CHAPTER-II
WRITINGS OF JOHN WILLIAM KAY, G.B. MALLESON
AND J. CAVE BROWNE

Sir John William Kaye (1814-76), a much respected military historian whose work had the merit of being authentic and contemporary; educated at Eton and Addiscombe, Bengal Artillery 1832-41, joined staff of Bengal Harkaru April 1841, established the Calcutta Review in 1844. He entered into East India Company Home Service in 1856, was Secretary of the Indian office Political & Secret department until 1874 and KCST 1871. His major work is 'History of the Sepoy War', 3 Vols 1864-76. It is the standard and most readable work upon the subject of the Mutiny and Rebellion.¹

Sir Johan William Kaye appeared in the field of Mutiny studies towards the end of the first decade of the Indian Mutiny. British historiography on the Sepoy war was already crowded with pamphlets, books and serialized volumes which resulted in a fairly good exploration of the subject.² He appeared as the trusted historian of the Anglo-Saxons to write the history of the Indian Mutiny. It is the quality of British character that the British historians were wooing in the Indian Mutiny and Sir Johan William Kaye was an excellent choice. He was extraordinarily perceptive about the characteristic features of the English which accounted for the outbreak of 1857 and its suppression.³

Kaye writes a preface in case of each of his three volume which unfolds his ideas on the subject and the plan of his work. He writes that he ventured on this difficult task because materials of history within his reach or under his possession are so abundant, and further, assistance

from surviving actors of the war were so spontaneous that none else would have been in a better position in respect of the availability of source materials to write a more truthful account of the war of 1857. By personal intercourse and by communication with men who were connected with events described, he collected vast piles of contemporary correspondence and his wide contacts helped him to get insights into the doubtful nature of many personal incidents.\(^4\)

Kaye calls himself a contemporary historian, and he was a contemporary historian not only because of the nearness of his time to the epoch of the revolt but also because of his contact with people who were witnesses or actors in this struggle.\(^5\) He makes it clear, he writes, "It be true that the best history is that which most nearly resembles a bundle of biographies, it is especially true when said with reference to Indian history; for nowhere do the characters of individual English men impress themselves with a more vital reality upon the annals of the country in which they live, nowhere are there such great opportunities of independent action; nowhere are developed such capacities for evil or for good, as in our great Anglo-Indian Empire. If, then, in such a work as this, the biographical element were not prominently represented if the individualities of such men as Dalhousie and Canning, as Henry and John Lawrence, as James Outram, as John Nicholson, and Herbert Edwards, were not duly illustrated, there would be not only a cold and colourless but also an untrue, picture of the origin and progress of the war."\(^6\)

Kaye was convinced that the main cause of the rebellion in 1857 was fear on the part of the Brahmans of the innovations introduced by

the British. He argued that the Christian spirit of Englishmen, their sense of responsibility to God came into conflict with error, superstition and prejudices of a decadent society. He writes, "Brahminism is the most monstrous system of interference and oppression that the world has ever yet seen, and that it could be maintained only by ignorance and superstition of the grossest kind. The people; birth, sickneses, marriages, misfortunes, death as a future state-have all been seiged as sources of revenue to the bramins."8

Kaye describes further in his First volume that Universities were to be established under the immediate charge of the Government, the more humble missionary institutions were to be aided by grants of public money, and the effort was to be spared that could be conductive to the spread of European knowledge.9 The cruel wrongs to which the womanhood of the nation was subjected the institution which forbade a bereaved wife ever to remarry. The widow did if not burn was condemned to perpetual chastity. The remarriage of Hindoo widow was opposed both to the creeds and the customs of the land. To the more enlightened Hindoos, trained in our English colleges and schools, the evil of this prohibition were so patent and so distressing, that they were fain to see it abrogated to law.10

Kaye writes that the grasping policy of Lord Dalhousie and above all the alienation of the higher class and elites, and the land settlement of the North-West, and the resumption of old hereditary grants and such other vital economic factors entered into the composition of the Revolt. The permanent settlement, indeed was held to be the Magnacarta of the privileged classes and for more than forty years men re-joined in their

7 A T Embre, The War of Independence, p. 27.
10 Ibid, p. 188
freeholds, undisturbed by any thought of invalidity of title or insecurity of tenure.\textsuperscript{11}

Kaye describes that the messing system in jails also played an important role in the spread of the revolt. He says that "there were certain classes with which Government had a direct connexion, and whose bodies and souls were in the immediate keeping of the state. Among these were the inmates of our jails. As these people were necessarily dependent upon Government for their daily food, it appeared to be easy, by a well-devised system of Prison Discipline, either to destroy the caste of the convicts or to starve them to death. The old jail regulations allowed every man to cater and to cook for himself. A money allowance was granted to him and he turned it into food after his own fashion. But this system was very injurious to prison discipline. Men loitered over their cooking and their eating and made excuses to escape work. So the prisoners were divided into messes, according to their several castes, rations were issued to them, and cooks were appointed to prepare the daily meals at a stated hour of the day. If the cook were of a lower caste then the eaters, the necessary result was the contamination of the food and loss of caste by the whole mess. The new system, therefore, was one likely to be misunderstood and easily to be misinterpreted. Here then was one of those openings which designing men were continually on the alert to detect, and in a fitting hour it was turned to account. Not merely the inmates of the goals, but the inhabitants of the town in which persons were located, were readily made to believe that it was the intention of the British Government to destroy the caste of the prisoners, and forcibly to convert them to Christianity."\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{11} John William Kaye, \textit{op.cit.}, Vol I, p. 169.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid, pp. 195-196.
So in many places the prisoners broke into rebellion and violently resisted the proposed change, under the influence of a common alarm, the common people cheered them on, and were ready to aid them, with all their might in what they believed to be defence of their religion. Inside the camp, the water carriers, the cook bays and other seavile classes lay exposed to racial bitterness of the British soldiers; they were miserably treated or even unnecessarily filled by their European master.

Different races, moved by the sense of a common danger, and roused by a common hope, forgot their differences, and combined against a common foe. There was a strong sense of comradeship between Hindoo and Mahomedan, which aloned for the absence of other ties.

Kaye says that the revolt of 1857 essentially originated with the Mutiny of Sepoy. The complaints of the sepoy were many. They were paid a monthly salary of 7 to 9 Rupees out of which they had to pay for their food, uniform and transport of their private baggage. The Indian sepoy, despite his valour and great fighting capacity could never rise above the rank of a Subedar while a fresh recruit from England was often appointed his superior overnight. The Indian Sepoy was treated roughly by the British officers. They were frequently abused and humiliated. In 1844, seven battalions revolted on the question of salaries and batta (allowance) and the General Enlisted order.

---

16 Ibid, p. 257.
17 Ibid, p. 221.
18 Ibid, p. 222.
Kaye writes about the greased cartridge that "the sepoy was not satisfied. He argued that he had been accustomed always to bite off the end of a cartridge, and that the force of this story habit would often bring it unwittingly to his lips especially in the excitement of active service. The grease was in some instances made of beef and pig fat. This completely enraged the Hindu and Muslim sepoys and made them believe that the government was deliberately trying to destroy their religion."\(^{21}\)

Kaye accepts in his 2\(^{nd}\) volume that it is mostly an account of military revolt and its suppression.\(^{22}\) He describes the heroism of the different military leaders like 'Lord Wellesley, even with the experienced guidance and assistance of Sir George Barlow, Nicholson, Havelock, Neil and others.'\(^{23}\) In his treatment of the subject matter about various controversial issues Kaye writes with a unique understanding of the whole course of events. On Meerut he writes "It was not the palpable but the unplayable a vague and voiceless idea that had driven the regiment to Munity."\(^{24}\)

Kaye depicts a picture of tremendous commotion of 10\(^{th}\) May. He says that there was mixed population of the lines and the Bazaars were full of men agitated by emotions of the most varied character. Hatred of the English, desire for revenge, religious enthusiasm, thirst for plunder, were all at work within them.\(^{25}\)

Kaye offers an exceedingly fair account of Anglo-Mughal relations. He describes the mughal emperor situation during the mutiny. He says that the new month June came, Captain Worthington, who was

\(^{23}\) Ibid, p. 5.
\(^{24}\) Ibid, pp. 45-46.
\(^{25}\) Ibid, p. 55.
on sick-leave at Simla at the time, he wrote to Lord Canning, at eight O' clock on the morning of the 14th "This is a most disastrous business," he added "and it is not possible to see what will' be the result. They say the king of Delhi is at the bottom of it. I doubt it but I have no doubt that he has taken advantage of the opportunity, and is assisting the insurgents ... It the mutineers, having possession of the city, make their stand behind the walls, we shall want a good force and artillery."\textsuperscript{26}

Kaye describes why the rebellion choose the time period of mutiny at the hot summer. He say, "The scorching heart of the European soldiery, forbade much marching in the day time. The fierce sun beat down upon the closed tents of our people, and as they lay in weary sleep or vainly courting it, there was skillness, almost as a death, in our camp. But with the coolness of evening life returned."\textsuperscript{27}

He says that the great summer was against the English because they did not survive at that time. "how they were beaten and stripped and sent on their way unclouded sun of the Indian summer, without clothing and without food, and in rore pain crouching close to each other for warmth, expecting, almost hoping that death would come at once to relieve them from their sufferings."\textsuperscript{28} Kaye describes the kindness of the natives, he says that "truth would not be satisfied if it were not narrated here that many compassionate and kindly acts on the part of the Natives of the country relieved the darkness of the great picture of national crime. Many of the fugitives were succoured by place in the rural districts through which they passed, and sent on their way in safety, in this good work men of all classes, from great

\textsuperscript{26} John William Kaye, \textit{op.cit.}, Vol II, p. 140.
\textsuperscript{27} \textit{Ibid}, p. 170.
\textsuperscript{28} \textit{Ibid}, p. 97.
landholders to humble sweepers took parts, and endangered their own lives by saving those of the hopeless Christians."

Kaye writes in his book that among the mutineers were some brave and desperate men, who were ready to court instant death for the sake of the national cause. Many act of heroism of this kind brighten up the history of the war, and many more were doubtless, performed, of which history has no record.

Kaye writes in his 2nd volume about the participation of Sikh in the mutiny. He writes that, "one time it was reported that the Sikhs were conspiring with the Native Infantry for a joint attack upon the English. The mutiny of the Sixth Regiment at Allahabad with the help of the national character of the Sikhs – in its purely military aspects was one of the most remarkable in the whole history of the war, and memorable in itself, still more memorable for its immediate popular results, for the great city that rose in an instant revolt." A well developed mutiny of the sepoy troops in the Peshawar valley would afford such an opportunity as might never lies again in the history of the nation.

Kaye writes that, "At Oude, Banares and Allahabad, the peasantry rose at once under their old Talookdars, who had been dispossessed by the action of our law courts, and there was anarchy in the rural districts. The auction purcharers – absentee proprietors dwelt principally in the city, and the ryots had no sympathy with them. For their own sakes they were eager but feeble supporters of Government, all the muscle and sinew of the agricultural races were arrayed against

31 Ibid, p. 244.
32 Ibid, pp. 256-257.
33 Ibid, p. 449.
us. The rural population had risen, the landowners - they were principally Mohomedans and ready to join any movement which threatened drive the English from the land.  

Neill arrived at Allahabad. He had seen that the Ganges was in a state of anarchy and confusion and he knew that already the rising had become something more than a military mutiny.  

Kaye describes, the story to be told is the massacre of the Europeans at the Satichaura Ghat and so there was no mistake that 'God' knew that it was the result of British excesses committed previously in Benares and Allahabad. On his own showing, therefore, Kaye ignored the decision of "Almighty Wisdom" when he accused Nana Sahib of committing an act of treachery in the style of Sivaji. But it is the plea of provocation and Kaye alludes to the Delhi massacre which invests the most sanguinary acts of whiteman with a righteous justification. The black man also might have similar justification. Renaud's advance from Allahabad to Cawnpore also bore traces of the retributory operations of the English in desolate villages and in corpses dangling from the branches of trees, which according to Kaye, could not have been justified by the Cawnpore massacre because these operations took place before that diabolical act. Here Kaye was referring to the Bibigarh massacre of 15 July. Renaud Marched on the evening of 30 June in ignorance of the Ghat massacre of 27 June and within two days of his March forty two men were hanged on roadside. There were purely retributory measures of an avenging army having no connection with either of the massacres.  

Kaye's work is based on authentic and factual material. He writes in his IIIrd volume that "I have been much aided by the private correspondence of Lord Canning, by a mass of documents, printed and manuscript, lent to me by Mr. William Taylor, commissioner of Patna, and by the simple, manly narratives of Sir Vincent Eyre. My information with regard to these events is principally derived from Mr. E.A. Reade, Sir William Muir, who had charge of the Intelligence Department, Mr. Charles Raikes, Major Weller of the Engineers, and the confidential reports of the several civil political officers whose narratives were called for by Government after the suppression of the insurrection."³⁹ He says that the mutiny spreaded in Bengal, Behar and the North West Provinces. He says that the country was ripe for civil rebellion no less than for military revolt, was not at that time apparent.⁴⁰

Kaye describes that Major Holmes had written to the Governor-General saying, "Hearing that some seditious letters and speeches have been coming into the district, I have thought it proper to order my patrolling parties to proclaim material that have come over the districts of Goruckpore, Sehwan, Chunparum, and Tirhool, and that I shall punish with instant death the following offences, namely;

1. Openly bearing arms against the state.

2. Seditious speaking, or exciting other to rebellion or any expression of disaffection to the Government.

3. Concealing rebels, or even hearing others talk treason, and not immediately reporting to the nearest authorities.

4. Plundering if caught in flagrante delicto. 'All this', he added, may not be lawful; but I don't care for that. There are times when circumstances are above the law. I am determined to keep order in these districts, and I "will do it with a strong hand."\textsuperscript{41}

The administration of the Agra province was entrusted primarily to a number of English Commissioners, members of the privileged Civil Services, under whom were judges and Magistrates and Collectors of Revenue of the same class. The principal commissionership were those of Delhi, Meerut, Rohilkund, Agra, Allahabad, Benares, Jubbulpoor, and Jansi. The Head Quarters of the Civil Government were at Agra, which helped out to suppress the mutiny.\textsuperscript{42}

Kaye says that the English ladies did a lot of work during the period of mutiny. He says that, "The women of Agra shone forth in all the lustre of good deeds, quietly but vigorously prosecuted. There was much work to be done and they were right willing to do it. Dr. Farquhar represented to Mrs. Charles Raikes that there would be need of the establishment of Civil Hospital, as the Military Hospital would soon be overcrowded, and he asked her to take the management of it. She consented, and then began to beat up recruits. There was a little paper published in the Fort, and in this she inserted an advertisement, begging that any women, who wished to take part in this good work, would send in their names. Before evening, numbers of women of all ranks had eagerly offered their help. So Mrs. Raikes appointed a goodly staff of gentlewomen, who superintendent the work of the numerous East Indian females who had no other occupation. Besides visiting the hospital and ministering to the work wants of the patients, their principal work was

\textsuperscript{41} John William Kaye, \textit{op.cit.}, Vol III, p. 104.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid, p. 195.
that of making up clothing, bedding, bandages, for the sick. The materials were supplied, by the financial commissioner, from the Government stores. There were others of our English gentlewomen who did their work in different directions, giving confidence to the desponding by cheerful looks and cheerful words – visiting the sick, teaching the young, and performing other duties."43

Kaye was the first among the mutiny historians to write that there were fears and discontents which had no connection with the greased cartridges and Uprising was not motivated by the spoils of the treasury, that in many places the ‘first attack came from the disaffected communities and that every where the reign of annexation and innovations was threatening to crush the very hearts of the nation. Elsewhere he wrote that it was not due to the instigation of the sepoy but a great movement from within was beginning to make itself felt upon the surface of the rural society and all traces of British rule were rapidly disappearing.44

Kaye treated the rising as a great historical phenomenon, the sepoy spearheading a movement which had its root deep in the soil. The history of the Sepoy war written in the style of classical antiquity is a great work of a great movement. Without attempting flights of eloquence his luminous and measured style of the account produces an effect of real powers, an 'apercus', before which the gates of the history of the Revolt sprang open.45

Sir John William Kaye could not complete his work. He left his third volume with a longing idea to embrace in one consecutive narrative the story of the campaigns of Havelock and Outram and the

44 S.B. Chaudhri, Civil Rebellion, pp. VIII-XIX.
operations of Sir Colin Campbell for the relief of Lucknow. He seems to have contemplated for finish his work in his next volume, the fourth one, which could contain besides the topics mentioned above, also such other essential developments of the rising of 1857 as the trial of the king, the campaigns of the Central India Field Force under Sir Hugh Rose, later events in Agra and Rajputana, the rising in Western India, the affairs in the Deccan, concluding with a Chapter on the fall of the East India Company, the Queen's Proclamation and the general pacification of the country.\textsuperscript{46}

The incomplete work of John William Kaye was continued by G.B. Malleson. G.B. Malleson, Colonel and military writer was educated at winchester Ensign HEIC's Bengal army 1842 and was Lieutenant in the 33\textsuperscript{rd} N.I., 1847 and Asst. Mil. Auditor-General 1856. He was a somewhat pedantic writer on military affairs including the rebellion of 1857. Some of the papers found after his death are preserved in the Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library.\textsuperscript{47}

Official or other reasons for entrusting Malleson with the responsibility of undertaking the work have not been disclosed. Malleson says that on the very day on which he returned to England after his retirement from service he was asked to continue and complete Kaye's 'History of the Sepoy War'. But the change in the title of the work from 'Sepoy war' to the 'History of the Indian Mutiny' has not been accounted for. The period he covered was more of the war than of the mutinies which preceded it and in fact from the stand point of military involvements on which he concentrates, a change in the title was not called for. The real war of the Sepoy Mutiny began with the

\textsuperscript{46} John William Kaye, \textit{op.cit.}, Vol III, Preface, p. x.
\textsuperscript{47} Taylor, \textit{op.cit.}, p.207.
fall of Delhi as even the siege of Delhi and its recapture was 'not a war in the strict sense of the term.' The historian's preparedness for taking up the work has been convincingly stated. He was in India from the commencement of the Mutiny and had collected on the spot materials for such a work which he had already 'thrown into a shape.' He was also acquainted with many of the actors and had many opportunities, he avers, of having direct knowledge of the many points of controversy which came in to surface in the backwash of this armed conflict.48

One of the most debated aspects of the war of 1857 is the nature of the Indian leadership. In G.B. Malleson's opinion that there was no really coordinated advance planning is the view that a widespread and well organized conspiracy had been at work for some years plotting the overthrow of the British. Malleson identified three principal figures as leaders of the conspiracy. Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the last Peshwa, the leaders of the Marathas, Maulvi Ahmad Allah a Muslim religious leader, and the Rani of Jhansi, the widow of a ruler of small state in control India.49

Malleson writes, "There was a large amount of seething discontent in many portions of India. In Oudh, recently annexed, in the territories under the rule of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Provinces, revolutionised by the introduction of the land-tenure system of Mr. Thomson, in the southern Maratha territory, the Chiefs of which had been exasperated to the very verge of revolt by an inquiry, instituted under the auspices of a commission, called the Indian commission in to the titles of estates which they and their forefathers had held without question since the beginning of the century. Men's minds were excited and anxious. Suddenly, shortly after the annexation

of Oudh, this seething discontent found expression among all the active conspirators. One of them, there can be no question, was he who during the progress of the Mutiny, was known as the Maulavi. The Maulvi was a very remarkable man. His name was Ahmad-Ullah, and his native place was Faizabad in Oudh. After the annexation of the Oudh he travelled over the North-West Provinces on a mission which was a mystery to the European Authorities, that he stayed some time at Agra, that he visited Delhi, Mirath, Patna, and Calcutta. He became the confidential friend of the Begum of Lakhnow, the trusted leader of the rebels."

Malleson further describes, "During his travels he devised the scheme known as the Chapati Scheme. The circulation of Chapatis among the rural population of the North-West Provinces would notify to them that a great rising would take place upon the first favourable opportunity." The conspirators had done their work too well. Before the hot season of 1857 had set in there were but few sipahis in the Bengal Presidency who were not firmly convinced that the greased cartridge was the weapon by means of which their foreign master had resolved to deprive them of their religion. No sooner had it become certain that this idea had taken a firm root in their minds than Chapatis passed from village to village, announcing to the population that grave events were impending for which it became them to be prepared.

Malleson also referred, "I have already referred to the action of the Maulavi of Faizabad as being instrumental in creating and increasing the undercurrent of hostility to British rule through Bengal and the North-West Provinces. It is impossible, however, to leave this

---

51 Ibid, p.18.
52 Ibid, p.20.
subject without mentioning the action of the son of the ex-Peshwa, Baji Rao [Nana Sahib] and his agent, Azim-Ullah Khan. It is the more necessary that such mention should be made, because, whatever may be opinion of Europeans saturated with the western ideas, and with the conceit those ideas often engender, there can be no doubt but that, during the Mutiny, on the morrow of Mutiny, and at the present day, the cultivated natives of India attributed and attribute a great deal of the bitterness attendant on the Uprising to the treatment meted out to Nana Sahib by the Government of India."\(^{53}\)

Malleson's account of Jhansi is recorded as under, "Not very far distant from Agra there was a powerful chieftain who from causes similar to those which had influenced Nana Sahib, regarded herself as having been grievously wronged, and who therefore hated the English with all the bitterness of a woman who had been contemned. This chieftain was the Rani of Jhansi. She was largely gifted, possessed great energy, had borene, upto to period upon which I am entering, "a high character" being "much respected by everyone at Jhansi." Jhansi had lapsed to the Paramount Power by Dalhousie. Thereafter she would have no mercy. There is reason to believe that she, too, had entered into negotiations with the Maulavi and Nana Sahib before the explosion of 1857 took place."\(^{54}\)

Malleson referred that, the executive council of this conspiracy had arranged, in the beginning of 1857. The dissemination of Chapati was intended as a warning that the rising was imminent. It was further decided that the rising of the sipahis should be simultaneous, and more than once the actual day was fixed. Malleson, says that the outbreak was not merely a mutiny which they had to combat, but a vast


\(^{54}\) Ibid, p.32.
conspiracy, the threads of which were widely spread, and which owed its origin to the conviction that a Government which had, as the conspirators believed, betrayed its trust was no longer entitled to respect or allegiance.\textsuperscript{55}

Malleson referred that the revolt of 1857 was widespread. There were revolts against the British throughout the entire belt from Delhi to Dacca. At Dacca, the efforts to disarm the sepoys was one of the immediate reasons for revolt. The rebels plundered the treasury, and inflicted damage on British lines and fired the magazine and then made off in the direction of Tiparah.\textsuperscript{56} Lieutenant Lewis of Indian Navy disarmed the 73\textsuperscript{rd} Native Infantry and Native Artillery stationed at Dacca on 22 Nov. It advanced the disaffection among the native regiments. But the rebels could not hold on to their positions and were chased out of Dacca.\textsuperscript{57}

He also referred that mutiny broke at East in British India, "the Chittagong rebels of the 34\textsuperscript{th} Native Infantry having retreated from Dacca went to Tiparah but could not gain a position there as the Raja of Tiparah was loyal to the British, directed his retainers to check the progress of the rebels. Being harrased by the Raja the rebel entered Manipur where they were challenged by the silhat light infantry commanded by Major Hon. R.B. Byng and defeated at the Battle of Latu.\textsuperscript{58}

Malleson paid serious attention to the affairs of the South during the Uprising. Actions in South India could not have any political potential like those at Delhi, Cawnpore and Lucknow, but many rising that took place in peninsular India had a great piquancy and relegate

\textsuperscript{55} G.B. Malleson, \textit{The Indian Mutiny of 1857}, p.33.
\textsuperscript{56} G.B. Malleson, \textit{The Indian Mutiny with portriats and plans Vol.II}, p.420.
\textsuperscript{57} \textit{Ibid}, p.421.
\textsuperscript{58} \textit{Ibid}, pp. 423-24.
to the course of the war as a whole. His account of South India is full of descriptions of British Generals and administrators whose contributions in saving the 'Empire' at a time of crisis were immense.\(^{59}\)

Malleson has highlighted the character and qualities of the English Generals like Colonel Durand, Sir Hugh Rose, Sir Robert Napier, Generals Stuart, Roberts, Michel, and Whitlock, Brigadiers Smith, Honner, Parke, Somerest, Colonel Holmes, Becher, and many others. He says that, "together, they wrote a page of the history of the Indian Mutiny, 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 field".\(^{60}\)

He describes the serious Uprising in South India at Kolhapur,\(^{61}\) Hyderabad\(^{62}\) and Indur,\(^{63}\) and describe the heroic role played by British officers and their men. George Berkeley Seton Karr, magistrate of Belgaon showed remarkable abilities in dealing with seditious Chiefs or Desais of Nipani, Jamboti, Kittur, Nirgund, Want Muri.\(^{64}\) At Bombay Brigadier General Shortt was a tower of strength to the government, but the superintendent of police C. Forjett was regarded as one of the most remarkable men brought to the front by the event of 1857.\(^{65}\)

Malleson writes highly of Salarjung, the minister at Hyderabad through whose effort the British Resident Major Cuthbert Davidson was able to maintain their position. Davidson was intelligent and resourceful. When the Rohilla troops in the service of the Nizam rose

\(^{61}\) Ibid, p.38.
\(^{62}\) Ibid, p.74.
\(^{63}\) Ibid, p.82.
\(^{64}\) Ibid, pp.33-35.
\(^{65}\) Ibid, pp.46-47.
up on 17 July major Davidson was in all readiness to confront them. The campaigns of Sir Hugh Rose and the great battles of the Mutiny at Jhansi, Kunch, Kalpi and Gwalior are most graphically described. The details of these operations have been taken from Lowe's Central India but Malleson had his own way of overlaying his narrative with military matters at great length. He also gives in full the whole history of the flight of Tatya Tope and his pursuit by the British generals.

So we read the Malleson's studies and found the Uprising was widespread in India but, But the historian shows a tendency to draw a moral on racial superiority in describing every incident of the failure for the besiegers.

Malleson describes that 1857 was not only a sepoy mutiny, he accepts many time in his writings that it was a mass movement. He writes that circumstances had proved that extraneous causes were at work to promote an ill-feeling, a hatred not personal but national, in the minds of men who for a century had been our trust and most loyal servants of the British. The action of the land system introduced into the North West Provinces by Mr. Thomason had predisposed the population of the provinces to revolt. Malleson brings to light facts of involvements of non Military classes in the upheaval of 1857. He writes that "In the action of Bashiratganj one fourth of the gun ammunition had been expended. Between that town and Lakhnao, was a deep river, the Sai, and three strong places, it was believed to be guarded by 30,000 men. The Zamindars, too, had risen on every side in bodies of

---

regular troops. So Zamindars also participated in the Uprising of 1857.69

Malleson writes, "The British alienated alike the peasantry of the country and the petty artisans of the towns, who did not relish the change of a system, which arbitrary and tyrannical though it may be, they thoroughly understood, for another system, the first elements of which were taxation of articles of primary necessity. Felling of dissatisfaction among these people, arose the Uprising against British rule."70 Malleson also states that in four northern provinces Oudh, Rohilkhand, Bundelkhan and Saugar and Narbada – "The great bulk of the people rose against the British."71

Malleson further describes the atrocities of the British officer during the Uprising, because of which they fulfil their supremacy and hold at India. What happened in the countryside between Banaras, Allahabad and Kanpur during General Neil's march through the area is described by Kay and Malleson in the following words "volunteer hanging parties went out into the districts and amateur executioners were not wanting to the occasion. One gentleman boasted of the numbers he had finished off quite in an artistic manner, "with mango trees for gibbets and elephants as drops, the victims of this wild justice being strung up, as through for past time, in form of a figure of 8."72

The story about dishonouring of the British women kept imprisoned by Nana Sahib in Kanpur is well known. The official historians of 1857 Kay and Malleson, have themselves exposed it.: "The refinements of Cruelty – the unalterable shame with which, in some chronicles of the day, the serious massacre was attended, were but fictions of an excited

---

71 Ibid.,p.487.
imagination too readily believed without enquiry and circulated without thought. None was mutilated, none was dishonoured. This is stated in the most unqualified manner, by the official, functionaries who made the most diligent enquiries in to all the circumstances of the massacres in June and July."\(^{73}\)

Malleson paid his tribute for heroic worked of revolutionaries during the Uprising. He says that on 25 Feb. 1858 a strong Nepali and British armies crossed the Ghogra and marched towards Ambarpur, on the way there was a strong fort in the thick jubgle. Its strategic value was great and it was manned by only 34 insurgents. It was stormed. "It was defended with so much vigour and resolution that the assailants lost seven men and forty three wounded before they gained possession of it. The defenders died all at their posts."\(^{74}\) He also describes that Maulavi Ahmadullah of Fyzabad was a true patriot and his memory is entitled to the respect of the brave and true hearted of all nations.\(^{75}\)

Malleson's work tends to show that it is mainly record of military events of the battles and sieges, marches and counter marches. The Sepoy Mutiny is turned into a stroy of British army in action, the Highlanders and Fusiliers who dominate the stage and elenate the image of Britain and draft the munity and rebellion both. But Malleson's Indian Mutiny is also the most exciting work in mutiny literature, the most challenging of historical narratives of the revolt. He loved long surveys, liberal generalisations and war oriented action. The Indian Mutiny at his hands took the shape of an epic with the spacious, opulent and diffusive treatment of the British and the Indians facing each other in battle array.

---


\(^{75}\) Ibid, p.381.
Another important work on 1857 was authored by J.C. Browne when the Mutiny broke out, J.C. Browne was stationed at Nowshera, in the Peshawar valley. He moved down with H.M. 27th Inniskillings to Rawalpindi, and finding a large column was being formed, volunteered to accompany it as Chaplain. John Cave Browne became the writer of a narrative account of the measure by which the Punjab was saved for government and entitled it, 'The Punjab and Delhi in 1857'. Originally published in instalments in Blackwoods Magazine. The work has the merit of containing some original material as it is based on the author's own journal.

Browne says that the Uprising of 1857 was a "Poorbeah Mutiny". The word Poorbeah which he has used throughout (literality meaning the people from the East) exactly expresses his feeling of hatred for Hindoostani. The author's range of sources embraces all contemporary celebrities who either saw the Mutiny or took part in it and had published work as such. He also consulted official despatches of which he gives an account including all the available military despatches of the time.

Browne describes that in the North West Provinces, it was discovered that Chuppattees were being circulated throughout the country in a somewhat mysterious manner. One district officer, who saw a chuppattee-laden messenger arrive in a village and distributing them among the men of the village, he was told that there was an old custom in Hindostan that when their Malik, or Chief, required any service from his people, he adopted this mode to prepare them for

77 P.J.O. Taylor, op. cit., p.72.
78 J.C. Browne, op. cit., Vol. I, p. VIII.
79 Ibid, p. 41.
80 Ibid, pp. xvi-xviii.
receiving his orders, and every one who partook of the chupattee was held pledged to obey, the order, whenever it might come, and whatever it might be, "what was the nature of the order in the present case?" he asked, the answer, accompanied by a suspicious smile was "we don't know yet".  

And it was so important no less than the annihilation of the English race in India. It was a political and religious struggle. It was to be a 'jahad', a war of extermination to the Christian, and for it the Chupattee gave the signal for preparation.

Browne writes that the greased cartridges and the annexation of Oude were no more responsible for the events of 1857 as was the leather headdress for the Vellore Mutiny of 1806. The author furnishes vivid accounts of the rise of troops, station by station. He writes that the British Government has never interfered with the caste notions of the natives and has never forced the Hindoo to turn from the religion of his forefathers. Browne says that the important storming centres of the Punjab did not create panic among the English East India Company's officials.

Cave-Browne explains that the news of the happenings at Meerut reached Lahore on 11th May. "There were in the Punjab regiment 18,920 sepoys of the Bengal army compared to 5-620 European troops. The Mutineers at Meerut and Delhi had forgotten to cut off the telegraphic connection with the Punjab. Consequently, the news of the happenings at Meerut reached Lahore on 11th May, and of those at Delhi on 12th May.

---

82 Ibid., p.3.
83 Ibid., p.5.
84 Ibid., p.7.
85 Ibid., p.17.
On 13th May all the four sepoy regiments at Lahore were marched out and disarmed as a matter of precaution."  

The disarmament of Punjab sepoys at Lahore was unable to stop the activities at other places. "Most of the sepoys of the 15th regiment at Ferozpur joined the mutiny. Thereafter the 36th and 61th Native Infantry rose in arms and there was disorder in civil population as well." The alertness of the company's officials had stopped the activities of the sepoys at a large scale. "In Punjab it was the sepoys who generally revolted, and that too only a few of them since the events at Delhi and upper India had alerted the British authorities in Punjab, the sepoy Mutiny could not take the shape of a popular revolt".  

Sir John Lawrence activities are described in the most objective way by Cave-Browne showing that he alone grasped the significance of the present crisis in all its vastness. He refers to Greathed, the Commissioner of the North West Frontier Province who was not very cordial in acknowledging the authority of Punjab Government. Cave Browne makes a significant remark that there was no basis for the statement of Lord Granville made in the House of Peers, that Lawrence was willing to make terms with the King of Delhi. But the author observed that if the siege of Delhi had to be maintained at all hazards then there was no other alternative but to bring into use the regiments at Peshawar even by making a present of trans-Indus territory to Dost Mohammad. Cave-Browne also discussed at full-length the massacres of the sepoy at Ujinala by F. Cooper in the light of the question raised by Montgomery, first, whether the men were legally on morally liable to punishment or death, second, whether the punishment was necessary

---

and just and third, if it was possible for Cooper to wait for a formal
trial. On each of these counts the historian advances strong grounds in
supported of R. Montgomery, judicial Commissioner of the Punjab.90

Browne also like other British writers, supported the action of
Hodson and showed a Keenness in the glorification of his own race. On
Nicholson he pronounced a eulogy which was characteristic of mutiny
literature of that time. But his death dimmed his victorious achievements
as in the case of other Great Generals of England. As Wolfe fell at
Queback, Abercrombic at Acre, Nelson at Trafalgar, so also Nicholson
met his doom at Delhi.91 The historian, however, ascribes British success
in the mutiny to external factors such as an alliance with France and the
termination of the war with Russia and Persia.92

Browne also refers, Bahadur Shah II had wholeheartedly supported
the sepoys for the abolition of Company's rule. He requested different
sections of the Indian society, i.e. zamindars, merchants, public servants,
artisans, pandits, fakirs and other learned persons, for their support.
Indians had suddenly felt a voice of their own ruler as their well wisher.
J.C. Browne has correctly remarked that, "by religious fears and by
national hopes, the minds of the mass more or less became familiarised
with the idea that the Badshah was their real malik (master), and were all
pledged in the person of their respective leaders."93

He describes the role of spies during the mutiny. The British army
was able to capture Delhi on Sep. 20, 1857. This was made possible only
with the help of spies and British stooges present in Delhi. Their letters
not only throw light on the intrigues of the British rulers but also on
rebel opposition and strategies. The spies network in Delhi was

91 Ibid, p.143.
92 Ibid, pp.144-5.
93 Ibid, p.293.
organized under a centralized command of Hodson immediately after the rebel take over of the city. In fact it was not only Hodson's intelligence department that organised the spies networks but Indian stooges of the British in and outside Delhi also organized many of such network. J. Cave Browne who was as a Christian priest (Assistant Chaplin) accompanied the British forces which moved Peshawar to Delhi to crush 'Mutiny' recorded in his memories "spies were thrown in by the Jheend [Jind] Rajas too, to help the capture of Delhi."\(^{94}\)

Cave Brown also admitted that spies like Rajab Ali who was the confidential head clerk of Sir Henary Lawrence played prominent role in securing Delhi to the British. He further writes that the British official documents of the period, too, admitted the crucial role of the spies.\(^{95}\)

Cave Browne is lost in feelings of admiration for the Punjab Officers who are extravagantly eulogised. He stated that without John Nicholson, Delhi would not have fallen. He further said that John Lawrence, who, in the wisdom of his counsel, his iron will, and energy, proved himself the worthy brother of the martyr of Lucknow, for through him Delli fell, and the Punjab, no longer a weakness, became a source of strength. The author hardly refers to the Christian spirit and the Asiatic Complex which characterize other historical writing on the Munity.\(^{96}\)

It has become obvious from the foregone discussions that the writings of John William Kaye, G.B. Malleson and John Cave Browne truly represent the British imperialistic character and British imperialist mind. To these scholars the events of 1857, by all accounts, was not only a victory of the British colonialism but also of the British as a people.


\(^{95}\) Ibid, pp.339-400.

\(^{96}\) Ibid, p. Preface XI.