

What Really Happened During the Mutiny*

A Day-by-Day Account of the Major Events of 1857-1859 in India

P.J.O. Taylor

Selection by Mubarak Ali

Pre-1857

It is inappropriate, and would be historically inaccurate, to dismiss the Mutiny in 1857 of the Bengal Army of the Honorable East India Company as an isolated phenomenon, or, for that matter, to attempt to categorise it as of purely military significance.

JANUARY-MARCH 1857

January At the beginning of this year the East India Company had a composite force of European and Indian troops to guard its interests in India, by a coincidence the European troops were abnormally below establishment.

This month saw the beginning of the phenomenon known as the ‘**passing of the *chapaties*.**’ These small unleavened cakes circulated through certain districts of the North West Provinces, no attempt was made to hide the matter, indeed many were brought to British officers and an explanation sought as to their meaning. The latter is still not clear, but it may be that it was a signal sent by those intending revolt; the pattern was fairly similar the *chowkidar* (village watchman) would receive two (or one) *chapaties*. With instruction to make ten (or six) more and distribute them two by two or one by one to neighboring villages. Rather like a chain letter the ‘news’ (though no one knew what it was) spread like wildfire. Some villagers in fact thought it was Government that was circulating the *chapaties*.

* P.J.O. Taylor has given a comprehensive chronology of the events of 1857 in his book *What Really Happened During the Mutiny*, published by OUP Calcutta, Chennai, Mumbai in 1997. Dr. Mubarak Ali has carefully selected important excerpts from the above chronology for this issue of *Pakistan Perspectives* These excerpts are being published with courtesy of Oxford University Press—Editor.

JANUARY-MARCH 1857

January 22

A *lascar* attached to the magazine at Dum Dum near Calcutta, asked a sepoy of the garrison to give him a drink of water from his *lota*: the sepoy indignantly refused, saying that the vessel would be contaminated by the lips of a low-caste man: nettled by this reply the *lascar* retorted that the sepoy would soon be deprived of his caste altogether, for Government was busy manufacturing cartridges greased with the fat of cows and swine, and the sepoys would have to bite the forbidden substance before loading their weapons.... Within a week of this incident being reported the manufacture of these cartridges ceased at Dum Dum, and General Hearsey the Divisional Commander ordered that the sepoys be allowed to prepare their own grease, but it was too late. Trust had been destroyed, the belief that Government had entered a great conspiracy to deprive the sepoys of their caste and forcibly convert them to Christianity had taken hold upon the imagination of large part of the Bengal army.

January 28 General Hearsey reported to the Governor General that there was ill-feeling among his men. Incendiarism at Barrackpore and Raniganj included the burning of public buildings and officers' bungalows. Ramblings of discontent and insubordination had begun.

February 6 The cartridge grievance was inquired into at Barrackpore, close to Calcutta, where the 34th BNI were stationed. Despite assurances and analysis of the cartridge paper the sepoys refused to accept the official denial that grease had been applied to the cartridge during manufacture; the paper was shiny and the gloss looked suspiciously like grease.

February 9 Hearsey paraded the 34th BNI and tried to convince them they had nothing to fear despite his eloquence and he was fluent in their language—they remained skeptical of government's good faith.

February 11 General Hearsey again warned Government about disaffection. It began to be rumoured in Calcutta that a mutiny of the sepoys could be expected, *and had already been arranged*, and that the cartridges were just an excuse.

March 2 Canning, the Governor General, sympathised with the doubts of the sepoys and announced a 'concession' to the effect that they would henceforth be allowed to pinch off the end of the cartridge instead of

biting it. But it was to no avail: the sepoys objected that habit would make them use their teeth instead of their fingers.

March 20 Lieutenant Martineau who was the musketry instructor at the Ambala Depot and who thus saw small parties of sepoys from many different regiments, reported that 'the entire Bengal Army is labouring under the dread of forcible conversion ie to Christianity.

March 29 In some opinions this day sees the true outbreak of the mutiny proper: ie the Mangal Pandey incident. The 34th BNI had a British Sergeant-Major, Hewson by name, attached to it, and he was told that a sepoy by name of Mangal Pandey had come out of the lines with his musket loaded, which was against standing orders. In turn he informed the adjutant Lieutenant Baugh. Hewson and Baugh found Mangal Pandey outside the quarter-guard calling on his comrades to help him strike a blow for their religion: he fired at Baugh and brought down his horse, and then took on both Hewson and Baugh with his *tulwar* and was a match for them both.... Wheeler of the 34th came up and ordered the guard to arrest the mutineer but no one obeyed him. Similarly Brigadier Grant came up and was ignored. Mangal Pande was continuing to taunt his comrades.

APRIL-MAY 1857

During this month before the outbreak of the rebellion, many rumours were spread. It was whispered that the British were attempting to defile both Hindu and Muslim (and thus make conversion to Christianity easier) by mixing the ground bones of cattle and pigs with *atta* on sale in the bazaar. The story appears to have originated in Meerut near to which, at mills in Bhola, the *atta* was ground before being sent down to Kanpur for sale.

April 6 Mangal Pande, who had survived his self-inflicted wound, was tried and sentenced to be hanged at Barrackpore.

April 8 Mangal Pande was hanged.

April 10 The troops at Lucknow were also becoming restless as the rumours continued to spread.

April 11 The Jemadar of the guard at Barrackpore who had refused the order to arrest Mangal Pande was put on trial by court martial, and sentenced to be hanged.

April 16 Dr. Wells's bungalow in Lucknow was burnt down, and although it was known to have been done by sepoys of the 48th BNI, nothing could be proved and no action was taken.

April 22 Isri Pande, the Jemadar of the 34th BNI who had been in charge of the quarter-guard when Mangal Pande mutinied was today hanged, without further incident.

May 1 The recruits of the 7th Oudh Irregular infantry at Lucknow refused to accept their cartridges on the grounds that the older soldiers of the regiment had warned them that obnoxious grease had been used on the ends of each of them.

May 2 The entire regiment of the 7th I.I. refused the cartridges, saying that they must do as did the rest of the army.

May 6 On the orders of the Commander-in-Chief the eighty-five troopers of the 3rd Cavalry at Meerut were court-martialled, the court consisting exclusively of Native Officers, (each was subsequently murdered by mutineers) and were sentenced to be dismissed and to ten years' imprisonment.

May 10 The Mutiny began in the evening, on this Sunday, at Meerut. In the hearts of the sepoys a vague but irresistible fear mingled with hatred and the thirst for vengeance, and impelled them to anticipate the doom which they imagined the English to be preparing for them; while stronger than all their passions was the sense of a brotherhood linking them with the rest of the army.

May 11 The Meerut mutineers, ie the 11th and 20th BNI and 3rd BL Cavalry marched to Delhi, arriving in the early hours at the bridge of boats on the left bank of the Jumna [Yamuna]. The Palace of the King of Delhi, descendant of the Mughal Emperors, Bahadur Shah Zafar, was on their route into the city and they immediately proclaimed him Emperor, possibly to his surprise and certainly to his embarrassment, as he had no funds with which to pay them and sustain the revolt.... A desperate telegram sent from Delhi before the telegraph office was broken into, to Ambala, alerted the government of the Punjab, and allowed for swift action to be taken before the news of Meerut and Delhi actually become common knowledge.

May 12 News of the Meerut outbreak reached Muzaffanagar, Moradabad, Sahranpur, Etawah, Aligarh etc, and caused great excitement.... A telegram also reached Lahore on this day, conveying an exaggerated account of the massacres at Meerut and Delhi.

May 13 At a parade for all troops at Mian Mir, 2,500 soldiers of the 16th, 26th and 49th BNI and the 8th Cavalry were disarmed by 600 Europeans of HM's 81st Regiment supported by twelve guns loaded with grape and with portfires burning: the exercise all went smoothly and with no violence.

May 16 In Delhi, some forty-eight (the number is far from sure) Europeans were massacred: they had either been taken to the King's Palace or had gone there of their own accord to seek protection. The King was probably unable to restrain the sepoys, in particular the sowars of the 3rd Cavalry from Meerut. It is said the King's sons witnessed, even if they did not organize, the massacre.

May 19 General Anson had at first taken a firm line with regard to the 'cartridge question', but on this day he issued at Ambala, a General Order to the army withdrawing the use of the offending cartridge: in future 'balled ammunition shall be made up by each regiment for its own use.'

May 21 At Cawnpore (Kanpur) the Europeans commenced their 'intrenchment'. Major General Sir Hugh Massy Wheeler decided to fortify the old Dragoon Hospital buildings; a mud wall, four feet high and pitifully inadequate, was thrown up around two brick structures, one thatched and the other properly roofed. All Christian women and children were ordered into these barracks, but the officers of the sepoy regiments continued to sleep in the lines of their men. Wheeler hoped that his own reputation with the sepoys would prevent an outbreak, or at the worst, ensure the sepoys marched straight off to Delhi.

May 22 News of the mutiny at Aligarh on the 20th reached Mainpuri and caused great excitement; the garrison consisted of three companies of the 9th BNI.... At Etawah another detachment of the 9th BNI mutinied and marched off to Delhi after plundering the Treasury. They were assisted by the local raja; the magistrate, Hume, escaped in the dress of an Indian woman.

May 24 Part (100 troops) of the Gwalior Irregular Cavalry of the Gwalior Contingent, which had previously given loyal service to Government, mutinied at Hattras and went off to Delhi:... General Anson, the Commander-in-hief left Ambala for Delhi.... The Muslim festival of Id passed off without incident in Lucknow although Sir Henry Lawrence had been very apprehensive.

May 27 General Anson, the Commander-in-Chief died of cholera at Kurnaul, on the march towards Delhi. Sir Henry Barnard assumed temporary command.... Martial law was declared at Etawah.

May 28 General Reed provisionally succeeded Anson, and set off from the Punjab to take command of the British force converging on Delhi.

May 29 Mutinous conduct was now widespread at Lucknow in Oude [Awadh] and at other, smaller, stations. It was reported that some *taluqdars* were resuming possession of villages of which they had been deprived by the Land Settlement of 1856.

May 31 The more militant citizens of Lucknow now attempted to join the mutineers, but finding that the latter had fled they returned to the city and commenced a disturbance there, but were dispersed by the police and some of the irregular infantry, and many killed and some taken prisoner and lodged with the mutineer prisoners in the Machhi Bhawan: a court martial sentenced these prisoners to death to the number of 40, and they were hanged in front of the Machhi Bhawan, an 18pdr gun loaded with grape overawing the massed onlookers.... Khan Bahadur Khan a government pensioner took the lead and was proclaimed Viceroy under the King of Delhi.

This Sunday, 31 May, is said to be the date originally fixed by the sepoys for the mutiny of the Bengal army.

JUNE 1857

June 1 The sepoys at Mathura shot their officers and marched for Delhi.... The news of the Bareilly uprising also reached Budaon, thirty miles away on the Ganges, and at first it appeared that the Treasury Guard (men of the 68th BNI from Bareilly) would not mutiny, but by the evening the sepoys had risen, the treasury was looted, the goal opened and the town and district given over to plunder. All trace of British rule was effaced, and Khan Bahadur Khan was proclaimed ruler:

June 2 The majority of the 5th BNI regiment mutinied at Shaharanpur; some sepoys remained loyal, and protected their officers and the civil authorities.

June 3 The 17th BNI mutinied at Azimagarh, 65 miles north of Benares (Varanasi), after wavering for some time; the imminent despatch of government treasure to the extent of six lakhs of rupees proved impossible for them to resist.

June 5 At Aurangabad near Mohamdi in Oude [Awadh] the European refugees from the latter place were ambushed and murdered, with the exception of Captain Orr whom the troops allowed to depart to join his wife who was already in hiding.... One company of the 12th BNI at Jhansi, where there were no British troops, and where local feeling was already very anti-British in view of the way that the Rani, Lakshmibai, had been treated, led by a havildar, and cheered on by some gunners, marched straight into the Star Fort, and announced their intention of holding it.... At Jaunpur, some forty miles from Benares a wing of the Ludhiana Sikhs at first had made demonstrations of fidelity on hearing of the revolt of the 37th BNI, but then news reached the men that the headquarters of their own regiment had been fired on by European troops and they at once rose in revolt. Lieutenant Mara their officer commanding was shot. as was Cuppage the joint-magistrate. The treasury was plundered and all the bungalows in the civil station, and the local people joined in the insurrection and the looting. The remaining Europeans fled to Benares, and the Sikh soldiers went off in the direction of Oudh [Awadh].

June 6 Today saw the beginning of the siege of Wheeler's [e] intrenchment at Cawnpore [Kanpur]. The Nana Sahib had apparently been supporting the Europeans but he now sent a somewhat quixotic message to Wheeler telling him that he intended to attack him. He is said to have persuaded the mutineers not to go to Delhi, which was their first intention, until the Europeans in Cawnpore had been destroyed. He promised each sepoy a gold anklet if he would join him. He was now proclaimed *Peishwa*, the title he had so badly wanted and which had been denied him by the British.... At Azimgarh the 4th Coy 9th Bengal Artillery joined their comrades of the 17th BNI in mutiny.... The Nawab of Rampur, who remained steadfastly loyal to the British throughout, visited Moradabad to take charge.

June 7 At Jhansi the Europeans in the Fort realizing that they could not hold out sent three of their number to treat with the Rani; she handed them over to the Rissaldar of the Irregular Cavalry who had them all killed.... The Maulvi Liaquat Ali moved to Allahabad from Cawnpore and attempted to take charge of the city. He appointed officials, and had some semblance of power for a short time, but he was not accepted as leader by many Muslims, nor by the Hindus.

June 8 At Jhanis events reached a climax, although the facts in the case are still in dispute: one version is that the Rani sent messengers to the Fort demanding a parley, and promising that if the Europeans laid down their arms they would be escorted to another station. Skene and the others agreed to the terms, walked out of the fort, but were then massacred in a garden known as the Joka Bagh: all, perhaps 60, were killed, men women and children.

June 9 Early in the morning the 1st Regiment of Military Police mutinied at Sultanpur in Oude [Awadh], between Faizabad and Allahabad. Colonel Fisher, commander of the 15th Irregular Cavalry, rode down to their lines in an attempt to recall them to duty, but was shot and mortally wounded by a policeman, whereupon his own men shot the second-in-command, Captain Gibbings; Lieutenant Tucker escaped and was sheltered by Raja Rustam Shah in his fort on the river Gomti; other Europeans were murdered in the town, although they had sent their families in safety to Allahabad.

June 10 The Commissioner at Bahraich, Charles Wingfield, had arrived at Gonda, bringing the news that the troops at Faizabad had mutinied and that those at Sikrora were on the verge of rebelling also.... At Rohtak the 60th BNI mutinied, and marched at once for Delhi, although they did not harm their officers they none the less became violent assailants of the British before the city.... The 1st Irreg Oudh Infantry mutinied at Pershadipur.... Some European refugees from Fatehgarh had taken to boats on the Ganges when the troops mutinied and today they reached Bithur, twelve miles from Cawnpore [Kanpur] but were fired on by Nana Sahib's troops. Of these Europeans who first took to the boats at Fatehgarh and sailed down to Kanpur in the first week of June 1857, over one hundred were dragged before the Nana and ordered to be killed (some depositions say it was his brother Bala Rao who insisted on their death and actually gave the order).

June 11 The Jhansi mutineers left for Delhi, much to the relief of the Rani who, though now threatened by her neighbours, was able to raise her own forces to deal with the crisis.

June 12 The garrison at Lalipur, consisting of three hundred men of the 6th Infantry, Gwalior Contingent mutinied and looted the treasury. Their officers fled to the protection of the Raja of Banpur who was, in reality, the leader of the rebels! On this occasion he protected them, although keeping them in confinement.

June 13 A press Gagging Act was issued by Government at Calcutta, and was very unpopular, although censorship was to be imposed for one year only; Lord Canning in particular lost much popularity as a result of this action.

June 14 Most significantly the Gwalior Contingent mutinied today and murdered seven of its officers and their families at Morar, the cantonment of Gwalior. Those who avoided the massacre, like Mrs. Coopland the widow of the chaplain, escaped to Agra, assisted, to the best of his power by Scindia, Maharaja of Gwalior, and his minister, Dinkar Rao.... Allahabad by now was in total disorder, the Europeans being in small numbers only were shut up in the fort awaiting further reinforcements from Benares, and the city was in complete confusion, none attracting the loyalty of all citizens, although Liaquat Ali, the Maulvi, held partial sway over certain Muslims factions.

June 15 At Calcutta the deposed King of Awadh, Wajid Ali Shah, and his chief councilors were suspected (probably quite unfairly) of intriguing with the mutineers and were imprisoned in Fort William.... The Bareilly Brigade reached Moradabad en route from Delhi, they were commanded by Bakht Khan, a *Subedar*, and soon to be made Commander-in-Chief of all the rebel forces at Delhi.... The rebel leader Walidad Khan at Malagarh today asked Bahadur Shah Zafar, King of Delhi, if the Bareilly Brigade could be given to him, to establish a power base in Rohilkhan, but he received no answer.

June 16 Maulvi Liaquat Ali fled from Allahabad; had he been supported by all factions he might well have established his rule in the city, at least until the British reinforcements from Calcutta came up country in overwhelming numbers.... The Nawab's rule was proclaimed at Farruckabad/Fatehgarh: he had previously enjoyed the title and a pension

but no power, to what extent he was now a willing rebel has always been disputed.

June 19 William Tayler, Commissioner at Patna, the chief city of Bihar, arrested four leading Maulvis and disarmed the citizens: he was convinced that the danger to British power came from the Muslims who, he believed, were intriguing throughout Northern India against the government.

June 23 Another severe battle took place outside the walls of Delhi. This was the centenary anniversary of the Battle of Plassey when Clive may be said to have established British rule in India, and there was a prophecy in wide circulation that the British *Raj* was to last just a hundred years. The day had been looked forward to with anxiety by the British on the Ridge at Delhi, and with exultation by the rebels within the city.

June 25 Mrs. Jacobi, the Eurasian wife of a watchmaker appears to have been the second emissary of Nana Sahib to the besieged in Wheeler's Entrenchment. She bore back the message that they agreed to surrender on the terms offered.

June 30 Bulandshahr, not far from Delhi, was captured by Walidad Khan.

In many ways the end of June 1857 marks the zenith of the mutiny's success: from now on the British built up their military power, largely by reinforcement from England, and began slowly to win back the ground that had been lost.

JULY 1857

July 1 At Mhow the 1st Light Cavalry and the 23rd BNI, who were in communication with Holkar's troops mutinied: they shot dead Colonel Platt the C.O and Captain Fagan, the Adjutant, of the 23rd: the cavalry troopers likewise killed their commandant Major Harris. The mutineers then marched off to Indore and subsequently made their way to Delhi. Captain Hungerford, in charge of a mixed battery of artillery was thus left in charge, and for a time assumed the role of Governor General's Agent.... The Nana Sahib's rule was proclaimed at Hamirpur.... Bakht Khan arrived at Delhi with the Bareilly Brigade: there was much rejoicing: in the city bands played a selection of military airs-including, it said, '*God Save the Queen!*'. It was reported thus: *The longing eyes of*

the rebel Delhi garrison were gladdened, and those of the besiegers mortified, by the sight of the Rohilcund mutineers, who were watched by friends and foes crossing the Jumna in boats (the bridge being broken) and marching into one of the seven gates of the city in military array, with infantry cavalry and artillery, and some hundred cartloads of treasure.

July 2 In Delhi Bakht Khan was declared the Commander-in-Chief of the King of Delhi's army.

July 3 A large contingent of the King's army came out of Delhi and took up their position to the south of the British camp on the Ridge.

July 4 At Agra the Kotah Contingent, long believed to be free from contagion finally mutinied.

July 6 A Proclamation was issued in the city of Delhi: *'To all Hindoos and Mussulmans, Citizens and Servants of Hindostan, the Officers of the Army now at Delhi and Meerut send Greetings. 'It is well known that in these days all the English have entertained these evil designs, first to destroy the religion of the whole Hindostani army and then to make the people Christians by compulsion. Therefore we, solely on account of our religion, have combined with the people, and have not spared alive one infidel, and have re-established the Delhi dynasty on these terms, and thus act in obedience to orders and receive double pay. Hundreds of guns and a large amount of treasure have fallen into our hands; therefore it is fitting that whoever of the soldiers and people dislike turning Christians should unite with one heart and act courageously, not leaving the seed of these infidel remaining. For any quantity of supplies delivered to the army the owners are to take the receipts of the officers; and they will receive double payment from the Imperial Government. Whoever shall in these times exhibit cowardice, or credulously believe the promises of those impostors the English, shall very shortly be put to shame for such a deed; and, rubbing the hands of sorrow, shall receive for their fidelity the reward the ruler of Lucknow got. It is further necessary that all Hindoos and Mussulmans unite in this struggle, and, following the instructions of some respectable people, keep themselves secure, so that good order may be maintained, the poorer classes kept contented, and they themselves be exalted to rank and dignity; also, that all, so far as it is possible, copy this proclamation, and dispatch it everywhere, so that all true Hindoos and Mussulmans may be alive and watchful, and fix in some conspicuous place (but prudently to avoid*

detection), and strike a blow with a sword before giving circulation to it. The first pay of the soldiers of Delhi will be 30r. per month for a trooper; and 10r. for a foot-man. Nearly 100,000 men are ready, and there are 13 flags of the English regiments and about 14 standards from different parts now raised aloft for our religion, for God, and the conqueror, and it is the intention of Cawnpore to root out the seed of the Devil. This is what we of the army here wish.' Not to be outdone the Nana Sahib, temporarily in power at Cawnpore [Kanpur], also issued a proclamation: 'It has been ascertained from a traveller who has lately arrived at Cawnpore from Calcutta, that previously to the distribution of the cartridges for the purpose of taking away the religion and case of the people of Hindostan, a council was held, at which it was resolved that, as this was a matter of religion, it would be necessary to employ 7,000 or 8,000 Europeans, and to kill 50,000 Hindostanees, and then all Hindostan would be converted to Christianity.' A petition to this effect was sent to Queen Victoria and the opinion of the council was adopted. A second council was then held, to which the English merchants were admitted, and it was agreed that, to assist in carrying out the work, the same number of European soldiers should be allowed as there were Hindostanee Sepoys, lest, in the event of any great commotion arising, the former should be beaten. When this petition was perused in England, 35,000 European troops were embarked in ships with the utmost rapidity and dispatched to India. Intelligence of their dispatch was received in Calcutta, and the gentlemen of Calcutta issued orders for the distribution of cartridges. Their real object was to make Christians of the army under the idea that when this was done there would be no delay in Christianizing the people generally. In the cartridges the fat of swine and cows was used. This fact was ascertained from Bengalees who were employed in making the cartridges; one of these men was put to death and the rest were imprisoned. Here they were carrying out their plans. Then the Ambassador of the Sultan of Constantinople at the Court of London sent information to the Sultan that 35,000 English troops were to be dispatched to India to make Christians of that country. The Sultan sent a firman to the Pasha of Egypt to the effect that he was colluding with Queen Victoria: that this was not a time for compromise: that from what his ambassador sent it appeared that 35,000 English soldiers had been dispatched to India to make Christians of the people and soldiers of that country; that there was still time to put a stop to this; that if he was guilty of any neglect in the matter, what kind of a face would he be able to show to God; that that day would one day be his, since, if the English succeeded in making Christians of the people of Hindostan, they would attempt the same in his country. On the receipt of this firman of the

Sultan, the Pasha, before the arrival of the English troops, made his arrangements and collected his troops at Alexandria – for that is the road to India – and on the arrival of the English army the troops of the Pasha of Egypt began firing on them with cannon from all sides, and destroyed and sank the ships so that not a single Englishman of them remained. The English at Calcutta, after issuing the order for biting the cartridge and the breaking-out of this now spreading mutiny and rebellion, were looking for assistance from the army coming from London; but God, by the exercise of His Almighty power, settled their business there. When the intelligence of the destruction of the army of London was received the Governor General felt great grief and beat his head. At the beginning of the night murder and robbery were contemplated; in the morning the body had no head, nor the head any covering! In one revolution the sky became of the same colour; neither Nadir nor Nadir's Government remained. This paper has been printed by order of Nana Sahib. 13th zeiroe, and add 1273. Higree, 8.'

July 9 At Jhelum the fight was resumed but the mutineers now fled: very few ultimately escaped; some had been killed in the battle, others drowned in the Jhelum, and some were captured either by the police or by the Cashmeri authorities who handed them back to the British by whom they were blown away from guns.... The 46th BNI and 9th Lt Cavalry mutinied at Sealkote [Sialkot] upon the news of the disarming of their comrades at Jhelum: a summons also had come to them from the King at Delhi requiring them to go to his assistance.

July 12 General Sir Colin Campbell newly appointed as Commander-in-Chief left England for India.

July 14 A severe battle took place outside Delhi, and the rebels were beaten and driven back within the city walls.

July 15 Havelock and the Allahabad Column were advancing on Kanpur and had already beaten the forces of Nana Sahib at Fatehpur.

July 16 At Cawnpore [Kanpur] the victims of the Bibighurh massacre (c. 200 European women and children) were thrown into a dry well: not all, it was said, were dead. Havelock continued on his march and fought the first battle of Cawnpore, a not very significant action, since the Nana had clearly decided to evacuate the city.

July 17 Havelock entered Cawnpore, and the Nana Sahib retreated to Bithur, and was again defeated in a pitched battle.... The Neemuch Brigade (rebel) arrived in Delhi, yet another morale-boosting addition to the rebel force, but one which presented problems as the King of Delhi was short of funds to pay his army.

July 20 To date the besiegers of the Lucknow Residency had confined their activities to keeping up a constant fire of musket and cannon, doing a great deal of damage to the Residency compound (which measured thirty-seven acres in extent) and killing a few of the garrison each day.

July 24 The 12th Irregular Cavalry mutinied at Segowlie [Sagauli].

July 25 Havelock, intent now on relieving Lucknow, crossed the Ganges into Oude [Awadh], into what was to prove very hostile territory.

July 27 The Siege of Arrah House began. A few European civilians barricaded themselves in the billiard room of Arrah House and with the aid of 50 Sikh policemen defied 2,000 mutineers led by Raja Kunwar Singh.

July 29 Havelock defeated the Oude rebels, mainly *taluqdaris*' men at the battles of Unao and Busheratganj, but could never follow up any victory as he had no cavalry, his force grew gradually weaker from casualties and disease.

July 30 'Some commotion' was noticed in the lines of the disarmed 26th BNI at Mian Mir, the military station adjoining Lahore.

July 31 The British siege army before Delhi by now numbered 6,918 effectives and 1,116 sick and wounded, but it was clear that the only reinforcements that could be expected would be the Moveable Column from the Punjab, and that the British force could only decline in strength as disease and casualties multiplied.... Kolapur: This was the scene of the only mutiny to take place in the Bombay Army.... At Muzaffarpur in Bihar there took place an incident which was becoming quite common in that Province, that is to say that the military rebelled, the Hindu landholders might join in the rebellion, but the majority, Muslim, of the population, preferred to remain with government. A detachment of Holmes's Irregulars mutinied here but were unable to loot the treasury because the *nujeebs* and the populace stood up against them. As a result, British authority was in abeyance for no more than twenty-four hours.

AUGUST 1857

August 5 Havelock again defeated the rebels at Bashiratganj, but it was another hollow victory since the rebels still outnumbered him by many thousands.... Kunwar Singh was reported to have proclaimed himself 'King of Shahabad', but he now headed westwards to aid the rebellion in Oude [Awadh] and Bundelkhand.

August 8 Khan Bahadur Khan's forces from Bareilly were reported as advancing on Naini Tal.... The gunpowder factory in Delhi was blown up, almost certainly by accident, but it caused many casualties and led to a shortage of power for the defenders of the city.

August 10 A second outbreak of mutiny took place at Nasirabad: a trooper of the 1st Bombay Lancers suddenly mounted his charger and galloped in front of his regiment calling them to mutiny; they refused and pursued him whereupon he fled to the lines of 12th Bombay NI who gave him shelter.... Further severe engagements outside Delhi took place.

August 11 The King of Delhi required chiefs to contribute money to the cause: he had a large army to pay and his own treasury was empty so he sent his emissaries throughout northern India: some chiefs responded with promises, a few with cash, but the majority made no reply.... Eyre burned Kunwar Singh's palace at Jagdishpur, near Arrah.

August 12 There was also a second outbreak of mutiny at Neemuch, and events took place not unlike those at Nasirabad two days earlier: again Bombay troops were involved, but mutiny was nipped in bud and the ringleaders arrested by the commanding officer, Colonel Jackson.... Havelock defeated the Oude rebels in a Third Battle of Bashiratganj, just in the south of Lucknow.... At Deogarh, in the Santhal districts, much nearer to Calcutta two companies of the 32nd BNI suddenly mutinied and killed all their officers.

August 13 Despite his victories Havelock was forced by the weakness of his force to withdraw back to Cawnpore, an act which rebels naturally seized upon as a great victory.... The new Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell arrived in Calcutta.

August 14 At Bhagalpur in eastern Bihar the 5th Irregular Cavalry mutinied; they then pressed on towards Baosi where they hoped to seduce the 32nd BNI.

August 15-18 More severe engagements took place outside Delhi, but they were on a small scale: the rebels continuously probed and reconnoitered, and allowed the British no peace, and curtailed also the drawing up of plans for assaulting the city.

August 16 Havelock defeated Nana Sahib's forces at Bithur, some twelve miles north of Cawnpore, but it was a pyrrhic victory. The rebels numbered over four thousand, mainly sepoys, and they fought with great spirit, even crossing bayonets with the British soldiers, but eventually retreated.

August 17 Sir Colin Campbell took over as C in C. His information as to the military position was far from complete since communication up-country was cut, and rumour often took the place of fact. It was believed that British force before Delhi was more besieged than besieging.

August 20 There was a fierce attack on the Lucknow Residency, where the ranks of the besieged garrison were thinning rapidly; heaviest cannonade yet, particularly on what was called the Cawnpore Battery: there were three hours of continuous firing; Deprat's House fell in and an attempt was made to burn down the Baillie Guard Gate.

August 25 Prince Firoz Shah, *Shahzada*, and nephew of the King of Delhi was placed on the *musnud* at Mandsaur, some twenty-four miles from Neemuch in Rajputana: he assumed the title of Humayun Shah.... A large rebel force, including eighteen guns, left Delhi with the avowed intention of intercepting the Siege Train known to be on its way from Ferozepur with only a slender escort. Nicholson defeated them and captured all their guns in the battle of Najafgarh near Delhi.... A Mansion House meeting in London established the Indian Mutiny Relief Fund.

August 26 The green flag of revolt was raised at Mandsaur. The town was fortified and thirteen guns mounted on the walls, and many men flocked there to join Firoz Shah.

August 31 A body of four hundred mercenaries, acting apparently under the orders of the (Maharatta dominated) Durbar seized the very strong fort of Dhar, some thirty miles west of Indore, and for two months defied the British.

SEPTEMBER 1857

September 2 General James Outram, who had now been nominated as Chief Commissioner of Oude [Awadh] and Commander of both the Dinpur and Cawnpore Divisions, arrived at Allahabad from Calcutta.

September 5 A fierce attack was today launched on the garrison of the Lucknow Residency.

September 7 Kunwar Singh, still moving westwards, closed the road to Rewah, the ruler of which State was a relation of his, whom he hoped to recruit to the rebel cause.

September 8 Kunwar Singh had by now moved through Mirzapur and was reported to have arrived at Rewah.... Maharaja Jung Bahadur's Gurkhas, from Nepal, today arrived at Jaunpur, anxious to assist the British, in theory, but even more anxious for loot.

September 11 The British assault upon the city of Delhi having been finally decided upon, massive cannonading commenced.... Outram, making steady progress on the road to Cawnpore learned from spies that a strong party of rebels from Oude [Awadh] up to four hundred strong with four guns, had crossed the Ganges behind him and intended to sever his communications with Allahabad.

September 14 The British assault on Delhi began.

September 18 At Jubbulpore [Jabalpur] the 52nd BNI mutinied at 10 p.m. that night, on the news that Raja Shankar Sa and his son had been executed, having being fired from a gun. On the raja's death his widow seized Ramgarh and took part in several skirmishes; at length being closely pursued she dismounted from her horse and plunged a sword into her own bosom: she was taken into the English camp where she died.... An abortive attack by General Lawrence on the Jodhpur rebels at Awah was made, the British being forced to withdraw, and losing considerable face, as a result of the strength of the rebel position.

September 19 Havelock and Outram set out for Lucknow from Cawnpore.

September 20 After fierce street fighting Delhi finally fell to the British, when the Burn Bastion was captured. Many of the mutineers marched away out the city, led by Bakht Khan who had been their Commander-in-

Chief. It is possible that Bakht Khan tried to persuade the King of Delhi, Bahadur Shah Zafar, to leave with him and the soldiery, to carry on the fight from another centre. If so, he failed, for the King simply moved out of Delhi towards the southern outskirts, and took refuge in the tomb of his ancestor, Humayun.

Note: It had been generally believed that the fall of Delhi would mean the end of the rebellion, but this was not the case; at most it prevented the Punjab from rising in revolt. One positive result was that the mutinous sepoys were no longer cooped up in the city, but were spread in numerous detachments throughout the country, spreading rather than containing the rebellion.

Although women and children appear to have been spared in Delhi, there was much indiscriminate slaughter by the British, neither friend nor foe was safe. Many British and Sikh soldiers found liquor stores and were drunken and out of hand.... The British still had reservations about the role to be played by the allies from Nepal, but to some extent re-assurance came today, for after marching fifty miles in two days from Jaunpur to Azimgarh and then to Mandori, the Gurkhas defeated rebels there, in a spirited charge on to a well fortified position, inflicting over two hundred casualties and forcing the rebels to flee.

September 21 The controversial Captain Hodson, of Hodson's Horse, claimed to have captured the King of Delhi, Bahadur Shah Zafar at Humayun's Tomb: he certainly set out to do so, with General Archdale Wilson's permission (Wilson declared afterwards that he had never expected to see Hodson alive again), but there has always been doubt about the account which Hodson himself gave of the event. The unpublished statement of a certain Capt Maisey, Judge Advocate General's office, says: 'It is clear that the King of Delhi gave himself up, and was not captured by Captain Hodson who was apparently obsessed with the complex to do everything for his own. Actually brought in by Rajab Ali (Meer Munshi or head of native intelligence) plus an escort. Rajab Ali met Hodson on the way back to Delhi. The King was placed under guard in a small room in the Red Fort.... Muhammad Hasan, claiming to be the *Nazim* or official ruler in the name of the King of Oude, entered Gorakhpur, a place which, like nearby Azimghar, changed hands frequently at this time: if British troops or their Gurkha allies were in the vicinity then the cities were held for Government, when there were no such troops present, the rebels contested with each other, and with loyal zamindars, for control.

September 22 There is equal controversy and conflict of evidence in Hodson's conduct on this day. That he killed the three Mughal Princes, with his own hand, is not in doubt. They were Mirza Mogul and Mirza Abubakr, sons of Bahadur Shah, and Mirza Khair Sultan, a grandson, but while some applauded his action many, before and since, have condemned it; it is unlikely that he was, as he claimed, in danger of losing his own life from the crowd pressing round. He caused each prince to strip down to his underclothes and then shot each one deliberately from close range. The Princes, when captured by Hodson, said, with a jaunty air, 'Of course there will be a proper investigation into our conduct in the proper court.' Their bodies were taken back into Delhi and thrown down for the dogs and vultures to devour, and no opposition was encountered.

September 23 Outram and Havelock with their small British column captured the Alambagh, a walled garden and mansion some four miles to the south of Lucknow on the Cawnpore road. This was to act as a British military base for the next six months.

September 25 Generals Outram and Havelock finally relieved the Lucknow Residency.

September 27 Another column of Gurkhas from Jaunpur marched against Mubarakpur and captured the place and its raja, Iradat Khan, who was promptly hanged.

September 29 Kunwar Singh reached Banda, in Central India, and was able to link up with the forces of Nana Sahib led now by Tatya Tope, and eventually with the Gwalior Contingent.

OCTOBER 1857

October 2 The position in Central India remained very confused: where government could deploy even a few loyal troops or police it remained in charge; in their absence the mutineers or local rebels moved in.... A Muslim governor Muhammad Husain, still ruled Gorakhpur for the King of Delhi: the presence of rebels so far eastwards was of much concern to Calcutta; the Governor General feared that communications to the northwest might be cut off.

October 3 Four hundred and eight officers and men of Peel's Naval Brigade arrived at Allahabad: they were from H.M.S. Shannon, a Royal Navy frigate which had arrived at Calcutta from Hong Kong. Their

services had been offered to Canning because of the severe shortage of trained artillerymen available to the British in India at this time.... Rebels from Delhi arrived at Hathras, twenty two miles south of Aligarh on the road to Agra.

October 5 Walidad Khan, driven from Bulanshahr, reached Bareilly with 500 followers; his welcome was far from universal as there was already another rebel power in control there.

October 7 Queen Victoria proclaimed 7 October a Day of Humiliation, so both we and our people may humble ourselves before Almighty God, in order to obtain pardon of our sins, and send up prayers to the Divine Majesty for imploring His blessing and assistance on our arms for the restoration of tranquility.

October 8 Ali Bahadur the Nawab of Banda attacked the fortress of Ajaigarh, whose Rani, like the Nawab himself, had been faithful to the British. Thus the position in Bundelkhand, as in so many areas, was confused: much of the fighting was between rivals taking the opportunity of the weakness of government to assert by force of arms their ancient claims to land or sovereignty.

October 9 The 32nd BNI, two companies, mutinied at Deoghar, not far to the west from Berhampore, and this further confused the position in Bihar. Of the 32nd many dispersed after the usual looting spree, but a number remained together as a military unit, and at the end of October very nearly captured the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell, on the Grand Trunk Road, as he made his way with very little escort up county from Calcutta.

October 10 After a forced march Greathed and his Column arrived on the parade ground outside Agra Fort, and were eating breakfast at ten-thirty when they were attacked, in a complete surprise, by the rebels of the Mhow and Idore Brigades. Neither of the British commanding officers – Greathed or Cotton was present when the attack started, and somewhat fortuitously, it was repulsed, and some 2,000 of the rebels reported killed. After this so-called battle of Agra, there followed a grossly unfair punishment.... The territory to the north of the Ganges at Allahabad and Benares was becoming increasingly disturbed – and complicated. A rebel, described as an ‘adventurer’ and calling himself Nazim of Sultanpur, Mehndi Hasan, was reported today as enlisting men at Hasanpur he was eventually to command an army estimated at 15,000

men.... Central India was largely in turmoil and many men were flocking to join the standard of the Shahzada Feroz Shah: Bhopawar and Sirdarpur, the latter being the headquarters of the Malwa Bhil Corps, were attacked and plundered by his men, although the Bhils showed spirited resistance so long as their ammunition lasted.

October 13 In Central India at R[D]ehli the mutineers of the 52nd BNI, plus local rebels attacked the fort but were repulsed.... Two Shahzadas, Mirza Bakhtawar Shah and Mirza Mendu, sons of the King of Delhi were tried by the British and shot beside the Jumna.

October 15 The Gwalior Contingent, which had mutinied on 14 June, but had been held in check by Scindia, Maharaja of Gwalior (by various pretences, eg. waiting for the end of the rainy season etc.), finally decided to join the rebels: the deciding factor was probably Scidia's unfeigned joy on hearing that Delhi had fallen to the British.

October 17 Certain bodies of rebels from Delhi were reported as within twenty miles of Cawnpore, to which Greathed's Column was also marching, and on which Campbell and further British reinforcements from Calcutta were converging. Add to that the rumour that the Gwalior Contingent was reported to have offered its services to Nana Sahib, and to be also likely to move towards Cawnpore, and it will be seen that once again that place was likely to play a pivotal role in the rebellion.

October 19 Kunwar Singh with the 40th BNI reached Kalpi via Banda: he too was seeking to link up with the forces of the Nana Sahib, now led by Tatya Tope. His arrival certainly strengthened the resolve of the Nawab of Banda, a man of little intellect, to put himself and his resources wholly in the rebel camp.

October 20 The Nawab of Jhajjhar, to the west of Delhi, was brought into the city in British custody. He had surrendered on 18 October and could have expected no mercy for he had been an enthusiastic supporter of the King of Delhi, Bahadur Shah. With him, and also to be hanged, was the unfortunate raja of Balamgarh, who had submitted to the King, but had little choice in the matter.

October 21 The 52nd BNI which had mutinied at Jabalpur today sacked the town of Patan, in the guise of looters and plunderers, not deliverers.

October 22 The Durbar at Dhar was known to be intriguing with the rebels, so the British at Mhow determined to march on the place, under the command of Brigadier Stuart. The rebels were driven back inside the fort which was then invested.

October 23 The British were repulsed at Jiran.

October 26 Van Cortlandt, an officer who had served under Ranjit Singh in the Punjab before its annexation, had by now totally subdued the districts, notably Rohtak, to the northwest of Delhi.

October 29 Tatya Tope had now taken command of the Gwalior Contingent, and with it arrived at Jalaun, en route for Cawnpore.

NOVEMBER

November 2 A severe action was fought at Kajwa which is about twenty-five miles northwest of Fatehpur, between Cawnpore and Allahabad. The rebels numbered over two thousand and included many of the mutineers from Danapur, plus others from the Banda area.

November 3 Campbell reached Cawnpore, and despite the threat from the forces of Tatya Tope approaching from the west, he determined to deal first with the relief of the Residency at Lucknow to the northeast.

November 7 The Gwalior Contingent and the 40th BNI, with Kunwar Singh, joined up and began the advance on Cawnpore.

November 8 Four thousand rebels, who had previously occupied the fort of Jiran, advanced on Neemuch and took possession of the station and cantonment but were unable to dislodge the small British force in its entrenchment (after a fifteen day siege the rebels evacuated the town and fell back).

November 9 Thomas Kavanagh, a clerk in one of the civil offices, volunteered to slip out of the Residency at Lucknow with details of the garrison and his insider knowledge of the approaches to the Residency, and make his way to the Commander-in-Chief; Outram reluctantly accepted the offer which, to his surprise, was successful, and the information taken to Campbell proved valuable.

November 11 Rebels were reported to have continued to enter the district of Allahabad in some numbers. As a result the British were

obliged to leave considerable parties of troops at intervals to guard the line of communication with Calcutta.

November 13 Campbell made his last plans for the assault on Lucknow.

November 14 Campbell advanced to the attack, on a circuitous route via the Dilkusha and the Martiniere, both of which were captured and became forward bases for the campaign.

November 15 In Lucknow the Dilkusha was fortified and the day spent preparing for the final assault.

November 16 The British moved to the attack in Lucknow, choosing to follow the line of the river Gumti rather than run the risk of severe street fighting. Their first major obstacle was the Sikanderbagh, a high-walled enclosure some 150 yards square, with towers at the angles. It was captured only after a desperate battle, in which quarter was neither sought nor given, and in the end the entire rebel force within the enclosure, over two thousand men, were killed; it is said that only four escaped.... The area to the west of Delhi was still far from pacified, No sooner had brigadier Showers's column returned, apparently successful, to Delhi, when Jajhar and Riware were again occupied by rebels, this time by the men of the Jodhpur Legion who had beaten the troops of the Raja of Jodhpur who had remained loyal to government. Colonel Gerrard was sent out with a column numbering over two thousand men of all arms, and today met the rebels, led by Sannand Khan, brother of the Nawab of Jajhar, at the village of Narnul; the country people were all, it is quite clear, well-disposed to the rebels.

November 17 The major fighting having taken place on the previous day Sir Colin Campbell was able to enter the Lucknow Residency.

November 18 Despite the apparent turn in the tide of the rebellion, mutineers still continued. Today the Wing of the 34th BNI mutinied at Chittagong; the sepoys plundered the treasury, released the prisoners from the gaol, burnt down their own lines, fired the magazine and then left the station taking with them three elephants on which they piled stolen government property; they harmed no Europeans, and the only man to suffer at their hands was a native gaoler who was killed when he protested at their proceedings. They then made off to the hills in a northwesterly direction.

November 22 The detachments of the 73rd BNI, numbering three hundred and fifty sepoy, mutinied at Dacca, when they saw that an attempt was to be made to disarm them.

November 23 The British completed the evacuation of the Residency at Lucknow.... In Central India a decisive battle took place at Mandsaur, which was Prince Firoz Shah's power base, and from which the rebels had been intending to launch a final attack on Neemuch.... Communication between the northwest and Calcutta on the one hand, and Bombay and the south on the other, was still cut by the activities of rebels on the Deccan or Mirzapur road: this area, to the north of the Narbada river, was infested by two gangs whose activities were little better than *dacoitie*.

November 24 Stuart defeated the final Bundela rebel force at Goraria near Mandsaur: although some two hundred *vilaities* surrendered under a flag of truce, most of the rebels were killed.

November 25 The rebels evacuated Mandsaur and dispersed in all directions: one party appeared before Partabgarh but the raja there attacked and killed eighty of them and the remainder fled across the Chambal River.

November 27 At about 11 am Campbell and three thousand of his army set out for Cawnpore from the Alambagh. He had with him also the women, children, sick and wounded, numbering in all about two thousand, and the treasure which had been rescued from the Residency.... The Gwalior Contingent, now led by Tatya Tope, had been slowly approaching Cawnpore since leaving Kalpi on 9 November: their plan was to attack only when they knew Campbell was fully engaged in relieving Lucknow.

November 28 General Windham was comprehensively defeated by the Gwalior Contingent in the second battle of Cawnpore. The city was occupied by the rebels who took possession of the baggage of all British troops who were with Campbell, and also took, or burnt, all the stores that had been prepared for the use of the refugees from the Lucknow Residency. Fortunately for the British, Tatya Tope did not succeed in driving Windham from the entrenchment, nor did he manage to break the bridge of boats which was Cawnpore's only connection with the Oude side of the Ganges whence Colin Campbell could come to Windham's assistance.... Muhammad Hasan still held Gorakpur.

November 30 The rebel leader, Debi Singh Guntia, was active in the Jabalpur area. Effectively cutting British connection with Bombay and the south: today he burned the *thanah* of Shahpura, and when pursued by cavalry escaped over the river Narbada.

DECEMBER

December 9 Brigadier Seaton left Delhi with a considerable force, escorting a convoy of grain and stores to Cawnpore: he learnt that the rebels had congregated in large numbers at Aligarh through which he would have to pass.

December 14 Brigadier Seaton, operating from Delhi, defeated the rebels at Khasganj south of Aligarh.... Debi Singh Guntia was captured and hanged and his small army dispersed.

December 19 Mainpuri was recaptured, or, more accurately, re-occupied by the British.... In London the Government announced to the Honourable East India Company that it intended to make a change in the Company's powers: both political parties apparently agreed that the Company, by maladministration, was responsible for the 'Mutiny'.

December 22 An attempt was made today, led by the Maulvi Ahmad Shah (the 'Maulvi of Fyzabad'), to cut off Outram and his troops in the Alambagh from Cawnpore.

December 24 Campbell left Cawnpore with the bulk of his army, heading north for Fatehgarh.

December 27 Raja Tej Singh of Mainpuri was defeated by Seaton in the Battle of Mainpuri and fled towards Lucknow.

December 30 In Chota Nagpur the tide of rebellion turned with the defeat by Captain Wood of the main body of the rebels near Sambhalpur, in the southerly district.

December 31 The Honourable East India Company protested in London against the proposed legislation for India, but by now it was clear that the change would be enacted.

JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1858

January 1 Khan Bahadur Khan who ruled in Bareilly, still, nominally, in the name of the King of Delhi, had not given up hope of conquering

Naini Tal where many Europeans had taken refuge. Today he sent a thousand insurgents, with two guns to attack Haldwani on the road to Naini Tal from the plains, but they were repulsed by a few Gurkhas.

January 3 Campbell arrived at Fatehgarh, blew open the gate of the fort and occupied it: the stores found there were found to be of great value. Retribution upon the leaders of the rebels captured in the town was particularly unpleasant, and was universally condemned; the newly appointed magistrate, Power, was suspended from duty as a result of the acts, amounting to atrocities, which he committed.

January 6 The British were by now receiving significant reinforcements, from England and else where, and as a result ceased to be on the defensive in many areas.... In another; political decision, Canning had accepted the offer of Maharaja Jung Bahadur of Nepal to bring his army into India in support of the British.

January 7 The trial of Bahadur Shah Zafar, King of Delhi and last of the Moguls began in the Red Fort in Delhi: it was to last until 9 March, and was a farcical 'show-trial' from the start. Bahadur Shah had already been promised that his life was not at stake, nor that of his Queen Zinat Mahal, or his somewhat obnoxious young son, Jumma Bakht. In fact it was more like a court of enquiry than a trial. The defendant tried to ignore both his accusers and judges: when he said anything it was obstructive or, with some justification, he would make a simple statement that he denied the court the right to try him. His brief defence, such as it was, was to the effect that he had been perfectly helpless in the hands of the mutineers; that he had opposed them as long as he was able, by closing the gateway under the palace windows; by giving warning to the European commandant of the Palace guards; and by sending an express to the Lieutenant Governor at Agra stating what had occurred: all of which he was admitted to have done. The detail of the trial is not so interesting as are the palace papers that lay neglected in Government store, for over 60 years, neither consulted nor even catalogued. They were put into 200 bundles, not in date order, virtually unsorted, and certainly not indexed. The papers were taken from Bahadur Shah's palace immediately upon its occupation by the British in September 1857: it was clearly expected that they would be of significance at his trial, but were hardly looked at let alone referred to. The fact is that where one looks for records of great political events, of regal decisions that were to decide the fate of nations and peoples, of armies and princes, of proclamations and promulgations, of decrees and judgments – finds

only hundreds perhaps thousands, of petty petitions and grumbles, and complaints—above all of not being paid . Perhaps that is why they mouldered so long in a dusty office store. Eventually someone with a conscience, or nothing else to do, had then published: in 1921 the Imperial Record Department, in Calcutta, printed them as ‘PRESS-LIST OF MUTINY PAPERS 1857’. They make most interesting reading. Another matter of interest that invites further research concerns the chief British prosecutor, Major Harriott of the 3rd Bengal Native Cavalry and deputy judge advocate general. He had also presided over the General Court Martial in Meerut, of which no report was made public, which had condemned the eighty-five troopers of the 3rd Cavalry to lengthy terms of imprisonment and had thus sparked the outbreak of the mutiny. It is however reported that every one of the Native Officers who comprised this court was later murdered by the mutineers. Harriott left India in 1858, and died suddenly at Southampton, on landing from the mail-packet in March 1859; it was stated in the newspapers that 30,000 pound was found in his luggage, and that he left property to a nephew to the amount of £100,000 pounds.

January 12 Believing that Outram had considerably weakened his force by sending an escort for a convoy to Cawnpore, the rebels again attacked the Alambagh, this time in what was intended to be overwhelming force. The presence of British troops within the Kingdom of Awadh was an offence to the Begum Hazrat Mahal who frequently upbraided her forces for their lack of bravery in not driving the foreigners from the country, even threatening that if they did not attack the British she would make terms herself with them. Stung by her reproaches the army did mount a major attack on the well-fortified Alambagh on this day. This attack was in great force, perhaps thirty thousand men, in two bodies, attacking simultaneously the right and the left of the Alambagh position: they were allowed to come somewhat nearer, and were then received with such a powerful fire of artillery, and musketry, as to drive them back at some speed. Twice they attacked, twice they were repulsed: they then attacked the centre of the Alambagh position but were driven off again by a very heavy and concentrated artillery fire.

January 23 The rebels were reported as mustering again in great numbers at Kalpi.

January 24 Rose arrived with his second brigade before the great fortress of Rahatgarh.... The British found the fort garrisoned by *vilaities* and Pathans. Under the command of Nawab Muhammad Fazal Khan, a

man of energy and courage, (and a relative of the Regent of Bhopal) who, having failed in his attempt to usurp the power of the Regent, had become a chief leader of the rebels. The *Shahzada* Prince Firoz Shah was also reported to be in the fortress, (this is possible as he was soon to be seen in Jhansi) and the Raja of Banpur with a considerable force was not far away.

January 26 Rose mounted his first attack on Rahatgarh.

January 28 At 8am the heavy guns opened fire on the east curtain of the fortress of Rahatgarh, and it was clear that a breach could soon be made: at the same time two bodies of rebels (one led by the Raja of Banpur) crossed the river Bina, and advanced to the attack but were driven off by the dragoons, and fled to the village of Chandrapur whence they had attacked (but captured) a convoy of supplies being sent to the British by Sindhia.... The Honourable East India Company delivered a petition to Parliament in London against government proceedings, which they claimed to be unjustified and unlawful.

January 29 At 4am it was reported that some of the garrison was attempting a sortie from the fortress of Rahatgarh, by the main gateway: twenty-five out of fifty were killed. Judging by the stillness in the fort that its garrison was escaping or attempting to escape, the British entered by the incomplete breach and found only a few rebels, who were killed.

January 31 Those who had escaped from Rahatgarh, together with those at Chandrapur now assembled at Barodia, a strong village some twelve miles from Rahatgarh: their intention appeared to be to cut off supplies to the British, and, if possible to re-capture the fortress.

February 2 Walpole reached Mainpuri, having cleared the country of rebels between Cawnpore and Etawa.

February 4 The Gwalior Contingent although defeated by Campbell at Cawnpore had retreated only as far as Kalpi some fifty miles to the southeast, and presented an ever-present menace to the British on their eastern flank.

February 5 There was an action at Ayodhya in Oude between the rebels and a party of Jung Bahadur's Gurkhas, who were now well into Indian territory in support of the British.

February 8 Rose sent a detachment of the Hyderabad Contingent to capture the fort of Sanoda.

February 9 Campbell and Canning met at Allahabad. Exactly what they said to each other, or what was decided was not recorded. It may well be that Campbell was urged to act with greater speed against the rebels, particularly in Oude.

February 10 Nana Sahib was reported to be at Naubatganj, in western Oude.

February 12 The sepoy at Garharkota came out bravely to do battle with General Rose but were driven back into the fort.... Kunwar Singh reported as arriving at Ayodhya, on the eastern border of Oude.

February 14 The Rani of Jhansi issued a proclamation against the British: *'Victory of Religion': 'To God only belongs the World, and the command of it rests with Him...Oh Rajas! Be you religious, virtuous, benevolent and brave, and the protectors of your own and of the religion of others: desiring you prosperity I speak as follows...God has created you for the destruction of the destroyers of your creed ...but it is evident to all men that these English are perverters of all men's religion. From time immemorial have they endeavoured to contaminate the Hindoo and Mahomedan religions by the production and circulation of religious books through the medium of missionaries, and by extirpating such books as afford arguments against them...Various endeavours they have made to contaminate our creed. 1st. The forcible re-marriage of Hindoo widows. 2nd the abolition of the ancient rite of suttee. 3rd the exaltation of those who may embrace the Christian faith, so also succession to the thrones of Hindoo princes is only permitted to the legitimate sons, the adopted sons are prohibited from successions, while the Shastra gives him the same privileges as the legitimate heir: these are the stratagems by which the Europeans deprive us of our thrones and wealth, for instance I refer to Nagpore and Lucknow...They have force the prisoners to eat their bread...they powdered bones and mixed with flour sugar etc and exposed it for sale...they ordered the Brahmins and others attached to the army to bite greased cartridges...and in spite commenced blowing from guns those in any regiments who refused to use the cartridges...I conjure the Hindoos in the name of Gunga, Tollsee (Tulsi) and Salikram, and the Mahomedans by the name of God and the Koran and entreat them to join us in destroying the English, for their mutual welfare...Let not this opportunity pass away, know oh people! You will never have*

such another....This letter calling for the joint alliance of Hindoo and Mahomedan is published by Moulvie Syud Kootub Shah at the Bahaduree Press in the city of Bareilly.

February 15 The fourth attack on the Alambagh, led apparently by the Maulvi Ahmadullah Shah in person.

February 18 A proclamation was issued by Firoz Shah at Bareilly: ...*'Oh Hindoostanee Brethren! Thus put on your guard against their subversive determinations, leave them to their folly, and all uniting break their head. When the army mutinied to preserve their faith, and in various places sent the kaffirs to hell, then the Padres and wise men amongst them, alarmed at the mutiny, the anarchy, and slaughter of the Europeans, concocted the following scheme, observing that if, on obtaining the supreme power, attention had been paid to the laws and rules then established, this would never have happened:- 1st. The families of Indian Chiefs and Kings were preserved, this should not have been; they ought now, all that remain, to be enticed on board the ship, under pretence of their being conveyed to England, and drowned. 2nd. 'All religious books, whether Hindoo or Mussalman ought to be collected by fraud or force and burned. 3rd. 'Not a biswa of land ought to be left in the possession of any native. 4th 'The native officers out to be bribed and intimidated into intermarriage with Europeans, that they may in a short time become the same as they. 5th 'Natives ought not to be trained as Artillerists. 6th 'All natives ought to be disarmed. 7th. 'No servant ought to be engaged until he has eaten and drunk with Europeans. 8th. 'mosques and temples ought not to be allowed to be founded. 9th. Mahommedan and Hindoo worships ought to be proscribed. 10th. To adjudicate by Bible Law. 11th. 'Marriage ought not to be celebrated according to Hindoo and Mahommedan ritual. This is to be special care of the Padres. 12th. 'To abolish Hindoo and Mussalman doctors. 13th. 'Not to allow Hindoo or Mussalman doctors to educate disciples without the permission of the Padres. 14th. 'None but Doctors ought to be permitted to assist at the confinement of Hindoo and Mussalman women. These rules have not been adhered to; the worthless natives of Hindoostan have been treated with care and tenderness and the end of it has been that these very natives have got up the rebellion. If great attention is paid to the above principles for the future, and if all misconduct among the Hindoostanees is punished, then the English rule will remain established for thousands of years. Before the commencement of these calamities of the English I went on a pilgrimage to Mecca. On my return I traveled from Bombay to Gwalior and made*

all chiefs and armies promise to exterminate the Nazarenes...from that time...through the aid of God...130,000 men, old and new soldiers, have been induced to swear to join me, and I will soon, collecting all these, purify the land from these Nazarenesthe reason for the delay there has been in burying the English is that the commands of God have been disregarded in as much as the soldiers have wickedly put women and children to death, and have, without the orders of their leaders, given themselves up to loot in such a way that they generally convert victory into defeat and the common people have been much oppressed. When you have rectified these faults, you will succeed as I have promised you...My advice is this, abandon every other work; give your life to your beloved, or death will take it; decide which of these alternatives is preferable'. Lithographed at Bareilly and issued by order of the Nawab of Kather.

February 20 Nana Sahib was reported to be at Birra and to be moving about on the frontier between Oude and Bareilly.

February 21 Outram repulsed 20,000 rebels at the Alambagh.

February 23. Frank defeated the rebels led by Mirza Gaffar Beg at the battle of Sultanpur.

February 25 Nana Sahib was today reported to be at Kalpi.

February 28 Campbell crossed the Ganges into Oude to head the British army again, and to launch the assault upon Lucknow.

MARCH 1858

March 1 The Rani of Jhansi had no as yet had any encounters with British forces. The raja of Charkhari in Bundelkhand was one of the few remaining loyal to the British in that province, and was consequently targeted by the rebels who today captured and sacked the town of Charkari. Significantly the rebels were led by Tatya Tope, the Nana Sahib's general.

March 2 The possession of arms by the local people in Northern India varied considerably from place to place. In Oude [Awadh] and Rohilkhand it was commonplace for men to possess lethal weapons, although most of these would be the highly inaccurate and primitive matchlocks. As an example, today the populace of Saharunpur was disarmed by the British and 5,000 weapons were collected.

March 3 Canning's Proclamation to the people of Oude was prepared for issue in this month when it was assumed the city of Lucknow would have fallen to the British.... Canning's proclamation will be found in FSUP Vol II 328, and in numerous other source books, but it is summarized as : *'Lucknow has been re-taken by the British army, and none can withstand the latter's power; those who have fought against the government have committed a great crime and will be punished; the first care will be to reward those who have helped the British (eg Digbyjai Sing, Raja of Bulrampur, and Rao Hurdeo Buksh, of Kathiari etc); others will be rewarded as their merits are revealed; for the rest the proprietary right in the soil is confiscated to the British government which would dispose of it as it saw fit; if taluqdars came forward now and helped the British then their lives and honour would be safe (provided their hands were not stained with English blood 'murderously shed'): they may even aspire to a restitution of their lands; all who had protected English lives should be specially entitled to consideration and leniency'*.

March 5 The Raja of Rooroo, in the Etawa District now in British hand was discovered in 'treasonable correspondence', and committed suicide by poisoning himself: the *tehsildar* who had betrayed him to the British was threatened with death by the raja's relatives and supporters.... The Gurkha army of Jung Bahadur was marching steadily towards Lucknow to assist Campbell.

March 6 Mehdi Hussein attacked and plundered a British convoy which was traveling virtually without escort through Oude.

March 9 The court trying Bahadur Shah Zafar in the Red Fort at Delhi found him guilty, as a 'false traitor' and a rebel to the British government, and as an accessory to the massacre of Europeans at Delhi. He was sentenced to be transported beyond the sea as a felon 'where he will be entirely isolated from all other Mohammedans': Tungoo, 300 miles inland from Rangoon in Burma was selected.

March 11 Jung Bahadur and his Gurkhas joined Campbell outside Lucknow.... In the Agra District the rebels still virtually ruled much of the countryside, particularly to the south, and to the west of the Jumna in Scindia's territory where the maharaja though anxious to support the British was unable to do so. Brigadier Showers made a number of forays from Agra and today defeated a body of rebels at Bah.

March 14 In one of the decisive evens of the struggle Lucknow was today stormed by the British army under Campbell.

March 16 The movement of Nana Sahib during the past few months were never known accurately to the British, and it is clear he was protected by popular sentiment. Today however he was definitely reported to be at Shahjahanpur.

March 17 Kunwar Singh, had, since the third battle of Cawnpore, been working his way back eastwards towards his ancestral home in Bihar, he displayed considerable strategic and tactical ability as a general and seeing the British pre-occupation with affairs in Lucknow and northern Oudh he determined to make a strike for Azimgarh, and possibly thence attack Allahabad or Benaras. Today he joined up with a large number of rebels in eastern Oude at Atraulia, twenty-five miles from Azimgarh.

March 18 The Nawabs of Farrukhabad and Banda, Raja Tej Singh of Mainpuri, Khan Bahadur Khan of Bareilly, and Walidad Khan were excluded from the benefit (free pardon etc) of a Proclamation offering 1 *lakh* rupees' reward to any rebel betraying Nana Sahib. No one ever did betray him, despite the enormous sum (= £ 10,000 at that time) offered.

March 21 Rose with army and siege train arrived before Jhansi.... Lucknow was finally conquered by the British.... Kunwar Singh's advance guard was defeated by Milman who then halted to breakfast, near Atraulia, and was suddenly attacked by Kunwar Singh's main body who advanced in good order and drove Milman back first into his camp at Koelsa and then in full retreat to Azimgarh, where the British built an entrenchment.

March 23 The investment of Jhansi began. It was a formidable task: the fort had extensive and elaborate outworks: guns placed on the high towers commanded the surrounding country. The fort stood on an elevated rock and was built of excellent and massive masonry, difficult to breach for it was sixteen to twenty feet in thickness. The fortress was surrounded by the city of Jhansi on all sides except the west and part of the south face. The city itself was about 4 ½ miles in circumference and was surrounded by a fortified and massive wall, from 6 to 8 feet thick and up to 30 feet in height, with numerous flanking bastions.

March 24 Nana Sahib arrived at Bareilly, and was received by the rebels there with due ceremony but little warmth.

March 26 Kunwar Singh occupied the city of Azimgarh.... Disraeli and the new government in London brought in India Bill No. 2, not destined to pass in to law but one further step towards the ending of the power of the East India Company in India.

March 31 Kunwar Singh further strengthened his position in and around Azimgarh.

APRIL-JUNE 1858

April 1: Rose defeated Tatrya Tope in the Battle of Betwa River. Sometimes inaccurately referred to as the Battle of Jhansi.

April 3 Jhansi city was captured by Rose by assault and sacked. By all accounts the population was treated with some brutality by the British troops, remembering the massacre of British civilians at the beginning of the Mutiny; up to 5,000 rebels of the garrison were said to have been killed.

April 5 Jhansi Fort was taken by the British: many of its defenders fought to the death. The Rani with her stepson reached Kunch.

April 6 In the Doab, Brigadier Seaton defeated the Mainpuri raja at Kankur, twenty-two miles from Fatehgarh, and the rebels virtually abandoned all hope of holding the area.

April 7 In London the East India Company continued to protest against both India Bills.

April 12 The House of Commons in London determined to proceed by Resolution on the India Bill, and to dismiss the complaints of the East India Company.

April 15 Lugard now moved in on Azimgarh, occupied by Kunwar Singh and some 15,000 rebels, but was held up by determined resistance on the river Tons.

April 16 Kunwar Singh reached Naghai not far from Azimgarh and occupied a strong position.

April 17 Douglas attacked Kunwar Singh at Naghai but did not defeat him.

April 18 Douglas having defeated Kunwar Singh at Azimgarh and at Muneer Khas [Mannahar] continued the pursuit but was confused by the local people who supported the rebels and gave the British false information.

April 22 Firoz Shah reached Moradabad and demanded money, supplies etc from the citizens, but they, aware of the approach of British forces, refused.

April 23 Kunwar Singh defeated Captain Le Grand and a body of the 35th Regiment at Jagdishpur, inflicting many casualties and pursuing the British back to Arrah.

April 24 The forces of the Nawab of Rampur were helping to drive out Firoz Shah from Moradabad to which he had secretly returned.

April 26 Kunwer Singh died of his wounds at Jagdishpur.

April 30 Campbell entered Shahjehanpur.... Disraeli brought in the Resolutions' in the House of Commons.

May 3 As Campbell had moved north against Bareilly the Maulvi Ahmadullah Shah. i.e. the Fyzabad Maulvi, with a large force came from Mohamdi to Shahjehanpur, where Colonel Hale held the goal until 11 May against 8,000 rebels.

May 5 Campbell defeated the rebels in the Battle of Bareilly including the famous charge of the Ghazis of whom 133 were bayoneted.

May 7 In the Battle of Kunch, Rose defeated Tatya Tope.

May 9 Rose marched in pursuit of Tatya Tope and the Rani of Jhansi.

May 10 Today was the anniversary of the outbreak of Mutiny, and although Delhi, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Jhansi and Bareilly had all been retaken by the British. The rebellion was still far from over. In Central India, in Oude [Awadh], in Rohilkhand, and in rural Bihar the rebels were still active and determined to continue the struggle, and many others watched and waited to see which side would win before committing themselves irrevocably.

May 11 In the inconclusive Battle of Shahjehanpur, Jones relieved Hall but was then himself placed on defensive by the forces of the Maulvi. The latter was constantly reinforced by the Begum of Oude and Firoz Shah and some of the followers of Nana Sahib.

May 12 Lugard defeated Amar Singh near Jagdishpur. Again, this was far from decisive.

May 13 The rebels continued to menace the British position and camp at Jagdishpur.

May 15 Rebels leaders including Nana Sahib,, Khan Bahdur Khan and Maulvi Ahmadullah Shah, the Begum of Oude and Firoz Shah were all in the vicinity of Shahjehanpur, and today they attacked Jones there in great force, but were unable to dislodge the British.... Rose was involved in a fierce conflict with the forces of Tatya Tope and his allies near Kalpi.

May 17 Jung Bahadur returned to Nepal: his army had started with 2,000 carts loaded with loot, but much was stolen from the Gurkhas on their way home.

May 23 Rose occupied Kalpi town and fortress which were found deserted.

May 24 There was further outbreak of incendiarism at Allahabad showing quite clearly that the rebellion there was far from ended.... Campbell followed up the Maulvi who had retired from Shahjehanpur and captured the fort at Mohamdi.

May 27 Chanderi and its fort in Bundelkhand were evacuated by the rebels, and it seemed that Kalpi was the last battle in this land and that the rebels would soon be dispersed for ever, but in fact news was about to break that had as much impact as the first outbreak over a year before. Acting on a daring plan that has been ascribed to the Rani of Jhansi, the rebel leaders in this part of India decided to move upon Gwalior where the massive fortress and the equally firm support of much of the local people would guarantee success.

May 28 Dara Shikoh and Haji Shikoh, princes of the Delhi royal family were arrested at Hasanpur in the Moradabad district.

May 30 The rebel leaders, Rao Sahib, Tatya Tope, the Rani of Jhansi and the Nawab of Banda arrived at Gwalior, with considerable forces, including many of the former Gwalior Contingent.

May 31 At daybreak Maharaja Scindia marched out with 8,000 men and eight guns and took up a position two miles east of Morar and awaited the rebel attack. When the attack came, the whole of Scindia's army, with the exception of his bodyguard, went over to rebels, and Scindia himself fled to Dholpur and then to Agra with a few faithful retainers.

June 1 The rebels captured Gwalior. The area of the city known as Lashkar, where Scindia's palace was, and Gwalior Fort were also occupied. Dramatically the rebels who had fled from Kalpi, in a disorder state were now set up with great wealth, an artillery park of some sixty guns, a fine arsenal filled with warlike stores and with Scindia's army as their allies.

June 3 The Raja of Nargund was captured and his town and fort destroyed.

June 4 In Gwalior the Nana was proclaimed Peishwa and the Rao Sahib his deputy, and Tatya Tope the Diwan: much feasting and rejoicing took place, but were to prove premature.

June 9 There were still considerable small scale activity wherever British columns were not physically present.

June 11 The Raja of Nargund was tried and executed at Belgaum; his wife and mother had drowned themselves in despair at the disgrace.

June 12 In the final battle in Oude[Awadh] Hope Grant defeated 16,000 rebels at Nawabganj, on the road between Faizabad and Lucknow.... Amar Singh returned to Buxar, on the Ganges, where he had considerable local support.... Khan Bahdur Khan, still active in the north of Rohilkhand was reported as having attacked Shahjehanpur: he had with him 5,000 cavalry, six hundred infantry and eighteen light guns.

June 15 Maulvi Ahmadullah Shah attacked Pawayan, near Mahomdi and in a fight with its raja, Jagannath Singh, he was killed. His head was then struck off and sent in to the magistrate of Shahjehanpur and the reward of 50,000 rupees claimed.

June 17 The Battle of Kotah-ki Serai, some five miles from Gwalior was a small affair but highly significant for it was here that the Rani of Jhansi, dressed as a cavalry soldier, was killed.

June 18 Mahomed Hussain, with an army estimated at 4,000 men was again defeated, this time by Colonel Rowcroft at Harriah, and driven from the Gorakhpur district.

June 19 The decisive Battle of Gwalior took place today; in an action lasting over five and half hours. Rose defeated the rebels; marched into the Lashkar and re-occupied the city.

June 20 Gwalior Fort was captured by Rose.

June 23 The East India Company's objections to Bill No. 3 were published but by now it was clear to all that Company was fighting a losing battle.

JULY-SEPTEMBER 1858

July The Mutiny and the rebellion in general were by no means over, although this month saw little in the way of grand campaigns. Tatya Tope presented the greatest threat to the British; he carried neither tents nor provisions and when unencumbered by guns could move far more quickly than his pursuers: the sympathy of the people was with him and he got both information and supplies without difficulty. Active rebel bands around Jagdishpur are frequently mentioned in official reports. Numerous *talukhdars* of Oude were still engaged in active hostilities with the British directly; and, more particularly, in punishing those who had shown friendship for the British. The Begum of Oude also still held a large body of insurgents under the command. All attempts to arrest Nana Sahib had failed. In other words the process of pacification was not far advance. It is highly significant that by this time the number of mutinied sepoys still engaged in hostilities had dwindled dramatically, from death or desertion or rejection by potential patrons; perhaps 100,000 had mutinied, but no more than 15,000 were still in arms. Truly the 'Mutiny' now had the appearance more of a civil Rebellion, and lends credence to the idea of a Freedom Struggle.

July 2 General Roberts with the Rajputana Field Force reached Jaipur, for which city Tatya Tope was reported to be heading. At this time Tatya was still accompanied by the Rao Sahib and the Nawab of Nada; these three now turned southwards towards Tonk.

July 8 Tonk saw another success on the part of the rebels: the Nawab shut himself in the fortress and left a part of his forces outside with four guns to oppose Tatya Tope, but they welcomed the rebels and today gave them their guns.... The India Bill passed all stages in the House of Commons.

July 9 Tatya Tope plundered Tonk; Firoz Shah was reported to be with him. Soon afterwards Colonel Holmes with a light Field Force drove them out of the city, but inflicted no damage or casualties upon them.

July 10 Amar Singh re-occupied Jagdishpur and the entire district was kept in disturbance by small parties of rebels.

July 11 In the Etawa and Mainpuri districts there were still considerable small scale activity; Ramnagar was temporarily occupied by these rebels, being driven out by local levies raised and officered by the British.

July 17 In a typical affair at this juncture, Rattray operating from Jagdishpur captured some rebel chiefs, including Sangram Singh, at Dehri, yet almost immediately Jagdishpur was re-occupied by Amar Singh.

July 21 Hope Grant set out from Lucknow to confront rebels; his specific task was to relieve Raja Man Singh who was besieged in his fort at Shahganj by up to 20,000 rebels all anxious to punish him from going over to the British.

July 23 Roberts left Tonk in pursuit of Tatya Tope; it was to be a prolonged and frustrating task for the British.... Where British power was restored retribution followed and many who had been active on the rebel side were apprehended and hanged e.g. today the *kotwal* of Aligarh, Hussun Khan Mewatti was hanged, also the former *tehsildar*, Mahbub Khan. Mutiny within the armed forces still occurred: today Kishan Singh, a *naik* of the Aligarh Levy, was hanged, 'for attempting to tamper with sundry troopers of Captain Murray's Jat Horse and to persuade them to join in refusing the messing system and to eat bread baked except by themselves'.

July 25 Two rebels, Barhur Singh and Daulat Singh, reinforced by Deshpat of Jaitpur from the Hamirpur district, were active and unopposed at this time in the Kunch.

July 27 The rebel force besieging Shahganj broke up, on the news of the approach of Hope Grant.

July 28 Hope Grant relieved Raja Man Singh at Shahganj.

July 29 Hope Grant entered Faizabad and drive out the rebels.... Still active in Oude against the British were the Begum, Beni Madho, Babu Rambaksh, Behinath Singh, Chandabaksh, Gholab Singh, Nirput Singh, the Shahzada Firoz Shah, Bhopal Singh, and between them they had around seventy thousand armed men and fifty guns.

July 31 The India Bill passed the House of Lords: it had had a stormy passage because complicated by the contest concerning Canning and Ellenborough which had eventually divided Parliament on party line i.e. Whigs and Tories. Canning's reply to Ellenborough was not known in England until October and his defence of his Oude Proclamation became academic as it was never issued in its original form, but there seems little doubt that its tenor influenced many of the *talukdars* to fight on against the British.

August 1 The Bundela rebels, many of them led by Mansaram a follower of the late Rani of Jhansi, seized Jaloun.

August 2 By Act 21 and 22 Victoria c. 106, all the East India Company's territories became vested in Her Majesty, and all its powers were to be exercised in her name. To take effect on 1 November 1858.

August 7 The Court of Directors elected seven members for the new Council of India.

August 8 Robert caught up with and defeated Tatya Tope at Sanganir on the Nasirabad – Neemuch road. Tatya and his great force then retreated into Udaipur territory.

August 11 Colonel Parke headed a column from Neemuch to halt Tatya Tope.

August 12 Tatya Tope was checked at the Marwar frontier by the Erinpura force.

August 13 Horsford was despatched by Hope Grant to retake Sultanpur from the Oude rebels, but found it strongly held by some 14,000 men with fifteen guns and awaited reinforcements.

August 14 After marching seventy mile in three days Roberts again defeated Tatya Tope at Kattara, an action also referred to as Battle of Banas River.

August 20 Tatya Tope crossed Chambal to Jalta Pattan, where the Rana was loyal to the British, but his troops sided with the rebels. Tatya Tope took possession of some thirty small guns and ammunition, and received an unwilling contribution of fifteen lakhs of rupees from the Rana; he then headed for Rajgarh intending to reach Indore and rouse Holkar's troops.

August 29 A 'Brahmin plot' was discovered at Gwalior; some troops of the 25th Bombay NI disclosed it to the adjutant. Enquiries led to the belief that the Nan Sahib was intriguing here through his emissaries.

September 1 This was the last day of the governing power of the Honourable East India Company.

September 2 The few survivors of the Multan 'mutineer' regiments now fled.

September 5 Napier defeated Man Singh at the Battle of Bijapur near Guna.

September 7 Four conspirators in the 'Brahmin Plot' at Gwalior were blown from guns, and the Nana Sahib's *perwunnah* seized.

September 16 The continuous chase after Tatya Tope by various British columns continued.

OCTOBER-DECEMBER 1858

October 5 Brigadier Eveleigh defeated a body of rebels at Mianganj between Lucknow and Cawnpore.

October 8 Pawayan was attacked by a large rebel force no doubt inspired by the killing of the Maulvi there, but they had to retire. The Raja of Pawayan now had little option but to actively support the British.

October 19 Tatya Tope was defeated by Michel at Sindwah, but these actions were inconclusive since the rebels were able to slip away and reform, by arrangement, elsewhere. It was this type of activity that gained Tatya Tope his reputation as a guerilla fighter.

October 25 Tatya Tope was 'defeated' at Malthone, but was neither captured nor was his army dispersed.

October 30 Mehndi Hussein, the leading Oude rebel was defeated at Sufderganj, but still refused to surrender.

October 31 Tatya Tope, with the main body of his army, passed through Rajgarh and crossed the Narbada.

November 1 Queen Victoria's Proclamation to the Princes, Chiefs, and People of India was read in the principle cities of India. It was to be of great significance not only in the story of the mutiny but also in subsequent Indian history:- *'Victoria by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Colonies and Dependencies thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Australasia, Queen, Defender of the Faith. Whereas, for divers weighty reasons we have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the government of the territories in India, heretofore administered in trust for us by the Honourable East India Company: Now, therefore, we do by these presents notify and declare that, by the advice and consent 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 behalfWe hereby announce to the native Princes of India that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the honourable East India Company, are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained ... we desire no extension of our present territorial possession We shall respect the rights, dignity and honour of native Princess 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 the Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those*

obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that none be in anyway favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoy all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure. And it is our further will that, so far as may be our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge. We know and respect the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith subject to the equitable demands of the State and we will that, generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India. We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men, who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, and led them into open rebellion. Our power has been shewn by the suppression of that rebellion in the field; we desire to shew 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 expectations of pardon, on certain terms, to the great majority of those who in the late unhappy disturbances have been guilty of offences against our government and has declared the punishment which will be inflicted on those whose crimes place them beyond the reach of forgiveness. We approve and confirm the said act of our Viceroy and Governor General, and do further announce and proclaim as follows: our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been or shall be convicted of having taken part in the murder of British subjects. With regard to such, the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy. To those who have willingly given asylum to murders, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators in revolts, their lives alone can be guaranteed; but in appointing 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 shewn to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in a too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men. To all others in arms against the government, we hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty and oblivion of all offences against ourselves, our crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits. It is our royal pleasure that those terms of grace and amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with their conditions before the first day of January next. When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquility 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 unto us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.'

November 8 The Raja of Amethi, Lal Madho Singh, submitted and yielded his fortress without a fight.

November 12 At the significant action at Shankerpur, Rana Beni Madho was forced to yield his fort and was driven northwards, with an estimated army of fifteen thousand men and reported as joining forces with Bala Rao. Beni Madho was offered favourable terms for surrender by Clyde but proudly refused, saying he would always remain loyal to his King.

November 19 Tatya Tope arrived at Kargaon in Nimar where a detachment of Holkar's troops joined him.

November 24 Amar Singh and the Bihar rebels had retreated to the Palamau district, but were today caught by Brigadier Douglas and completely defeated at Salia Dahar in the Kaimur hills.

November 25 The Raja of Gonda was defeated by Hope Grant, and Gonda occupied.

December 4 Bahadur Shah Zafar, ex-King of Delhi, with his Queen, Zinat Mahal, his young son Jamma Bakht and his half-brother Shah Abbas (a mere child), with some women of the *zenana*, embarked in HM steamship Megera. The destination of the captives (Rangoon) was kept secret until after their departure.

December 5 Nana Sahib was reported as crossing the Ganges between Fatehgarh and Kanpur, but these reports were most unreliable.

December 6 Firoz Shah and Walidad Khan were reported at Aroul. Firoz Shah had clearly made up his mind that Rohilkhand and Oude were lost to the British and that his best plan was to head south and west and try to join Tatya Tope. This, at an amazing speed, he now attempted.

December 17 Firoz Shah had a brief counter with a British force under Napier, at a place called Ranod near Chanderi.

December 23 In an engagement at Partabgarh Tatya Tope defeated the small force of Major Rocke and succeeded in getting his baggage and his force through the pass the British were guarding, and marched towards Mandsaur.

December 29 There was an engagement at Zirapur, and Tatya Tope and the Rao Sahib were again defeated. The rebels now marched from Indragarh, being joined for a short time by Man Singh, who then, for reasons unknown, left them on reaching the banks of the Chambal. The pursuit of Tatya Tope continued but he, fighting in the old Maratha way and never committing himself to one great battle, continued to avoid capture. He could march at twice the pace of any British pursuer.

December 31: The Bihar rebels were reported as finally dispersed, and the area completely back under British control.

JANUARY-DECEMBER 1859

January 2 Mohamed Hassan Khan, the *Nazim* or *Chukledar* of Gorakhpur, who had played a highly ambivalent role in the rebellion, was reported to be at Tulsipur, and to be in combination with Bala Rao. Mohamed Hassan had befriended Colonel Lennox and his family on the latter's escape from Faizabad in December 1857, but had then been one of the Begum's most active supporters.

January 7 The rebellion in Oude[Awadh] was officially declared to be at an end, but Grant's troops remained actively engaged.

January 9 Prince Firoz Shah who had cut his way across Oude and the Ganges joined Tatya Tope at Indragarh with his body guard and the 12th Irregulars.

January 16 Tatya Tope was usually well informed of British troop movement, but this morning was surprised in the town of Dewassa while holding a council of war with the Rao Sahib and Firoz Shah; Brigadier Showers killed three hundred of the rebels but the remainder fled, into Marwar territory.

January 29 Tafuzzal Husain Khan, the Nawab of Farrukhabad arrived at Fatehgarh under arrest. At his subsequent trial he was defeated by English barristers but found guilty and sentenced to death; the sentence was then commuted to banishment, to Mecca.

March 25 Raja Man Singh's womenfolk, seventy in all, surrendered to Major Meade, clearly in anticipation of the raja's own surrender.

March 28 Nana Sahib and the Begum of Oude were reported to be at Butwal.

April 2 Man Singh entered the British camp at Mahudra and surrendered to Major Meade on condition that his life and liberty be spared.

April 7 Although Tatya Tope knew Man Singh had surrendered he still trusted him completely and actually consulted him as to what his next move should be. Man Singh betrayed him and led a party of Bombay sepoy sent by Meade to arrest Tatya Tope in the Paron jungles.... Khan Bahadur Khan, the Begum of Oude, Nana Sahib and the young prince Birjus Qadr were reported as being in the fort of Niacote in Nepal. They had with them no more than 500 men at most. Bala Rao still had about 2,000 fighting men, and was still paying them. The sepoy knew about the amnesty extending to them but were distrustful and reluctant to submit.

April 8 Tatya Tope, betrayed and captured, was taken into Meade's camp, and immediately marched off to Sipri, where he was put on trial. The charge was grossly unfair one i.e. 'having been in rebellion against the British Government.' His defence was simple and straightforward: that he had only obeyed the lawful orders of his master the Nana up to the fall of Kalpi and thereafter of Rao Sahib: he rightly claimed that he was in no way a British subject. But he was sentenced to be hanged.

April 18 Tatya Tope was hanged at Sipri. He had successfully eluded the British pursuers for more than nine months and demonstrated his ability as a guerilla leader; it is estimated he had covered in that period a

distance of three thousand miles. With his death and the surrender of Man Singh of Narwar an entire change came upon the revolt. In effect the people of central India surrendered with Man Singh.

April 20 Nana Sahib sent an *Ishtiharnam* a formal letter addressed to Queen Victoria, to Major Richardson the nearest British officer. He declared his innocence of murder or massacre and wondered why he had not been pardoned as others had: he also declared his intention to fight to the death.

April 30 To both Nan Sahib and to Bala Rao replies were sent with copies of the Queen's Proclamation explaining the terms on which surrender could be arranged. Unfortunately Richardson mentioned as examples or inducements the cases of the Nawab of Banda and the Nawab of Farruckabad both of whom had eventually been granted life and liberty. Had the Nana or Bala Rao now surrendered the British might have been highly embarrassed: they would not have wished to spare either man, yet their representative had clearly hinted at the possibility. But neither man took the bait.

MAY-JUNE

Under the arrangements made for the transfer of power from the Company to the Crown, all European troops of the HEIC were transferred to the Queen's service. No one anticipated they would object, but they did, violently, and a state of mutiny resulted. Their major objection was no form of signing-on bounty was no offer. Ironically this 'White Mutiny', as it came to be called, also began in Meerut. Although certain individual mutineers were punished the mutiny was successful and government had to repatriate and discharge a large number of the Company's European soldiers, with whom Clyde, though he disapproved of their methods, had much sympathy.

July 8 Although events showed it to be somewhat premature a 'State of Peace' was officially declared throughout India.

July 31 There was still some rebel activity in Central India reported, notably under Barjur Singh, but his gang were now behaving more like dacoits than rebels: they raided villages and carried off the principal inhabitants for ransom.

August 2 500 rebels under Firoz Shah entered the Bala Behat jungles, having passed through the Sagar district. It was reported that the local people received him well and made supplies freely available.

September 24 In a letter written on 8 October 1859, Lieutenant Colonel Ramsay, the Resident of Nepal, wrote to Beadon that he had received a report from the Nana's camp in the Deokur Valley that the Nan had died on 24 September, according to the females of his family.

DECEMBER

Amar Sigh, the brother of Kunwar Singh, was captured in the *Terai* by Jung Bahadur's troops and handed over to the British.

December 9 The capture in Nepal of Khan Bahadur Khan of Breilly by Jung Bahadur was reported.

December 17 Khan Bahadur Khan and Mammu Khan, (the minister and paramour of the Begum of Oude), were lodged in Lucknow Gaol.

December 31 At the end of the year there was still rebel activity in the Jhansi Division, and evidence that some of the smaller native states (and some officials of larger states such as Gwalior) were still giving assistance to the rebel bands. Jhansi itself was occupied in April, 1958, Jalaum in May, Hamirpur in June and the Chanderi district in November, but even after these dates considerable portions of the districts were at times in the hands of the rebels. The best known rebel leaders were Dowlat Singh, Barjur Singh, Rao Humeer Singh, Debi Singh and Desh Pat, a Rajput of the family of Chatarpur and with considerable local influence and support. Desh Pat was still in rebellion in 1860.

JANUARY 1860-DECEMBER 1877

February 5 1860 Amar Singh died in Gorakhpur hospital gaol of natural causes while awaiting trial.

March 24 Khan Bahadur Khan of Bareilly was hanged on the spot where he raised the flag of revolt.

May 3 Jwala Prasad was hanged at the Satishaura Ghat, in Cawnpore.... Firoz Shah was reported to be in Kandahar.

1861 Firoz Shah was reported in Bokhara.

1862 Firoz Shah was reported in Teheran.

April 9 The Rao Sahib nephew of Dondhu Pant, the Nana Sahib, had avoided capture until this year when he was arrested in the hills to the north of the Punjab, and was sent to Kanpur; there he was tried and found guilty of having been concerned in the murder of Europeans, and was hanged on 20 August 1862, at the Satishaura Ghat (aka the Massacre Ghat).

August 20 The Rao Sahib was tried and hanged.

1863 April 4 The Calcutta Times reported the names of the ‘Lucknow Begum’ and her son Birjis Kudr as having been expunged from the list of proscribed outlaws. Nonetheless she refused to return to India and died in Nepal, although her son eventually came back to Lucknow.

1877 December 17 Firoz Shah was reported as having died at Mecca. His widow was awarded a miserly Rs 5 p.m. ‘pension’ by the British, but this was later increased to Rs1000 subsistence allowance.

At long last the Mutiny/Rebellion could be said to have finally ended. At least in a military sense. The ‘Sepoy had had a Grievance but no Cause’, but the struggle which had begun in 1857 as a military mutiny now became the inspiration for a nationalist drive for independence which gathered pace and conviction as the century wore on. The British had unwittingly united the peoples of India in a manner that had never existed before in historical times. This unity transcend ancient state boundaries, rivalries, language barriers and religious divides, until, at the moment of the winning of independence in 1947, old hatreds and suspicions were revived by the imminent departure of the common enemy, and the sub-continent was split into three.