Chapter - VI

Pinkaney's Narrative of Jalaun
Chapter No. 6

Pinkaney's Narrative of Jalaun

After the Battle of Kalpi the Rani along with Rao Sahib marched to Gopalpur, a place 46 miles South West of Gwalior. The Nawab of Banda and Tantia Tope also joined them at Gopalpur. Their condition was perilous indeed because they have lost the strong forts of Jhansi & Kalpi. It was cause of worry for them. Moreover, the army of revolutionary leaders demoralized. They thought that they would be overwhelmed by the pursuing British troops.

Of course in spite of set back received at Kalpi they had not lost the will to fight but in fact they lacked resources at their command. At this critical juncture it was once again the shrewd and calculating Rani brought them out despair. Malleson gives full credit to the Rani for her wisdom and astute judgment Malleson\(^2\) he states “the situation then seemed desperate to the rebel chieftain. But desperate situation suggests desperate remedies, and the remedy which on first inspection, might well seemed desperate, did occur to the fertile brain of one of the confederates. To which one its is certainly not known. But judging the leading group of confederates by there antecedents as Rao Sahib, the Nawab of Banda, Tantia Tope and the Rani of Jhansi, we may at once dismissed the first too from consideration. They possessed neither the character nor genius to conceive a plan so vast and so daring. Of the too remain we may dismiss Tantia Tope not that he was incapable of forming the design but we have his memories and in those he takes to himself no credit for the most successful at with which his career is associated. The fourth conspirates possessed the genius, the daring the despair necessary for the conceptions of great deeds\(^3\)". 

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Thus it is clear that among the above revolutionary leaders it was the courage and wisdom of Rani of Jhansi which inspired them to fight the enemy tooth and kneel and for this very purpose they were in search of a safe fort of Gwalior suited most for this purpose. The details as appears from the letter Pinkaney indicates that Huge Rose had attacked Kalpi on 23rd May and after a feeble opposition the revolutionaries abandoned the fort and fled by the Jalaun at Shergarh roads.

The fugitives including the Rani, Banda Nawab first reached to Indoorki on the Scind river in Kachwaghari where they have been joined by the mutineer from Shergarh and also by the Mizoopur Raja and the Nawab of Fattigah etc with the small party. It appears from this very letter that all of them very desperate and had no guns. Meanwhile, Major Roberts was ordered by Hugh Rose to observe them with his troops.

The above analysis throw light that the revolutionary party went to Indoorki and after that they assembled at Gopalpur where the Rani of Jhansi suggested them to move towards Gwalior to capture the fort. Tahananker quoted the version of Rani which she stated to the revolutionary leaders as follows:

"Let us remember that through the history of the Marhatta kings they were victorious because of their possession of fortresses like Jhansi and Kalpi that enabled us to fight the British for so long. Unfortunately we have lost them, and we cannot make a fight without a strong fort. It is no use trying to run away: the enemy is sure to pursue & destroy us. We must capture a strong fortress and under its protection carry on our struggle till victory is won.... . I think we should march upon Gwalior and obtain the
help of the Maharaja & his army. With that fort in our hands we can still carry on the war and win victory”.

The revolutionary leaders marched on May 27, 1858 to Mahonah where a council of revolutionary was held to determine the future course\(^6\). In the end an order was issued to march next morning, the 28\(^{th}\) May to cross Scindhia’s frontier, the scind river to Amain\(^7\). In the morning, Rahim Ali Khan Kumone in Aligarh also joined the revolutionary party with 400 sowars and 400 matchlockmen from Bareilley\(^8\).

**Tantia Topee was the mastermind behind the capture of Gwalior**

Some noted stories suggest that the plan to capture Gwalior was conceived by Tantia Topee\(^9\). Sen and T.R. Holmes\(^10\) does not rule out Tantia whom he states did not lack either daring or originality. In Macpherson’s view which was supported by Hamilton that it was Tantia who convinced Rao Sahib regarding the capture of Gwalior\(^11\).

On the other hand leaders it appears that Tantia did not make even a single statement a playing any role in the deliberations of rebel leaders council which adopted the revolution to capture Gwalior. Tantia may not have been a consummate General; nevertheless, he was a man of matchless quality. He was an intelligent & shrewd and conversationalist, who had the gift of persuasion and forming combinations. He could create dissensions whenever it suited his purpose\(^13\). His relations were residing in Gwalior. He had earlier paid two visits to Gwalior, where his son-in-law lived and fully succeeded in luring the forces of Scindhia to the rebel cause. It was due to his instigations that the soldiers of Gwalior regiment had fought against the
British in the Battle of Kalpi. Almost half of work was done and need was to win over the remaining forces a Gwalior state which were loyal to the Maharaja Scindia.

Tantia was commissioned for this noble cause of winning over these troops to the rebel cause and therefore, he was sent in advance to do the needful this role was fulfilled by Tantia with a great skill.

As far as the atmosphere of Gwalior in those days it was in fluid state. The troops of Scindia had been lying idle they were rather perplexed as to why there were not led to against British. In fact many of the soldiers and officers were quite sympathetic for rebel cause. Scindia was instructed by the British political agent to keep the troops in good humour and promptly pay their salaries so they may not be influenced by mutiny. Tantia was in touch with the Scindha’s troops and thus he lost no time in contacting with militarian civil officers of Gwalior. In his scheme he was helped by his son-in-law who resided at Gwalior and the Police Commissioner who was the resident of Bithoor and well known to Tantia.

The rebellious leaders Rani of Jhansi & Rao Sahib who were proceeding to Gwalior met Tantia Topee on 26th May at Burragaon, eight miles from Gwalior where they held a council to decide the future course. Meanwhile three British columns were conversing on them and on the fourth side was Scindia of Gwalior. Being surrounded by the enemies Rao Sahib asked where they should go next. The Rani, in one version proposed advancing in Karrera but Tantia suggested that even Bundelkhand would be better. Rao Sahib was against of this proposal because he thought that the Bundelas who were hostile to us will create problem and moreover, there was no supply available to the rebel forces. Thus he suggested to go to
Deccan \(^{16}\). When the Rani decided to attack Gwalior fort and the idea became successful. The fort of Gwalior was captured and Scindia fled to Agra \(^{17}\).

The victory was celebrated with great fanfare and grandeur, grand festivities and pompous celebrations were held. The armed forces who took part in this venture were given three month salaries along with two months gratuity. The Rao Sahib entered the Darbar Hall of Gwalior with the great honour and received salute of 101 guns \(^{18}\).

Major Pinkaney in his narrative of 1858 informed the Secretary to the Government on dated 05\(^{th}\) June that “last night authentic intelligence was brought to me that the Jhansi Rani, Rao Sahib & other rebels have possessed themselves of Gwalior, its forts etc and the Scindia has fled to Agra. Of course this news will have reached you long before you receive this letter. As yet the fact is not widely known, but once it is I am afraid that it will have a very unfavourable effect on this division and that the disorders in it will greatly increase \(^{19}\)”. However, the victory achieved in Gwalior did not last long. Hugh Rose who had cancelled his leave proceeded towards Gwalior with great determination to accomplish his task before the rains arrived. Thus he left Kalpi on 6 June and arrived in Morar Cantonment on 6\(^{th}\) June.

Major Pinkaney in his letter had informed to Secretary of N.W.P. from his camp near Moth dated 6\(^{th}\) June that Maj. Orr was directed by Hugh Rose to proceed with Hyderabad Contingent via Jhansi towards Gwalior \(^{20}\). It appears from this narrative that after the departure of Maj. Orr Hyderabad Contingent Jhansi district would be without troops and thus the rebellious
activities would continue in between Betwa & Dhasan rivers with a great rapidity. It would have bad impact on the affairs of Bundelkhand.

Pinkaney also requested the Secretary of in that very letter, it would be better if Whitlock could spare a small light column on his arrival of Kalpi for the purpose of moving about the South of Jalaun & North of Jhansi. It would check the activities of rebellious Thakurs.21 As discussed earlier the region of Bundelkhand especially the country between Betwa and Dhasan comprising the three Tehsils of Garotha, Pandwaha & Mhow were more disturbed than any other part22. Infact this disturbance was the impact of the capture of Gwalior fort by Rani of Jhansi.

Hugh Rose in fact the master of strategy he attacked on the rebel forces at that time when they were completely unprepared. Rani of Jhansi attired in battle dress a commander took up the position to block the passage of Brigadier Smith who were marching upon Gwalior from the Agra road 23. The rebels forces under the Rani poured deadly fire upon the British, However, in the thick of battle as fate had willed, the Rani did martyr's death which ended her heroic career24.

**Reaction of the Martyrdom of Rani Laxmi Bai & Fresh Flare up of the Revolt in Bundelkhand**

With the martyrdom of Rani Laxmi Bai in Gwalior the leadership of the revolt really passed from the hand of the kings & the princely states to that of the people’s leader. In fact there was great reaction of the death of Rani Jhansi. People in general remembered the heroic deeds and the spirit of struggle which the great Rani had preserved while fighting against the foreign rule. With the result the people started gathering and supporting
their leaders so that the revolution could continue in Bundelkhand and its rural areas. It was the demonstration of the real spirit of fight.

With the result the revolt in Bundelkhand did not come to an end with the death of Rani of Jhansi the people resisted against British rule and prolonged their struggle for a considerable time and even in some parts for several years.

In Jalaun and Hamirpur and in remote areas there was high resistance against the British rule. With the result Chanderi, Lalitpur, Koonch and Jalaun were reoccupied by the revolutionaries. Several leaders of note like Burjor Singh, Daulat Singh, Chattur Singh, Bakht Singh, Kashinath, Mansaram, Ranmast Singh & Desput & the most of others resisted the British authorities for a long pretty time and the British Government was at great pains to suppress their revolutionary activities. The immediate effect of the fall of Laxmi Bai was the rise of the revolutionary activities of Rajas of Banpur and Shahgarh. They became active again in their respective regions. Rao Sahib, Shahjada Firozshah and Tantia made further attempts to make Bundelkhand the field of their activities. Tantia Topee fought the British on Guerilla tactics which was adopted by the Marathas in Deccan against the Mughals.

The geographical atmosphere of Bundelkhand its ravines, jungles its hilly nature suited most to the Guerilla warfare. No doubt the British announced generous rewards for the capture of these notable leaders whose activities had become a source of great trouble to foreign rulers but this move could not gain popularity. Later on the matter was considered futile with the result the Lt. Governor gave up such offers.
Activities of Raja Mardan Singh of Banpur & Raja Bakht Bali of Sagar

Mardan Singh and Bakht Bali both were greatly aggrieved by the British authority and that is why they were deadly opposing the British rule. Both of them were the active leaders of the revolt of 1857 who actively cooperated the Rani of Jhansi and other leaders. After the fall of Laxmi Bai, Mardan Singh and Bakht Bali parted company with other revolutionary leaders before the action at Koonch proceeded to their territories to make common cause with their people who had against challenge the British supremacy in their regions\textsuperscript{27}. First of all they started dealing with the local chiefs who had been supporting the British and betraying the cause of national honour.

It is well known that the Raja of Gursarai who had occupied Kotra from the British side was driven away by the Raja of Madanpur and Shahgarh. Major Orr also failed to protect Kotra by maintaining the authority of Raja of Gursarai over it. With the result the Chief of Gursarai was forced to abandon Kotra.

Soon after the villages of Chanderi district came under the banner of Banpur Chief\textsuperscript{28}. The fort of Chanderi was recaptured on May 13, 1858. It was followed the reoccupation of Lalitpur and Talbehat 29 these victories Subbotage British prestige in that region.
Activities of Burjor Singh of Jalaun District:

Burjor Singh was the most prominent leaders of the district Jalaun who continued to resist the British power. Major Orr was ordered to suppress his activities with the result he attacked on Belawa on May 31, 1858 where Burjor Singh’s 150 armed followers were killed but with the departure of Hugh Rose’s force to Gwalior from Kalpi, Jalaun, Kuchwaghar once again Rose in revolt Koonch which was held by the chief of Gursarai was recaptured by the revolutionaries led by Burjor Singh and Daulat Singh.30

Major Pinkaney in his narrative informed the Secretary from his camp at Kalpi on 28th May 1858 that the “Rais of Gursarai holds Koonch for us and I have directed him to send a party to Jalaun & protect that place also.

Burjor Singh of Belawa, South-East of Koonch, is at the head of a large body of plunderers and save near where the British forces are. The Jalaun district is in great disorder and the people in some parts, particularly round Kalpi, have shown a strong feeding against us. Thus it is clear that Burjor Singh and his followers had been very active in Jalaun district after Hugh Rose departure to Gwalior.

The activities of revolutionary leaders were not confined only to Jalaun district but in fact they had covered adjoining areas also. Major Pinkaney in the above letter has also mentioned that disorder had broken out in Jhansi district between Koonch and Jhansi. In fact Moth was much affected Dabey Singh and Baldev of Maiwai were also active in opposing the British like Burjor Singh they had also collected a large body of
followers and attacked Moth on 23rd May. Dabey Singh had plundered the town, burnt down the tehsils and thanas & drove out the government officials.

Under these circumstances Hugh Rose was directed to send troops to put down rebellious activities of these above chiefs. Major Pinkaney informed again that he himself was willing to accompanied and take the charge of the Jhansi district because captain Maclean had been appointed to Chanderi.

The disorder which had broken in Jalaun under the leadership of Burjor Singh of Belawa had caused great anxiety to the British mind. They were of the opinion that the immediate the suppression of Burjor Singh and his party was necessary to settle the affairs in Bundelkhand. Pinkaney while reporting the Secretary from his camp near Moth on dated 05th June referred that the surprise and punishment inflicted on Burjor’s party at Belawa had a good effect. In the sense that the three influential Thakurs of Behat, Ameta and Baroda who had been previously with Burjor Singh had now crossed towards to the British side. Perhaps this treachery was committed by them on some allurement. It would have given wrong signal and rather discouraged the affected area but the above Thakurs did not command as much influence as Burjor Singh.

Thus their treachery was not of much significance. The territory of Jalaun bordering to Jhansi district was equally disturbed. Perhaps it was the impact of the activities of district Jalaun on Jhansi that his people had been actively resisting the British rule.
Pinkaney reported that in the very same letter of 5th June\textsuperscript{33} that small bodies of rebels ranging from 200 to 1000 were moving about and plundering in every direction beyond the radius of 20 miles from Jhansi. The chief seat of disorder was the territory that lay between the Dhasan of Betwa river around Gursarai and Garota. A large body of rebels said to amount to 1500 matchlock men and 200 horses who have crossed over from Raath are now attacking Gursarai Major Pinkany quoted the happening as follow :–

“We can hear their guns and Major Orr’s force that shall accompany him will march tonight to attack and relieve Gursarai the Chief of which had lately afforded considerable support to the British Government.” The people of Bundelkhand had been greatly annoyed with the chief of Gursarai because he had been supporting the British cause of strengthening the Empire in Bundelkhand. This anger of the people had inspired them to attack Gursarai. So that the chief could be given defeated reply.

Of his letter No. 252, dated 14\textsuperscript{th} June\textsuperscript{34} had referred the most disturbed condition of these three tehsils of Garotha, Pandwaha Mhow. He again refers that “A band of 300 infantry mutineers and about 400.Cavalry mutineers were beaten us from the Hamirpur district and to whom are joined about 1200 or 1500 rebels more about their plundering at their pleasure. From one end to the another, some around Gursarai were the chief of that place and Tehsildar Banda Ali hold their own,” In this letter Pinkaney reported about Comparatively quiet situation about Jalaun district which was perhaps outcome was the betrayal of the chiefs of Behat, Baroda and Ameta who had recently joined the British camp. The chief of Gursarai was holding Koonch for the British with 500 men. He had also employed 100 men the protection of Jalaun. The forts of Kola & syadnagar on the Between which close the district roads from the disturbed parganas of
Garotha, Pandwaha, and Mhow to Jalaun had also been protected by 100 men of Gursarai chief.

Thus the over all picture of district Jalaun and territory between Betwa & Dhasan upto 14th June 1858 revealed the same picture of disturbance which had been continuing after the martyrdom of Rani of Jhansi.

The comparatively calm prevailed in Jalaun upto 23rd June Pinkaney in his letter of 23rd June 1858\(^3\) referred that in Jalaun all was quiet upto the 21st June. Captain Ternan’s last reports Burjor Singh of Belawa with a small party of followers was lurking about in the jungle and ravines near Duboh. Revenue was being collected but slowly. Captain Ternan has deemed it necessary to arrest Radha Bai of Sirsi because of her rebellious activities on the she was put under surveillance in Kalpi.

However in spite of a short interval the rebellious activities continued again Jalaun under the leadership of Burjor Singh this time the revolutionaries of Itawa had also crossed the boundary and entered into Jalaun. Pinkaney reported on 27th June 58\(^3\) that “this morning I have also received and express from Captain Ternan, Deputy Commissioner of Jalaun stating that a considerable body of rebels and mutineer’s, horse and foot have crossed the Jamuna near Jagmanpur into the Jalaun district from that of Etawa & that two other parties of rebels are near Duboh & Lahar. Captain Ternan is of opinion that Jalaun should be occupied by our troops, but there none to spare from Kalpi. I entirely conquer with Captain Ternan regarding the propriety of our having a military post at Jalaun”.

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In fact Jalaun district was much disturbed, Burjor Singh who was previously lurking in ravines jungles of Daboh & near by areas appears to have in collision with revolutionaries of Etawa who had recently entered into Jalaun district. Burjor Singh and the recent arrival of revolutionary party would have acted in jointly to create anarchy in the district. More over Jalaun being in the center of the district and surrounded by turbulent and dissatisfied Thakur could have created trouble to the British. Pinkaney feared that an enemy once in possession in Jalaun could raise all the country round open direct communication with the rebels between the Dhasan and Betwa. And thus they would have caused great inconvenience to the British authorities the situation appeared to the more serious in light of Captain Ternan’s inability to spare force to tackle the new menace.

As far as the availability of the troops from the neighboring district Pinkaney again informed in such that no troops are available in the Jhansi or Jalaun district for the operations against the rebels in the field.

As far as the situation of the civil authorities who had been directed to collect revenue and maintain law & order in Jalaun. The situation was changed because of the fresh rebellious activities Pinkaney informed that up to “this time the tehsil & thanedar have remained at their posts buoyed up by the hope of troops coming to put down the rebels in their neighbourhood and rebels have refrained from attacking them thinking that they have the example of the rebels between the Dhasan & Betwa before them and find that we do not more a man to the assistance of our promise and revenue posts, the dissatisfied population who are the majority will take part and the insurrection will rapidly spread unless a sufficient force be held ready & available to attack & disperse them”. 

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Pinkaney reported further in the very same letter that our thanedar & tehsildar too will be disheartened & abandoned their forts, for all they have to support them all the followers of friendly Thakur’s or troops furnished by native states, who are not to be depended upon for fighting have in many instances proved treacherous or cowards & who will probably make terms with the rebels should any difficulty occur like those at Mauanipur & surrender the government swords as the price of their safety.

The above letter refers the very grim situation of Jalaun which was no doubt the outcome of the rebellious activity of Burjor Singh and the recent arrival of the revolutionaries from Etawa. Thus new threat was so powerful that even the Deputy Commissioner Ternan and the authorities of adjoining district of Jhansi were equally disturbed. Pinkaney thought that if the revolutionaries were not suppressed in Jalaun and their activities continued without checked certainly the new atmosphere could create impact on Jhansi too.

With the result fresh outbreak appears possible in Jhansi district. No doubt a few Thakurs who had been previously with Burjor Singh had walked over to the British Camp but the British authorities were not sure about their loyalty. The foreign officers never relied on the loyalty of the native rather they thought they if the authorities loosened, the Thakurs who are with the Chief who are with the British side could have rejoined the main stream under this circumstances. Pinkaney worried about the new situation and requested immediate force for the suppression of the revolutionaries of Jalaun district.

Moreover, he had also apprehended that if a police battallion is raised in this division like sum other division then the even be enlist would be from
the same race as has the rebels and very often related to them and thus they would not be effective against the rebels.

On second July, 1858 Pinkaney stated further in his letter that the grave situation of Jalaun. He writes that the rebels from Kuchwaghgar having being joined by a large body which crossed the Betwa from Mauranipur. They have collectively taken and plundered the last town of Koonch which was still in their possession. The rebels had driven out our Thanas along with 500 men placed by the Gursarai Chief.

It is worthwhile to mention here that rebels of Jalaun district had been carrying out their activities in collaboration with the rebel party of district Jhansi which had crossed Betwa from Mauranipur and reached Jalaun. This combined rebels had also appointed their out post between Koonch and Moth and their number was about 2000 men. Major Pinkaney reported to the higher authorities about the prevailing situation at Koonch. He had also applied to Col.Liddle, Commandant of Jhansi for military aid. With the result the latter had spare a small contingent at the disposal of Pinkaney. It was done chiefly to bring normalcy in between the areas of Moth & Jhansi.

Besides Pinkaney also written to the District Commissioner of Jalaun desiring military aid. Thus it would not be in proper to say that the situation of Jalaun were between from bad to worse day-by-day.

**Further Activities of Burjor Singh and Daulat Singh**

As we have seen earlier Burjor Singh of Belawa was the main figure behind the revolutionary activities in Jalaun. Major Pinkaney’s narrative of 07th July 1858 which was reported from Moth refer that of that day Burjor
Singh had possessed the control of Pahooj river, 13 miles west of Koonch and about 23 miles from the place (Moth) of Pinkaney’s reporting.

The rebel leader had occupied and the small fort there and had made this country difficult on the basis of his followers numbering between to 1800 to 2000 men. The greater part of this force had left this division to join the Gwalior insurgents but subsequently returned to this area of this region. Burjor Singh was not alone who was providing leadership to the rebels.

But infact Daulat Singh of Indoorki was equally in commanding position. He had another large body of followers on whom assistance Daulat Singh plundered Kuchwaghari. He had the support of plunderers who had recently crossed from the Itawa district and thus he was plundering along the south bank of Jamuna. Besides Daulat Singh there were other rebellious chief who had also been very active in between Betwa and Dhasan rivers.

Pinkaney reported in the very same letter on 07th July that large part of the Mauranipur rebels had marched north ward and reached at Doonkooru, 10 miles East of Gurasarai. This party was led by the leaders like Desput and Chattur Singh. They number about 2000 matchlockmen.

Pinkaney again reported that a party of above 200 matchlockmen under Juggat Singh, which was at Bunare, 10 miles south of Gursarai intended to make a combined movement on Jalaun or Orai. Taking into consideration the combine strength of rebels Pinkaney feared that this Junglee tracts could be very difficult to be helpful to British army which was not in much number to suppress the rebellions in Jalaun district. He
had also drawn the attention of his government the necessity of establishing the permanent military detachment either at Jalaun or Koonch for the protection of the Western part of Jalaun. Jalaun which was in great disorder would have suited most. Since the Kalpi forces were busy in suppressing the revolutionaries in their on areas and thus they would not be spared for Jalaun. The situation in this part would deteriorate again.

As far as the position of Jhansi concerned about half of this area was held by the rebels. And thus no force could have been spared from Jhansi to Jalaun. With the result the rebels party was carrying out a petty warfare. The most important aspect of his fight was that the people of Bundelkhand thought that was war of liberation and therefore, the people greatly aided their support to the rebels.

Burjor Singh who had identified himself as the son of the soil had been fighting against the foreign forces with the great vigour. He had held Mhow on the Pahuj river along with 2000 matchlockmen and was successful in capturing two small forts in the neighborhood. Pinkaney reported on 15th July further that Burjor Singh had appointed his own Thanas and his collecting kists and force contributions. He had also forbidden cultivators in his neighbourhood to plough without first getting a patta from him.

Thus the rebel leader had virtually become the master of territory which lay between Betwa and Dhasan. Burjor Singh as seen earlier was successful in bringing about co-ordination between the revolutionary operating in Jalaun district those who were actively engaged in fighting against the foreign forces in between above rivers.
Daulat Singh of Indoorki was also a leader of eminence who was active in the neighborhood of Jalaun along with a party of 400 and 500 mutineers. He had four guns with him which were placed at Kanjoosa at the Junction of the Scind and Jamuna rivers. Pinkaney pointed out in the very same letter that our ally Gopal Pur Raja and the Thanedar of Lahar no doubt managed to defeat a party of plunderers from Gwalior but in reality it has no lasting effect on the conditions of Jalaun.

In short the South West of Jaluan district was in very disturbed state. As far as the rebellious activities of district Jhansi, it appears that the rebels under the Desput, Junoobaya, Chattur Singh and Bakht Singh of Alipura had been operating near Mauranipur. They had considerable force with them consisting of 8000 or 9000 men which included 300 mutineers infantry, 300 to 400 mutineers cavalry. They had two middle sized guns and six small guns with them. Juggat Singh and other revolutionary leaders who were at his village Busneru with 600 men and 500 insurgents were active at Pandwaha near Todi Fatehpur. Side by side Desput and the rebel leaders were active in this area. He had sent a party into the Hamirpur district a few days back.

The rebel party had threatened the Gursarai Chief who being afraid of, had withdrawn his forces from Mhow. In order to tackle this disturbed situation Col. Liddle ordered to send force from Jhansi so that the revolutionaries could be suppressed.

As late as 26th July Pinkaney reported the condition of Jalaun in his letter No. 115 that, "In Jalaun District the rebels are as numerous and in much the same position has shown in my last report. They have taken and plundered the last town of Madhoghar, Kuchwaghar and Yesterday I
received an express from Capt. Ternan, Deputy Commissioner of Jalaun asking me to move out at once to save Jalaun where the rebels are closing round it and I (Capt. Ternan) expect to here daily of their having sacked it. No troops can be sent from this (Kalpi)."

Taking into consideration the above development of the state of affairs of Jalaun Pinkaney informed the Secretary, again that "Jalaun is 76 Miles from Jhansi out of the radius of operations of the Jhansi Brigade which has already enough on its hand in the neighbourhood of Jhansi. So I have told Capt. Ternan that no Military aid can be sent from this. As you are aware Jalaun is large wealthy town only 28 miles from Kalpi in which there are, I believe 400 of H.M’s of 43rd Foot and 300 of the 19th Madras Natives Infantry and horse battery of 6 guns. To allow such a town to be taken almost close to such a force must have very bad effect on the people as they will naturally think we cannot protect them."

Thus the correspondence reveals that Captain Ternan was facing very grim situation. He was denied military help from Kalpi as well as from Jhansi. On the other hand the revolutionaries who had in large numbers had besieged the wealthy town of Madhov Ghar and Kuchwaghar were planning to set Jalaun and near by areas. If we examine the comparative situation then it appears that Jalaun was very badly under the threat of revolutionary leader who had challenged the British and declare their Raj in that area. Moreover, they had also been in co-ordination with the rebels party operating in between the Dhasan and Betwa rivers.

On 5th Aug. 1858 the further development which was noticed by Pinkaney about the rebellious activities of Jalaun district was referred in his letter. This letter was in continuity of letter No, 115 dated 26th July, 1858
Pankaney refers that the rebels under Burjor Singh had taken Koonch beating out the 500 Men of Gursarai Chief who had been helping the British forces and busy in protecting Koonch. However the Gursarai Chief was defeated. Burjor Singh had 2000 men, 2000 rebels and 200 rebellious infantry and some cavalry with him. The noteworthy aspect of this fight that Koonch which was captured by Burjor Singh was within 38 miles of Kalpi where they were about 400 of foot and 300 of the 10th Madras Native Infantry, a horse battery of the royal artillery was in operation but even then they did nothing to assist or protect Koonch.

It was most surprising aspect of the affairs of Jalaun. Certainly it would have posted the moral of the rebels troops. Pankaney expressed his surprise as follows, “If our troops remain their inactive and allow the rebel to take and plunder with impunity places comparatively close to them the disturbed districts will never be reduced to order, as our friend will be afraid to exert themselves and Tehsildar and Thanedars will not hold out at isolated posts if left thus unsupported”.

After the capture of Koonch nearly the whole of the western portion which was half of the Jalaun district was now besieged by the rebels who had gained and position to plunder and oppress those individuals who were loyal to the British. The next step the rebels were planning was to attack on Jalaun.

Forecast made by Pankaney vide his letter No. 141, dated 05th Aug. of the attack of Jalaun proved true and on 10th Aug. Jalaun was taken by the rebels on 02nd Aug. However on hearing the approaching of the British detachment the rebels abandoned it immediately. Anyway the timely arrival of the British forces saved Jalaun. On 20th Aug. Pankaney reported again
vide his letter No. 194 that the rebels troop\textsuperscript{43} and partly plundered Jalaun on 08\textsuperscript{th} Aug. and put to death the Thanedar but abandoned the place. The next on hearing the approach of detachment from Kalpi. Pinkaney refers that the furnished men who had been deputed by the different Thakurs for helping the British behaved badly. Some of them opened the gate and the greater part joined the rebels.

Thus it appears that no doubt some of the friendly Thakurs who had sent their men to support the British could not prove beneficial. The armed men supplied by these Thakurs rather sympathized the rebels and help them indirectly. It was another example of people's participation in freedom movement against the British.

**Operation of Col.Liddle and Capt. Thompson for Suppression of the Revolutionaries**

The situation of Jalaun as well as the adjoining areas had been worsening day-by-day. We have seen in earlier that the territory between Dhasan & Betwa was also equally under the grip of the revolutionary leaders. When the authorities of district Jalaun were busy in suppressing of Burjor Singh.

Col.Liddle and Capt Thompson were authorized to suppress the mutineers in between Dhasan and Betwa. Pinkaney wrote on 1\textsuperscript{st} Sept., that\textsuperscript{44} on 22\textsuperscript{nd} Aug. Col.Liddle moved towards Mauanipur along with half of his force and he and Capt. Thompson were assigned the task of following the rebel leader of Gursarai with the strength of the remainder force of 14\textsuperscript{th} Dragoons. Thompson reached Gursarai on 21\textsuperscript{st} Aug. and while crossing Dhasan on 27\textsuperscript{th} at Moti Katra planned to face the mutineers. He
found the country between Dhasan and Betwa with deep ravines which was impracticable for Cavalry and artillery. With the result both the officers Captain Thompson and Col.Liddle returned back.

Thus the operation of suppressing the rebellions became futile. Pinkaney in his above narrative had quoted that Captain Ashburner detachment was at Samthar yesterday; he had attempted to surprise Burjor Singh at Kelia but the rebel leader got information through his spy with the result he got enough time to retreat to Mhow Mahoni where the ground was so difficult that Ashburner found it very difficult to follow. Meanwhile, the Tehree troops which had been posted in Mauranipur for suppression of the revolt from the British side did not co-operate the foreign rule whole heartedly rather the troops started a plundering inhabitants on the roads in the most shameless manner. In reality the soldiers of Tehree were from this area where many of his relatives Kith & Kin were in open revolt areas against the British. Therefore, these troops did not find suppress the revolutionary activities in which their relatives were engaged. It again shows the feeling of patriotism which pressed the soldiers of Tehree to support the British cause in Bundelkhand.

In Jalaun Brigadier Macduff was also authorized for suppressing the rebellious activities. He reached Orai on 28th August from where he proceeded to Jalaun on 30th Aug. Jalaun was reported to have been threatened to be attacked from rebels and mutineers at Golum. Col Turnon also supported that some police men have been killed at Churkhi, where about 1000 or 1500 rebels had been active.

The most striking feature was that a garrison of Rampur Raja’s matchlockmen who were posted there opposed the mutineers at first but on
the latter when the sepoys informed the Rampur Raja’s forces that they were fighting for the protection of religion and calling on Rampur’s men in the name of religion to join them. The Raja’s men gave up the fort and joined the sepoys. Thus the religious ideas has really still to do with insurrection amongst the people.

Thus the analysis of the above letter reveals that the troops of the native rulers which were appointed to suppress the rebellion and helping the British for maintaining law and order did not co-operate the foreign rule. Besides the religious tie with the mutineed sepoy, they considered British as a foreigner. Therefore the patriotic feeling inspired the soldiers of the native states to refrain from the activities of suppressing the revolt.

On 04th Sept. Ashburner found opportunity on attacking Burjor Singh on Mhow Mohoni in which 40 of his men were killed this blow struck by Ashburner was very important because it had quite broken up Burjor Singh’s party. It was the first effective assault of the British which had damaged Burjor Singh. On the other hand Brigadier Macduff had also defeated the rebels near Jalaun killing about 100 of them. On of their gun was also captured. It too proved disastrous.

Pinkaney reported on 24th Sept. from his Tori Fatehpur camp that Ashburner was at Duboh on 12th Sept. Mean while Burjor Singh reappeared at Koonch. It appears that Burjor Singh was becoming powerless day-by-day because of the British assault. It is also evident from Pinkaney’s narrative that the rebels have mostly disappeared in Jalaun and the crops through the district were very fine. With the result Brigadier Macduff returned to Kalpi with the greater part of his force.
Naddygaon People's Cooperation to the Rebels

The rebellious activities of the rebel leaders of Bundelkhand had been increasing because of the support and cooperation which they had been receiving from the local people. As we have seen earlier also that the inhabitants of Bundelkhand had been sympathized to the rebels because they were the sons of the soil.

Moreover, they were opposing the alien rule & their ill designed policies. In this context, it would be worthy to mention here in spite of the fact that the power of Burjor Singh had been declining because of the heavy pressure of the British soldiers and guns. Even then he was carrying out his activities by hide & seek. The rebellious Chief had no doubt adopted the Gureilla tactics of warfare.

It is evident from Captain Ternan’s report which says that “I bring to your notice the protection and ready assistance always given by the Nuddygaon people to rebels of this district. Were it not indeed for such assistance Burjor Singh and his gang must have been destroyed long ago. Capt. Ashburner who was lately in command of a field detachment from Jhansi in the neighborhood of Mhow Mohoni on the Pahuj River made similar complaints regarding both the Nuddygaon and Samthar people. I have also written to Sir Hamilton on this subject.”

Thus, on the basis of the peoples cooperation the rebels leaders were continuing their activities in spite of the heavy pressure of the British forces. As late as 13th Nov. Pinkaney informed to the Govt. of N. W. P that the western part of Jalaun district was still disturbed. It is further evident by
the reporting of 20th Nov that in the west of Jalaun district Burjor Singh and Daulat Singh were in full activity & latter had lately murdered some bankers against whom he had enemity. Brigadier Macduff was appointed for their suppression of the rebellious leaders.

The combined efforts of Napier & Macduff Burjor Singh fled from Kachwaghar to the ravines at the junction of Betwa and Dhasan. He had 200 of his followers who had taken shelter in these ravines. In order to face the new trouble Devis Divisional Police Commander was requested to send European officers to take command of the police between the area of the above rivers until Burjor Singh was disposed off.

Pinkaney reported that Daulat Singh; Roop Singh and Burjor Singh were at the head of the armed plundering in Kachwaghar and the neighboring westerly parganas of Jalaun. However, Captain Mc. Mahan of 14th Dragoons were dispatched by Napier from Gwalior for the suppression of above rebellious chiefs who succeeded in cutting up some 50 of Daulat on 15th Nov. When Mac Mohan was fighting with Daulat Singh’s men, Major Synge with the detachment from Jalaun some military police had driven Burjor Singh into the ravines.

**Assistance Provided to the Rebellious Chief by the State of Datia & Samthar**

The rulers of the princely state had been helping the British Raj for maintaining peace and order at the time of the great revolt of 1857. But some states of Bundelkhand especially Datia and Samthar had been
providing aid to these revolutionary leader who had been fighting to uproot the British Raj from Bundelkhand. Since these states had concluded treaties to this effect to the British. Therefore, it was binding on them to support the British troops. But certainly their sympathies with the rebels and their followers because the people of the states had been related to be rebels directly or indirectly. Moreover, the inhabitants of the states like the rest of the Bundelkhand had been against the British rule in their heart to heart.

In these circumstances the people who were under the control of the Rajas and in Maharajas helped the revolutionaries by providing them arms, ammunitions and supplies. It is worthy to mention here that Captain Ternan, Deputy Commissioner of Gwalior in his weekly report dated 24th Nov. had stated that the rebels forming the above band were chiefly men of Samthar and Datia states from which they received arms and supplies etc. The nephew of Seonda Quilledars (Datia) was killed in fighting against the British troops on 12th November.

Ternan had brought this development to the notice of Hamilton who had issued stringent order to the above state on this matter. The rest of the territories between Jalaun and Pahuj river was peaceful.

As far as the rebels activities of the Jhansi district it was almost quiet except Garotha where Burjor Singh was hiding after being driven out from Jalaun. He fled to Hamirpur and then again into the territory of Jhansi where he plundered one or two villager between Betwa And Dhasan. Pinkaney referred in that letter “when I last heard of this rebel he was in the hills of Bhusneo 8 miles South of Gursarai. Capt. Clark, Deputy commissioner and Major Devis were in pursuit of him with the military police.”
Judging the above activities of Burjor Singh. It is quite clear that this rebellious leader was completely following the Gourilla warfare. He never stayed at a particular place and never faced with the British army openly. Fact that Burjor Singh was well known aware about his resources and military strength. Even then he fought his the adversary quite well. But he knew his last result that with limited resource were not sufficient to fight the mighty British. However he was determined to fight with the enemy till the last drop of his blood.

That is why in spite of the heavy odds from all the side he did not lack behind in putting pressure on the British. Pinkaney reported in his letter on dated 10\(^{th}\) Dec. that Jalaun was in much the same condition. Major Synge was lately at Jalaucee Boozoorg on the north of the Betwa near where it joins the Dhasan. Major Synge was instructed to watch was Burjor Singh’s movement. On 07\(^{th}\) Dec. Brigadier Macduff reported that “a large body of rebels were making for Bundelhand where the latter officer has now concentrated his whole disposable force at Orai”. This letter shows that activities of Burjor Singh was continuing. However Banda Ali Tehsildar had also attacked Burjor Singh who was firing near Bhusneo with the help of the military police from Garotha. With the result the rebel leaders were driven across the Betwa into the Samthar and the Datia States where they dispersed for a time.

Burjor Singh who was hiding from here to there entered Jalaun District from Datia on October, 10, 1859 where he plundered and burnt village, Burra and again retired to Datia. Since he stayed in Datia along with his men a fine was imposed upon the state by Hamilton, the agent to the Governor General\(^{56}\).
To sum up it can be said that the Burjor Singh and the other rebellious leaders maintained their struggle for a quite long time in spite of vigorous steps taken by the British authorities. No doubt they were hunted from pillar to post by British Civil and Military authorities from one district to another & when hard pressed they too take refuge in neighboring states where they recruited fresh followers and collected supplies and ammunition. When opportunity offered they made fresh raids into the British territory. As late as by the end of 1859 peace had been restored in Jhansi, Banda and Jalaun District.
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4- Pinkeney’s letter no. 196 vide appendix no. 10.


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7- I bid

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9- Rennick op. cit. page 85.

10- S.N. Sen; Eighteen Fifty Seven, page 293.

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12- Kaye Malleson, op.cit. vol. V, see the deposition of Tantia Topee at his trial on 10th April 1859. Appendix B, pages 304-311.

13- Rennick op. cit. page 86.
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25- Sinha op. cit. page 169.


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29- Foreign Secret Consultation, 28th May 1858, no. 257.

30- Narrative Events, Jhansi Division, page 17,18.

31- Letter No. 196, vide appendix No. 10

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36- Letter no. 302 vide appendix no. 16.

37- Letter no. 353 vide appendix no. 17.

38- Letter no. 380 vide appendix no. 18.

39- Letter no. 52 vide appendix no. 19.

40- Letter no. 115 vide appendix no. 20.

41- Letter no. 141 vide appendix no. 21.

42- Letter no. 162 vide appendix no. 22.
43- Letter no. 194 vide appendix no. 23.

44- Letter no. 250 vide appendix no. 24.

45- 15 miles from Jalaun

46- Letter no. 282 vide appendix no. 25.


48- Letter no. 432 vide appendix no. 29.

49- Letter no. 537 vide appendix no. 33.

50- Letter no. 595 vide appendix no. 34.

51- I bid, para 4

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56- Jalaun Collectrate, Pre Mutiny records, file no. 54.