CHAPTER SEVEN

SPORADIC DISTURBANCES

A. Machination in Wallaiahbad

1. Disaffection of the Sepoys

Among the two Battalions of the 1st Regiment Native Infantry, the 1st Battalion was stationed at Vellore and the second Battalion at Wallaiahbad. The 1st Battalion of the 1st Regiment took direct part in the Vellore Mutiny. Its brother Battalion, the 2nd, also considerably disaffected and discontented, was stationed in Wallaiahbad in 1806. Another Battalion which took direct part in the Vellore Mutiny, the 2nd Battalion of the 23rd Regiment, had its connection with the 2nd Battalion of the same Regiment which was also stationed at Wallaiahbad. The significant factor to be noted here is that the rebellious Battalions of Vellore had their counterparts, the Battalions of the same Regiment stationed at Wallaiahbad. The conspiracy at Wallaiahbad had close connection with Vellore.

When the Turban Order was announced at Wallaiahbad, as at Vellore, the unrest started. Even before the Vellore incidents, there were symptoms of disobedience in the minds of the sepoys. On 10th June, Major Rose, Commanding Officer
at Wallajahba reported that when the sepoys were insisted on wearing the New Turbans, the unrest started. Among the sepoys only forty men obeyed the orders and put on the New Turbans without objection. At this, several hundred men, assembled at a distance poured out torrent of violent abuse on the men who had consented to wear the Turban. When one sepoy positively refused to put on his Turban, he was arrested and subjected to Court Martial. At this moment six or seven men, who were kept apart from the company, threw off their Turbans from their heads in a turbulent manner. After persuasion calm was restored. At the moment the few refractory sepoys threw down their Turbans, Subedar Venkata Naick of the Grenadier Company, stood in their midst with his arms folded calmly witnessing the scene. Major Bose reported that Venkata Naick, the Subedar, was transferred from the Nabob's service in the year 1799 to the British army. He also reported that the Subedar possessed high influence in the Battalion which was considered dangerous for the safety of the British rule. It was doubted that he was one of the principal conspirators. Subedar Venkata Naick belonged to the 2nd Battalion of the 14th Regiment. At the recommendation of Major Bose, the Right Honourable Governor-in-Council, Lord William Bentinck, dismissed Venkata Naick from the service of the company on a charge of indiscipline and insubordination.
Before the conspiracy at Wallajahbad was deep rooted, the Vellore conspiracy reached a ripe stage and the Mutiny broke out on 10th July. The news of the incidents reached all other Army Stations. It was a shocking news to all the disaffected persons, because before they got ready for any action, as it was the general opinion, the Vellore conspirators hastily commenced the Mutiny which resulted in a failure. The Mutiny at Vellore was considered as a signal for the uprising in all other stations. On 26th July, Lt. Col. Sang, the Commanding Officer at Wallajahbad reported that considerable discontent prevailed among the sepoys. He wrote:

"From want of having troops in whom I can place my confidence in case of anything serious happening, I think it my duty to state to you the situation I am placed in and wait for your further instructions on this subject. The particular grievances, I privately hear they complain of, is hard drill and their being forced almost constantly to wear good white Jackets which puts them to an additional expense."

This report shows that the incidents at Vellore had excited considerable agitation among the sepoys at Wallajahbad. On the same day, as expected by the Commanding Officer, the symptoms of discontent rose up to a greater degree and Lt. Col. Sang reported to the Commanding Officer about the serious situation in his second letter. He said in his letter:
Since the information I had the honour to give Your Excellency this morning, other reports latter founded and of a much more alarming nature have reached me, which leave me no doubt of the existence of a conspiracy amongst the Native Troops in Cantonment. As the only immediate means which presented itself to me, at all calculated to weaken its effects, I directed the 1st Battalion of the 23rd Regiment to march, this afternoon, towards Poonamallee, not to approach that garrison, but to halt within 12 miles of the cantonment until I received instructions from Your Excellency how to proceed? To effectually prevent any fatal consequence from this unfortunate event, I have detached an officer to report, to request assistance from the Officer Commanding at that cantonment which I trust will arrive in time.

The fear of repeated Mutiny at Wallajahbad was considerable among the British Officers. The sepoys were deeply grieved at the late Vellore incidents. The emissaries were despatched to all Army stations in the South. They travelled the country disseminating everywhere their "diabolical calumnies" against the British Government; triumphantly announcing the assemblage of all their deluded followers that they had proclaimed of the British intentions to trample on their religion.

As in the other stations, the conspirators were successful in building up a plot against the British rule at Wallajahbad. The conspiracy started its action in the
month of July, immediately after the Vellore incidents, which threatened the British authorities. The British Officers accepted that there was a conspiracy and a treason but they tried to localise the situation and issued a proclamation to that effect. This proclamation was issued to appease the situation.

When the incidents of insubordination happened, one sepoy not only resisted the Turban Order but also attempted to stab Major Bose with his bayonet. On 24th July, the sepoys showed their disaffection openly. On that day the sepoys were kept in their Barracks, after the drill, and were ordered to clean their arms and accoutrements till 12 noon. They were not allowed to take their breakfast in the morning. The British officers wantonly retained them to enforce military discipline. When the sepoys were allowed to go, they rushed out tumultuously shouting and hooting and one man was overheard to say, "rather than be thus treated, let us kill our officers and ourselves". Serjeant Riviese reported this disorderly behaviour of the sepoys to the higher authorities.

Captain Smith gave evidences before the court that the sepoys planned to rise in a revolt during the month of July. A circulation to that effect was secretly issued among the sepoys. The Court Enquiry proved that the sepoys
held secret meetings on the bed of the river. Col. Farr reported that the sepoys had grievances and complained often about the hard drill and about enforcement of the rule of wearing a good white jacket which meant incurring additional expense, but these causes were not genuine. No doubt it was the result of a conspiracy and instigations of the emissaries despatched for the purpose. The design to Mutiny originated with the 2nd Battalion of the 1st Regiment in consequence of the connections of that corps with the 1st Battalion of the same regiment which was stationed at Vellore. Many sepoys of these Battalions were mutually related and had close connections with each other. Naturally when a plan of Mutiny was designed at Vellore the same plan extended to Wallajahabad also.

11. Events of Unrest

One month before the Vellore incidents the Press regulations were introduced at Wallajahabad. Many sepoys decided to resist the order and showed symptoms of unrest at the time of their garrison duties and on the parade ground. The sepoys in utter abhorrence resolved to prevent the adoption of the Press regulations by murdering all their officers. Only a few who were influenced by the British officers submitted to the orders. When Major Rose ordered
his company to wear the new Turbans, some of the sepoys
immediately obeyed and put on their new Turbans while
others through fear complied with reluctance. One of them,
however, not only resisted the order but tried to murder
Major Bose.

After observing the disobedience of the sepoys the
British officials, out of fear, wanted to put an end to
all the unrest. Major Hazlewood appointed a confidential
Naigue of his company namely, Mohammad Gallop as his spy. 12
The existence of a conspiracy was discovered and confirmed
through the intelligence. 13 The spy, Gallop, gave the
information that many sepoys joined in the conspiracy and
were all together and ready to rise but no particular time
was proposed. The conspirators discussed various plans.
On the day of insurrection they decided to move towards
south after the events of unrest and Mutiny. But this
proposal was given up and they decided to move towards the
western hills of the Carnatic. They did not like to imitate
the useless plan of the Vellore conspirators. All these
informations were discovered by the spy Gallop. Shaik
Nutter, sepoy of the 2nd Battalion of the 6th Regiment,
accompanied Gallop and confirmed this evidence before the
Officers. Shaik Nutter said that he knew the principal conspirators but an attempt of arresting any one would be a signal of revolt to the whole. The sepoys were so much concerned that they would allow no particular individual to suffer.

Major Hazlewood reported that the sepoys were entirely corrupted and disaffected and ready to break out through the incessant machinations of disaffected persons. The sepoys firmly believed that the dress regulations were the first step to make them Christians and the unrest in the Battalion was so high that it would probably break out from the smallest cause.14

Lord William Bentinck, the Governor, reported that the statement of Major Hazlewood appeared to be serious and advised that the Major should consider it the most dangerous policy to delay, for a moment, in taking measures of precaution. The Governor ordered that a detachment of European and native cavalry should be ordered to march from Arcot to Wallajahbad and remain there until further orders.15 The information of the existence of a conspiracy reached the officers on 26th November, 1806. Two persons, natives of Berhampore who were brothers of a female in the service of Captain Oliver of the 1st Battalion of the
6th Regiment, gave the information to their sister that an insurrection was mediated by the sepoys. In consequence of this information, Captain Hughes employed Gallop as a spy. This was also supported and jointly acted upon by Major Hazlewood. Gallop deposed before the court that 60 or 70 men were engaged in the conspiracy. The meetings and debates took place at night. Gallop overheard a conversation, very serious in nature, which proved to be an evidence for the existence of a conspiracy. One of the conversationists stated, "We are sent by our Subedar Mohammad Esoph to you to acquaint you that it is generally understood that the Calastry Rajah has shown great symptoms of disaffection to British and that he is anxiously waiting for an opportunity to attack them - you are going to Nellore and must pass very near to his city (Calastry). When you arrive there make every enquiry in your power and write constantly all the information you may require. We have, already, in all our corps, who are concerned, taken the Oath and it will be very satisfactory for us to know from your first letter, after you have met Subedar Shaik Alawadeen that you have also done the same (taking Oath) in your corps, as we can then place greater reliance on your communication and this certainly of not being betrayed."
The above information reveals that the sepoys took an Oath, as in the Vellore Conspiracy, and the principal agents travelled widely to support the conspiracies that existed in other places. One of the causes for the failure of the Vellore Conspiracy was that it was not actively communicated to other stations which resulted in a total disappointment for the disaffected persons in other places. As stated in the previous chapters, the agents and emissaries adopted different methods to gain support from the sepoys. Here in Wallajahbad, they spread out different stories as an act of sedition. They said that an European had been appointed for the monopoly of salt trade which, when collected, he had been directed to divide into two heaps, on one heap he was to pour the blood of a thousand pigs for the Muslims subjects, who have a religious abhorrence of that animal, on the other heap he was to pour the blood of 1000 bullocks for the Hindu population, whose prejudices with respect to that animal is well known. This is the salt which was sold throughout the country. The conspirators narrated this story not only to instigate the minds of the sepoys but also to unite Hindus and Mohammedans to take joint efforts against the British government.

Though there was no truth in the story, it gained
wonderful publicity among the people. As the British made drastic changes in the administrative machinery people believed such stories.

A different type of story, but with the same theme was also in circulation. They said that the Collector of Tinnevelly had laid the foundation of a large Church near a Hindu Pagoda. He had collected money for the proposed building. All the bricklayers of the country were forbidden from worshipping the Hindu God, or even to approach the pagoda and that he had also collected a tax from every family to defray the expenses of the intended edifice. All the Brahmins and ministers of the pagoda continued the report, waited on the Collector and represented to him that no Government previously ruled, either the Mohammadan or the Maratha had ever attempted anything of that kind; that the tyranny and oppression of the Collector was to them astonishing and that they demanded redress.20

Like the first story, the second one was also narrated to get support from the Hindu population. Through this story the conspirators propagated that the administration of the Company was corruptive and unjust and the British officers were trying to convert the Hindus to Christianity. The author of these stories could not be traced but the desired
effect was there. On enquiry at Tinnevelly, it was proved that the second story was false. The appearance of discontent among the troops and the activities of the conspirators induced the commanding officer at Wallajahabad to write for a reinforcement of European troops. Colonel Gillespie of H.M.'s, 19th Dragoons, immediately proceeded to Wallajahabad. 21

iii. Army Proclamation

The unrest and disobedience on the part of the sepoys alarmed the British Officers. Moreover the unrest was there in other places also. So the British Officers issued an army proclamation by the order of the Right Honourable Governor-in-Council and announced on 3rd December, 1806 to the whole army, that in cases of disobedience, if the guilt was proved on evidence prompt and exemplary punishment would be given. 22

The Proclamation pointed out that the rumours which were circulated by the enemies of the British Government were circulated to weaken the confidence of the native troops on the Company rule and the native troops would do well by not heeding to such rumours. The proclamation promised that the comfort and pay of the sepoys would be raised. Liberal pension also was to be given to those who had done their duty faithfully, and ample provision was to be made for the
families of those who might have died in the battle and by receiving their children into the service of the Company. They were also to be treated with same care and bounty as their fathers experienced. At the same time the native troops were warned that they should not fail in their duties and the Government was always ready to punish the offenders.

It was directed that the proclamation was to be translated with care into Tamil, Telugu and Hindustani languages and the copies were to be circulated to each native Battalion. The European Officers were asked to be careful in announcing the proclamation to every native officer and sepoy under his command. Copies of the proclamation were sent to all Collectors and Magistrates to be announced to the public warning them not to listen to the rumours.

At Wallajahbad, the proclamation was published on 5th December, 1806. The contents of the proclamation were fully explained to the native troops. Sepoys Shaik Mutter and Subhish communicated to the officials that the best effects had been produced on the minds of the sepoys at Wallajahbad by the proclamation. The disaffected party appeared disposed towards the abandoning of their designs. The British Officers did not stop with that. Orders were issued to observe the commissioned and non-commissioned native officers and to report to the Commanding Officer
of the Battalion every species of information that they may obtain from other sources as well as their personal observation and vigilance. On the other hand, if they failed to report the improper conversation or a secret treason among the sepoys, they would be punished with utmost severity and dismissed from service. The extract of the Army Rule was also published in the barracks at Wallajahbad. Predicting the future unrest and conspiracy against them, the British authorities framed rules and regulations in such a way as to maintain discipline and order. The native officers were the important links between the Europeans and the sepoys. The difficulty of local language made it impossible for the Europeans to know the sepoys and understand them. The sepoys were directly controlled not by the British officers but by the native officers. In all places of unrest the native officers were the chief conspirators.

iv. Court of Enquiry

The Commanding Officer at Wallajahbad was alarmed by the disobedience of the sepoys, particularly of the 1st Battalion of the 23rd Regiment. Col. Gillespie ordered a Court of Enquiry of which Major Hazlewood was the president while Major Bose with a proportion of officers from each Regiment formed the members.
Lt. Greave deposed before the Committee that it was the custom of the Battalions to have the companies present with the native officers who were ordered to release them to clean the accoutrements. This order had not been strictly adhered to since the arrival of the 1st Battalion of the 23rd Regiment. Lt. Greave requested leave of his commanding officer to have the men clean the accoutrements. From a misunderstanding of the order on the part of the Adjutant, the men were not allowed to eat their rice and were detained in their Barracks till 12 noon.

Lt. Charlesworth reported the disturbance in the lines of the Regiment. Lt. Greave immediately went to the sepoys and asked for the native commissioned officers of the companies but not one of them was present. The sepoys reported that they were detained and were not even allowed to take their breakfast on that day. Mrs. Reviere, who speaks the Malabar language very fluently stated that she heard the sepoys abusing the service in the vilest language unfit to be repeated, referring always to their pay of Rs. 7, a month for which they held themselves bound to do nothing and they would rather throw the Rs. 7 in their (Europeans) faces than to take them. The Enquiry Committee stated in the final report that a mutiny was planned by the sepoys.
on 25th July, 1806. The sepoys kept their families ready to escape in case of a mutiny on that day. A bullock boy came to Captain Hughes's house and told that he overheard his uncle (a sepoy) advising his women to collect all their properties and be ready to run off to Conjeevaram. This conversation took place on the night of 25th July. On interrogation, the bullock boy told that the transaction was to take place on that night or the very next night. Captain Hughes immediately informed the intelligence to the officers.

The Vakeel of the 2nd Battalion of the 1st Regimen deposed before the Court that the day before the disturbance he heard many women passing by his house, talking to themselves that they were much alarmed at the proposed mutiny. Thereupon, the Vakeel instantly cautioned his family also to be ready to escape in case of such an event. In the same manner, many families were cautioned to move off and it was a general talk among the sepoys. The sepoys said that all their connections had died at Vellore and they were equally faithful to the religion and wanted to do the same business as at Vellore.

The Enquiry Committee reported that a conspiracy was launched at Wallajahbad. On this report the Governor-in-Council ordered for a Court of Enquiry to examine the proceedings of the Enquiry Committee. Col. Gillespie was
The president of the court and Lt. Col. Sang, Major Hazlewood and Major Cattuert were the members. Lt. Col. Munro was also asked to proceed to Wallajahbad. He was ordered to take measures for immediate investigation on "the degree of disaffection" among the troops of the cantonment and the nature of evidence which might exist in proof of the disaffection.

The information was known to the officers through spies appointed for the purpose. Mohammad Gallop and Shaik Nutter, the appointed spies got entry into the conspiracy and acted as members of the same. They gave number of evidences and brought out the entire conspiracy into light. Unfortunately, they were included into the conspiracy without knowing that they were the spies. Shaik Nutter, the spy revealed the names of the most active conspirators.

The evidence proved beyond doubt that the conspiracy was at a critical stage on 25th July. Several plans of insurrection were thought out and the final day of action was eagerly expected. But before any considerable plan was finalised, the intelligence reached the officers. The principal conspirators were arrested. Lt. Col. Munro reported that the conspirators be dismissed rather than bring them before public trial. The appointed spies identified the conspirators. Rustoon Khan was discharged. Six sepoys had solicited and obtained their dismissal.
Fifteen men who were identified by Shaik Nutter, as the principal conspirators were discharged from the service of the company. The 2nd Battalion of the 14th Regiment was sent to Sankarydrug on 31st July, 1806. While the 1st Battalion of the 23rd Regiment was sent to Cooty 3 days later, on 3rd August, 1806.

The Wallajahbad conspiracy was the earliest which proved the existence of the conspiracy throughout the country. The emissaries travelled to all the army stations and gained grounds to set up a general insurrection in the country.

B. Unrest in Hyderabad

In the early stages Vellore, Wallajahbad and Hyderabad were selected by the conspirators as important centres for their activities. When the Mutiny broke out at Vellore, greatest alarm prevailed in Hyderabad. As in other places, native officers at Hyderabad were also active agents of the conspiracy. The influence of the native officers was so great that they were successful in getting their numerous adherents to withhold all information relating to their designs. After the incidents at Vellore, the British
appointed a Court of Enquiry at Vellore to find out the causes for such a mutiny. The investigation proved that correspondence through letter existed between Vellore and Hyderabad. But the secrecy with which the conspirators acted could not be traced fully. Thomas Sydenham, the Resident of Hyderabad reported that the circumstances of a Mutiny at Vellore was talked of and expected by persons at Hyderabad. The Mutiny at Vellore was the chief subject of conversation at Hyderabad after three days of its actual occurrence and five days before any account reached.

The conspirators at Hyderabad fixed 13th July, 1806 as the date of Mutiny both at Vellore and Hyderabad. The sudden outburst at Vellore on 10th July resulted in a failure of the general plan of insurrection. The Court enquiries conducted at Hyderabad revealed that the same causes as at Vellore prevailed here also. The British Officers suspected that the sepoys in the Carnatic and in Vellore communicated their sentiments to their relatives and friends at Hyderabad. This was proved by the evidence from a letter written by Thomas Sydenham. In his letter he said, "I received that a Subedar of the 11th Regiment of the name of Mir Abbas got a letter from a friend in Col. Irton's Battalion at Chitacole, which contained an exact drawing of the new Turban and which expressed a desire to learn"
what steps had been taken by the troops at Hyderabad respecting the turban." Thus the news of the Mutiny at Vellore was known to the people at Hyderabad even before the arrival of the official communication. The news must have reached here through secret agents.

1. **Causes**

As stated above, the main cause of the unrest was the Army Regulations regarding the change of the Turban and other regulations. Eamonston, the Secretary to the Government wrote, "The alarming state of dissatisfaction lately prevailing in the Subsidiary Force at Hyderabad occasioned by the General Orders of the Government of Fort St. George respecting the change of Turban and the abolition of the distinctive marks of the caste among the Hindoo Sepoys". 41

Besides the general notion that the British Government entertained a serious design to force them to receive Christian religion and the removal of all distinctions of dress and appearance was a preparatory step to an uniformity of faith, the order to prevent the beating of "Tom Tom" in the cantonment soon added to the list of grievances and produced more than ordinary sensation. 43 Another important
cause for the unrest was the severity of discipline existing in the British troops compared to the troops of the Nizam. The Nizam's troops enjoyed more liberty and higher salary compared to that of the British sepoys. The native officers and sepoys formed many connections and acquaintances in the city. They behaved very intimately with the people in the city. The native officers and men were occasionally fed and entertained either by the princes over whom they were placed on duty or by persons of rank in the neighbourhood of the princes' Wellings.

Sydenham, the Resident, reported that a concerted plan was designed at Hyderabad and at Vellore to subvert the British Government and elevate Mussalman power on its ruins. From the similarity of the grievances at Vellore and Hyderabad and from the cooperation of the Tipu's Princes at Vellore and the Omrans in the city of Hyderabad it was proved that there existed strong connections between these places. The British Resident reported that similar causes produced similar effects and it was natural that when they initiated a Mutiny they looked for assistance from the princes or Omrans. He wrote: "The princes at Vellore found our sepoys discontented and instigated them to insurrection. Our enemies at this capital (Hyderabad) perceived our sepoys in a similar state of mind and offered them assistance and
support. A body of men in the situation and under the same circumstances generally act in the same manner. He further said that if the sepoys at Trichy mediated an insurrection they would procure or find partisans amongst the Mussalman adherents of the Nababs of the Carnatic at that place. At Madras the sepoys would naturally look for support to Triplicane and in Mysore to the remnants of Tipu Sultan's party. 47

The destruction of the Muslim rule by the British was the real cause of the events. The fate of the rulers at Mysore, Arcot and Hyderabad had the deepest effect in the minds of the native sepoys. 48 Another very serious report that the inhabitants in the neighbourhood had resolved not to associate or intermarry with men who conform to the habits and dress of the Europeans 49 was considered a very serious one affecting the very life of the sepoys whose feelings were inflamed. This incident proved that thousands of persons in and around Hyderabad would gladly co-operate if there was a Mutiny. 50 The Nizam and his army were ready to assist the sepoys in such a revolt. Secret letters were sent and communications exchanged with the leaders of the conspirators and the noble men in the city. The alarming disaffection that was reported to prevail throughout the native troops of the army, was a subject of great delicacy
upon the mode of counteracting the commotion and mutiny. Thomas Sydenham reported that there was no time for references and every consideration must yield to the imperious necessity of guarding against that "Unfortunate extremity" (the disaffection) which, whatever be its termination, would threaten the most imminent danger not only to the British political interest at Hyderabad but to the general peace of India. 51

11. **Plan for a Mutiny**

The first information of a serious discontent or alarm among the troops was received on the evening of 11th July 1806. 52 There was a general talk among the sepoys that 13th July 1806 was the day fixed upon for the Mutiny at Vellore. A similar insurrection of the Subsidiary force at Hyderabad was therefore planned to take place on the 13th July, 1806. 53 The conspirators expected that the Mutiny would break out at both the places on the same date. Col. Montresor reported that a very serious and general disaffection among the troops prevailed and might be expected to explode with the most unhappy consequences and that no part of the native troops could be depended upon to suppress that spirit of disaffection. 54

The discontent and murmur of the native sepoys had risen to the highest pitch on 12th July and thousands of
persons in or about Hyderabad, were ready to co-operate and join the standard of any nobleman sufficiently aspiring and audacious to become their leader. In order to carry out the plan the sepoys became active from the evening of 11th July 1806 when accurate news reached the officers. Two important papers containing the design of the conspirators were found out during the enquiry conducted after the incidents. But the contents of the papers were not disclosed or recorded by the British. It is said that by enquiry based on those papers, the officers could collect the names of several persons.

The sepoys expected wholehearted support of the Nizam because they desired to establish Mohammedan rule after the Mutiny. They planned to kill all the European Officers and join the Nizam's army. The report of an insurrection planned at Vellore was circulated amongst the conspirators at Hyderabad on 12th July. At this time they believed that the mutiny was yet to be commenced at Vellore.

The conspirators held secret meetings to decide upon the course of action. They decided to adopt the introduction of the new Turban as a signal for a revolt. They had sworn to inflict their vengeance upon those who should betray their cause. They held their meetings during night hours and prevented the approach of any person belonging to the
European officers. Very cautious measures were adopted to keep the entire plan secret. The same system of terror as at Vellore was adopted here in Hyderabad.

It was generally reported and implicitly believed, both in the cantonment and in the city, that a considerable treasure was hidden in the bottom of the well in the European barrack. This oracle was revealed from one of the neighbouring pagodas. The treasure would not be discovered until a certain number of human heads had been sacrificed to the tutelary deity of the well. It was reported that the Europeans were trying to employ the way-persons by night to cut off the number of heads necessary to the discovery of the treasure. The body of a man with a severed head found at that time near the Presidency had confirmed the report and had its own effect. The incident of an European artillery man wounding a native sentry seemed to confirm this oracle.

This created fear among the populace. No native man dared to come out of his house after dark and no work was taken up after 4 0'Clock. It was seriously reported to both Mir Allum, the Prime Minister of the Nizam and His Highness the Nizam that a hundred bodies without heads were lying along the banks of the Moosi River. The blame was squarely laid upon the Europeans who were accused to have acted thus,
in order to built a Church, as noted above.\textsuperscript{65} The conspirators spread out the news that the Europeans would order the massacre of all the natives excepting those who accepted the Christian faith and erected the sign of cross on the doors of their houses. The conspirators encouraged the sepoys that they would be entertained by Raja Rao Rumba in his service and would receive the same salary with a reward of Rs. 24.\textsuperscript{66} The conspirators were very active in getting the co-operation of the sepoys and unite the entire army. There was not a single person who was not contacted and persuaded.

The conspirators wanted to get the support of the Nizam also whom they considered as their leader and king. A petition was presented to the Nizam earnestly seeking his support.\textsuperscript{67}

On 12th July there was a great commotion in the bazaar. Sepoys were found going about armed and in a mutinous mood. At 8 p.m. on the same day there was an uncommon disturbance and uproar in the rear of the cantonment. Upon information Col. Montreasor, the commander of the Subsidiary Force, apprehended some persons.\textsuperscript{68} Lt. Sydenham was directed to throw the picket fence across the great road leading into the cantonment to prevent any person passing either way. He detached a part of his men to quell the riot. In the 2nd
Battalion of the 15th Regiment, the men declared their resolution never to submit to wear the new Turban. Other corps also had the same opinion. Lt. Col. Noveton of the 3rd Regiment Native Cavalry, reported that the sepoys of his regiment resolved that they would never draw their swords in suppressing a revolt. 69 All these reports alarmed the British Officers. The patrols were continually kept going during the night. 70

Even under such vigilant watching, the conspirators conducted secret meetings and decided that the mutiny should commence on 14th July, 1806. 71 On that day, Rajah Rao Rumba's son went out to the cantonment on an elephant with a considerable train of armed attendants and spent the day in the lines with the express purpose as seeing the cantonment on that day. There was a large party of Noor-ul-Omrah's men in the cantonment. 72 But the strong vigilance put an end to any considerable plan of action.

111. Enquiry and Punishments

As there was no serious outbreak at Hyderabad, a separate court of enquiry was not appointed. The British Officers conducted the enquiry and through this enquiry many secrets came to light. Col. Sydenham conducted the
enquiry and reported the findings to the higher officials.

In his report he said:

"During the whole course of my enquiries into the nature and extent of the late disaffection in the subsidiary force, I have met with greatest difficulty in obtaining any conclusive evidence of the circumstances which were reported to me from several quarters. The proceedings of those who took a leading part in exciting the discontent of the sepoys, and in the correspondence with our enemies in the city of Hyderabad, appear to have been conducted with the greatest secrecy and circumspection. An extreme reluctance has been manifested by all persons to give, or to procure information."

The above report clearly states that a strict secrecy was maintained by the conspirators. Even in the petition sent to the Nizam the conspirators did not mention any detailed plan but simply invited him to defend the cause of the Mohammedan faith. He on his part, did not say anything to the petition presented since he was bound by the Subsidiary Alliance concluded with the British. Naturally, at least on record, chosen to adopt a neutral line of conduct.

The prisoners arrested were Subadars Siddhi Hussain, Kadar Beg and Omar Ali. Others were Chono Cawn, Dubash to Cap. Dickson, Shaik Tippoo, Dubash to Cap. Johnston, Cootee Naick, Dubash to Capt. Iront and Cankatrayaloo, writer in Major Dorose's office. The prisoners were sent to
Madras under the charge of J.P. Winfield for further enquiry and punishment. The British officers felt that mere dismissal of the prisoners would lead to further troubles in the country. They feared that the dismissed persons would try to form another conspiracy and try to instigate of the sepoys. So, G. Buchan, the Chief Secretary to Government, suggested that they should be transported for life to the Prince of Wales Island. According to the final orders of the Governor-in-Council the three native officers were transported for life to that island while full pardon was granted to others.

C. Disturbances in Nundydrug

What happened at Vellore was to be repeated in several places soon thereafter. In almost all these places the instigators were the native officers and many of them strangers particularly wandering sepoys several of whom were well known to have escaped from Vellore. The Vellore Mutiny was talked off by the sepoys often and it was complained that in a little time the same scene was to be enacted at Nundydrug also.

1. Commotion among the Sepoys

Sir J.F. Gatack, the Commander-in-Chief of the army
reported to the Governor that several communications were
received from Major General Macdowall, Col. Davis, Col.
Cuppage, Lt. Col. Ogg and Major Muirhead relating to an
alleged disaffection and intention to mutiny in the 2nd
Battalion of the 18th Regiment at Nundydrug and Bangalore.
Major Muirhead advised that the circumstances at Nundydrug
were so alarming that Col. Cuppage, the Commanding Officer
at Nundydrug, required immediate aid from Bangalore to
prevent fatal consequences.

It was reported that disaffection had gone to the
greatest extent after the news of the Vellore incidents and
the fate of the conspirators. Major Commanding 4. Muirhead
wrote a letter on 12th October, 1806, to Lt. Col. Ogg, Command-
ing the 2nd Battalion of the 18th Regiment. Major said in
his letter, "I beg to enclose for your perusal a paper,
showing that a conspiracy had been forming in the detachment
during my absence. I have in consequence put in arrest Subedar
Venkatachalam and Mohammed Riza. The copy of this crime shall
be forwarded to you tomorrow". A keen observation over
the activities, of the native officers who had been the
instigators was thought of as absolutely necessary. It was
believed that the partial rising in Nundydrug would attract the
attention of other places. In his letter to Col. Ogg, Muirhead
confirmed that the Hindus were connected in the scheme and the only people not to be confused in were the Christians.

The most serious letter was despatched by Col. Cuppage on 18th October, 1806. He wrote: "In consequence of information which cannot be doubted, indeed, almost certain that a rising amongst our men was to take place this night for the purpose of massacring all the Europeans. We have taken post in Captain Bayner's house, and without the immediate assistance of a strong party of your detachment, the most serious consequences to us, will most probably ensue."

As an immediate action, Col. Davis, Commanding 22nd Light Dragoons, left for Nundyarug with two troops and one gun at Bangalore under Captain Gardon. In his report Col. Davis stated, after visiting Nundyarug, that he found all quiet, but really, and truly they had a narrow escape of or from a "Vellore Fever." He also stated that the plan of the sepoys was to murder all the British Officers and immediately run away in different directions. The sepoys planned to send away, their families from the cantonment. Col. Henry Davis's enquiry revealed that all men of the country, of all ranks and castes, were waiting anxiously for the moment of rebellion. The intelligence was tightened and vigilant watching, proved to be indispensable, was established. Several persons were engaged in recovering
soldiers. The British Government considered the conspiracy as an abominable project and expatiated on their perfidy and ingratitude to the Government whose mild and fostering hand had been constantly employed in improving the situation of the native army, the comforts of the sepoys and their happiness. The officers were astonished that such an instance of disloyalty and insubordination had, without even the most remote cause for complaint, displayed itself in such glaring colours amongst the sepoys. At the same time, the British Officers were delighted to observe that a few faithful and steady soldiers were preferable to a host of the disaffected. It came to be known later that patriotism and discontentment with the British rule was the real background for the act of insubordination.

ii. The Fakeers

The conspirators, under various pretexts and disguise, acted against the British rule and became the agents of sedition. In the Court of Enquiry it was found out that the fakeers often met the sepoys. Custody, Subedar, deposed before the court that in the month of March four fakeers came from Hindustan to Nundydrug. Several months before the Vellore incident a number of persons of various descriptions, fakeers, conjurers, puppet showmen and others had, with a
treacherous design and in the most secret manner, endeavoured
to seduce and alienate the affection of the native troops. The minds of the native officers and sepoys of the 2nd Bat­
tery of the 18th Regiment at NundyDarug had been particularly
so much inflamed and agitated that they were disposed by
insidious artifices to commit the most daring. It was
presumed that similar acts would have extended to other
garrisons.

The fakeers first contacted the native officers of the
station and prepared them for the conspiracy. They became
the leaders and first conspirators who, in turn, contacted
the sepoys and conducted secret meetings and thus developed
the conspiracy. The whole of the 5 Companies at Bangalore
and NundyDarug were instigated by the fakeers.

The fakeers conducted puppet shows to attract the
native officers and the sepoys. From the Court Enquiry it
was found out that four fakeers came from Hindustan (Hindustan,
here meant the Maratha country. There are enough evidences
to prove that the Maratha leaders despatched these fakeers.
Generally, people believed that they came from North India.)
and performed a sort of puppet-show, in which the puppets
represented a fight between the French and the English, the
latter being shown as running away.
revealed before the Court of Enquiry that these fakeers remained there for about a month without conducting puppet shows. The Subedar and Jamaiars consulted the sepoys in the Barracks and agreed to send for them. The fakeers exhibited the puppet shows twice in the Barracks of the 3rd company and once at the Cotwall’s Choultry and in most of the houses of the Subedar and Jamaiars. They received Rs. 5/- from each family as a reward. The deliberate action of the fakeers was wholeheartedly supported by the native army. The conspiracy was hatched during the period of the puppet-shows. They decided to keep the entire matter secret. An oath of Secrecy was taken. The Oath-taking ceremony was conducted by touching their swords and mouths. All these activities were successfully kept secret. The British officers were informed about the activities of the fakeers only after the Court Enquiry.

111. Incidents

The unrest started from the evening of 18th October 1806. Unusual atmosphere and shambles march of the sepoys so much threatened the European Officers and caused so great a fear that they took post at Captain Bajoner’s house which was a stronghold in the Barracks. The British Officers expected the attack of the sepoys at any moment. Immediate
help was sought from Bangalore. The information collected by the spy were very dreadful and clearly reminded them of the incidents at Vellore. At 8 P.M., Custury, Subedar (on 13th October) came in great agitation to Captain Baymer's quarters to meet the officers. He reported the activities of the fakeers and their debate on the intended massacre of the British Officers that night at 10 O'clock. This information was given by a naigae of the 12th Regiment. From 4 P.M., on the 13th, it was clearly observed that there was something wrong with the sepoys. The sepoys were in constant movement in small parties, seemed to consult frequently, turning their whiskers and showing every mark of disaffection. About 7 P.M., on the same evening a sepoy reported that the families of the sepoys were moving away out to hide themselves in fields, hills etc. This was confirmed by the evidence in the Court of Enquiry by a villager and also a sepoy of the 12th Regiment.

On the same day a letter was dropped in the lines of His Majesty's 22nd Light Dragoons. The letter, written to the Subedar of Bangalore and other persons, was delivered by Azim Sahib and was taken from Calastry Raja. It informed the men that whatever disturbances may arise in that quarter
they were six Battalions and must assist each other and put the principal European Officers to death. It was found out from enquiry that previous to the evening of the 18th October, all remained quiet without any apprehension of immediate insurrection, till 8 P.M. when a fakeer and four or five others were seen in debate on the intended massacre of the Europeans by the rising of the sepoys at 10 P.M. This conversation was overheard by Subedar Custory who immediately came in great agitation to Captain Bayner's house to inform the matter to the European Officers. On this information the fakeer was immediately seized.

iv. Court of Enquiry

The British Government was informed about the existence of a conspiracy in Nundy-Arug. It was believed that the native officers and sepoys had carried on an intercourse with the fakeers and other wandering agents. When the report of the arrest of the ring leaders reached the Government, the higher authorities were alarmed considerably. Governor-in-Council appointed a Court of Enquiry to find out the causes for the nature of the crime committed by the prisoners. The court consisted of Lt. Col. Ogg, the President; Captain Gordon of His Majesty's 22nd Light Dragoons, Captain Patterson of 22nd Light Dragoons and Mackenzie as members.
The Court of Enquiry brought to light many important informations. Subadar Venkatachalam deposed before the court that the British rule was frequently criticised against that in course of one conversation which he overheard, the conspirators said that the Malabars were the first to occupy the country, next to them were the Mohammedans, next the French and the English came last. The conversation revealed that the English had to struggle long. Astrology was also used by the conspirators in order to instigate the sepoys. It was foretold that they (the English) were to perish by the swords of the Mohammedans notwithstanding their present power and government. They said that the English occupied the entire country and hoarded money in plenty, but gave the sepoys only a trifling allowance. "What could they (English) do against the combined forces of the Malabars, Mohammedans and the Marathas? The French had a big country of their own. England was a small island and the means of livelihood of the English was only by trade." Such conversations were frequent and had become common.

Subadar Custory deposed before the court that one day he met a young lad with a large book, a small part of it was uncovered, wrapped in a cloth and held under his armpit. The boy would not let him touch the book affirming that it was sacred and that it was brought from Mecca by a fakir and that
it contained prophecy about the downfall of the Europeans by the swords of Mohammedans. The boy told that he carried it to take multiple copies. Custory deposed that Havildar Veeraso was the eye witness for this. Court enquiry revealed that the conspiracy started several months before the Vellore incidents.

Abdul Cowder, Subedar of the 5th Regiment, deposed before the court that the intentions of mutineers were to kill the Europeans and run off. He also revealed that Abdulla Cawn, of Joree Bakhore told him that 500 Moormen were ready and would, in a moment's warning, join the mutiny and assist them. The men would assemble in the hills near Nundydrug and would fall upon the Europeans suddenly. If the plan was to be executed leisurely 2 or 3 thousand men could be collected to carry out the plan. Abdul Cowder also revealed that about 300 sepoys were on leave in the neighbourhood with arms and ammunitions from Vellore and other places. He heard that many deserters from Vellore were ready to assist them. It was generally spoken here that the affairs at Vellore was begun in a premature manner and before they could be properly supported. So it was planned that the mutineers in Nundydrug would manage better and attempt would be made only after all of them got support each from the other all over the country. The general unrest and plan to destroy
the British power in India was widespread and an opportune moment was expected for the simultaneous rising of unrest in all the places.

Subedar Abdal Kaadir of the 1st Battalion of the 5th Regiment deposed before the court that on the evening of 19th October, one of the spies employed by Col. Cuppage heard a conversation. In the conversation the man warned his son that something would happen that night and he advised him to be quiet and take care of the family. Court enquiry revealed that seditious discourses were very frequently held in the pattah at Mysore. On the Moharram day a meeting of the most inflammatory nature seemed with abuse of the English and Mysore Government were held in public streets. During such times "munkubut", a lamentation on the death of Tipu Sultan, was sung.

The Jamaadar Adjutant turned King's evidence and unfolded a plan of the most alarming kind. The plan was supposed to be traced to Holkar's camp and to include the Nizam's brother, Tippu's sons and some others. Evidence indicated that the agents were at work six months before the publication of the code of regulations. Subedar deposed before the court that about March 1906, four fakiers with their puppet shows came from Hindustan. Jamaadar Jerobah Sing disclosed before the court that on 20th October, 1906, in
the evening, a stranger came to the main gate and asked for Shee Burnie, a Lance Naigue. When the stranger was questioned he replied that he came from Gooribunder and on further question he said that at the time of the affair at Vellore he understood that a rise was also to take place at Nunayaram. Col. Cuppage reported that a sepoy who was caught was accounted with a firelock and 26 rounds in a village about a mile's distance. He was in possession of a liberty chit from the 2nd Battalion of the 4th Regiment, at that time stationed at Vellore bearing the date 7th August 1806, and he was to join back in two months. It was believed that there were numerous persons of the same kind who possessed arms.

The Court of Enquiry proved that very offensive expressions had been uttered and various attempts had been made to excite insubordination. Seventeen persons were dismissed from service and among them were several officers. The conspirators calculated that the numerical majority of the native army and sepoys could easily rise against the English and if they successfully carried out the plot throughout the country the British rule could be extinguished from India. The common subject of the conversation among the sepoys was that the Europeans were small in number and they could be easily destroyed by the powerful army of the Holkar and other
Marathas and that the warlike character of the French with their army would support them in case of mutiny. Besides all the above, the fakeers foretold that the year 1906 was the last year for the British rule. But all the activities of the fakeers and the conspirators became powerless before the supreme strategy of the British Government.

Court enquiry at Nundyug had a great significance because from this enquiry the British authorities came to understand for the first time, that the fakeer agents were travelling all over the country visiting all the army stations and instigating the native army against the British. It was learnt that Kooky Beg, a Moonshee performed certain ceremonies on every Thursday in honour of the sepoys killed at Vellore, who were considered 'martyrs'. Similar ceremonies were performed in different stations. In order to put an end to all ill feelings and prevent the unrest an army proclamation was sent to all Magistrates and Collectors of the Zillah.

D. Bangalore Conspiracy

1. The Plan

The city of Bangalore, with its congenial climate, was the second important city of the Mysore kingdom. During the reign of Hyder Ali Khan and Tipu Sultan this city became a very
important town with its growing Mohammedan population. After the fall of Tipu Sultan in 1799, the British army was garrisoned in the city. The Muslim population became disillusioned, wanted to take revenge and reestablish Muslim rule in the south.

The effects of Vellore Mutiny spread in the cantonment of Bangalore also. Agents of Tipu's princes were sent to Bangalore. As in the other places, the native officers in the British Army in Bangalore were assured of higher posts in the new service which was to be established after the fall of the Europeans. Col. Davis reported to Sir John Cradock on 4th November, 1806, that the most serious danger was to be apprehended in Mysore, more particularly by a Maratha or French invasion.

A secret intercourse was kept up between sepoys particularly at Nundydrug and Bangalore, where they were waiting for an opportune moment to revolt. The plan of insurrection in these places was similar. The conspiracy against the British rule was hatched at Bangalore and Vellore long before the "Turban order" was issued. The same report was received at Nundydrug also. The kings and puggars near Bangalore were ready to support the revolt. It was expected that the disturbances would start at Nundydrug first, then at Bangalore.
and from there it would spread to Seringapatam. The conspirators wanted that the unrest should soon spread all over the country. The reports of an intended insurrection at Vellore were made public at Sera, on the day the affairs actually took place and hundreds of sepoys with their arms and ammunitions collected in and around Nundyrag and Bangalore secretly.

As already seen the 2nd Battalion of the 18th Regiment stationed at Bangalore, comprised of men formerly in the military service of Tipu Sultan. Naturally, the sepoys had greater loyalty to the fallen house of Tipu. The promulgation of the general orders respecting the new regulations on dress resulted in discontent and disaffection in Bangalore also. A sepoy Mommed Shaby deposed before the court that the insurrection at Vellore before its commencement was known to the people in Bangalore, that the Amiladar had troops ready to take advantage of it, in case it succeeded. He pointed out that Gurishpa, a brahmin and Treei Naick, a commander of peons had knowledge of the Vellore mutiny long before it had erupted. The Vellore conspiracy had secret contacts with the conspirators at Bangalore. In fact, a similar report was made in other centres also which made the authorities presume that there was a common plan for a mutiny.

Secret communications were maintained with Mysore, the place where the plan of insurrection against the British rule
was originated and then became the channel of conspiracy. Sepoy Timma Naick disclosed that Madav Rao, the brother-in-law of Dewan Poorniah of Mysore had knowledge about the Vellore Mutiny. Being confederated in that design, he was prepared for a similar measure at Bangalore. Timma Naick further said that he was invited to join the conspiracy but refused and proceeded to Madras to give information. He revealed his inability (fear) to disclose the plan to the officers in time. On this information Col. Ogg, Commanding the garrison at Bangalore, desired to investigate the matter immediately. A guard led by Lt. Blackmore proceeded to the town of Bangalore and raided the house of Hummer-ul-Deen, brother of the Qazi of the town, searched the apartments, carried off such papers as were found, also taking Hummer-ul-Deen as a prisoner. Similar raids on the houses of private persons were conducted and number of persons arrested. The Government of Mysore and Dewan Poorniah objected to this kind of inquisition and wrote to the British Government to that effect. Another incident which took place on 7th August 1906, further infuriated the authorities of the Government of Mysore. Col. Ogg, Officer Commanding, without permission, garrisoned a detachment of Dragoons in the Mysore king's palace. The Dewan complained the matter to the British Government for which a prompt reply was sent by way of apology for the act and seeking friendly relations in future.
Lt. Col. Ogg reported to the Deputy Adjutant General, Mysore of an extraordinary appearance of people passing and repassing from Kolar and Seers without any ostensible object. It appeared that considerable ferment existed among the people particularly the Mohammedans who were supposed to be associated with the recent Mutiny at Vellore. Col. Ogg further reported that a Peerzada was arrested for suspicious behaviour. On enquiry, the Peerzada was found to be one of the conspirators. The native officers, Subadar and Jamadar were very closely associated with him. Peerzada was found conversing secretly with Secunder Khan, the principal conspirator at Bangalore. 132

Lt. Col. Ogg, by interrogation and intelligence, confirmed the existence of the conspiracy. He also confirmed that peers and fakeers from Mundarug, Kolar and Bangalore were the agents of the conspiracy. When the Peerzada was arrested a letter written in Persian language was seized from him. The translation of the same said: "The bearer of this Peer Mohammed will also verbally inform you of certain circumstances regarding this quarter and please to acknowledge the receipt of the money I have sent." 133

The author of the letter seized was, without least doubt, one of the principal conspirators. The details of the author of this letter and the conspiracy could not be traced even after deep enquiry by the British officers. The
Peerkada travelled from place to place to assist the conspiracy and to give news through letters.

On 24th October 1806, a Canto letter was found in the lines of His Majesty's 22nd Light Dragoons. The translation of this letter begins thus: "To be seen by the Colonel immediately a person called Arve Shahab brought letters from Calastry Raja to the Subedar of Bangalore and other persons and delivered them to Mohammad Hussain Naick and other persons. These letters were delivered to Mohammad Hussain. The Colonel arrested him and confined. I have secretly ascertained from Gentlemen of consanguine (consanguinity) that the English power is at its last gasp and they have dropped (dropped) the sword, but some of the great Sardars (Sardars) such as Wallis (may be Lord Corn Wallis) are desirous of drawing sword. We shall see who is victorious." (Many parts of the translation as recorded by the British are beyond comprehension. But the letter clearly gives an idea that there was a deep conspiracy in the South against the British. See Appendix for the copy of the translation.)

On 4th November 1906, Col. Henry Davis reported to Sir John Cradock, the Commander-in-Chief, that he was satisfied that a system of terror was established, particularly in the case of Jamaider Shaik Nawd and his near relative Subedar Secundar Khan. Both these native officers were the leaders
of the conspiracy at Bangalore.\textsuperscript{135} As a result of the discovery of the conspiracy immediate steps were taken to suppress it. Four troops of His Majesty's 22nd Light Dragoons were despatched under the command of Col. Davis and encamped in the glacis.

11. \textbf{Fakeers in the Cantonment}

Hundreds of strange Fakeers and peersadas were present to assist the conspirators at Bangalore and Nandyarug. It was more than seven months since the "Hindustani Rama" proceeded to Vellore.\textsuperscript{136} The fakeers conducted puppet shows which showed the Mohammedan and French puppets driving the English troops before them. As in Nandyarug, these shows were performed even long before the "Turband Order" was issued.

As in Nandyarug, on Moharram Day "Munkubats", a lamentation on the death of Tipu Sultan, was sung in Bangalore. Col. Wilks mentioned in his report that he knew for several years that songs had been composed and sung in different languages of Mysore on the death of Tipu Sultan. The chief object of these songs was to relate how Meer Sadick and Poorniah, the former Dewan of Tipu Sultan (after the fall of Tipu he was appointed as the Dewan of Mysore Government by the British) conferred with the British before the departure of the British army from Madras (for the war of Seringapatam
against Tipu Sultan), betrayed the Sultan and appointed the fatal hour of noon for the storm of Seringapatam. 138

A proclamation to all Mohammedans said to have been received from Medina and translated into Hindustani, whether it was true or fabricated, appeared frequently and was in circulation as Col. Wilks commented. But it was not possible to identify the persons responsible for it. A very striking feature at Bangalore was that a Hindu priest or guru belonging to the Lingam caste joined the Mohammedan fakeers in propagating that a "New King" would rise in Bangalore and that the European Government would be at an end. 140 Amilsars of Bangalore supported and supplied everything to this Guru. To predict that the British rule would end and another Government would appear was the way of propaganda of the fakeers who were well received by the people and were supplied with cows and other provisions. 141

Lt. Col. Ogg reported that a ceremony was celebrated by Nubby Sha, the Peer of late Tipu Sultan, on 22nd August, 1806 at Mysore in honour of Attavullah Sha, a departed saint. The native officers, desirous of attending it, applied for permission. But the ceremony itself was a mere pretext for the conspirators to join together to discuss their plan of insurrection. 142

There were also other agents in active operation against
the British. Sepoy Perumal, of the 1st Battalion of the 19th Regiment at Nundydrug, came to Bangalore with a passport dated 11th October, 1806, on two months leave. He said that he came to Bangalore to get money from a Havildar. The British Officers arrested him and seized a letter from him. This letter describes all the injustice done to him in the Company's service in Malabar. Another paper seized from him contained a Hindustanee poem in praise of Mohammad's beard, the hair of his body and of martyrdom for the faith. It was found out later that he was employed by the conspirators to visit various places to propagate their plan and assist in times of need.

iii. Military Court

A Court of Enquiry was held by the order of Major General MacDowall, the Officer Commanding in Mysore on 29th October, 1806. Lt. Col. Ogg was the President of the court and Captain Gordon, of His Majesty's 22nd Light Dragoons and Lt. Mookerji, Captain of the 2nd Battalion of 18th Regiment were the members. Four native officers, Subedar Secunder Khan, Shaik Hussain, Jamaídár Naroo and Havildar Adam Khan, were arrested on charge of conspiracy against the British. The court confirmed the existence of a conspiracy at Bangalore and Nundydrug. Further evidence
was obtained to prove that Mysore was the principal seat of the conspiracy from where the agents were sent to the length and breadth of the country. The primary object, as elsewhere was to overthrow the British rule and establish Mohammedan power once again. Though hundreds of sepoys were ready for the mutiny, they could not assist the Vellore conspirators because the incidents there unfortunately took place before the appointed date.

The enquiry revealed that the nephew of Tipu Sultan was in league with the princes at Vellore. When the order from the princes was issued, he was ready to rise against the British. The activities of the fakeers and peerzadas came to light in the Court Enquiry. The Hindus and Hindu saints also joined them and took active part in the conspiracy. The Hindu sepoys, Jamadar Narsoo and his followers were active in the conspiracy. Communications from other places were very frequent and even the Vellore conspirators received active encouragement from Bangalore and Mysore. After the incidents on 10th July, at Vellore, the insurrection and incidents became the main theme of conversation of the people in Bangalore and Nundydrug.

The court enquiry revealed that there was a plan of attack by the Marathas and the French. These findings alarmed
the British officers. The fakeer movement was an organised institution by the enemies of the British which spread out in all the army stations in South India. So, the British Government sent a general proclamation warning about the "Fakeer Movement" to all the Zilla Magistrates and Collectors. All the British officers were informed about the danger that existed in the country and were warned to be very vigilant thereafter.

Col. Henry Davis wrote in his letter to the Commander-in-Chief:

"When we think of the Political Revolutions which have taken place of late years, we cannot be greatly surprised at the Mussalmans' wishing for a restoration of their religion and their power and that the little Rajas and Polygars would readily join in the scramble in the hope of plunder, we must likewise recollect that some thousands of our sepoys were formerly in Tippoo's Army and actually fought against. The memory of that Sultan is held in the most profound reverence, whose fate they cannot forget and for whose family they preserve the most unbounded attachment." 148

After the enquiry all the prisoners were dismissed at Bangalore and Mundyaram.
E. **In Pallamcottah**

1. **Conspiracy**

Pallamcottah was the earliest rebel centre during the Kattabomman days. There was a well built fort in that station. It was one of the British army stations in the South in 1806. The 1st Battalion of the 3rd Regiment was stationed there. Major Welsh was the senior officer of the cantonment in the absence of Lt. Col. Tye, who was in Courtellum, forty miles away from Pallamcottah. From 1760 there was uprising against the British rule in the South. After the fall of the Muslim rule in the south and of the local polygars and kings, there was general discontentment and dissatisfaction there.

On 3rd August, 1806 a large flag was seen at the Mosque at Pallamcottah. It was a trigonal of a dark blue with light yellow oval spots in it. Such a large flag was very strange for such one was not seen to have been used any time before. It was the sign of the arrival of conspirators at Pallamcottah. Like in other places here also the emissaries spread out several rumours. A general rumour started floating among the people that five companies of the European forces started to Pallamcottah to convert all the natives to Christianity.
The next day another flag was hoisted on one of the Bastions. It was long and narrow with a figure which has the resemblance of a centipede. These new flags gave a signal warning to all the sepoys about the arrival of a conspiracy. At this time numerous conspirators appeared in the vicinity of the town under the disguise of fakeers. They went round the place begging during the day time and got themselves involved in the conspiracy during the night hours. The activities of these fakeers were not suspected by the British officers till 1st November, 1806, when they received information about the incidents at Nundyarug and Bangalore. The general circular about the activities of the fakeers gave sufficient warning to the officers to employ a spy to watch over activities of the fakeers and native officers.

Several communications were despatched by the British Government to all army stations to inform the general disaffection and unrest throughout the country. Court enquiry revealed that two days before the Vellore Mutiny a green flag was hoisted on the mosque at Pallamcottah. After the information of the Vellore Mutiny a green flag was hoisted again. When the new Turban arrived here Major Walsh advised the sepoys to wear them. But the sepoys refused to obey this command. After this the sepoys assembled
in large parties and decided not to wear the new Turban.

The first news of the Vellore incidents arrived through the Fakeers. They associated themselves with the conspirators and their arrival was informed through signs such as hoisting the flags over the mosque etc. They attended the secret meetings of the native officers and several plans were drafted. The report of the arrival of a Fakeer from Vellore reached the officers. This fakeer abused all the Europeans that the time for their end was very near. The Vellore fakeer further revealed that he was the man chosen to cut off 10,000 heads of the Europeans. Major Welsh also confirmed the existence of this Vellore fakeer at Pallamcottah. Major gave evidence that such fakeer emissaries were sent to that station not only from Vellore but also from Hyderabad and Poona.

On 18th November, 1806 the conspirators assembled and decided to take action within 10 days. The members of the conspiracy stated that they received a secret letter assuring help from other outside stations. Unfortunately, this conversation was overheard by the spy employed by Major Welsh.

Hyder Sahib, the Subedar, was one of the principal
conspirators at Pallamcottah. He would receive letters from all quarters outside, mainly from Madura, Trichinopoly and Chingleput. 162 He sent instructions to the postman Somasundaram Muddali to send all letters addressed to him to his house or to his brother and not to Major Welsh. 163 A part of the conversation heard by the spy was deposed before the Court of Enquiry. The spy revealed the whole plot to the officers in time. On 18th November, Subedar Sheik Hyder and three native officers attended the secret meeting. They expressed their sorrow for having failed at the time when the strange flag was hoisted. They felt that the right time had come and they decided to kill all the British officers within ten days. 164

A secret letter was seized by the British officers. This letter was written by Shaik Hyder's brother which was despatched to Shaik Hyder. The letter gave direction to meet some persons whose identity was not clear. 165 Alex Dyce, Lt. Col. Commanding, expressed his opinion that variety of mysterious informations and some anonymous letters continued to keep up the idea of disaster. He further stated that from one of the letters he received he found out that Ramalingam Muddali and the minister of the Rajah of Trivancore were parties to the conspiracy. 166
11. **Plot of Murder**

General unrest started at Pallamcottah from 16th November, 1806. On that day Major Welsh was indisposed and so directed Captain Pepper of the 1st Battalion of the 3rd Regiment to be in charge of the parade. After the parade, the native officers came forward to report their grievances. Sheik Nutter, Subedar of the Light Company, came forward and reported that the Major had abused him. Another Subedar also made a similar report whereupon the whole army commenced murmuring. Captain silenced them and reported the matter to the Major. This was the beginning of the unrest. The native officers collected support from all the sepoys and gained their sympathy for the general cause of revolt. Considering the serious situation the British officers were deeply cautious for two days when the next incident took place.

On 18th November 1806, in the evening, all the officers observed the men behaving very indifferently, to a degree which had never occurred before. The native officers and sepoys had decided to kill all the British officers on the next day, after breakfast. The British officers received this information and as a precautionary measure Major Welsh, with the help of Straton, the Judge and
Hepburn, the Collector, took immediate steps to disarm the sepoys. Sheik Hyder was identified as the chief of the conspirators.

Ramasamy, Paymaster's writer, deposed before the court that from the day when the Vellore Mutiny took place, the sepoys started abusing the Europeans. Most of the sepoys at Pallamcottah were enlisted from the southern Pollams who had close connection and ties with the conspirators of Vellore belonging to the 2nd Battalion of the 23rd Regiment. The miserable end of the leaders at Vellore had deep effect on the minds of the sepoys. It was believed that the martyrs at Vellore gave them a timely notice. They wanted to avenge but be cautious not to repeat the mistakes committed by the men at Vellore. There was a general talk that the mutiny at Vellore had happened on account of the new Turban and that Sheik Adam had distinguished himself in killing the Europeans. Sheik Hyder, referring to this incident said that if the officers insisted upon their wearing the new Turban, they would easily dispose the British officers who were only 10 or 15 in all and they might run off to the Raja at Travancore.

Major Welsh deposed before the Court Martial that there was a symptom of great disturbance in the cantonment before 19th November, 1906. He also stated that the sepoys paid little attention to duty and they seemed to be much
occupied with something foreign. The native officers behaved very indifferently conducting themselves improperly. Major received the information of the conspiracy and unusual commotion among all ranks of the natives.

Major Welsh received a letter from the Adjutant General's office which pointed out that there were several persons in his Battalion who had close connections with the conspirators at Vellore and Vundyrag. Major Welsh followed the traditional policy of dividing the person for his own advantage among the native troops. He separated the Hindu and the Mohammedan sepoys, declaring that the Hindu sepoys did not take any part in the unrest. He selected some of the Hindu sepoys and gave them arms while most of the Mussalman sepoys and officers were disarmed.

On 16th November, 1806, in the morning, Reverend Mr. Ringle Tambe was called to observe some blood sprinkled at the church door. On examination he found two large stains on each side of the threshold and then drops of blood leading from them through the railings of one grave and completely round another where no further traces could be found. This was believed to be the activities of a ghost. People believed that it was the spirit of a moor commander who had been blown away from a gun by the English. This was the work of the conspirators to threaten the Europeans.
Another incident was noted to prove the existing danger. Hitivarer Singh, a sepoy, was very close to Major Walsh. His native place was Bengal. He was an honest man with good character (according to the version of Major Walsh). He was supported by the Major for many months when he was unemployed. He would visit Major often and enquire about Major's health. On 16th November, he came to Major in a dejected mood. When Major asked him the cause of his sorrow he replied that he was ordered by Shaik Hyder, the chief conspirator, and the native officer to him, to go to Shangaran Koil. He was served with that transfer order because everybody knew that he was very close to the Major. Though his family was then at Shangaran Koil, he wished to remain at Pallamcottah and watch over the safety of the Major. He came to the Major and reported the matter to him that all the sepoys and native officers had decided to kill all the British officers in ten days. He said that he wanted to defend the Major and die at his feet. When the Major enquired about the blood and the ghost, he replied that it was said to be a villain of a soldier who was blown away from a gun for mutiny many years ago, that if he did walk at night it was like a thief in the dark for no good purposes. The activities of the fakeers and other agents at this place along with other conspirators did all these, during night hours, to threaten the British officers.
These circumstances made the Major believe the existence of the conspiracy and danger for the life of all the British officers in the cantonment. On 17th November the Major received the information from Captain Pepper that a plot to murder all the Europeans in 10 days. Captain Pepper was Major Welsh's brother. Soon, the Major in consultation with other officers, decided to seize the ring leaders immediately. Major Welsh reported to the Commanding Officer, Madura, about the serious situation of the cantonment of Pallamcottah. In his report he said:

"I have discovered a plot to murder all the Europeans in 10 days, if not sooner and all the native officers are concerned. I am at a loss what steps to take in this insolated situation but shall be guided by circumstances. A wife and a child are with me and God alone must direct my steps right."

This report was despatched on 19th November, 1806. The copy of the same was despatched also to the Officer Commanding, the Southern Division, Trichy. On this information a detachment of the 6th Regiment Native Cavalry, consisting of 300 men, was despatched to Pallamcottah. 178

On 19th November, 1806, after breakfast Major Welsh and other officers proceeded to the Barracks ordering the Barracks guards to fall in. The officers with loaded muskets took the head of the guard and seized the arms. Then the men were assembled outside without arms. There
prevailed much confusion but no tumult. Major addressed
the men that he knew that there was a treason going on in
the corps that he came down to defeat it. At that time
Major observed Subedar Shaik Nuttur very busy loading a
musket. Major immediately loaded his musket and ordered
him to lay down his musket. A sepoy was, at the same time,
observed to snap a piece behind where Major was standing
and was instantly knocked down by a Havildar. On examining
the piece it proved to be loaded. Major marched the party
to the General Parade and made all the native officers
fall in and then ordered the Gentoos, Malabars, Rajputs
and Christians to fall out. They were provided with loaded
arms. Major told the moor men that by the blessings of God
he had defeated a plot to murder him and other British
officers. After that, the moor men were collected and
ordered to march out of the fort where they must remain
until an investigation had been made. Following this inci-
dent the Major despatched a report to Trichinopoly.

On the same day Major Welsh sent a message to Col.
Dyce, his superior officer who was at Courtallum, 40 miles
away from Pallamcottah, about the discovery of a conspiracy
and stated that if he survived till the next morning all
would be well, if not he would die in the execution of his
duty. Further, he wrote that he had succeeded in
disarming the corps and turned the native officers and privates
out of the fort. He sent a small guard of men to meet Lt. Col. Dyce half way to escort him into Pallamcottah.

The Major also wrote a warning letter to Lt. Col. Grant, Commanding the garrison at Quilon, on the same day. In his letter to Col. Grant he wrote, "I know that agents are gone your way and that the followers of the false prophet are unanimously corrupted. I wish you would also state our precarious situation to Ceylon. Col. Dyce was absent at the hills, 40 miles off, if he is alive, he will join us." 182

The above letter reached Quilon on which Col. Grant took similar action as Major Welsh. On the receipt of the report sent by the Major Welsh a detachment was despatched under the command of Captain Mercer from Ceylon. This detachment arrived on 3rd December, 1806. 183 In the meanwhile Lt. Col. Dyce arrived at Pallamcottah from Courtellum. He found, according to his letter, the garrison in a state of the greatest alarm and consternation. 184 Strong suspicions were entertained of the fidelity of the Hindus amounting nearly to 500 men who were retained in the fort and of whom only about 150 had been entrusted with arms. Col. Dyce assembled the whole men upon the parade and required all the men to take an Oath of allegiance to the British Government. The Oath was administered with every
formality. In order to confirm that apparent loyalty, Col. Dyce promoted on the spot 5 Subedar s and 5 Jamadar s with a proportion of non-commissioned officers.

An Enquiry Committee was appointed to investigate the incidents. The committee consisted of Stratten, the Magistrate, Hepburn, the Collector, Major Welsh and Mr. Woodcock. But after the arrival of Lt. Col. Dyce another Court of Enquiry was appointed of which Lt. Col. Dyce was named the President and Major Scot, Cap. Birch, Capt Newall, Lt. Robertson were members. 185

iii. Enquiry

The Court of Enquiry proved that secret meetings of the native officers took place at the mosque in the fort. On the night of the 18th it was clearly announced that they wanted to murder all the European officers as a part of some general and extended plan of treason. 186 The secret meetings were attended by Fakeer from Vellore who helped them in executing their plans. There they decided to hoist the strange flags as a sign of their unity and a mark of their decision. As suitable precautions were immediately taken by the British officers, they could not constitute a well thought out plan and before they could do anything they were all seized.
Sepoy boy Ramasamy deposed before the court that when he was walking alone through the Barrack street, on 19th November, he noticed a secret meeting. He overheard a conversation which related to several men coming down and the English being handful all of them must be killed and that on the arrival of those men from Palghat there would be a great confusion. Iyam Perumal, the butler, deposed that he was ordered to act as a spy. On 18th November under the disguise of a beggar, he went to the place where the Vellore Fakeer lived. He heard Hyder Sahib, the Subedar saying that he had received a letter from the southward and all the white men will be destroyed in 10 days.

A general proclamation was made by the Court that a reward of 500 star pagodas with indemnity would be granted to any person who would give intelligence and bring proof of the alleged conspiracy. But none came forward. The Court found itself compelled in the paucity of evidence, to resort to such presumptive proofs as can be obtained towards establishing the existence of dissatisfaction, cabal and improper influence and authority exercised by the senior Subedar Sheik Hyder and the native officers in general.

Proceedings of the Court further revealed that the "ghost" incident was to irritate the native troops against the British officers. The Court Enquiry proved that
there was a communication by letter from outside. There were evidences to prove that the conspirators had started their work two months before. From 17th November, 1806, the native officers seemed to gain more influence and so started to envisage a concrete plan. But thanks to the spies employed by the British officers, the warning letters from the Government referring to the Nundyarug and Bangalore incidents to watch over the activities of the Vellore Fakeer and others all such active measures provided favourable opportunities for the British officers to check the activities of the conspirators.

Another evidence obtained from the Court of Enquiry was that the Polygars of the southern country encouraged the conspirators. There was no authentic evidence to prove this fact except some conversation overheard by the spies. The British official feared that the southern Polygars would join and support the sepoys in case of a revolt at Pallamcottah. To prevent the polygars from taking any advantage of the opportunity the 1st Battalion of the 4th Regiment, with the Light Company of the 69th Regiment, was detached to Madura. Col. Dyce finally armed and incorporated the whole body of the Mussalmen of the 1st Battalion of the 3rd Regiment with the exception of some of the native officers who were under Court Enquiry.

As a result of the Enquiry, it was decided to discharge
from the Battalion men of the corps to the number of 161, who had been enlisted in the southern pollsaws and who were not only of the same country, but supposed in several instances to be connected by ties of consanguinity with the men of the 2nd Battalion of the 23rd Regiment, who had been so deeply implicated in the mutiny at Vellore. But Col. dyce received instructions from the Southern Commanding to incorporate all the Mohammedans into the army again. The British could not dismiss all the Musselmans for they were numerous and a good number of them were officers.

iv. Court Martial

The whole incident at Pallamcottah was an alarming situation for the British rule in India. The authorities feared that if all the Mohammedan sepoys and officers were united the very existence of the Company would be in danger. It was a great mistake on the part of the Major to disarm the Musselman sepoys alone and drive them out of the fort. It was a period of turbulence and unrest throughout the country. The discontent and disaffection against the British rule became the order of the day. Under these circumstances the action of separating the Mussalmans and turning them out of the fort after disarming them, was considered a very serious offence which might have resulted in total dismay and distrust on the part of the native troops in general. The Governor-in-Council felt that the
measure of separating the Musselmen from the Hindu troops was highly injurious, from its obvious tendency was to create sentiments of jealousy and distrust which must be destructive of the discipline and welfare of the army. 193 The measures adopted by Major Welsh were evidently calculated to produce very injurious consequences in their tendency to weaken the attachment of the native army and to uphold a general sense of alarm beyond what was warranted by the actual state of affairs. 193 So the British Government decided to conduct a serious investigation referring it as a subject to the Court Martial.

General court martial against Major Welsh was appointed to investigate the serious action taken by him. The president of the Court Martial was M.G. Dugal Campbell. The other members were, Maj. Gen. Fullen, Maj. Gen. Paton, Col. Gillespie, Col. Lockhart, Col. Bell, Col. Trapau, Lt. Col. Lang, Lt. Col. Rodsworth, Lt. Col. Nighton, Lt. Col. Campbell, Lt. Col. MaCally, Lt. Majors Sir O. Ogilby and Bruce. 195 Three charges were levelled against Major Welsh. They were:

Charge No. 1:

"In having on the 19th November, 1806, when commanding as the senior officer present in the fort of Pallamcottah caused 20 native officers of the 1st Battalion of the 3rd Regiment of the Native Infantry to be confined and a large proportion of that Battalion to be disarmed without any justifiable cause, adequate necessity or
deliberate investigation of the allegations on which a measure of such extremity was adopted."

**Charge No. 2:**

"In having on the 19th November, 1806, expelled from the Fort of Pallamcottah the Mohamadan troops of the Garrison whom he had previously caused to be disarmed on vague suspicion of their general disaffection, this tending to produce disunion, and mutual distrust in various classes of men composing the British army in India."

**Charge No. 3:**

"In having addressed various letters written in terms not warranted by the occasion, but tending to excite alarm to Ceylon, to Trichinopoly and to Travancore and particularly in having addressed a letter dated 20th November, 1806 to the officer Commanding the troops at Quilon ascertaining as consistent with his positive knowledge, the existence of designs the most alarming and urging distrust of the Mohamadan troops, thus creating false alarm in the quarters of the Travancore Subsidiary Force and stimulating measures of the most injurious tendency to the general interest of the state."

The main intention of the Court Martial appointed by the Government against the Major was to create confidence and unity in the army. All the blame on the Major was to show that the British rule was just and fair. But the Major acted perfectly on the intelligence given by the spies appointed for the purpose. In his evidence the Major stated that the general disaffection started in the corps.
and he proved the plot of murder of all the British officers. Referring to the strange flag hoisted, he said that it was an indication that the infidels were to be routed and Mussulmen were to govern the country. He produced evidences to prove the secret meetings and the decision taken to kill all the British officers in 10 days. He gave further evidence to show the existence of the fakeers, particularly a Fakeer who came from Vellore. At the same time the Major received the information about the Nundydrug and Bangalore incidents. In his report he said:

"On the 14th I received a detailed account from Col. Dyce of the plots at Nundydrug and Bangalore, the suspicions of the native army in general, which led me to think it necessary to set some persons to watch over even the Native Officers, the result of this last step is "stated in my official report to Col. Dyce of 25th November".

Major Welsh deposed that under these circumstances the natives were concealing the knowledge of their designs and it was very difficult to arrive at a positive evidence of guilt. It was not on the suspicion of the fidelity on the part of the native officers but out of fear that some danger might occur soon, that such measures were adopted to defeat the conspiracy. He referred to the Vellore Mutiny and said that the tragedy might perhaps had been averted had due attention been paid to the information of Mustapha
Beg previous to the event. The Major wanted that such fatal consequences should be averted. He further stated that he could not expect a complete development of the plot and he firmly believed that he had discovered that most of those men who were in his confidence in the army were amongst the most active of the conspirators. He asked to whom he could apply for further information. He said that had an hour elapsed before he acted the plan of the conspirators and the proofs they were anxiously seeking for would have been scaled with their lives.

James Hepburn, the Collector of Tinnevelly deposed before the court that there was some improper agency on against the British rule and he mentioned the story of the 'ghost' and said that it had considerable effect on the minds of the sepoys. He suspected that there were some fakeers about the fort. Subedar Gannojee Rao of the 1st Battalion of the 3rd Regiment, deposed before the court that he saw the flags hoisted on the mosque before and after the Vellore Mutiny. He also gave evidence of the arrival of the fakeers at Pallamcottah.

Iyamperumal, butler, deposed that Shaik Hyder said in the mosque that he had received a treaty signed by the French, the Dutch and the Nawab and the subject of the treaty was that the French would give double pay to those
who kill the Europeans. The chain of events at Wallajabba, Nundyarug and Bangalore alarmed the British officers and so the warning letters were despatched to all army stations particularly warning about the Fakir emissaries. These letters reached Pallamcottah which further created a threat to the British officers in that station. The extraordinary occurrences in that station and at Mysore proved the existence of a general conspiracy.

After the Court Enquiry at Pallamcottah the Government despatched a separate circular to all European officers warning them to deal with the situation, not to believe vague rumours and the reports of the natives and the same time to be cautious when such rumours existed in finding out an accurate knowledge of the habits, conduct and connections of the troops. Such informations should be sought with discretion and secrecy well weighed when obtained and acted upon if necessary only. The Court Martial passed the sentence on all the arrested ring leaders but Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-in-Council dissented the same.

F. Incidents in Mysore

1. Warning Letter

A Subsidiary Force was stationed at Mysore in 1806
with Lt. Col. Grant as the Commanding Officer of the force. As in other places, he too received warning letters from the Government about the secret agents and their activities particularly about the fakeers. Latest information was received from Bangalore and Nundydrug. The conspiracy at Nundydrug was conducted with all the secrecy that distinguished the one at Vellore. The letter from the Government warned the British officers about the spirit of dissatisfaction and revolt that prevailed and instructed them to be watchful and take every measure of precaution. In consequence of investigations in Mysore and at Nundydrug the Government had reasons to suppose that there were persons travelling about the country in the guise of fakeers.

On 20th November, 1806, Lt. Col. Grant received a letter from Major Welsh, from Pallamcottah in which it was reported that Welsh had discovered a plot of Moormen to murder all the Europeans and it contained a note of fear that similar fate might really be intended at Quilon. Further it was to warn that the agents had already gone to Quilon under such guise. However at the time when Lt. Col. Grant received such an information there was calm and peace at the station. However, out of fear and thinking that the apparent tranquillity was deceitful as at Vellore, he acted immediately to suppress any plan of a revolt. The
Vellore incidents had made all the British officers in all the army stations suspect all the native officers and sepoys. When the news about the incidents from Hyderabad, Bangalore, Mundyarug and the most recent information from Pallamcottah reached Lt. Col. Grant he earnestly believed that some danger awaited him in Travancore also. Major Welsh who took firm measure of disarming the troops at Pallamcottah reported his action to Quilon. Under these circumstances Lt. Col. Grant wanted to follow the same policy of disarming of his troops.

11. Col. Grant's Action

Truly, numerous secret agents poured into Pallamcottah and from them a group entered into Travancore. The letter from Major Welsh particularly warned about a Fakir from Vellore, who came there after the Vellore Mutiny. On receipt of the Major Welsh's letter Grant acted immediately. He despatched a letter to C. Macaulay, the Resident at Travancore informing about the warning letter from Pallamcottah and the danger that could be expected. On the next day, at noon, he gathered the sepoys by companies and ordered them to deliver their side arms and pouches at the artillery Barracks. The native officers were not let free but watched carefully. All the Europeans of
artillery, with drummers etc., were kept within the artillery Barrack yard as the alarm post. Besides this, sentries were posted on different avenues to the cantonment to intercept any person leaving or approaching the cantonment in a suspicious manner. Lt. Col. Grant wrote to Macaulay asking permission to apprehend persons coming from Pallamcottah without passports.

Lt. Col. Grant turned out all fakkers and persons in that guise from the cantonment and with the help of the Dewan of Travancore he prevented their return. He also announced a reward of 500 star passes to those who came forward with information about the emissaries and secret agents. He reported the incidents and developments to the Resident at Travancore. The Fakir agents had just arrived at Onillon and even before they could start any constructive action precautionary measures had been taken to prevent them. Naturally the fakkers and religious mendicants had to leave the place almost being chased out. C. Macaulay, the Resident, appreciated the measures taken by Lt. Col. Grant and the judicious assertion of Major Welsh that emissaries had gone from Pallamcottah to Travancore. The Resident also advised Lt. Col. Grant to post a guard of Travancore sepoys with some Carnatic Bircarrass or peons at the narrow pass leading from Paroor to the cantonment. Grant was authorised to arrest and
bring for vigorous examination all suspected persons who would be travelling from Tinnevelly. A message reached the Resident from the Dewan of Travancore extending all his cordial assistance in the matter.

However, all these measures, specially the disarming of the sepoys, were considered futile by the higher authorities who considered the incidents at Oonilon and at Pallammottah as the most improper action that might lead to further danger in the army. The letter from the Government said:

"The Commander-in-Chief has learned with surprise that those troops were disarmed (by Col. Grant) in whose conduct no cause of suspicion had been found this measure not stated in his letter. The measure was highly disapproved by the Commander-in-Chief and ordered to deliver the detachment to the next senior officer and asked Lt. Col. Grant to proceed to the Presidency." 213

Major Hamilton had assumed the command of the Subsidiary Force in Travancore replacing Lt. Col. Grant who proceeded to the Presidency.

iii. Court Martial against Grant

The same Court Martial which tried Major Walsh conducted the trial against Grant. Two charges were read against Grant.
ChARGE NO. 1

"For conduct an officer like and inconsistent with his duty as commanding the Subsidiary Force in Travancore, in causing on the 21st and 22nd November, 1806, last, a large proportion of the Native troops then under his command, to be disarmed, without any justifiable cause or adequate necessity.".

ChARGE NO. 2

"For conduct highly disreputable to the military character, and injurious to the public interest in adopting without ascertaining its necessity, by previous inquiry, a measure of such extremity, tending to excite mutual distrust between the European and Native Members of the service". 214

When framing the above charges the Adjutant General of the Army wrote that in the moment of tranquillity and quiet, a whole garrison which had been disarmed ought to have been preceded by some adequate necessity. He further stated that if any one thought it to be unimportant he might have observed very little upon the nature of the dominion. The report of Lt. Col. Grant was vehemently criticised by the authorities on the ground that Grant had disarmed the corps, and so he was happy to say that he had not yet found any dissatisfaction prevailing there. 215

Evidently the circumstances seemed to be so alarming to Lt. Col. Grant that he took drastic measure on receipt of
information about the conspirators. The effects of Vellore Mutiny and the chain of events that followed at Hyderabad, Nundyur, Bangalore and other places had deep impression upon the minds of the officers. The very thought of "Vellore Scene" created a sense of fear and awe in most of their stations. Lt. Col. Grant deposed before the court that the melancholy transactions at Vellore, the secrecy with which that conspiracy was conducted and the art displayed by the native officers in fixing upon the unshaken loyalty of Mustapha Bag were the guiding principles for the British officers to take precautionary measures. At Vellore not even the slightest change or symptom of discontent or disaffection was visible until the virtual outburst of the Mutiny there. Disclosing this, Grant explained that the outward calm and apparent cordiality of the native troops were in no way guarantees against the most deeply laid out conspiracy for the destruction of the Europeans. The infection had spread and a great part of the Native Army of this Presidency was contaminated. The timely discovery and prompt action would suppress the conspiracy. Grant deposed before the court that, with these ideas in mind he thought it would be proper to disarm the corps.

The circumstances justified in every form of reasoning, fear, but in all stations of unrest similar
measures were neither necessary nor taken. The immediate object in all army stations of unrest might be different from Vellore, though the general end was the same, viz., overturning the British. The doubt cherished by Lt. Col. Grant or Major Welsh were not without grounds. Almost at the same period of time, on 26th November, 1806, the Commander of the Southern Division of the Army at Trichinopoly, reported to the Government that an extraordinary number of fakeers and mendicants assembled at Trichinopoly. It was the festival time of Ramzan. He suggested that the measure of expelling persons of this description might have been affected without causing great sensation in the public mind. This evidence proved that numerous secret agents had gathered in the southern part of the country. They were trained and sent from the north to contact the native officers at various army stations in the far south and prepare the ground for a mutiny.

In the Court Martial conducted against Major Welsh and Lt. Col. Grant, it was accepted that the Major had taken measures when he suspected a conspiracy. Still, Grant had no such strong and visible grounds for his action. So it was reported that he had taken strong measures to destroy confidence in the minds of native sepoys. Major Welsh was charged for having given a warning signal when it was not necessary.
But it must be noted that the very Court Martial conducted against the British officers was only an attempt to show the just rule of the Company. It was mainly to regain confidence in the sepoys. Both the officers were removed from their respective command. But, even after the suppression of the conspiracy at Pallamcottah and Quilon the conspirators had not totally abandoned their activities. The unrest at Bellary, Sankarydrug and Madras followed soon which proved the inefficiency of the British Government and the strong feeling of discontentment among the sepoys against the British.

3. In Bellary

1. Spread of Conspiracy

When the emissaries were despatched to different places of army centres, a batch of conspirators arrived Bellary. The conspirators, as in other places, travelled under the guise of fakeers. They came to Bellary in the month of July, 1906. There is evidence to show that two Fakeers namely Allum Ali Shah and Noor Kulleel Shaw started their work at Bellary in the month of July, 1906. Unlike at other places, the conspirators used entirely different methods to spread unrest in this army station. They wanted to create disturbance not only in the army but also in the public by propagating a new doctrine to disturb public
tranquillity. The propagation of the new doctrine was done to secure influence among the masses at large. The 'New Doctrine' was to form a new line of faith through which they thought, they could get supporters and followers with whose help they could rise against the security of the British rule in India.

The communication was carried on under an impene-trable secrecy and papers were circulated among the admirers and followers. Barring some stray evidences which came to light during the court of enquiry, the details of secret meetings and conversations could not be gathered. Here the British officers had to deal with not only the military unrest but also the public peace. The 'New faith' was deadly against any existing religion particularly and rather remarkably abusing even the Mohammedan religion. The main followers were of the same faith like the secret agents who were despatched to Bellary. Besides disturbing the general peace in the army and the public, the conspirators attempted to corrupt the morale of the sepoys. Though the new doctrine was strongly opposed, it had its own revolutionary effects upon the minds of the sepoys.

The Court of Enquiry revealed that besides the aim of creating disturbance in that army station the chief authors of the doctrine and others who were connected in the group had another view in their mind.
received support and followers to the expected number, they had the plan of inviting another gang to give more encouragement and thereby attract more followers to carry out their conspiracy. They had a plan of creating an additional force at Bellary and launching a mutiny in that place.

The real effect of the spread of new doctrine was judged by observing the ardent followers of the faith, details of whom could not be traced by the British Government except through some evidences obtained in the Court of Enquiry. Abdul Nubby, a sepoy of the 2nd Battalion of the 5th Regiment, became the most truthful and ardent follower of the new faith or new doctrine. It was given out that Abdul Nubby became a "heretic" and he was endeavouring to seduce people from their religion and principles. He considered himself as the author of a 'New Koran'.

Secret meetings were held at different places, some times at the houses of certain individuals and sometimes at places outside where nobody would be in a position to observe. Meetings were attended by not only the native officers and sepoys but also other public persons who occupy an important position in the society.

Numerous Fakir agents had fathere4 in that place. Several Fakirs were rounded up by Lt. Col. Martin, the Commander of the garrison at Bellary. Many witnesses
were examined in the Court of Enquiry. They all narrated the incidents of the meetings held in various places and the discourses which took place for hours. Abaul Nubby, the chief of the disciples of the new doctrine, was sometimes talking with other sepoys day and night. In the beginning it was not taken seriously, but only when contents of such conversations among the sepoys and native officers became widespread it was seen by the European officers. It was five or six months before the public themselves got alarmed and began to take action against the principal Fakeers. When the Fakeers found public justice was in wait for them they fled from there. Abaul Nubby and other followers were arrested for a court trial.

11. Court of Enquiry

A Court of Enquiry was conducted at the garrison at Bellary. Lt. Col. Martin, the Commanding officer, appointed persons to conduct the trial according to the Mohammedian Law. Sheikh Mohammad Sayi of Bellary was the President. Other members of the court were, Syed Ali, Subedar of the 2nd Battalion of the 5th Regiment; Mohammad Ismail of the same Battalion; Mohiuddeen Patcha, Head Fakeer, Mohammad Shaut, another head Fakeer; Ammoonollah Hussain, Fakeer; Hymain Shaw Callijah, Fakeer; Imam Shaw,
Fakeer: Meer Abdu, Moonsby; Cholaum Hussain, Moonsby; Meer Lootfullah, Moonsby; Meergan Hussain, Moonsby and Mahamed Masroof, Moonsby. 228

In the Court Enquiry several evidences were put forward to prove that Abdu Nobby had been propagating the new doctrine. He used unwarrantable expressions leading to subvert the faith of the religion and the habit of the society. 229 Abdu Nobby said that he was the evil spirit and the fakeer Allum Ali Shah was his guru, the highest spirit. He had his own followers who were drawn to his faith. He propagated that the Quoran of Prophet Muhammad should be thrown into the water. The prayers were useless and it was no crime to commit sodomy on the persons who were at prayer. There was no crime in committing debauchery nor difference between good and evil. 230 A married woman and a strumpet were on the same footing. All the doctrines in the books of religious morality were false and undeserving of belief and there was no harm in going against the religious order. There was nothing criminal in having a carnal connection with a mother or a sister. It was proper to partake of forbidden meals or drinks and a man was going to please himself without an obligation to conform to any precept. Abdu Nobby said, "What do you mean by prayers and
the burial of the dead? Why not abandon it altogether and why would we not do as we please whether it is, as you say, lawful or unlawful? It was found out that the authors of this new doctrine were two fakeers namely Allum Ali Shah and Noor Kulleel Shah.

Mohammed Surmust, a school master, deposed before the court that one day Abdul Nubby came to him and seeing him at prayers he said that there would be no harm to commit sodomy on him in his present act. When the school master started attacking him, people gathered nearby begged him to overlook Abdul Nubby's crime. Sheikh Baday, Haviladar of the Light Company deposed that he observed, four or five months before, Abdul Nubby with Yacoob Khan, Naig of the 2nd Battalion of the 5th Regiment, Meer Bauker, Subedar of the 2nd Battalion of the 7th Regiment and five or six other persons, talking and propagating his new doctrine. Haviladar immediately reported the matter to Mohammed Bauker Jamaider of his company and advised him to send Abdul and check him in time or else it might cause some serious disturbance in the army. Jamaider sent for Nubby and his party and threatened them that if they did not desist from such language, they would get themselves into trouble which lead to their own ruin. Abdul paid no attention to the advice.

Mohammed Bauker, Jamaider of the 2nd Battalion of the
5th Regiment, deposed that he had seen Meer Bunker, Subedar and Abdul Ghunny, Lance Naigue of the 2nd Battalion of the 7th Regiment constantly night and day talking with Nubby and apparently consulting together at some distance from the other people. Yacoob Khan, Naigue of the 2nd Battalion of the 5th Regiment, was occasionally with them, several days after a great suspicion was excited. The reports against Nubby began to reach the Jama-idar many times through many people. It was reported that Nubby became a "heretic" and he was endeavouring to seduce from their religion and principles, saying that he was the author of a New Koran, advising them to throw the Koran of Mohammed into the water. To know the truth of the communications received about the meetings, Jama-idar Mohammed Bunker went in disguise. He observed Abdul Nubby and others assembled along with the two fakeers, Illum Ali Shah and Kuleel Shah, who were the authors of the New Koran and the new doctrine. 234 Jama-idar immediately reported the matter to Lt. Col. Martin, the Commanding Officer of the garrison.

In personal defence, Abdul Nubby accepted that he spoke such words but he did so only because he was often asked by several fakeers to do so. 235 He accepted that he was guilty, but he said that he was made only as a teacher of a new doctrine and directed to disturb the minds of the people. The conspirators wanted that such disturbance should prove
the inefficiency of the British rule to save their religious faith. Before the conspirators could complete the initial plan they were disturbed and the ring leaders were arrested. The British Officers were informed about the general discontentment and dissatisfaction of the sepoys in the Native army throughout the country and often the reports of the incidents took place in different army stations reached Bellary also which readily alarmed the British officers.

Based on the final report of the Board those persons who were the most active participants in disseminating the "New Doctrines" were dismissed from service of the Company. It was resolved, according to the orders, to dismiss Subedar Meer Bauler, Abdul Ghunny, Yacoob Naigue, Abdul Sepoy (of the 2nd Battalion of the 7th Regiment) and Abdul Wubby (2nd Battalion of the 5th Regiment) immediately. Abdul Wubby was asked to take trial before the court of circuit according to the Mohammadan Law.

H. At Sankarydrug

Sankarydrug was an important army station for the British in 1806. The secret agents visited this place also during the month of November, 1806. Here too the native officers acted as the chief conspirators. An emissary who was functioning as a Jamaider and who carried messages to
excite the native officers to all the army stations in the South was discovered at this station. Adjutant Venkatagamy Naig here became the chief conspirator. He gathered all native officers of the place and administered an Oath of secrecy and laid before them a letter which was received from the outside agency through the secret agents and disclosed the plan of killing all the European officers and destroy the British rule in India. The conspirators were informed that the Venkata Gerry polygar was ready to rise against the British. This polygar had taken into his protection all those who had escaped in the Mutiny at Vellore. They said that the secret letters were sent to Venkata Gerry Polygar from the Marathas who had expressed their desire to attack the Company within two or three months. It was reported that the Nizam of Hyderabad also wanted to come down along with the Marathas to attack the British.

The British Government sent warning letters, as circulars, to all army stations and to all Collectors and Magistrates. Such warning letters reached Sankaradurg also. The warning letters were about the fakirs and other agents who visited all the army stations. On these information Mr. Garrow, the Collector of Coimbatore District, appointed confidential persons to watch over the army stations at different places in the District. Major P. Bose,
the Commanding Officer at Sankarydrug reported to the Government about the machination which was formed against the British. In his letter on 8th December, 1806, he wrote:

"I am extremely concerned to be under the necessity of reporting for the information of Major Gen. Fuller, that very serious apprehensions are entertained for the fidelity to the service of the Battalion under my command in consequence of some intelligence to this effect the principle Collector of Coimbatore Mr. Gorrow long time ago employed confidential persons to observe what might be going on, in this and adjacent country informing of a treasonable correspondence between some men in this corps and one at Siringapatam (Seerangapatam) of mutinous conversations and of secret cabals (men) have been communicated to him from time to time and continue to be transmitted each corroborating the other." 240

Major Bose reported that he saw a strange person going out on the avenue by the Southern Gate called Tanjore Pettah. He asked him what his native place. The stranger said that he was from Chinna Kanjeavaram and he had been there to deliver the news concerning his family to Perumal Naig at Seerangapatam and by that time he was returning home. The stranger was a secret agent and his name was Govindan. On the same day when Major noticed his presence at about 7 O'Clock Govindan went to the arrack shop and had close conversation with a person. Major Bose and his close associate
followed him secretly. They heard the conversation of Govindan who said that the conspirators at Seringapatam were all one and had taken the Oath of secrecy. They were ready to rise in a mutiny at any moment. Govindan further said that Perumal Naig, the chief conspirator at Seringapatam, had sent another letter to his close friend at Rayacottah, namely Ramassamy Naig, and he delivered the same. He carried a letter from Perumal Naig to Venkatasamy Naig at Sankarydrug which was read out in the secret assembly.

The secret agents visited Sankarydrug frequently and the conspirators who gathered there were ready to rise and massacre the Europeans at any moment. The machination at that place was planned very carefully and made strong with the active supporters of the local polygars. Mr. Savery the Judge of Parapuram discovered considerable arms and ammunitions both loose and made up and swords innumerable which were secretly concealed by the conspirators to use in case of mutiny in the district. The garrison at Sankarydrug contained ordnance ammunition and military stores to a considerable amount and it was the object of the rebels to seize upon it for their purposes.

From the early period of the conspiracy at Sankarydrug the British officers employed the spies through whom all the
secret informations were gathered. Major Bose very patiently watched the situation and did not take any hasty action against the conspirators as at Pallamooottah or at Cullon. It was decided to separate the companies from Sankarydrug to disunite the factions. Accordingly the companies were detached and despatched to different places. With the separation of the conspirators the machination in that place had a natural death. The supreme strategy with which the British acted upon the conspirators was easily put an end to all the opposition and disaffection.

With the end of the conspiracy here at Sankarydrug the unrest in all other places had been practically put to an end. The British Government, in the month of December 1806, learnt how to act upon the ignorant sepoys and how to deal with the disaffected people. By this time almost all the leaders among the native and other agents were either arrested or banished or punished. The disappearance of all bold and daring men gave a favourable time for the British to establish peace, truly under threat of punishment, and calm for a period of fifty years when the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 broke out.
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27 Ibid., p. 3210.
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67. Ibid., pp. 1706-08. For copy of the Petition see App. No. VII.


69. Ibid., p. 1274.

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96  Ibid., p. 2395.
97  Ibid., p. 2436.
98  Ibid., p. 2395.
99  Ibid., p. 2390.
100  Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 1999.
103  This is modern Gauribidanur, 32 K.M. from Nundyagram.
105  Ibid., p. 2424.
106  Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 671.
108  Ibid., p. 2411.
109  Ibid., p. 2415.
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113  Ibid., p. 670.
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115  Ibid., pp. 2476-77, For the copy of the Proclamation
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130  Ibid., p. 3263.
131  Ibid., p. 3264.
132  Ibid., p. 3595.
133  Ibid., pp. 3598-99. For the copy of the letter see App. No. IX.
134  Ibid., Vol. V, p. 2385; See App. No. X.
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138  Ibid., p. 3272.
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140  Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 3300.
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