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978-1-108-02327-6 - Kaye's and Malleeson's History of the Indian Mutiny
of 1857-8, Volume 5
John Kaye and George Bruce Malleeson
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Kaye's and Malleeson's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8

This six-volume *History of the Indian Mutiny* (reissued here in its second edition of 1897) was first produced in 1890 by Colonel George Malleeson (1825-98), who combined Sir John Kaye's *History of the Sepoy War in India* with his own later work. Kaye (1814-76) was a prolific writer of biography and history who founded the *Calcutta Review* in 1844. His use of first-hand evidence, collected from personal and professional contacts, supports (perhaps predictably) his assertion that the rebellion is a story of British 'national character', and the narrative is illustrated with biographical and personal anecdotes. Malleeson's contributions however are derived from his controversial 'Red Pamphlet' (1857) and other writings, in which he is unafraid to criticise or praise British troops and administration as the occasion demands. Volume 5 narrates the ending of the Mutiny, concluding, as Kaye had initially proposed, that the events of the period illustrate British strength of character and fortitude.

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VOLUME 5

SIR JOHN KAYE
GEORGE BRUCE MALLEESON



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OF THE
INDIAN MUTINY
OF
1857-8

EDITED BY
COLONEL MALLEESON, C.S.I.

NEW EDITION

IN SIX VOLUMES

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I INSCRIBE THIS VOLUME TO THE MEMORY OF

THE LATE

SIR HENRY MARION DURAND,

K.C.S.I.

A MAN WHO COMBINED A RARE GREATNESS OF SOUL
AND A PERFECT GENIUS FOR AFFAIRS
WITH SIMPLICITY OF MANNERS, DIRECTNESS OF PURPOSE,
AND A DETESTATION OF ALL THAT IS MEAN AND FALSE.

AS WISE IN COUNSEL

AS HE WAS PROMPT AND DECIDED IN ACTION,
HE MET ALL THE STORMS OF LIFE WITH FORTITUDE,
RENDERING EVER, ALIKE BY HIS ACTION AND HIS EXAMPLE,
UNSURPASSED SERVICES TO HIS COUNTRY.

AFTER A SERVICE FULL OF HONOUR, EXTENDING OVER
FORTY-TWO YEARS,

HE DIED IN THE PERFORMANCE OF HIS DUTY.

“HE LEFT A REPUTATION WITHOUT SPOT—THE BEST
INHERITANCE HE COULD BEQUEATH TO HIS CHILDREN.”

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PREFACE TO THE FIFTH VOLUME.

THE present volume concludes the history of the purely military events of the great Indian uprising of 1857.

The question whether that uprising was simply a military mutiny, or a revolt of which that military mutiny constituted the prominent feature, was debated keenly at the time, and is to this day as warmly contested. In the concluding chapter of this volume I have endeavoured to throw some light on the dispute, by the simple process of tracing effect to its cause. There is not a line in that chapter which will not bear the most searching analysis. The conclusion I have arrived at is that the uprising of 1857 was not primarily caused by the greased cartridges; that it was neither conceived nor designed by the Sipáhis. The mutiny was in reality the offspring of the discontent roused by the high-handed measures inaugurated, or at least largely developed, by Lord Dalhousie, and brought to a climax by the annexation of Oudh. The greased cartridge was the opportune instrument skilfully used by a band of conspirators, for the most part men of Oudh, for the purpose of rousing to action the Sipáhis, already made disaffected by consecutive breaches of contract and of faith.

Of these acts—of the attempt, as I have termed it, to disregard the silent growth of ages and to force Western ideas upon an Eastern people, and in the course of that attempt to trample upon prejudices and to disregard obligations—the mutiny was the too certain consequence. It is remarkable that the decisive points of this great uprising were at two places, famous in Indian history, in both of which we had, by force or by the moral power engendered by the possession of force, displaced the former rulers. These places were Dehli and Lakhnao. At the one we were the besiegers, in the other we were besieged.

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Dehli and Lakhaon constituted, so to speak, the wings of the rebel army. Had the centre, represented by Gwáliár, gone with the wings, it had fared badly with us. But, for the reasons I have specially referred to in the concluding chapter, the centre remained sound long enough to enable us to concentrate the bulk of our forces on the two decisive points of the rebel line.

It was after Dehli had fallen and a severe blow had been dealt at Lakhaon that we had to deal with the centre—a centre formidable indeed, but which the loyalty of Sindhiá had deprived of much of its power and prestige. It is with the contest with that centre, carried on by Colonel Durand, Sir Hugh Rose, Sir Robert Napier, Generals Stuart, Roberts, Michel, and Whitlock, Brigadiers Smith, Honner, Parke, Somerset, Colonel Holmes, Becher, and many others, that the military portion of this volume mainly deals; and I venture to affirm that no part of this history is more remarkable for the display of capacity and daring by the generals, of courage and endurance by the men. It is a page of history which every Englishman will read with pride and satisfaction—with pride because the deeds it records were heroic; with satisfaction because many of the actors survive, ready, when they are called upon, to repeat their triumphs in other fields.

But, important and full of interest as are the military records of this volume, the political action it relates is certainly not less so. There was not a moment of more consequence to India than that in which Lord Elphinstone had to decide whether he would content himself with saving his own Presidency, or, risking everything, would send every available man to the decisive points in the endeavour to save India. Not for a second did that illustrious man hesitate. It has been to me a task of no ordinary pleasure to demonstrate how the daring and generous conduct of the Governor of Bombay vitally affected the interests of England at the most critical period of the struggle.

Nor have I experienced less gratification in rendering justice to the character of Lord Canning, as that character developed itself, when, in the early part of 1858, he stood unshackled at Allahábád. I have entered in the concluding chapter so fully into this point, and into others affecting the judgment passed upon his action in the earlier part of his Indian career, that it is unnecessary to allude to the matter further here.

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Since the first edition of this volume was published I have received numerous letters from gentlemen who were actors in the several campaigns, and have conversed with many of them. I have enjoyed the opportunity likewise of revisiting India. The result has been that I have been able to render some share of justice to distinguished officers whose deeds were not so fully described as they deserved to be. I may add that I have likewise obtained the fullest information regarding the transactions between the Government of India and the State of Kírwi prior to 1857, and have re-written that portion of the narrative.

Although I have exerted myself to the utmost to ensure accuracy of detail in all the military operations, I am conscious that there are many other gallant deeds the details of which have not reached me, and which are therefore unnoticed. I have found it impossible, even in a work so bulky as this, to mention every individual who deserved well of his country. When a small body of men attack and defeat a large number of enemies, every man of the attacking party is necessarily a hero. There may be degrees of heroism, but it is difficult to distinguish them. Napoleon, feeling this difficulty, announced to his army after one of his great campaigns that it would be sufficient for a soldier to declare that he had belonged to the army which had fought in that campaign, for the world to recognise him as a brave man. That assurance is certainly not less applicable to the soldiers whose gallant deeds are recorded in this volume, and on whom the campaigns of Málwá, of Central India, of the southern Maráthá country, and again of Málwá and Rajpútáná, have fixed the stamp of heroes.

The appendix gives the story of Tántiá Topí's career as related by Tántiá Topí himself.

I cannot conclude without expressing the deep obligations under which I lie to the many gentlemen who have placed their journals and letters, all written at the time, at my disposal. The value of the information I have thus been able to obtain is not to be expressed in words. But especially do I desire to acknowledge the benefit I have received from the services of the gifted friend who read the first edition of this volume in proof-sheets, and whose frank and judicious criticisms greatly contributed to the clearness and accuracy of the military narrative.

I may add that there is in the press a sixth volume, which, in addition to an analytical index prepared by my friend,

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Mr. Pincott, will contain a reference, taken in the order of the Governorships, Lieutenant-Governorships, and Chief-Commissionerships to which they severally belonged, to many of the civil districts throughout India. To this volume has been transferred the narrative of the five civil districts, and the chapter regarding the Indian Navy, which originally appeared in this volume. Although I have taken the greatest pains to ascertain the truth regarding the events in several of these stations, I am conscious that much has been left still to be recorded. In but few cases were journals kept; many of the actors are dead; many are old and indifferent. I trust, however, that it will be found that I have succeeded in unearthing many deeds of daring, in rescuing from oblivion more than one reputation, and generally in adding to the interest of the story of the most stupendous event that has occurred in the reign of Queen Victoria.

G. B. MALLEESON.

*27, West Cromwell Road,
1st July, 1889.*

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LIST AND SHORT DESCRIPTION OF IMPORTANT
PLACES MENTIONED IN THIS VOLUME, AND NOT
DESCRIBED IN PREVIOUS VOLUMES.



AMJHÉRA, a Native State in Málwá, within an area of 584 square miles.

ÁSÍRGARH is a fortress in the Nimár district of the Central Provinces, situate on a spur of the Sátpúra range. It stands at an elevation of 850 feet, and is a place of great strength. It was once taken by Akbar, and twice by the English, to whom it now belongs. It lies 313 miles from Bombay.

AURANGÁBÁD, a city in the Haidarábád State, which derives its name from the Emperor Aurangzib, who built here a beautiful mausoleum over the remains of his favourite daughter. It lies 215 miles from Bombay, and 690 from Madras.

BÁLÁBET, a town in the Gwáliár State, 40 miles to the north-west of Ságár.

BANDAH, chief town of district of same name, now in the Allahábád division, 95 miles south-west of Allahábád, and 190 south-east from Ágra.

BÁNPUÍR, a parganah in the Lálitpúr district, Central Provinces, forming the seat of a chief who rebelled in 1857.

BELGÁON, the chief town of the district of the same name in the Southern Maráthá country, situate on the northern slopes of the Bellárá watershed, 2500 feet above the sea. It is 318 miles from Bombay.

BHOPÁWÁR, a ruinous town in the Gwáliár State; 64 miles south-west of Ujjén, and 330 south-west of Gwáliár.

BURHÁNPUÍR, an ancient and famous city in the Nimár district of the Central Provinces, was for a long period the capital of Khándesh, and the chief city of the Dakhan under the Mughul emperors. It lies on the north bank of the Taptí. It was founded by Nasír Khán, of Khándesh, and was called after the renowned Shekh Burhanu'din, of Daulatábád. It is famous for its quaint porcelain. It is two miles from the Lálbágh station of the Great India Peninsula Railway.

CHÁNDÉRI, a town and fortress in the Gwáliár State, described at page 104.

CHARKHÁRÍ, capital of State of same name in Central India, on the route from Gwáliár to Bandah, 41 miles south-west of the latter.

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x **SHORT DESCRIPTION OF PLACES.**

- DEWÁS**, a State in the Central Indian Agency, with two chiefs, one called Bábá Sáhí, the other Dádá Sáhí. The territories of the former have an area of 1378 square miles; those of the latter, 6197 square miles; yet the Bábá Sahib is the senior of the two.
- DHÁR**, a State in the Central Indian Agency, with an area of 2500 square miles. Its capital is also called Dhár.
- DHÁRWÁR**, capital of district of the same name in the Southern Maráthá country, lies 351 miles from Bombay. Is a great cotton centre.
- GORARÍÁ**, a village in the Gwáliár State, between Nímach and Mandesar.
- HAIDARÁBAD**, described in the text, page 80.
- JABALPÚR**, capital of district and division of the same name in the North-West Provinces. The town is an important centre of trade. It lies 700 miles from Calcutta; 202 from Allahábád; 879 from Madras, and 674 from Bombay.
- JALÁUN**, a town in the district of the same name in Jhánsí territory. The district has an area of 1469 square miles, and comprises the towns, Kalpí, Kúneh, Jaláun, and Uráí (the capital). The chief rivers in the district are the Jamnah, the Betwá, and the Pahúj.
- JÁMKHÁNDÍ**, capital of State of same name in Southern Maráthá country, 70 miles north-east of Belgáon; 68 east of Kolhápúr, and 162 south-east of Puná. The chief maintains a force of 57 horse and 852 foot.
- KÍRWÍ**, a town, formerly capital of a principality in Bundelkhand, 45 miles from Bandah.
- KOLÁPÚR**, capital of a native State of the same name between the Retnagírí and Belgáon districts, distant 128 miles south-east from Puná; 64 from Satárah, and 220 from Bombay.
- KULÁDEÍ**, capital of the district of the same name in the Southern Maráthá country, to the north-east of Belgáon. It lies 314 miles from Bombay.
- KUNCH**, a town in the Jaláun district, 19 miles west of Uráí, and 42 miles south-west of Kalpí.
- KURUNDWÁD** is the capital of two States of the same name in the Southern Maráthá country, ruled by two branches of the Patwardhan family.
- LÁLTPÚR**, capital of a district in the Jhánsí division, as it now is, of the North-West Provinces. The district borders on that of Ságár.
- MALTHON**, a town in the Ságár district, 40 miles north of Ságár.
- MÁLWÁ**, the name applied to the western portion of the Central Indian Agency. It is a tableland of uneven surface, rising from 1500 to 2000 feet above the level of the sea, bounded on the west by the Araváli range; on the south by the Vindhya chain; on the east by Bundelkhand, and on the north-east by the valley of the Ganges. It comprises the States of Gwáliár, Indúr, and Dhár.
- MÁLWÁ (WESTERN)** is the westernmost tract of Málwá, and constitutes a subordinate agency of the Central Indian Agency. It comprises the States Jáurá, Ratlam, Sóláná, and Sítámáu.
- MANDESAR**, a town in Sindhiá's dominions, on a tributary of the Chambal, 80 miles from Ujjen, 120 from Indur, and 328 from Bombay.

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SHORT DESCRIPTION OF PLACES.

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- MEHRIDPUR**, a town in the Indúr State, on the right bank of the Síprá, north of Ujjén, 432 miles from Bombay. Since 1817, when Sir J. Hislup defeated Mulhar Ráo Holkar on the banks of the Síprá, it has been a cantonment for British troops.
- MIRÁJ**, capital of State of same name in Southern Maráthá country. The chief is a first-class Sirdár, with a military force of 597 men.
- MUDHAL**, capital of State of same name in Southern Maráthá country, south of the Jámkhándi State. The chief maintains a military force of 700 men.
- NÁGOD**, town in the Uchahará district, Central Indian Agency, on the direct route by Rewah from Ságár to Allahábád; is 48 miles from the first; 43 from the second, 180 from the third, and 110 from Jabalpúr.
- NARGUND**, town in the Dhárwár district, 32 miles north-east of Dhárwár. The chief lost his possessions in consequence of his conduct in 1857, related in this volume.
- NARSINHUR**, a district in the Narbadá division of the Central Provinces, with an area of 1916 square miles. Its capital, also called Narsinhpúr, is on the River Singrí, a tributary of the Narbadá. It lies 60 miles to the west of Ságár.
- PÚCH** a village in the Jhánsi district, on the road from Kalpí to Gúnah, 55 miles south-west of the former, and 150 north-east of the latter.
- PUNÁ**, the ancient Maráthá capital, is situate near the confluence of the Mutá and Mulá, in a plain 2000 feet above the sea. It is 90 miles from Bombay. Adjoining it is the artillery cantonment, Kírkí, where Colonel Burr, in 1817, defeated the Peshwá's army.
- RÁHATGARH**, a fortified town in a tract of the same name in the Ságár district, 25 miles to the west of the town of Ságár.
- RAIPÚR**, capital of the district of the same name in the Central Provinces, 177 miles to the east of Nágpúr, by the road from that place to Calcutta.
- REWAH**, native State in Bundelkhand, having a capital of the same name. It is bounded to the north by the Bandah, Allahábád, and Mírzápúr districts; to the east by part of the Mírzápúr district and the territories of Chutiá Nágpúr; on the south by the Chhatísgarh, Jabalpúr, and Mandlá districts; on the west by Maihir, Nágód, and the Kothí States. It has an area of 13,000 square miles. The position of the town is described in the text.
- SÁGAR**, capital of the district of the same name, situated on an elevated position, 1940 feet above the sea, on the north-west borders of a fine lake nearly a mile broad, whence it derives its name (Ságár, *Anglicè*, the Sea). It lies 90 miles north-west of Jabalpúr; 185 miles north of Nágpúr; 313 miles south-west of Allahábád; 224 miles north-east of Indur, and 602 from Bombay.
- SÁNGLÍ**, capital of the State of the same name in Southern Maráthá country, the chief of which is a Sirdár of the first class, with a military force of 822 men. It is situate on the River Krishna, to the north-east of Kohlápúr.

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SATÁRAH, capital of the district of the same name, lies 56 miles south of Puná, at the junction of the Krishna and the Yena. It is 163 miles from Bombay.

SÁVÁNUR, capital of State of same name in the Dhárwár district; lies 39 miles south by east of Dhárwár. The Nawáb is of Afghán descent.

SHÁHGARH, town in Ságár district, Central Provinces, 40 miles north-east of the town of Ságár.

SIHOR, a town in the Bhopál State, Central India; situate on the right bank of the Saven, on the road from Ságár to Ásirgarh, 132 miles south-west from the former, and 152 north-east from the latter; 22 miles from Bhopál, and 470 from Bombay.

TAL-BAHAT, chief town of parganah of same name in Lálitpúr district, Central Provinces, stands on a hill, 26 miles north of the town of Lálitpúr.

TEHRÍ, capital of the Tehrí or Urchah estate, to the east of Lálitpúr. It is 72 miles north-west of Ságár. The Rájah is looked upon as the head of the Bundelás.

UJJÉN, a very important town—more so formerly than now—on the Síprá, in the Gwáliár State. The modern town is six miles in circumference, and surrounded by groves and gardens. The old town lies about a mile to the north of the new town. It is 1698 feet above the sea. It is 40 miles from Indur.

ÚRCHÁH, ancient capital of State of the same name, also called Tehrí, in Bundelkhand. The State is bounded on the west by the Jhánsí and Lálitpúr districts; on the south by the Lálitpúr district and Bijáwar; on the east by Bijáwar, Charkhári, and Garáuli. The town is on the Betwá.

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