



# INDIANS IN NEPAL

## DURING THE 1857 WAR

R.D. UPADHYAYA



**INDIANS IN NEPAL**  
**During the 1857 War**

**R D Upadhyaya**

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All those who suffered  
in the Cause of Freedom  
and had to go on  
self imposed exile in the  
Land of Nepal.



## Foreword

The British historians and other compilers of contemporary narratives have described the heroes of 1857 War of Independence with derogatory adjectives. "The Nana, Mammukhan and other bloodstained wretches", "The Begam Hazarat Mahal and her followers commanded by her Paramour and General Mammukhan", "The Infamous Nana Sahib and his brother Bala Rao" and "Fuzle Ali - the Freebooter" are some of the examples how the British Resident at Kathmandu recorded his narratives of events at the court of Nepal.

On the other hand, these very leaders and commanders of the Great Mutiny, rather the First War of Independence, were infact fighting against the odds. The Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah was by that time arrested; Rani of Jhansi had very bravely laid her life in the battlefield fighting against the British; a large numbers of Indian fighters for freedom had paid as heavily as they could the price of independence with their head, estates and property; most of the ruling chiefs Hindus and Muslims - had by then submitted to the British Imperialists. Taken altogether, not a single ray of hope was in sight by the end of 1859. But a brave and outstanding team of Indian patriots continued to fight, although the very political

idea of nationality was still unknown to them. Nevertheless, these immortal leaders like Nana Saheb Peshwa, Bala Rao, Ala Begam Hazrat Mahal, Khan Bahadur Khan (of Bareilly fame), Mohammad Hussain, Raja Drig Bijai Singh, Beni Madho, Tatyat Tope, Shahzada Firoz Shah and other leaders - too many to mention, had all by this time reunited their hitherto scattered and dispirited followers, and had organized large bodies of men and located them in various parts of Nepal Tarai.

We in India have never tried to know anything about their activities, hardships and their great sacrifices for a national cause. The communal harmony between the Hindu and Muslim civilians, sepoys, rulers and other revolutionaries who remained in a sort of self accepted exile and therefore, facing hard life in that part of a foreign country, has never been a subject of study by our students of history. Had it been done, I feel, it would have been a source of inspiration to all of our communities in the present context.

Ours is a beginning in this direction. An effort has been made to study the old records, contemporary chronicles, official correspondence, military reports and so called Foreign Secret Consultations preserved in various record rooms, the National Archives of India and Nepal Abhilekhagar, Kathmandu, in a joint venture of the Bharat Nepal Maitri Sangh and Ghaziabad Itihas Samiti (Historical Research Society). The sites in Nepal, where our leaders of 1857 War wandered, resided and died, have also been located and on the spot oral evidence collected.

It was during our visit to Kathmandu that the site of Begam Hazrat Mahal's grave (built in 1873) was located. The historians of Nepal, among others Dr. Regmi, Dr. Remali, Dr. Indra and Dr. T.C. Majupuria not only gave their best cooperation in this task, but they did a wonderful job in erecting a tombstone at the grave of Ala Begam in Kathmandu. The temple built by Nana Sahib at Thapathally



area of Kathmandu was also located, thanks to the initiative and cooperation of Shri Remali of the Nepal-Bharat Maitri Sangh, Kathmandu. It is hoped that the hill fort of Tara Garhi where the Nana Saheb breathed his last would soon be located.

In a way, ours is a pioneering work. It is not a complete work, it is the beginning only. Hadn't we felt that it was not a work far ahead of the published books of history, we would never go for its publication. To that extent, we are a missionary.

The lovers of history – both in India and Nepal may perhaps relish this study more than those residing in other regions of the present world. I am glad to find that our energetic historian Mr. R.D.Upadhayaya has treated the subject objectively and dispassionately. He has sought neither to condemn nor to condone and treated the British, the Nepalese and the Indian participants in the struggle in a truly historical perspective. I would like, therefore, to place on record my appreciation of the objectivity with which he has carried out a difficult task.

I should like to record my deep sense of obligations to the Maharajadhiraj of Nepal for the facilities he granted to me. Various departments of His Majesty's Govt. including the Embassy, the Rashtriya Abhilekhar, Kathmandu, the R.N.A.C. and Tourist Development Corporation and the Tribhuvan University were always full of unfailing courtesy and ungrudging cooperation whenever necessary.

Kathmandu

**O.P. Sharma**  
General Secretary  
Bharat-Nepal Maitri Sangh



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## Introduction

It was after eighteen months of the fall of Delhi or the arrest of Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah that the British Govt. came in position to defeat the revolutionary Hindustani Fauj. On 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1858 Sir Colin Campbell (Lord Clyde) left Allahabad for Oudh.

Begam Hazrat Mahal had, by that time lost Lucknow but she continued to fight against the *Fireangees*. She, alongwith Shahzada Firozshah reinforced Maulvi Ahmad Shah of Faizabad, who had launched an attack on Shahjahanpur. Bareilly was also lost by that time and now the combined forces of Indian Revolutionaries were fighting at Shahjahanpur. But Jones repulsed their attack and for Britishers Shahjahanpur was saved.

Lord Clyde then made a plan to encircle the rebel troops and their leaders. He wanted to push all of them gradually towards the Nepal Frontier and thus to crush them in toto or otherwise to leave them to die of privation and disease in the fever infested forests of Terai (Foreign Secret Consultations No.3022, 31<sup>st</sup> December 1858).

It was actually the last phase of the 1857 War of Independence.

One Column of the British army was to enter Oudh from Fatehgarh, which was now again captured by them and the patriotic Nawab Tafazzul Hussain Khan was already within the combined forces of Indian revolutionaries.

Another column was to march from Shahjahanpur, third from Azamgarh and Lord Clyde himself advanced from Soraon near Allahabad. His Intention was to open the communication and to reduce the strongholds of other smaller Rajputs in Oudh one by one. Thus the strong fort of Rampur Kasia, the Headquarters of the powerful *Khanpuria* Clan, then Amethi fort and then Shankarpur. It was the seat of the most valiant of the Baiswara Rajaputs – Raja Beni Madho. (Beni Madho is the same patriot king whom the village bards have immortalised. His ballads were being chanted by the rural population at the time of Holi. Even now the folk songs in praise of this Hero of 1857 can be heard in and around Shankarpur. (*Forrest, A History of the Indian Mutiny Vol.III; p.571*).

The Britishers wanted to reconcile with him so that the war may come to an end. But he was not a man to agree to the offer. Lord Clyde offered to him that the “claims of all his estates” would be considered if he surrendered without further resistance. To this Beni Madho’s answer was, “I cannot surrender my person, because it belongs to my sovereign for whom I am bound to fight. I can however, give up my fort as it is my own property.” He fought firecely and when no hope existed, he left his fort of Shankarpur under cover of night and instead of going Northward, he went to Dundia Khera fort where his friend Babu Ram Bakhsh Singh was fighting against the British forces headed by Molobray Thompson. (*Russel, Vol.II; p.320*).

Thereafter, Beni Madho became a myth. He fought at many fronts at the same time. It is unbelievable that the same force can participate in different actions at a single point of time. But he did so and it was an example of his skillful warmanship.

A correspondent of London Times who was specially sent to India for coverage of the events related to the 1857 War had sent a news story – “Beni Madho to be Traced”.

“We have certain intelligence that he is at all points of the compass at exactly the same hour of the same day, and we have not thirty one columns to spare to verify these reports.”

The fort of Dundia Khera was the Centre of the revolutionaries who had collected from nearby villages to join the rebel sepoys coming out of various British regiments. It had been partly demolished in May 1858, when Sir Hope Grant attacked it. He, however, failed to capture it and had to return to Lucknow without destroying Ram Bakhsh Singh and Beni Madho.

On 24<sup>th</sup> November 1858, was the day of a final action. Both these brave patriots fought fiercely. But they were defeated and most of the fighting men on India’s side laid their lives in the battlefield. Beni Madho was seriously wounded. Some of his loyal bodyguards took him away and thus the Britishers could not capture him. He was closely pursued but he crossed first Gomati, then Gogra and entered Oudh never again to return to Baiswara – his ancestral home and the scene of his earlier patriotic exploits.

A secret military report dated 4<sup>th</sup> December 1859 informs us –

“Beni Madho’s army is broken up and dispersed. His troops have quitely settled down in their villages. About 5000 of them, however, have followed their chiefs in small parties into the Bahraitch Division.”

According to another spy report, a few days later Raja Beni Madho was reported at Mithauli near Bairam Ghat. But the uttermost exertion of the British Commander-in-Chief failed to cut off his retreat northwards.

The campaign had, however, gone in line with the plan prepared by the Britishers. Now all the prominent leaders, commanders of various troops of revolutionaries were encircled in a narrow yard leading to Nepal.

Raja Beni Madho, Raja Devi Bakhsh, Mohammad Hasan, Mehndi Hasan, Amar Singh, Khan Bahadur Khan (of Bareilly) Begam Hazrat Mahal (of Lucknow), Mammu Khan, Nana Saheb, Bala Saheb, Jwala Prasad and so many “other prominent rebel leaders” were driven out of their home districts and hemmed in the same very region just at the border of Nepal.

Only one “insurgent chief rebel leader” refused to walk into the trap. With twenty thousand selected followers, Shahzada Firozshah doubled back and crossed the Ganges and appeared near Etawah. He fought at many places but the British army could nowhere check his march and he later on joined Tantya Tope – the fierce Indian Commander of that age.

He is the same Mughal Prince Firoz Shah who collected and commanded an army of 1,50,000 and fought against the Britishers at Jhansi, Gwalior, Fatehgarh, Bareilly, Lucknow etc.

Lord Clyde in the meantime was busy closing his net. Bala Saheb was at Tulsipur in the Terai region. The widowed Rani was siding with the Indian Revolutionaries. Her fort was captured and the British troops now reached Balrampur. Here the Raja was loyal to the British Govt. now the scene of fighting was Behraich. The British spies had brought an information that both Nana Saheb and Begam Hazrat Mahal were at that old city. The British Commander-in-Chief himself attacked that Bahraich, but Nana Saheb and the Begam had already moved away. It was from Behraich that the Britishers sent old Hanumant Singh – a close friend of Beni Madho to use his persuasive powers with his “obstinate and gallant kinsman”



Beni Madho. But the British diplomacy again failed. Beni Madho refused to surrender so long as the Begam Hazrat Mahal continued in arms. Nor could Mammu Khan follow an independent course of his own. He would tie his fate with that of his sovereign – the Begam.

Nana also declined to submit unless the Queen Victoria herself or the Viceroy promised his life and their guarantee was seconded by another power.

He was there, out of India for 18 long years. Once he tried to purchase arms worth Rs.1,000,000 from America but failed. Finally, he died at Mecca on 17th December 1877 in a state of poverty leaving his wife and one daughter, whose fate now nobody knows in India.

Then, Lord Clyde marched towards Nanpura where these rebel leaders were next reported. But they had left the place. The fort of Nanpura in the midst of a dense forest had recently been strengthened and Beni Madho intended to dispute the progress of his enemies there. But the battle that was fought at Bahraich was lost and the patriot Raja Beni Madho retreated further.

Another fort belonging to the Raja of Churda, where Nana Saheb was then said to be hiding was next occupied by the Britishers and demolished.

Three days after, Lord Clyde came back to Nanpura but Beni Madho and Nana Saheb were then 20 miles away at Banki on the banks of Tapti river. Lord Clyde ordered a night march to overtake them unawares. But the Indian pickets were also alert. Nana Sahib was two miles in the rear. He crossed the river Tapti. The Indian revolutionaries have fought fiercely against the Britishers and simultaneously continued to enter the territory of Nepal.

With the rebels in Nepalese territories Lord Clyde's task was accomplished on the 18<sup>th</sup> January 1859, the British Commander in Chief returned to Lucknow.

Barely after 2 decades Colonel Malleson recorded:

“Then Lord Clyde, moving on Sikrora, and in touch with Grant on the one side and Rowcroft covering Gorakhpur on the other, drove the Begam and Nana Sahib before him from Banki and Bahraitch, cleared the country between Nanpura and the Gogra, than marching on Banki, close to Nepal frontier, surprised and defeated the rebels, and swept survivors into Nepal.”

Whilst Colonel Walker crushed, at Bangaon, the more hardened rebels, the survivors of the regiments which had perpetrated, the Kanpur massacre, Grant himself pursued the terrified rannanto across the hills into Nepal.

Dislodging alone was necessary, for they had neither arms, nor money, nor food.

Grant located his troops to prevent the return of the rebels from Nepal. (*The Indian Mutiny of 1857 by Col. G.B. Malleson, 1891; p.401-402*).

It is believed that amongst these there was Nana Saheb. It was always a matter of regard that this Man's fate was never known with certainty, many reports regarding him were circulated afterwards, that he had died in Nepal, later that he had been seen in Gwalior. But uncertainty regarding his fate has remained to this day.

The then malaria – infested jungles of Nepal claimed many a valuable lives of our heroes of 1857 – Beni Madho of Shankarpur, Devi Bakhsh of Gonda, Golab Singh of Biswah died in their camps within the Terai forest, but they did not forsake their earthly sovereign and deny one who ruled from above.

And with this ends the published work of history. The whereabouts of our self exiled heroes of 1857 War of Independence were thus lost in darkness. The British govt. certainly had no interest in the lives of their enemies yet they

form a team of respectable personalities to us and to all the Indians, whatever their caste and creed, feel grateful to their sacrifice for the sake of our motherland.

The principal rebel leaders found their way to Nepal. The number of their followers has been variously estimated from four to twenty five thousand. It is clear from their correspondence that they had not given up all hopes of sympathy in the land of refuge and an attempt was being made to win the goodwill of Jang Bahadur. Although Nepal govt. had made it clear as early as January 1859 that they would have nothing to do with the enemies of our British allies. Yet he could not refuse asylum to the fugitives of princely ranks without offending the traditional usage of his land.

The Indians moved from place to place between Chitawan, Bhutwal and Nawakot in Nepal and suffered terrible privations. Some of the sepoys had to sell even their muskets to buy their food.

It was during this period that many encounters took place with the British forces just near the boundries of Nepal and patriots like Beni Madho – Dabir Jang Bahadur (of the popular hero of Shankarpur) met with their death. An old document dated 9 March 1860 indicates that his surviving brother, minor son and widow were in Nepal till December 1859. the other important leaders of the revolution, Khan Bahadur Khan (of Bareilly) Nawab Mammu Khan and Brigadier Jwala Prasad alongwith their followers were also there in the kingdom of Nepal.

The Foreign Department Proceedings of 1860 inform us of the presence of many patriots like Raja Devi Bakhsh of Gonda, Har Prasad Chakaldar of Khairabad, Golab Singh of Biswa. Infact these heroes suffered much privations and had a hard time and in the end passed away in Nepal.

Har Datt Singh of Bundi and Nana's friend Azimullah were reported to be near Bhutawal.

The British Government was in fact trying to capture the brave patriots like Beni Madho who were siding with their ruler the Ala Begam Hazrat Mahal of Oudh. A secret despatch of December 1858 informs us:

The pursuit of Beni Madho has resulted in his persistent flight across the river Gogra (Ghaghra) and the detachment of rebels who in my last week's report, were described as broken up and dispersed have mostly settled down quietly in their villages.

About 5000 of them, however, had followed their chief in small parties into the Behraich Division.

By order of the Rt. Honourable C-in-C, a column was despatched to take the Fort of the rebel chief Brig Vijai Singh of Oomeria, who has pursued with impropriety for the last eight months – in the northern vicinity of Lucknow.

Having fired a few shots from his fort on the approaching force, he evacuated it during the night with his followers and has crossed the Gogra to join the Begam. (Foreign Department Political Constitution, 17 December 1858, p.250-254; L. No. 1557 from Foreign Deptt. Forsyth Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Oudh. To G.F. Edmonston Secretary to the Governor General Allahabad dated Lucknow 4<sup>th</sup> December 1858).

A secret report also informs us how the Britishers were demolishing the long architecture i.e. all building in Oudh. 162 forts were demolished and 59 forts were being demolished as per secret list attached with the above letter.

4<sup>th</sup> December 1858 (Lucknow)Statements of forts demolished or under demolition  
Oudh.

District	No. of Forts <u>Demolished</u>	No. of forts <u>under demolition</u>
Lucknow	63	12
Ouriabad	—	02
Unrao	12	05
Salore	14	21
Sultanpur	10	34
Fyzabad	Not received	—
Mallan	16	—
<b>Total</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>74</b>
<b>Total of last week</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>59</b>

The British newspapers were declaring that the mutiny was suppressed and with the arrest of King Bahadur Shah, the enemy was finished. However, the entire north India was in arms against the foreigners and battles were fought for every inch. In Oudh, Beni Madho was a cause of danger and the British army was after him day and night. A secret letter now throws light on the state of affairs prevalent at that time:

“They collected together again at Dundia Khera on the Ganges and were attacked by the C-in-C in person on the 24<sup>th</sup> instant when they had to flee after a short resistance leaving, it is said, 500 died on the field or drowned in the Ganges and 7 guns.”

Beni Madho escaped to the North West and was last heard of at Khrdahal 12, miles east of Poorwai and is believed to be making for the Gogra to join the Begam.

The Deputy Commissioner is at Amethi dismantling the fort and disarming the people.

In the Mallomn District, 41 forts have been destroyed and 88615 arms of all kinds collected. (Secret Letter No.1509 dated 27<sup>th</sup> November 1858).

The Indian revolutionaries fought firecely against the British forces and when defeated they decided to cross the border and entered in Nepalese territory. That was the only friendly country nearby. A military despatch from Colonel Wingfield written from Camp Bustee (Basti) informs us :

“The sepoy 1500 in numbers with 2 horse, artillery, guns have reached Deororia exactly oposite Bamhal Ghats.”

They are reported to have several canons loaden on bullock carts with them. They are heading to enter Nepal. (Foreign Deptt. Secret Const. No.56 dated 28<sup>th</sup> May 1858. Letter No.1558 dated 17<sup>th</sup> April 1858).

## Complaining Nepalese Officers

The members of Nepalese forces were friendly towards these Indian revolutionaries who were fighting for a big national cause, for their religion or for the sake of their sovereign. The presence of British army, even at the border area was not tolerated by them. Whenever such cause arose, they promptly reported the matter to their superiors. General Badri Nur Singh's report is an example. He wrote to Jung Bahadur in April 1859:

All our subjects have run away to the Jungles. All the crops of the places, through which lay the road of the forces have been destroyed by the troops of both sides. I have received news that the British have killed two camel riders who went from the rebel camp to see where the British force was. The British cannot distinguish our subjects from the rebels; any person simply dressed, is seized and interrogated. Which is the reason why our subjects are running away. The revenue collected lays where it was if any of it lost, I am not to blame. I received no orders from you informing me that the British Forces would come here; they surely have not come without your permission? Should the British enquire anything from me, I will, give them a correct answer. I am endeavoring to post my force at a place where the roads from all 4 directions join in one. The letters are now very long in coming in hand, and the work is such that it will be better that arrangement

is made to accelerate them. I enclose an Urzee written by Mookhea Bhuwanee Singh & ca., another by Sirdar Hustbeer Sahee; a Mochulka. (This Mochullka is merely a complainant.)

The headman of village used to inform their govt. about the troublesome appearance of British army and these reports were transmitted to the British Govt. as a protest. The Nepalese Govt. was in no mood to tolerate the British. The entrance of British spies was resented to. On 21<sup>st</sup> March 1859, a village headman from the border villages sent an urzee (petition).

Abstract translation of an Urzee from Mookhea Bhuwanee Singh & Ca. dated 3<sup>rd</sup> of Chait Budee Sumbut 1915 (21<sup>st</sup> March 1859).

“I have reported to you that 3 British Troopers and 24 Sikh Sowars came here on the morning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> of Chait Budee Sumbut 1915 (21<sup>st</sup> March). They went towards Bootwul, but they returned at noon to the thana of Palee, and numbers have followed them that could not be counted. We estimate their number at 6 or 7 hundred. These Sowars were followed by other troops and guns, estimated at 5 or 7 thousand, who are encamping in the groves around the Palee Katchery. We went in amongst them, but could not say anything to them in consequence of our not having received any answer from you. They are still arriving. The revenue collections are stopped here. Our subjects are running away. The crops viz. Ratur, wheat & Ca. are all being destroyed. The jats are so terrified that in spite of every encouragement they would not stay here. We are 10 or 12 persons in the Palee Kutcherry and we wait your instructions”.

The High officials also reported their resentment at the arrival of British troopers who were after all coming to chase the Indian rebels. The General post at Nepalese border reported:

Abstract translation of an urzee from Sirdar-Hustleer Sahee to General Budrinur Singh, dated 5<sup>th</sup> of Chait Budee Sumbut 1915 - 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1859.



“The British Force arrived this morning at 9 or 10 O’Clock at Tilora Kote in the District of Towlehwa. The British number about 300 and the Sikh 100, in all 500 with 3 or 4 hundred camp followers. They have pitched their tents, saying we will encamp here. I enclose the deposition of Raj Geeri Goshaeen Muhto of the village of Thoonia, in Khujnee, regarding an oppression committed yesterday by these troops from the perusal of which you will know all. Prey overlooks any irregularity that may appear in this Urzee.”

The same report was forthcoming from other villages. Here is another case:

Abstract translation of the deposition of Raj Geeri Goshaien, Mutho of the village of Thoonia in the District of Khujree to Sirdar Hustbeer Sahee dated 5<sup>th</sup> of Chait Budee Sumbut 1915 (23<sup>rd</sup> March 1859).

“The day before yesterday, the British Force broke ground from Dhikree, and arriving at 9’O clock encamped in my village (Thooneah) about one or two Ghurries after they had encamped, they carried away by force fourteen of my goats, and ate them. I did not receive their price, they were taken by force. This is the truth. I have given the deposition of my own free will, in the Towlehwa Kutchery.”

(True Abstract Translation)

Sd/- C..A.Byers’

Asstt. Resident

(Foreign Poll. Deptt., 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1859, Nos. 194-203)

The British army expected that the Nepalese would watch the Ghats and thus check the movements of Indian army. But this was not being done. The British commanders tried to encircle the Indian troops but they were moving freely and sometimes attacked in Gorakhpur region. A British commander wrote from his Field Force Camp, Baghua Ghat on 6<sup>th</sup> March, 1859, transmitting and receiving the intelligence to each other :

“I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No.32 of 5<sup>th</sup> instant enclosing a memo of Intelligence for which I am much obliged and which as you requested, I have communicated to Mr. Smith, to Brigadier Roweroft Commanding the Gorrukpore District, and to Lieutt. Colonel Simpson Commanding the other column of my force, this letter officer completed the crossing of Gunduck this morning and has proceeded towards Nichloul where I have directed him to be stationed in order to cover the Gorrukpore District on that side. I have received no order to enter Nepal but have applied for instructions on that head.”

The Commander even tried to enter Nepal to follow the Indian troops and requested the Nepalese authorities to destroy all boats on river Gandak, but the Nepalese would not oblige. The Commander wrote with a note of complaint:-

“I trust you will strongly urge on Jung Bahadur, the necessity of destroying all the boats by which the Rebels crossed the Gunduck so as to prevent the possibility of their recrossing. I have requested Mr. Smith to order all boats on the Gunduck above this place within British Territory to be brought down here.

“Will the Nepalese troops guard all the Ghats on the Gunduck within Nepal as well as the passes leading into the interior.” (R.D. Kelly Col.34 Regt. Commanding Field Force 6<sup>th</sup> March 1859).

## Other Leaders at Kathmandu

Even after 10 years of 1857 many leaders of the Indian revolution were noticed by the Britishers. The famous Governor Maulvi Fuzle Ali of Gorakhpur fame (1857) was residing in Nepal in 1867. Nay, some of them were given government jobs in Nepal as informed by the Resident:

“I have the honor to forward, for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, a translation of an anonymous petition that was thrown down before the sentry at the Residency gate a fortnight ago by a person in the garb of a *Fakir*, who immediately ran away calling out that he was an *Irakee*.

2. It referred to the presence at Kathmandoo of Maulvi Sirfiraz Ali Khan, for whose seizure, for the part he took against us during the mutinies, a proclamation was issued. I have ascertained that he is at Kathmandoo, but as the Govt. has not hitherto taken any action against such persons who are residing in the Nepalese territories, I shall take no further notice of the matter unless I am directed to do so.

3. The name Balwur mentioned in the petition is probably intended for Mr. Bilean, C.S. who was shot, in the Nepalese territories, in 1856-57 by some dacoits under the free-booter Fuzul Ali, who was sheltered by Jackesh Pooree Goosain and by Dummun Khan.

4. The name of the last mentioned individual also occurs in the *urgee* as having bestowed two villages on Moolvee Sirfiraz Ali. He was nominally sentenced to punishment by the Durbar in 1858 and to have all his property confiscated for being in arms against us in 1857 and for having collected revenues in the Gorakhpur district, where he held *cutcherries* and assumed civil authority.

He also sent a translation of an anonymous petition.

Moolvee Sirfiraz Ali, an inhabitant of Gorakhpore, notorious rebel, after flying from the British provinces in consequence of a notice having been issued by the Govt. for his apprehension, has been living at Muchmunia, where Mr. Balwur was killed, at the banks of the *Urra Nalla*, which forms the boundary between the British provinces and the territory of Nepal, where he has received a grant of two villages viz. Shunkerpore and Deopore, from Dumman Khan a Zamindar and an official of the Nepal Govt.

Two of his companions, by the name Hyder Khan and Izzut Ali formerly in the British service, who became rebels and took part with the Moolvee and have been living with him, have now taken service in the Nepal Durbar. These two individuals are in the bodyguard of Maharajah Jung Bahadur at Kathmandu.

During Maharaja Jung Bahadur's last hunting excursion into the Teraie the last mentioned two individuals were in attendance on his Excellency and they brought the *moolvee* up here with them to the City where he is still living and is obtaining many Massalman disciples. As your well-wisher I thought it proper to inform you of this.

The British Governor General also wanted more information on this subject but it was not forthcoming from Nepalese Govt. The Foreign Secretary repeatedly directed his Resident at Kathmandu:

With reference to your letter No.28 dated 10<sup>th</sup> ultimo reporting the presence in Nepal of the rebel Sirfiraz Ali Khan, I am directed by the Governor General in Council to request that you will ascertain and submit further particulars respecting this person so as to enable the Govt. to trace his identity in the records.

Nana's sisters Kusum Bai was married to the Sar Sooba of Malwa. Her husband went to Kathmandu to fetch her in 1860. It was also reported by Ramsay. He also made Jang Bahadur to sign an agreement with the Indian refugees of which a mention was made in these letters:

1. I have the honor to forward for submission to His Excellency, the Viceroy and Governor General in Council translations of two engagements, copies of which Maharajah Jung Bahadur just sent to me, which he has taken from the families of the Nana and Bala Rao and from the Begum Huzrut Mahal & ca.
2. His Excellency has not told me that he has any special reasons for calling upon these refugees to execute such papers just at this time, but I hear that the family of the Nana has lately been giving him some trouble, and that he has found it necessary summarily to expel from the valley three of their Brahmin followers and five Bhatts belonging to the temple of Pushputty, who have been mixed up together in some intrigue the particulars of which I have not been able to ascertain.
3. In the course of tomorrow or next day the persons sent by the Sar Soobah of Scindiahs districts in Malwah, to receive his bride (Koosoom Baie, the Nana's sister) will arrive at Kathmandoo when she will at once be made over to them and they will be directed to return to the plains.
4. His Lordship was pleased to approve of my proceedings regarding that lady, as reported in my letter to your address No.15 of the 25<sup>th</sup> of February last." [*Foreign Deptt. Political - A July 1860 Nos. 265-66*]

The agreements in questions were as under:-

One : Abstract translation of an agreement made by Maina Baie and Saie Baie wives of (the late) Bajee Rao, Krishna Bai wife of the (late) Nana Rao and Kashee Bai wife of (the late) Bala Rao dated the 2<sup>nd</sup> of the Baisakh Budee (Saturday) Sumbut 1917, Corresponding with the 7<sup>th</sup> of April 1869.

We do hereby bind ourselves not to speak anything-er to write any paper which may tend to cause disturbance in the British Province, nor will we entertain any new servants in our service, but we will keep only those who have accompanied us to this place. Should any of them die or run away we will inform His Excellency, the Maharaj (Jung Bahadur) and will entertain no persons to serve in their stead, except those whom the said Maharajah will recommend.

If we commit any acts contrary to what is here written, the Goorkha Government may award any punishment which it may think fit, to which we shall have no excuse to make, but with which we shall be perfectly satisfied. We have, therefore, presented this paper to the Goorkha Government.

Two: Abstract Transation of an agreement made by Nuwab Birjees Kudur Rumzan Ali and Begum Hazurt Mahal, dated the 2<sup>nd</sup> of Baisakh Budee (Saturday) Sumbut 1917 corresponding with the 7<sup>th</sup> of April 1860.

In exactly the same words.

(True Abstract Translation)

Sd/- Id.

Honry.Asstt.Resident.

The families of Nana Saheb and Bala Rao resided at Kathmandu in Thapa Thally area, near the residence of Rana Jang Bahadur. A temple built by them still stands there.

The Begum of Oudh resided near the Sinh Durbar in her newly built palace Barf Bagh. She died at Kathmandu in 1873. Her grave is now in the vicinity of Jama Masjid, Kathmandu, where a tombstone has recently been erected with the initiative of Nepalese historians. Prof. Trilok Nath Majupuria of Tribhuvan University led the author to the grave of Ala Begum Hazrat Mahal during the course of the later's visit to Kathmandu in September 1980.

This is the end of the revolutionary Begum – the unique freedom fighter of her times.

To the memory of Nana Saheb no trace remains except the small hill fort of Taragarhi where probably that hero of 1857 War ended his life.

## Firozshah sends Qasid to Nepal

The young and energetic commander of the 1857 war of Independence, who had gone out of India on a self accepted exile and was wandering from Afghanistan to Turkey in order to make preparations for another war against the British imperialists, was eager to make a direct contact with the second top most revolutionary Nana Saheb who was residing somewhere in Nepal. At last, he sent a messenger dressed as a fruit seller during the month of September 1863 i.e. six years after the Great Mutiny. The messenger in question was however, arrested and then interrogated. Col. Ramsay informed the British Govt. accordingly:-

1. I have the honor to report that Maharajah Jung Bahadur a few days ago sent to inform me that a Kabuli fruit seller had lately arrived here and had been apprehended at the house of the families of the Nana Sahib and of Bala Rao, upon which he had stated that he had received a letter for those persons from Feroze Shah at Herat, which letter he had destroyed on his road down for fear of its falling into our hands and that Feroze Shah had promised him a large reward if he would take the Nana and Bala Rao back with him, disguised as Mohammedans, to Herat.
2. Upon the receipt of his message I told the Maharajah, I should feel much obliged if he would send the fruit seller to the



Residency, that I might question him upon the subject. At first, however, instead of doing so, His Excellency sent me a statement, a translation of which is appended to this letter, and told me that the persons who had in the first instance reported to him what the fruit seller had said, were mistaken, and that they did not understand his language and that nothing more had been elicited from him than his written statement contained.

3. I again begged that the man might be sent to me and he was brought to the Residency yesterday morning. I was unable, however, to extract anything from him, but I am inclined to believe that what the Maharajah first told me, was the truth, as the man speaks Hindustani tolerably fluently, so well indeed that, it is hardly possible that the Nepalese Ditttha who first reported him.
4. The Maharajah professes to keep the families of the Nana and Bala Rao, and also the Oudh Begum Huzrut Mahal and her son under the strictest surveillance, but this circumstance shows that parties from the plains have no difficulty in obtaining access to the two first at least. (*Foreign Deptt. Political A arch 1863 No.232-33*).

He also recorded a statement of the so called fruit seller sent by Shahzada Firozshah:

Translation of the Statement of Ghunnee Khan fruit seller to the Nepal Durber dated 9<sup>th</sup> Falgoon Sumbut 1919 corresponding with the 12<sup>th</sup> of February 1863.

It is about seven months since I and some other fruit sellers went to Herat to buy fruits. We there had some communication with Feroze Shah and with the son of Mohamed Akbar Khan. Feroze Shah asked us where were we going?

We replied, we are going to Hindustan. He than said- try and obtain some information of the Nana and of Bala Rao whether they are alive or dead? At length I reached Nepal, and came up to Kathmandoo. One day a person came to me and took me to a house to the Eastward of Thappe Tully. I

sold some fruit there, and learnt that the families of Nana Rao and Bala Rao were there. I then told a Ditta (*A Surdt. Of Affairs of the family appointed by the Durbar*) and another person what Feroze Shah said to me, upon which they declared that both the Nana and Bala Rao were dead. I said nothing more than this.

## Role of Jang Bahadur

Maharaja Jang Bahadur, the then powerful Prime Minister of Nepal had very good relations with the British Govt. A few years back, he at the express advice of Maharajadhiraj, the King, had paid a visit to England and was the first Hindu to cross the seven seas without losing his caste. The Britishers now requested to him that all the Indian rebels, if not thrown out of Nepal must be persuaded to return to India in view of new amnesty of the Queen Victoria. Jang Bahadur permitted the Indian rebels to reside in Nepal Terai but at the same time informed the British Resident that due publicity was given amongst the rebels about the proclamation of Amnesty. The Assistant Resident at Kathmandu C.A. Byree reported to Fort William on 9<sup>th</sup> February 1859:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No.280 dated the 2<sup>nd</sup> instant forwarding for information the copy of a letter from the Commissioner of Gorakhpur containing his narrative of events for the week ending the 8<sup>th</sup> of January 1859 and in reply to report for the information of His Excellency, the Right Honorable, the Governor General in Council that in an interview which I had last evening with Maharaja Jang Bahadur, I said to him the news containing in Whiqford's letter and His Excellency fully concerns in the opinion expressed by that gentlemen, that the *Sepoys* and

minor rebels are only kept together now by the misrepresentations of their leaders and that although they can no longer conceal the fact of the amnesty from them, the conditions have been misrepresented. He will therefore, take care, should the Begum (of Oudh – Hazarat Mahal Begum) and her rebel followers avoid themselves of his invitation to Chitwana, to disseminate widely throughout her camp, on their march down, the real conditions of the amnesty that it is still in force, and that all but the few excepted can obtain full pardon under it and may return to their houses.

The British resident pressurised Rana Jang Bahadur not to allow the Indians to enter Nepal. But he was meeting them under pretence of shooting. The Resident's report to the British Governor General, talks of Bala Rao's entry into Nepal and perhaps his (Bala Rao's) plans to reach Laddakh or Tibet through Nepal along with his army of 20,000 jawans. The Report says:

1. I have the honor to report for the information of His Excellency, the Right Honorable, the Governor General in Council that Maharajah Jung Bahadur drove down towards the Residency this morning to inform me that he desires to pass the next 5 to 6 days at Nugger Kote, a small town a few miles to the Northward and Eastward, and beyond the confines of this valley where he wishes to have a little shooting and that if I saw no objection to his doing so, he will leave Kathmandoo tomorrow morning.
2. I, of course, at once assented to his proposal.
3. His Excellency at the same time told me that he received a letter yesterday from his brother General Badri Narsingh reporting that he had just been requested by Bala Rao, to allow the rebels a passage through the hills, as he and other leaders with about twenty thousand followers were serious to cross the snowy ranges and to settle in the Province of Ladakh.
4. The General had met the request by a direct refusal, and by an assurance that, if any of the rebels attempt to ascend the

inner ranges of mountains they will be attacked immediately and driven back again. (*Nepal Residency, Letter No.48 dated 12<sup>th</sup> of April, 1859*).

**“Abstract Translation of an Urzee from General Badri Nurshing Governor of Palps and Bootwul to Maharajah Jang Bahadur Ranajee, Prime Minster and Commander-in-Chief of Nepal, dated Chait Soodee 15<sup>th</sup> Sumbut 1915 (17<sup>th</sup> April 1859).”**

I received your *Rooka* of the 4<sup>th</sup> of Chait Soodee Sumbut 1915 (Thursday, 17<sup>th</sup> April 1859). I have written to Kajee Chundrabear Bhundaree, Sirdar Fustbeer Sehee, Soobadur Tirhoowan Churtee and the other officers associated with them to enquire from the *Chowdhries, Kanoongoes, Mokuddums and Ryots & Ca.* of every Village, Tuppa and Zillah by taking their depositions and *mochulkas* with their seals and signatures attached to them in the most careful manner and to send me in one paper a true report of whether the Rebels or the British Forces, have committed the following outrages within our Frontiers, i.e. who have plundered and burnt our villages? Killed our *Ryots*? Violated our women & ca. but that the slaughter of cows cannot be satisfactorily ascertained from the Tharoos and that if it has not been witnessed by *Goorkhalies* it will not be proper to inform the Resident of it, for the Tharoos speak of their lives having been taken, of their wealth having been plundered, and say anything else that may come across their minds. It is not to be inferred and written down that cows have been slaughtered upon such ascertainment. The fact should merely be reported if it be positively true as were communicated with the King (Shehushah). If anything be written that has never happened it must be discredited and the writers severely punished, as such statements will cause bad feeling between the two Governments.

When the answers come to my *perwanahs* I will send them with my *urzee* which shall be as carefully correct as possible. The family of Bala Rao has gone away as you must have learnt from my former *Urzee*.

I lately sent a word through Brigadier Colonel Pulwan Singh Bushniat to the Begum and Birjees (Birjis Qadir, her son, the Prince of Oudh) that came to fight with you in these territories have returned to their own country if you wish to go to your own troops, go and take them away from our borders. If your troops will not leave our country, the *Goorkhialees* shall force them to leave it. You will not get an asylum here. If you say that you have neither concern with your troops nor with war, and you will go and live in your own home in Hindustan provided some arrangements be made for your support, the Governor General has already directed that you, the Begum and Birjees Kudur in consideration of your being of a royal house and one of you a women, arrangements shall be made for your support, according to your rank, provided you have not committed murder. Go then and throw yourself on the mercy of the British Government, I will give you a company of *sephaees* to take care of and to escort you as far as Goruckpore, and I will write to Maharajah Jung Bahadur and will obtain for you a *perwanah* from the Resident. Choose which one of the two measures above proposed to you that you may like best, and let me know. I will write to Maharajah Jung Bahadur about it and will be guided by his instructions.

To these words the Begum avoided giving me a direct reply for three or four days, sometimes saying one thing at others another. She is very wanting in politeness and her words are uncourteous. She cannot be persuaded to anything. Moreover, these questions having been put to her at a time when her son is dangerously ill, she replied "why do you trouble me? When I know whether my son dies or will recover I will think and reply to your proposals."

At last she has given me a plain answer that she will not agree to either of my two propositions. Her object, I think, is to pass through our mountains to Ladakh and from thence to go to Mecca and pass her days in devotion, or she wishes

first or ascertain what she may expect to get if she throws herself on the mercy of the British Government, and then to give me her reply. I have however, told her that I am ignorant of what is in the mind of the Governor General. Birjees Kudur is very sick with the Aowl (Malarious) fever. My *Baids* (doctors) as well as his are treating him and if betterment does not come within two days the doctors say, it is impossible that he can live.

Many of the families of the Rajahs, Nuwabs and Baboos and of the camp followers who had previously come up here have gone away, but those that remained behind told the Brigadier Colonel when he read your orders, that they too are going back themselves. If any remain here and say that they will throw themselves on the protection of the British Government, I will give those *sepahees* to escort them to Goruckpore.

I enclose an original letter to my address from the Commissioner of Goruckpore and two copies of my reply one to Colonel Kelly and the other to the Commissioner himself.

I beg you will overlook any irregularity in writing this petition. (*Foreign Pol. Deptt. 13 May 1859 No.326*).

Jang Bahadur made a double dealing and it could be considered as part of his diplomacy. He did not displease his British friends, but at the same time helped the Indians although outwardly he became harsh to them in order to remove any forthcoming doubts in the mind of British Govt. it seems that the King or the royal palace of Nepal had a soft corner for the Indian revolutionaries. That is why the real state of affairs was not disclosed to him and even the British correspondence was not shown to him as is evident from the secret letters given below: Jung Bahadur even passed the letters of friendship from Indian revolutionaries without showing it to the King of Nepal. It was for his personal

interests that he sent his army to support the British attack on Lucknow. The King had not been informed of it. It would be, therefore, interesting to have a look into this secret dealing between Jang Bahadur and the British Governor General.

No.32 of 1858

From Captain C. H. Byers  
Assistant Resident at Nepal  
Incharge of the Residency

To

G.F. Edmonstone Esquire  
Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Departt  
with the Governor General, Allahabad.

Dated Nepal Residency, the 10<sup>th</sup> of June 1858.

Sir,

I have the honor to forward for submission to the Right Honorable, the Governor General five letters in original:

1. From Dummun Khan to Maharajah Jung Bahadur.
2. From Moulvee Mohammad Sifrig Ali, Ambassador of the King of Oude, to the Maharajah Jung Bahadur (with Sunnud attached).
3. From Ramzan Alli (Khan Mirza Birjees Kuddur Bahadur (the so called King of Lucknow) to His Highness, the Maharajah of Nepal.
4. From Dittoo Ditto to Maharajah Jung Bahadur.
5. From Ali Mahommed Khan Bahadur, Viceroy of Lucknow to Maharajah Jung Bahadur.

(With abstract translations thereof) which I have received from Maharajah Jung Bahadur, with the written requests, that I would transmit them for His Lordship's inspection. They were dispatched to His Excellency by a Nepalese *Zamindar*,



Dummun Khan, a resident of Mouleehos, near Bootwul, to whom they were delivered by a *Hindustani* servant of *Moulvee* Sirfiraz Ali (the Ambassador of the King of Lucknow) who is now at Toolseepore.

1. I have also the honor to forward a proposed reply from the Maharajah Jung Bahadur (November 6) directed to the King of Lucknow, with the intimation on the part of His Excellency, that he wishes to be guided by the Governor General's advice, if his Lordship should be of opinion that the communication should be treated with contempt and need no reply, the Maharajah will remain silent; if however, His Lordship's approves of the proposed reply, or any portion of it, His Excellency will send it to the Ambassador at Toolseepore.
2. He also desires me to say, that the letter to the address of the Maharajah of Nepal, has not been shown to His Highness and will receive no reply from him as it is unusual for His Highness to correspond direct with any one except the Right Honorable the Governor General but through him (the Maharajah Jung Bahadur) His Prime Minister.
3. The Persian letter (referred to in the letter) from Moulvee Mahomed Sirfiraz Ali, to Maharajah Jung Bahadur) addressed to various Nepalese Sirdars, General Runoodeep Singh & ca. & ca., I have not enclosed, as all are to the same purport, viz. begging their assistance in inducing the Maharajah to join the rebels and His Excellency assures me, that he has not shown them to the parties to whom they are addressed. They are in my possession, and I will forward them to you, if required.
4. May I request the favour on the part of the Maharajah Jung Bahadur of your returning the original letters herein enclosed.

I have the honor to be Sir,  
Yours most obedient Servant

Sd/-C. H. Byers  
Asstt. Resident

Nepal Residency  
The 10<sup>th</sup> of June 1859

Incharge of the Residency

**Abstract translation of an Urzee from Dummun Khan to Sree Maharajah Jang Bahadur Ranajee, Prime Minister and Commander in Chief of Nepal dated Camp Mouleehos, the Jeth Soodee 15<sup>th</sup> Sumbut 1915, Thursday corresponding with the 27<sup>th</sup> of May 1858.**

The above letter was written after one month of the battle of Bareilly. This was the last battle of the 1857 War of Independence in the North. All the leaders of the Great Mutiny – Nana Sahab, Begum Hazrat Mahal, Bala Rao, Shahzada Ferozshah, Tafzzul Hussain Khan (of Farukhabad), Walidad Khan (of Malagarh) fought in this battle. It was in the battle of Bareilly that an army of 1,50,000 *sepoys* under the command of Shahzada Feroz Shah took part. Nearly all the British Generals, under the command of Sir Collin Compbell fought in this battle.

Famous as the battle of 5<sup>th</sup> May 1858, it was fought after 8 months of the lost battle of Delhi when the Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah was arrested and later on exiled to Burma.

A certain *Hindustani* came from Toolseepore (Tulsipur) to my *Kutcherry*, with letters to be forwarded to Your Excellency and I asked him what they contained, he replied “they are for the benefit of the *Gorkha* Government, so you will be pleased to dispatch them to Maharajah Jung Bahadur soon” and he told me to go to meet his master, who is at Toolseepore but I was unable to cross the Frontier without your orders.

(True abstract Translation)

Sd/- Illegible  
Asstt. Resident  
Incharge of the Residency

**Abstract translation of a letter from Moulvee Mohomed Sirfiraz Ali, the Ambassador for the King of Oudh, to the Maharajah Jang Bahadur (without date) received on June 6<sup>th</sup>, 1858.**

After compliments. Friendship has subsisted for a very long period, between the Kingdom of Oudh, and that of Nepal, and nothing has been done on our part to interrupt it. It is, therefore, astonishing that you should have sided with the impure, infidels, who are tyrants, and enemies of the religion, both of Hindoos and Mohomedans, and have fought against the army of the faithful. The Chiefs of every tribe should fight for their religion, as long as they live. These execrated people have become the destroyers of the Hindoo and Mohomedan religion and your friendship for them is unbecoming the dignity of Princes and Kings. There is proverb, that "when infidelity springs from Mecca, where can Islamism exist." If you in person are prepared to destroy religion, how can it stand? I hope that having allowed the eyes of justice and kindness, to rest on both creeds, you will make your arrangements, so that these enemies of the faith may abandon their present purpose, and meet with punishment and for the thousands of Hindoos and Mohomadens whom they have slain without cause, you will leave nothing undone in the way of retaliation. By this means you will in the first place, obtain and remain in this world and in the next, secondly you give satisfaction to our Government, and it will be the means of increasing friendship. From your kindness, I am in hopes that you will favour me with an answer to this letter, with your seal attached, that I may be enabled to report it to my King. For the express purpose of communicating with you, I have been appointed Ambassador, and am now in Toolseepore. I enclose a copy of my credentials (*Sunud*). In return for your friendship and good wishes, it will be easy for the King to reward you. I have had an interview with the Dummun Khan, and have told him all that is necessary, no doubt he will write and inform you. *Maulvee* Ahmed Ullah Shah ever celebrated and brave man, is in the neighborhood of Lucknow, and is ready to fight with and destroy the Infidels. (Kafirs) I am one of his confidential servants, and have been deputed by him to negotiate matters with you. Neither, I nor the servants of

our Government, are acquainted with your titles or those of your authorities, so we cannot address you and prey forgive any mistakes or omissions in this letter. I hope for the future, you will look upon me as your sincere friend, and will not forget me. Seven Persian letters accompany this, addressed by Mohomed Khan Bahadur, Viceroy of Oudh, to different (Nepal) authorities amongst them one for yourself and two *Hindi* letters, under the seal of the King of Oudh, and for the King of Nepal and one for yourself, will reach you. I am in hope you will favour me with a reply and that you will now pay such kind attention to the conditions of Hindoos and Mohomedans that their religions may be preserved and the Infidels destroyed.

There was a treaty of friendship between the Nawab of Oudh (Lucknow) and the King of Nepal, who got constructed a guest house at Butawal for the Nawab whenever he came for hunting - purposes in the territory of Nepal. The same was referred to and reminded in the letter under mentioned.

**Abstract translation of a letter from Ramzan Ali Khan Mirza Birjis Kuddur Bahadur, to His Highness, the Maharajah of Nepal, dated the 7th of Jeth Sumbut 1915 corresponding with 19<sup>th</sup> May 1858.**

#### **After Compliments.**

It is known to every one, that my ancestors brought the British into Hindustan, but Bulwunt Singh, the *Rajah* of Banaras, was a cause of much annoyance to them, and therefore, the Province of Banaras was given to them. A treaty was then signed by the British in which they wrote that they would never act treacherously as long as the Sun and Moon should exist. But they have broken that treaty and dethroning my father, Wajid Ally Shah, have usurped his state, palaces and everything he had. Everyone is acquainted with this event, as it took place only in Sumbut 1912.

After taking Lucknow, they intended to make war with you, for which purpose they collected a large force and magazine at Colonel Gunge which is situated below the Hills, perhaps you are aware of this event!

In former years great intimacy existed between our houses, in so much, that your forefathers built a bungalow for my ancestors, for shooting and hunting purposes at Bootwal.

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

But I am quite ignorant, as to how they managed to get your troops, which they brought here, and began to commit every sort of violence and to pull down temples, mosques, Imambaras, and other sacred places.

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

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

I have written briefly, but you can comprehend it, largely. It is right that you should send me a reply quickly.

More letter were dispatched to Nepal Durbar after the defeat in the Battle of Bareilly.

**Abstract translation of a letter from Birjis Kuddur Mirza Ramzan Ali Sikunder Jah, to His Excellency**

**Maharajah Jang Bahadur, dated the 13<sup>th</sup> of Jeth Budee Sumbut 1915; corresponding with the 11<sup>th</sup> of May 1858.**

**After Aseas (blessing)**

I am well convinced that you pay great attention to religion and faith, and it is very likely that you have been informed that temples and *Immabaras* have been broken down.

You are also aware, that the British do not care either for the religion or life, of Hindoos or Mahomadans, and their cunningness and treachery, as well as their forgetfulness of favors, is not unknown to you.

You are also aware, that my forefathers showed favor to the British such as no one else would do, and they have without any offences on my part, deprived us of everything.

Let by gones be by gones, I now write to you, that it is proper for us to band together in the cause of religion and act with reflection.

To you, both parties are the same. What shall I write more? My brief writing, comprehend as a great deal.

Let me inform you that the *Mowlviee Saheb* is proceeding (towards you, understood) on my part.

**Abstract translation of a letter from Ali Mahomed Khan Bahadur, Viceroy of Lucknow, to His Excellency Maharajah Jang Bahadur, dated 5<sup>th</sup> of Shaual, year 1274 Hijri, corresponding with the 19<sup>th</sup> of May 1858.**

(The ruler of Oudh was not getting a reply from Nepal.)

Great intimacy existing between the two governments, it is necessary for the members of either, to attempt to increase it. Therefore, if Ali Mohomad Khan Bahadur, the Viceroy of the State, reminds you of it, and discloses my object in this friendly letter, informing you, that friendly letters have been addressed by this State, to His Highness, the Maharajah of

Nepal, the purport of which will be known.

As the strengthening of the old friendship, existing between the two states, depends on the managers of both governments who are bound in duty to do so, (and the sages and learned men of past ages have excelled in such matters) and especially at this period, when the British nation is bent on depriving the inhabitants of this country, of their religion, faith, dominions and lives, and as no hope is left to any prince by this cursed nation, therefore, on the strength of our old friendship and considering the vicinity of our frontier, I am led to believe, that it would not be wise in any chief, to allow these enemies who are now in their grasp to escape.

Therefore, it is proper for and binding on, chiefs to enter into agreements to kill, and get rid of these infidels.

Believing me anxious to hear of your health, I hope you will always favour me with your correspondence.

May the days of prosperity be friend, friends.

In the end, a letter was drafted, perhaps on the advice of British Resident in Kathmandu. It was showing the British point of view.

**Abstract translation of a proposed reply, from His Excellency, Maharajah Jang Bahadur, to Birjis Kuddur Mirza Ramzen Ali Saheb Bahadur of Lucknow.**

Your letter of the 7<sup>th</sup> of Jeth Soodee (Wednesday) corresponding to the 19<sup>th</sup> of May 1858, to the address of His Highness, the Maharajah of Nepal and that of 13<sup>th</sup> Jeth Budee of the present year (Tuesday) corresponding to the 11<sup>th</sup> May 1858 to my address, have reached their respective destinations, and their contents are fully understood. If it is written, that the British are bent on the destruction of the society, religion and faith of both Hindoos and Mohomedans.

Be it, known, that for upward of a century, the British have reigned the Hindustan, but up to the present moment, neither of the Hindoos nor the Mohomedans, have ever complained that their religion has been interfered.

With reference to your statement, regarding the order for using cartridges, prepared with cow's and pigs grease, I beg to say, that it was not proper in the first instance, for either the Hindoos, or Mohamedens to serve the British but when they had voluntarily entered their service, it became their duty to obey their master's orders whose salt they partook of but instead of this they have disobeyed and murdered their masters, with their families and children. Therefore, in return to such savage conduct, the masters are at liberty to act, in whatever way they think fit.

As the Hindoos and Mohomedans have been guilty of ingratitude, and perfidy neither the Nepal Government nor I can side with them.

(It was clearly stated that the Nepal Government would not oppose the British.)

Since the star of faith and integrity, sincerity in words, as well as in acts, and the wisdom and comprehension of the British are shining as bright as the sun in every quarter of the globe, be assured, that my governments will never disunite itself from the friendship of the exalted British Government, or be instigated to join, with any monarch against it, be as high as heaven what grounds then can we have, for connecting ourselves with the Hindoos and Mohomedans of Hindustan.

Be it also known that had I in any way been inclined to cultivate the friendship and intimacy of the Hindoo and Mohomedan tribes should I have massacred, nearly five or six thousand of them, in my way to Lucknow.



Now as you have sent me a friendly letter, let me persuade you, that if any person Hindoo or Mahomedan who has not butchered a British lady, or child goes to Mr. Montgomery, the Chief Commissioner at Lucknow and surrenders his arms and makes submission, he will be permitted to retain his honor, and his crime will be pardoned.

If you still be inclined to make war on the British, no Rajah or King in the world will give you an asylum and death will be the end of it.

I have written to you whatever has come into my plain mind, and it will be proper and better for you to act in accordance with what I have said. (Foreign Deptt. Allahabad, the 28<sup>th</sup> June 1858.)

The British Officers were happy with Jang Bahadur as is evident from this letter No.1881.

To

Captain C.H. Byers

Asstt. Resident in Nepal

Incharge of the Residency.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 10<sup>th</sup> instant No.32 enclosing original letters (with translations) addressed by Birjis Qadir, the so called King of Oude, and some of his adherents, to the Maharajah of Nepal and Jung Bahadur, inviting them to join the rebellion, and also forwarding the reply which Jung Bahadur proposes to send to these letters with the Governor General's concurrence.

1. In reply, I am directed to request that you will express to Maharajah Jung Bahadur, the Governor General's acknowledgement of His Highness's friendly conduct in

communicating these letters to the Government and in consulting His Lordship as to the terms in which he should reply to them.

2. The Governor General approves of the proposed reply, with the exception of one passage, the missing which His Lordship desires you will suggest to Jung Bahadur. The passage commences in the English version with the words "With reference to your statement regarding the order for using cartridges" and ends as follows. "The matters are at liberty to act in whatever way they think fit."
3. In the passage "If any person, Hindoo or Mahomedan, who has not murdered a British lady or child, goes to Mr. Montgomery, "the Governor General is of opinion that the word "immediately" should be inserted in the place marked here with red ink."
4. The original papers which accompanied your letter are herewith returned. (*Foreign Secret Deptt. 27 August 1858 Nos.97-108*).

Finally Jung Bahadur sent back a reply to Birjis Qadr as follows. The letter was, however, never dispatched and only the British Government was informed that it was done as advised. Jung Bahadur knew how to play cards and how to please the Britishers.

**Abstract translation of a letter from His Excellency, Maharajah Jung Bahadur, to Birjis Kuddur Mirza. Ramzan Ali Saheb Bahadur of Lucknow dated 22<sup>nd</sup> Assadh Sumbut 1915 corresponding to 17<sup>th</sup> July 1858.**

Your letter of the 7<sup>th</sup> Jeth Soodee (Wednesday) corresponding to the 19<sup>th</sup> May 1858 to the address of the His Highness, the Maharajah of Nepal, and that of 13<sup>th</sup> Jeeth Budee of the present year (Tuesday) corresponding to the 11<sup>th</sup> May 1858 to my address, have reached their respective destinations and their contents are fully understood. In it is written, that the British are bent on the destruction of the Society, religion and faith of both Hindoos and Mohamedans.

Be it known that for upwards of a century, the British have reigned in Hindustan, but up to the present moment neither the Hindoos nor the Mahomedans have ever complained that their religion has been interfered with.

As the Hindoos and Mahomedans have been guilty of ingratitude and perfidy neither the Nepal Government nor I can side with them.

Since the star of faith and integrity, sincerity in words as well as in acts and the wisdom and comprehension of the British are shining as bright as the sun in every quarter of the globe, be assured that my government will never disunite itself from the friendship of the exalted British Government, or be instigated to join with any monarch against it, be he as high as heaven. What grounds then can we have for connecting ourselves with the Hindoos and Mahomedans of Hindustan.

Be it also known that had I in any way been inclined to cultivate the friendship and intimacy of the Hindoo and Mahomedan tribes, would I have had massacred nearly five or six thousand of them, on my way to Lucknow.

Now as you have sent me a friendly letter, let me persuade you, that if any person Hindoo or Mahomedan who has not murdered a British lady or child goes immediately to Mr. Montgomery, the Chief Commissioner at Lucknow and surrenders his arms, and makes submission, he will be permitted to retain his honour, and his crime will be pardoned.

If you still be inclined to make war, on the British, no Rajah or King in the world will give you an asylum and death will be the end of it.

I have written to you whatever has come into my plain mind, and it will be proper and better for you, to act in accordance with what I have said (*Foreign Secret Deptt. 27<sup>th</sup> August 1858 No.97 - 108*).

## Shattered Hopes

“The Nana, Mammukhan and other bloodstained wretches” were plainly told by his Lordship’s creders, that no hope of mercy could be extended to them, but that, if they surrendered themselves, they would be placed upon their trials for the crimes attributed to them.”

It was of course to the interest of “these miscreants” to delude their followers, as much as possible, and to fill them up with the belief, that when the rains were over, the Gorkhas would move down to their assistance.

This hope kept masses of the rebels together who though suffering severely from dysentery, fever and other diseases, were still congregated in various parts of the *tarai* and other lower hills. With the ensuing cold weather Maharaja Jung Bahadur proposed to organise a campaign to sweep the *Tarai* with a large army and to drive the rebels from it. His plans were encouraged and having been duly matured about 10,000 men took the field in the month of November into the Butwal district under Jung Bahadur’s personal command. The rebels flocked from all quarters to the Gorkha camp, evidently induced by promises of assistance to believe that the tide had returned into their favour, and that the Nepalese had joined their cause. They found themselves surrounded saw that all

resistance was hopeless, and in the course of a few days most of the leaders and some thousand of their followers had either given themselves up or they were captured by the Gorkha troops.

The death of Bala Rao and his brother, the Nana had been reported to the Residency by Maharajah Jung Bahadur some months before. The Resident saw no reason to discredit the report, but of the death of the Nana, right from the first moment, entertained strong doubts. As this question has been made the subject of late special reports to the Government, it will not be referred to in this Memorandum. Early in this year Begum Hazarat Mahal and her son, Birjis Qadr were allowed to take up their residence in the fort of Nawkot around Butwal and some weeks later, the ladies of the Nana's and Bala Rao's families were escorted to Tara Garhi a small hill fort in the outer range of the hills in the direction of the Deckur Valley.

Much correspondence took place in 1859 respecting number of Christian captives chiefly Europeans, who were ascertained to be in the rebels camps, where it was also stated that there were two English ladies. Maharaja Jung Bahadur upon being applied to, at once offered to do all in his power. An officer in the Minister's confidence, was deported to the *Tarai*, and through his exertions some twenty individuals and their families were recovered from the rebel's camp and sent to our provinces but no trace could be found out of the English ladies.

During the early part of the year 1860, Commissioners from the two Governments met at Bhugoratal in northern Oude, and made a careful survey of the old line of boundary between that province and Nepal. Two trifling modification and exchange proposed by the Government were at once demurred to by the Durbar at least the Minister observed that although he would make no formal objections to them as we were the donors of his Government, the recipient of a free gift. Shortly after this occurred, he suggested that a chip of

territory north of Toolsipere, should be included in the new cession, in order that the Gurkhas might have a passage below the hills in that quarter connecting their new territory with the Butwal *Tarai*. A new treaty in settlement of the question was proposed to the Nepalese Government and instantly acceded to.

Its 1<sup>st</sup> article confirms all existing treaties between the two Governments. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> article the British Government bestowed upon the Maharajadhiraj in full sovereignty the whole of the low lands between the rivers Kali and the Raptée and between the Raptée and the district of Gorakhpur, which were in possession of Nepal in 1815 and were ceded to the British government in December of that year. Its 3<sup>rd</sup> and last article declares that the boundary line lately surveyed by the British Commissioners shall henceforth be the boundary between the British Province of Oude and the territories of the Maharaja of Nepal.

### **New arrivals at Kathmandu - 1860**

Early in the year, whilst Maharaja Jung Bahadur was in the *Tarai*, supposed to be on a sporting tour. The ladies of the Nana's and of his brother Balarao's families with several attendants in all 13 persons suddenly arrived at Kathmandu. The officiating Minister said, he knew nothing about them that they had come up the valley on the strength of a pass from General Badrinar Singh, who he hinted, must have sent them upon his own responsibility. They were shortly followed by the Begum Hazrat Mahal of Lucknow and her son Barijis Qadar with 18 of the male attendants. The Maharaja addressed a curious letter to the Resident, observing that he had sent the Begum and her party to Nepal because if they had continued to reside at Nawkot, it would have been difficult to prevent their keeping up a communication with the British Provinces. With reference to the family of Nana, the Maharaja vaguely observed that General Badrinar Singh having sent

them to Nepal, they would not consent to return to the British provinces.

The “infamous Nana Sahib” and his brother Bala Rao, “the perpetrators of crimes at Kanpur”, Devi Deo of Nasirabad Brigade, Khan Bahadur Khan of Bareilly, Mahommad Hussain Raja Brig Vijay Singh and other leaders too numerous to mention, had all by this time re-united their hitherto scattered and dispirited followers, and had organised large bodies of men, the remnants of the mutineers and located them in various parts of the *Tarai*, where it was quite evident that the local authorities played into their hands, furnished them with provisions, and gave them such other assistance as they stood in need of.

The condition of the general amnesty proclaimed by the Governor General on the 1<sup>st</sup> November 1858, and extended to those rebels in 1859 were explained to their leaders upon several occasions this year by Sardars who were sent to their camps by the Minister, but there was evident collusion between the former and them.

The remnants of the Rebel forces fought against Lord Clyde’s divisions also entered the Nepal *Tarai*.

The Begum of Oudh with her son Barjis Qadir, and accompanied by many of the mission of the surviving rebel leaders were amongst them.

In accordance of the preferred permission of the Durbar, they were in some instances pursued beyond the border by our troops.

A force under Brigadier Horsford closely followed the Begum, attacked and dispersed her followers, commanded by General Mammukhan, and captured 14 of their guns near Sithaghat at the entrance of the valley.

The Begum Hazrat Mahal had no sooner entered the *Tarai*, and then she solicited an interview with Maharaja Jang

Bahadur, who at first proposed to go down into the Chillouree Valley to meet her afterwards deputed a Sardar to do so.

Her object was to throw herself on Gorkha protection to urge their espousing the rebel cause, or if she could not succeed in doing that, to make the best terms for herself and her son and their followers.

### **Before 1857 War**

Events at the Court of Nepal III-1852-61 (Foreign Deptt. Political B.No.145-164, March 1875 (I)).

G. Ramsay of the British Residency at Kathmandu.

### **Widow of Ranjit Singh**

On 19<sup>th</sup> of April 1849, the Maharani Chunder Kunwar of Lahore, the widow of late Maharaj Ranjit Singh, who had escaped from Banaras reached Nepal. Her presence at Kathmandu was both unexpected and undesired. But the Maharaja out of respect for the memory of the late Ranjit Singh considered it incumbent on him to grant her asylum in his country. A house was assigned for her maintenance, but at the same time, measures were adopted to prevent her carrying on intrigues against the British Govt. The Durbar pledged itself responsible for her safe keeping.

In 1850, the Prime Minister and the C-in-C of Nepal General Jang Bahadur was sent to England – “to see and bring back intelligence respecting the greatness and prosperity of that country.”

He was the first Hindu noble man who had crossed the seas to present the Queen of England the homage of his sovereign.

The Resident records “When the intelligence of the mutiny of Meerut, of the massacre at Delhi and afterwards of the occurrences at Lucknow and Kanpur reached Jang



Bahadur's ears, his course appeared to be taken without the least hesitation. The Raj Guru of Nepal also determined to support our cause."

General Badrinar Singh was appointed the Nazim of Butwal and Pulpa. Several parties of Europeans, including four ladies, who had escaped from various outposts, in Oude during the mutiny, took refuge in Nepal Tarai in the course of this year (1857) and were hospitably and kindly treated by the authorities by the orders of the Durbar, but the Maharaja would not hear of their passing through the hills to Kathmandu.

### **Nana and Tafazzul Hussain**

The great leader of 1857 revolution Nana Saheb whose "head" had carried a reward of one lakh of rupees was also in Nepal for years together. Bala Rao, his brother, his wife, sister and other ladies were also with him in Nepal. He addressed a number of letters, *ishitihars* to the British Queen Victoria and other officers. It was in one of such letters that the brave man declared to the enemy - "you will see what the soldiers I have been preserving for two years can do. We will meet, and then I will shed your blood and it will flow knee-deep. I am prepared to die."

Nawab of Farrukhabad Tafazzul Hussain Khan was also in Nepal for a long time, so were the Nawab of Banda and many a chieftains and Rajas of Oudh, who later on laid down their arms and surrendered themselves, crossing the border of Nepal.

## Peshwa Family at Kathmandu

The presence of Nana's family at Kathmandu is an interesting chapter. They were residing at Thapa Thally area which was the royal residence of Jang Bahadur. The temple built by the *Rani* (Krishna Bai – wife of Nana Saheb) is still there. Even now the old residents of the locality remember their Maratha *Ranis* were residing in these palaces for decades. They have heard many such stories from their elders.

After six years of the 1857 war, the families of Nana Saheb and Bala Rao were permanent residents of Kathmandu. Some of their *maratha* followers were also with them and others were at Deo Patan, near the temple of Pashupati Nath ji.

These *ranis* were in a position to make correspondence with their relatives in India. Although, such letters were intercepted and a close vigilant watch was always kept by the British resident. Such a letter written in September 1863 was intercepted by the Govt. of Bombay.

All such letters were marked secret and were given a common heading:

Subject: Opportunities which the Nana & Bala Rao's families enjoy in Nepal for corresponding with their friends in Hindustan.

The Resident requested to keep a vigilant watch on the correspondence in question.

A secret letter written by the British Resident at Nepal elucidates it further:-

1. "I have received a reference from the Secretary to the Government of Bombay upon the subject of a letter purporting to be addressed by Krishna Bai, wife of the Nana, to her father, Ramchunder Succram Kurmokar, at Sanglee, in the South Mahratta Country, which was posted at Kathmandu, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of June last, by one Juggernath Bhutt, and enquiring if the writer of the letter be really in Nepal. (L.No.138 from Colonel G. Ramsay, Resident of Nepal, to H.M. Durand, C.B. Secretary to Government of India, in the Foreign Department, with the Governor General, Simla (No.20 dated the 17<sup>th</sup> August 1863).
2. I have replied that he is so, and that he is living at Deo Patun, near Kathmandu, where he assists in the Ceremonies of the temple of Pushputty, the Chief place of Hindoo worship and of pilgrimage in the Valley of Nepal; moreover, that I believe the letter to be genuine.
3. There is nothing in the letter in question beyond an invitation by Krishna Bae to her father to correspond with her for the future through Juggernauth Bhutt and through Lucchhman Bhutt. (A *Poojaree* of a temple in the city of Kathmandoo) and enquiring about some bags of musk, she represents, she sent him sometime ago through one Bapoo Aptay, but which he does not appear to have received.
4. As I received no instruction in reply to my letter I presumed that His Excellency, the Viceroy did not wish me to take any further notice of the matter, or to interfere in any way with respect to the refugees from the British Provinces, who have been allowed an asylum in this country, who clearly enjoy opportunities of corresponding with their friends in Hindustan, which Maharajah Jung Bahadur professes not to permit, and who will continue to be afforded such opportunities unless His Excellency imposes degree of restraint upon them that he had not hitherto done.

Enclosing those several communications and a letter to the address of Maharaja Jung Bahadur, all of which he requested might be delivered. I sent the enclosure back, however, immediately, and told Nurso Bajee Saneh Wayekur that I cannot be the “channel of any correspondence between him and Maharajah Jung Bahadur connected with the refugees from the British Provinces, Members of the Nana’s and Bala Rao’s families, who are now residing in Nepal.”

That individual has again addressed to me upon the same subject. And in a long letter he tries to show that his Nieces were not the friends but the enemies of the Nana and of Bala Rao, and in support of his ascertain quotes a Para from a letter from the Court of Directors observing. “These ladies complain of oppressive treatment by Dhondo Pant Nana” from this they have a just claim to be protected & Ca.

5. To this letter, I have made a reply (a copy of which is appended) still declining to interfere in the matter, and I trust that my having done so may meet with approval. It does not appear to me to be a case for consideration whether these ladies were or were not well disposed towards the Nana and Bala Rao. They were members of their families, and their present position here as refugees forbid any interposition of mine on their behalf.
6. There is no analogy between this case and that of the Suruswattee Bale. The letter was Gonng Girk betrothed, before the mutines broke out, to the Sar Soobah of Scindiahs Dominions, and when he claimed his bride, the Government, or Sir Richmond Shakespeare’s interesting himself in the matter, approved of my having been the Channel of communicating to her that she might join her husband if she pleased, and she did so, on his sending a suitable escort to receive her.
7. The case just referred to was reported in my letter No.15 of the 25<sup>th</sup> of February 1860.”

Nana had become a legend and nobody was able to say for certain a word about him. Jung Bahadur also never

disclosed anything to the Britishers, as reported by Ramsay on 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1861, the position stood where it was:-

1. I have now the honor to submit for the information of his Excellency the Viceroy in Council, a Memorandum, written at my request by Dr. Oldfield, Residency Surgeon and Honorary Assistant—giving the substance of a late conversation between Maharajah Jung Bahadur and himself regarding the *Nana*.
2. His Excellency has not mentioned the *Nana*'s name in my presence for the last 18 to 20 months, and he is clearly anxious to avoid doing so now, or he would not have adopted this roundabout course of communicating to me his altered sentiments respecting that individual's supposed existence. But his motive is very obvious one. He evidently wishes that what has passed between Dr. Oldfield and himself may be considered as a casual private matter of no present importance, but adverting to what has lately appeared in several of the newspapers, he either suspected that we are making enquires upon the subject, or supposes that I may have obtained intelligence calculated to shake his own former statement and he therefore, desires to be able, hereafter to declare, should the *Nana*'s existence be eventually proved, that he not only shared our doubts respecting his alleged death, but that he actually told Dr. Oldfield that he believed him to be alive and to have gone somewhere or other to the Southward (*Dukkun Ko Gya*); an expression, by the way which is inconsistent with the rest of his remarks, and which conveys the inference that he knows more about the *Nana* than he chooses to express.
3. This is the first time that the Maharajah has ever stated that the sole evidence of the *Nana*'s death has hitherto rested upon reports of some *Tharoo*s of the *teraie* who saw a corpse burning, which they were told was the body of the *Nana*, but which His Excellency now observes may have been the Corpse of some other person. On the contrary, although he said as little about the matter when the event was given out, as could possibly be helped, he treated it as a confirmed fact, settled beyond dispute; and it was distinctly affirmed on the alleged authority of Sirdar Siddiman Singh, who was at the

time at Tara Gurhee, a small hill fort in the vicinity of the *Nana's Camp* to which he had but a short time before conveyed the ladies of the *Nana's* family, that the intelligence had been brought to them specially by messengers from the *Camp*, the truth of which the *Sirdar* had afterwards tested.

4. Maharajah Jung Bahadur will leave Kathmandoo for the Western *teraie* in about 10 days, and on the 15<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup> of December he will pass close to the place where I suppose the *Nana* to be now lurking. He is not likely to broach this subject with me before he starts, and if he does not do so, of course, I shall not revert to it."

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
your most obedient servant.  
Sd/- G.Ramsay, Resident \*

The Memorandum in which the *Nana's* whereabouts were discussed officially is as under:-

### MEMORANDUM

In the course of a professional visit to the Maharajah Jung Bahadur on the 9<sup>th</sup> November now a conversation occurred between him and me, of which the following is the substance. After referring to the movements of the rebels in 1859 and making some remarks on the conduct and character of the *Nana*, exculpating him from the guilt of the massacre at Cawnpore and attributing all the atrocities committed at that place to Bala Rao and Jwala Persaud, the Maharaja raised the question as to whether the *Nana* and his brother were or were not still alive. He told me that there was not the slightest doubt as to the death of Bala Rao, for his own confidential (sick) Col. Siddhiman Singh, who had visited the rebel camp in the *Teraie*, had since met Bala Rao when actually so exhausted that it was with difficulty that he could articulate a few words. As to the *Nana* the case was different.

\* (Nepal Residency, L.No.9 dated 23rd of November 1861)

Colonel Siddhiman Singh had seen him too at the same time, and he was then perfectly well and strong, and although his death had been subsequently reported, not a single Goorkha nor any person on whose veracity he could rely, had seen the Nana when he was said to be ill, nor had been present in his camp when his death was said to have taken place, nor when his alleged *sanskar* was performed.

The only authority for his illness and death has the evidence of the Tharoos or villagers of the place (as the Maharajah remarked, a very degraded class of people) who stated they had heard of his having been ill and of his death and that they had seen a corpse, which they were told us that of the Nana, burned with the ordinary funeral ceremonies. The Maharajah remarked it may not have been the Nana's body which has burned, but the corpse of some other person that has burned publicly in order to confirm the report of the Nana's death. He added there is no other evidence as to the fact of his death, and I admit that I have some doubt (Shoobah) in my mind whether he is really dead. He added I know, from the Newspapers, that many people think that the Nana is living concealed either in Nepal or Thibet, but I can tell you for certain that, if he be alive, he is not living in either of those two countries. I asked "where then can he be?" Gone to the South. (*Dukhun Ke giya*), the Maharajah replied. He then said, he cannot be in Nepal or I should know of his whereabouts, and he could not have gone to Thibet, as he could not have gone through any of the Passes from Nepal to that country, without my knowledge and permission. Had he reached Thibet by any other route, it would have been reported to me, either by my own agents there, or by some of the numerous *Nervar* traders, who are constantly passing between Nepal and Thibet, and such report has never been made to me. He also said, if he be in Thibet, he is quite safe from your government, for the Thibatans could not (torn) to

you if you were to demand him as they do not recognize the authority of the British Govt., but they would surrender him to me if I were to demand him, as they know me and would obey my orders. He then turned the conversation to other subjects.

Sd/- H.A.Oldfield,  
M.D.RESIDENCY Surgeon

Ramsay tried to know more about Nana, but failed bitterly, as no help was forthcoming from the Nepalese Govt. He informed his Govt. Head Quarters at Calcutta on 4<sup>th</sup> November 1861 as follows:

“I have the honor to report for the information of His Excellency, the Viceroy in Council that my orderly Havildar has lately had some conversation with a Zemindar from the Bootwul *terai*, who stated his belief that the Nana is now in that neighborhood.”

1. Upon the Havildar's asking him for more information upon the subject, as he had a brother in the Nana's service whom he was anxious to find; the Zamindar said that he had frequently been in the rebel's camps when they were in the *terai*, and that he had been ordered to supply them with provisions; he further said that the Nana was alive when a chief of the rebels came eastward to meet Maharaja Jung Bahadur (in November 1859) and that he went upon into the hills three days afterwards taking with him about 300 men, many of whom were Sepahees belonging to the Regiments from Nusseerrabad who had been under the Command of General Devey Deen; but he stated that that leader was given up to the British Government. My records confirm this fact.
2. Upon being further questioned, the Zemindar replied that he believes the Nana to be in the lower hills to the North Westward of Bootwul as three or four Elephants come down every 10 to 12 days through the Jungles in that direction to collect supplies for his use; viz Rice, Atta, Ghee, Choorā, Salt Oil & Ca.



3. I have also ascertained that there is a village named Doongur Gaon near the banks of the Bangunga, where that river enters the *terai* which is in the direction indicated by the Zemindar. It is, therefore, probable that, that is the place where the Nana is; and if so, there are either great discrepancy between the statements of the *Fakir*, reported in my letter of Sept. 20<sup>th</sup> or what is very possible, the Havildar may have misunderstood them. He believed that they crossed the Kali considerably to the Northward, for within the Mountains; but it is clear if their statement were based on truth, that they must have crossed that river at Burm Deo Ghat, and passed long the lower range of hills. Only penetrating into the interior of the Country at the Nayakote pass North of Bootwul and traveling up to Mooktinath by the palpa road, in which case they must have passed Boongur Gaon and crossed the Ban Gunga to the Southward of that Village.
4. But, then again, several *Fakirs* stated that they had heard that the Nana is in the direction of Thibet; and Mr. Peppe's Servants said that their party marched for some distance through the hills. There may be two or even more bands of rebels in Nepal or the Nana and his followers may reside in the interior for a portion of the year and return to the lower hills, to avoid the inclement weather at the end of the monsoon and the extreme cold during the winter months.
5. If the Zemindar's statement be true, I don't think that it will be difficult for smart spies to follow up this clue. They should be sent to the Neighborhood of Bootwul, and might soon elicit from the *Tharoo* there all they may know of the matter.
6. There are said to be three hundred bullocks at the Bootwul formerly the property of our Government.

Ramsay made another effort to locate Nana Saheb and wrote to the Governor General.

“I have now obtained what I conceived to be fair presumptive evidence of the Nana's Existence – at all events, a clue which, if followed up in the manner proposed in my dispatch No.38 of the 22<sup>nd</sup> of July, may place the matter beyond all possible doubt.”

1. Coming as my information has done from separate individual who appear to be quite unconnected with each other, I confess that it confirms in my mind the very strong conviction I have always had that the Nana's death at the time it was alleged to have occurred, was given out to favour his escape and to aid in his concealment in the Nepalese territories, an impression which as observed in my demi-official letter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> of September 1860 to Mr. Cecil Beadon's address, I was prepared to form before that Miscreant's death was reported, from the frequent and positive assurances of Maharajah Jung Bahadur that he knew he would die, while led us to anticipate the announcements of the event.
2. Had not the Maharajh so often referred to the certainty of its happening, before it was stated to have really occurred, I should still have entertained any doubts upon the matter, from the silence ever since observed regarding it. He treated it at the time tho' knowing the intense interest which was felt upon the subject by the British Government and by the British public; but taking no active steps whatever to prove to our Government, the truth of the report, professing to have received only one short letter (evidently intended to be laid before myself) from one of the Sirders in the terraies, his confidential agent, reporting it as an established fact, upon the authority of other persons and messengers who had been sent to communicate it to the females of the Nana's family who at the time were living in the lower range of hills under the Goorkhas protection. Such was not the case when Bala Rao died, whose illness and death formed the subject of circumstantial reports both before and after the event, of which I have never yet heard a doubt expressed.

I will now state what I have lately heard. My orderly Havildar, who has been making enquiries wherever he thought he could with safety and without creating suspicion, lately fell in with a Mohomodan *Fakir* with whom he entered into conversation. Their talk was not of long duration, as they were approaching Muasulman *Takeen* where the Havildar knew that he would be recognized, a contingency which he wished to avoid. I will, therefore, repeat what passed between

them, in the form of a dialogue, taken down by me from the Havildars lips a few minutes afterwards. For some little time they spoke upon different subjects; the *Fakir* then said, "Who are you, and what are you doing here?"

*Havildar* "I have come up to Nepal in search of service. These are not good times for us just now down in the Company's territories."

*Fakir* "Where do you come from?"

*Havildar* I come from Bitthoor. I am an inhabitant of Bitthoor. I was formerly in the Nana's service. I came up here partly to look for him and to find out what he is doing.

*Fakir* I was with the Nana's Camp for a long time. I came into the country with him and remained with him and with Bala Rao's own followers until the Baghees (rebels) left the *teraie*.

*Havildar* Where is the Nana now?

*Fakir* I don't know.

*Havildar* Is the Nana dead or is he alive?

*Fakir* I don't know. Bala Rao is dead.

*Havildar* I know that Bala Rao is dead, but I want to hear something about the Nana. Tell me where the Nana is. I am sure you know?

*Fakir* But how can I tell that you won't report what I am saying to you to the English gentlemen. Where are you now living?

*Havildar* I am putting up with the Muhajun in the city and looking out for service. If I cannot find out where my old master is, I shall take service with the Durbar. Now I am sure you know whether the Nana is dead or alive.

*Fakir* No I don't. I have not seen him for a long time. I do not know whether he is alive or not. I am speaking the truth.

*Havildar* When did you last see him?

*Fakir* I was with his camp for sometime after Bala Rao died and remained with it until after Jung Bahadur went down into the *teraie* with his army in the cold weather. When the Maharajah reached Bootwul, he sent for all the "Puggerree wallahs" (meaning the rebel leaders) that were in the Nana's and in the other Baghees Camps and they almost all went to meet him, but the Nana wouldn't go. He said that he was afraid of treachery, and that Jung Bahadur had deceived him, as he had invited him to come to Nepal, had taken his money and now refused to give him any assistance.

*Havildar* Was the Nana in the *teraie* when Jung Bahadur was there and did you then see him?

*Fakir* Yes he was in the *teraie* at that time and I saw him myself. When the Puggrree wallahs came to the Eastward to meet Jung Bahadur he went up into the hills with a number of his followers. I then came to Eastward. I have never seen the Nana since the day that he went up into the hills and I don't know whether he is now alive, or dead. This is the truth, if you will show me where you live; in the city I will tell you everything.

This *Fakir* has, I believe left the city, for he is not now to be found, or he may have gone into a large range of buildings appropriate to this class of people which are attached to Jung Bahadur's premises but into which it would not be prudent to send any persons belonging to the Residency.

A few days after the conversation, I have just detailed took place, I desired my *Havildar* to put on ordinary cloths, i.e. not to wear the Botee &ca. &ca. of a Sepahee, and to go into the city and its suburbs to look for the man, but he did not succeed in finding him. He fell in however, with a *Punjabee Fakir*, whom he described as being a particularly smart fellow, who had only just come down through the hills from the Punjab, with whom he had a long talk and who told him that he had actually seen the Nana. They first enquired of each other, who and what they were. What they were doing in

Kathmandoo and so on. The *Havildar* described himself as being an old servant of the Nana's and that he had come up into Nepal to look for and to serve his old master, if it were possible to do so and asked the *Fakir* whether he could tell him anything about him.

It would occupy too much space if I were to detail all that passed between the two, during the several interviews that they had together in the *Havildar's* own words, so I have carefully thrown into the form of a Narrative all that he succeeded in eliciting from the *Fakir* much of which was in reply to questions suggested by myself.

### The *Fakir's* story

I left the Punjab several months ago and have since been traveling down through the mountains; visiting on my way the principal shrines, and passing some little time at each. I visited Budrinath and Kedarnath and entered the Province of Nepal from Kemaun, far to the Northward. Whilst coming Eastward, I determined to go the Mooktinath and in doing so I passed the Nana's camp and saw and spoke to the Nana. I was journeying at the time with my own *chela*, pupil or disciple with four other *Fakirs*, who casually joined me upon the road. We arrived one day at a small village situated upon a hill about a mile to the westward of the river Ban Ganga. The villagers told us that its name was Doongur (or Doonga) gaon and that it was in the Raje (Jurisdiction) of the Lumjong Rajah, who lived there. Below the hill, was a small khola,\* called Khunday and Khundee Khola, where there was a camp of 3 or 4 hundred people. We were not allowed to go there, as a Sentry was posted near the place by the Rajah to prevent strangers from approaching it. I was bathing one day in the Ban Ganga, when a person dressed like a *Fakir* with long hair

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\*[the word *Khola*, in Nepal means a stream. It is also generally used for gorge or any narrow space enclosed between the adjacent spurs of a mountains]

pained round his head, passed close to me upon an elephant, attended by from 15 to 20 followers, all very dirtily dressed and looking like *Fakirs*. The latter spoke to me and asked me who I was and where I was going to? Their master shortly afterwards, when on his way back to the Khola, turned his elephant round and came towards me and asked me if it were true that I was going to Mooktinath. I said – yes. Upon this he immediately took out ten Company's Rupees and gave them to me.

I remained for several days at Doongur Gaon and during that time I had frequent communication with the villagers, who told me that the person I had seen was great Maratha Rajah, who as continually engaged in religious ceremonies and performed more *poojahs* than any one they had ever seen and who was very charitable. They said that he continued his *poojahs* for three fourths of the day\* and that he had a number of gold and silver utensils for the purpose. They also told me that supplies of foods were sent to his Camp by the Lumjoong Rajah and that he has about 300 sepahees with him, who were all disguised as *Fakirs*, also 3 elephants and 3 guns, about so long (touching his right shoulder with his right hand and extending his left hand straight out in the opposite direction). I did not see the latter myself nor did I see more than one elephant. Several of the Sepahees from the Camp, seeing that I was a *Fakir*, often sat with me and talked to me and they told me that their Master was the Brother of Bala Rao. They said that he greatly abused Jung Bahadur who had deceived him; and invited him into the *teraie*; and had afterwards taken away his *Ranees* and many lacs of rupees and jewels into Nepal and had left him to shift for himself. They said too that their Master had lost an immense deal of money in the *Compane* Ka *Dokan* (meaning evidently the Government funds) and they also told me that since he arrived at Doongur gaon he

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(*Teen puhur tuk*) [\*\*\*A custom, I believe peculiar to the *marhattas*]

had had communication with emissaries from Golab Singh's Country.

After leaving Doongur Gaon and going toward Mooktinath, we fell in with a great many Sepahees disguised as Fakirs. One Sepahee accompanied us from Doongur Gaon to Kathmandoo. He told me that he formerly belonged to the *Kyne Ka Pultune* (The 43 No. I. [Present 6] and late 44<sup>th</sup> were so called). He only remained at Kathmandoo for two days. He went straight to General Krishn Bahadur's house, who gave him five rupees and at *Rahdaree perwaneh* and sent him back again. General Krishan Bahadur also told me that if I wished to return, he would also give me a *Rahdaree*, but I replied that I wanted to remain at Kathmandoo. Since I have been here, a slave girl belonging to the Nana's family has come to see me.

The Havildar reported that after putting repeated questions to the *Fakir* to try and find out exactly where the Nana is, he told him that he would take him to the place. The Havildar then said if you will do so, I will give you a hundred rupees; upon which the *Fakir* replied "I don't want money. I am not a poor man. I have given up the world. I have been a *Fakir* for 30 years, all that I want is "Izzut" (honor) with my *Gooroo Dwara*. I am speaking the truth, I have seen the Nana, he is alive and I will take you to the place where he is, after the *Dusserah*.

Two or three days after this, I sent the Havildar into the city to put some more questions to this *Fakir*. But he had a good deal of difficulty in finding him and at last traced him to an out of the way temple (The court yard of these temples are surrounded by spacious ranges of buildings in which number of *Fakirs* often reside) upon the opposite shore of the Bishen Mutty river. The man seemed annoyed when he spoke to him and told him that, if they come looking for him and speaking to him, day after day, they would be suspected and would be sent for by the Minister and punished, he said that

he and many other *Fakirs* had been ordered out of the city and had been told by General Krishan Bahadur that they were not to speak about any thing they know, but were to live in the temple (General Bheem Sein's) which they were then in.

Immediately before the Havildar met this man he had some conversation with a party of other *Fakirs*, who told him that they had just come from Rewah via Mooktinath, to Kathmandoo; and on his saying that he was an old servant of the Nana's and was looking for his Master, they observed they had heard that there was a *Marhatta Rajah* in the hills on the other side of Mooktinath who gave a great deal away in charity but as the weather was very wet, and they had brought a hundred rupees with them from Rewah, they did not go to look for him. They told him too that the Nana's wife was that day entertaining twenty five *Fakirs* who were living in that very temple. (Apparently the Hindu Sadhu is being referred to as *Fakirs* in this narrative.)

I have thought it better, and the Havildar is of the same opinion that he should not go again to that particular temple for if once he is suspected he would be seized and questioned, or followed, when his identity would be discovered, the *Fakir* be made to confess what had passed between them and within a few days the Nana and his party would probably be sent across the Frontier and through one of the Snowy passes into Tibet, and means taken to prevent the approach even of *Fakirs* to his camp. The Havildar went though one evening in the hope of meeting him, to the great *Jatra of Godavery\** (a festival which occurs once only in 12 years and lasts for a month and is attended by thousands of persons from all parts of Nepal) where, though he did not succeed in finding him, he joined a large party of other *Fakirs* who had not seen the Nana themselves but said they were sure of his being alive that he is living in the hills, in the direction indicated by the *Punjabee*.



The Havildar passed himself off on this occasion as a *Bunniah*. He sat with the *Fakirs*, first with one party and then with another for some time about 9 O'clock at night they began smoking *Ganja* and laughing and talking loudly when he introduced the Nana's name. They immediately began to praise him and said that, although he had committed great sin in murdering women and children, there was no man like him in all India that he was most charitable and gave away a great deal of money. The Havildar asked if any of them has seen him, so said they, we have not seen him but we have heard a great deal about him from those who have seen him. He is now somewhere in the hills between Mooktinath and Kumaon. One party said that they were coming from Kumaon to Mooktinath, some months ago, and had just crossed the Kelee river (it separate the two provinces) when they fell in with three persons in the Garb of *Fakirs* who joined them and travel with them for several days. These men described themselves as formerly belonging to the *Duffel Ke Pultan*\* (late 10<sup>th</sup> N.I. at Fatehgarh) and that they had come up into the hills with the Nana, when the rebels left the *teraie*; they said they had since lived in his camp, where there were a great many *Sepahees* both Sowars and infantry belonging to many regiments, and that they were on their return to it from a short trip to the plains. When the *Fakirs* (my Havildar's informants) came on towards Mooktinath, these three *Sepahees* turned to the Northward, and said they were going to the Nana's camp, which was in that direction. They described him as being exactly like a *Fakir* now, from having bound to a large roll of hair, made of the tail of *Dhowree Cow* (Yak) around his head; they said that he is very charitable and is constantly engaged in religious ceremonies, but that he is also exceedingly desponding (afsoos) and often says that he knows he shall not escape, for that the English government has promised a lakh of rupees to anyone who will give him up, and that he is sure that someday that will happen.

I have one more circumstance to mention, of less interest or importance than either of the others but it tends to show what the general feeling here is, amongst the class of persons who are most likely to know whether the Nana be really still in existence, or not.

I was returning to the Residency lines late one evening, talking to some *Cashmerees* who were putting questions to me respecting the cotton trade, the progress upwards from Calcutta of the Rail Road, &ca &ca. when a *Fakir* suddenly joined us and stood close by. I asked him who he was and what he wanted? He stated that he had just come down into the valley from the Westward and asked us to tell him the way to the temple of Pushputty, said that he had originally come from Jagannath Puri and was inhabitant of that district, and that he had just been on a pilgrimage to Mooktinath. His salute and his appearance were so very military - like that I suspected the truth of his story and made a sign to my Havildar to put some questions quietly to him. He did so and the man described himself as formerly being a *Suwar* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Ressala (Irregulars, I presume) who had come into the *teraie* with the rebels and had been wandering about the country ever since; and that his name was Tulsi Singh. A few days afterwards, I met him again and sending my Nepalese attendants ahead, to see if a path (often) flooded by which I proposed to go, were passable took the opportunity of putting a few questions personally to him. He then told me that his name was Dhurum Singh and that he was in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Ressala. I said, did you see the Nana on your way to Mooktinath? He replied - No, I did not go up into that part of the country. I said "What part of the country?" He answered "Beyond Mooktinath in the hills towards Tibet (*Bhote ke taraf*). I then asked "How do you know the Nana is there?" He replied, "People say so."

There is an air of probability about the statements of all these *Fakirs*, nothing inflated or exaggerated or that can lead

one to suppose that they have been sent for the purpose of deception, they are plain assertions for which no interested motives can be assigned and they tend to confirm, rather than the contrary, the statements of Mr. Peepe's Servant. The *Punjabee Fakir* says that the villagers told him, the Nana had 3 elephants 3 guns with him, Mr. Peppe's Servant said that he had 30' of each, but he arrived in the Gorakhpur district after his escape from the Nana's camp, nearly dead from exhaustion and dysentery and was so ill as not to be in a condition questioned as thoroughly as was desirable, he was in a state of weakness and was suffering from slow fever, he may therefore, easily have been misunderstood to say *tees* when he really said *teen* or in his feeble condition he may have said *tees* when he meant to say or ought to have said *teen*. I can only say that several times when I have been suffering from the abominable fever of Negpore, unaccompanied by any other ailment; I have been unable to express myself coherently, though perfectly conspicuous at the time, and trying to make myself intelligible. Nothing is more likely then that Mr. Peep's Servant, who died shortly after he reached Gorakhpur, of the complicated disorders above referred to, was never in a sufficiently clear state of mind to be able to express exactly what he wished to say, hence the exaggerated statements his deposition contained.

I trust that the interest which must be attached to the subject of this letter may be received as a sufficient excuse for its length."

## From Old Records

Mr. A.O. Hume was defeated in the battle by Firozshah Shahzada. Hume saved his life by bolting himself in the fort of Harchandpur, the district of Etawa. That was the end of the year 1858.

He is the same Hume who founded the Indian National Congress after some time.

On the other hand, all the other great leaders of 1857 war of Independence chose to enter Nepal for they were no longer in position to fight the British.

It was, then, reported that Khan Bahadur was in Khairiagarh Jungles, as per a news item dated March 21, 1859, the Delhi Gazette states that ..... Khan Bahadur of Bareilly notoriety is reported to have turned up in the Khyragurh Jungles, in the north-west corner of Oude. It was published in the Friend of India, March 24, 1859, which is available in the National Library, Kolkatta. Anybody can now open and read the pages of old newspapers in Kolkatta.

Other revolutionary leaders were also in Nepal Tarai by that time.

As per a message from Colonel Walter, H.M.'s 35<sup>th</sup> Regiment, Commanding at Dinapur to Colonel Steward,

Military Secretary to the Governor General, dated Dinapur via Patna, 14<sup>th</sup> April 1859, it came to light. He wrote – “I have just received the following from Colonel Kelly Commanding on the Nepal frontier : From Colonel R.D. Kelly, Commanding Field Force to Colonel Steward, Military Secretary to Governor General Calcutta – Camp Raxaul, 10<sup>th</sup> April 1859. intelligence received from Mr. Morgan, Civil Officer with Colonel Simpson’s Force, Lotun, today, one of my spies brought in a Sepoy yesterday who left the Begam and Khan Bahadur Khan’s force on the evening of the 7<sup>th</sup> instant; at that time the Begam, her son Berjees Kudr (Birjis Kadar), Khan Bahadur Khan and the Nana were in the fort of Nayakot beyond Butwal and with some 200 men. The rest of their force about 300 were just below Butwal in the jungles; Bala Rao was encamped with 2000 fighting men close to our position. Devi Buksh with a large force was well away to the west of the Dukharari not far from Tulsipur. The rebels were much broken and dispirited after the engagement of the 25<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> ultimo, their camp followers deserting in great numbers. Bala Rao still paying all his soldiers, allows them half a seer of rice per diem. The amnesty has been known in the rebel camps these four months but he is of opinion that the sepoys will not avail themselves of it till forced to do so by starvation. A spy from Stiktohari reports that there are no rebels known of in that direction. There appears to be none east of Butwal. On the receipt of information from Butwal. Immediate dismissal and expulsion from Nepal Territories of all Begum’s retainer’s ordered by Jung Bahadur and being carried into effect. Reported by Lieutenant Hill, one hundred-sixty-nine prisoners sent in by General Diler Shamsher Singh and followers surrendered today.

The freedom fighters of India were not always welcome in Nepal, yet they had no other course left. Rana Jang Bahadur was out to get them arrested.

In this connection, I took an extract from "The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette", dated Dec 27, 1859. It shows that Khan Bahadur Khan was captured in the following manner – "Sir Jung Bahadur left Butwal. On his return to the hills, he pitched his camp, the same day about six miles distant, and went out shooting whilst in the pursuit of game, he came upon the track of an elephant, which he followed up, and came upon a party under a tree, one of whom got off a *charpoy*, and mutual challenges were exchanged. When Sir Jung declared himself, a low *salaam* was made, and Khan Bahadur Khan stood face to face with Sir Jung Bahadur. The Nepal Chief had a rifle in his hand and at once enquired, "Have you been guilty of any murder? If you have, you had better be off as if the English catch you, they will hang you." (Quoting the Proclamation) Khan Bahadur Khan replied that he had not and when Sir Jung asked him "Why then do you not surrender?" He replied that he had behaved so ill to the *Sahib logue*, the Britishers, that he was ashamed to show his face.

At this time Sir, Jung's party was gradually surrounding Khan Bahadur Khan from the jungle, and the latter, (as) there was no help for it, surrendered." This shows how Jang Bahadur, the Chief of Nepal got Khan Bahadur Khan arrested. It was given a name of "surrender".

The man thus caught was no ordinary man. He was the ruler of entire Rohilkhand. One of the most prominent leaders and freedom fighters of his time.

Let us keep in mind that the Independence War of 1857 was at that time nearly lost. The Mughal King Bahadurshah was arrested, tried and exiled to Burma. Other Chiefs, Raja and Nawabs were either defeated or were favouring the imperialist Britishers. Only Rani Jhansi was in the battle field. Of course two great commanders like Tantiya Topay and

Ferozshah Shahzada and Raja Man Singh of Rampura State, Jalaun were also fighting the British.

Khan Bahadur Khan and his capital city of Bareilly was the centre of the entire revolution. All other leaders rather commanders like Ala Begum Hazrat Mahal of Lucknow, Maulvi of Fyzabad, Nana Sahib Peshwa with brother Bala Rao and all the remaining warriors were with him. As declared by Feroz Shah Shahzada there was an army of 1,50,000 under him, at Bareilly. But that was also the hour of defeat.

The Chief of Nepal Jang Bahadur was pro-British. He proved it with his action also.

The English newspapers published the news with bold headlines – “KHAN BAHADUR KHAN – A PRISONER IN NEPAL”. The Bengal Hurkaru and Indian Gazette, December 15, 1859, published that Khan Bahadur Khan, it is to be hoped, has also been caught by this time.....

“The Hurkaru”, dated December 19, 1859 declared that the news of Khan Bahadur Khan being also a prisoner with Mummoo Khan and others is confirmed..... Mummoo Khan and Khan Bahadur Khan will, it is said, be sent in to Lucknow. Mamo Khan was a brave commander of the Begum and later of Khan Bahadur Khan who fought fiercely at many a battlefield. He went to Nepal with his master.

Wazir Shobha Ram, the Prime Minister, was already arrested near Pawayan in the district of Shahjahanpur in India.

The British newspapers published – “There seems no doubt about Khan Bahadur Khan’s and Mummoo Khan’s surrender with about 1,500 followers. They gave themselves up to the Nepalese thinking thereby to obtain some terms advantageous to themselves, rather than surrendering themselves unconditionally to the British Government.”

As they must be aware what they are to expect at our hands and thinking that Sir Jung Bahadur had some influence

with us, they not unnaturally considered it would be good policy if possible to secure the intercession of some influential party in their behalf. In this, I believe they have failed; and their surrender to us has, I understand, been quite unconditional.

These newspapers inform us that Khan Bahadur Khan and Mammu Khan were brought to Lucknow as prisoners. It is also confirmed by a Telegraphic Message from the Commissioner to Beadon, dated Bahraich, 20<sup>th</sup> December 1859. It says – “Your message regarding Mummoo Khan and Khan Bahadur Khan has just been received. The wishes of the Governor General have been anticipated and the prisoners in question passed through Gonda en route to Lucknow on the 14<sup>th</sup> instant. Khan Bahadur Khan can easily be sent from there to Bareilly, the best route was via Lucknow.

Khan Bahadur Khan to be brought to Bareilly for trial was also the subject of government records. Department-XXIV, File No.1/15 : “Case regarding Khan Bahadur Khan, late Nawab of Bareilly”; Bareilly Commissioner’s Office Mutiny Records. It is available in the State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad.

There was a Telegraphic Message from G. Beadon, to D.Simson, dated Governor General’s Camp, December 14, 1859. it says–“With reference to Brigadier Holditch’s message to General Birch, the Governor General desires that Mummoo Khan when delivered up may be sent to Lucknow for trial, and Khan Bahadur Khan to Bareilly.

There were messages after messages. There was a Service Message from Captain Chamberlain, Supdt. Tuggee (Thagi) Deptt. Lucknow, to Cecil Beadon, Secy. To Govt. with G.G. (Governor General), Head Quarters Camp, dated 17<sup>th</sup> December 1859.

“Most urgent – for information to Governor General –  
“Mummoo Khan and Khan Bahadur Khan have arrived



safely and are now being lodged in jail. Khan Bahadur Khan will be forwarded to Bareilly agreeable to instruction as soon as arrangements can be made." The matter was so important that the time was recorded, forwarded by sowar from Camp at 4 P.M."

The descriptive role of Khan Bahadur Khan was also given. Mummoo Khan, Khan Bahadur Khan, Debi Deen, Ganga Singh alias "Lant Sahib", and two other celebrities, were safely escorted into Lucknow on Saturday, by a troop of the 1<sup>st</sup> Sikh Cavalry under a Native Officer. Sikh *raja* of Patiala, just like the Sindhia *raja* of Gwalior was also siding with the British imperialists. They provided their troops and guns to the British. Sikh troopers were on the side of British in the battle of Bareilly and other such occasions.

The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette, July 1, 1859, P.4 (Reproduced from Lucknow Herald, June 25) (National Library, Calcutta) informs regarding the Indians in Nepal during the year 1859. It published news regarding one Fasahat Ullah, as Special Correspondent of revolutionaries in Nepal. It says - "One Fussahut Oolla, a native of Badayun in Rohilkund, was taken up a few days ago in the city of Lucknow, as the "Special Correspondent" of the rebels. A number of letters and other papers were found in his possession - all tending to show that he was in correspondence with the Begum etc. whom he supplied with information from the British territories. We hope to give further particulars in our next issue.

Mohammad Ahmad Ulla Khan was the patriot Nawab of Najibabad. The Britishers remembered the *Robkar* dated February 23, 1858 of the court of the Nawab that all those who opposed the British and assisted the Hindustani *sepoys* would get concessions from him. He was a staunch supporter of the freedom movement and fought many a battle against the foreigners.

After the fall of Bareilly he also entered Nepal along with Nana Sahab and Khan Bahadur Khan. He was the first to become a martyr in Nepal.

Najibabad Nawab's death in Nepal was also reported in the British newspapers. The following is from Rohilcund, dated July 19<sup>th</sup> (1859) – "I send you a few lines to let you know that Bala Rao, brother to the Nana, Hardut Singh – *talookedar* of Bhownie, near Baraitch, and the Nawab of Nujeebabad, have from the effect of the climate died, near Dhoker, in the Nepal Territories, somewhere near Butwal, where the Begum is. The rebels are all of them suffering much from the malaria of the *terai*, and most of them are laid up with fever, as is also the Nana himself, who will, so he says, either die where he is, or else be killed in battle, - as to being captured he will sooner kill himself. The Begum still holds out bravely, and will give us most trouble, should they succeed in getting out from their present abode into Tirhut, and the Santhal Porgannahs, as is her intention. The brave Begum Hazrat Mahal of Lucknow had planned to move to Santhal area and to re-start her fighting against the British. She wanted to move out of Nepal but could not do so. Nawab of Najibabad was first to die in Nepal as reported in early July 1859. it was after one year, the battle of Bareilly was fought on 5<sup>th</sup> May 1858.

The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette, July 27, 1859 informs us that Khan Bahadur Khan was indisposed in Butwal (Nepal). Khan Bahadur Khan, has got better from his jungle fever, and is living in Butwal, with three or four servants still very sick, and very badly off. As report says, one of his servants, (an elephant driver) decamped with all the old man's money. It was a joke on the Nawab.

There was a rumour that Khan Bahadur Khan was hanged in Nepal. But it was wrong, as these newspaper reports prove. The execution at Bareilly is well known fact. Just a glimpse of the Govt. files – "4<sup>th</sup>-On Saturday the 24<sup>th</sup> instant,

the prisoner was conveyed to the place of execution before the new *kotwali* under a Guard of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Highlanders, and 1 troop of the Military Police Sowars. I had before sent down 100 of the Military Police to assist the town Police in Keeping the space round, and the approaches to the gallows clear.

5<sup>th</sup>-During the reading of the warrant, he made use of the following expression: "It is true that I killed the Europeans; for this purpose I was born." Again he said "I have killed hundreds of English dogs, it was a noble act, and I triumph in having done it." After all the usual formalities had been gone through the prisoner was hanged at precisely 10 minutes past 7 O'clock A.M., his body remained suspended one hour. The Civil Assistant Surgeon certified in the usual manner that he was dead.

6<sup>th</sup>-I then had the body conveyed to the place of burial in the old jail (which had been decided on by you as, possibly, the best spot for his internment the day before) as it had been rumored that the Mohammedans wished to get the body in order to build a shrine over it.

7<sup>th</sup>-In conclusion I beg to report that notwithstanding the large concourse of spectators, Europeans, Hindoos and Mohammedans no disturbance or indecorum of any sort took place.

I herewith return the original warrant duly endorsed.

It is an extract from letter No.65 of 1860 from H.R.Charke, Joint Magistrate, Bareilly, to W.Roberts, President Special Commission for Trial of Khan Bahadur Khan. It was dated 26<sup>th</sup> March 1860, nearly 3 years after the 1857 War of Independence.

The case of Muhammad Yar Khan, Naib Nazim of Badaun was different. He was also in Nepal - "One Muhomed Yar Khan was formerly in the service of the Government of N.W.P. (Now Uttar Pradesh) The mutinies occurring, he

accepted from Khan Bahadur Khan, the office of Naib Nazim. He has been convicted of being a leader in the rebellion and sentenced to transportation for five years and confiscation of property. His brother now petitions the Governor General and pleads the amnesty. The amnesty does cover the sin and we hope the Government of India will see the policy of making a few signs to show that it has forgotten the rebellion. A similar petition has been presented on behalf of Syud Shabeer, Moradabad, by his wife. Both these cases were reported in *The Hindoo Patriot*, October 3, 1860, available in National Library, Calcutta.

The *Pioneer*, Friday, December 27, 1872, reported it – “We are able to give some information regarding the rebel, Niaz Mahomed Khan, in addition to that we lately extracted from *The Indian Statesman*. He was appointed General by Khan Bahadur Khan, with authority over the district of Budaun. He commanded the rebel contingent of Budaun accordingly in the action near Shumshabad, when they were routed by Sir Hope Grant, and was engaged on several other occasions against the British troops. If this were all there would be no particular occasion to exult in his capture, and in the probability of his punishment. But his principal atrocity was the blowing away from a gun Mithoo Lal, formerly a *Thanadar* under Government, who had shown great kindness to Captain Gowan, while the latter was in hiding. This crime was committed in the presence of hundreds of people in Burdaun; and the two Rajpoot *zamindars* in whose village Captain Gowan had been concealed only escaped the same fate on a large bribe (Rs.5,000) being paid into the rebel treasury by their brotherhood. Niaz Mahomed Khan seems to have fled to Nepal with other rebels. He asserts that he surrendered himself at Fyzabad to some British officers, and was allowed to go away unmolested. Since then he has been to Mecca and Madina, and has been in the service of Junagarh Nawab. The circumstances of his recognition by a sowar of the Guna – Irregular Horse, and his arrest, have been related. He is now

on his way to stand his trial at Badaun.” It happened after 15 years of leaving Nepal.

Another General of Khan Bahadur Khan-Niaz Mohammad Khan was however saved.

Further information respecting the Niaz Mahomed Khan is given by the Pioneer. He was appointed General by Khan Bahadur Khan with authority over Badaun and commanded the rebel contingent of this district in the action near Shumshabad when they were routed by Sir Hope Grant. His chief crime was the blowing away from a gun of Mithoo Lal, a Government *Thanedar* who had shown great kindness to Captain Gowan while the latter was in hiding. The rebel fled to Nepal when order was restored, and since that time has been at Mecca and Medina and in the service of the Junagarh Nawab. He is to be tried at Budaon, the scene of his atrocities. How many more Nawabs, we wonder, have rebels in their service? - asks the editor of *The Friend of India*, January 2, 1873. It is also available in the National Library, Calcutta.

Niaz Muhammad Khan's Statement is most informative regarding Nepal. He says - "I am Nieaz Mahomed Khan, Pathan of Rampur in the Rampur State. I was sent by Khan Bahadur Khan in 'Sawan' with an armed force consisting of 300 sowars, 1700 sepoyes and 2 guns. I first encamped in this district at Seyudpore and was attacked by the Thakoors of Rehriya on a plain between Rehriya and Seyudpore. I defeated the Thakoors, but did not loot their village or burn or loot any villages in pargana Bissoulee. I did not order 17 men to be beheaded at Rehriya. I do not know if the men were beheaded. I was at Bissoulee when Pertab Singh was blown away from a gun. I heard that Abdool Rehman had ordered Pertab Singh, to be blown away. I arrived from shooting on the spot immediately after the execution; Pertab Singh was executed for looting Chandousi and Bislei. I was at Bissoulee in "Sawan" and arrived in Badaun about the commencement of "Koar". I did not order Abdool Guffoor

and Abdool Rehman to be blown away from a gun. I was at Badaun at that time with an armed force of 2500 or 3000 men. I brought 2 guns with me and obtained a third here. Abdul Gaffoor and Abdool Rehman were executed by order of Khan Bahadoor Khan for the murder of a *Faqueer*. My *sepoys* did not blow them away, neither were my guns used. Fasahut Oolah and Abdool Rehman Khan had a gun given to them by Khan Bahadoor Khan and this was used. I remained in Budaun for 20 to 25 days and then received order from Khan Bahadur Khan to join Ishmael and fight the English who had come to Furruckabad. I marched with about 2500 men and 3 guns and fought the English at Shumshabad. Wounded on the head and my leg was crushed by my horse being killed under me. I was defeated and returned to Badaun. I did not wound Khursam Singh (Khush Ram Singh) with a *sepai*, neither did I loot Kurkoulee, Oseith, and Asmah. I did not order Mittoo Lal to be blown away from a gun. I was in Badaun at the time. Khan Bahadur Khan orders Mittoo Lal to be blown away. I don't know for what offence Bahadur Shah Khan brought the order for Mittoo Lal's execution and himself had it carried out. From Badaun I went to Bareilly and thence was sent to Saheswan; fought the Bharoatee villagers, defeated them and took 2 guns from them by order of Khan Bahadur. I then returned to Bareilly and on the arrival of the English there went to Pilibhit with Khan Bahadur Khan. From Pilibhit I went to Mahomdee in company with Khan Bahadur Khan, thence we went to Nanparrah Zillah - Lucknow and afterwards to Nepal. I remained at (in) Nepal for 8 months. I was then summoned by a British officer to appear at Naya Kote in the Gorruckpore Distt. I appeared of my own accord and received a certificate to proceed to my home. I did not do so for the fear of the Nawab. But remained at Lucknow for 1½ years and thence proceeded to Bombay and Mecca. I remained at Mecca for 2 and at Medina for one year, thence returned to Bombay where I remained for 4 months and thence went to Kathiawar where I was employed

as a Sowar by Kumal Deen Khan for 2 years and then engaged in trade for 7 years and afterwards with service as a Sowar of the Nawab Mohabbat Khan of Junagarh for 3 to 4 years and then went to Bombay to meet the Nawab of Rampur on his way to Mecca. Information was there given against me and I was taken before the Burra Sahib, name unknown, and taken into custody. I do not wish to summon any witnesses in this court, I did not sign or issue the Parwana to Shekh Shurruf Oodeen and his brothers to arrest Mr. Steward and his family or that appointing Sirdar Khan a Thanedar – or that to Sirdar Khan to forward supplies to Soorujpore Ghat. I was called Hajee Mahomed Khan at Bombay. My name is Niaz Mohd. Khan. I was arrested in Bombay on 24<sup>th</sup> or 25<sup>th</sup> Ramzan. I was appointed General of the army, sent to Badaun by Khan Bahadur Khan.

Niaz Muhammad was however sentenced to death when came back from Nepal. “Niaz Mahomed Khan the rebel of 57 has been sentenced to death. It is a curious fact that the judge who tried the case was present at the battle of Shumshabad in which the prisoner took so prominent a part.” The irony of fate is noticed by the Editor of *The Friend of India*, April 10, 1873. (National Library, Calcutta).

Niaz Muhammad’s appeal against death sentenced was also reported. “Niaz Mahomed Khan, the convict mutineer, has given notice of an appeal to the High Court of the North-Western Provinces against the sentence of death passed upon him at Badaun. (The N.W.F. or the North West Frontier is nothing but the present Uttar Pradesh, the Western and Northern boundary of the British Govt. was only up to Uttar Pradesh or Delhi (then spelled as Dehli).

‘*The Friend of India*’, dated May 15, 1873, reported that “The appeal of Neaz Mahomed Khan, the mutineer sentenced to death, has been heard before a full bench of the High Court at Allahabad. The Court had reserved judgment but later on transportation for life to Niaz Muhammad Khan was also

reported. "Niaz Mahomed Khan's death sentence has been commuted to transportation for life by the Allahabad High Court. The Chief Justice and Justices Pearson and Jardine, while differing among themselves as to the full force of the Amnesty, to which the prisoner appealed, and as the exact nature of the allegiance to the British Government of one who belonged to the feudatory state of Rampur, decided that there were "extenuating circumstances". The murders were political and they occurred so long ago that, however, cruel, the Court considered them to be adequately atoned for now by transportation for life.

Even after 16 years of returning from Nepal "*The Pioneer*", dated August 5, 1873, reported – "The Indian Observer is still uneasy concerning the judgments of the High Court of the N.W. Provinces in the case of Niaz Mahomed Khan, and devotes a long article to prove that the Judges "do not appear to have understood either the nature of consequences of a 'just war' as distinguished from a revolt or rebellion, or the principles upon which allegiance is founded." We say this is the proposition the article is designed to prove, because it is set forth at the conclusion as the result which the writer deems himself to have reached, but from the preceding remarks themselves, we should have been at some loss to make out precisely the purpose at which they aimed. The Chief Justice differed from Justices Pearson and Jardine in toto respecting the legal bearing on the prisoner's case of the question whether Rampur owed allegiance to the British Crown or not, but *The Observer* is as little inclined to endorse his views as to approve the theory of the majority. It devotes itself to proving very elaborately that Rampur was a vassal State and not independent of our rule, but this is not really the question at stake, as far as the final judgment of the Court is concerned, because it was held that even if Rampur had been independent, Niaz Mahomed would nonetheless have been amenable to our law in entering our territory to make war upon us on his own account. Our contemporary, however,



is determined to find fault with the High Court if only for arriving at a right decision in a wrong way, and therefore remarks – “It is not to be expected perhaps that a Court, which cannot take cognizance of such a document as the Royal Amnesty, should concern itself with treaties.” This shot is aimed very awkwardly. In the most elaborate judgment of the three – that by Mr. Justice Jardine – the actual treaties to which the dissatisfied reviewer refers as to culpably ignored, were discussed, as they stand recorded in the very same work which forms his text-book. We need only add that the writer in *The Observer* betrays strange confusion of mind in reference to the main point on which he fancies the High Court somehow to blame, when he talks about a “Just war” as distinguished from a revolt or rebellion. The “justice” of war has nothing whatever to do with the question whether it involves a legal condition of belligerency between the powers engaged. The most unjust war imaginable might be legally declared and set on foot, and a perfectly just or righteous struggle might be irregularly commenced, and therefore be legally held not to establish a condition of belligerency by international law.

The Nawab Tafazzul Hussain of Farukhabad also surrendered at the advice of Nepal Chief and was later given a death sentence but allowed to go on exile in any other country. He went to Aden for ever. He was not allowed to meet his wife though permitted to see his children. The descendents of this patriot Nawab still reside in Farukhabad in not so good condition.

The 1857 War of Independence was lost for the reason that several states of India had no sense of patriotism. Gwalior and Patiala states were the burning examples. The so called Kings or Rajas of the two Indian states – among others – shamelessly favoured those imperialist Britishers.

The great patriot Rani Laxmi Bai supported by the Nana Sahab Peshwa and with direct military support of Rao Sahab Peshwa and the great Tantya Tope and Firozshah had to face

the opposition of Maharaj Scindia of Gwalior, who had the shameless courage to oppose her in the battlefield at Gwalior Fort. The “Maharaja” of Gwalior ordered his gunmen to fire at the Rani and Rao Sahab Peshwa. But the patriotism in the heart of his *sepoys* both Hindus and Muslims turned the front of their guns towards the Maharaja Sindhia, who at once fled from the battlefield towards Agra, where his “Masters” i.e. the Britishers were. There he remained for the entire period of occupation of Gwalior by Rani Jhansi, Tantya Tope and Rao Peshwa Sahab.

Such was the condition of Patiala State. The Sikh Maharaja assisted the Britishers in each and every way and thus showed lack of Patriotism. The Sikh horsemen were supplied to the Britishers as a friendly gesture and thus openly opposed the brave Hindustani *sepoys* of the 1857 war.

Rana Jang Bahadur, the Chief of Nepal King was also a character like that. May be for such reasons, the British Govt of England made him a “SIR”. He was a man who supported the British in each and every way. When all the British officers were thrown out of Rohilkhand and were hiding themselves in the upper valley of Nainital, this man had the audacity to supply the British with thousands of Gorakha troopers.

The Indian revolutionaries knew for the first time and that also “from a private Letter from Nynee Tal, dated 22<sup>nd</sup> ultimo, it is stated that Jung Bahadur was sending two Goorkha Regiments of 1500 recruits to Almorah; and that Major Ramsay, thus reinforced, would probably commence offensive operations in Rohilkund. From other quarters we learn that the Hindoo of Rohilkund, particularly in the neighborhood of Bijnore, would rise in our favour on the appearance of anybody of our troops in that district.” This information was received even before the battle of Bareilly i.e. 5<sup>th</sup> May 1858. (Kindly see Foreign Department Proceedings, 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1859, Consultation No.128, available in the National Archives, New Delhi.)

The confiscation of revolutionaries, properties was a regular process while these patriots were in Nepal. For example this news item. – “*News dated Bareilly, 27<sup>th</sup> April 1859*” – “The confiscations to Government of the estates of the rebels on this Province, I am told are enormous. Both Khan Bahadur Khan and his Prime Minister Sobah (Shabha) Ram, were large landed proprietors, and their estates, to the Government, who will object to the bestowal of some of these estates on those who have stood by us in the day of trial; but should not the sufferers of the mutiny, who have been with most exemplary patience waiting for compensation, but upon these confiscations, as something to which they have most legitimate claim?”

One of the great leaders of the 1857 War of Independence was Tafazzul Hussain – the Nawab of Farukhabad. He was also one of the commanders at the battle of Bareilly in May 1858. Along with all other revolutionaries he also slipped into Nepal, as reported in the English Newspapers of June 17, 1858.

“Nana Sahib and the Nawab of Farrukabad have, it is stated escaped to Nepal Hills.

So delicate and “Nazuk Mijaz” were those stars of the ruling class of 19<sup>th</sup> century, that they would not face and tolerate the hard life of hills and jungles.

Nawab Tafazul Hussain, was therefore, the first to surrender, misguided by Major Barrow, he surrendered near Bahraich and was brought to Lucknow in fetters. He was “tried” and awarded a death sentenced at Fatehgarh.

The Friend of India, an English newspaper published a news item on May 31, 1859 that the Nawab “intends proceeding to Mecca; he was allowed 24 hours to make up his mind where to go (to avoid the death penalty).”



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