has been offered by the King. . . . No enquiry has been instituted. The denial of the person suspected, Wassee Alee, has been received by the King in person—and no further steps have been taken."²⁴

He further wrote : "The Resident report to accept the services of the police as servants of the King for the protection of the Residency may be approved."²⁵

Exchange of bitter letters continued between the Resident and the King. However, on November 20, 1853, the investigation took place in due form before His Majesty and Sultan Olmah Syed Mahomed, the judge of the Supreme Court of Justice and the principal Civil and Military authorities—Colonel Sleeman was also invited to be present, but he refused to attend.²⁶ But the British authorities were not satisfied with the mode of investigation, Governor-General expressed his dissatisfaction over the King's silence on this matter.²⁷

In a Minute dated November 22, 1854, John Peter wrote, "I support the Governor-General's proposal with sincere satisfaction. I have always thought out long neglect of our obligations towards the people of Oudh, a great moral error; and I have always avowed that opinion."

In the case of Oudh, a state wholly supported by the British Government, and bound to be wholly guided by that Government, I have never been able to understand how the policy of even temporary non-interference could be justifiable, on any other ground than that for the time being non-interference was better for the people of Oudh than interference. How many years ago it is since any Statesman has maintained that ground. We need not stop to count. No one, I believe, maintains that a policy of permanent non-interference would be justifiable. If a man brings his elephant into a crowd, and, having the power to prevent him, does not interfere to prevent him from trampling the

people to death with his own hand; and nothing that can be said in favour of a policy of non-interference will suspend execution of the sentence."²⁸ He further wrote :

"Many years ago, all other measures having failed to effect, the Government of India received the authorization of the Home Government to take the extreme measures indicated by the crying necessity of the case. One more chance however was allowed to the Government of this unhappy country; one more warning was given, with the solemn assurance that it should be the last. The time for acting upon that assurance arrived five years ago, and of the long respite that has been since granted to this irreclaimable Government, not a day has been allowed because of any belief in its improvement."

For a considerable part of this last term, the condition of Oudh has come under my eyes weekly in the diaries of Colonel Sleeman, the Resident. It is the habit of the office to note in pencil, on the outside of those diaries, the more remarkable occurrences reported. A paper embodying these notes for a few months would show a continuous stream of outrages, many perpetrated by officers of the Government, many more perpetrated with their connivance. Yet these officers, and their Government, have no strength but what is derived from the armed support of the British Government."²⁹ In the last he wrote :

"A few months ago a banker, being a British subject was travelling, with a party of friends and servants, and some property, a short way within the Oudh frontier, when he was surrounded by a large body of the troops of the King of Oudh, the officer at their head being a civil officer such as we should designate the commissioner or deputy commissioner of the division; his property was plundered, and he and some of his servants were murdered. The court of Oudh did all it could to bear the offenders harmless; they were (in my opinion) at last very inadequately punished; and the King gave the chief culprit a dress of honour."

More latterly still, two assassins, hired beyond doubt by some great man about the court, attempted to murder the Resident

in his bed at night; and the King virtually refused to make any, the least, endeavour to discover the criminals.

On either of these occasions, and on any occasion for the last five years, if I had then been a member of Government, I should have voted for such orders as the most noble the Governor-General now proposes to issue. There has been no improvement since, and, therefore, I cordially support the proposal now made. In so doing I feel relieved from a sense of an unfulfilled duty."³⁰ In this way the relations between the East India Company and Oudh was going on deteriorating day-by-day. During the period of Sleeman, the relations between the British Government and the King of Oudh was not cordial and differences were obvious in every field. Sleeman was an orthodox critic of the King of Oudh and was always supported by the Governor-General. By the end of his tenure the relations became very bitter. However, on December 5, 1854, Col. Outram was appointed as officiating Resident in place of Col. Sleeman.³¹ With a sheaf of instructions relating succession problem, King's hearth, etc., Col Outram entered the city of Lucknow. After some times he reported to Governor-General about his reception by heir apparent and illness of the King.³² He also reported about the expulsion of certain persons who use to visit the Resident's office against whom the King was prejudiced.³³ The Governor-General asked Outram to furnish a detailed report on the affairs of Oudh.³⁴

In this way upto the time of annexation, the British Government always tried to defame and charge sheet the King of Oudh on the pretext of maladministration, favouritism, etc., on the other hand, the King was sincere in his efforts for the friendship of the British due to his weak position he was very much humble and polite.

Though there was a lot of complaints against the maladministration of Oudh, yet the King was caught unaware. On February 29, 1856, Lord Dalhousie wrote a letter to the King of Oudh in which he did not mention a word about annexation. He wrote: "It is some time since I, your friend, have had an intention of returning to England, and with that view I had sent in my resignation of my high rank of Governor-General to Her Majesty the Queen, and Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to accept the same, and to appoint as my successor, the Rt. Hon.

Viscount Lord Canning. In a few days I shall leave for England. From the period my residence in this country, the friendship which has existed between your ancestors and the Honourable East India Company from old days, exceeding that of former times, daily became more firmly established and this circumstance has been a cause of much satisfaction to myself."³⁵

An analysis of the causes of annexation and its impact is essential. Now if we throw light on the causes of the annexation it will be easy to understand that the way Oudh was annexed was crude. Oudh was annexed on the simple charge of maladministration.

It may be noted here that the Treaty of 1801 was the prelude of annexation. The King of Oudh had to surrender some territory and he was relieved from the responsibility of the defence of Oudh from foreign aggression and he was compelled to run the administration of Oudh under British direction. He was relieved of all powers, and became almost a puppet in the British hands. Since the King of Oudh was not in a position to resist against the desires of the British, so he yielded. Actually, this was an agreement between servant and master, not between potentate and potentate. Dalhousie wrote in his minutes that this treaty kept the rulers of Oudh constantly faithful and dependent on the English. He further observed, "The obligations imposed upon it (the British Government) by the Treaty of 1801 have been observed by the Government of India for more than half a century: throughout the whole of that eventful period, the British Government has been engaged in frequent wars with the most powerful native States of the East, and it has more than once been required even to meet invasion coming in formidable aspect, and from the most distant points. But, in all that time, no foreign foe has set his foot on the soil of Oudh. No great rebellion has ever threatened the stability of its throne. British troops have been ever kept in close proximity to the person of the King. Once they have preserved the throne to its rightful sovereign, against the treachery of his own nearest kindred....

In very recent years, the Minister had found himself unable without their service, to control a rebellious chief within but sixteen miles of capital and two years have not yet passed since their protection was invoked, against a military mutiny of the very gates of the King's palace."³⁶

Actually the treaty of 1801 gave some positive powers to the British to interfere in the internal as well as external affairs of Oudh. Arnold's remarks in this context is worth quoting. He says, "The year 1801 brings as far the first time to dealings with this shadowy Government of Oudh which belong to the Dalhousian period, and which, therefore, it is necessary to recite."³⁷

He further writes, "Let it be clearly understood that final judgement is not passed here, one way or the other, upon the events preceding 1801, which have however, been criticized by some partisans, and if the Nawabs had been mirrors of chivalry, and English gentlemen monuments of mendacity and knavery."³⁸

Arnold's comments about the provision of subsidiary forces in every state is very apt. He says, "It may be regarded as an axiom, that an independent province of India, in which a British subsidiary is once lodged, must, sooner or later, fall in."³⁹ It indicates the real intention of Lord Wellesley, who was the exponent of the policy of Subsidiary Alliance.

However, by the time of annexation, many more treaties had been concluded, many times the King obliged the British and *vice-versa*. But the years which preceded the annexation were not favourable to the King, first of all there was a financial crisis in Oudh. This was mostly the result of the demand of money from the British and some extravagancy on the part of the King as well. The financial position of Oudh was at the brink of collapse with the result that the administration of Oudh was also deteriorating. For such a state of affairs, the English were also much responsible. Hence, Dalhousie took the maximum advantage of this situation, and just by a stroke of pen the Kingdom of Oudh was annexed, it never created any favourable opinion in the country. In fact, the people of Oudh did not like this change, which is obvious from the Uprising.

Annexation of Oudh had its own story. Though Dalhousie is much criticized for the annexation of Oudh, he was not actually in favour of this course of action. However, the British were much benefited by this annexation, for it made them the master of rich forest wealth, manpower, money, etc. of Oudh. So far the violation of public opinion was concerned, it would be difficult to say but they violated their promises given to the King. It would be better to deal in detail about these points in the end.

The case of Oudh, the greatest of Lord Dalhousie's annexation, must be treated apart from that of the Punjab or Pegu—from those even of Jhansi, Berar, Nagpur and Stara. It connects itself with these positively by no link at all, except common term "annexation". In the context the observation of Arnold is very apt. He is of the view that "the assumption of Oudh must be considered, therefore, as quite an isolated measure". Now the analysis of the general observations of the Residents and the Board of Directors would be desirable. Sleeman infused the idea of maladministration in the mind of the British Government. Maj. Outram nourished the ideas of Sleeman and ultimately he got the cherished desire of Sleeman fulfilled. After Outram's reports on Oudh, the Governor-General got more incentive to annex Oudh. Outram wrote a letter to the Secretary to the Government of India on February 6, 1855, in which he had informed the Governor-General about the disturbances of Nanparah, Tulsipur and Salone Taluqas.⁴⁰ Again, on February 14, 1855, Outram transmitted some more cases of disturbance.⁴¹ On March 15, 1855, Outman sent a detailed report on the administration of Oudh to the Secretary to the Government of India.⁴² Since Outram was a new man he had to depend on the residency records and the ideas of his predecessor.⁴³ Outram was convinced of the views of Sleeman who had expressed his opinion relating Oudh three years back (December 19, 1851).

"Fifty years of sad experience have shown that the hopes in which the treaty of 1801 was founded, that sovereigns of the reigning family of Oudh would be disposed and able to form and carry out, by means of their own officers, a system of administration calculated to secure life and property, to promote the welfare and happiness of the people of Oudh, and to render the alliance of the British Government who were to protect those sovereigns from all foreign and domestic enemies, if not honourable to that Government at least irreproachable, were altogether fallacious, and can never be realized?"⁴⁴

The report sent by Outram on March 15, 1855 was very comprehensive and it was divided under the following heads:

1. The Sovereign and the Minister.
2. Revenue and Finance.
3. Judicial Courts and Police.
4. The Army.
5. Roads and Public Works.
6. Statistics of Crimes, etc.
7. Oppression, Cruelties, etc.⁴⁵

In his report Outram had simply reproduced the observations and remarks of Col. Richmond and Sleeman so far the personal character and company of the King of Oudh is concerned (which has already been discussed in previous chapter). In other words, the language of the report was the language of Outram, but the sense was a sense of Sleeman. It appears from the report that Outram was not in a position to judge the affairs of Oudh as a neutral judge and he was very much influenced by the views of others. About revenue administration, he wrote that "The territorial revenue of Oudh are derived from four sources; 1. The Khalsa or crown estate. 2. Huzoor Tehseel, wherein the land holders pay direct to Government. 3. Districts comprising the estates of Talookdars and Zemindars, the revenue of which are held in Izarah or under contract. 4. Districts, similarly composed, held under Amanee or trust management."⁴⁶ Though the revenue system was very defective and the collection was less than the expenditure but still the deficiency was not visible, because the King was managing the affairs very well.⁴⁷ The Judicial courts are in deplorable condition and police organizations were defective. The army was nothing but an undisciplined rabble, paid at the rate of three to four Rupee a month.⁴⁸ Roads and public works, according to the report, could hardly be said to exist and on repairs of roads, forts bridges, temples, only 1/10 of allotted money was spent.⁴⁹ So far reports on crimes, outrages, oppression and cruelties are concerned, the report has given a detailed account.⁵⁰

After receiving this report, the Governor-General wrote a voluminous minute on June 18, 1855.⁵¹ In this minute, the Governor-General reviewed the Anglo-Oudh relations from the beginning to the end and supported the various modes in which the interposition of the Supreme Government may be proposed to the court at Lucknow.⁵² The following modes were suggested:

1. The King may be required to abdicate the sovereign powers he has abused and to consent to the incorporation of Oudh with the territories of the British Crown.
2. The King may be permitted to retain his Royal title and position and may be required to vest the whole civil and military administration of his Kingdom in the Government of the East India Company, for ever.
3. His Majesty may be urged to make over his dominions to the management of British officers, for a time.
4. The King may be invited to place the management of the country in the hands of the resident, under whose directions it shall be carried on by the officers of the King, acting with such British Officers as may be appointed to aid them.⁵³

Though Lord Dalhousie was in favour of the first alternative, but since it was too severe, so he thought it better to adopt the second choice.⁵⁴ Lord Dalhousie also forwarded a draft Treaty with Oudh.⁵⁵

The Minute of Lord Dalhousie was circulated amongst the members of the Council. There was a good deal of discussion over the alternatives proposed by Lord Dalhousie.

J.A. Dorin preferred the first proposal of the King. In a Minute dated July 11, 1855, he wrote :

"The Governor-General has transmitted, for the consideration of the Council, a Minute he has recorded, and sent to England, on the subject of the British relations with Oude."

His Lordship was entered so fully into the history of those relations, and of their entire failure to secure the slightest pretence of good government for the people of Oude, that it is unnecessary to recapitulate his narrative."⁵⁶

He was of the opinion that the King of Oudh did not honour the clauses of the Treaty of 1801. The King always tried his level best to get rid of from the obligation of this Treaty. Dorin further wrote that "the relations which have hitherto existed between the British Government and the State of Oude can no longer be

maintained, and that the policy we have heretofore observed must undergo a total and fundamental change."⁵⁷

Actually the observation of Dorin was quite apt, but to some extent, it was one-sided. He never cared to make any comment relating to the circumstances in which the King of Oudh was holding his throne. However, Dorin was of the opinion that why the incorrigible Kings should remain as independent ruler of Oudh. He was not in mood to entertain any other suggestion except to abdicate the King for better government. He further writes in his Minute :

"The Governor-General proceeds to suggest four modes in which the interposition of the Government of India may be proposed to the Court of Lucknow, and he prefers the second of these methods, viz., that the King may be permitted to retain his Royal title and position, but may be required to vest the whole civil and military administration of his Kingdom in the Government of the East India Company, for ever."

It cannot be supposed that the King will agree to the surrender of his Kingdom willingly, if he has any option in the matter. He will assent to it on compulsion, that compulsion being the certainty that, if we withheld our protection from him, neither his life, nor his Kingdom, will be secure to him for one month.

The question, then, seems to me to arise, whether we are justified in contracting with this nominal King, who is incapable of self-support, for the relinquishment of his Kingdom, coupled with the maintenance of his own Kingly position."⁵⁸

Dorin was not in favour of a treaty because he was of the opinion that the King of Oudh was not competent to conclude a treaty. Any treaty concluded with Oudh would yield no result, as the King of Oudh was not a free thinker. He further emphasized in his minute : "For what Royal qualities has the King exhibited, that should warrant the British Government in continuing to him his Royal dignity? What noble feelings has he shown, that should justify the maintenance of his titular rank? I have searched the records of our connection with the Court of Lucknow in vain for traces of high and dignified bearing, either on the part of himself or his predecessors. I find therein no

mention of noble taste, or mainly pursuits. I find only the sad reverse tales of riot and debauchery, of low connections and dissolute companions;—and are these the habits that should induce the British Government to guarantee to this family the perpetuation of Royal position and dignity? Assuredly, I cannot think so.”⁵⁹

It is obvious that Dorin was adamant, to depose the King. His minute is interesting in the context. He wrote : “We have already before our eyes the spectacle of the King of Delhi, who is in a position somewhat analogous to that in which it is proposed to place the King of Oudh—a mere titular King; but is there anything in the position of the King of Delhi so satisfactory, or so little humiliating to the eye of the wide world, that it should warrant the erection of another similarly empty pageant?

We have the instance, too, of the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, another titular dignitary, whom, only recently, the Government of India, with the approval of the home authorities, has been obliged to deprive of privileges and honours in consequence of the abuse of the limited authority still left to him; but can this case be cited in favour of any extension of the principle of titular Royalty?”⁶⁰

Though Dorin was of the opinion that deposition of the King of Oudh might create some difficulty for time being, but there was no other alternative except to abdicate the King. He was convinced that the people of Oudh could not breath carefree under the present King. His views were prejudiced. He wrote that “I should, therefore, advocate the first of the measure suggested by the Governor-General, viz., that the King should be required to abdicate the sovereign power he has abused (on condition, however, of ample personal provision for himself and his family), and to consent to the incorporation of Oude with the territories of the British Crown.”⁶¹ He further observed that :

“My views, in fact, differ in no respect from those of the Governor-General, excepting that I would not undertake to continue to the most unkindly Monarch of Oude any portion of the Royal position and dignity, which by nature and inclination he is incapable of sustaining.”⁶² In the last he wrote that :

“I would assign to him ample and liberal allowances, for

his personal comfort, and for the maintenance in wealthy ease of his whole family : but I would no longer continue to him the empty title of a King, without power, and, I should be sorry to think, without respect."⁶³ After examining the views of Dorin, it would be better to analyse the views of General Low. In a minute dated July 21, 1855,⁶⁴ he expressed his opinion relating to the alternatives which had been submitted by the Governor-General. In nutshell, he was of the view that Oudh should be taken permanently i.e., the King should be deposed by a detailed examination of his minute would reveal his real sentiments. Low, in the beginning of his minute, has simply supported the observation of Lord Dalhousie. He also supported the views of Dorin in respect of the future of the Kingdom of Oudh. So far the responsibility of maladministration and inefficiency of the King was concerned the ideas of Low and Dorin was quite akin. Low was also of the view that the King of Oudh should be held responsible for all the evils prevailing in Oudh. In this context he wrote in his Minute :

"The Governor-General has also proved, most distinctly, that the present Sovereign of Oude has, in a peculiar degree, neglected to perform his part of the above-mentioned important contract with the paramount State of India (which protects him on his Throne from all risk of attacks from his oppressed subjects), and that, infact, he is utterly unfit for the proper exercise of sovereign power."⁶⁵

He further wrote that :

"I observe by Mr. Secretary Edmonstone's dispatch No. 310 of the 22nd of June last, that the opinion of the President in Council on Oude affairs is to be forwarded to England direct from Calcutta. It is thus at the option of the members of the Council to write as fully as they may think proper on all the details of the line of policy proposed in the Governor-General's Minute; but I apprehend that the first duty required of them is to state their opinions as to the nature of the chief measure which ought now to be adopted by the

paramount State, in order to put a stop to the glaring misgovernment of Oude."⁶⁶

Again, he condemned the King's administration and expressed his anger in the following words:

"I accordingly beg to declare it to be deliberate opinion that the disorders of Oude are of such long standing and are so deeply rooted, and the corruption of the native Government officers, from the Prime Minister down to the meanest Chuprassee, is so general, and so inveterate, that there is now no other efficient remedy available for effecting and maintaining a just government offer the people of Oude than that of placing the whole of its territory exclusively, and permanently, under the direct management of the East India Company; and, as I recorded, in a Minute of the 15th of March last, some of the reasons which have led me to form that opinion, I beg leave, for the convenience of ready reference, here to transcribe an extract from that Minute, viz.: 'For the present, I shall only observe that I entirely concur in the opinions recorded by Major-General Outram, in the 104th paragraph of his dispatch dated the 15th instant, for the following reasons, viz., because the public and shameful oppressions, committed on the people by Government officers in Oude, have of late years been constant and extreme; because the King of Oude has continually during many years broken the Treaty by systematically disregarding our advice, instead of following, or even endeavoring to follow it; because we are bound by Treaty (quite different in that respect from our position relatively to most of the great native States), to prevent serious interior misrule in Oude, because it has been fully proved that we have not prevented it, and that we cannot prevent it by the present mode of conducting our relations with that State; and because no man of common sense can entertain the smallest expectation that the present King of Oude can even become an efficient ruler of his country."⁶⁷

Low was in favour of deposing the King as soon as possible for this reason he forwarded the argument that since that threat

given by Lord Hardinge was not executed so far, the King's personnel have become fearless and they are doing according to their own desire. So the British Government should not go back from his threat to annex Oudh. The administration is possible only under the British rule, and if Oudh would not be submerged into British Empire that same state of affairs would continue to prevail. In the end he wrote that, "It is, therefore, my decided opinion that not only the proposed scheme of taking the management of the whole of the Oude territory, exclusively, and permanently, into our own hands ought to be carried fully into effect, but that it ought to be done with as little delay as may be practicable."⁶⁸

The views of Dorin and Low were quite similar, i.e., both were in favour of abdicating the King of Oudh on the charge of inefficiency and defiance. Actually they were quite correct from their own points of view. But from objective point of view their views were quite prejudiced and their judgement was not the judgement of a neutral judge. However, before discussing the justification of their views of these persons, it would be better to throw some light on Peacock's Minute of August 22, 1855,⁶⁹ in which he had discussed the Anglo-Oudh relations. He wrote:

"I am of opinion that the King should not be allowed to exercise any jurisdiction, or powers of government, even within the walls of demesnes of his own place. He has shown himself so utterly unfit to be trusted with any of the powers of government, that I would exclude him altogether from such an important trust.

I would by no means allow the King to exercise any option as to whether he will accept the terms offered to him or not; nor can I recommend that, under any circumstances, the Resident should quit the territories, or that the troops should be withdrawn."⁷⁰

He further wrote that "if the King be allowed the option of submitting to the terms which may be proposed, or of having the troops withdrawn, he may be ill-advised and elect the latter alternative; and the departure of the Resident and the withdrawal of the troops would probably be a signal for the commencement of a scene of anarchy and oppression that we should long have to deplore."

I think it would be inexpedient for the East India Company to attempt to conduct a Government by its own officers, in the name of the King, without his consent. If, therefore, the Honourable Court should determine to propose the second project, and the King should refuse to accept the terms offered, I should recommend the East India Company to exercise that power which I believe is, in strictness, vested in them, in consequence of the violation of the Treaty, and to remove the King and his heirs for ever from the Thorne, of which he has proved himself so unworthy an occupant, and from the title which he has so entirely disgraced. I do not think it likely that the King will be so unwise as to refuse submission, when he is aware of the consequences to which his refusal will subject him; but, should he do as, he will be the cause, and the only cause, of his own misfortune and disgrace."⁷¹

John Peter Grant, also wrote an interesting Minute on this subject on August 7, 1855.⁷² He was also a supporter of the views of Dorian and Low but his statement was comparatively more convincing so far the alternatives were concerned. He wrote: "On examining the two plans, it will be found that they differ only in this, that the first plan involve one. In this, I think that the first plan has an advantage over the other, and an advantage that will every day become greater and greater, as the reality of the British Government becomes more and more manifest, and the titular sovereignty of the former Ruler more and more shadowy. In matters of legislation and jurisdiction, by the first plan, everything will be easy and straightforward, as is now the case in the Punjab; but, by the second plan, it is hard to say what difficulties may not occasionally arise. On the other hand, I fail to see of what superior advantage the second plan would be to any person. Generally, it would be of no superior advantage to the people of Oude, or to the people of the rest of India, or to the Government of India. Neither do I see that it would be of any superior advantage to the King of Oude, in generous consideration for whom it has been proposed. There are three points to be considered in respect of the King: power, rank and wealth. Now the King certainly is to have no more power by one plan than by the other; and there is no reason why this rank and wealth should not be the same by one plan as by the other. For these reasons, with Mr. Dorin, I prefer the first plan to the second."⁷³

But Peter Grant was soft hearted man so he was not in favour of snatching the title and rank from the King. But since he thought it essential to take control in their own hands, so he was in favour of the first alternative. He further wrote that "I differ from Mr. Dorin only in as much as I would not recommend that the King should be degraded from his title, rank, or honours. These I would preserve to him as they are preserved to the Emperor of Delhi, and the Nawabs of Tanjore, Arcot, and Moorshedabad. But I do think that the title of King should die with the present Ruler. The Soobahdar of Oude bestowed it upon himself in 1819, and though it was acknowledged by the Governor-General in Council, after it had been assumed, I find, on referring to the records connected with the transaction that the acknowledgement cannot be said to have been heartily approved by the Home government. By calling himself a King, the ruler of Oude did not alter, in the least degree, his real position. In my opinion the Nawab in 1819 ought not to have been allowed to give himself the title of King; but that is past. A man who has once been a King may be styled a King, with the greatest prosperity, to the end of his life. But I do not see much reason for styling men Kings who had never had any princely power whatever, only because one of their remote ancestors was a King."⁷⁴

Grant's minute was quite comprehensive and he touched almost all the aspects. So far the stipend of the King was concerned he wrote, "As to the personal stipend to be granted to the ex-king, which ought in my opinion to be very liberal, I trust that no arrangement may be made now, except for the lifetime of the present ruler, leaving a fresh arrangement to be made at his death, and at the death of each of his successors. I think that at the Government ought expressly to reserve the right of reducing the stipend as it may think fit, at the death of every stipendiary. At this moment, when our minds are all full of the immense public benefits that will result from the abdication of the King of Oude, no sum of money appears too much to pay in order to insure those benefits. This is true view of the case for the present day, but it will not be a true view for sixty years hence. We feel for Oude exactly what was felt half a century ago, when the present enormous stipends were fixed for the Nawabs of Moorshedabad, Tanjore, and Arcot, and for other pensioned Princes. But, even already, those interested in the welfare and

progress of India are beginning to ask—what has the country for this vast personal expenditure? The answer is, it has got places filled with idle profligates. Then people begin to calculate what public works, what useful institutions, which the country is too poor now to construct or provide, might be constructed and provided, for the benefit of the millions who pay the taxes out of which these stipends are defrayed, with only a part of these vast sums."⁷⁵ It is very obvious from the above facts that Peter Grant was in favour of reducing amount day-by-day, not at once, because he was not in favour of a hereditary formula. In the end of his minute he wrote:

"It is a generous and a polite, when we take away his power from an incapable Viceroy, to curtail nothing of his personal splendour, but I cannot see the propriety of treating the tenth generation of his family exactly in the same way."⁷⁶

In another minute dated August 18, 1855, Low wrote after narrating the entire Anglo-Oudh relations, that "In short, I cannot conceive it to be possible, that the continuance of the person to the successors of this King can never cause injury either to the people of Oude or to the native of any part of British India, and under all circumstances of the case I am decidedly of opinion; that whatever amount of pension now to be settled upon the present King, the same ought to be punctually paid to each of his successors, as is proposed by the most Noble the Governor-General."⁷⁷

In another Minute of August 22, 1855, Mr. B. Peacock, after giving his comments on the Treaty of 1801 and Anglo-Oudh relations upto 1855, he summed up his opinion in these words:

"I am of the opinion that the King should not be allowed to exercise any jurisdiction, or powers of government, even within the walls or demesnes of his own place. He has shown himself so utterly unfit to be trusted with any of the powers of Government, that I would exclude him altogether from such an important trust."⁷⁸

With all these comments the minute was forwarded to the Court of Directors for their approval. In a dispatch dated

November 21, 1855, the Court of Directors gave green signal to Dalhousie to proceed with the new Treaty. After giving their comments on the minutes of Barlow, Grant, Dorin, Peacock and Lord Dalhousie, they wrote: "of the three modes of proceeding which are thus placed before us for our choice, the two last, those of Mr. Peacock and of the three other members of council, are of an authoritative character. The plan of the Governor-General includes the King himself as a consenting party to the measure; and, in as much as it is intended to show more tenderness to the feelings of a family who, whatever may have been their offences towards their own subject have not been unfaithful to the British Government, His Lordship's plan has so far an advantage over the two others. The practical considerations which militate against it have been already stated. If the King should refuse his consent to the Treaty offered for his acceptance, the people of Oude would be, at least temporarily, exposed to a state of still worse anarchy than at present, while it would be extremely difficult for us to fulfil our numerous pledges of protection to individuals and families in Oude. These consequences would be so serious that any considerable risk of their being actually incurred would outweigh the strong desire we entertain to carry into effect the measures necessary for the good government of Oude, in the manner least painful to the feeling of the reigning dynasty."⁷⁹

Actually the Court of directors were not sure that the proposed treaty would be accepted by the King. So they asked the Governor-General, that first of all he should confirm that whether the King would accept the treaty or not. If the King was in mood of accepting the treaty there was no use to offer such condition which might mislead the people of Oudh. They further wrote about the stipend to the King that "we entirely participate in the opinion that the provision for the reigning family should be very liberal. But we do not think it necessary that the permanent provision for the King's descendants should be of so large an amount as we should be willing to concede to the present King for his own life, in consideration of the habits of expense which have grown out of the station he occupies, and of the feeling natural to his altered position."⁸⁰

Actually the Court of Directors were quite liberal in their approach. They were of the opinion that the King should retain

simple power. In this context they wrote: "We are of opinion that the King and his Successors should retain full jurisdiction (except as regards the punishment of death), not only, as proposed by the Governor-General, within the precincts of the palace, but also, as recommended by Major-General Low, within the extent of the Dil Khosha and Beeheepore Parks, Major General Low regards this concession as essential to the comfort and enjoyment of the family, and, 'as there are distinct boundaries to these domains,' he feels "sure that no serious inconvenience could arise."⁸¹

In the last they wrote: "It is on every account to be desired that the great measure which we have authorized, should be carried into effect under the auspices of the nobleman who has so long, and with such eminent ability and success, administered the affairs of the British Empire in India—who has bestowed such attentive and earnest consideration on this particular subject—and whose acts may carry a weight of authority which might, perhaps, not in the same degree attach to the first proceedings of a new administration. Entertaining full reliance on the ability and judgement of the Marquis of Dalhousie, with the suggestions of the other members of your Government before him, we abstain from fettering his Lordship's discretion by any further instructions; and feel assured that, whichever mode of attaining the indispensable result may be resolved on, the change will be carried into effect in the manner best calculated to avert collisions of any kind, and with every proper and human consideration to all persons whose feelings have a just claim to be consulted."⁸²

Lord Dalhousie issued very detailed instructions to Outram regarding the annexation of Oudh. In a minute dated January 15, 1856, Lord Dalhousie explained the procedure of conveying the message of annexation to the King of Oudh and about the movement and activities of the forces.⁸³ The Resident was authorized to assume command over all the troops in Oudh.⁸⁴ The news of the deposition of the King was to be first communicated through his Prime Minister, Ale Naqi Khan; then to the King.⁸⁵ Outram, accompanied by Captain Hayes and Weston, proceeded at 8 a.m. on February 4, 1856, to visit His Majesty, by appointment. During the Conference, in addition to the Prime Minister, His Majesty's brother Sekunder Hashmal, the Residency Vakeel Muhee-ood-Dowlah, his deputy Sheb-ood-

Dowlah, and the Minister of Finance Rajah Balkrishan, were present.⁸⁶ The resident handed over the letter to the King. In the beginning the King was not in mood of accepting the proposals of the British Government, but due to his weak position he had to bow down before the British. The King handed over the treaty to Saheb-ood-Dowlah to read the articles of the Treaty. But Saheb-ood-Dowlah, overcome by his feelings, was unable to read but a few lines, then the King took the treaty from his hand and carefully perused each article. His Majesty, the King of Oudh, then gave vent to his feelings, in a passionate burst of grief, and exclaimed:

“Treaties are necessary between equals only. Who am I now, that the British Government should enter into Treaties with me? For a hundred years this dynasty has flourished in Oude. It had ever received the favour, the support, and protection, of the British Government. It had even attempted faithfully and fully to perform its duties to the British Government. The Kingdom is a creation of the British, who are able to make and to unmake, to promote and to degrade. It has merely to issue its commands to ensure their fulfilment; not the slightest attempt will be made to oppose the views and wishes of the British Government; myself and subjects are its servants.”⁸⁷ The King wrote a letter to the Governor-General also in which he had expressed his sentiments on signing of a new Treaty.⁸⁸ After a good deal of conversations and discussions the King declined to sign the treaty. The Resident gave a warning to the King that no further delay than the three days could be permitted, and then with the usual ceremonies and honours, took his leave of the King.⁸⁹ Again, on February 7, 1856, the Resident was informed about the King’s refusal to accept the Treaty.⁹⁰ Immediately after receiving this news, the Resident proceeded to take charge of the city and Government Secretariat. In no time he took the administration of Oudh in his own hands. The annexation of Oudh was completed by a proclamation of Lord Dalhousie, in which he had promised to safeguard the interests of Zamindars and the Royal family.⁹¹ Then to complete the process of annexation two more proclamations were made.

FIRST PROCLAMATION

“To all Amils, Talookdars, Malgoozars, Zamindars, Military Officers, Thanadars, Kanoongoes, Chowdhries, and to all his Majesty’s subjects.

Be it known that, according to the order of the British Government, the servants of that Government have been appointed for the administration of the Kingdom of Oudh, and will assume the Government; therefore, take heed to obey all orders which may be issued, and to pay the revenue to them, and to become faithful subjects to them; on no pretence to revolt or mutiny, because the servants of the British government have the power to punish.

(When His Majesty proceeds to Calcutta, to bring this case to the notice of the Governor-General, and on His Majesty’s departure for England to intercede with Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen you are on no account to attempt to follow or accompany His Majesty.)

No date of the month, but simply, Jemad-ul-awal, 1272 (Hijri) (January-February 1856).

SECOND PROCLAMATION

To all the officers of the army.

Be it known that you ought to remain at your post and on your duties in readiness or usual, and on no pretence allow of any unsoldier like conduct.

The balance of your pay, after the deductions made for advances, received will be paid to you by the East India Company (Sirkar Kampani).

Let no man leave his post; and pay particular attention to these orders.⁹²

After these proclamations the story of the annexation of Oudh was completed. The King was very much annoyed and was in very thoughtful mood. Ultimately, he decided to go to Calcutta, much against the wishes of the British Government.⁹³ He reached Calcutta safely. Once again he tried his luck by sending a delegation to the Queen of England, but the revolt of 1857 sealed the fate of Wajid Ali Shah. With all these agencies and worries, Wajid Ali Shah passed away on September 1, 1887.⁹⁴

The annexation of Oudh played a vital role in instigating the people of Oudh against the British people. The Zamindars and Rajas of Oudh who were enjoying the protection of the King of Oudh were very much annoyed; even some of them were ready to fight with the British.⁹⁵ Some Rajas and Zamindars were waiting for the order of the King of Oudh to take arms against the British Government.⁹⁶ The annexation of Oudh shook the faith of the Indian Chiefs in the British and they began to think that the justice of the Britishers is just like *Matsya-Nayaya*. The annexation of Oudh exposed the real intention of the British people. The annexation of Oudh was vehemently criticized by the people of Indian. There was an anonymous application dated March 16, 1856, from Kanpur to the Governor-General in which the policy of the British government was criticized. The applications runs:

- (1) "The annexation of Oudh cannot be justified on any ground.
- (2) King of Oudh did not fight against the British like the rulers of Lahore and Gwalior. King of Oudh ordered the army to be disarmed and removed the guns. The act of British Government was unmagnanimous and tyrannical. Government of Oudh was accused of mismanagement. But on the other hand nobody had any complaint against the rule of the King of Oudh.
- (3) Every one abides by the agreement and the Government should not break the same.
- (4) Ghaziuddin Haider was raised to the dignity of King from that of minister. If the Government intended to degrade the King, it ought not to have bestowed Kingship on the Nawab.
- (5) King of Oudh was compelled to affix his seal against his wishes.
- (6) Thousands of people who were attached to the court of Oudh are now ruined.
- (7) Never such an act had been committed in the past by any ruler...."⁹⁷

The applicant in the end submitted that he had no connection with the Government of Oudh but he had submitted it as a well wisher of the British Government.⁹⁸

McLeod Inns's observation about the consequences of annexation is very apt. He observes that "thus it was that after the middle of 1856 the whole of Oude was in a state of bitter disaffection, which increased as the year advanced."⁹⁹

Kaye and Malleon have also criticized the annexation of Oudh. They write, "In a word the annexation of Oudh converted a country the loyalty of whose inhabitants to the British had become proverbial, into a hot bed of discontent and intrigue."¹⁰⁰ In addition to his socio-economic causes also played very vital role in erupting the volcano, so it is desirable to discuss these causes also.

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3

Socio-Economic and Other Causes

If the annexation of Oudh was the political cause for the Revolt, it generated the social and economic discontent which also became an equally potent cause for widespread character of the Revolt in Oudh. In fact this socio-economic discontent created by the pre-annexation and also as a result of Post-annexation British policies in the territory of Oudh were an equally important cause for the Revolt at Lucknow and the other divisions of Oudh, hence these social and economic factors are also to be analysed and explained.

The British annexation of Oudh implied not only the imposition of alien rule but, something worse still, a pitiless destruction of the traditional Indian social and economic order, which resulted in a Revolt. Actually the socio-economic causes played a very vital role in blasting the discontents of the public against the British rule.

The economic exploitation of India starts from the original Charter of the East India Company according to which the East India Company was "not to exchange as far as possible the manufactured goods of England for the product of India but to carry the manufactures and commodities of India and Europe."¹

Acts of Parliaments were passed in 1700 and 1721, absolutely prohibiting with certain exceptions, "the employment of printed or dyed calicoes in England, either in dress or in furniture, and use of any printed dyed goods, of which cotton formed any part".² It was an offence to wear printed or dyed calicoes from India, Persia and China and the penalty was upto \$ 200.³ Now it would be better to throw light on the details of the economic exploitation of the Britishers. Had India been independent, she would have also imposed some restrictions on British goods to retaliate the British steps, but India was a dependent country also she could not raise her head. The Industrial revolution in England completely transformed the character of her relations with India. The expansion of British manufacture overwhelmed and ultimately destroyed the primitive Indian industry and converted the country into a source for raw materials. India became a major market for British goods. This approach proved very much injurious for the Indian artisans and craftsmen, because it was very difficult for them to match with the Industrial Revolution of England. In a very short period their condition became miserable. In this context, Lord William Bentinck wrote to the Court of Directors that their "misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India."⁴ Karl Marx's observation in this context is worth mentioning: "... It was the British intruder who broke up the Indian handlooms and destroyed the spinning wheel... British steamed and science uprooted over the whole surface of Hindustan, the union between agriculture and manufacturing industry."⁵

Actually the Industrial Revolution in England destroyed the small scale industries of India. The result of the Industrial Revolution was worst on Indian economy. The deteriorating economy and destruction of handicrafts changed the structure of society. People, who were earning their livelihood by the small scale industries, started to go back to the villages. This tendency increased the burden on land. In this context, Prof. D.R. Gadgil's remark is very apt: "the decay of urban industry increased the pressure on land."⁶ The entire industry was controlled by the Britishers, on the cost of Indian economy. Poverty, unemployment, etc., were the natural consequences of this policy. These curses of society have got its own impact on the public feeling. Naturally

this sort of Government can never be favoured by the people, so the economic exploitation by the British irritated the general public.

In such a tense atmosphere, the British annexed Oudh which proved fatal for them. The Nawabs of Oudh, some important personalities of the court and the Talookdars were patronizing a large number of artisans and craftsmen. Sudden deposition of Wajid Ali Shah and the annexation of the state threw these entire classes into the whirl of economic uncertainty. As such the annexation had its own immediate impact on the economic and social fabric of the country. Lucknow itself had developed its own cultural personality under the Nawabs and the deposition of the Nawab had a stunning effect on these groups. The post-annexation economic policies of the British shattered the faith of Indians in the British justice. No wonder, therefore, that on August 27, 1856, John Davenport wrote a letter to the editor of "The Morning Post," in which he stated that a memorial signed by more than 50,000 persons by their own free will had been submitted to the Queen protesting against the arbitrary annexation, by the company. The signatories expressed their "unfeigned attachment to their Native sovereign." The transformation in trade relations had severe repercussions on the Indian social structure. The uprooted artisans fell back upon agriculture. There was no possibility of the growth of modern industrial system within the orbit of imperial relations. But there was considerable pressure on land already, and it could not sustain more. To earn the livelihood became difficult for the artisans and craftsmen. In this way the commercial exploitation by the British annoyed the artisans and craftsmen. Along with commercial exploitation the land policy of the British irritated another class of the people consisted of Zamindars and Talookdars. Hence, it would be better to analyse the land and revenue administrations of Oudh upto annexation and after the deposition of the King.

During the Hindu and Muslim rule, the 'King's Share' was a proportion of the year's produce and was surrendered as a tribute of tax by the peasants joint-owners of a self-governing village community to the ruler or his nominee. "The soil of India belonged to the tribe or its sub-division—the village community, the clan or the brotherhood settled in the village—and never was

considered as the property of the King. . . . Either in feudal or imperial scheme there never was any notion in the ownership of the soil vesting in any body except the peasantry."⁸ But as soon as the British East India Company came in power, it was assumed that the state was the supreme landlord. In place of the traditional share of the Government in the produce paid by the village communities as a whole, there was introduced a system of fixed payment in cash assessed on land which had no reference to good or bad harvest or to how much the land was cultivated. In most cases the assessment was individual, either levied directly on the cultivator or on landlords appointed by the government. With the individuals being directly assessed, the village community lost its economic function. There was a strong trend towards individual assessment, and in practice, co-proprietors were treated as individual proprietors who could sell or mortgage their land. Sir John Strachy wrote, "Our policy has been to encourage the growth of private property in land . . . (though) former governments hardly recognized the existence of such property."⁹

Though there was a provision for an appeal for high assessment and on the report of the revenue accountant the assessment was reduced, whenever necessary. Mostly, the demand fixed by the revenue administrators was the maximum sum that an estate could pay.¹⁰ In Oudh, at least four systems of revenue collection were prevalent and the land was also divided into different categories, i.e., the Crown Estates, the Huzoor Tehsil, the Izarah system districts and the Amani or trust management districts. The crown estates or Khalsa were the private property of the Nawab, and there was provision for direct collection of revenue from the cultivators.

The Huzoor Tehsil system was very much prevalent in Oudh. When a village was made Huzoor Tehsil, the management was entrusted exclusively to the head of the body of the village proprietors, one of the original occupants of the soil. He gave security for the amount of Revenue he had agreed to pay. Under this system the chief proprietor was free from all the vexatious superintendence of the local revenue officials, and paid his revenue direct into the treasury. But gradually the malpractice entered in this system.

The third method of collection was to pay the *Izarah* system or contract between the ruler and his collectors. The Nawab received without much delay or troubled, a fixed amount of revenue, and the collector who got no fixed salary, was given full scope to extort from the land-holders as much as he could, over and above what he paid to the Government. The Government of a large district was sold by auction to the high bidder, without investigating the character of the person. The only object of a contractor was to extract as much money as possible from the area for which he had contracted. This system ruined the poor farmer. It also terrified the zamindars.

There was a direct conflict between the *chakledar's* or *renter's* office and *talookdars*. In order to defend their own existence, the *talookdars* were compelled to maintain forts and military. This system proved very much harmful for the economy of Oudh.

The fourth system was *Amani* system. In the time of Ghazi-ud-din Hyder, the *Amani* system was introduced. An *amil* was placed in charge of the district, with orders to remit to the treasury whatever he could collect. But this system also proved worthless and could not continue for some time because the *amils* started corrupt practices. The history of Oudh under the trust management system is a disgraceful tale of "shameless spoilation of the riot by all clases."¹¹ Under such circumstances this system was given up in despair. Again in Nasir-ud-din Hyder's reign this system was introduced, but once more it failed. During the time of Muhammad Ali Shah, vigorous efforts were made to introduce the *Amani* system, but without much success. Lord Hardinge always tried to implement the *Amani* system but he also failed in his efforts.

There was *Kubz* system also. By it, the collector shifted the burden of the collection from his own shoulders to the commandant of troops, for a certain sum; and the troops know quite well that unless they collected this amount they would never get their pay. So they used every possible way to squeeze money out of the cultivators. If they were unable to raise that sum by the sale of all the crops, they seized and sold all the stock and property of the *ryot*. And if still the amount was not covered, they did not hesitate to seize and sell the women and children.¹²

Such was the state of affairs of Oudh, so far the revenue policy was concerned. Everywhere, anarchy was prevailing. Talookdars were also suffering due to the activities of Chakledars, what to say of small farmers. In a word, the entire agricultural class was in distress. In this context, Thornhill's observation is very apt. He writes: "Our land revenue was undoubtedly too highly assessed, and our system of enforcing payments by the sale of land made its severity the more felt."¹³

Under such state of affairs, Oudh was annexed, which gave another shock to the farmers and Zamindars. After the annexation, the talookdars and zamindars lost their power and were getting themselves helpless. The position of the farmers was worst because neither they were getting any help from the zamindars not from the British Government. So, most of the farmers were dying of hunger. Though the British assumed the administration of Oudh, but they failed to check the deteriorating condition of the agricultural class. The condition of farmers, after the annexation was quite unique. On one hand, the zamindars and talookdars were trying to squeeze money from them and on the other hand, the British officers were harassing them. M.R. Gubbins has painted the picture in these words: "The sufficient evidence of the wretchedness was miserable and starve cattle, unable to drag the wretched implements of husbandry in use, squalid and deserted village, ruined wells and a naked and starved peasantry."¹⁴ He further says: "I have never met with such evidence of general poverty in Oudh."¹⁵

The annexation of Oudh reduced the position of zamindars and talookdars and made their life miserable. Even it was difficult for them to earn their livelihood. Hence, this class raised their heads against the British rule. The economic discontent among the people was on bursting point. The letter of the Nana Saheb which he wrote to Napoleon III, the King of France, gives a glimpse of the real sentiments of the people. He wrote, "The inhabitants of Lucknow and entire Oudh crushed by the arbitrary and tyrannical acts of the English government, prayed to God day and night for their extermination, ruin and partition in such a manner that no trace of single Englishman would remain here below."¹⁶

He further wrote that, "in the country of Oudh there are hundred to two million men all of whom would prefer to die in

battle than to see us submit to the English."¹⁷ In the end they had requested the King of France to do justice and help him without any delay. Thus, it is very clear that the people of Oudh were fed up with the British and were in search of opportunity to express their dissatisfaction. In the year 1857 they got the opportunity and took arms against the British with an intention to get rid of from the British rule.

In this way the entire agricultural class along with the artisans and craftsmen were against the British rule. In addition to these classes, people of other sections of the society were also annoyed with the policies of the British Government.

The disbandment of the former King's army, which had swollen to 70,000 men, according to Resident Lowe's calculations, had thrown a horde of desperados upon Oudh.¹⁸ Lt. Gen. Innes's observation in this respect is very apt. He has written that "To discharge a sepoy was to create a bandit."¹⁹ Actually there was not a single family in Oudh which did not have one member at least serving in the army. The region was thus overrun by the disbanded soldiers who had found no place in the new Oudh Irregular Force and the military police.²⁰ The disbandment resulted in forced unemployment in almost every Oudh peasant's home. Thus, the people of this class were also against the British and were waiting for opportunity to take revenge.

The religious factor which also played a big role in the Revolt of 1857 cannot be overlooked. The British statesmen and chroniclers exaggerated and deliberately misinterpreted the role played by this factor to prove their thesis that the 1857 Revolt was reactionary and directed against the progressive reforms that they were introducing in Indian Society. But if we analyse the facts in a historical perspective, it will be obvious that the British were conducting a furious, well-planned, economic, political and ideological offensive against India. The biggest problem facing all classes of the Indian people was to save India for the Indians and defend it from the British all-sided onslaughts. Though the British always tried to justify their interference in the religious field, but they never cared to realize the sentiments of the Indian people. Too much interference in the religious affairs of every class of the Indian Society created hatred in the hearts of the

people of India for the British. Hence it would be not out of context to discuss the way the British were interfering in the religious sphere.

There was propaganda about the conversion of Hindus and Muslims into Christians. Christianity was being infused in army also.²¹ The leader of the Bishops, Dr. Alexander Duff's policy was to prepare a background by teaching English and convert high class Brahmins and other aristocrats into Christians.²² Sunday was declared a public holiday to attend the prayer etc. Soldiers were not allowed to take part in the religious processions.²³ The views of the soldiers were very much against the British Government so far religious policy was concerned. In this context, Dr. Sen states, "We have ungrudgingly shed our blood in the service of our foreign masters, complained the disaffected sepoy, we have conquered for them Kingdom after Kingdom until nothing remained to annexed within the four corners of the country but what has been the return?—spoilation of our people, degradation of our princes and worst of all, inconceivable insults to our religion."²⁴

The sepoy were convinced that the religion is not safe in the British reign. How this idea got a firm footing in the minds of sepoy, is a problem to conjure with and the history can be traced from the Vellore Mutiny of 1806. The cause of this mutiny was the order of Sir George Barlow for trimming the beards of all the sepoy and introduction of the leather Cockade in the new turban. It was general belief that Cockade was the product of cow or pig skin which annoyed the Hindu as well as Muslim sepoy and ultimately they revolted but the revolt was suppressed by Colonel Gillespie. The next reason of the annoyance of the sepoy was sea voyage. At that time it was against Hinduism to go beyond the sea. So the sepoy objected the order of the British Government when they were asked to go to Burma via sea route. The sepoy gave a tough resistance and they went to Burma via land route. The defeat of the British army in the First Afghan War infused the idea in the minds of soldiers that the Britishers are not invincible and they can also be defeated. Further, some sepoy were captured during the war and after their return, the Hindu Society was not in mood to assimilate them. This also annoyed the sepoy. The behaviour of the high British officials was not very satisfactory. There was no fellow feeling between the white

minority and the dark majority. Thus, the sepoys were very much annoyed with the British.²⁵ In addition to these, there were other causes which created bitterness. The abolition of *Sati* was also treated as an encroachment on the religion. The activities of the Missionaries cannot be overlooked. They were trying hard to educate Indian people for embracing Christianity. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan states, "It has been commonly believed that Government appointed missionaries and maintained them at its own cost."²⁶ Thus, it is clear that the missionary propaganda was not only violently aggressive and widespread but also supported by the Government agency.

Lord Canning's patronage to missionary activities and his large-scale devotion to their funds were well known and widely commented upon. The next infamous incident was the well known story of Mr. Edmund's letter which was circulated publicly from Calcutta and copy of which was sent to all the principal officials of the Government. The main aim of the letter was, "It was to the effect that all Hindustan was now under one rule; that the telegraph had so connected all parts of the country that they were as one; that the railroads brought them so near that all towns were as one, the time has clearly come when they should be put one faith; it was right, therefore, that we should all become Christians." This letter frightened the people because it was a direct attack on the religion.

During the famine, helpless children were taken to the orphanage and there they were brought up as Christians. The Missionaries were very active in schools also and the Deputy Inspectors of Schools were popularly known as native clergymen.²⁷ In this way on one hand the Missionaries were active in spreading Christianity in India and on the other hand the government was also interfering in the religious affairs. As such, orthodox Hindus and Muslims were very much dissatisfied with the British.

The introduction of English in schools further aggravated the discontent of the people.

Actually, the introduction of English in Schools infused the anti-British feelings in the minds of public, because they started thinking that by teaching English, the British want to eradicate their own culture and religion. English was essential for higher jobs. Without knowledge of English, it was not possible to get a

government service. This was another point which impelled to the people to think that the British were inclined to spread Christianity through various means. Indians were not provided higher jobs either in Civil Service or in Military Service. These things were haunting in the minds of middle class. Thus, the middle class was also annoyed.

The most prominent reason of dissatisfaction of the public was the introduction of Act XXI of 1850 which enabled converts to inherit their ancestral property. It is very obvious from this Act that for inheriting the ancestral property it was essential to accept Christianity. In this way, the Britishers tried their level best to impose Christianity on Indians. The control of important temples like Shrine of Jagannath of Puri by Government²⁸ also irritated the Hindus. But due to public opinion of Britain, they had to restore the old authority in the Jagannath Temple.

Thus, almost all the classes of the people were dissatisfied with the British rule and were waiting for a chance to express their anger. The peasants, the Zamindars and the talookdars were unhappy due to the land policy of the British, while the artisans and the craftsmen were angry on account of the economic exploitation by the British. Further the educated middle class was also angry because they were not getting higher jobs. The annexation policy of the British gave a big jolt to the Indian Kings of different provinces and shook their faith in the British justice. Hence, they were also in mood of getting rid of from the British rule. The Revolt of 1857 gave a chance to all these annoyed people to express their sentiments.

Along with the remote causes there were immediate causes also. But the immediate cause was something else, which actually exploded the bomb of discontent. So far the immediate cause is concerned the story of greased cartridges is very important. Kaye and Malleison write: "The winter of 1857 passed away without ringing any alarm, but now suddenly, a story of most terrific importance found its way into circulation. It was stated that the Government had manufactured cartridges, greased with animal fat, for the use of the native army, and the statement was not a lie. It was a general opinion of the sepoys that the cartridges which they had to bite with the teeth were being prepared with the fat of pig and cow, and the Britishers wanted to spread agnosticism."²⁹ Though I.A.B. Palmer has condemned the theory

of using cow and pig fats in greasing the cartridges, he is of the opinion that it was mutton fat which was being used in greasing the cartridges.³⁰ Here it would be better not to enter into the controversy whether it was true or not, that the cartridges were greased with animals' fats objectionable to Hindus and Muslims or not. However, this incidence exploded the phyre of the explosives. How the news spread all over India? Kaye and Malleison have quoted an incident "one day in January, a low caste luscar, or magazine man, meeting a high caste sepahi in the cantonment, asked him for drink of water from the score of caste, and was tauntingly told that caste was nothing, that high caste and low caste would soon be all the same as cartridges smeared with beef fat and hog's lard were being made for the sipai's at the depots and would soon be in general use throughout the army. The Brahmin carried this news to his other friends like the case of the leather head dresses, which had convulsed southern India half a century before, it appealed to the strongest feelings both of the Mohammadans and the Hindus, but though similar in kind, it was more offensive in degree, more insulting, more appalling and more disgusting."³¹ In this context the couplet composed of the King of Delhi³² is very interesting:

"Na Iran ne Kiaya, na Shah Russ Ne,
Angrez ko tabah Kiya Kartoosh ne."

Another immediate cause of the dissatisfaction of sepoys was the Bone Dust Store. It was said that flour in the market is being sold at very cheap rate because cow and pig bones have been mixed in the flour. But Munshi Kurrem Buksh went to the mill and examined the process of grinding and disapproved this charge.³³ "... under the date the 29th April 1857, the native agent of the navigation Department at Cawnpore forwarded to Mr. James Finn, the Superintendent, a report stating that provision has been made for the transport of 1,000 maunds of flour to Kanpur, of which 20 maunds had arrived and been offered for sale, that the evil disposed people had however spread a report among the sepoys that in grinding the grain at the canal mills the bone dust of cow and swine had been mixed with the flour by order of government, and with the object of defiling Hindoo and Mahomedan alike, that much excitement had been

created and none of the flour sold; he therefore requested instructions how he was to act. He was informed in reply, that the canal officer had no concern either with the Mills or the grain ground in item, they were entirely in the hands of Native contractors with whom the proprietors of the grain made their own arrangements and the report of any interference of Government with purity of the flour was false, that he might give the assurance to all requiring information but no further steps need be taken in the matter."³⁴ It appears from these details that this was a rumor and there is no truth in it. Since that theory also got momentum so quite a few number of people were under the influence of this rumour.

In short, economic, political, military and religious causes were the main root and the story of greased cartridges gave a new turn to the situation and the whole country came under the flame of Revolt. The greased cartridges proved an igniter in explosive.

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4

Discontentment and Hostility of Indian Soldiers

On May 10, 1857, the Great Uprising broke out against the Britishers at Meerut and gradually its flame began to spread elsewhere. This Great Uprising sparked the Revolt at Lucknow and later its flames engulfed the entire Oudh. General and widespread nature of the Revolt has been universally acknowledged. These events were the products of the British annexation of Oudh and the policies adopted during post-annexation period.

Though the Revolt commenced at Lucknow in May 1857, still there was discontentment among the Indian troops stationed there which was evident from some of the sporadic incidents which took place earlier. In April, there was trouble between the Indian soldiers of the 48th Native Infantry Regiment when Dr. Wells, the Surgeon of the Infantry, applied to his mouth a bottle of carminative mixture taken from the regimental hospital. When this news reached the Indian soldiers, they thought that this action of the surgeon was against their religious belief. They began to discard the medicines of their regimental hospital. When

this news reached Colonel Palmer, he assembled the Indian officers and soldiers and destroyed that bottle of medicine. He also rebuked Dr. Wells. In spite of this, one night, the house of Dr. Wells was set on fire. Though Dr. Wells escaped, still it was the common feeling that the incendiaries belong to the 48th N.I. This incident shows that there was definite sense of hostility in the minds of the Indian soldiers due to caste and religion. It was also suspected that some Indian officers of the army were planning against the Britishers in league with Rooknoodowlah and Mustafa Ali, the relatives of the ex-king of Oudh.

Growing hostility at Lucknow is again manifested by the incidents which took place on April 30 and May 3, 1857. Discontentment among the Indian soldiers on the use of greased cartridges came on the surface. The task of Sir Lawrence was not easy. The total number of the Indian soldiers stationed in Oudh was 20,560 while that of the European troops was 875 only.¹ This big disparity in the ratio of the Indian soldiers and the European troops not only made the position of Lawrence precarious but also accounted for the early severe reverses of the Britishers.

On the 30 April the storm threatened and on May 3, it broke. The 7th Regiment of Oudh Irregular Infantry was stationed at Musa Bagh, about three miles from the Residency (the Residency was known as Bailey Guard Also.) A squad of this regiment refused to accept the cartridges while parading for musketry practice, on the ground that these were greased cartridges. This news reached Brigadier Gray, who ordered for general parade and punishment on the disobedience. The Brigadier's orders proved effective and some officers came forward and expressed their regret.² However, the next day the parade could not take place due to the annoyance of the recruits who seized their arms and openly threatened their officers.

The rebels now tried to contact 48th Native Infantry to get help and they sent a message also that they had taken this step due to religious considerations. They called on 48th Native infantry as their 'elders' or 'superiors' and requested for help. But unfortunately the message came in the hands of young Sepoy Adjutant Smith and this news was passed to Lawrence. When this news reached Sir Henry Lawrence, he decided to suppress the Revolt and marched towards Moosa Bagh along with some troops. Sir Henry Lawrence succeeded in suppressing the Revolt

and ordered for disarming them. Sir Henry Lawrence held a Durbar on May 12 which kept Oudh quiet for a week.

However, when the news of the Uprising at Meerut reached Lucknow, the spirit of Revolt again became strong. Sir Henry Lawrence took immediate step to check the spread of the Revolt. He telegraphed to the Governor-General and requested him to send European troops from China, Ceylon and other places and also the Gorkhas from the hill stations and Nepal.³ He also demanded that the Governor-General should give him a free hand to firmly deal and to control the Revolt. The Governor-General bestowed upon him all the powers asked by Sir Lawrence who assumed the military command and started preparations for the defence of Lucknow.

His first step was to settle the case of 7th Oudh Irregular Infantry in satisfactory way. Only leaders were kept in prison to be dealt with later on and others were pardoned and ordered to return to duty unarmed.

His next step was to distribute the European forces in such a way that they may control the Revolutionary forces effectively.

At this time the following troops were stationed at Lucknow:

4 Batteries of field artillery.

1 Garrison Battery.

2 Regiments of Cavalry.

6 Regiments of Infantry.

A strong force of Military Police, both horse and foot, numbered in all between 7,000 and 8,000 men.⁴

Sir Henry Lawrence chose three important military posts. Two of these, the Residency and the Machchi Bhavan—he made as strong as he could.⁵ Having regard to possible eventualities he removed the spare ammunition from the magazines into the Machchi Bhawan. In the Residency compound over the treasury he posted a mixed guard of two hundred sipahies, 130 Europeans and six guns. The third post was at the old cantonment of Mariaum. It was garrisoned by 340 men of the 32nd Fort, 50 European Artillerymen and six guns, the three native regiments and a battery of native artillery.⁶ Sir Lawrence made his headquarters here for the time being⁷ and was given full

powers by the Governor-General to tackle the situation.⁸ There was instructions from the Secretary to Governor-General to Quarter Master General Simla to act according to the advice of Lawrence.⁹

On the other hand the rebels were also making efforts to organize themselves against the Britishers. The lead was given by Nana Sahib and Maulvi Ahmad Ullah Shah, who played a very important part in organizing the Revolt. Before the annexation of Oudh Nana Sahib had sought the co-operation of the zamindars and Rajas of Oudh against the British but they wavered for the time being. However, after the annexation when Nana Sahib visited Lucknow, a number of Rajas and Talookdars were willing and to lend their support. Instead of Nana Sahib there were other leaders also who were busy in organizing the Revolt against the British.

A letter from Lucknow dated May 29, 1857, indicated the widespread preparation to fight together with the British. Here it would be essential to quote a few experts from this letter. The letter runs "Proclamations too, in Hindee, Oordoo, Persian were pasted inviting Hindoos and Mussulmans to unite and exterminate all Europeans and some of them as inflammable as language can make them denouncing all who remain passive as born of the pigs of Europeans, born of crows, despised by the Gods, hated and spat at by all true sons of Mahabeer Jee and of Mahomed."¹⁰ In this connection Anderson's observation is worth mentioning; he writes, "Reports now spread that the Rajans were collecting all their forces to attack Lucknow, and the general belief amongst the Natives in the garrison, that the Mussulman had determined on killing every Christian in Oude before the end of the feast of Ramzan."¹¹

On May 27, 1857, the zamindars of Malihabad¹² blew the bugle of Revolt against Britishers. But Captain Waston and Lieutenant Macham, with an escort of one company of 7th Regiment (which revolted at Moosa Bagh) went to Malihabad for the purpose of quieting the rebel. In this context the remark of Hutchinson is very interesting: "Our march through Malihabad was watched by armed villagers and this, only 14 miles from Lucknow where three months previously, they dare not have

lifted to finger, and where the year before, in September, I had encamped in perfect security."¹³

Captain Weston and Lt. Mecham were in danger and surrounded by Mohamedan population of Malihabad but they reached Lucknow safely.

Finally the Revolt traveled to Lucknow. "... On the evening of the 30th May, however, a sepoy of the 13th Native Infantry, who had shortly before received a reward from Sir Henry Lawrence for having assisted in the capture of a spy; came to Captain Wilson, Assistant Adjutant General of the 13th Native Infantry, and said he could not help reporting that there would be a rising amongst the sepoy regiments to be commenced in the lines of 71st Native Infantry that evening at about 8 or 9 P.M.; but he was not certain at what hour. His manner in giving this information was earnest and impressive. On that evening everything went on as usual; all remained quiet in the cantonments where Sir Henry Lawrence was residing. Some days previously the ladies and children had been removed to the Residency in the city, which place has already been occupied by a party of the 32nd Foot and two guns. The 9 p.m. gun was fired and was evidently the preconcerted signal for the Mutiny; for, a few minutes after, whilst Sir Henry Lawrence and his staff were at dinner at the Residency, a sepoy came running in and reported a disturbance in the line."¹⁴

Sir Henry Lawrence accompanied with Couper, C.S. at once went to the scene of action and ordered the Artillery and Europeans to fire. It was supposed that the 71st Native Infantry started the trouble and 48th Native Infantry followed them. But 7th Cavalry and the 13th Native army remained faithful to a very good extent.¹⁵ Sir Henry cried out after he ordered for fire, "I am going to drive these scoundrels out of cantonments. Take care while I am away you will remain at your post and allow no one to do any damage here or to enter my house; else, when I return I will hand you."¹⁶ Some bungalows were set on fire and the usual confusion and rioting occurred. The artillery and the Europeans drove the Mutineers back on their own lines.¹⁷ Sir Henry Lawrence in a telegram to the Governor-General of India dated May 31, 1857 informed that "an emanate at 9 p.m. several bungalows burnt and two or three officers killed and as many wounded, Brigadier Handscomb among the former. No other loss

incurred. Quiet in the city, I am in cantonments. It is difficult to say who are loyal, but it is believed the majority are. Only 25 of the 7th cavalry proved false. The effect of this emanate may be bad."¹⁸ Again he informed the Governor-General that the Mutineers fled towards Sitapur and thirty persons were captured and all was quiet in Lucknow.¹⁹ But the revolutionaries were not in mood to sit inactive, so they again started their work.

Brigadier Handscomb and Lieutenant Grant were shot dead.²⁰ On March 31, the rebels attacked on 7th cavalry and about one-half of the cavalry deserted and later on the rest joined the rebels.²¹

The Revolt spread all over Lucknow in the time. In the first phase the hero of the revolutionaries were Shurruff-ood-Dowlah, Rookoon-ood-Dowlah and Masee-ood-Dowlah. These persons revolted against the British. All except Shurruff-ood-Dowlah were released on the security of Moomtaz-ood-Dowlah while Rookoon-ood-Dowlah died in captivity. Shurruff-ood-Dowlah was a very important man of the court of ex-king of Oudh and he played a very important role during the siege of Lucknow against Britishers but he was murdered in a mosque.²²

In this way these three persons gave inspiration to others to Revolt against the British. Raja Jai Lal Singh of Lucknow also took arms against the British.²³ Fatteh Bhadur and Raghubar Dayal Singh—both were commander in the army of ex-King of Oudh, also revolted and showed their battle against Britishers.²⁴ In the month of June the battle between rebels and the Britishers reached on the full swing.

The murder of Mr. Mendes at Moofteegunj (a Mohalla of Lucknow and attack on Kotwali alerted the Britishers for a big danger. Though Police controlled the situation, but the police was helpless in controlling the sentiments of the people.

Just this incident, insurrection took pace at Hussainabad. But again it was suppressed by the police with the help of O.I. Infantry. Some persons were killed and some were caught and taken as prisoners. Thus the month of May ended with a mark of minor uprisings. June was the month in which the flame of Revolt was visible very clearly in Oudh. All the four divisions of Oudh were in turmoil. Since Henry Lawrence was very much doubtful about the loyalty of Indian army, it is why he started the preparations quite in advance. Sir Henry Lawrence was busy

in hoarding sufficient quantity of food-grains. He sent ladies to safe places. He also organised the army in such a way as the native sepoys may not assemble together. On June 15, 1857 he was informed that the regiments from Sitapur and Shahjahanpur were marching towards Lucknow from the north and were at Barsee,²⁵ 35 miles off on that day.²⁶ In this way the revolutionaries were surrounding Lucknow from different directions. The Raja of Kursi,²⁷ also revolted against British Government, and plundered the property of the Europeans at Mundeao.²⁸ Then the Raja marched towards Lucknow. At the time of the siege of the Baileeguard he held a position against the British with two guns and 400 men near the Iron Bridge in line with Raja Goorbux Singh of Dhumeree.²⁹

Gradually, the cloud of danger covered the entire Lucknow district. Sir Henry Lawrence received the message on the evening of June 29, 1857 that the revolutionaries were about to march towards Chinhut.³⁰ He determined to make strong reconnaissance in that direction, with the view to meet the revolutionary forces either at its entrance into the suburbs of the city or at the bridge across the Kokrail which was a small stream intersecting the Faizabad road about half way between Lucknow and Chinhut. Actually, Sir Henry Lawrence was thinking to crush the revolutionaries at the very start.

On June 30, 1857 the disaster of Chinhut took place since both the parties were ready to face each others, so a fierce battle took place. Since this battle proved fatal to the British and gave a new impetus to the revolutionaries, so few words about the details of the battle would not be out of context.

ENGLISH FORCES MOVE

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

Artillery:	4 Guns of No. 1 Horse Light Field Battery
	4 Guns of No. 2 Oudh Light Field Battery
	2 Guns of No. 3 Oudh Filed Battery
	An 8 inch howitzer.
Cavalry:	Troops of volunteer cavalry.

	120 Troopers of detachments belonging to 1st, 2nd and 3rd Regiments of Oudh Irregular Cavalry.
Infantry:	300, Her Majesty's 32nd 150, 13th Native infantry.
	60, 48th Native Infantry (Sikhs).
	20, 71st Native Infantry (Sikhs). ³¹

English Forces Entrapped

The troops, marked by the reports of "way-fears"—who stated that there were few or no men between Lucknow and Chinhut—proceeded somewhat further than had been originally intended and suddenly fell in which the entry, who had up to that time eluded the vigilance of the advanced guard by concealing themselves behind a long line of trees in overwhelming number. The European forces and the howitzer, with the Indian Infantry, held the foe in check for some time, and had the six guns of the Oudh Artillery been faithful and the Oudh Cavalry shown a better front, the day would have been won in spite of and immense disparity in number.

LOUDH ARTILLERY MEN FIGHT AGAINST ENGLISH

The artillerymen and drivers Revolted. They overturned the guns into ditches, cut the traces of their horses, and abandoned them, regardless of the remonstrance and exertions of their own officers. Every effort to induce them to stand having proved ineffectual, the force, exposed to a vastly superior fire of artillery. "The heat was dreadful the gun ammunition was expended; and the almost total want of cavalry to protect our rear made our retreat more disastrous."³² This battle proved very much harmful to the British because they lost Brigadier General Henry Lawrence and other officers as well as a good deal of armaments. About this disaster, remarks of Gubbins are very interesting; he writes, "Our garrison, now further weakened by the losses at Chinhut, was not stored enough to defend the extended Residency position, between which and the former, all communication by letter was now out off."³³ The control of rebels on Chinhut was the start of the siege of Lucknow. On June 30, 1857, after the disastrous affairs at Chinhut, the siege of Lucknow

started. The rebels exulted in having forced the European troops to retreat from the plains of Chinhut with heavy loss; carefully concealing that the retreat had been caused by the defection of the Indian artillery men attached to the British force. The news of this victory spread far and wide into the district, anarchy and confusion commenced.³⁴

After few days, the Lucknow rebels formed a court, electing the boy, Birjis Qadar, as the new Nawab in place of his father, who was at Calcutta; with the real control lying in the hands of his mother Huzrat Mahal, known as Begum.³⁵ Various people were appointed on different posts. In this context the statement of Abdul Razaque, late Akhbar Navis of the Intelligence Department and formerly Dewan under Wajid Ali Shah before G. Carnegie, Deputy Commissioner of Oudh, was very interesting. He said, "Two or three days after the sepoys came into the city Birjis Qadar was crowned by the united efforts of Mummoo Khan, Jey Lall, and the rebel officers. The following day I saw Mummoo Khan, Kazim Ali and Captain Sangam Singh, sitting in the house of the first named, receiving *Nuzzers*. After 10 or 15 days the officers of state were appointed. Shurruf-ood-Dowlah got the government of the country, and Mummoo Khan, the army and treasury, with Wajid Ali as his Naib. Mummoo Khan appointed Kazim Ali to the Magazine. . ."³⁶

With the help of Munshi Wajid Ali and Syed Yusuf, the rebels started the fortification work. Raja Jai Lal Singh played a very important role. It was not possible to organize such a big revolt without finances. Who, in order to provide fund, the treasure of Ali Nukkie Khan was unearthed.

After the battle of Chinhut the sepoys entered the city and general looting began. The Moulvie (Ahmad Ullah Shah) entered the city with the rebels and endeavoured to establish the Thanas all over the city, but he could not succeed in making any arrangements. Though there was difference of opinion about the appointment of the New King. On one hand cavalry was in favour of Sooliman Qadar and on the other hand the infantry, Raja Jai Lal Singh and Mummoo Khan were in favour of Birjis Qadar. Ultimately, the influence of Jai Lal Singh carried the day.

About the coronation of Birjis Qadar a meeting of the leaders of the revolutionaries was held in Baradari³⁷ which was attended by Safdar Ali, Meer Kazim Ali, Aga Meerza, Nuseeb, Meer

Mehdee, Ahmad Hussein, Mummoo Khan, Birjis Qadar, etc. In this meeting it was decided to put the following condition for accepting Birjis Qadar as a heir of Wajid Ali Shah. (i) That orders from Delhi were to be obeyed and that whatever orders were received should be final. (ii) That the Wazier should be selected by the army. (iii) That the officers to the Regiments be not appointed without the consent of the army. (iv) That double pay was to be issued from the date of their leaving the English service. (v) That no interference should take place respecting the treatment and disposal of those who were friends to the English."³⁸ These conditions indicate that sentiments of the leaders. It is very obvious that the leaders were dreaming a big success. Actually they wanted to organize it on all India basis choosing the Emperor of Delhi as their leader, because they were knowing that without having a firm hold over the capital it would be difficult for them to get rid of from the British rule.

In this way the revolutionaries got the support of army. A good number of soldiers lend their support and helped in the administration of the revolutionaries. In a statement Syed Yusuf Darogah of Shahinshah Mahal had given a description of the Government at Lucknow. "... a good Durbar was assembled and he (Birjis Qadar) was proclaimed King They, therefore, 8 or 10 days after placing Birjis Kadar on the throne formed this court which was composed of:

Rajah Jai Lal Singh
 Mummoo Khan
 Shruf-ood-Dowlah
 Hissam-ood-Dowlah, General (15th Irregular Cavalry)
 Mukdoom Bux
 Gummendee Singh
 Ausan Singh
 Umaro Singh
 Bahadur Ally
 Raghunath Singh
 Misri Singh
 Gajadhar Singh
 Raj Mund Teewaree
 Bakht Khar
 Wajid Ally Khan

Shahbadee Khan
Meer Wazeer Ally (12th Irre. Cavalry)
Shaikh Sukhun, Reesaldar
Moulvee Moostan, Reesaldar and others."³⁵

This Court used to assemble in the Tara Kothi two or three times a week for deliberations and from these persons the appointment for different posts were made. The Civil and Military administration was well-organised under the able guidance of the Court and Begum Hazrut Mahal. In a proclamation (circular) Muhammad Ramzan Ali, Bahadur Birjis Qadar, dated 26th Zillujja 1273 (August 17, 1857) said, "As I am fully bent upon populating the land, securing all conveniences for its people and betterment of its inhabitants I have, therefore, decided to exterminate the cruel, ill behaved Kaffir Firangis from my hereditary dominions, both old and new. . . ." ⁴⁰ Further he appointed Raja Beni Madho Singh for the administration of Azamgarh and Jaunpur.

Again in a proclamation under the seal of Birjis Qadar Wali of Lucknow to all the zamindars and inhabitants of the country of Lucknow it was declared that "All the Hindoos and Mohamedans are aware that four things are dear to everyone. (1) Religion, (2) Honour, (3) Life, and (4) Property. All these four things are safe under a native Government. No one under that government interferes with religion. Everyone is allowed to continue steadfast in his religion and persuasion, and to possess his honour according to his worth and capacity, be he a person of good descent of any caste or denomination, Syed, Sheikh, Moghal, or Pathan, among the Mahomedans, or Brahmin, Chhuttree, Bais or Kaith, among the Hindoos; all these retain their respectability according to their respecting ranks, and all persons of a lower order such as Sweeper, Chamar, and Dhanook, or Parsee, can claim equality with them. The life of any person of either class is not taken under that Government; not his property confiscated except for crimes and grave offences. The English are enemies of the four things above named. They wish to deprive the Hindus and Mahomedans of their religion, and wish them to become Christians and Nazarines. . . . They hang the respectable people, destroy their females and children and their troops commit acts of violence upon their females, and thus take away

their honour, dig down their houses and plunder all the property and leave them nothing. . . . Therefore, the Hindoos and Mahomedans are hereby warned, that who so ever among you wishes to protect his faith, honour, life and property, may come forward to fight against the English in conjunction with the forces of their sircar (i.e., himself) and may not succumb to their stratagem. . . . "41

In another proclamation Birjis Qadar aroused the sleeping sentiments of the Mohammedans. This proclamation was issued to the Mohammedans of the territory of Oudh. Some extracts of this proclamation are as follows :

"The Almighty God has enjoined thus in the holy Koran, "O ye the people who follow the religion" : Do not make the Jews and the Christians your friends. He who forms friendship with them becomes positively one of them, in as much as the friend of a Jew is a Jew and that of a Christian, a Christian. Certainly God doth not guide the tyrants, i.e. the infidels in the path of righteousness.⁴² This sacred text plainly shows that the forming of friendship with the Christians is an act of infidelity and that consequently he who is on friendly terms with them is not at all a Mohammedan." Thus, this proclamation gave a new impetus to Hindus and Muslims to arise their voice against the British. The last lines of the proclamation were : "These considerations render it a bounden duty of all the Mohammedans who were the brethren of each other, to become with heart and soul the implicable enemies of the Christians and in no respect to be their at any time. The non-execution of this duty by them (the Mohammedans), which God forbid, will lead to the loss of their faith and they will in consequence become apostates. . . ."43 These proclamations were the witness of the hatred in the heart of the King of Oudh for the British people. It also indicates the tactics of the King to organise people to Revolt against the British. These proclamations aroused the religious sentiments of the people. It is a well-known fact that in the name of the religion, one can exploit the public. Due to these proclamations, Birjis Qadar got a very wide support of the people of Oudh.

In Oudh, the people were very annoyed with the British and they were waiting for the time to express their anger. The proclamations of the King and the pamphlet entitled "Futteh Islam" aroused their emotions. Now it would be better to explain "Futteh Islam". Actually it was a pamphlet and its meaning is victory of Mohammedan Faith. This pamphlet played a very important role in giving inspiration to the revolutionaries.

In this pamphlet the Hindus and Muslims were requested to lend their support against Christian Kaffer, who were encroaching upon the religions of both. In this pamphlet there was a call for the unification of Hindus and Muslims. Some extract of the pamphlet is worth quoting. The main content of the pamphlet was as follows : "The Hindoos should join the chief with a view to defend their religion, and should solemnly pledge themselves (to be a faithful); the Hindoos and the Mahomedans, as brethren to each other, should also butcher the English, in as much as formerly the Mahomedan Kings protected (as they felt it incumbent on them to do) the lives and property of the Hindoos with their children in the same manner as protected those of the Mahomedans, and all the Hindoos with heart and soul were obedient and loyal to the Mohamedan Kings. . . ."44 The main aim of this pamphlet was to arouse the feelings of the Hindoos as well as Muslims. The slogan of Jihad, the advent of Maulavi, the coronation of Birjis Qadar and the Administration of Lucknow under Huzrut Mahal alongwith this court gave a new turn to the war with English. The presence of these elements gave a new impetus to revolutionaries to fight and organize their power.

On July 2, the enemy advanced in large numbers to attack on the side of the Bailyguard gate but were repulsed. Rainy season started so the revolutionaries thought it better to wait for some time. In the meantime some more talookdars joined the Revolt i.e., Rajah Gur Buksh Singh of Ramnagar Dhumeyree and Raja Nawab Khan of Mohumdabad, etc. The Afreedies of Malihabad also extended their support to the revolutionaries.⁴⁵ After a considerable preparation the siege of Lucknow started. Seige of Lucknow was very important because it was the question of life and death for the Britishers as well as for the revolutionaries. The loss of Henry Lawrence was a big setback so far the defence of Britishers was concerned. However, Henry Lawrence was succeeded by Maj. Banks in the civil and political charge, and by General Inglis in the military command. After the

death of Banks, General Inglis took over the charge of the Political Department as well as the Military Department.

About the number of the persons who were present in the Residency McLeod Innes writes, "The combatants of the garrison including officers, numbered 1700, of whom 600 were sepoys. The other inmates of the entrenchment were 700 natives and 600 Christians, total 1300, bringing the whole number to be fed up to 3000, among the 600 Christians non-combatants, there were 240 women and 270 children, besides 50 school boys."⁴⁶ The defence of the Residency lasted till September 25, 1857, when Havelock's force arrived to its rescue.

In the beginning, the revolutionaries harassed the British people, but did not attack. The defenders were vigorously strengthening their defence. On July 20, 1857, there was major attack on the Residency. So many mines were exploded for creating breach. Fire was opened from opposite the Baileyguard gate. There were constant efforts from the revolutionaries' side to burst the mines and a ceaseless effort from the side of Britishers to check them. C.J. Wingfield was of the view to abandon Lucknow.⁴⁷ He thought it better, first retreat, then attack. When he received the intelligence, that it was not possible to evacuate Muchee Bhawan, Wingfield suggested for the help of Gorkha forces. But again he expressed the difficulties for Gorkhas in entering the boundary of Oudh due to the fortification of the revolutionaries.⁴⁸

On the other hand the revolutionaries were active in extricating the Britishers from Lucknow. In the meantime, Gen. Havelock came to the rescue. In this way he fought the battle of Futtehpore. He won this battle with the help of Renaud's detachment. Again his action against Aong and Pandoo river gave him a new inspiration for rescuing Lucknow. On July 16, 1857 he recaptured Kanpur but his detachment was reduced to a very good extent.⁴⁹ On entering Kanpur he heard about the position of Lucknow and at once took steps to cross the river and advance to its relief. But at the same time he received the message about the Revolt at Dinapore, so he retired to Mungurwar, for gaining time for reinforcement and keeping in touch with Kanpur. On August 24, 1857, Havelock wrote to Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, in which he expressed thanks for the effort for reinforcement and also requested for certain

change in the army adjustment.⁵⁰ General Havelock had only about 850 men at his command. On his second return to Mungurwar,⁵¹ he had to fight 30,000 men. Oudh was surrounded from every side. On the west at Furrukhabad a large body of Rohillas were missing under their own chief, Kanpur was threatened from Kalpee. There was lot of trouble to enter in Oudh from Kanpur side.⁵² So Havelock retired to Kanpur. At Kanpur he fought with the combined forces of Nana Saheb and Saugor. He managed to defeat the revolutionaries. In the meantime there was a ray of hope of reinforcement. Outram joined Havelock on September 15, 1857. Now under the guidance of Outram, the troops marched forward. On September 21, they attacked the rebels at Mungurwar and drove them in flight to Buserut Gung. There was a fierce fighting at Buserut Gung, twice, which bewildered the British. Gen. Havelock wrote to Calcutta Government about the battle of Buserut Gung and expressed little hope to relieve Lucknow siege.⁵³ After this battle the British forces marched towards Alum Bagh and captured it. A strong detachment was left at the Alum Bagh to form its garrison, and the force itself advanced towards Char Bagh Bridge, which captured the Yellow House and the Char Bagh on its way. After a fight Char Bagh bridge was also captured. One detachment of army was kept for keeping vigilance on the bridge and others crossed the bridge. The British army moved towards Begum's Palace and Sekundra Bagh, then it turned west to the Moti Mahal. The British army moved towards Begum's Palace and turned westward from that point instead of from the Sekundra Bagh.⁵⁴ Havelock and Outram reached the Baily Guard gate. The relief force reinforced the Residency position.

In this way Outram and Havelock were busy to make their strategy against the rebels. Seeing the possibility of the reinforcement Outram was simply fighting a defensive battle.

On October 25, the Baily Guard was taken back with a considerable loss.⁵⁵ Capt. Gen. Neil was killed. Raja Man Singh, an active supporter of the Britishers, was injured at two places.⁵⁶ There was gazette notifications also about the possession of the Residency.⁵⁷ All the states were informed about this success, even Raja of Nepal was also informed about the capture of Delhi and Lucknow residency.⁵⁸

However, the general situation was not in favour of the Britishers. Some sort of disturbance were prevailing in Central India also. Indore forces at Dholepore was moving to join the revolutionaries at Mathura and from there they were to proceed to Oudh.⁵⁹ Maharaja of Gwalior destroyed all the boats in Chambal which put British forces at Indore in a very awkward position.⁶⁰ The universal intention of the rebels was to assemble themselves either in Bareilly or further to the East-ward in Oudh.⁶¹ At Kalpee there was an organised move against the Britishers. When Outram heard about the position of Kalpee he requested the authorities to give proper attention towards this place. He also requested for reinforcement, due to heavy casualties of European army.⁶² At Rohilkhand the Rohilla Chiefs were watching the situation from within their territory. So it was tough time for Sir Colin Campbell to provide reinforcement to the Lucknow seige. But Sir Colin somehow or the other managed to cross the Ganges and on December 9, 1857 joined the forces collected at Buntheera under Brigadier General Hope Grant for the movement towards Lucknow.⁶³ From there he reached Alam Bagh and then proceeded towards his destination via the route advised by Outram. Major Goodwyn opposed this route but his suggestions were turned down.⁶⁴ On December 14, 1857 he moved to Dil Khusha and the Martiniere. After taking some rest he crossed the canal near its entry into the Gomti. He moved by a line strongly defended, including the Secundra Bagh and the Shah Nujeef, where the fighting was desperate, till little was left between him and Outram except the Moti Mahal and the old 32nd mess house.⁶⁵ After this the Residency was evacuated and Alam Bagh was made the point to fight with the revolutionaries. Sir Colin left Alam Bagh but he heard about Tantya Tope and Nana Saheb's joint attack on Kanpur, so he rushed to help Windhan. Hope Grant also came to his rescue and they defeated the joint army. After this Colin was thinking to crush Rohillas first and then move to Lucknow but Lord Canning did not approve his plan.

Before we take up the second phase of the battle in Lucknow, it would be better to throw some light on the state of affairs of other districts which had some impact on the events of Lucknow. There were two leaders of the revolutionaries Beni Madho and Mehndee Hussain who were organising the forces at

Azamgarh and Sultanpur respectively. Mehndee Hussain was supported by the talookdars of Sultanpur and Faizabad. He was an able organizer and was determined to infuse the anti-British feeling in the minds of people. He had to collect a very strong force to face the British and there was a move for joint attack on Jaunpur and Azamgarh and every preparation was made in this respect.⁶⁶ The British were also making preparations for counter action. For getting the support of the zamindars Col. Outram issued a proclamation. The Governor-General also assured for all types of concession for the zamindars, if they would remain loyal to the British.

Sir Outram had received a letter from Governor-General for offering such concession i.e., the cases of the zamindars with whom injustice had been done would be reheard.⁶⁷ The Proclamation issued by Major General Sir James Outram dated September 20, 1857 runs, "Be it known to all a powerful British Force has crossed the Ganges and is advancing on Lucknow. The people of Oudh have already reason to know that such an army will sweep away all opposition. At the same time Maj. Gen. Sir James Outram, G.O.B., Chief Commissioner of Oudh, wishes it to be distinctly know that this British force is not warring against the agricultural classes of Oudh, but against mutinous sepoys—men who have disgraced the name of soldiers, and who, as rebels and murderers of women and children, have brought down upon themselves, the first vengeance of Government. For such and others who, though not of the army have initiated their vile conduct there never can be any hope of pardon. . . . That there are in Oudh many Talookdars and Zamindars who, although in heart well affected to the British Government have been compelled in appearance, to exposure the cause of the rebels by sending armed retainers to aid them in beseiging the garrison at Lucknow, but who have not been guilty of any acts of atrocity . . . are now warned to separate themselves at once from the rebels.

. . . Those Talookdars and Zamindars who have heretofore abstained from aiding in the cause of the rebels and continue to give effective proof of their fidelity and good will to the British Government are assured that their position in Oudh will be as good as it was before the British assumed the administration of this country. . . whatever promises may have been made to such

Talookdars and others by the late Sir Henry Lawrence are confirmed by the Governor-General of India, and will be fully redeemed on their being reported to Government by Maj. Gen. Sir James Outram, G.C.B. Chief, Commissioner of Oudh."⁶⁸ Among Zamindars and Talookdars the role of Rajah Man Singh was very important so far the victory of the British is concerned. Had Man Singh not helped the Britishers the result would have been different. But the British left no stone unturned to win the sympathy of Man Singh. Man Singh was the Raja of Shahgunj a place near Faizabad. In the first instance, he joined the revolutionaries. But later on he deceived them and joined the British camp.⁶⁹ There were hectic efforts to win the friendship of Raja Man Singh. The Governor-General was also interested in winning the goodwill of Raja Man Singh, so he wrote that "Man Singh may be assured that if he continues to give to the Governor-General effective proof of his fidelity and goodwill his position in Oude will be at least as good as it was before the British Government assumed the administration of the country whilst the proprietors in Oude who have deserted the Government will lose their profession."⁷⁰ There were further efforts to win the friendship of Man Singh.⁷¹ James Outram also wrote a letter to Raja Man Singh in which he assured Man Singh for fulfilling all the promises given by Lawrence to him.⁷² Actually Man Singh was not in a position to take decision due to the unpredictable situation. He helped the Britishers as well as the rebels. He tried to prove himself pro-Britisher⁷³ and at the same time he sent his brother for negotiations with the rebels. In this way the British were able to persuade one Raja in their favour. Now a few words about Nana Saheb's roles essential because he was the man who gave some anxious time to the British people. Nana Saheb's followers had already crossed the Ganges into the Doab. But Nana Saheb himself was in Oudh and infusing the idea of Revolt in the masses. The people of Oudh were hostile to the British Government. Nana Saheb arrived near Mallaon where he seized some boat at different places for destroying them. On the other hand, Kunwar Singh⁷⁴ had also arrived in Ayodhya.⁷⁵ There were hectic activities in Oudh from January 28 to March 2, 1858 when Colin started the real operation. During this period the role of Gorkha army was very vital, because its role was of a decisive nature. The Britishers were trying hard to win the sympathy of Gorkha Chief Jung Bahadur. When the Begum heard about this

she also tried her luck but she could not get success, whereas the British diplomacy bore fruit and they won the support of Gorkha forces.

There was a plan of the revolutionaries to attack all the ghats simultaneously. The Begum of Oudh came in the battle field, and piloted an attack on Outram. But, she could not get a big success, however, she inflicted a minor loss to Outram's forces. In the meantime Jung Bahadur got himself ready for fight and was about to march to Lucknow. So both the parties were busy in making their position strong by winning the support of other potent Rajas and Zamindars. In this was the battle in Lucknow was going on.

Alam Bagh was attacked six times but Outram sustained these shocks very bravely.

After getting the support of Gorkhas and Man Singh, everything was in favour of the British. In this way the general condition of Oudh was full of tension. And the Britishers tried to win the Talookdars by giving assurances to enable them to capture Lucknow fully.

Under the hope of these promises and assurances the Britishers started the third phase of the battle in Lucknow. After a good deal of preparations Sir Colin started the operation on March 2, 1858, by moving out from the Alam Bagh position to its right and circling round Jallalabad towards the Dil Kusha. Driving the enemy's outlying pockets, he advanced to the Dil Kusha; seizing the two posts of Dil Kusha Palace and the Mohomed Bagh. On March 4, Walpole's Division moved over from the Alam Bagh and encamped on the Dil Kusha position, where at dusk, Frank's column also marched in from the east and joined the army of Walpole.

Outram's column, after crossing the Gomti, first cleared the ground to the north, to Chinhut, on the Faizabad Road and then turning to the left, swept westwards, and reached Ishmselgung. On March 7 and 8, Outram rested here and faced a small resistance which he repulsed. On 9th, Outram attacked and captured the Chukkur Kothi, then he advanced towards Badshah Bagh and was able to sweep upon the second line of defence. After a few days of inactive life, Colin started the raids. He first moved against the Martiniers, which was in form of the canal on which Sir Colin opened a very heavy fire from Dil Kusha. Further

Sir Colin captured Bank's house and reached upto Huzrutganj. On 11th, Sir James Outram pushed his advance far as the Iron Bridge in the left bank of the Gomti to command the stone Bridge. Begum's house was also stormed.⁷⁶ Gorkhas crossed the Gomti and started operation along with the Britishers. Jung Bahadur called for the guidance from the British commander.⁷⁷

On March 15, Hope Grant from near Iron Bridge and Campbell from the west of the Alam Bagh, were directed to pursue the revolutionaries. On 16th, Outram was directed to recross Gomti to its South bank and join in the operations there. The revolutionaries attacked Alam Bagh but Franklin repulsed the attack. Meanwhile, Jung Bahadur with his force was busy in clearing the city.

On 17th and 18th, Outram's advanced towards the Hooseynee Mosque and the Dowlat Khana, upto Shuruf-ood-Dowlah's house and near Ali Nukkee Khan's house while Jung Bahadur had also worked along the left.

Outram was ordered to march, so on March 16, Outram crossed Gomti and marched towards Chuttur Manzil to take the Residency. He captured Iron Bridge⁷⁸ and advanced towards Muchee Bhawan. Then he captured Muchee Bhawan and Imambara also. In short, the Lucknow city was under British command. In a telegram from Council-in-Chief dated March 18, 1858, it was said that "Greater part of the city is in our possession and that the last post held by the enemy is reported to fall tomorrow morning, and attack having been organized."⁸⁰

On March 19, a combined movement was organised. Sir James Outram moved forward directly on the Musabagh. The last position of the enemy in the line of Gomti. Sir J. Hope Grant commanded the British forces marching from the left bank, while Brigadier Campbell, moving right round the western side from the Alumbagh, presented the retreat of the revolutionaries in that direction. On 21st, Sir Edward Lugard was directed to attack a stronghold held by the Moulvi. Edward Lugard got success and the retreat followed but while the revolutionaries were retreating Campbell attacked them and inflicted a great loss. In this way the victory was almost in the hands of Britishers, but the revolutionaries were not disheartened with these defeats. Begum and the young Nawab were active in concentrating their force at Musa Bagh. Till the end Musa Bagh was in their hands. But Musa

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Bagh was also attacked and captured by the Britishers. In a telegraphic message from G.F. Edmonstone, Allahabad, dated March 20, 1858, it was reported that "The Mussa Bagh having been taken this morning. There is no longer an enemy in Lucknow."⁸¹

In this way the whole Lucknow, the capital of Oudh, was under the control of the British. Though a tough fight was given by the revolutionaries but due to lack of resources they could not succeed. Moreover, the Gorkhas also played a very vital role and they were responsible for a grand victory for the Britishers. With the capture of Lucknow the first phase of the battle in Oudh had been completed. It would be better to give a detailed account of the revolutionaries Government and further efforts of the Begum and Birjis Qadar in other chapter. In addition to Lucknow there were other centres of fighting between the Britishers and the revolutionaries e.g., Sitapur, Faizabad, Khairabad, etc. The next chapter will survey the story of the fight at these centres.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Native Troops

Artillery	—	<i>Strength</i>	
2 Regular Batteries 12 guns	—	300	
3 Irregular Batteries (18 guns)	—	360	
1 Irregular Garrison Battery	—	100	760
<hr/>			
Cavalry	—		
1 Regular Regiment	—	600	
1 Irregular Regiment	—	600	
3 Irregular Regiments (Oudh)	—	1,500	
Military Police equipped as Cavalry	—	700	3,400
<hr/>			
Infantry	—		
5 Regular Regiments	—	6,000	
10 Irregular Regiments	—	8,000	
Military Police equipped	—	700	16,400
<hr/>			
Total Native Troops			<u>20,560</u>
European Troops	—		
1 Regiment of Infantry (Hon. 32nd)	—	800	

- | | | | |
|------------------------------|---|----|--------|
| 1 Field Battery of Artillery | — | 75 | 875 |
| Grand Total | | | 21,435 |
2. Col. J. Bonham, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
 3. Kaye and Malleson, p. 246.
 4. J. Bonham, *op. cit.*, 25.
 5. Kaye and Malleson, *op. cit.*, p. 247.
 6. *Ibid.*
 7. *Ibid.*
 8. *Foreign Secret Proceedings*, December 18, 1857, No. 576.
 9. *Ibid.*, No. 563.
 10. *Freedom Struggle in U.P.*, Vol. II, pp. 7-8.
 11. Captain Anderson, "A Personal Journal of the Seize of Lucknow", pp. 10-11.
 12. It was a pargana and tahsil of Lucknow district, situated on the road from Lucknow to Tondila at a distance of 15 miles from Lucknow.
 13. Capt. G. Hutchinson: "Narrative of Events in Oude", Calcutta, 1859, p. 35.
 14. Capt. Wilson's Diary: "The Defence of Lucknow," pp. 1-2.
 15. Capt. G. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
 16. John Bonham, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
 17. Capt. G. Huchinson, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
 18. *Foreign Secret Consultations*, December 18, 1857, No. 574.
 19. Forrest: "State Papers", Vol. II, p. 25.
 20. G. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
 21. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.
 22. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
 23. *Foreign Secret Consultations*, October 30, 1857, pp. 779-80.
 24. *Ibid.*
 25. Bari: A pargana of Sitapur District.
 26. Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 260.
 27. Kursi—Pargana, Tahsil Fatehpur, District Barabanki. It formerly belonged to Lucknow, of which it constituted a Tahsil together with Dewa uptill 1869, when these two parganas were transferred to Delhi.
 28. Mundeon—Pargana Mahona, Tehsil Malihabad, District Lucknow.
 29. Dhumeree—in Ramnagar—Ram Nager Dhameri, Pargana—Ramnagar, Tahsil Fatehpur.
 30. Chinhut—a small village at a distance of 8 miles from Lucknow on Faizabad Road.
 31. *Forrest Papers*, Vol. II, pp. 37-38.
 32. Forrest, *State Papers*, Vol. IX, pp. 37-38.
 33. Gubbins, "The Mutinees in Oudh", London 1858.
 34. Mylie, "The English Captives in Oudh", London, 1858, p. 16.
 35. Lt. Gen. McLeow Innes: "The Sepoy Revolt: A Critical Narrative", London, 1897, p. 152.
 36. "Trial Proceedings; Govt. vs. Mammoo Khan", Lucknow Collectorate Mutiny Basta.
 37. "Freedom Movement in Uttar Pradesh", Vol. II, pp. 84-85.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
39. Trial Proceedings: Government, V. Raja Jai Lal Singh.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Foreign Secret Consultations*, June 25, 1858, Nos. 66-69.
42. *Ibid.*, December 30, 1859, No. 1693, pp. 615-17.
43. *Ibid.*
44. "*Freedom Struggle in U.P.*", Vol. II, pp. 150-60.
45. Gubbins, *op. cit.*, p. 209.
46. Lt. Gen. McLeod Innes, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
47. *Foreign Secret Proceedings*, September 25, 1857, No. 552.
48. *Ibid.*, September 25, 1857, No. 553.
49. McLeod Innes, *op. cit.*, 169.
50. *Foreign Secret Proceedings*, September 25, 1857, No. 232.
51. McLeod Innes, *op. cit.*, p. 173.
52. *Foreign Secret Proceedings*, November 27, 1857, No. 51.
53. *Ibid.*, September 25, 1857, No. 238.
54. Innes, *op. cit.*, p. 179.
55. *Foreign Secret Proceedings*, October 30, 1857, No. 185.
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Foreign Political Proceedings*, October 9, 1857, Nos. 98-106.
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Foreign Secret Proceedings*, October 30, 1857, No. 531.
63. *Ibid.*, November 27, 1857, Nos. 49-51.
64. Innes, *op. cit.*, 201.
65. *Ibid.*
66. *Further Papers* (No. 7) *Relative to the Mutinies in the East Indies* (Enclosure 25 in No. 7, pp. 71-72).
67. *Foreign Secret, Proceedings*, December 18, 1857, Nos. 613-15.
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*, October 30, 1857, No. 134.
70. *Ibid.*, No. 136.
71. *Despatch to Secret Committee*, November 9, 1857, No. 70.
72. *Foreign Secret Proceedings*, October 30, 1857, No. 137.
73. "*Freedom Struggle in U.P.*", Vol. II, pp. 230-31.
74. He was a very great revolutionary of Bihar.
75. *Foreign Political Consultations*, 30 December 1859, Supplement No. 1374.
76. *Foreign Secret Proceedings*, March 26, 1858, No. 331.
77. *Foreign Political Proceedings*, Suppl. Original Cons., December 30, 1859, Nos. 3/1880-81.
78. *Foreign Secret Proceedings*, March 26, 1858, No. 331.
79. *Ibid.*, April 1858, No. 327.
80. *Ibid.*
81. "*Freedom Struggle in U.P.*", Vol. II, p. 327.

5

Spread of the Flame

The other divisions of the province of Oudh also came in the trap of revolt very soon and the Revolt spread in all the main British stations e.g., Khairabad, Faizabad, Sultanpur, etc. Hence, an effort has been made in this chapter to analyse the story of the Revolt in these places.

Khairabad Division

Shortly after the tragical occurrences at Meerut and Delhi in May 1857, the sign of dissatisfaction in Oudh was visible. Though for some times Oudh was quiet, but after a short time the capital of Oudh was affected. Upto the time of the Revolt at Lucknow the troops at the outstations had remained perfectly quiet, but as soon as the capital had set an example they one after another fall away and broke into Revolt. The first station to rise was Sitapur, the principal station in the Khairabad Division. It was the head-quarters of the Civil Department, of which Mr. C.J. Christian, as Commissioner, was the head, having under him Mr. Thornhill as Deputy Commissioner, Lieutenant Lester and Sir Moutstewart Jackson as his assistants. There were 3 Infantry Crops located at Sitapur; the 41st Native Infantry under

command of Lt. Col. Birch, the 9th Oudh Irregular Infantry under command of Capt. Graves and 10th Oudh Irregular under command of Lt. Darwin.¹ There was also a detachment of the 15th Irregular Cavalry with almost 300 men and a few troops belong to the Military Police, but the Irregular Cavalry quitted the situation a few days prior to the emanate.² The land occupied by the Cantonment was situated towards the East of the station and the civil lines constituted the west portion, the river Esan forming the limit of the Sadar station on that side.

The lines of the 41st, and 10th Locals were situated at the entrance of the station from the east and those of the 9th Locals stood about 350 yards further off. Then come the civil lines and the residence of the Commissioner was about 300 yards from the lines of the 9th Locals.

Mr. Christian, Commissioner of Khairabad Division, was quite alert and was busy in making arrangements for protection. He withdrew the men of the Military Police from the different Tehsils for the security of the station and the Tehsildars were instructed "to entertain Burkundazes and Chowkidars in their stead."³

Mr. Christian was confident about loyalty of the Military Police, because the Military Police was generally supposed to be loyal and well behaved, and from the fact of their drawing best pay, and debarred from the same privileges as those enjoyed by the regular Army, they were regarded with some contempt yet the sepoys, who scrupulously avoided association with them, and it was therefore deemed unlikely that these men would fraternize with the regular sepoys in their rebellion.⁴ They indeed professed great fidelity and were apparently attached to their supervisors, especially to Captain Hearsey, then Commanding Officer, and the Commissioner often went amongst the men, assuring them they would be rewarded for any services they would render to the state at the present time, when so many sepoys of the line, actuated by a spirit of rebellion had violated their oaths; and disgraced their colours.⁵

The Military Police to the number of about 300 men were encamped in the vicinity of Lt. Lester's house in order to be ready for service at a moment's notices.

On the 23rd May the Commander ordered the 10th Locals to quit their line and encamped in tents at the back of the lines of the 9th and nearly midway from the Commissioner's residence. The men all cheerfully marched into the tents about 8 O'clock at night, and 2 guns were also planted right before the camp and facing a good running on the left of the lines of the 9th. The removal of the Corps into the civil lines, was another measure of security and it led to the impression, that the 10th Locals were more to be depended on than either of the other two Regiments.

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

On the night of May 31, 1857, an express message was received from the Chief Commissioner, in which it was announced that certain corps at Lucknow had revolted and the revolutionaries were defeated. After their defeat they fled towards Sitapur. Mr. Christian wrote a letter to the Chief Commissioner in which he had given a detailed description of the arrangements which were undertaken to defend Sitapur.⁶ Col. Birch was at once ordered to take a wing of his regiment to patrol the road in the direction of Lucknow to check the rebels. However, the revolutionaries could not advance due to certain reasons, so the loyalty of the sepoys could not be tested. Bonham has written in this context that "The men went off in good spirit, loudly proclaiming their loyalty, and boasting of their deeds they would do when they met the mutineers. Their loyalty was not, however, put to the test, for after going some distance along the Lucknow road it was found that the mutineers had struck off in another direction and had gone to join the insurgent party at Delhi. Birch, therefore, returned with his men to cantonments, where he arrived on the evening of June 2nd."⁷

On June 2, 1857 some carts laden with atta were brought to the market of the camp of the 10th Irregular Infantry. The atta was for the sepoys. The sepoys declared the atta adulterated which would destroy their religion and caste. The sepoys asked for

throwing the entire stock in the river. On their demand the atta was thrown in the river. About 10 O'clock in the morning about 100 sepoys of the 10th Irregular Infantry plundered the garden of the Head Assistant of the Khairabad Division.⁸ After cross-examination of certain sepoys the Britishers reached the conclusion that it was mischief of some young soldiers, not a prelude to the big outbreak. Upto this time Christian was confident that he would be able to control Sitapur.

On June 3, 1857, an officer from the 41st Native Infantry called on the Commander and informed him that his corps seemed disposed to Revolt and requested for taking measures to face it. Mr. Christian Immediately took proper steps to face the situation. He fortified his own bungalow, where he assembled all the women and children.

Writing to Lt. Huchison on June 1, 1857, Christian fully explained the arrangements he had made for controlling the revolutionaries. Referring to the 41st Native Infantry, he wrote, "If they go over we know the worst. Even then I believe the 9th and 10th Irregular Infantry and the Military Police will stand firm. Here you know our position. I have placed all the ladies and children, except some four who will not leave the lines of the 41st Native Infantry, in my house, and have made all secure. I have brought up Hearsey at the Headquarters, and have now:

9th Oude Irregular Infantry	—	250
10th Oude Irregular Infantry	—	330
Military Police	—	280
Military Police, new levies	—	80
Chuprassies	—	200
We have four guns...."		

"I now only wait for the attitude of the 41st Native Infantry. If they are staunch and act against the insurgents, all is over and we have no trouble. If they Mutiny, I think the bulk of our force is staunch and that the 41st N.I. will make a run of it and not attack us."⁹

With these arrangements Christian was confident for sustaining and type of eventuality. He refused the offer of Lawrence for sending women and children to Lucknow for security sake.

Early in the morning of June 3, 1857, there was an alarm that the 10th Irregulars were about to make a raid upon the treasury of the government which was guarded by a company of the 41st Native Infantry. Birch also marched towards the treasury alongwith few persons. In the meantime Lt. Graves came galloping back, wounded and told the officers of the Regiment that the "Colonel, Lt. Smalley and the Sergeant Maj. who had gone down with him, had been shot down and killed by our men."¹⁰ Seeing the general outbreak the British officers and ladies were escorted to Lucknow.

When the firing at the Treasury was heard, the Irregular regiments took a lead in killing the British officers and in no time without any word or warning, Captain Graves, Lt. Green and doctor Hale of the 9th and Captain Dorin of the 10th Irregular Infantry, with Lt. Snell and his wife and child were killed. However, Sergeant Abbott was badly wounded but survived and Lt. Burns and Sr. Maj. Morton escaped. Actually if we see the table of the killed persons in one day, i.e., on June 3, 1857 at Sitapur, it would be easy to understand the speed of the spread of the revolt against the Britishers at least in Sitapur. Having completed the massacre of their own officers, the revolutionaries then turned towards Christian's bungalow. His bungalow was wet on fire. Some people were killed and only few escaped. Christian, Mrs. Christian and his child, all were killed.

List of the persons killed on June 3, 1857, at Sitapur

	<i>Total</i>
Mr. and Mrs. Christian, one child and European nurse	4
Mr and Mrs. Thombhile, one child and European nurse	4
Lt. Col. Birch	
Lt. Smalley	
Sergt. Maj. Middleton	3
41st Native Infantry	
Capt. Gowan, wife and child	
Lt. Grine	
Dr. Hill	
Sergt. Maj. Kirgh (2) and two children	8
9th Oude Local Infantry	
Lt. Dorin	
Lt. Shell, wife and children	4
10th Oude Local Infantry	
Mr. Crauenburgh-Clark	1
Total	<u>24¹¹</u>

After this massacre, the British were disheartened. The story of the two Miss Jacksons terrified the British people. Captain Patric, his wife and children were in the protection of Raja Loni Singh. But since this incident gave an alarm to the British people for facing a very difficult situation, so a brief sketch of the story would not be out of context. In brief, they were sisters of Sir Mountsteward Jackson, the Assistant Commissioner. Both the sisters Georgiana and Madeline were quite young and beautiful. They were guests of Mr. Christian. In the excitement and confusion both the sisters were separated. Georgiana reached a safe place but Madeline and her brothers were in distress. They were under the fire of Military Police but somehow or other they crossed the foot bridge and disappeared for some time in thick jungle. During the day they were discovered by some Parsis. They helped them. Ultimately they reached Mithowlee and the Raja helped them and granted shelter. During this period they were wandering in forest and they had to face a lot of trouble.

In this way the life of the Europeans in Sitapur was very much insecure and the British were very much confused and were trying to take shelter at safe place. So they were anxious to get rid of this place. The story of the escape of Harsey is very interesting, which he narrated himself. After the massacre of June 3, 1857, accompanied by Mrs. Green, Miss Georgiana Jackson, Mr. and Mrs. Rodgers and his son.¹² They traveled the whole night on elephant. After two days march they reached a village called Baragaum, where unfortunately the elephant broke loose,¹³ and they were obliged to remain there for two days before it was recovered. They then continued their march to Mutteara, the residence of the Raja of Dhowraira. There they received a letter from Mr. Genne, the Deputy Commissioner of Mullapore in which he had suggested that Harsey and his party should visit his place at once. He further wrote that "boats are ready to take them down by river to Calcutta."¹⁴ So Harsey procured a boat and the party dropped down the river and joined Mr. Genne. From there they at once embarked for Calcutta. As soon as they started their journey, they heard about the fall of Byram Ghat. This checked their route and again they returned to Mutteara, where they spent two months. Then they started for Lucknow under the escort of some sepoys but soon they came to know about the bad intention of the sepoys, they fled towards Kulloapore. While they were in

the way they heard about the advancement of the party of Dhowraira Raja, so they started their journey again, and reached on the bank of the Mohan River, where they were overtaken and fired upon. Except Hasting and Harsey all the members of the party were disappeared. They swam across the river. Next morning they met Brand and Sergeant Major Rogers. They also swam the river in company with Mr. Brown, who unfortunately, before he got across, was pulled down by an agitator. After facing these difficulties, they reached Kulloapore the same evening. After sometime they again heard about arrival of Dhowraria people, so they left the place and canceled themselves in the forest at the foot of the Nepal hills, from where they went to Dholee Kote in Nepal.¹⁵ Gonne and Hastings died in jungle. Brand and Rogers, sent to Pootwell. Harsey disguising himself as an Indian trooper made his way across the hills to Naini Tal and Mussoorie and ultimately reached Lucknow safely.¹⁶

There were two more British stations in Khairabad division—Mullaon¹⁷ and Muhumdi.¹⁸ In Mullaon, Mr. Copper was Deputy Commissioner. Detachments of the 41st and the 4th Oudh irregulars were stationed there. In May the Deputy Commissioner had seen reason to doubt their fidelity and had perceived also ugly symptoms of general fermentation throughout the district. He wrote to Mr. Gubbins on May 29, 1857, "I wish that we could hear of the fall of Delhi, for deserters are coming in fast and spreading wonderful reports of the utter cowardice and alarm of the Sahibs in the north-west. There appear, too, to be a good many corpses of Europeans, lying on the Trunk Road; and it is time that they were buried. Their presence seems to call alarm to all passengers, even more than the dacoits. Every man who comes here has been thoroughly cleaned out by the Goojurs."¹⁹ This type of terror was prevailing in the territory. It was difficult for British officers to hold this station for a long period. Mr. Copper was hesitating to leave this place and he held this post after the evacuation of Sitapur. But, ultimately when he realized that the troops were on the brink of open revolt, mounted his horse and rode unharmed to Lucknow.²⁰

Meanwhile, at Muhumdi, there was sigh of a terrible tragedy. Mr. J.G. Thompson was Deputy Commissioner. Captain Patrick Orr was his assistant.

On May 31, the 28th N.I. broke into revolt at Shahjahanpore.²¹ The Collector, Mr. Ricketts, was murdered.

Major James was also killed but a number of persons escaped and ran away to Powayan. But the Raja of Powayan did not entertain the Europeans, so they went to Muhumdi. This type of behaviour indicates the attitude of the Indian Chiefs in the very beginning. However, the revolutionaries started from Shahjahanpur and reached Muhumdi, on June 4, the soldiery rose and sacked the treasury and released the prisoners. Now it was time for the Europeans to seek safety in flight. The sepoy were more of the Oudh Irregular Force. Captain Orr knew them well, and he obtained from them the most solemn assurances that they would spare the line of the British people. So, that evening they went forth unharmed, setting their faces towards Aurangabad. The women and children were placed in a buggy and the rest on baggage carts; and there seemed good hope of deliverance. "But on the following morning it was plain that they had been betrayed. A party of Oude Irregulars was on their track. About a mile from Aurangabad they declared themselves. Then the carriage began."²² However, Captain Orr tried his level best to persuade the rebels but he was told about the uncertain behaviour of the masses. Captain Orr was able to get some time and in the meantime a detachment of fifty men came from Sitapur. These men brought with them a report that the "whole of their Light Company in Muchee Bhawan had been cut off by the Europeans and said that they were determined to take their revenge."²³ Seeing this tense atmosphere Captain Orr asked the Indian officers about their intentions. The Indian officers assured for help.

On June 4, Captain Orr along with some persons left Muhumdi and reached Burwur. Next morning they proceeded towards Aurangabad. While in the way a party of rebels was seen, the sepoy rushed forward and snatched Key's gun from the British people and shot down of Sahibs. Fire started from all the directions and almost all the persons were killed. However, Captain Orr was saved. From the scene of this fearful massacre the sepoy removed Captain Orr to Aurangabad and from there he was escorted to the Raja Loni Singh of Mithowlee.²⁴

In this way at three places of Khairabad division Britishers had to face a tough time, and ultimately Sitapur was almost under the possession of revolutionaries. But their victory was not a permanent, because after some time the British people got back

the lost territories. Story of the suppression of revolt will be discussed in the next chapter.

Faizabad Division

Faizabad, the principal station in the southern Division also came under the flame of the fire of the revolt. Faizabad Division was comprised of three stations—Faizabad, Sultanpur and Salone. J. Reid in his memorandum on the affair of Faizabad had stated a detailed account of the affairs of Faizabad. He writes: "By the beginning of June in the absence of any decisive news from Delhi, it became evident that Faizabad with all the out stations (in none of which were any European Troops) must fall though as usual the troops consisting of a horse battery, 22nd Native Infantry, 6th Local Infantry, a squadron of 15th Irregular Cavalry were most vehement in their protestation of loyalty to the last."²⁵ The Commissioner, Colonel Goldney, whose headquarter and family was at Sultanpur, had moved to Faizabad, and was exposed to the greatest danger. "The 22nd Regt. N.I. was known to have shown signs of disaffection; and the 6th Irregular, the old native "Barlow Ki Pultun", was the worst in the old Oudh service. The Native battery, though commanded by a noble fellow, Mill, could not be depended on. Much anxiety, therefore, had long prevailed at Faizabad."²⁶ The germ of revolution was bound to reach Faizabad. The Britishers thought to face the revolutionaries with the help of Zamindars. Certain Talookdars came forward for helping the British. "Rafa Man Singh, Oodres Singh, Thakoornarayan Raghonauth Koonwar, Meer Baqr Hoosain and Nadir Shah had sent (messages) to offer an asylum to one or all of the civil officers' families; they all spoke of the Mutiny as a certainty."²⁷ The Mahants of Hanumangarhi²⁸ also assured for all help to Britishers.²⁹ Upto this time Raja Man Singh was under arrest by the Commissioner in obedience to orders from Lucknow.³⁰ Captain Reid, seeing the situation requested to release Man Singh. Ultimately Man Singh was released and he offered full support to Britishers. In the time of hardship Man Singh gave shelter to the ladies and children of the British people. Some ladies refused to go to Shahgunj for protection because they were satisfied with the behaviour of 22nd Regt. who had solemnly sworn to Mrs. Lennox that no injury should be done to them.³¹

On the morning of June 8, information was received that the 17th Native Infantry, which had Revolted at Azamgarh, a few days back, was marching toward Faizabad and were encamped at Begum Gunj. The British got themselves ready to face the situation. "Nothing occurred until eleven O'clock night, when the alarm was sounded in the lines of the 6th Oude Irregular Infantry. This was the signal for rising."³²

"About the 8th or 9th of June the regiments at Faizabad threw off further disguise, and openly revolted."³³ The civil officer including Mr. Reid took refuge in the fort of Man Singh. A number of Britishers were killed while they were crossing Ghagara river. However, the persons who were in the Fort of Man Singh were safe. But after some times Man Singh expressed his inability to protect them for a long period, so they had to leave that place and reached Dinapur.³⁴

After the British officers had left Faizabad the 7th Native Infantry entered the city. "The mutineers at Faizabad first plundered about two lakhs and twenty thousand rupees of treasure, and then followed the usual practice of releasing the prisoners in Jail. Among them was Sikundur Shah, fanatic Moulvi who had endeavoured to excite rebellion in the city of Faizabad in February and who had been captured by a party of the 22nd N.I. under Lieutt. Thomas. Some sepoy were wounded on that occasion and some of the Moulvi's followers were killed. This Moulvi was chosen by the revolutionaries as their leader; he was a very important man amongst the rebels."³⁵ Now a few words about the Moulvi, would not be out of context. This man had come from Madras, and was of a good Mohamedan family, and had traveled much of upper India, exciting the people to sedition. He had been expelled from Agra. In April he appeared with several followers at Faizabad; when he circulated seditious papers, and openly proclaimed a religious war. The police were ordered to arrest him but he and his followers resisted with arms. It was necessary to call in the Military, and then he was not captured until several of his followers were slain. He was tried and recommended for execution, but this has been delayed in consequence of some informality, and he was still in gaol when the Revolt broke out.³⁶ ultimately he was freed by the revolutionaries.

But the Moulvi's rein was over very soon and the command was offered to Man Singh. Man Singh was tempted and sent his brother Ramadeen to Kanpur to talk to Nana Saheb, but the talk was not materialized. The revolutionaries marched towards Dariabad and towards the end of the month they reached at Barabanki. There was a large amount of treasure at Dariabad. Captain W.H. Hawes was anxious to take it to Lucknow. The treasury was laden and the men proceeded but in the meantime the revolt broke out. The treasury carts were taken back and the European fled. However, Captain Hawes was able to escape and he reached Lucknow on June 11.

Sultanpur

It appears from various accounts that revolt at Sultanpur was commenced on June 8 or 9, by the Military Police Regiment firing at Lt. Col. S Fisher, while he rode past their lines after an interview with Mr. Block, the Deputy Commissioner.³⁷ The 15th Irregulars, under the command of Fisher who was stationed at Sultanpur. Besides this there were the 8th Oudh Irregular Infantry, commanded by Captain W. Smith, and the 1st Military Police, under Captain Bunbury.³⁸ Apprehending an outbreak, Col. Fisher sent off the ladies and children towards Allahabad. The party reached safely upto Partabgarh, but there they were attacked and plundered by the villagers.³⁹ Few ladies and children were escaped and they took refuge on the fort of Lall Madho Singh. Lall Madho Singh arranged for their journey to Allahabad.

Mr. Fisher was fatally wounded and returned to his lines where he met Captain A. Gibbings and Lt. C.W. Tucker. Very soon the sepoys attacked them. Col. Fisher and Captain Gibbings were killed but Lt. Trucker succeeded in escaping across country and took refuge in the fort of Roostum Shah, at Deyrah.

Yaseen Khan, a zamindar of the Sultanpur town played a very clever role. Mr. A. Block and Mr. S. Stroyar were given refuge by Yaseen Khan in the first instance. After sometime he turned "both officers out of his house and then caused them to shot down."⁴⁰

After getting rid of European officers the revolutionaries burnt their houses and took the command of the city in their own hand. They then marched towards Lucknow. But when they

heard of the discomfiture of the 3rd Regiment of Military Police which was on its march from Lucknow to meet them, they took turn towards Duriabad. From there they proceeded to Nawab Ganj.

Deposition of Sheikh Imambux, late jailor of the Sultanpur district of Oudh, taken on September 3, 1858, is very interesting. He had given a very vivid account of the events of Sultanpur. Few extracts from the deposition is worth quoting:

“. . . I saw large bodies of troops proceeding towards Sooltanpore, these halted at Lumbooh, I continued my road and reached Sooltanpore at 4 O'clock p.m.—before reaching the station, I met successively several sepoy of the 8th Regiment Oude Irregular force and of the Military Police, who each told me that things had gone wrong, and that on the following day (9th June) 'whatever was to happen would happen' ('Jo Kooch hona hai hoga'). I proceeded quickly to Mr. Stroyan's (Assistant Commissioner's) house, where I also found Mr. Block, Mr. Stroyan was ill and in bed; I now mentioned all that I had heard and seen. . . ."⁴¹ Again he says : "From the boy, who had guided me, I learnt that Mowla Bukhsh, shortly after the arrival of the gentlemen in his house, cried out : "The people of Sooltanpore are threatening to attack me, because I have given refuge to Europeans, but I shall defend them with my life."⁴² But ultimately they had to leave that place and were killed. In this way the story of the outbreak at Sultanpur is completed.

Outbreak at Salon⁴³

At Salon, the third station of Faizabad Division, there were six companies of the 1st Oudh Irregular Infantry under Captain Thompson, the Civil Service being represented by Captain Barrow, Deputy Commissioner. Until 10 June this area was quiet and the British were having the full control of the situation. The sepoy were not in mood to remain silent for a long period. They ceased to obey the orders and warned the European officers to leave the place at once. Captain Thompson accompanied with a few faithful men visited Captain Barrow. Captain Barrow had already arranged for escort with Lall Hanumant Singh, Talookdar of Dharoopur. The Chief kept his promise and escorted

these persons upto the banks of the Ganges, and seen them off. Hanumant Singh helped a lot, in the first instance, he gave refuge to these persons. After that he escorted them along with his 500 men.⁴⁴ Captain Barrow and his party reached Allahabad safely.

In this way the story of outbreak of the Revolt in Faizabad division has been completed. After the outbreak of the Revolt there was a hectic effort by revolutionaries as well as the Britishers for complete victory. Though the British came with flying colours in their hand, yet the activities of the revolutionaries cannot be overlooked. Upto the month of June the Revolt was almost in full swing. A few intelligence reports about the activities of the revolutionaries in Faizabad, are very interesting.

Translation of the news received from the Newswriter at Faizabad

Dated Shahgunje, 12 July 1858

"Last night at about 8 O'clock the Telingas made another onset. The Troops on this side were in readiness. Fires from the guns and muskets were opened. Such showers of balls and bullets fell upon the Telingas that they could not advance. Their feet stuck to the place to which they had moved forward from their battery. After midnight when all of them retreated, the firing on this side was discontinued. It was recommenced this morning on both sides. A sepoy who was upon the northern gate received a shot of the musketry in the right armpit, but two Telingas on the opposite side have been killed. I am given to understand that a letter from the accursed Devee Bukhash to the address of Mehdee Hussun arrived yesterday. It runs thus—"Two hundred European soldiers and three hundred Sikhs, after having arrived at Belwa, caused to be drawn away to the Surwa Ghaut, all the boats which were at the Ramghat, Noorghat, etc. Take an early notice otherwise the troops will cross the river and come over to this side". The Duffel Ka Pultun (or the 10th Regt.) lost no time in marching out to Ayodhya. The Hurkarras deputed by the Rafa to Derah, have not as yet returned. A man however has this day come to Bener Bukhash Singh Tomundar, an inhabitant of Derah and says that he has personally witnessed that fifteen

hundred European soldiers have arrived at Derah and encamped in the gardens. God grant that they may soon reach this place and destroy the insurgents.

A proclamation has been stuck up on behalf of Government in a conspicuous part of the Bazar of Faizabad to the effect that on the 15th July the European troops will reach Faizabad, so that whoever may be desirous of remaining firm in his attachment and devotion to the Government should keep in his own house, or if otherwise should leave it.

The Borle Ka Pultun (or 22nd Regiment) has this day commenced its march to Ayodhya. In the afternoon several balls from the Revolutionaries fell into the fort—one of them struck the thigh of a blacksmith who was at work in the Artillery Park. A sepoy was wounded at the northern gate. There is every hope of the recovery of both of them. Raja Man Singh discharged fire shells with his own hand. Three Telingas fell. The people on their side took them to their Army. Fifteen or sixteen Telingas, inhabitants of this Illaqua, who had been to their respective houses on leave before the breaking out of the mutinies, have this day arrived in the fort. The Daroga Sheonarain, an aide-de-camp of the Raja, has received them with every courtesy and afforded to them accommodation in the fort."⁴⁵

**Translation of the news sent by the
News-writer at Faizabad**

Dated Shahgunge, 13th July 1858

"Intelligence was received last night at about 10 O'clock to the effect that the Nusseerabad battalion with the design of blocking up the Surwa Ghat and encountering the troops of the Government commenced their march, that afterwards the Telingas of the Regiment rushed in the direction of the Northern Gate of the Fort and created a great uproar, that a fire of Guns was opened from this side and volleys were fired, and that the reports of the firing of Guns and Muskets which lasted full two hours, stunned the ears of the people of the Bazar and the Fort of Shahgunge. I am persuaded that in this conflict the spirit of the sun grateful insurgents had been paralysed. I have not as yet received a correct account of the number of the mutineers killed and wounded. The battle was fought till midnight.

Intelligence regarding the movement of the Nusseerabad Battalion has this day also reached me. Ali Mahomed of Fyzabad came over to the Rajah from the mutineers and said to him thus: "The mutineers asked me whether Mehdee Hussun and Mahomed Hussun, the Newswriters had gone to Goruckpore or were still kept by the Rajah in his house." In reply to this I represented to him thus: "I do not know the whereabouts of the Newswriters, the Rajah also is not aware where they are, some one with the view of subjecting the Rajah to blame sent the paper which has been intercepted by you." It has been a subject of great anxiety to me that no one through fear of the mutineers dares take any papers of news to you, and that the Rajah takes no notice of this fact. Thirteen or fourteen Hurkarus who were formerly lying in their houses, have been killed. On the 4th Instant a Hurkaru by name Soocheet Aheer was deputed to you. He assenerated that he would return soon. It is now ten days since he went but he has not as yet returned.

Five Telingas were killed last night and seven wounded. On the side of the Rajah through the divine favour all are safe.

Mahomed Hussun intends to go over to the Surva Ghat and impede the crossing of the troops of Government to this side. The insurgents have this day spread a report that the Begum has determined on going to Fyzabad. I am given to understand that the new Chukladar of Fyzabad under orders of Begum imprisoned Rammunodur Pundit late Chukladar of that place on the plea of the inability of the latter to adjust accounts relating to the collection of the revenue thereof.

The persons who were sent out of the Hurkarus of the Rajah, to Derah with certain papers have not as yet come back. On their arrival I shall be able to ascertain whether the news that fifteen hundred European soldiers alluded to in yesterday's paper have arrived is correct or not."⁴⁶

In this way a few Talookdars and Rajas helped Britishers and few revolted against them. Had some zamindars not helped the British the consequence would have been something else. But due to the disharmony of the Indian Chiefs the British ruled India about 100 years more.

Outbreak at Bahraich

The last division of Oudh which came under the flame of

Revolt was Bahraich. It was the largest of the four Oudh Divisions, comprising the whole territory between the river Ghagara, which formed its Western boundary, and the Nepal hills lying the east. There were two military stations, Mullapore and Bahraich. Mr. Wingfield, the Commissioner, has described the events of Bahraich in the following words:

"An untoward event occurred on the night of the 8th June, which may have participated, by a few days the final outbreak. Since the departure of the ladies all the remaining officers slept at my house, and four European Sergeants kept watch by turns. About midnight, we were awakened by two of the latter, who declared they had heard the men arming in the Infantry lines, which were not above 250 yards from my house, and had even seen them forming up to the lines; the night was very dark and the view intercepted by trees. . . . I believe it was a false alarm but there are officers who hold the contrary, I cannot forbear observing that on this occasion the best spirit appeared to be evinced by the Artillery. However, that may be, it brought matters to a crisis. . . . I would have left Secrora, which was not a civil station or my legitimate place of residence for Gonda before, had not Captain Boileau urged me to remain, alleging that my departure would show want of confidence in them. I now say that my remaining any longer would be imperilling my own life, and therefore taking the advantage of the habit of an evening ride mounted my horse, and rode over to Gonda, distant 18 miles, where the 3rd Oude Irregular Infantry apparently remained loyal. Sir H. Lawrence had previously written to Captain Boileau and myself in these words: "Should a mutiny break out as appear inevitable, you are at liberty to consult your own safety. It had broken out. The troops had thrown off all authority, and the question was, how long they would leave us alive. In the lines, Captain Boileau and his Adjutant were grossly insulted by their men who broke open the magazine, and conducted themselves in the most insubordinate manner."⁴⁷ In this way in Bahraich also the flame of Revolt were spreading. On June 10, 1857, the Hisrarpur⁴⁸ tehsil of the Bahraich district had been plundered by a detachment of sepoy from Secrora. All the

European left that place on the night of June 11, 1857 and reached Nanpara.⁴⁹ Here, instead of finding shelter they met with the blackest treachery. Kullun Khan, Agent and Manager of the minor King, and an old trusted dependant of the family did not entertain the British party, so they had to return to Bahraich. After reaching Bahraich they made up their minds to proceed towards Lucknow. Disguising themselves as so wars in Indian army they reached Bahramghat.⁵⁰ A party of Secrora sepoy's guarding the Jats; who, came to know the reality of these persons, pursued them in boats and shot them in the midstream. Mr. Jordan, who was alive, later on killed by order of Subedar Commanding at Secrora.⁵¹

Another Version

Kaye has also given a vivid account of the outbreak at Bahraich. "Two companies of the Gourd Regiment were posted at the civil station under Lt. Longueville Clarke. Mr. Cunliffe was the Deputy Commissioner and with him was Mr. Jordan, an uncovenanted Assistant. When they found that the Headquarters of the Regiment had revolted, there was no further hope of the fidelity of the detachment; so the Englishmen mounted horses and rode for Nanpara, where they had promised of friendly assistance. Disappointing in this, they turned back and rode for the Gogra, with the intention of making for Lucknow. They reached Bahramghat by disguising themselves in the costumes of the country. There they obtained a boat—it was said to be the common ferry-boat—and embarked with their horses. But a cry arose that some Europeans were escaping and then there was a rush to the river bank, and the sepoy's fired upon them. Cunliffe and Clarke were shot to death. Jordan was dragged out of the boat, and suffered to linger for a few days, at the end of which he shared the fate of his comrades."⁵² In this way the revolutionaries took command of this station also.

Outbreak at Secrora

Sacrora was an important Military station, where Mr. Wingfield himself lined, and the 1st or Daly's Regiment of Irregular Horse, the 2nd Regiment of O.I. Infantry, under Captain G. Boileau, and an Irregular Light Horse Battery under

Lt. Bonham were also stationed.⁵³ Uptil the end of May all remained quiet. The men seemed happy and contented, and to all appearance perfectly loyal. When the news of the disturbances at Meerut and Delhi first arrived, there were the usual appearances, and, indeed, the usual expressions of loyalty, and for some weeks the troops performed their appointed duties and their wanted observance of discipline. It was necessary, however, to watch them closely, and to be prepared for any emergency that might arise; so frequent consultations were held between the Civil Military functionaries, who freely conversed with the Indian officers, and endeavoured to elicit their opinions. But as news came in from station after station, even with fresh tidings of Revolt and massacre, there seemed to be little hope that the Bahraich Division would be exempted from the great plague of insurrection which was afflicting the whole province. So Winfield, as a first measure of precaution, provided for the safety of British women and children. But when the news reached of the Revolt at Lucknow, disaffection in British camp very soon began to show itself. This was particularly noticeable amongst the men of Boileau's regiment. Commencing in the usual way, they showed their ill-feeling by burning down the huts belonging to a company of the regiment, which was absent on detachment duty. Seditious meetings were held at night in their lines and it soon became evident that the regiment was fast drifting into Revolt.⁵⁴ Seeing the tense situation the British officers thought it wise to send their families at safe place. So all the European ladies and children were sent to Lucknow, after facing a good deal of feeling difficulties they reached the capital of Oudh. Captain Boileau's regiment was in mood of revolt, so special attention was paid to control the activities of this Regiment. After the departure of Captain Forbes only five Europeans were left at the station; they were, Captain Bonham, Mr. Wingfield, Captain Boileau, Lt. Hale and Assistant Surgeon Kendall.

On the 8th, there was cry that the Infantry had risen, and advancing towards the Commissioner's Bungalow. Bonham and Boileau went out to see the position but they found nothing abnormal. Wingfield did not like the state of affairs at Secrora, and seeing that Boileau's regiment was on the verge of Revolt, he had gone out as if for his usual evening ride, actually it was not a usual one but a crucial one and reached Gonda. He left Secrora

without giving any warning to other officers.⁵⁵ Boileau was very much dissatisfied with the behaviour of Wingfield and expressed his desire to leave the place. In his support he forwarded the circular letter from Lawrence, to all outstations saying: "should the mutiny of the troops be deemed inevitable, the officers are at liberty to leave their men and consult their own safety."⁵⁶ But Bonham persuaded him to stay. Both inspected their defence and line and were satisfied with the arrangement. Subedar Sheikh Murad Ali was loyal to them and working as a spy. For a short period there was peace and tranquility. After some time the mood of the sepoys was change and the preparation for outbreak started. The sepoys of various lines, assembled in the open space. They were very much excited. When Bonham asked them what had happened and why they had turned out, they said, "we cannot tell: the bugle has sounded."⁵⁷ Almost immediately a shout arose, "Tulungar ata hai: Tulungar ata hai."⁵⁸ (The infantry is coming). Mr. Boileau's regiment—the most suspect one, was seen marching towards the Battery. Bonham and his people also marched towards them to counteract and warned them not to come near the Battery. The British were thinking that some sepoys would be loyal to them. But, they were hoping against the hope. When the Europeans went towards the guns, the guard threatened the British people not to come near the guns. Seeing the unfavourable situation there was no option before the British except to leave the place. As the British left the place, the revolutionaries took the command of all the guns. Col. Bonham was the main hero and somehow or other he managed to save his life. After this incident, he was the whole-sole incharge of this station. He was very much perplexed with this situation. He has given a very interesting narrative in his book which runs:

"It was a question now where we should go. We might have followed Wingfield and Boileau and their party to Gonda, but I thought it probably that the regiment then, which I knew to be in a very shaky condition, might have already mutinied, and the party would have gone to Bulrampore, besides which I was very anxious to go to Lucknow. Byram Ghaut was closed to us by the company which had been sent there the previous evening, and remembering the Subedar's warning I determined to try another Ghaut called

Gurkumnia, some miles further down the river. There was the danger of falling in with mutineers from Durriabad, who we knew, were coming over to Secrora and would cross the river at that place; however, it seemed our best chance, and we set out in that direction. On nearing the Ghaut we lay to in a top of trees and sent the natives on to reconnoitre. We found the Durriabad mutineers had not yet arrived but that they were expected at any moment, and that all the ferry-boats had been taken across to bring them over. . . I therefore sent for the zamindar of the village, who, professing his willingness to help us, declared he was helpless, as all the boats had been taken to the other side to bring over the mutineers, and that it was impossible for us to cross. We were now in a terrible fix. There was no other Ghaut by which we could cross, and our only hope was to get over before the mutineers arrived. To us every moment was of importance; all persuasion had failed, and feeling sure the zamindar could help us if he wished, I drew my revolver. Seeing I meant business, he at once admitted that he had one small boat, but it was too small to be of any use to us. On going down to the bank of the river we found not one but two boats."⁵⁹

Somehow, the Europeans were able to cross the river safely. After facing a good deal of difficulties the party reached Lucknow safely. Secrora was under the sepoys because all the European people had left that place. In this way in the first phase of the struggle the revolutionaries got tremendous success everywhere at least in Oudh. In the four divisions of Oudh, the rebels succeeded in getting vacated the land from the British people. But in the end, they started losing and ultimately they had to taste the fruit of defeat.

Outbreak at Gonda

At Gonda there was only one regiment, the 3rd Oudh Irregular Infantry, commanded by Captain Mills. When Mr. Wingfield arrived at Gonda on June 9, he found the regiment to all appearance in satisfactory condition. But, soon an alarm of danger ranged and the situation became out of control. Lt. Clarke,

Assistant Commissioner, has described the Revolt at this station in the following words :

"On the 15th June, about 3 P.M., I received a note from Mr. Wingfield, the Commissioner of Baraitch Division, and who was residing at Secrora at the time, to the effect that all the ladies at that station were to start for Lucknow in the evening, and therefore the ladies of Gonda had better taken advantage of the opportunity to be off and join the party, as in all probability no other opportunity would offer itself and the road to Lucknow in a day or two would most assuredly be closed by the rebels. . . . From the 6th to 7th, 9th all went as smoothly at Gonda, as it had ever done before; when on the evening of the later date, we were all thrown into a state of anxiety by the arrival of Mr. Wingfield, who informed us that he has just ridden over from Secrora, as Captain Bonlieu's Regiment was all but in open Mutiny; he further informed us that the troops of Faizabad had mutinied."⁶⁰

In this state of affairs, the position of Gonda was not very safe. The European officers were anxious to transfer the treasury of Gonda to Balrampur. For this Captain Mills asked for the help of the Indian officers. But Indian officers were not in mood of obliging Captain Mills, so they expressed their inability. The British, at Gonda, could not sleep in the night, due to fear of outbreak at any moment. Again, Lt. Clarke, says, "The night passed by without any molestation from the sepoys, but more than once a sepoy with a shouldered musket passed close to our beds. (I suppose to see if we were there) and more than once we heard a hubbub, in the lines; the picquet also which was sent out on the Secrora road returned sometime before they ought to have done, and when they came near the house where we were, the men tossed about their muskets and went into the lines in a most disorderly manner, laughing and talking boisterously."

At day break, the Havaladar Major of the Regiment brought Captain Miles a letter he had received during the night from the Revolutionaries at Secrora, in which the men of the 3rd Regiment were urged to seize both the Treasury and their officers.

It would not be out of context to quote the narrative of Kaye relating to the outbreak at Gonda. He writes: "Everything, indeed,

had gone on in the old groove all through the month of May. Our civil courts had seen the wanted number of suitors, and discipline had been maintained in the Lines of the Sepoys. But in the first week of June there was a perceptible change. It was plain that all classes were in a state of feverish excitement, girding themselves up for the coming struggle. The old belief in the indomitable power of the English was fast passing away. Still there was no outward change. The sepoy protested that they would remain true to their salt; and the majority of their officers believed them. But when the Commissioner brought in the discouraging news that the troops at Fyzabad and Secrora had revolted, it became evident that the troops, they still protested their fidelity, would, form a junction with their comrades on the first appearance of a mutinous body from either place. As all other roads were now closed, it was proposed that the regiment should be marched to Bulrampore—some thirty miles distant—with the treasury. To this the men apparently at first consented; but the Sepoys said that they would fight the mutineers, when they might come, which really meant that they would fraternize with their comrades. So, Wingfield with the civil officers rode on the Bulrampore. Captain Miles and his Adjutant, bent on making a last desiring effort to save their men from rebellion, still remained in the Cantonment. But, on the following day, they found that all their efforts were useless; so they also set their faces towards Bulrampore, together with some of the officers from Secrora."⁶¹

In this way the entire Oudh was in turmoil. The flame of the Revolt covered the entire Oudh. Oudh was ruined due to the fierce fighting between the British and the revolutionaries. By this time both the parties were hoping for their victory and the facts of Oudh was hanging in uncertainty.

In Oudh the Revolt was very much welcome and almost all the classes of the society were supporting the cause of the revolutionaries, because the sepoy were angry over the retrenchment. The businessmen were not happy over the trade policy of the British. The Industrial revolution crushed the progress of the small scale industries in India, as a result of which a huge number of people were affected and this changed the entire set-up of the society. It increased the burden on land which made the small farmers very much dissatisfied. Moreover,

the zamindars, talookdars and small Rajas were very much perplexed over the land policy of the British. In short, the entire public of Oudh was against the British rule. The people were anxious to get rid of the Britishers.

A detailed study of the battles and retreat of revolutionaries has been made in the next chapter.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Foreign Political Consultations*, March 18, 1859, Nos. 128-29.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. Bonham, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
8. *Foreign Political Consultations*, March 18, 1859, Nos. 128-29.
9. Bonham, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-51.
10. *Foreign Political Consultations*, March 18, 1859, Nos. 128-29.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*, May 28, 1858, No. 421.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. Bonham, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
17. Mallaon, Pargana, Tehsil Bilgram, District Hardoi. It lies on old route from Cawnpore to Sitapur.
18. Muhumdi—Tahsil in Kheri district.
19. *Freedom Struggle in U.P.*, Vol. II p. 28.
20. Kaye, "*Sepoy War in India*", Vol. III, p. 459.
21. Gubbins, *op. cit.*, p. 459.
22. Kaye, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 459.
23. Gubbins, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
25. *Foreign Secret Consultations*, May 28, 1858, Nos. 418-19.
26. Gubbins, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
27. *Foreign Secret Consultations*, May 28, 1848, Nos. 418-19.
28. A famous temple in Ayodhya in Faizabad District.
29. *Foreign Secret Consultations*, May 28, 1858, Nos. 418-19.
30. *Ibid.*
31. Gubbins, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
32. Bonham, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
33. Gubbins, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
35. *Foreign Secret Consultations*, 28 May 1858, Nos. 418-19.
36. Gubbins, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
37. Hutchinson—"*Narrative of Events in Oude*", Calcutta, p. 106.
38. Bonham, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

39. Gubbins, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
41. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
43. Salon—Pargana and Tahsil Salon, District Rai Bareilly.
44. Gubbins, *op. cit.*, p. 141.
45. *Foreign Political Consultations*, December 30, 1859, No. 1191.
46. *Ibid.*
47. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.
48. Hisrapur—Pargana, Tahsil Kaisarganj, district Bahraich.
49. Nanpara—a Tehsil of Bahraich District.
50. Bahramghat, Pargana Ramnagar, Tahsil Fatehpur, District Barabanki.
51. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, p.100.
52. Kaye, *op. cit.*, pp. 477-78.
53. Gubbins, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-29.
54. Bonham, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
58. *Ibid.*
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.
60. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-02.
61. Kaye, *op. cit.*, pp. 475-76.

6

Hectic Efforts of the Revolutionaries and the Last Phase of the Struggle

After the burst of the volcano there were hectic efforts by revolutionaries to nourish and organise the Revolt in a proper way. A narrative of the incidents in Oudh has already been discussed in the previous chapter. Now, it would be convenient for us to discuss the role of Zamindars, Talookdars and other important personalities during the war and the final phase of the struggle. Actually the revolt was started by the Indian Army in the entire Oudh, but later on it was piloted by the civilians. Almost in every division of Oudh it was a popular Revolt and was supported by the public barring a few. The Maulvi of Faizabad played a very important role in the Revolt.

Maulvi Ahmad Ullah Shah was a great organiser and he organised the Revolt in a very systematic way. He had got his own intelligence gang. There was a good deal of coordination in his team. These things are very clear from the following correspondence. Ali Muhammad Khan, the Nawab of Mahumudabad, wrote a letter to the Maulvi on March 26, 1858 in which he had expressed his full co-operation and support. He

wrote : "... As soon as a large number of men come together, I shall present myself before you. It is no use coming alone. By God's grace you have a large body of men and it has been heard that 8,000 men have come with you from Khairabad. Under these circumstances, I hope that you will advance further than Bari and kill these enemies of our religion who have started at Lucknow. The victory will be yours. Please consider me your faithful servant. We are staying here on your strength."¹ Syed Kazim Ali (Kamdar of Muhammad Khan Bahadur), also wrote a letter to the Maulvi on March 28, 1856, in which he had expressed his concern about the forces of the Chaudhary of Tikait Ganj,² who was a supporter of the British.³ In another letter dated March 30, 1858, he assured the Maulvi for all help.⁴ Daljit Singh, Talookdar of Budhipur, attached to Ram Nagar Dhamera, wrote to Maulvi on April 2, 1858, in which he had expressed his concern about the treachery of Ganga Bakhsh Singh, Talookdar of Ram Nagar Dhamera.⁵ Again Syed Kazim Ali wrote to Maulvi on April 4, 1858 that, "Three English spies have been caught and they are now here at Mahmudabad. If you order they may be sent to you. Otherwise, kindly issue orders for compliance."⁶ Daljit Singh again wrote to the Maulvi on April 4, 1858 in which he had informed the Maulvi about the activities of Sahu Behari Lal, Mahajan of Lucknow, who was a very wealthy man, and was staying in the house of Ganga Bakhsh, the Zamindar of Shahpur.⁷ Further he wrote that, "He, (Sahu Behari Lal), is expected to go to Lucknow in a day or two or even earlier. If he reaches Lucknow and gives two or four lacks of rupees to the heathen, this would add to their, (British) strength. If you want to have this amount of money, you may please dispatch 500 or 1000 horsemen and foot-soldiers to Shahpur and order them to besiege the house of Ganga Bakhsh in order to keep back Sahuji from going to Lucknow and to extract as much Money from him as possible"⁸ Captain Makhdum Bakhsh, wrote to Ahmad Ullah Shah on April 10, 1858 in which he had assured for his full support.⁹ There was petition of Umrao Singh and Ram Sahai, Quanungos of Kurshi, addressed to Ahmad Ullah Shah. The petition runs: "The state of affairs is that the northern part of Lucknow presents a deserted appearance owing to the battle reading in the South, and Zamindars and Talookdars like Raja Drig Bijai Singh of Mahona are awaiting your arrival. We (illegible) the Zamindars

of Manza Dohra of Pargana Kurshi (illegible) want to go to your presence. But we are not aware of your place to stay. Hence, I beg to request to be allowed to take all those, whom I can, to your presence. If you so order, Maharaja Drig Bijai Singh may also personally reach your presence to do the needful. May the sun of your wealth and power ever shine."¹⁰ These letters are the best proof of the organising capacity of the Maulvi. Through his agents and other friends, he was controlling the whole situation. He gave some anxious moments to the British. Raja Drig Bijai Singh was a very close associate of Maulvi. His valour and courage is very obvious from the reports of the Deputy Commissioner, Lucknow. Few extracts from the reports would be sufficient to support the above statement. "Raja Drig Bijai Singh, Talookdar, Mohumud Nashir, Chowdree (Choudhari) of Koorsei and Zalim Singh of Dharorah came with a force of 4,000 men and 4 guns, plundered 4 and 8 prisoners and also destroyed the entrenchments of Mahona on 8th May 1858 and on the 9th of the same month seized 14 carts and horses laden with provisions. 12 May: Plunder (Plundered) Hyder Hoosain Khan of 1 Lac of Rupees; on the 10th May Raja Drig Bijai Singh together with Choudhari Mohumad Nasir and Mullik Faqareer Bux of Mysunda plundered the inhabitants of Tickait Gunj of property valued at 76,000 and seized the Mahajans. . . ." ¹¹ Raja Drig Bijai Singh fought very bravely with the British upto the last drop of his blood.

Beni Madho Singh who took arms against the British was blessed by the King of Oudh. The King handed over the administration of Jaunpur and Azamgarh to Rana Beni Madho Singh. He was the man who had blocked the road to Kanpur, who fought with the British at Unao and later on helped the Raja of Amethi. In this way he proved himself very deadly for the British. Rana was always vigilant and was eager to maintain contact with other revolutionaries. He wrote to the Maulvi Ahmad Ullah Shah on June 6, 1858 through which he informed the Maulvi about the position of the British.¹² Again in letter addressed to Peshwa Rao Saheb, he wrote: ". . . May God bless you with success as this will in every way add to the felicity of faithful person like myself." The state of affairs here is this: The battle in the capital has been lost and the town has been completely vacated. The King (Birjis Qadar) has left Lucknow and

reached Bahraich. He is busy there in collecting his own troops, and inviting Talookdars, Zamindars and *Raises* to come together. I received an order from him for collecting an army of Gohars, royal servants, Talookdars and of others in Baiswara and for keeping them ready. In accordance with his royal orders I have collected an army of about 10,000 foot-soldiers and horsemen of the troops of the Government and of the Talookdars in Baiswara. England has at present no soldiers. If an attempt is to be made here I am ready to take share in the right and if there is a battle at Lucknow, I shall be present with my army for punishing the riffraffs. . . . "13 He also informed Mammo Khan about his readiness to fight the British through a letter dated June 13, 1858.¹⁴ In this way Rana Beni Madho was a true revolutionary and was always ready to fight with the British.

Firoz Shah, Prince of Delhi, also played a very important part. After the fall of Lucknow the prince was watching the affairs of Oudh from Sandila. He had got a strong army and was ready to fight the British at Sandila. Captain Dawson was very much perturbed due to presence of the Prince. However, after a bit hesitation he attacked on the army of Firoz Shah and there was a fierce battle. Firoz Shah escaped and took refuge at Bangarman.¹⁵ At Bangarman he again started the organization work. He got support from a number of Zamindars of Bangarman. Due to influence of the Prince Firoz Shah and Narpat Singh the entire area was against British people. There was also a rumour that the revolutionaries of Kalpi were also marching towards Sandila. In this way Prince Firoz Khan was also busy in organizing the revolutionaries.

The Zamindars, Talookdars and Rajas were in open Revolt against the British Government. From the above letters it is very obvious that the revolutionaries were not fighting in haphazard way, but in organized way. They have also got their intelligence and army. Now it would be better to throw some light on the position of the people of Oudh. The following categories of persons of Oudh were fighting against the British:

1. The Sepoys.
2. The resuscitated forces of the Nawabee—the Begum troops, as they may be conveniently called.

3. The followers of the Maulvi of Faizabad.
4. The Talookdars and their retainers and clansmen.
5. The artisans.
6. The peasants.

The number of the first two categories had diminished considerably. They had taken the leading part in all the military operations heretofore, had been now thoroughly defeated, and were somewhat sick of the struggle. But the Maulvi's force was becoming a more prominent factor in the struggle. He infused a new blood of inspiration in the veins of the revolutionaries. At the same time the Rajas, Talookdars and Zamindars were harassing the British by their guerilla warfare. Innes has given a very good description about the strategy of the revolutionaries. He says: "The Talookdaree gatherings and warfare were mainly in Byswara and the south coast of Oude, but the three other parties collected in two groups; one on the north-west of Oude, towards the Rohilkhand border, under the leadership of the Moulvi. The other on the north-east. This consisted of all the four classes of rebels, who formed themselves into four separate bodies, though keeping together without any one recognized chief, while a large number of persons exercised more or less influence and command over the several sections: such as the Begum; Mummoo Khan, Jeylall Singh, the Nana's brother, various officers of the Sepoy troops; and the like. These three gatherings came to a head not simultaneously, but at different and successive periods—the north-west first, then the talookdars in Byswara in May, and afterwards the north-east gather in June." The artisan class and peasants also played vital role by helping the revolutionary leaders in various ways. Colin Campbell was the incharge for the defense of Lucknow, after the death of Sir Henry Lawrence. He first of all took measures for the safety of Lucknow and to get rid of from the clans of revolutionaries. Then he sent his army to Rohilkhand and Azamgarh also. The column directed against Rohilkhand was commanded by Walpole, and was to sweep up the left bank of the Ganges to clear and settle these districts first. Walpole attacked on Royal Fort and defeated Narpat Singh, son of Jussa Singh who was close associate of Nana Saheb and was killed in a combat with Havelock.

On the other hand Hope Grant was left in Oudh to control the situation. He attacked the Moulvi at Baree. After some resistance the revolutionaries took refuge in Rohilkhand. Hope Grant tried to catch the Begum but in vain. He returned to Lucknow and cleared the south portion of the city.

After these two defeats the Revolutionaries' leaders were not disheartened. Under the leadership of Beni Madho the revolutionaries were fighting with British. They were terror for the British. The British were tired of their guerilla warfare. Hope Grant attacked on the revolutionaries at Nawabganj and after a fierce battle, the revolutionaries fled away in different directions towards Gonda, Faizabad, Sultanpur, etc.

Now the role of Man Singh gave a view impetus to the British. After a good deal of efforts the British were also able to have the support of Raja Man Singh. Man Singh expended all types of help to the British. He gave refuge to the ladies and children of the British officers.¹⁶ The revolutionaries were very much annoyed with Raja Man Singh due to his double behaviour, i.e., on one hand he was posing as a patriot and on the other hand he was loyal to the British. Mehdi Hussain attacked the fort of Shahgunj.¹⁷ There was demand for reinforcement from Raja Man Singh to protect himself.¹⁸ In a letter dated June 12, 1858, Raja Man Singh informed William Forbes about the attack of Mehdi Hussain.¹⁹ William Forbes also wrote him a letter, assuring him all types of help.²⁰ So many eatables were sent from Jaunpur to Shahgunj.²¹ For protection sake the family of Raja Man Singh was escorted to a safe place.²² Hope Grant's arrival at Faizabad dispersed the revolutionaries. In this way the revolutionaries were trying hard to resist the pressure of the British force. By this time only few talookdars were in the field of battle, e.g., Beni Madho, Raja of Amethi, Hanwant Singh, etc. Now starts the last phase of the war and the entire territory of Oudh fell in the hands of the British.

Though the revolutionaries were giving a good fight to the British people, but gradually their strength was reducing. One by one all the leaders of the revolutionaries surrendered before the British. How the revolutionaries lost their territory and in some cases their life, in fighting against the British, is a very interesting story.

Nawabganj Tehsil was partly in the hands of the British and partly in the hands of revolutionaries. The Thana and the

Chowkee of Nawabganj was under the control of a Talookdar loyal to the British, but rest of the Tehsil was under the revolutionaries. Here the revolutionaries were quite sure to win the battle.²³

The role of Nawab Ali Khan of Mahmoodabad was also very vital. In a letter dated April 14 and 15, 1858, Captain Reid had given a detailed account of the resistance of Nawab Ali Khan and Ibad Ali Khan. He wrote, "we are encamped at Birassee, six or seven miles from Mahmoodabad and I have as yet received no reply to my communication to Nawab Ali Khan. He himself has fled across the Chouka,²⁴ but has left a *Karinda* with four small guns and small twelve hundred diwalbunds. If the *Karinda* absconds, or does not come in before we attack the place, I think the Nawab's possessions should be finally forfeited and made over as soon as possible to some other parties. I believe such a measure would have a very good effect all over the country. Nawab Ali Khan and his brother Ibad Ali Khan are the only men in this quarter, apparently disposed to shrew their teeth. . . ."²⁵ He further writes "Up til (sic)²⁶ yesterday evening the Mahmoodabad people apparently intended to hold out but they thought better of it and went off during the night, some I believe cross the Chouka to Mathoora where the Nawab is supposed to be, and come to the Begum at Bithowlee. The fortifications here are of no strength, there is a *Pukka* house belonging to the Nawab which are going to blow up. Tomorrow we go to Bithira, belonging to a brother of the Nawab called Ibad Ali Khan. These men appear determined to persist in their obstinate resistance to our authority and I think their estates should be given to well affected Talookdars, and part settled with rival claimants, village Mocuddums, or otherwise disposed of."²⁷

In the end he wrote: "I am afraid we have now left the region of well disposed zemindars and from this to Ramnuggur we shall find nearly all of them Hostile.

I have heard nothing of the Moulvi beyond the report, that we went to Biswa, after the fight. He is said to have very few followers and it is expected that he will go on to Khyrabad."²⁸

The Maulvi of Faizabad who was a terror of the British was defeated at Bari by the English troops under Mr. Right.

Maulvi reached Khairabad from Bari with 2500 horsemen, 1500 foot soldiers and three guns and stayed at Bari for three

days and from there he moved to Maholi along with his followers. Maholi was under the *Ilaga* of Loni Singh, Talooqdar of Mithauli, District Muhumdi. But Raja Loni Singh refused to grant him shelter.²⁹ In a telegraphic message from C.R. Lindsay, Futtuhur (Fategarh) to E.A. Reade, Agra, received on May 17, 1858, the activities of the Maulvi was reported. "The report of yesterday was that the Maulvi was entrenched at Ajutatahur three coss east of Shahjehanpore. Today's report says that the enemy is in force at Lodhapore³⁰ on the left of bank of Kunnout (Khanaut) river. The Chief is expected at Shahjehanpore."³¹ In another telegraphic message C.R. Lindsay wrote, "The Maulvie with four Regts. of Infantry and three of Cavalry with nine guns is in possession of *Palee*. He has a strong picket at Mooraa (Mooraa) eight miles distant from Bijhpooora (Bijehpoora) and just opposite to it Messrs Clark, Dalmain (P) and Thurburn have been obliged to vacate Durreepore (Dharampur). The Maulvi will probably attack Sandee³² and join Narpat Singh. There is a strong rumour from different directions that a part of the rebels are on this side of the Ganges somewhere in the Etah district."³³ G.F. Edmonstone sent a telegraphic message to E.A. Reade May 21, 10.40 P.M., 1858, that "It is reported from Futtuhur that of the eighteenth instant the Commander-in-Chief engaged the rebel forces at Hastora and Bunnee some two and half coss east from Shahjehanpore, and that the fighting continued till night. One of the entrenchments of the enemy had been taken."³⁴ Again C.R. Lindsay reports through a telegraphic message to E.A. Reade, Agra, dated June 13, 1858 that "Report says that the Purwaya Rajah has been killed by the rebels; the Malvey and Khan Bahadoor Khan are gathering men for an attack on Mahomedee. The Nana is said to be on the other side of Gogra; this requires confirmation."³⁶ Again Lindsay informs to E.A. Reade dated June 15, 1858 that "Many of the chief rebel leaders and great Talookdars are mediating an attack on Shahjehanpore. This is reliable. The Maulvi is Chief. The rebels are said to be in possession of Mohumdee; required information (sic.)"³⁷ Colonel Clark reported from Fategarh on June 19, 1858 that the Maulvi Ahmad Shah with 200 Sowars and the Nawab of Najebabad attacked the Raja of Pawayan,³⁸ on June 15, 1858, but they were defeated by the Raja's nephew Narpat Singh, who shot the Maulvi and the Nawab.³⁹ The death of the news of the Maulvi

was also reported by a telegraphic message from C.R. Lindsay dated June 16, 1858 to E.A. Reade. "The Maulvi is dead, he was shot at Purwaan (Parwayan) when he went with (500) five hundred Sowars. A follower of the Rajah of purwaan cut of his head."⁴⁰

After the death of the Maulvi the main hero, (who piloted the war against the British) Narpat Singh of Roya, Sati Prasad and Beni Madho took the leadership. These leaders did a great job in giving a very stiff fight to the British. Though the people were quite disheartened due to these defeats but these leaders were trying to defend their independence.

In a telegraphic message Vansittart informed the Secretary to the Government with the Governor-General, dated April 25, 1858, that "Intelligence has just arrived that Nurput Singh of Roahee (Roya), has collected together about 1,000 men, with six guns of all sizes, that he is threatening to coerce the Zamindars friendly to our cause; he is promised aid by the Begum."⁴¹ In a telegraphic message the Judge of Kanpur, dated April 25, 1858, had informed Muir that—

"The rebels have returned in force to Roaya, the fort where Walpole's affairs happened. Nurput Singh is burning villages, and ravaging that district, flushed with his recent escape. Suttee Prasad, the rebel Rajah of Sheorajpore, will try to cross over to Kalpee, and we have nothing to stop him. Beni Madhu with a considerable force, is threatening Oonao and the Canwnpore and Lucknow Road. No news from Kalpee."⁴² Captain L. Barrow, Deputy Commissioner of Oudh, in memorandum dated May 22, 1858 wrote: "With few exceptions the larger Talookdars of Oudh have sent in, by letter or Vakeel or in person tendered, their allegiance. In the last 10 days great progress has been made, inasmuch as the Commissioner with the principal parties have (sic.) assumed a tone which they are more in earnest than their first letter led us to suppose. . . ."⁴³

He further wrote : "Our progress in settlement to this time and the little opposition met with at the posts we have established shows the tone of feeling towards us in changing. A fortnight since no man would have undertaken to establish

himself in any place 5 miles from a military post. Now we could get Talookdars or Zamindars over one-third of Oudh, or half to support our Tehsils. Witness our posts,* established or proposed.

The principal obstacle at this moment to our settlement and to the Talookdars presenting themselves to the Chief Commissioner is the want of Military Post at Fyzabad, and Bane Madho's holding out on the South-west."⁴⁴

Captain Barrow's observations regarding Madho Singh and Man Singh are very interesting, he wrote, "Though Madho Singh and Man Singh profess allegiance, it is remarkable that from the Sultanpore and Fyzabad Districts none have (sic.) come in. As regards Bane Madho's opposition we have already drawn off several of the Talookdars. Most of them indeed make excuses for not joining him and there are hopes of gaining him over, as he states through Munooroodowlah that "he" (sic.) will always obey those who are in power. A day or so will decide his course."^{45**}

In the end of his memorandum he wrote, "The reports of officers, of the Commissioner, of the feeling of particular individuals on a particular Frontier do not give a fair notion of the tone of feeling generally amongst the Talookdars of Oudh. Reports should be sent to the Chief Commissioner alone, and I earnestly trust no change in our policy towards the Talookdars will take place at this moment. Let them tender their allegiance at Lucknow only. The Chief Commissioner can determine to dispense with personal attendance and prevent any inconvenience to the party as each case come before him. . . ."⁴⁶

During the hectic efforts by Beni Madho Singh and Narpat Singh, to defend their independence Maulvi Liaquat Ali also came in the field. He attacked and took possession of Sardee.⁴⁷ Further he attacked Bilgram and plundered it.⁴⁸

Activities of Mehdi Hasan's attack on Man Singh has already been dealt in the previous chapter. Seeing the attitude of Man Singh the other Zamindars revolted against the British and Raja Man Singh. The Talookdars of Budhopur, Pirpur, Sumanpur and others joined the camp of Mehdi Hasan.⁴⁹ These defections

* Marginal notes in the Original; Mulliabad, Sundeelah, Gopa Mow, Jyes Futtehpore, Sessendi, Neghoham or Nighohi, Hossain Gunge, Palee, Dal Mow, Durrabad.

**There is a marginal note in the Original "Bane Madho's tender of allegiance had just been received."

made the position of the British more deplorable. Raja Debi Bukhsh Singh and Gujadar Captain accompanied by revolutionaries encamped Muhammadpur.⁵⁰ In the meantime there was a news that Revolutionaries force from Hamirpur were about to march towards Oudh.⁵¹

In this way Beni Madho Singh and Narpat Singh infused inspiration in the blood of the Native Chiefs and a number of small Talookdars and Zamindars also entered in the battle.

Now the revolutionaries were not in a position to give a hand fight, so they adopted the technique of Guerilla warfare. In a letter dated June 5, 1858, T.D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh wrote to G.F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India, that "The Narrative of the events of the past week does not afford much subject for congratulations. The policy of the rebels has clearly been, to harass and drive in all our Thannahs and out-posts, avoiding as much as possible close contact with any disciplined troops. . . ." ⁵² Now by this time only Beni Madho Singh, Liaqat Ali, Narpat Singh, the Begum and the Birjis Qadar, Firoz Shah, were the main heroes of Oudh.

Maulvi Liaqat Ali was able to mobilize the support of the police of Bilgram. Now the revolutionaries were anxious to join Begum and Beni Madho.⁵³ There were symptoms of revolt in the police of Rasulabad. The Revolutionaries attacked Sandila on the 1st June; and Hushmut Allee, Tehsildar was compelled to evacuate the place.⁵⁴ There was a definite plan of the revolutionaries to attack Lucknow again.⁵⁵ In this context T.D. Forsyth wrote G.F. Edmonstone that "Towards the north a large concourse of sepoys and rebel Rajas has been reported, but the numbers are very uncertain. Their declared plan was to attack Lucknow on the 2nd June from three sides at once and 9,000 Infantry and Cavalry with 68 guns took up a position at Nawab Gunje on the 30th May, throwing out pickets who patrolled almost to Chihut and within 8 miles of Lucknow.

The Brigadier Commanding sent out on June 1, a force of 1,200 men and 12 guns to Chihut, where they are drawn up almost in front of the enemy. There is not a distance of 5 miles between the advanced posts of the two armies, and yet no attempt of an attack on our post has been made. The Chief Commissioner would not wish to call in question the tactics of the Military, but he is strongly of opinion that these rebel armies are treated with far greater respect than such rebel forces desire."⁵⁶

In the end he wrote : "On the slightest approach of British Troops, the utmost panic precedes a general flight. But when they see the British troops hesitating to attack they borrow enough courage to make a show of advance and meanwhile harass and destroy the zamindars who belong to our cause. Beni Madho was to have joined in the attack, but the presence of General Grant disturbed his arrangements. He however attacked and drove out the post at Sassendie on the 31st ultimo."⁵⁷

Now the revolutionaries were busy in strengthening their position, because they had to fight with a very powerful enemy. Though some Talookdars like Man Singh, Raja of Kapurthala, etc. were supporting the cause of the British, but a major number of Zamindars and Talookdars were against the British. The Revolutionaries again started their campaign and occupied Purwa.⁵⁸ After taking back Purwa the revolutionaries gave some anxious moments to the Raja and Talookdars who were loyal to the British, e.g., Raja Man Singh and Raja of Tiloi. Raja Man Singh was very much vexed with the activity of Mehdi Hasan and he wrote several letters to the British for help (the details has already been discussed). Now a few words about the sentiments of Raja of Tiloi would be sufficient to judge the distress of the Rajas, loyal to the British. In a letter dated June 27, 1858 Raja of Tiloi wrote to Major Barrow requesting for help. He wrote "No answers have been received to my *Urzees*, and I feel, in great dismay, like a fish out of water, twisting round in distraction. The fight has now gone on in Tiloi for 26 days; we have killed thousands of the enemies, but my ammunition is spent, and I have received no help from you. I am trying to hold on as long as I can to pass the time, may be you will come to my aid. The rebels after a lengthened seige, have employed Rajah Sheo Dhurshun Singh to treat with me and have called on me to pay revenue according to the rate of 1262 (Fasli) and to promise and swear never to treat with or hold any communications with the English, and to call on me to aid them in fighting the English. I declined, so the enemy still oppose me, and are systematically burning every hamlet, village, Gunj, and Buzar in my territory, and plundering every person in it, and reducing me to the depth of distress."⁵⁹

He further wrote that "I shall now perish. The whole country is against my life, and no one helps me, and the rainy

season has now come on and no cultivation can take place. I have assured the rebels with promises till your reinforcement can come to my aid; and thus I may be able to pass a week, otherwise I shall be compelled reluctantly to adopt any means, I can, to save myself. I trust you will kindly take care for me. The rebels are now assembling here in great numbers, but they are in careless ease, and if I saw any prospect of assistance from Government I could muster my courage and put them all the rout; let me not be forgotten."⁶⁰

From this letter the sentiments of the Raja of Tiloi is very clear. However, he further wrote, "Since writing the above, I have to state that when the rebels saw they could not take Tiloi, Shekh Fuzl Azim. Nazim sent Rajah Sheo Durshun Singh and all the heads to me saying that it would be for my benefit if I come into their Government. I was at a loss for ammunition, even for food. I saw no hope of deliverance or aid. My *Ilaqua* was all blackened with burning. My communications had been cut off by investment of the enemy, the country was against me. I therefore, went to Fuzl Azmi on the safe conduct his officers gave me. In course of conversation the Nazim demanded Rupees 40,000 and that I should enter into a solemn engagement, and oath never to hold any communication with the English, aid to co-operate with *Nazim*. Forced by my extremity, and the utter helplessness of aid, I was obliged to yield."⁶¹ In the end he wrote ". . . . I am calling on God to save me. May he protect you, there is no one in the world to save me. My earnest and most repeated entreaty is, that even now a small force may be sent out. This will yet save my honor, and relieve my anguish and trend under foot the insurgents. I have no helper but you. I can say no more. All this is doing of Rajah Sheo Durshun Singh and Bugwan Bux and Mohun Singh. Though the cause me to write a lac of engagements, I will never leave you, and by the blessing of God, all difficulties, may even now be mitigated. I care only for your approbation. Pray think upon your own name. Your name is the cause of all my misery. . . ."⁶² It is very obvious from the above letter that the position of the Rajas loyal to the British was not comfortable and they were in dilemma, i.e., what to do? Which camp would be safe was the main problem. In a word they were opportunists. Raja Man Singh was also not determined so was the case of the Raja of Tiloi. These persons were actually not loyal

to the British but they were anxious to safeguard their own interests.

Now, once again the revolutionaries tried to consolidate their position and there was a hectic effort to win the friendship of Jang Bahadur, the commander of the Gorkha force. Ramzan Ali Khan, Mirza Birjis Qadar Bahadur wrote a letter to His Highness the Maharaja of Nepal, on 7th Jeth, Samvat 1915 (May 9, 1858). The letter runs: "It is known to every one that my ancestors brought the British into Hindostan; but Bulvant Singh, the Raja of Benares, was a cause of much annoyance to them, and therefore the province of Benares was given to them. A treaty was then signed by the British, in which they wrote that they would never act treacherously as long as the sun and the moon should exist. But they have broken that treaty, and, dethroning my father, Wajid Ali Shah, have sequestered his state, palaces and every thing he had. Every one is acquainted with this event, as it took place only in Sumvut 1912."

After taking Lucknow they intended to make war with you, for which purpose they collected a large force and magazine at Colonelgunge, which is situated below the hills, perhaps you are aware of this event."⁶³

Actually Birjis Qadar was very much anxious to have the support of the King of Nepal. He further wrote, "In former years great intimacy existed between our houses, insomuch, that your forefathers built a bungalow for my ancestors, for shooting and hunting purposes in Bhootwal.

The British sometime ago attempted to interfere with the faith of both the Hindoos and Mohammedans, by preparing cartridges with cow's grease for the Hindoos, and that of pigs for the Mohammedans; and ordering them to bite them with their teeth. The sepoy's refused, and were ordered by the British to be blown away from guns, on the parade ground. This is the cause of the war breaking out, and probably you are acquainted with it.

But I am ignorant as to how they managed to get your troops, which they brought here, and began to commit every sort of violence, and to poll down temples, mosques, Imambarras, and the sacred places."⁶⁴

In the end Birjis Qadar tried to arouse the religious sentiments of the King of Nepal and he wrote, "You are well

aware of the treachery of the British, and it is proper you should preserve the standard of religion, and make the tree of friendship between you and me fresh.

Therefore, it is proper we should join in killing the British, which is the only way to save the religions of both the Hindoos and Mohammedans. . . .⁶⁵

It is very obvious from this letter that the religious sentiments of the King was aroused. Actually it indicates the great diplomacy of Mirza Birjis Qadar and the sincerity in his efforts. Further he also wrote to Jang Bahadur on May 11, 1858 in which he wrote, "I am well convinced that you pay great attention to religion and faith, and that it is very likely that you have been informed that temples and Imambarras have been broken down."⁶⁶ In the last he wrote, "To you, both parties are the same. What shall I write more? My brief writing comprehends a great deal.

Let me inform you that Maulvi Sahib is proceeding towards you on my part."⁶⁷

Further, Ali Mahomed (Muhammad) Khan, wrote to Maharaja Jang Bahadur, dated the 5th Shawwal 1274 A.H. (May 10, 1858) in which he tried his level best to persuade Jang Bahadur. He wrote, ". . . . As the strengthening of the old friendship existing between the two States depends on the managers of both Governments, who were bound in duty to do so, (and the sages and clever men of past ages have excelled in such matters) and especially at this period, when the British nation is bent on depriving the inhabitants of this country, of their religion, faith, dominions, and lives, and as no hope is left to any prince by thus cursed nation, therefore, on the strength of our old friendship, and considering the vicinity of our frontier, I am led to believe that it would not be wise in any chief, to allow these enemies, who are now in their grasp, to escape."⁶⁸ In the end he wrote—

"Therefore it is proper for, and binding, on Chiefs to enter into agreements to kill, and get rid of, these infields. . . ."⁶⁹

Again Maulvi Muhammed Sarfroz Ali, the Ambassador of the King of Oudh also tried to persuade Jang Bahadur.⁷⁰ But all these efforts failed and Jang Bahadur wrote a letter to Birjis Qadar dated 22nd Asadh (July 17, 1858) in which he

rejected the charges of the Birjis Qadar and others against the British Government. He wrote, "Be it known that, for upwards of a century, the British have reigned in Hindostan, but up to the present moment, neither the Hindoos nor the Mohammedans have ever complained that their religion has been interfered with.

As the Hindoos and Muhammedans have been guilty of ingratitude and perfidy, neither the Nepal government nor I can side with them. . . . "71

The reply of Jang Bahadur was very harsh and discouraging. But the revolutionaries were neither disheartened nor left the field. So once more the revolutionaries started their campaign against the British. Actually it was the period of protracted struggle.

The British adopted the method of persuasion to win the friendship of Indian Chiefs.⁷² The British got some success also. By giving assurance for safety and good behaviour they won the friendship of some Rajas and Zamindars. On the other hand, the revolutionary group was trying hard to give a blow to the British. Narpat Singh and Beni Madho were making preparation for further action. Narpat had collected a large army.⁷³ There was telegraphic message from G.F. Edmonstone dated July 23, 1858 that "We hear from Lucknow that Beni Madho and Rugonath Singh left their camp near Misser Khaira on the 19th July with thirteen thousand five hundred men of (all) sorts and seventeen guns and went either towards Kalee Kunkei, three miles north-west of Mankipore on the Ganges or towards Partabghur."⁷⁴

Beni Madho marched towards Rai Bareilly. On the other hand, the Begum and Nana Saheb had surrounded the Raja of Balrampur. Here General Bakht Khan joined the camp of Begum with 200 sepoy, 15 Sowars, and one gun.⁷⁵ Firoz Shah and Beni Madho attacked and plundered Thalotar, Mohan and Sandi.⁷⁶ Mehdi Hasan also joined the revolutionaries at Salon.⁷⁷ So now there was a joint venture by all the important leaders of the revolutionary group to eradicate the British regime. Actually the main opponents of the British were Beni Madho, Birjis Qadar, Mehdi Hasan, Firoz Shah, Drig Bijai Singh, Narpat Singh and Mansab Ali.

Beni Madho started for Sultanpur, and after reaching there he again started the collection of army. Mansa Ali and Mehdi

Hasan were also busy in organizing their forces. Mehdi Hasan occupied Bharatpur in Sultanpur district.⁷⁹ Once again the revolutionaries were in advantageous position and were active in Sultanpur, Faizabad and Mohan. In a telegraphic message dated August 7, G.F. Edmonstone, informed E.A. Reade about the activities of the revolutionaries. He wrote: "The following has been received from Lucknow. All well at Fyzabad on the 2nd August. Two regiments of the rebel Nusseerabad force had left, Chuprodee⁸⁰ and crossing the river Goomtee had gone to Hussenpoor three miles south-west of Sultanpoor. The Birtypoor Rebel force began crossing the Goomtee on the 31st July and are all over; they were apparently proceeding to Sultanpoor since the above was received. Further, intelligence from Fyzabad upto to 4th August has arrived. The rebel force near Sultanpoor is said to be composed as follows: Sepoys 6,700, Irregular levy 8,900; Cavalry 1,500, Guns 11. The rebels are said to intend moving on Partabghur where all are to be collected. A force from Fyzabad were (sic.) about to start for Sultanpoor consisting of 1st Madras Fusiliers, the 1st Punjab Rifles, 1 Troop H.A., European and Native. Postal communication is being established between Fyzabad and Goruckpoor, Mohan on the Kanpur road was to be occupied on the 7th August but a regiment of Police Infantry and about 400 Cavalry. (The Commissioner of Faizabad reports very favourably of the apparent feeling of the people. The Zamindars are showing some disposition to eject the Rebels").⁸¹

In another Telegraphic message dated August 13, 1858, G.F. Edmonstone wrote: "The force for Sultanpoor reached from Fyzabad on the morning of the 9th. All well at Fyzabad. The country rapidly settling down. Commr. of Bunaares⁸² (Benares) reports having received. Intelligence from Ghaseepoor (Ghazipur) that the Oude rebels had circumvented the 7th Punjab Infantry and were coming down on Shahabad via Urrea; all the boats on the river are being stopped."⁸³

On the other hand, there was confrontation between the forces of the Firoz Shah and Lakkar Shah and the British. The British force was under the command of Captain Dawson, who was assisted by Mr. Caranagh at Sandila. The revolutionaries were defeated.⁸⁴ After this defeat, though the revolutionaries were a bit disheartened but they gave a very tough resistance to the

British at Beiwar. However, once again the luck of the British favoured them and they got success. These defeats could not persuade the revolutionaries to give up their mission. They shifted their activity around Sultanpur. In a letter dated September 11, 1858, T.D. Forsyth, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, wrote to G.F. Edmonstone, that ".... A body of 700 Sepoys and Sowars crossed the Fyzabad and Sultanpoor road on the 6th instant, and marched to Kupra Deb (Khapradish), twelve miles east of Sultanpoor and in the direction of Azimgurh (Azamgarh) from whence they have gone towards Ackburpoor (Akbarpur). Mr. Ellis, Assistant Commissioner, who was proceeding on duty in that direction, was nearly cut-off by these rebels. General Grant sent a detachment to cut-off their retreat, but the rebels appear to have got away."⁸⁵ He further wrote, "Captain Reid from Sultanpoor reports that the part goes direct to Jounpoor, and communication has been opened out with Pertaubgurh. Nearly all the surrounding Zamindars have either come in themselves or sent in their representatives. Raja Hussain Ali of Hussunpoor, has sent in his agent. The Amaithee Raja, however, is still refractory."⁸⁶ T.D. Forsyth further wrote: "In Durriabad, there have been rumours of a threatened attack by the Begum's party from the Gogra side and by the Nusseerabad Brigade from the Sultanpoor side. The Begum's force has been estimated at 5,000 men, but has not yet crossed the Gogra. The Nusseerabad brigade remains still at Jugdeespoor (Jagdishpur) on the southern side of the Goomtee, hesitating to move with this force, is Mehnder Hussain rebel, for some time kept to the dense jungle of Jugdeespoor (Jagishpur). To strengthen Nowabgunj, Bara Bunkee, (Bara Banki), and to support Durriabad wing of H.M's 23rd R.W. Fusiliers marched from Lucknow on the morning of the 10th. . . ."⁸⁷

Jan Ali Khan, Begum, Khan Bahadur Khan, Vilayat Shah were busy in organizing their power. Khub Chand Nazir, Adalat Shahjahanpur, who toured the entire British and contacted with the revolutionaries had given a vivid picture of the armies of the rebels at different places upto September 14, 1858. According to him—

News

Name of the Rebel leader	Station	Accounts
(1)	(2)	(3)
Khan Ali Khan, Resident of Shahjahanpur.	Naurangabad, Ilaqa of Muhamdi.	Staying at Naurangabad with 7,000 horsemen and 2,500 Tilangas, 5,000 Najibs and 16 or 17 guns. Day before yesterday he went to Pasgawan and returned therefrom after one day's stay.
Loni Singh, Raja of Mithauli.	Naurangabad Ilaqa of Muhamdi.	Accompanies Khan Ali Khan with 2,000 foot soldiers, guns and ammunition.
Khan Bahadur Khan, Nawab of Bareilly.	Haidarabad, Ilaqa of Muhamdi.	Staying at Haidarabad with one thousand horsemen, 2 or 3 hundred Tilangas, one thousand Najibs and 8 guns.
Fazal Haq of Shahjahanpur.	Pihani, Ilaqa of Muhamdi.	Staying at Pihani and Padroah with four thousand horsemen, nine hundred Najibs and 3 guns and is levying revenue.
Wilayat Shah, disciple of Ahamad Ullah Shah.	Alipur, Ilaqa of Muhamdi.	Staying at Alipur with 900 horsemen and 500 Najibs.
Firoz Shah.	Khairabad.	Sent by the Begum of Lucknow to Khairabad.
Begum of Lucknow.	Bondi or (Baundi).	Staying at Bondi on the other side of Sarda river, with foot-soldiers and horsemen." ⁸⁸

In this way the revolutionaries were active in the different parts of the country. Though they were losing the battles one by one but even then they were not perturbed by the defeats. Without ample resources it was not possible for the revolutionaries to organize the revolt on a very large scale. So the action of revolutionaries were localized. Further, due to the lack of the means of transportation it was not possible for them to send

reinforcement to other revolutionaries. Though they were anxious to give a joint fight to the British, but they could not succeed in their efforts. Actually this was the main cause of the failure of the revolutionaries. Towards the end of the year 1858 a number of battles took place between the British and the Revolutionaries and in each battle luck was with the British.

There was a tough resistance at Mianganj. About the battle of Mianganj G.F. Edmonstone sent a telegraphic message dated October 8, 1858 to C. Beadeon, E.A. Reade, etc. in which he transmitted this was:

“The Chief Commissioner of Oude sends the following from the Civil officer of Nawabgunje, Cawnpore. A force under Brigadier Eveleigh of four guns, one hundred and fifty Cavalry and two hundred Infantry met the rebels at Meangunge (Mianganj) on the evening of the 5th Captured two guns all they had, killed and wounded two hundred. The rebels numbered one thousand Infantry two hundred cavalry and two guns, our loss two or three sowars killed or five or six wounded. The civil Officer at Sundeela reports that on the 7th October the rebels were driven out of the town after some hours fighting losing one gun and more than one hundred killed. Our loss is one Police Foot killed and one wounded; in Captn. Dawson’s entrenchment one Artillery man killed, more not known but loss is very slight.⁸⁹”

In another telegram dated October 11, 1858, G.F. Edmonstone wrote to E.A Reade that “A forced marched from Shahjehanpore on the 8th October and came up with the rebels at Beekhomer four miles on the other side of the Sookutta Nuddee; three hundred rebels were killed and two guns out of three taken. Our loss about twenty killed and wounded. The following has been received from Lucknow in continuation of yesterday’s message regarding the action near Sundeela. Our column after taking the village of Pamoo, four miles from Sundeela by assault pursued the enemy ten miles, the enemy were beat up (sic.) of very difficult ground and there was a continued secession of single combats. Our loss, European two officers wounded, Lieutt. Green and the Rifles severely, and forty-four wounded; five Hussars

killed and twenty wounded, or missing; the loss of the rebels on the second day all agree in estimating at about one thousand killed on the field, and three guns captured. Many sepoys were in the field, two thousand police Foot and five hundred cavalry will be left at Sundeela.⁹⁰

The rebels attacked Pawayan on October 8, 1858,⁹¹ and a fierce fighting took place. But again the revolutionaries were defeated. After the defeat they took refuge at Pasgawan, where other revolutionaries had already taken refuge. For some times there was some scattered incidents, i.e., no important event took place.

But after some days Beni Madho again started the campaign. He collected 10,000 fighting men and threatened Lt. Chamberlain at Poorwah. Beni Madho attacked Poorwah from all sides but the attack was repulsed by the British, after a very minor loss.⁹²

On the other hand the British were busy in clearing the area of Sandila. Brigadier Barkar advanced from Sandila to attack Rohia in concert with Colonel Hale. But Brigadier Barkar came to know that Narpal Singh, with his guns and 500 men had gone to the north.⁹³ The Inner Fort was found in ruin, and the outer defenses were very weak. Mr. Kavamagh started the work of demolition of the Fort and the work was completed in 4 days.⁹⁴

The column under command of Colonel Hale took possession of the city and Fort of Sandee with much opposition.⁹⁵ After the victory Col. Hale moved towards Bilgram to help Brig. Barker, against the fort of Rohia. Previous to this advance "Nurput Singh had made an effort to secure terms, and the Chief Commissioner offered him life, honour and freedom. These offers were conveyed to him by Mr. Berkely on the 25th, (25th October 1858), but failed to have effect. . . ."⁹⁶

It is very obvious that upto this time the British became quite powerful and they were in commanding position. But, the revolutionaries were still busy in harassing the British by their activities. Then comes the turn of the British diplomacy, for which they were famous in the world. In fact the British diplomacy proved successful. Now the question comes, what was the British diplomacy? So far India is concerned, they were quite confident that without the support of Indian Chiefs it was not possible to rule India. So they adopted the method of conciliation. The

Queen's proclamation was full of assurance to Indians, e.g., protection of property and religion. The Queen also gave assurance to the rebels for better treatment and in the end Economic and Social Justice was also assured.⁹⁷ the Royal Declaration was accompanied with the notification of the Governor-General in which he had notified that all acts of the government of India would be done in the name of the Queen alone. In this way by this proclamation the rule of British East India Company ended and a new era of the British rule in India started. At the same time after the revolt of 1857 a new era in the Indian history started. Actually the Queen of England issued this proclamation to subsidy the revolutionary trend in the minds of Indian people. To a good extent the British got success in the first instance but the rejoinder issued by the Hazrat Mahal,⁹⁸ gave a new impetus to the revolutionaries. In the proclamation Begum Hazrat Mahal requested the people of India to drive away the British from India to protect their religion, their property, their economic prosperity and their social prestige. Thus, the Begum's call gave a new turn to the struggle. But very soon the British got hold on the revolutionaries and took advantage of the situation and started contacting the main leaders of the revolutionaries.

Raja Lal Madho Singh of Amethi was summoned by the Governor-General to come to terms.⁹⁹ The commander-in-Chief wrote a letter to the Raja dated November 3, 1858, in which he had requested the Raja to surrender by his own will otherwise, British people would use force.¹⁰⁰ Madho Singh surrendered to Mr. Barrow.¹⁰¹

On the other hand, the British were busy in consolidating their position by defeating the revolutionaries. The victory of Barker gave new impetus to the British people. The British attacked from the Rohilkhand side. Two columns penetrated Oudh; one under Colonel Hale from Farrukhabad at the south and towards Roya and Sandila; and the other under Brigadier Troup from Shahjehanpore, further north towards Sitapur.

While Hale marched from the west, Eveleigh cleared the ground along the Ganges towards the south end of the middle line upto Sandila. Then Barker, co-operating with Hale, captured Roya on October 28, 1858, and thus the south part on that western theatre was cleared of the rebels.

Brigadier Troup defeated the army of Rohilla Chief, Khan

Ali Khan and then crossed the boundary in Oudh and took the Fort of Mitholi. On one side Barker was marching and on the other side Brigadier Troup was marching. After capturing Mitholi Brigadier Troup reached Biswah and there he met Barker. In the middle line Eveleigh was filling the gulf of both the sides. He took the Fort of Oomenia on December 2, 1858.

The next move, still westwards of course, was against Shunkerpore, the stronghold of its Chief, Beni Madho. The three columns that had taken Amethie were to concentrate on its north, east, and south; while Eveleigh's brigade, from Poorwa on the Lucknow-Cawnpore line, was to advance on it from the west. But the latter was delayed by the resistance he met with on the way. Sir Colin summoned Beni Madho to surrender. The Fort was a huge one, some eight miles in circumference, but its defense were incomplete and full of gaps; and Beni Madho, who was a soldier of ability, knew he could not hold it. He replied accordingly that he would evacuate the Fort, but would not surrender personally, holding himself a subject of the Nawab of Oudh, and not of the British Government. So he and his followers, said to be 15,000 men, with several guns, marched out of the Fort on the night of the 15th, taking their route to the west towards Doondea Khera. On their way, however, they were met by Eveleigh, on the 17th, and defeated, with the loss of three guns, though their escape westwards was not averted.

On becoming, next morning, aware of Beni Madho's flight, Sir Colin set off (1) Whetherall's brigade, towards Faizabad, to prevent his circling round to the east, and to keep that line secure; and (2) Hope Grant to Rai Bareilly and Jagdishpur, to its north, to get into more immediate contact with Beni Madho, if he should be trying to escape in that direction. After leading a detachment to destroy the Fort, Sir Colin himself followed on to Rai Bareilly with Pinckney's Brigade to effect a junction with Eveleigh. On the 19th he heard of the successful combat of the 17th, and gathered that Beni Madho had been effectually kept to the south between Doondea Khera and the Ganges. To him, he continued his march westwards parallel to the Ganges, upto Bachhrawan between Doondea Khera and the river. There he turned, on the 21st, to his left, and bore down on Beni Madho on the morning of the 24th. He found the opposing force drawn up in line of battle, with its back to the river, and its front protected by a jungle of thorny

scrub, which had been filled with skirmishes. Sir Colin advanced against Beni Madho in line; infantry in the centre, cavalry on the flanks, guns between the infantry and cavalry, and the whole preceded by skirmishers. These last forced the opposing skirmishers back through the jungles; and on the latter emerging from it defeated, the enemy's entire line broke and fled along the banks of the river. Beni Madho escaped along the river bank, then turned and fled north; and eluding the several columns that met, but only checked his progress, he crossed first the Goomtee and then the Ghagra.

Meanwhile the troops that had been along left on the Lucknow-Faizabad line had tackled and defeated all the local gatherings, and gradually driven them all to the north of the Ghagra, including the Begum, Mummoo Khan, Narpat Singh, Nana Saheb and the rebels that followed them. Thus, by the end of the month the eastern district of Oudh south of the Ghagra had been cleared of the enemy, and police posts and civil administration established; while the precisely similar measures, already described, were being carried out in the western district.

After defeating Beni Madho Colin marched towards Faizabad. Rowcroft, on the right, then advanced against Tulsipor and captured it, and was there joined by Hope Grant, whose cavalry prevented the enemy doubling back. From this point they were instead driven steadily forwards towards Bhinga, till at length, in the first days of January, the rebels were forced across the frontier and took refuge in Nepal, leaving all their guns in Hope Grant's possession.

Meanwhile the main column, under Sir Colin, had advanced from Secrora on December 15, against Bahraich, where the Begum and the Nana were, with the troops that still adhered to them. It reached Bahraich, which the enemy evacuated on its approach, retreating towards Nanpara and Pundnaha. From Bahraich a force had to be detached under Colonel Christie to move close up the left bank of the Ghagra, to aid British posts on the other bank in preventing a repassage by the rebels with whom it had a smart action on December 23. Sir Colin was somewhat delayed in his advance from Bahraich, partly from having to wait till Hope Grant came sufficiently forward on his flank, and partly enable that police arrangements to be properly organized; on the 23rd, however, he made his advance towards Nanpara. On arriving there he found it deserted; but the rebels were said to be

at Burgidia, a short distance ahead, and he moved on it on the 26th. Finding them drawn up for action, he formed up his troops on their front, and then suddenly moving on their left, he attacked them on that flank; on which they fled precipitately, abandoning their guns. Next day, December 27, the force advanced the neighbouring Fort of Musjidis, which was shelled for three hours and was then found to be abandoned. These forts were all in a corner or neck of the triangle in which the space between the river and the mountains was the narrowest.

During the 28th and 29th the rebels were being pressed up further and further towards the hills into the narrow space where the Rapti debouches from the mountains and reaches the plain; till it became known that they were massed at a spot called Bankee, and meant to make a last stand there. Their position was at the edge of forest ground. Sir Colin, moving his force forward during the night, attacked them in the early morning with his Horse Artillery and Cavalry, and then with skirmishers. The rebels never made any attempt at a resolute stand, but kept retiring before the skirmishers, who, with the guns and cavalry, advanced, following them up. At length they were forced back from the jungle into more open ground, with the Raptie behind them. Thereupon the 7th Hussars and 1st Punjab cavalry charged them, driving them headlong into and across the Raptie. With this episode, in the last day of December 1858 ended the long-sustained war in Oudh.¹⁰²

After these defeats, the revolutionaries almost left the hope of victory. The followers of Beni Madho scattered Mummoo Khan surrendered himself. The Begum fled to Nepal. There she tried her level best to persuade the King of Nepal but failed in her efforts. R. Montgomery Martin in his book has given a very interesting account of each revolutionary; he has written :

“The course of action adopted by Sir Colin Campbell, in July 1857, for the reduction of Oude, was similar to that which he had followed in the Doab, after the battle of Cawnpoor. But never committing the troops to a forward movement until they could be supported on every side, he converted a march into a thorough process of occupation; and at the beginning of the year 1859, was able to report to the Governor-General, that there was no longer even a vestige of rebellion in Oude.”¹⁰³

The campaign was wearing to the troops, but at its close nothing remained for them to do, except to continue the pursuit of the few insurgent leaders who seemed resolved never to be taken alive. This small number included the noblest, bravest, and ablest of the rebels—such as the Begum of Oudh, with a small band of devoted Rajputs; Prince Firoz Shah, of Delhi; and Khan Bahadoor Khan; it likewise comprehended the Nana, and his hateful associate, both of whom were of course beyond the pale of mercy. Their cruel treachery at Kanpur was denounced by the Begum, and Princes Firoz Shah, as having brought a curse on the Indian cause. Yet the offer of 15,000 failed to induce the people to betray the Nana; and when, at the close of 1858, his fortunes were utterly desperate, a hill chief, named the *Raja of Churda*, sheltered him and his family for weeks in his jungle foot, and on the approach of the British troops, fled with him into the Terai, the atmosphere of which was pestilential to Indians, and fatal to Europeans.

There were, however, exceptional cases, in which rebel chiefs fell through the treachery of two or three compromised individuals. The first of these betrayals was that of the Maulvi of Faizabad, for whose apprehension \$ 5,000 and a free pardon was offered.¹⁰⁴ On June 15, he arrived before Powayn, a small town, sixteen miles north of Shahjahanpur.¹⁰⁵ The Raja of the place was, it is said, extremely anxious to improve his position with the British, which he had reason to fear was a dangerous one; therefore, he caused the Maulvi to be shot while engaged in a parley; delivered over the dead body to be nearest British magistrate, and received the blood-money.¹⁰⁶

Among the chief leaders who surrendered themselves to the Commander-in-Chief, was the head of a powerful Rajput clan—Lall Madhoo Singh of Amethi. Sir Colin appeared before the fort of Amethi on November 11, 1858, but hostile operations were stayed by the submission of the Raja whose antecedents have been already related,¹⁰⁷ and who protested against the decree for the disarmament of his followers and surrender of his arms; urging, with truth, that his fort had sheltered English men, women, and children when in danger; and his arms, which were very few, had been used for the same purpose. He likewise complained boldly of the seizure of his property at Banaras, and the refusal of all redress or explanation of the matter.

Beni Madho, the Raja of Shankerpur (another Rajpoot of similar rank to Lall Madhoo Singh, and whose son had married the daughter of Kooer Singh), abandoned his fort on the approach of Lord Clyde (November 15)¹⁰⁸ and marched off, with his adherents, treasure, guns, women, and baggage, to join the Begum of Oudh and Birjis Qadar, who was his lawful sovereign.¹⁰⁹ He proved his sincerity at heavy cost. After losing every thing he become a homeless wanderer in the Terai, for the sake of the Begum and her son, to whom he had sworn flatly.¹¹⁰

Debi Bux, Raja of Gonda, was another of the most determined rebels.¹¹¹ An Indian chief had predicted about him and Beni Madho, that they would not surrender—the latter because he had promised not to desert Birjis Qadar (and he never broke his word); the former because he was found of fighting, and had done nothing else all his life.

Narpat Singh, of Roya, a Rajput chief of in considerable rank before the Revolt, raised himself to eminence by the unflinching resolve with which he stood aloof from proclamations and amnesties; partly, perhaps, because they were so vaguely worded, and so tampered with, as to inspire little confidence in the intentions of the British Government for the better administration of India. It was reported of him that he had vowed (alluding to his crippled condition), "that as God had taken some of his members, he would give the rest to his country."¹¹²

Man Singh, himself had been driven, many months earlier, from his pretended neutrality by Mehdi Hasan, who had summoned him, in the name of the Begum of Oudh, to join her cause in person, at the head of his retainers; and not receiving a satisfactory answer, had besieged him in his fort of Shahgunj; whereupon the intriguer had been compelled to seek aid from the British, and decisively join the cause which, by that time (July 1858), was beyond question, the stronger. This chief and his brother, Raghubar Singh, have played a winning game, in a manner quite consistent with the account of their previous lives, given by Colonel Sleeman. "Mehndi Hussain, a fine, tall, portly man, with very agreeable face."¹¹² His uncle Meer Dost Ali, and several others of the Oudh leaders, surrendered themselves into the hands of the Commander-in-Chief in January, 1859, encouraged by the conciliatory tone the government had

gradually been induced to assume. "I was twenty-five years in the service of the King of Oude",¹¹⁴ said Mehdi Hasan as he entered the British camp; evidently implying that he could not, as a man of honour, help fighting in the cause of one he had served so long. Lord Clyde behaved with frank courtesy to the fallen chiefs; invited them to be seated; and expressed his hope that they would now settle down as good subjects of the British Crown. "I have been fifty years a soldier", he said; "and I have seen enough of war to rejoice when it is at an end."¹¹⁵

Other well-known Oudh chiefs, including Prithi Pal Singh, had previously thrown themselves on the mercy of the government, and were, in several instances, treated with less severity than might have been expected. When the vengeance fever subsided, the European began to draw distinctions between the insurgent leaders, and to admit, and even praise, the courage and steadfastness with which certain of them endured prolonged suffering.

Mummoo Khan surrendered himself, having been previously dismissed (from) the service of the Begum, "for want of courage and devotion."¹¹⁶ Umar Singh (the brother of Kooer Singh) had surrendered; so also had Jwala Prasad, one of the Nana's chief leaders. At the close of the year 1859, the Begum and Firoz Shah were the only leaders of any note still at liberty.¹¹⁷ The prince was believed to have escaped into Bundelchand, with a very small followers. The begum had less than 1,500 adherents, "half-armed, half-fed, and without artillery."¹¹⁸

Thus the long awaited result of the revolt went in favour of the British. How did the British win? This is a question which is not difficult to answer—it is due to their diplomacy on the one hand and due to the disunity among the Indian chiefs on the other.

Though the British won but the revolutionaries fought with great vigor and courage and hence it would be not out of context to throw light in the activities of the revolutionary leaders of Oudh.

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13. *Ibid.*
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22. *Ibid., 4532-34.*
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24. *River Chauka which flows through Sitapur also.*
25. *Foreign Secret Consultations, May 28, 1858, No. 412.*
26. *It should be "Uptil".*
27. *Foreign Secret Consultations, May 28, 1858, No. 412.*
28. *Ibid.*
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32. *In district Hardoi.*
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43. *Lucknow Chief Court Mutiny Basta.*
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7

Prominent Leaders and Heroes of The Revolt of 1857

The imposition of British rule and a ruthless policy of imperialistic exploitation created an explosive situation in India around the middle of the 19th century which exploded in the year 1857. Though this revolt was started by the soldiers but soon turned into a popular Revolt against alien domination. The movement received support from all the classes of the people. In this armed resistance to British rule, thousands of Indians perished on the battle-fields and many more lost their lives in the massacres that followed. Many patriots were hanged on the gallows or blown to death with cannons, very often without trial. The heroes of Oudh were Begum Hazrat Mahal, Nawab Mamoo Khan, Buksh Khan, Yusuf Khan, Nawab Khan, Bahadur Khan, Abid Khan, Ganga Singh, Ahsan Ali, Dalganjan Singh, Talak Ram Tiwari, Rana Beni Madho Baksh, Rana Umrao Singh, Raja Drig Bijay Singh, Major Gopal Singh, Ram Singh, Umrao Singh, etc.

BEGUM HAZRAT MAHAL

Begum Hazrat Mahal was the wife of Wajid Ali Shah, the

deposed ruler of Oudh and mother of Prince Birjis Qadar. She played a very important role in the Revolt of 1857. She took the control of Lucknow in association with the revolutionary forces and set-up her son Birjis Qadar as the King of Oudh.¹ She assumed real power as the Regent.² She organised the revolutionary forces for the war against the British rulers. She gave Rs. 5 lacs to have a wall built round the city of Lucknow.³ She was the greatest enemy of the British rule. The way she organised the entire affairs is commendable. Her house was surrounded by the British forces⁴ but she did not surrender herself. She was constantly in touch with Nana Saheb and intensified the war efforts in association with Nana Saheb. She took active part in defence of Lucknow against the British forces. She gave a tough fight at Alum Bagh, but ultimately she had to retreat.⁵

She issued a counter proclamation on behalf of Birjis Qadar in November 1858 in reply to the proclamation by Queen Victoria, guaranteeing the rights, honour and dignity of the Indian people and taking over the administration of India from the Britishers.⁶ After this proclamation she made a hectic effort to organize the Revolutionaries to drive away the British from Oudh. She could not live in Lucknow for a long period and escaped from Lucknow and joined forces with the Maulvi of Faizabad in attack of Shahjahanpur. After this encounter she had to retreat towards Nanpara. After that she marched towards Nepal. The Begum alongwith her forces reached in the pass in Nepal territory.⁷ From there she tried to win the support of Jang Bahadur, Prime Minister of Nepal against the British. She wrote a letter to Jang Bahadur in which she had requested for help and was ready to cede some portion of her territory for this help.⁸ Though Jang Bahadur assured for the safety of Begum but not accepted the Begum's request for help against the British.⁹ However, the Begum once again reorganized her forces in the Nepal Terai region against the British, but again the luck decided her and she escaped into Nepal. She refused to surrender to the British forces.¹⁰ Believed to have died later in Nepal.¹¹

BIRJIS QADAR

Birjis Qadar was the son of Wajid Ali Shah, the deposed

King of Oudh. He claimed the throne of Oudh during the time of Revolt. He fought against the British under the able guidance of his mother Hazrat Mahal. He also got the support of several influential persons like Mammoo Khan, Raja Jai Lal, Shruf-ud-Dowlah, Meer Wajid Ali, Aga Najib, etc. During the Revolt he was crowned and nuzzure was also presented to him.¹² Thus Birjis Qadar became the King of Oudh in defiance of British authority in 1857. He along with his mother played a very vital role during the Revolt of 1857. He took up the leadership of the revolutionary forces in Oudh and issued a proclamation calling upon his subjects to join the holy war against the British.¹³ Under his regime the revolutionary army was organized. A council of ministers was also constituted. In this way he established coordination in the activities of the revolutionaries. He waged the war against the British very gallantly and in an organized way. He carried the war till the end of 1958 and then escaped to Nepal along with his mother Begum Hazrat Mahal, and a large number of loyal followers.¹⁴ The climate of the Tarai area of Nepal proved fatal for him and then he fell ill (malaria fever) and the doctors were of the view that it would be difficult for Birjis Qadar to survive for more than a day or two.¹⁵ It is believed that he died of Malaria in the forest of Nepal.¹⁶

MAMMOO KHAN

Mammoo Khan played a very important role in the Revolt of 1857. He was appointed to Dewan Khana by Birjis Qadar and became all powerful.¹⁷ Later on he was appointed the Daroga¹⁸ of Begum Hazrat Mahal and got control over the treasury and according to her order he broke the seals and all the wealth of the treasury was captured.¹⁹ At the time of coronation of Birjis Qadar he was not given Kheeluts so he was a bit angry. When Sharf-ud-Dowlah was appointed as Naib, Mammoo Khan opposed²⁰ but later in persuaded by the Begum. He was also appointed member of the Court. All the Generals and Commanders were collected to discuss the strategy to fight against the British in Lucknow.²¹ He led the revolutionary forces for assault on Alumbagh.²² Though he fought bravely against the British but could not succeed in his efforts. He was driven to the North of the Ghagara.

BAKHT KHAN

Bakht Khan was a Resident of Bareilly, Uttar Pradesh. He was the son of Abdullah Khan. He was a Artillery Subedar in the British army.²³ He joined the Revolt of 1857 and then led the rebel troops at Bareilly in June 1857.²⁴ Entered the service of Emperor Bahadur Shah as the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Mughal army,²⁵ but was defeated in the last battle of Delhi in September 1857. Left Delhi to take up the command of the troops at Bareilly. Fell back towards Lucknow after the reverses in the war. Took part in the defense of Lucknow and in subsequent campaigns. Reported to have been killed inaction on May 13, 1859.²⁶

YUSUF KHAN

Yusuf Khan was a relative of Mammoo Khan. His official designation was 'Collector of Zillah Lucknow',²⁷ and commandant of the Balla Gunj artillery.²⁸ He was a great fighter and plundered the city of Lucknow.²⁹

KHAN BAHADUR KHAN

Khan Bahadur Khan was a Resident of Bareilly, Uttar Pradesh. He was grandson of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, the last independent ruler of Rohilkhand and Judicial Magistrate of Bareilly in the administration of the British East India Company. He joined the rebel forces during the Great Revolt of 1857. Assumed control over the Rohilkhand³⁰ region of Uttar Pradesh as the Viceroy of the Mughal Emperor at Delhi. Appointed a committee of eight persons, consisting of Hindus and Muslims, to conduct the administration. Forbade cow-killing in deference to Hindu sentiment. With the approval of Muslim diviners and Brahmin scholars, he levied taxes to wage war against the British. Foiled attempts to create a rift among the patriotic forces. Ruled over Rohilkhand for about a year. Fought several battles against the British forces, but lost the crucial battle of Bareilly. Withdrew towards the Nepal border, but was ultimately captured by the British. Sentenced to death and executed by hanging in the Old

Kotwali at Bareilly in March 1860.³¹ A large number of his followers were also executed by hanging.

ABID KHAN

Abid Khan was a Resident of Moradabad, Uttar Pradesh. Took a leading part in the Great Revolt against British rule in 1857. Directed revolutionary activities in Moradabad district. Captured by the British after their occupation of Moradabad city on April 25, 1858.³² Executed by hanging at Moradabad on April 27, 1858.³³

GANGA SINGH

Formerly a Subedar in the 41st Native Infantry. He commanded a Division of rebel troops at Lucknow.³⁴ He was wounded whilst leading an attack on the Alum Bagh.³⁵ He took a principal part in the murder of British at Fatehgarh.³⁶

SHARAF-UD-DAULAH

Sharaf-ud-Daulah was a very important man of Oudh during the Kingship of Mohammad Ali Shah and Umjad Ali Shah. He was Prime Minister during the reign of Mohammad Ali Shah. During the whole period of reign of Lucknow, he took an active part in safeguarding the interests of rebel forces. He was killed in scuffle with the British in a Mosque.³⁷

FIROZ SHAH

Firoz Shah was son of Nizam Bakht, a direct descendant of the Bahadur Shah I. Sometimes prior to the outbreak of the struggle in 1857, he proceeded on pilgrimage to Mecca. He returned to India at a time when the struggle had already assumed formidable dimensions. Whilst of his way to Delhi, at Dholpur, he found himself threatened with capture by the British for his being a relative of Bahadur Shah. Consequently he had no option but to flee back to Morar-ki-Chhaoni and joined the Mhow revolutionaries in their attack on Agra.³⁸

After the collapse of the Revolutionary Government at Delhi and retreat forces from that place under Bakht Khan, Firoz Shah participated in an attack on Agra.³⁹ After his defeat at Agra he went towards Rewa. On the fall of Farrukhabad in the hands of the British, he moved towards Jhansi.⁴⁰ He got the protection of the Rani of Jhansi.

After the retreat of the revolutionary forces from Lucknow in March 1858, Firoz Shah accompanied other leaders to Bareilly via Shahjahanpur.⁴¹ On the re-occupation of Bareilly by the British troops, Firoz Shah, Khan Bahadur Khan, Ismail Khan and other leaders who had remained for its defence retreated to Muhumdi. Thence he proceeded to Sandila. From Sandila he went to Muhumdi and had several encounters with the British troops; retreating thence arrived at Biswa Bari. After a skirmish there he arrived at Mahmudabad from where he crossed the Ganges unopposed between Fatehgarh and Kanpur with about 2,000 fighting men of which 1,500 were cavalry.⁴²

RANA BENI MADHO SINGH

Rana Beni Madho Singh was the Resident of Shankerpur. He was King of Shankerpur. He was appointed administrator of Jaunpur and Azamgarh by Birjis Qadar, the King of Oudh.⁴³ He joined the Great Revolt against the British rule in 1857 and organized the revolutionary war efforts in Oudh. He led the revolutionary troops in several battles against the British and, showed great valour as a warrior. He fought a fierce battle at Bunnee Banthara⁴⁴ with the British. In this battle about 200 men of Rana Beni Madho Singh were killed.⁴⁵ He played a vital role in the battles fought in Lucknow, Shankerpur and Khurda. He also threatened Unao⁴⁶ along with huge followers. He marched towards Rae Bareilly with 8,000 men and 7 guns to help Gulab Singh of Tiroli. He again started his journey towards Salone. He collected a good number of army and reached Sultanpur. After consolidating his position he threatened Purwa. He terrified the British forces by giving them a tough fight. He protected his fort at Shankerpur very bravely. After the defeat at Khurda he evacuated the fort of Shankerpur and crossed Ghaghara and Kumhyan Ghat.⁴⁷ In this way he carried on the fight against the British till the end of 1858. He also escaped to the Nepal hills

along with Begum Hazrat Mahal. Died fighting in one of these encounters with British forces.⁴⁸

RANA UMRAO SINGH

Rana Umrao Singh was son of Ratan Singh, the Talookdar of Kaleher. He took arms against the British. He was killed in the battle of Jamun.⁴⁹

RAJA DRIG BIJAI SINGH

Drig Bijai Singh was the Raja of Mahona. He played a very vital role in the Revolt of 1857. He fought many battles with great valour. He offered all help to Maulvi Ahmad Ullah Shah. He wrote a letter to Rani of Dhaurara on August 9, 1857 in which he had requested the Rani not to give refuge to the British.⁵⁰ He alongwith Mohammad Nasir of Koorsee and Zalim Singh of Dharorah destroyed the entrenchments of Mahona.⁵¹ He also seized the carts and horses laden with provisions.⁵² Along with other rebels he plundered Tickaut Ganj and seized the property of the Mahajans. Raja Drig Bijai Singh collected a large number of followers at his fort of "Umurreea" and was in direct communication with the rebels at Byram Ghat, Killowlie etc.⁵³ He destroyed the Thana of Mahona and captured eight Burkundazes and then retired to his fort. He joined the rebels at Muhumdi. He played an important role in the battles of Lucknow. He also crossed the Ghaghara along with Begum.

CHOUDHARY NARPAT SINGH

Narpat Singh was son of Jassa Singh, rebel of Fatehpur Chaurasi. He played a very important role in the Revolt of 1857. He had the support of many zamindars of his area. He evacuated his fort during the attack of General Walpole. He wrote a letter to Baicha Singh of Bhutt to send Gohar troops to fight against the British. He joined Moulvi of Faizabad and Firoz Shah to fight the British.⁵⁴ He gathered a large force at Rohia. Brigadier Barker attacked the Fort of Narpat Singh and captured it. Narpat had to

desert his Fort and fled to the north. Though the British army chased him but failed to trace him.

RAJA NARPAT SINGH

Narpat Singh was Resident of Sadanan, District Hardoi, Uttar Pradesh. He was a very prominent rebel leader. He took active part in the Great Revolt of 1857. He organized the rebel forces and fought against the British. He was killed in a battle in 1857.⁵⁵

HARDAT SINGH

Hardat Singh was Talookdar of Bounree. He took a most prominent part in the Great Revolt of 1857. He helped the Begum Hazrat Mahal by various ways. The Begum with her followers took refuge with him at Bounree.⁸⁶

THAKUR RAM GHULAM SINGH

Ram Ghulam Singh was Talookdar of Rampur Kusseeah. He was a close associate of Beni Madho. He had assured full help to Beni Madho. He fought against Brigadier Wetherall's column in November 1858.⁵⁷

RAJA DEVI BAKSH SINGH

Raja Devi Baksh Singh was born at Gonda, Uttar Pradesh. He was Raja of Gonda. He took active part in the Revolt of 1857. He collected 2,000 men, 3 guns⁵⁸ at Poorwah Fort to fight against the British. He led his small army in the battles against the British forces from 1857 to the end of 1858. Killed in the fighting against the British.⁵⁹

SHIV SAHAI SINGH

Shiv Sahai Singh was an Assistant to General Yusuf Khan. He was a Resident of Lucknow. He played a very important role in the revolt of 1857. He fought against the British in the battle of Jabraoli.⁶⁰

UMRAO JAN

He was a Vakeel and Munshi of Musahib-ud-Dowlah. During the Revolt of 1857 he became the Chief Advisor of Mummoo Khan. He was a resident of Lucknow. He helped Mummoo Khan by supplying various types of informations.

BHAGWAN BAKHSH

He was resident of Nain and a foremost Thakur of that area. He played an important role in the Great Revolt of 1857. He fought against the British at Tilo.

CHOUHARY MOHAN SINGH

Choudhary Mohan Singh was a resident of Shamli, District Muzaffar Nagar, Uttar Pradesh, and took part in the Great Revolt of 1857. He took arm against the British rule in 1857. He was captured by the British and executed on the gallows in 1857.⁶¹

HAKHEM HUSSAIN RAZA

Hakeem Hussain Raza was tutor of Shuraf-ud-Dowlah, who was the Prime Minister during the rebellion. He was in charge of Diwani Adalat under Birjis Qadar.

JYOTI SINGH

Jyoti Singh was a Talookdar of Chura in the Bahraich division. He gave shelter to Nana Saheb and his followers in his fort. He fought against the British during the Revolt. He made an incursion into Bunnee along with Bala Rao and committed great ravages.

UMRAO SINGH

Umrao Singh was a Subedar of the 6th Oudh Irregular Force. Prior to the annexation of Oudh he was Subedar Major in Captain Barlow's Regiment.⁶² He was a resident of Kantha. He

organized the rebel forces and fought with the British at many places. He had great influence in the Darbar of Birjis Qadar.

RAM SINGH

Ram Singh was Subedar of the Regular Native Infantry.⁶³ He was a leading character of Lucknow during the Great Revolt of 1857. He played an important role in organising the rebel forces and fought against the British at Dariabad.⁶⁴

AUSAN SINGH

Ausan Singh was a Havildar in the Artillery attached to Captain Bunbury's Regiment before the annexation. After sometime he was appointed Subedar in the 2nd Oudh Military Police under Captain John Hearsey. He took a prominent part in the insurrection and raised a Cavalry Corps at Lucknow.⁶⁵

MADHO SINGH

Madho Singh was resident of Village Mahapur, Dobhi Taluqa, District Jaunpur, Uttar Pradesh. He was landlord of the Raghuvanshi clan of Rajputs and played a prominent part in the great Revolt against British rule in 1857. On hearing of the patriotic uprisings against British rule in the surrounding districts of Ghazipur, Azamgarh and Banaras, the proud Rajputs of Dobhi organised themselves into a tough armed force and attacked the British and their traitorous Indian collaborators all over the region.⁶⁶ Cut the British communications along the Banaras-Azamgarh road and advanced towards the former Banaras State. In the first encounter with the British regular troops, the Rajput suffered heavy losses, but withdrew in order.⁶⁷ Regrouping themselves they made a bold bid to capture Banaras. In the meantime, Azamgarh had been besieged by another large force of Indian patriots. The British were unable to send reinforcements to Azamgarh due to the challenge posed by the Dobhi Rajputs.⁶⁸ A clash became inevitable and the British attacked the Rajputs with the help of the Sikhs and the Hindustani cavalry at the end of June 1857. The unlucky Rajputs were handicapped as the torrential monsoon rains soaked their

supplies of gun-powder. The valiant Rajputs, however, bitterly opposed the British advance with swords and spears and the few serviceable furs and muskets that they had. The unequal battle took place about five miles north of Banaras at a place called Pisanbaria-ka-Inar. The Rajputs were driven back with heavy losses across the Gomti river.⁶⁹ The British army crossed the river and sacked every Rajput village in the area. A few months later, Kunwar Singh of Jagdishpur (District Arrah, Bihar), the hero of the Great revolt, advanced and occupied Azamgarh. The British rushed reinforcements and there was a furious battle in which the Rajputs of Dobhi helped Kunwar Singh, their distant relative. Kunwar Singh had to withdraw and the Rajputs became the object of cruel reprisals by the British.⁷⁰ The leaders of the Dobhi Rajputs were 'invited' to a conference and treacherously arrested by the British troops which had surrounded the place in Senapur village in May 1858.⁷¹ He was summarily executed by hanging from a mango tree, along with 12 of his kinsmen and 9 other followers.⁷² The dead bodies were further shot with muskets and left hanging from the trees. After some days, the bodies were taken down by the villagers and cremated.⁷³

CAPTAIN ANANDI

Captain Anandi was Subedar in the East India Company's army. He was a very popular rebel. He gave a big jolt to the British in the Great Revolt of 1857. He plundered Ram Nagar Tahsil.⁷⁴

RANJIT SINGH

Ranjit Singh as Subedar in British army. He was a resident of Koeripur, District Jaunpur. He played an important role in the Revolt of 1857. He helped Mehndi Hussan with 2,000 men and 3 guns.⁷⁵

KHAN ALI KHAN

Khan Ali Khan was resident of Shahjahanpur. He took active part in the Revolt of 1857. He was Chuckladar of Sultanpur and Khairabad. He marched towards Rassolabad to prevent European forces. Khan Ali Khan was sent to Powsin alongwith

20,000 men to fight with the British.⁷⁶ After this he went to Pilbhit and he organised his army there and gave a tough fight to the British. In the end he retired towards Khairabad.⁷⁷

UMRAO JAN

Umrao Jan was resident of Lucknow. He was *Karinda* or *Vakeel* of Moosahib-ud-Dowlah. He was the chief advisor of Mummoo Khan and played an important role in the revolt of 1857.

MOHTIMAM PRASAD

Mohtimam Prasad was Bukshi of the whole rebel forces.⁷⁸ He took active part in the Revolt of 1857.

JWALA PRASAD

Jwala Prasad was resident of Kanpur. He took prominent part in the rebellion against British rule in 1857. He led the rebel army at Kanpur and fought in several engagements against the British forces. He was captured by the British and sentenced to death. Executed on the gallows at Satti Chaura Ghat, Kanpur on May 3, 1860.⁷⁹

RAJA JAI LAL SINGH

Raja Jai Lal was resident of Lucknow. He was minister in the Court of Begum Hazrat Mahal of Oudh. Took a prominent part in the resistance against the advancing British forces. He was the man who supported the case of Birjis Qadar for the throne of Oudh. Raja Jai Lal Singh formed a revolutionary court for the co-ordination of the activities of all the rebel forces and he was appointed the Head officer of this Court. He was also appointed War Minister and was in-charge of all the operations against the British.⁸⁰ The safety of the road from Lucknow to Kanpur was under him. When General Outram's forces were marching towards Alum Bagh and the rebel forces were retreating, a meeting of revolutionary court was called by Jai Lal Singh and in that it was decided to kill all the British who were confined in Rustom-ud-Dowlah's Palace.⁸¹ As a result of this

decision all the Europeans were killed. Raja Jai Lal Singh helped Nana Saheb also. He was a terror in Lucknow for the British. He played important role during the British attack on Alum Bagh. He fought a fierce battle with the British near Alum Bagh.⁸² Raja Jai Lal Singh was defeated at Korej and British captured twelve guns.⁸³ In this way Raja Jai Lal Singh proved his mettle and gave a big jolt to the British. In the end he was captured by the British forces. Trial took place, and Raja Jai Lal Singh was sentenced to death. He was hanged on October 1, 1858.⁸⁴

MAULVI AHMADULLAH SHAH

Maulvi Ahmadullah Shah was resident of Faizabad, Uttar Pradesh. He played a prominent part in organising the rebellion against British rule in 1857. Fought against the British forces at Faizabad, Lucknow and other places in the Oudh region. The revolutionary forces under him inflicted such heavy losses on the British that they declared a reward of Rs. 50,000 for his capture, dead or alive. Repulsed from Shahjahanpur, he appeared on June 5, 1858, before Powain, a small fort on the Oudh-Rohilkhand border. The gates of the fort were closed by the Raja of Powain and he was shot dead while charging one of the gates,⁸⁵ with his elephant. His head was cut-off by a follower of Raja of Powain and sent to the District Magistrate of Shahjahanpur who exhibited it at the Kotwali. The body was burnt and the ashes thrown into the river. The Raja of Powain got the reward of Rs. 50,000.

AMEER ALI

Ameer Ali was resident of Ayodhya, District Faizabad, Uttar Pradesh. He took active part in the Great Revolt against British rule in 1857. Fought against the British forces in the region under the leadership of Baba Ram Charan Das, the priest of Hanumangarhi Temple. Captured by the British and executed by hanging from a tamarind tree on the Kuber Teela.⁸⁶

AZIMULLAH KHAN

Azimullah Khan was resident of Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh. He

was brought up in an orphanage and educated at the Kanpur Free School. Acquired proficiency in English and French. He was teacher in the Government School. Later, selected as *Vakeel* or prime agent of Nana Saheb, the adopted son of Peshwa Baji Rao II. He went to England to move the Court of Directors of the East India Company to continue the grant of pension to his master after the death of Baji Rao II.⁸⁷ Failed in his mission and returned to India *via* Crimea and Constantinople after seeing "those great Roostums, the Russians, who have beaten the French and English together."⁸⁸ Propagated anti-British feelings among Indians and took a prominent part in the great Revolt of 1857 against British rule. Advised Nana Saheb to lead the rebels from Kanpur instead of going to Delhi. Carried on the war against British rule till the defeat of the revolutionary forces late in 1858. Escaped from India into the Nepal forests with Nana Saheb.⁸⁹ Died at Bhutwal (Nepal) in October 1859.

LALTA SINGH

Lalta Singh was resident of Shahjahanpur. He was big landlord. Took active part in the Revolt of 1857. He joined the rebel forces and fought against the British army under General Havelock. Killed in the battle between Magarwala and Pachandha on the Lucknow-Kanpur Road in 1857.⁹⁰

LONI SINGH

Loni Singh was talookdar of Mitauli, District Sitapur, Uttar Pradesh. He took active part in the Revolt of 1857. He was leading a big rebel force about 12,000 men.⁹¹ He had the support of other zamindars also. He fought against the British near Garhi. After fierce fighting he retired with other rebel leaders towards Khairabad.⁹² In the end he was captured by the British and sentenced to transportation for life to the Andaman Island.⁹³ Died as a result of refusal to take food while being taken to the Andaman Islands.⁹⁴

MEHMOOD KHAN

Mehmood Khan was resident of Najibabad, Uttar Pradesh.

He was Nawab of Najibabad. Took a leading part in organising the revolt against British rule in 1857. Collected a large armed forces and called upon the British authorities to hand over the administration of Bijnor district to him.⁹⁵ Occupied Bijnor after the departure of the British. Persuaded the Indian troops of the Sappers and Miners Regiment stationed at Roorkee to join the Revolt against the British. His army, under his nephew (Ahmadullah Khan), fought a furious battle against the attacking British forces near Nagina on April 21, 1858. Another battle was fought by him at Shahjahanpur with the aid of Khan Bahadur Khan and Firoz Shah. Najibabad was, however, captured by the British after the defeat of his forces at Nagina.⁹⁶ Escaped to Nepal and is believed to have died there in July 1859.⁹⁷

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97. *Ibid.*

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Revolt for Freedom : Conclusions

This study shows that within a period of four decades of its virtually independent status, the Kingdom of Oudh came into close contact with the rising British power during the rule of Shuja-ud-Dowlah, under highly unfavourable circumstances. Since then the story of Anglo-Oudh relations, culminating in the annexation of Oudh in 1856, is a tragic facet of the life of this state.

The Anglo-Oudh relations commenced after the defeat of Shuja-ud-Dowlah alongwith Shah Alam and Mir Kasim in the Battle of Buxar in 1764 as a result of which the Nawab had not only to suffer territorial loss but also by the treaty of Allahabad he had to grant free trade privilege to the Company. The impact of this was the gradual penetration of the Company's commercial and trade interest into Oudh which consequently adversely affected the economic well-being of this State. With this began the story of the commercial and financial exploitation of Oudh and its Nawabs. Though Oudh always remained friendly to the Britishers, still it had to suffer the bondage of Anglo-Oudh treaty of 1801 by Article VI of which the English obtained the right to interfere in the domestic administration of Oudh. So the Nawabs

were always to act on the advice and in conformity with counsel of the officers of the East India Company. This study has brought out the fact that taking advantage of this article the Britishers undermined the position of the Nawabs. Moreover, under the protective umbrella of the English the Nawabs also tended to become licentious as they were assured of British protection against internal and external dangers. As such, on the basis of this study, it can be emphasised that the Anglo-Oudh relations before annexation had three facets, namely, commercial exploitation of the country by the Company; interference of the Britishers in the internal affairs of Oudh and guarantee from the external menace. These factors made the Nawab of Oudh important. All the three became the bane for Oudh which was utilised as a pretext for annexation of Oudh in 1856. Though Wajid Ali Shah was held responsible for maladministration on the eve of annexation, but this maladministration in Oudh was a continuous process for which the British were responsible to a great extent.

This study also brings out that the annexation prepared the political background for the revolt in Oudh. There was no immediate Uprising as a reaction against the deposition of the Nawab. But it annoyed the various persons whose vested interests were attached with the Court. It also gave a big jolt to the people of the Royal family. These classes took the lead in originating and spreading the Revolt and people of the other classes supported them solemnly.

The annexation and the post-annexation administration in Oudh generated strong socio-economic discontent at Lucknow and also among various classes of people in outlying parts of the Kingdom. This discontent was as much of a potent factor for the Uprising as was the annexation. In fact, the post-annexation British policies were the major cause of the widespread nature of Revolt in Oudh.

The big zamindars and the middle class zamindars became discontented, with the post-annexation British revenue administration. The new method of assessment introduced by the British antagonised both the zamindars and tenants. On one hand the revenue assessment was high and on the other hand, the mode of collection was too harsh. Suddenly the zamindars realised that they might have to pay the revenue even at the cost

of their land and in their worry to pass on the burden of heavy assessments on the tenants they began to rack-rent resulting in the exploitation of the peasantry. Though the rule of the Nawabs was despotic, still the sudden change that was introduced by the Britishers was considered worst than the rule of the Nawab. Hence, all the classes connected with agriculture were highly discontented. No wonder, therefore, that all these classes joined the revolt making it so widespread. Now it can be conclusively said that not only the annexation but the post-annexation British policies were the factors responsible for the revolt and its widespread character.

This study also emphasises the economic sufferings of the artisan class as a result of the grant of free trade and the other commercial privileges extracted by the Britishers from the Nawabs, as for example, by the Treaty of Allahabad and the Commercial treaty of Cornwallis. Treaty of Allahabad provided free trade and the commercial treaty by Cornwallis further facilitated commercial privileges. Thus the small scale industry of India ruined, and as a result of this, the artisan class was taking the last breath and ultimately this class also started agriculture which proved fatal for agricultural class.

These classes were already suffering and with the deposition of Oudh they suddenly found that their only stay which had kept them alive in spite of their torturous existence had suddenly disappeared. They were simply bewildered. This study also clearly brings out the reaction of these classes in Chapters III and IV towards the annexation and post-annexation British administration in Oudh. This accounts for a large number of leadership of the Revolt coming out of these classes as shown in Chapter VII.

This study also brings out the economic hardships and unemployment faced by the soldiers of the Royal army of Oudh as a result of annexation. The post-annexation British administration did nothing to mitigate the sufferings of this class. These soldiers also became active participants in the Revolt.

The works connected with the Revolt in Oudh so far have not thrown any light as to what happened to the rebel leaders after their scale from the battles fought in the vicinity of Residency, Muchchi Bhawan, Chihut, Alambagh, Charbagh, etc. Nothing has been told so far regarding their whereabouts and

further plans for continuing the struggle against the British. This study has revealed that the leaders and other revolutionaries, who escaped after the above mentioned battles did not lay down their arms but they reorganised themselves, without loss of time, carried the flames of the Revolt in the entire province. In this connection part played by Raja Jai Lal, Birjis Qadar, Rana Beni Madho, Mummoo Khan, Umrao Singh, Hazarat Mahal, Raja Drig Bijay Singh, etc., has been discussed at length and their respective contribution to the cause of revolt has been fully analysed.

This study also brings to light accounts of the Revolt in other divisions of Oudh, i.e., Bahraich, Faizabad, Khairabad. These divisions were military bases of the British. The British were quite confident that nothing would happen at these centres. But the people of these divisions believed the faith of the British and took arms against them. Khairabad division was the pioneer in this connection. Sitapur was the first station which revolted against the British. C.J. Christian was the Commissioner of this division. The people of Sitapur gave a tough fight to the British and C.J. Christian was killed in this encounter. The revolutionaries fought with great confidence and in the initial stage they got some success and at one stage they were the masters of situation. Mullaon and Muhumdi were also important stations of Kairabad division. Fierce fighting took place at both the places. These battles shook the root of the British rule but due to certain reasons the revolutionary forces could not command the situation for a long time.

Faizabad division played a very important role in the Revolt of 1857. Faizabad division was comprised of three stations, i.e. Faizabad, Sultanpur and Salon. The role of Maulvi Azimullah Shah was commendable. Actually he was the pivot and all the rebel forces were revolving around him. In Faizabad division the battle of Begum Ganj was very important. The position of the British force became deplorable due to the hecive efforts of the Maulvi.

The last division of Oudh which came under the flames of Revolt was Behraich. It was the largest division of Oudh. There were two main military stations, i.e., Mullapore and Bahraich. In the battle of Bairamghat and Seerora the British got crushing defeat but in due course the British recaptured these places. Thus,

it is clear that almost all the parts of Oudh were in the flame of Revolt.

This study has also thrown light on the leaders of the Revolt. Bio-data of these leaders bring out some startling facts. An analysis of the bio-data of the leaders shows that three belonged to the Royal family, fifteen to the class of soldiers, nineteen to the class of the talookdars and zamindars and twenty-four to the general class coming from cross-sections of the society. As such, the Revolt was led and guided by not any class in particular and it was a Revolt in general spreading all over Oudh.

The main factor attributable to the lack of proper insight into the nature of the revolt in Oudh, is the sole reliance of authors so far on the records of the East India Company. An entirely different picture of the Revolt emerges if an objective study is undertaken of the records of the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France, records of the Secretariat Records Room, Lucknow, Trial Proceedings of Mummoo Khan, Raja Jai Lal Singh, Raja Drig Bijai Singh and Raja Loni Singh and records of the district courts of Unnao, Bahraich, Rai Bareilly, etc. The above mentioned sources throw a new light on the nature of the revolt particularly in Oudh for example, a letter from Nana Saheb to Napoleon III, the King of France, seeking his support against the Britishers available at Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France, depicts the anti-British feeling of the people of Oudh. This letter records that 100 to 200 million of men of Oudh were prepared to sacrifice their lives rather to submit to the English. The trial proceedings of the above mentioned leaders gives as vivid account of their activities.

On the basis of new source materials an effort has been made to highlight the post-annexation British policies because it was the post-annexation British administration in Oudh which created deep discontent and frustration among the cross-section of the people of Oudh and ultimately impelled them to Revolt against the British. Nana Saheb's letter bears testimony to this.

In this study new facts have been brought to light to give a complete picture of the nature and extent of the Revolt in Oudh and also an attempt has been made to give new interpretation of some of the know facts.

APPENDIX I
List of Certain Crimes Perpetrated in the Thannahs Imprutpoor, Khakutmoir, Qunnouj, Goorsuhaigunj, Station Kotwalee and City Kotwalee, in the Neighbourhood of Oudh*

Year	Murder			Arson		
	Number of cases in which the offenders have been apprehended	Number of cases in which no offenders have been apprehended	Total	Number of cases in which the offenders have been apprehended	Number of cases in which no offenders have been apprehended	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1848	6	1	7	2	—	2
1949	9	—	9	—	1	1
1850	7	1	8	3	—	3
1851	7	1	8	3	1	4
1852	7	—	7	—	1	1
1853	3	4	7	3	1	4
1854	13	1	14	3	—	3
Total	52	8	60	14	4	18

(Contd.)

APPENDIX I (Contd.)

Year	Cattle Stealing			Dacoitee			Remarks
	Number of cases in which the offenders have been apprehended	Number of cases in which no offenders have been apprehended	Total	Number of cases in which the offenders have been apprehended	Number of cases in which no offenders have been apprehended	Total	
(1)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
1848	15	11	26	—	—	—	
1849	7	10	17	1	—	1	
1850	9	9	18	—	—	—	
1851	5	7	12	1	—	1	
1852	14	8	22	—	—	—	
1853	5	6	11	1	—	1	
1854	6	16	22	—	—	—	
Total	61	67	128	3	—	3	

Furruckabad Magistracy, February 15, 1855.

W.G.S. Cunninghame.

*Oudh Papers, p. 53.

Appendix II

DRAFT TO TREATY BETWEEN THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE KING OF OUDH

"Whereas, in the year 1801, a Treaty was concluded between the Honourable East India Company and his Excellency the Nawab Vizier, Saadut Alee Khan Bahadoor; and whereas the sixth Article of the said Treaty requires that the Ruler of Oude, always advising with, and acting in conformity to the counsel of, the officers of the Honourable company, shall "establish, in his reserved dominions, such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants;" and whereas the infraction of this essential engagement of the treaty, by successive Rulers of Oude, has been continued and notorious; and whereas its long toleration of such infraction of the treaty on the part of the Rulers of Oude has exposed the British Government to the reproach of having failed to fulfil the obligations it assumed towards the people of that country; and whereas it has now become the imperative of the British Government to take effectual measures for securing, permanently, to the people of Oude such a system of just and beneficent administration as the Treaty of 1801 was intended, but has failed, to provide; the following Treaty, consisting of seven articles is concluded on the one part, by the Most Noble the Marquis, of Dalhousie, K.T., Governor-General in Council, appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, through Major-General Outram, C.B., Resident at Lucknow, under full powers vested in him by the said Governor-General; and, on the other part, by His Majesty Abool Munsoor, Nasir-ood-deen, Sikundur Jah,

Mahomed Wajid Alee Shah, King of Oude, for himself and his heirs, through, etc.

ARTICLE I

It is hereby stipulated and agreed, that the sole and exclusive administration of the civil and Military Government of the territories of Oude shall be henceforth vested, for ever, in the Honourable East India Company, together with the full and exclusive right to the revenues thereof; the said Company hereby engaging to make ample provision for the maintenance of the Royal dignity, as hereinafter mentioned, and for the due improvement of the said territories.

ARTICLE II

It is stipulated and agreed that the sovereign title of "King of Oude" shall be retained by His Majesty, and that it shall descend, in continual succession, to the heirs male of his body born in lawful wedlock,

ARTICLE III

It is stipulated and agreed that His Majesty the King and his Successors, shall be treated, upon all occasions, with the attention, respect, and honour which are due to a Sovereign Prince.

ARTICLE IV

It is further stipulated and agreed that, notwithstanding the provisions of the first Article of the present Treaty, His Majesty the King of Oude, and his successors, shall retain full and exclusive jurisdiction within the precincts of the Palace at Lucknow, as well as within the Dil Khosha and Beebeepore Parks, provided always that the punishment of death shall not be inflicted by the order of the King, or within the limits of the palace and garden parks aforesaid, unless with the previous consent of the Governor-General in Council.

ARTICLE V

Whereas it is expedient and right that the Crown of His Majesty the King of Oude should be upheld in fitting dignity and honour, it is hereby stipulated and agreed that the Honourable East India Company shall pay to His Majesty the said Mahomed Wajid Alee Shah, from out of the revenues of Oude, twelve lakhs of Company's rupees per annum; and that the said Company shall further maintain, for His Majesty, a body of palace-guards, at a cost not exceeding three lakhs of Company's rupees per annum.

To each of His Majesty's successors it is agreed that the said Company shall pay twelve lakhs of Company's rupees per annum.

ARTICLE VI

In order that nothing may be wanting to the full measure of liberal endowment which the Honourable East India Company desires to secure to His Majesty the King of Oude, it is hereby agreed that the said Company shall take upon itself the maintenance of all collateral members of the Royal family, for whom provision is now made by His Majesty the King.

ARTICLE VII

All former Treaties between the Honourable East India Company and the Rules of Oude, which are now in force, and which are not contrary to the tenor of this engagement are confirmed by it."¹

1. Foreign Political Consultations, June 6, 1856, No. 187.

Appendix III

PROCLAMATION OF THE QUEEN (OF ENGLAND) IN COUNCIL, TO THE PRINCES, CHIEFS, 'AND PEOPLE OF INDIA

"Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Colonies and dependencies thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australia Queen, Defender of the Faith."

"Whereas, for diverse weighty reasons, we have resolved by and with advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal and common in Parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the Government of the territories in India heretofore administered in trust for us by the Hon. East India Company."

"Now, therefore, we do by these presents notify and declare that by the advice and consent of the aforesaid, we have taken upon ourselves the said Government; and we hereby call upon all our subjects within the said territories to be faithful and to bear true allegiance to us, our heirs and successors and to submit themselves to the authority of those whom we may hereafter from time to time see fit to appoint to administer the Government of our said territories, in our name and on our behalf."

"And we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability, and judgement of our right trusty and well beloved cousin and Councillor, Charles John, Viscount Canning, do hereby constitute and appoint him, the said Viscount Canning, to be our first Viceroy and Governor-General in aid over our said territories, and to administer the Government thereof in our name, and generally to act in our name and on our behalf, subject to such orders and regulations as he shall from time to time, receive from us through one of our principal secretaries of State."

And we do hereby confirm in their several offices, Civil and Military, all persons now employed in the service of the Hon'ble East India Company, subject to our future pleasure, and to such laws and regulations as may hereafter be enacted.

We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all Treaties and Engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Hon'ble East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part.

We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and, while we will permit no aggression upon our Dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of Native Princes as our own and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which binds us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the helping of Almighty God we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

Finally replying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude and solace and religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances; but that all shall enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects or pain of our highest displeasure.

And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to Offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge.

We know, and respect, the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regards the lands inherited by them from their Ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights

connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the state and we will that generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages and customs of India.

We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men, who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, handled them into open rebellion. Our power has been shown by the suppression of that rebellion in the field, we desire to show our mercy by pardoning the offences of those, who have been thus misled, but who desire to return to the path of duty.

Already in one province, with a view to stop the further effusion of blood, and to hasten the pacification of our Indian Dominions, our Viceroy and Governor-General has held out the expectation of pardon, on certain terms, to the great majority of those who, in the late unhappy disturbances, have been guilty of offences against our Governor, and has declared the punishment which will be inflicted on those whose crimes place them beyond the reach of forgiveness. We approve and confirm the said Act of our Viceroy and Governor-General, and do further announce and proclaim as follows :

“Our clemency, will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been or shall be convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of the British subjects. With regard to such the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy.”

“To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators in revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed, but, in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw-off their allegiance, and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may be appear to have originated in a too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men.

“To all others in arms against the government, was hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offences against ourselves, our crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits.

"It is our royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with their conditions before the 1st day of January, next."¹

When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of Public Utility and improvement, and to administer its Government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment our security and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people."

1. Foreign Political Consultations, December 17, 1858, Nos. 350-54.

Appendix IV

PROCLAMATION BY THE BEGUM OF OUDH

The royal declaration was followed by a rejoinder to Queen Victoria by the Begum of Oudh. The Begum proclaimed:

1. "At this time certain weak-minded, foolish people have spread a report that the English have forgiven the faults and crimes of the people of Hindostan; this appears very astonishing, for it is the unvarying custom of the English never to forgive a fault, be it great or small; so much so that if a small offence be committed through ignorance or negligence they never forgive it.

"The Proclamation of the 1st November 1858, which has come before us, is perfectly clear, and as some foolish people, not understanding the real object of the Proclamation, have been carried away, therefore we, the ever-abiding government, parents of the people of Oude, with great consideration, put forth the present Proclamation, in order that the real object of the chief points may be exposed, and our subjects be placed on their guard.

"It is written in the proclamation, that the country of Hindostan, which was held in trust by the Company, has been resumed by the Queen, and that for the future, the Queen's laws shall be obeyed. This is not to be trusted by our religious subjects, for the laws of the Company, the settlement of the Company, the English servants of the Company, the Governor-General and the judicial administration of the Company, are all

unchanged. What, then, is there now which can benefit the people, or on which they can rely."

2. "In the Proclamation it is written, that all contracts and agreements entered into by the Company will be accepted by the Queen. Let the people carefully observe this artifice. The Company has seized the whole of Hindostan, and, if this arrangement be accepted, what is there new in it? The Company professed to treat the Chief of Bhurtpore as a son, and then took his territory; the Chief of Lahore was carried-off to London, and it has not fallen to his lot to return; the Nawab Shumshoodeen Khan, on one side, they hanged, and, on the other side, they *salaamed*¹ to him; the Peshwa they expelled from Poona, Sitara, and imprisoned for life in Bithoor; their breach of faith with Sultan Tippoo is well-known; the Rajah of Benaras they imprisoned in Agra. Under pretence of administering the country of the Chief of Gwalior, they introduced English customs; they have left no means or traces of the Chiefs of Behar, Orissa, and Bengal; they gave the Rao of Furrackabad a small monthly allowance, and took his territory. Shahjahanpore, Bareilly, Azimgurh, Jounpore, Goruckpore, Etawah, Allahabad, Futtehpore, etc.—our ancient possessions they took from us on pretence of distributing pay; and in the 7th article of the treaty, they wrote, on oath, that they would take no more forums. If, then, the arrangements made by the Company are to be accepted, what is the difference between the former and the present state of things? These are old affairs; but recently, in defiance of treaties and oaths, and, notwithstanding, that they owed us millions of rupees, without reason, and on the pretence of the misgovernment and discontent of our people, they took our country and property, worth millions of rupees. If our people were discontented with our royal predecessor, Wajid Ali Shah, how comes it they are content with us? And no ruler ever experienced such loyalty, and devotion of life and goods as we have done.

1. Saluted.

What, then, is wanting that they do not restore our country? Further, it is written in the Proclamation, that they want no increase of territory, but yet they cannot refrain from annexation. If the Queen has assumed the Government, why does Her Majesty not restore our country to us when our people wish it? It is well-known that no king or queen ever punished a whole army and people for rebellion; all were forgiven; and the wise cannot approve of punishing the whole army and people of Hindostan; for so long as the word "punishment" remains the disturbance will not be suppressed. There is a well-known proverb—"A dying man is desperate" (*murta kya na karta*). It is impossible that a thousand should attack a million, and thousand escape.

3. "In the proclamation it is written, that the Christian religion is true, but that no other creed will suffer oppression, and that the laws will be observed towards all. What has the administration of justice to do with the truth or falsehood of a religion? That religion is true which acknowledges one God, and one knows to other. Where there are three Gods in a religion, neither Mussulmans nor Hindoos—nay, not even Jews, Sun-worshippers, or Fire-worshippers can believe it true. To eat pigs, and drink wine, to bite greased cartridges, and to mix pig's fat with flour and sweetmeats, to destroy Hindoo and Mussulman temples on pretence of making roads, to build churches, to send clergymen into the streets and alleys to preach the Christian religion, to institute English schools and to pay people a monthly stipend for learning the English sciences, while the places of worship of Hindoos and Mussulmans are to this day entirely neglected; with all this, how can the people believe that religion will not be interfered with? The rebellion began with religion, and, for it, millions of men have been killed. Let not our subjects be deceived; thousands were deprived of their religion in the North-West, and thousands were hanged rather than abandon their religion.

4. "It is written in the proclamation, that they who harboured rebels, or who were leaders of rebels, or who caused men to rebel, shall have their lives, but that punishment shall be awarded after deliberation, and that murderers and abettors or murders shall have no mercy shown them, while all others shall be forgiven. Any foolish person can see, that under this Proclamation, no one, be he guilty or innocent, can escape. Everything is written, and yet nothing is written; but they have clearly written that they will not left off any one implicated; and in whatever village or estate the army may have halted. The inhabitants of that place cannot escape. We are deeply concerned for the condition of our people on reading this Proclamation, which palpably teems with enmity. We now issue a distinct order, and one that may be trusted, that all subjects who may have foolishly presented themselves as heads of villages to the English, shall, before the 1st of January next, present themselves in our camp. Without doubt their faults shall be forgiven then, and they shall be treated according to their merits. To believe in this proclamation, it is only necessary to remember that Hindostanee rulers are altogether kind and merciful. Thousands have seen this, millions have heard it. No one has ever seen in a dream that the English forgave an offence.
5. "In this Proclamation it is written, that when peace is restored, public works, such as roads and canals, will be made in order to improve the condition of the people. It is worthy of a little reflection, that they have promised no better employment for Hindostanees than making roads and digging canals. If people cannot see clearly what this means, there is no help for them. Let no subject be deceived by the Proclamation".¹

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The Great Indian Revolt of 1857

Flames, Fire and Freedom

K.B. Srivastava

Foreword by

Dr. B.M. Sankhdher

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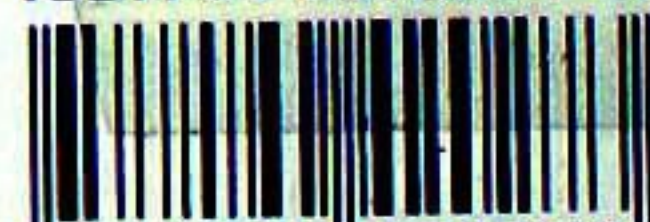
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