



petten, were buried; and also the places on which the two Gollahs and the Moorman, who were going from Rajamundry to Bundur, were buried.

“Sied Modeen, who is now present, and five or six Phansigars of those who came from the Cambom country, killed three Gosayns, by Phanse, near Pedoogooraloo; and took home some ready cash and clothes, some Japala chemboos (or pots), one red horse, and three jubboloo (or kind of jackets), found upon them. I heard this near Nagaracul, where they were relating the circumstance to some of the Phansigars. Of those things, this chemboo (or pot) of Cuthee (Benares) country is present in the Court; and that horse is with the Phansigars living in the Cambom country.”



## CHAP. XIX.

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It is certain, that in some instances in which accusations have been preferred against the Thugs, the course of justice has been reversed:—the guilty have been allowed to escape with impunity; while those who have ventured to accuse them have incurred the punishment which the real culprits have escaped. A fact of this nature is mentioned in the deposition of a man named Rujub, taken by Lieut. Brown, at Jubulpore, in November 1835. The deponent was not present at the murder which he relates: and this may furnish a better excuse for some incorrectness in his statement than India witnesses are at all times in a condition to offer. The deposition is as follows:—

“ I heard from Niamut Khan and Madaree (both dead), Moosahib Khan (at large), Peerbuksh, and others, that they murdered the Mussalchee of Mr. Pringle, near Koonjie, in the Patna district. The Mussalchee had been to Calcutta with some gentleman, and was returning from thence. The body  
was



was thrown into the river Ganges. After the murder, the Thugs went to the go-down or grog-shop, and there got drunk ; when a dispute arose ;—upon which, Ghasee Khan Jemadar, Dookeea, Man Khan, and Joteea (the latter is Chuprassee with Mr. Pringle at present), gave information of the murder ; and those concerned were arrested, and taken before the Court at Chuparah. After the depositions had been taken, the case was made over to Mr. Elliot, the Commissioner. The property of the murdered Mussalchee was produced in Court ; and his wife came forward, to recognise it. Mr. Elliot told her, that if she did not speak the truth she would be punished ; upon which she took fright, and would say nothing, although she knew the property to be that of her husband's. The wife of the Mussalchee is still at Chuparah. There was no evidence but the depositions of the approvers, and the case was not proved ; and the approvers were sentenced to fifteen lashes, five years' imprisonment, and to be taken round the city, mounted upon asses, for five days :—the rest of the Thugs were released. Mr. Elliot, the Commissioner, told the Nazir of the Court who had arrested the Thugs, that he was ruining the country by seizing innocent people ; and sentenced him to fourteen years' imprisonment. When in confinement, the Nazir swallowed some pieces of diamond, by which he caused his death."



In answer to some inquiries on the subject, addressed by Capt. Sleeman to Capt. Ramsay, Assistant-general Superintendant at Chuparah, the latter gentleman obtained the following communication from Mr. Pringle, Zillah Judge at Sarun :—

“ The accompanying Extract from a Report which I addressed to the Superintendant of Police in the Lower Provinces, on the 9th of May 1827, will furnish you with most of the particulars of the case of Thuggee which the General Superintendant has inquired about; and, with the list of persons then apprehended, which is attached to it, will furnish to you all the information I could then collect regarding the crime of Thuggee, and the gang of Thugs in the district, together with the particulars of my operations against them; which, at that time, promised so well, but which were subsequently baffled by Mr. Elliot, the Circuit Judge: for the Thugs were acquitted by him, and the man I deputed, and who was so active in apprehending them, was not only imprisoned, but sentenced to exposure on an ass, and corporal punishment. My own conduct was visited with the severest censure; and both the Government and Nizamut Adawlut were led into a belief that there was no such gang of Thugs, and that the crime, if it existed at all, was very limited in its extent.

“ My report will shew that the approver's statement, received from you, is not quite correct; which, indeed,



indeed, could hardly be expected, as he had his information from another person. But one part of it in particular, I am happy to observe, is not true, as you yourself are aware: for you have seen Nazir Abdool Ullee alive; and though I fear he has not long to live, from the effects of bad health, produced by the cruel treatment which he experienced, still I hope he will live long enough to obtain justice, by having the value of his services acknowledged by Government, and the Declaration, dated the 28th of February 1829, 'that he was incapable of serving Government in any public capacity in future,' cancelled. For myself, it is quite enough to know, that all I then brought to light has proved to be true, and much more: though it is melancholy to reflect on the loss of human life; which might have been prevented, had I obtained credit for my assertions, and been allowed to prosecute the researches which I had so successfully commenced more than eight years ago; and which must have speedily led to an exposure of the extensive existence of the crime of Thuggee, and to the apprehension of many of the Thugs themselves."

The Extract alluded to, from the Report addressed to the Superintendent of Police in the Lower Provinces, is subjoined:—

“The other case of highway robbery, attended with murder, was as follows:—Two of my servants,  
on



on their way from Calcutta, where they have been with me, were ascertained to have come as far as Bankipore, near Patna; but no more was heard of them for more than a week: and I found out, on inquiry, that the road between Cheeran and Sheirpore Ghaut, a little above Dinapore, which is very lonely, being covered a good deal with water in the the rains, was reckoned unsafe, and infested with robbers.

“ I knew the inhabitants of the Thannahs, through which it passes, to bear rather a bad character for plunder, particularly of boats, as is stated above; and was convinced that the men had been murdered, and that many others must have shared the same fate. As it was impossible that such crimes could have been committed, and never heard of, without the connivance and gross negligence of the police-officers of Gooltingunge and Cusmer, I suspended them all (with the exception of the Darogah of Cusmer, who had lately been appointed, and apprehended the Decoits in the foregoing case); and sent other officers to take charge of the Thannahs, with a party of Burkundazes and Chowkeedars, under the Darogah of the town of Chuparah, whom I put over the whole.

“ The above party succeeded in apprehending six persons, going in a body, with property on them proved to have belonged to the people who were missing; also a quantity of property, evidently obtained



obtained by plunder, and cords, knives, and khoopees, such as grasscutters use, but which Thugs also use to bury bodies and property, being the most portable instruments for doing so.

“ Mr. Fleming, who happened to arrive at this station to hold the Sessions there, very kindly informed me, that he had lately tried a case of Thuggee at Gorruckpore, in which there was no doubt that some of the persons concerned were inhabitants of this district: and he also was so good as to give me a perusal of his Roceedad, or summing up of the case; from which, and from further information received from him, I found that there was a large gang of Thugs in this district, where it joins to Gorruckpore;—that they had been there, and carried on their depredations to an enormous extent and to a great distance, from generation to generation, with the utmost boldness, and hardly any molestation;—that five of the six apprehended, belonged to the gang;—and that one was a notorious Sirdar: his son was taken with him, and his father and one brother have been taken since. Another brother, named Shिताub Khan, is still at large, and is, I believe, at present with Sheikh Ameer, son of Chund, who was concerned in the late murder of the Sipahes in Gorruckpore, for which two of the gang were lately hanged; and a third brother, named Mosahib, is at present in the Gorruckpore jail, having been convicted



victed of highway robbery, attended with murder. Another of the persons apprehended, is Buxoo, son of Jeeun Khan; and both father and son were imprisoned on the above murder. All this I have traced from the information given to me by Mr. Fleming: for, notwithstanding its being known to the Magistrate of Gorruckpore that the above persons were inhabitants of this zillah, no communication regarding them was made to me. What the consequence of such unaccountable want of co-operation might have been, I need not point out.

“ The gang is composed chiefly of Mussulmen, and the leaders of it are almost all of that persuasion: there are Sirdars and Jemadars of it; and their head-quarters are in Purgunah Kowaree, in Thannah Hosseinpore. There are, however, many Hindoos and Dosauds in it; and a very leading character is named Anund Lall Bhat, who is not yet taken. I reckon their number to be about 200. I believe they have accomplices and correspondents in many parts of the country. One of them, when he was apprehended many years ago, said to one of the officers of the Court, that he could send a message to Calcutta, or any part of the country, and receive an answer in much less time than the dawk.

“ They appear quite independent of the Seearmurwas of Burraitch; and were evidently unknown when the late Mr. John T. Shakespear wrote his

Report



Report on Buddeek and Thugs. How much further their depredations extend, it is difficult at present to say; but so far I am certain, that they infest the districts of Gorruckpore, Ghazeepore, Benares, Juanpore, Mirzapore, Tirhoot, Patna, Behar, Shahabad, and perhaps Bhagulpore and Ranghur; and that many crimes attributed to the Seearnurwas of Burraitich have been perpetrated by them, appears certain.

“ The records of this office, prior to 1809, are so very defective and confused, that I could not discover any account of this gang from them; but I found that in 1810, in consequence of information given by Khodabux Khan, sixteen of the gang were apprehended, as being notorious robbers, but, after an examination, were all released, in consequence of numerous witnesses, most of whom belonged to the gang, declaring them to be men of good character, and highly respectable; and I believe every man in the district would have said the same thing, for no man's life was safe a moment who dared to inform against them: but, independent of what is contained in the present inquiry, the bad character of many, that were then apprehended, has been subsequently proved. One of them, named Syfoo Khan, was a Goinda many years afterwards; having first, in conjunction with some others of the gang, murdered the above Khodabux Khan, the informer. In consequence of information given by Syfoo, the

x 2

murder



murder which took place last year in Tirhoot was discovered, and he died shortly afterwards. I need not, in this place, state any more, to shew that the terror in which the gang was held by people of all classes, prevented information being given against them; increased, no doubt, by the above sixteen persons being all released.

“ In 1814, fifteen of the gang were taken in the Behar district, in consequence of a murder which was committed at Pandaruck near Bar; but in consequence of want of proof against them, they were all put on security for good behaviour. Eleven gave security; and were afterwards released by the Commissioner, under the provisions of Reg. 8, of 1818. An account of this murder will be found in your office.

“ In the end of 1814, five of the gang were apprehended, in consequence of information, given on oath by the above informer Khodabux Khan, Ullum Noorbauf, and Hitcha Pasban; but were released in consequence of some of the gang coming forward, and giving them good characters: and Khodabux Khan was imprisoned three months; and a Mochulka of st. rupees 100 was taken from Khodabux, and a Mochulka of st. rupees 50 from each of the others, binding them to give no such information (apparently false) in future.

“ It would have been well for Khodabux if he had conformed to this, and relinquished his hopeless trade



trade of informing against them; but a few years afterwards, he again volunteered his services in Zillah Gorruckpore, to hunt some of them down, and was murdered by them. The murder was proved against the gang; and some of them, I believe, are in jail for it now. Ullum Noorbauf wisely quitted the country shortly after undergoing his punishment, as related in the foregoing paragraph; and has not been heard of since.

“ In 1821, one of the gang, named Muddaree, was taken up, and tried for throwing a noose over a man's head; which stuck on his nose, and cut it. He was committed; and the case was referred, by the Court of Circuit, to the Sudder Nizamut Adawlut; but he was acquitted, in consequence of a slight discrepancy in the evidence.

“ In 1824, Bucktawar Khan, one of the gang, who was formerly taken and released in 1810, was again apprehended, in consequence of information given by a person named Ujjoodeha Roy: but the Magistrate, considering them both equally bad, ordered both to find security for six months, in the amount of 100 rupees. A great deal of suspicious property, which was found on Bucktawar, was confiscated; but he was able to give security, and was released; while the unfortunate informer was imprisoned six months, not being able to find security.

“ In the end of 1826, one of the gang, named  
Shumshair



Shumshair Khan, was apprehended for being with nearly fifty followers on the bank of the river Dewa at Manjhee for some days, and being suspected by the Darogah of having come there for nothing but plunder. The followers immediately dispersed. Nothing could be proved against Shumshair; and in 1826 he was released, by order of the Circuit Judge.

“ Thus it appears, that, in two instances, the informers were punished, and the accused got off; and one informer met his death by persisting in acting against the gang. It is not therefore to be wondered at that no other person has since dared to come forward against them, until now. On any of the above occasions of part of the gang being taken, the whole might have been brought to light, as it is now, if the investigation had gone further, and confidence had been given to people to come forward, and if there had been any idea of the existence of the gang: but I hope the time is now over when no one dared to oppose or give information against them.

“ After an attentive perusal of the trials above alluded to, and obtaining a good deal more information respecting the haunts and proceedings of the gang, I sent the Darogah of Chuparah, with a party, and an order to Baboo Chutterdharee of Sauhys, on whose estate most of the gang resided, to give every assistance the Darogah might require.

I gave



I gave the Darogah a list of persons to be apprehended and searched, and power to apprehend and search others who might be strongly suspected of belonging to the gang.

“ The measure has been very successful, as the annexed list of persons apprehended will shew: and although it will probably be difficult to prove any thing further than notorious bad character against most of them, still the gang will not soon recover from the blow they have now received: and I hope to prove enough, to shew that very few that have been taken, can, with safety to the community, be released.

“ To return to the case of highway robbery:— I committed the six who were first taken, and five others against whom three persons afterwards deposed. I fear I was a little too hasty in admitting those three persons as witnesses. That they were themselves a part of the gang, I had no doubt; but still, from the evidence they gave before me, and in the want of all proof of their being concerned, I took their evidence on oath, and committed the case for trial.

“ It has been postponed to the next Sessions; and I hope before that time to be able to get more evidence against the prisoners. Most of the gang, I believe, that were at their homes when the Darogah of Chuparah was sent against them, have been taken. A number of them who were out on predatory



predatory excursions will return when the rains set in; and many of those who fled on the approach of the Darogah will probably return also at that time. I therefore remain quiet till then, when I hope to make another successful attack on them: and, in the mean time, I am not without hope of apprehending Ameer and Shitab Khan, before mentioned in this Report."

A list follows of twenty persons apprehended, and variously dealt with according to law. It is succeeded by another, containing the names and descriptions of forty-two Thugs infesting the Sarun and Gorruckpore districts.



## CHAP. XX.

A CORRESPONDENCE which took place between some European officials in the year 1814 will illustrate the state of society and morals then prevailing in the Western Provinces.

“ TO J. WAUCHOPE, ESQ. ”

“ My Dear Sir,

“ You will, I doubt not, be much surprised at being troubled by a person who had only the pleasure of being acquainted with you for a few days, at Allahabad. I trust, however, to your goodness for an excuse, and will at once proceed to the object of my writing.

“ It is now almost a month since I was informed, that, a fortnight before, some Thugs murdered four persons in a nullah between Banda and Kaeta; and were apprehended, to the number of about twenty-five or thirty, almost on the instant of their accomplishing the murder, and sent in to you. Amongst those apprehended, are said to be Sumadhan Brahmin, Oodeha, and Khooman Lodehs, and Nunda Bukal, all of great notoriety.

“ From



“ From the circumstances under which they were apprehended, I think it likely many may have confessed, not only the present charge, but former crimes. In this case, their confessions must throw great light on the system of Thuggee, and, as they are, many of them, originally inhabitants of this neighbourhood, perhaps implicate many persons whose names were hitherto unknown; as well as corroborate accusations made against some who have been seized, and others who have escaped.

“ As I have several men now under investigation, charged with this crime, and with being accomplices of some of those you have in confinement, I hope it will not be thought an improper interference to request you will oblige me with copies of such confessions as may have been made before you. If of no use to the case I have under trial, they will be so as private memoranda. I should also feel much obliged by your favouring me with a list of the persons apprehended, including their caste and place of residence.

“ My reasons for this second request are, 1st, That a number of Thugs were apprehended by Mr. Wright, and confessed before him; and their confessions implicate the men I above mentioned as so notorious. Were copies of those confessions inserted in the case in your Court, they would, perhaps, tend to corroborate any confession made before you; and would certainly shew that they  
have



have long since followed the trade of murder. As I have notes of these confessions by me, after being favoured with the names of those you have caught, I could mention the names of those by whom they were formerly implicated. If you were inclined to call for copies of those confessions from Cawnpore, by enabling you at once to mention those you wish to have, much trouble would be saved. 2dly, Amongst those now in confinement with you, are, perhaps, some for whom I have been, and am still searching.

“Should my intelligence be incorrect, you will be inclined to smile: but allow me to mention, that, in order to state my wishes and reasons, I assumed the whole as a truth. For the sake of humanity, I hope no such murder was committed: but if it have, I cannot but congratulate you on the apprehension of the gang. Hoping to be excused for the trouble,

“I remain, my Dear Sir,

“Yours very sincerely,

“G. STOCKWELL.

“Etawah, 14th Oct. 1814.

“N. B. Part of my information says, Khoshallro, Pursudooa, and Kurhora, were with the party of Sumadan, but escaped. As these three live in Banda, in my jurisdiction, if their seizure be desirable, I believe I can effect it.”



“ My Dear Sir,

“ I had yesterday the pleasure of receiving your copy of Bhuga's deposition ; and the day before, that of your Letter.

“ Though I am astonished at his recognising so few, I do not despair of finding evidence against the persons and notoriety of the remainder, though not to their specific villanies. In the course of two or three days, I shall send you two persons employed as Burkundaze in the Thannah of Sindouse ; one of them a Dhanuck, inhabitant of this place, and well acquainted with the Thugs formerly residing here ; the other, an intelligent man who has been five years in the Thannah, under the very edge of which their houses were. My object in sending them is, to ascertain whether some of those apprehended are not old inhabitants of this village, mixed with the Cawnpore Thugs ; which I understand to be the case, from their having taken refuge in the same places about Jhalone, &c., and thus formed an acquaintance. I have also another man in store, who is at present gone to endeavour to procure the seizure of Sumadhan. He has, to-day, told me, of his own accord, that four of the Thugs I wanted are in your jail, amongst the twenty-five ; viz. Oodeeha Lodeh, a very celebrated character ;  
Omeda Lungra, ditto ditto ;  
Lullooa . . . ditto ;—against him are two cases, according to a confession ;

“ Sundooa



“ Sundooa Lodeh. (I cannot find his name in the list.)

“ I hope you will excuse me, when I start a doubt regarding the plan you have at present in view, of sending the persons to Cawnpore from this zillah, to be there tried for the respective cases. You will, I am sure, excuse my fearing the result, when I mention that Mr. Wright apprehended seventy-six, of whom seventeen made confessions, which strongly criminated the remaining fifty-nine who denied. Amongst these denials are several suspicious circumstances; and once or twice the property was produced from their houses, and recognised. Those who denied, and those who confessed, were alike released by one sweeping order of the Nizamut Adawlut, without security or any thing else.

“ I cannot but think, that when the very suspicious circumstances are taken into consideration, under which the seizure was made, and the change of their names and place of residence and caste (evidently implying a fear of those under which they were known), and to these be added the confessions of Thugs apprehended five years ago, criminating them, little can be wanting to establish their guilt. It is on such strong circumstantial evidences that I cannot conceive any Court will release them.

“ On the contrary, should they be sent to  
Cawnpore,



Cawnpore, there being no proof but what they before had, I fear they would find the same lenity which was shewn to their companions.

“ In the event of their being sent to Cawnpore, you would still wish to have copies of those papers accusing them attached to the case in your Court ; for which purpose I copy the following, from Wright’s notes.

“ When the person returns, which will be, I fancy, about a week hence, I shall send him, in order to point out the four whose names he mentioned ; and I believe he will recognise some of the rest, on their being shewn to him. I shall do myself the pleasure of addressing you a short note, when I send the Burkundazes.

“ I am, &c.

“ G. STOCKWELL.

“ Camp Sindouse, Dec. 22, 1814.

“ You would, perhaps, think it a shorter way to send one or two of the Zemindars of this place, to recognise the Thugs of their village ; but, alas ! the communication is still kept up ; and they derive, perhaps, as much profit as ever from them. They are by no means to be trusted in this.”



“ My Dear Sir,

“ I have to entreat your pardon for allowing your last Letter to remain so long unanswered ; the principal reason for which was, my not having any subject worthy of communication. As Bhowany left me some days ago in a dooly, he has no doubt ere this arrived ; and I hope you may derive some benefit from him. Toollacya has been unwell, and only just rejoined me : he shall be sent you in a short time. He will tell you all about Purshaud, who came to me as a spy, and introduced Toollacya. As he can give you the whole of my intelligence respecting Purshaud, I refrain from troubling you. Herewith inclosed is a copy of an Urzee presented by my spy ; and as his source of information is a relation and Padree to the Rajah of Jugumunpore, it may very possibly be correct. It will, at all events, be as well to have a look-out after the party who went towards Chutterpore, and are expected to return in the course of fifteen or twenty days. There can be no doubt that such persons are allowed to reside in Jugumunpore ; as in April last, when in camp near to that place, the Umlah of my Court visited the place, and the houses of the Thugs situated close under the Rajah's fort were pointed out to them, among the other curiosities. Nothing like concealment was attempted ; they being told, ‘ There are so many of this caste, and so many of that ; and there you see *one hundred houses*

of



of Thugs.' As the ancestors of Madhoo Singh, and himself also, when in charge of Sindouse, collected a tax at the rate of twenty-five rupees per house, there can be no reason to doubt that Mahapat Sah, a brother of the Rajah, should do the same. Toollacya will give you a list of men concerned in four cases within your district, several of whom are in your jail; and will also mention the principal Thugs and their villages, living in Jhalone and some part of Soobah Gwalior. I am sorry to say Perry writes me of two or three Thuggees having lately occurred in the eastern extremity of the district; and you will have heard from Middleton, that they have favoured him with some visits.

“ I have not heard the slightest hint at the perpetrators of the Dudwareh decoity. This silence appears to me very extraordinary; as, by one means or another, we have become acquainted with all the decoits but one which have been committed in this district, and with most of those in the neighbouring zillah; so that this must be some unknown gang. I was once told that strong suspicion attached to the Zemindars, but could get no good grounds for such an opinion. Two points had nearly escaped me;—one, That the Thuggees in your district are preconcerted; that is, gangs rush in at once from different quarters, and their crimes are committed almost all at once, or in a very short



short period:—of the truth or falsity of this, you can well judge. The second, That for the short time Bhowany has been in my employ, he has been more successful in apprehending than any spy I ever took in service. I mention this as a reason for believing his assertions.

“ Believe me, My Dear WAUCHOPE,

“ Ever yours faithfully,

“ G. STOCKWELL.

“ Camp, Jehekha, 10th June 1815.”

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The sum collected from Thugs at Sindouse was 5000 rupees per annum, making the number of houses 200; but most of these houses, in order to evade the tax, contained three or four Thugs, besides their women and children. The probable number of Thugs might, at a low rate, be considered 400! Merchants came from Benares to purchase their spoils at a cheap rate.

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“ TO J. WAUCHOPE, Esq., Magistrate, Bundelcund.

“ Sir,

“ I beg to transmit, for your information, the accompanying Extract of a Letter from the Magistrate of Etawah, dated 7th of August last, together with a copy of a Letter, and its enclosure, from the



Joint Magistrate of that district, dated the 11th of August, on the subject of murders by Thugs.

“ I am, &c. &c.

“ J. SHAKESPEAR,

“ Acting S. P. Western Provinces.

“ Office of S. P., Calcutta,

31st of March, 1816.”

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EXTRACT of a Letter from the Magistrate of Etawah, to the Acting Superintendant of Police in the Western Provinces, dated 7th August, 1815.

“ Par. 20.—As far as I can depend on the information and experience which I have acquired during my residence in this district, the Thugs who have been in the habit of infesting this part of the Company's Provinces may, I conceive, be divided into three classes, entirely unconnected with each other. First, those who originally resided, under the protection of the Zemindars, on the large estates of Hurra Singh, Dyaram, and Bhugwunt Singh, in Allyghur; and of Himmut Singh, late Rajah of Etawah, in this district; including also a few detached parties who lived unmolested at or near to a village called Borasa, in Furruckabad; and the thannahs of Shahabad, Phurha, and Kuhleyee in Etawah, in three or four of the police divisions of Allyghur. The murders which were formerly so common on the road which lies between



between Etawah, Khas, and Agra, on the high road from Cawnpore between Nubbeegunge and Shahabad, and on that leading from Mynpooree to Coel, as well as in other less-frequented parts of Allyghur, Furruckabad, and Etawah, were chiefly perpetrated by men belonging to this class. If such criminals can be supposed to have any religion, they will be found principally, if not exclusively, to profess the Mahommedan faith. A number have been seized, and are now in the jails at Mynpooree and Coel; and a few are in confinement also at Futtehghur: many, however, are still at large, some of whom reside in the district of Allyghur; and I have reason to think that a party of nine or ten of the most notorious of these offenders, by whom the murder in Suckut was in all probability committed, have, for some time past, taken up their abode in the vicinity of Agra.

“ 21.—The second class consists of Hindoos, who are, for the most part, of the Lodhee caste; and this is by far more numerous than the class I have just mentioned. They resided in great numbers in the eastern thannahs of this district, and the adjoining purgunahs of Cawnpore, until disturbed by the measures pursued against them by Mr. Wright and myself in 1810 and 1811, when many were seized, and others absconded. By cultivating a few beegahs of land, they were able, under the ostensible character of ryots, to follow the more



lucrative profession of Thuggee, without being suspected. Their depredations were consequently local; and the murders which were so numerous to the westward of Cawnpore, particularly in the vicinity of Kanoje, and those which occasionally happened in the lower part of this jurisdiction, may be ascribed to their activity. About twenty of these offenders are confined, on security, in the jail at Mynporee; but many of those committed by Mr. Wright have been released, and have returned to their old haunts in the Cawnpore district, neither reformed by the morals of a jail, nor less audacious from the experience they have had of the facility of escaping from the hands of justice. To this class my letter to you of the 7th of June last adverts.

“22.—The third is more formidable in point of number, and extends over a greater expanse of country than either of the foregoing classes. It includes that desperate association of men, of both religions and of all castes, which grew up under the fostering protection of the Zemindars of Purhearha, and of the villages contiguous thereto in the Gwalior territory. It is already known to you, that those who resided in the villages of Purhearha were dispersed when Mr. Hallhed personally visited that purgunah. They have however, since, gradually returned; and now live in a number of the Gwalior villages, stretching over an irregular tract of country from the right bank of the Kooaree to the



the confines of Duttea. They travel in larger bodies, and are more bold and adventurous than the Thugs in the Company's Provinces. Their predatory excursions are chiefly confined to the country which lies eastward and southward of Gwalior, and to the districts of Bundelcund; and I have reason to believe that they rarely, if ever, visit the Dooab. Their number has been partially augmented from some fugitives from the second class; who may, perhaps, from their knowledge of the country, occasionally venture across the Jumna. Several of the most notorious of these offenders have been seized by Mr. Wauchope, and are now in the jail at Bandah."

“ To T. PERRY, Esq., Magistrate of Zillah Etawah.

“ Sir,

“ I had the honour of receiving your Letter of the 22d April last, covering a Copy of a Letter from the Superintendent of Police, relative to the Thugs of Purhearha.

“ 2. I apprehend that the Putwaries of this pergunah can give no information on the point required. From all I have been able to learn, it appears to me that the Thugs formerly residing in Sindouse, &c., have settled in the Gwalior territories, where they are sure of protection: at least, as the Aumils of that Government derive a revenue from their depredations, it is fair to conclude that they protect



protect them as formerly. I am told by the most respectable Zemindars, that 5500 rupees was the average payment made to these States for the Thugs, at the rate of twenty-five rupees per house, this being the number of 220 houses; but most of the houses contained three men.

“ 3. The villages at present most notorious, adjoining to Purhearha:—Jhalone, Suhoo, Rusoolpore, of Jhalone; Suraopore, Sooneh, Seloruch, of Jugumunpore, and I believe in Jugumunpore Khas; Mollickpore, Mohonee, Tetringare, Sonaweery, belonging to Scindia. There is also a Poorwa of Rampoor, said to contain about 200 houses of Thugs; at the head of whom is the famous Dhurm Khea, alias Dhurm Khan.

“ The former Sirdar, Boodhooa, and about twenty of his gang, were caught in or about Ameer Khan's army; and that leader cut off their noses and both hands—no doubt an effectual way of preventing their recurring to this way for a livelihood.

“ 4. I am also informed that they seldom repair to the Company's territories to commit their depredations; and have, as yet, heard of few instances of their taking up their abode on the left bank of the Jumna.

“ 5. This intelligence appears to me to be true; for the gangs of Purhearha committed their Thuggeries more like banditti, openly and in large bodies, attacking and plundering parties of travellers, not  
taking



taking any care to conceal the crime by hiding the bodies; whereas the Thuggees of the Doob are committed more by stealth than force, on two or three individuals, early in the dark of the morning, or late in the evening, at least leaving no marks of force being used. The piercing the throat, or ripping up the bellies, is frequently done to prevent any chance of life remaining; and the bodies are carefully concealed in wells or nullahs. The only thing in which the two descriptions at all coincide is, that of their plundering, and invariably murdering the plundered.

“ 6. I have every reason to believe that the Thuggees committed in Cawnpore, Furruckabad, &c., have been perpetrated by the old Lodha gaugs, as well as by those who were released from Cawnpore: and the only Mussulman gang which has come to my knowledge, is that of Koodrooa, living in Bowary; which I mentioned to you some time since, in a private letter. As you are fully acquainted with the names and villages of the principals, there is no necessity to mention them.

“ 7. I have also the honour to subjoin another list of Thugs, and of the villages in which they reside; which may, perhaps, be useful. It was procured from persons perfectly unconnected with those from whom the above was obtained.

“ I have &c. &c.

“ G. STOCKWELL,

“ Etawah, Aug. 11, 1815.

“ Joint Magistrate.”



## CHAP. XXI.

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For many years after the British power had obtained the ascendant in India, the Thugs continued to practise their execrable trade, almost without interruption. Although, at various periods, their horrible deeds called forth the transient attention of the Magistracy, no systematic efforts were made for the suppression of practices which no civilized Government could be expected to tolerate, after it became informed of their existence. The evil seems, however, to have been regarded in much the same light as the fixed inconveniences of the climate, or the accidental inclemency of unfavourable seasons—as a thing greatly to be lamented, but beyond the hope of remedy, and which it was the part of wisdom to endure with patience. Means were sometimes taken to evade the Thugs; but little or nothing was done to suppress them. As late as the year 1810, we find the following general order addressed by the Commander-in-Chief, Major-general St. Leger, to the troops under his command:—

“ Head-



“ Head-Quarters, Cawnpore, 28th April, 1810.

“ It having come to the knowledge of Government, that several Sepoys, proceeding to visit their families on leave of absence from their corps, have been robbed and murdered by a description of persons denominated ‘ Thugs,’ who infested the districts of the Dooab and other parts of the Upper Provinces—and the insidious means by which they prosecute their plans of robbery and assassination having been ascertained—the Commander of the Forces thinks it proper to give them publicity in general orders, to the end, that Commanding Officers of native corps may put their men on their guard accordingly.

“ It has been stated, that these murderers, when they obtain information of a traveller who is supposed to have money about his person, contrive to fall in with him on the road or in the serais; and, under pretence of proceeding to the same place, keep him company, and, by indirect questions, get an insight into his affairs; after which, they watch for an opportunity to destroy him. This they sometimes create, by persuading the traveller to quit the serais a little after midnight, pretending it is near day-break; or, by detaching him from his companions, lead him, under various pretences, to some solitary spot.

“ It appears, that, in the destruction of their victim, they first use some deleterious substance,  
commonly



commonly the seeds of a plant called Duttora; which they contrive to administer in tobacco, pawn, the hookah, food or drink of the traveller. As soon as the poison begins to take effect, by inducing a stupor or languor, they strangle him, to prevent his crying out; when, after stripping and plundering him, the deed is completed by a stab in the belly, on the brink of a well; into which they plunge the body so instantaneously, that no blood can stain the ground or clothes of the assassin.

“As the Company's Sepoys who proceed on leave of absence generally carry about them the savings from their pay in specie, and travel unarmed, they are eagerly sought out by these robbers, as the particular objects of their depredation. With a view, therefore, to guard against such atrocious deeds, the Commanding Officers of native corps will caution their men, when proceeding on leave of absence—

“1. To be strictly on their guard against all persons (particularly those unarmed) whom they fall in with on the road, who evince a solicitude to keep them company on pretence that they are going the same way, and are inquisitive about their affairs.

“2. Not to quit the serais at a very early hour in the morning, before the rest of the travellers.

“3. Not to receive pawn, tobacco, sweetmeat, &c. &c. from such persons, or smoke their hookahs, particularly if offered to them in solitary spots on

the



the road; and, lastly, to avail themselves of the protection of sowars (horsemen), when opportunity offers, or travel as much as possible with large bodies of people. This last object might be attained, in a great degree, if the men were persuaded, on occasions of periodical leave of absence, to keep together on the road; as long as the several destinations of such Native Commissioned or Non-Commissioned Officers, as may be proceeding the same way, will admit.

“It has also been intimated to the Major-General commanding the forces, that the Residents at Delhi and Lucknow, and the Collectors of Revenue, will be authorized, on the application of Commanding Officers of Paymasters, to grant bills, payable at sight and at the usual exchange, on any other treasury, for sums which may be paid into their own treasuries on account of Sepoys wishing to remit money from one part of the country to another;— a mode which, in conformity to the views of Government, is particularly to be encouraged and attended to by Officers commanding corps and detachments.”

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At a later period, these ruffians attracted the notice of the Marquis of Hastings; but only, as it appears, incidentally. Scindia had stipulated to provide a contingent, to aid in the suppression of the Pindaries; but having no great affection to the work, he had evaded the performance.

“To



“To compensate for such a delay,” said the Marquis, “which I affected to consider as accidental, I pressed that the corps should be employed in extinguishing certain mischievous associations in Scindia’s territories. The description applied not only to some bands of avowed robbers, but to a particular class, denominated ‘Thugs.’ This nefarious fraternity, amounting, by the first information, to above 1000 individuals, was scattered through different villages, often remote from each other; yet they pursued, with a species of concert, their avocation. This was, the making excursions to distant districts; where, under the appearance of journeying along the high roads, they endeavoured to associate themselves with travellers, by either obtaining leave to accompany them, as if for protection, or, when that permission was refused, keeping near them on the same pretext. Their business was, to seek an opportunity of murdering the travellers, when asleep, or off their guard. In this, three or four could combine, without having given suspicion of their connection. Though personally unacquainted, they had signs and tokens by which each recognised the other as of the brotherhood; and their object being understood without the necessity of verbal communication, they shunned all speech with each other, till the utterance of a mystical term or two announced the favourable moment, and claimed common effort. Scindia’s tolerance  
of



of an evil so perfectly ascertained, merely because the assassinations were seldom committed within his own dominions, may afford a tolerable notion of the vitiation of society in Central India, before this late convulsion. There is reason to believe, that, by this time, the pest in question has been rooted out; which, with the suppression of some bodies of horsemen under military adventurers (a service completely achieved by the contingent), will be no less a benefit to Scindia's own government, than to adjacent countries."

What sort of "reason" there was for believing that the "pest had been rooted out" at the period when the Marquis composed the Summary from which the above extract is taken, does not appear; but, at a subsequent period, there was abundant "reason to believe" that the Marquis was in error, and that, in fact, little or nothing had been achieved. Captain Sleeman having applied in 1835 to Major Stubbs, Superintendant of Scindia's contingent, for a list of the Thugs arrested by that force, and an account of the manner in which they were disposed of, received the following answer:—

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 13th ult. I have no records of any Thugs having been apprehended by the contingent horse; and I am, therefore, unable to furnish you with the list you require.

"I have



“ I have no civil authority, and cannot apprehend any one without orders from the Resident; excepting those detected plundering by the horse stationed for the protection of travellers on the roads. But many people have, at different times, been apprehended by the contingent and by the native Aumils, and made over to the contingent, at the requisition of different political authorities. The prisoners are usually sent either to Gwalior, Sehore, Saugor, Kotah, or where the requisition comes from: no examination or trial takes place here; consequently, there is no record, to enable me to comply with your wishes.”

These languid and desultory efforts were at length succeeded by a better system. About the year 1829, the British Government began to take decisive steps for the abatement of an evil, which, after so long a period of European rule, ought not then to have been known in the territories of the Company. Their exertions were properly extended to those Native States whom we have, by treaty, a right to controul. The trials of persons accused of the crime of Thuggee, within districts where our regulations are in force, takes place before the established tribunals. The investigation and punishment of similar crimes within the territories of the Governments of Hydrabad, Indore, and Oude, have, with the consent of those Govern-  
ments,



ments, been committed to the British Residents and Agents, subject to the revision and controul of the Supreme Government.

In 1829, a large gang of these miscreants was arrested by Captain Borthwick, Political Agent at Mahidpore. After the gang was secured, one of them, named Amunoola, under alarm for the consequences, voluntarily presented himself to the Jemadar of the party sent on this service ; and confessing that he and his fellow prisoners were the description of persons they were suspected to be, offered to make a disclosure of their acts and proceedings. From that time he was kept separate from his companions, to prevent him from being dissuaded from this purpose by their efforts. The day after the arrival of the whole at Jowrah, Captain Borthwick took his depositions ; and, for the purpose of corroboration, despatched him the day following, under a guard, to point out the bodies of certain persons stated by him to have been murdered at different places on the route of the gang between Mundesore and Dekola, where they were seized. This corroboration was fully afforded. A promise of pardon induced five other prisoners to present themselves as evidence against their associates.

The proceedings of Captain Borthwick were thus communicated to Government by Major Stewart, British Resident at Indore.

“ I have



“ I have the honour to transmit, for the information and orders of Government, the proceedings of Captain Borthwick, in the case of a large gang of Thugs, apprehended by him on their return from an expedition into Guzerat.

“ These proceedings detail so fully the system pursued by these murderers, that any comment or observations on them seem quite superfluous, the guilt of the party being established beyond all doubt. With reference, however, to the quantity and trifling value of the articles found in the possession of the murderers, it may be proper to notice, that this is satisfactorily accounted for by the circumstance of the party having, only five days before their apprehension, sent off, under charge of one of their leaders, almost all the booty they had collected in their expedition; including, of course, every thing of value.

“ The expeditions of these murderous gangs have, of late years, become the greatest calamities with which Malwa has been afflicted: and it will not fail to attract the notice of Government, that the very pacification of the country has led to the extension of this murderous system, to a degree unknown before.

“ The invariable practice of putting to death the whole of their victims, the manner in which this is done, and the mode in which the bodies are disposed of, renders the apprehension and conviction of



of these gangs particularly difficult; and therefore I consider the seizure of so large a body of them as a most fortunate event for this country, and likely, if capital punishment is inflicted on the greater part of them, to put a stop to such expeditions for a long period to come. The punishment, however, of these murderers, to be effective in this respect, ought, I conceive, to be inflicted at the different places from whence they come: and I cannot help trusting that Government will also adopt some measures, both in our own territory and in the dominions of our allies, to bring to condign punishment the village-officers, and other authorities of the country, who connive at the proceedings of these murderers, and participate in their plunder. These can hardly be considered as less guilty than the murderers themselves.

“ I beg leave, therefore, to suggest, that the leaders, and all of the party whose employment in the gang has been that of stranglers, should suffer capital punishment, each at the village to which he belongs. Where the murderers come from places not within our jurisdiction, I can hardly anticipate any difficulty in obtaining the assent of our allies to make an example so requisite for the future safety of innocent travellers throughout Central India. The rest of the gang, with the exception of those to whom pardon has been promised, ought, I conceive, either to be banished from Hindostan, or confined for life.”



Amanoolah, the earliest of the approvers, was a Mussulman, aged about fifty years. His deposition follows :—

“ I am one of the gangs of Phansigars now in confinement, and, with my associates, was stopped, in the month of Bysak last, at the village Dekola, about seven or eight cose northward of Bheelwarah, as we were returning to our homes in Hindostan. At this place, a party of eight or ten horsemen came upon us, and said, that Captain Borthwick having heard that we were carrying opium out of Malwa, had sent them to stop us. On hearing this, our minds were relieved from suspicion or fear that the object of the horsemen was any other than what it professed to be, or had any reference to our habits and pursuits. We readily consented, therefore, to return to Bheelwarah with the horsemen, who, we thought, would of course allow us to depart, after searching us and finding we had no opium. After our arrival there, we learnt the true cause of our being arrested; not, however, before the authorities and inhabitants of the town had joined in aid of the horsemen, to secure us, and prevent our escape. We, of course, loudly protested our innocence, affirming our readiness to be taken before Captain Borthwick, where we should clear ourselves, to that gentleman's satisfaction, of the accusations which the horsemen cast upon us of being Thugs and Phansigars; at the same time, urging



urging the great inconvenience we would unjustly be subjected to, if obliged, on such unfounded suspicion, to retrace our steps to Jawrah. To these protestations of innocence, Oomrao Jemadar (prisoner) added, that he had an English passport; and that if the horsemen persisted in detaining us, they would bring themselves into difficulty. Seeing that the horsemen were deaf to all our entreaties and threats, I became alarmed; and, as the only chance that appeared of saving\* my own life, determined to confess the truth, and to make a full and true disclosure of our habits and acts. I accordingly went immediately to the horsemen, and offered, on assurance of my life being spared, to make a faithful avowal of all our doings. I received the assurance I required: on which I confessed to them, that we were actually the Phansigars they suspected us to be.

“ From that moment they kept me separate from my companions: and now that the assurance of pardon has been repeated to me, my mind is at ease, and I shall not withhold the disclosure of one single act that has been committed by myself and companions since I became a confederate Phansigar, but freely and fully state all that occurs to my memory to mention.

“ I have been connected with these Phansigars for about two years; during which period, robbery, preceded in every instance by the murder of the



individuals robbed, has been our mode of life. I belong, properly, to the gang of Mandun Jemadar, now a prisoner, which consists chiefly of Mussulmans, and is called the Mussulman gang. According to the custom of all these gangs of Phansigars, of proceeding at certain seasons to distant countries in quest of plunder (generally after the rains), our Jemadar Mandun, having collected his men, set out from his country in Bundelcund, upon an excursion of that nature, at that season last year. Our course was southerly; and passing Dhuttea, on our sixth stage we came to the banks of a nullah where there was a good deal of jungle. There a Mussulman traveller, on his way to Baroda, who called himself a Moolah, was prevailed upon to join us. Shortly afterwards, every thing being arranged, he was murdered, and his property plundered. A Koran was found upon him, which, to avoid detection, we burnt. There was, besides, a labada, and a straight double-edged sword, both of which are amongst the things seized upon us: other things of trifling value, belonging to this Mussulman, fell into our hands.

“This was the first act we committed: after which, we pursued our course, and, without falling in with any thing further, arrived at Oogein. From Oogein we proceeded to Baroda, by the usual stages, without committing any murder or robbery on the way; with only one exception, about  
five



five cose from the latter town. This was upon the persons of a barber and a byragee, who fell into our hands at the stage before we reached Baroda, and were murdered a short time after night set in. A red woollen cloth jacket, now among the things taken upon us, and a tattoo, also present, fell into our hands. [The other witnesses do not confirm this, as to the tattoo belonging to the barber.] What was found upon the byragee, I do not now remember.

“ The next day we arrived at Baroda ; and there found a band of our brethren, consisting of twenty-five men, under their leader, a Brahmin, and an inhabitant of Etawah. This Brahmin and Mandun (prisoner) our Jemadar, consulting together, agreed that the two bands should unite, and act conjointly. We accordingly left Baroda together ; and after traversing different parts of Guzerat, returned to Baroda, empty-handed. A day or so after our return to Baroda, Oomrao Singh Jemadar (prisoner), Makhun Jemadar (prisoner), and Ruttyram Jemadar, with their bands, arrived : and the day after that, the Brahmin, with his band, set out on his return to Hindostan. We, having hitherto been unsuccessful, determined to remain some time longer, and try our fortune in conjunction with the parties just arrived ; and accordingly joined them. Our united bands, after this, left Baroda ; and having obtained intelligence, from our scouts, of four travellers with property, we went in pursuit  
of



of them ; and coming up to them near an English cantonment, murdered them ; but were much disappointed to find that they were only poor stonecutters, without a rupee upon them ; our scouts having been deceived by the bundles of tools which they carried. After this we returned to Baroda ; where, after halting a day or two, it was determined that we should return to our homes. We accordingly left Baroda, and made a stage of about three or four cose, where a Hadjee (pilgrim) met with his fate at our hands. Our next act was the murder of two Besatties. After them, two men, whom I heard were Rutbans, and at a stage or two from that where the Rutbans met their fate, we fell in with one or two palanquin-bearers, with two women and a child, all of whom we murdered in the jungle, and took their property. After this, four Mussulmans, with Mynas, fell into our hands, and were murdered. It was, I think, at this stage where we halted a day, and settled a division of property : after which we resumed our route ; and near to Rutlam effected our designs upon five merchants, who had become the object of them from the last stage or so.

“ We passed Rutlam, few or none of us entering the town ; and stopped near a village to the north of it, at a byragee's shrine, where we made a good meal, having killed three sheep for the purpose. Having finished our meal, we again took the road, without resting ;



resting; and halted at a village to the west of Jawrah, having, to avoid that place, struck off the high road. On our second stage from this, we passed a large town (Mundesore) on the bank of a river, without stopping, after purchasing ata, ghee, &c. for our meal at the end of the day's journey; and halted at a bowlee, where there was a large bir-tree on the road side, and near a village, the gate or door of which was of red colour. Here a traveller, a Mussulman I believe, who, I was told, was a Telinga, fell into our hands, and was murdered. He had a tattoo, which we set loose; but besides this, I understood that little or nothing was found upon him. On our journey next morning, Jemadar Rutttyram, with twenty or thirty men, was sent in charge of some tattoos laden with plunder, to our country in Hindostan; while we proceeded, by Neemuch and Mewar, and that route, in order to pick up more. A few cose beyond Neemuch, four travellers, apparently Poorbies (soldiers from the Ganges), fell into our power, and were there murdered. Of the amount or description of property acquired on this occasion I am unable to speak. Beyond this two or three stages, at a village called Gongar, a spirit-dealer, who was proceeding, I heard, to Cawnpore, was murdered, and stripped of his property. A few Kuldar rupees were found upon him; and a hoondie, which was burnt. A small hooka belonging to him fell into my hands,  
and



and is now in my possession. About twelve coss further, at the village of Sanganour, where we halted, we formed an acquaintance with four travellers, apparently shopkeepers; and though we had prevailed upon them to join our company, no proper opportunity offered that night for executing our designs upon them. Our purpose, however, was effected, as they accompanied us on the journey early next morning; and their clothes and property fell into our hands; but of what these consisted, I am ignorant. Our apprehension following a day or two after this, no further act was committed by us."

On being cross examined, this deponent said:—  
"There may have been other acts of murder and robbery committed by the gang in custody, since we left our country on the present expedition, besides those above mentioned. I have unreservedly disclosed all of which I have any knowledge, and according to the recollection I have of them. The present is the second expedition that has been made by the Phansigars, and in which I have been, since I joined them. The first took place immediately after the rains preceding the last (after the rains of 1826), and proceeded to the Deccan. We passed through Kandeish; visited Aurungabad, Poonah, and Hydrabad; and, after traversing those quarters, returned with considerable plunder, acquired by the perpetration of acts similar to those committed on the present expedition. I can point out



out the spots where most of the above-mentioned murders were committed, particularly those more recently perpetrated, as being more fresh in my recollection. My connection with the Phansigars arose from the marriage of my two daughters with Bhuggy and Nuggoo, two of the gang, and brothers of Heira, alias Ruttyram, one of the Jemadars. Bhuggy was one of those who was detached with Ruttyram. Nuggoo did not accompany us; but remained at home, to attend to the cultivation of some land. I can identify the persons of the whole of the prisoners, and speak to the offices which many of them usually perform in the gang; also the names by which many of them are known: but, as it is frequently the case that one person uses different names, individuals may be known to me by one name, and to others by a different one. I do not know the proper name of the Brahmin leader of the gang we found at Baroda, on our arrival there; but, as well as I recollect, he was generally called Lala:—some of his band remained behind, with us. The band I belonged to, that is Mandun's band, is a branch of the gangs of Oomrao and Makhun, who are the principal leaders of the Thugs from the countries about Jhansy, Dhuttea, Sumptre, Puphon, Palir, and other quarters in Bundelcund. I cannot speak as to the exact number of Thugs which they could collect; but, from what I have seen during two years that I have been

been



been associated with them, 200 is about the number that has proceeded each season on predatory excursions. These have separated into smaller parties, and set out on their excursions at different intervals; uniting again when they meet, or keeping separate, as it may be considered advisable.

“ I am a Mussulman; am about fifty years of age; and, before I joined the Thugs, followed the occupation of elephant-keeper, in the service of the Raja of Jhalone. In Jhalone I lived for many years, but am a native of Singy Rampoora. Mundesore is the name of the large town we passed; and, without stopping, proceeded four or five cose further, to a large bir-tree and well, where a traveller fell into our hands and was murdered. I did not, at the time, know the name of the town, having never before been in this quarter; but have since learnt it. This murder was the first, as far as I am aware, that was committed after that of the merchant and his attendants, to the southward of Rutlam. As on the present, I belonged on the former excursion to Oomrao's gang, which then left Bundelcund a few days before Makhun set out with his. Our course, on that occasion, was directed to the Deccan; and we arrived in that quarter before any thing considerable fell into our hands. On the way, several acts were perpetrated, as well on the persons of single travellers as small parties of two or three, but all yielding trifling advantage:



advantage: but in the Deccan, information was brought, by our spies, of treasure passing through the country, on Angria's; which induced Oomrao to take a select band of about thirty men, and go after it; directing the remainder of his gang to remain in the neighbourhood of the place where we then were, until he rejoined us. I was not with Oomrao on this occasion; but heard from the party, when he rejoined us, that they had made a long and expeditious march of about eighteen coss, before they came up with the Angria's; that, after they met them, they soon succeeded in murdering them, and possessing themselves of the treasure concealed on their persons, which turned out to be a very large sum. It consisted of gold in bars, poollies, and mohurs: and amounted, as well as I remember, to about 20,000 rupees. Makhun Jemadar was in the same quarter at that time, and some of his men were present with Oomrao at the seizing of the treasure; but I remember there was some quarrelling about the division of it, from Makhun and his men not being allowed to share in equal proportion with Oomrao and his. I cannot say that Makhun himself was present. Mandun Jemadar is only the leader of the gang I belong to, in conjunction with Heira Jemadar, who is, properly speaking, the principal. Heira escaped at the time we were apprehended at Dekhola."

Khaimraj,



Khaimraj, another accomplice admitted to give evidence, was a Hindoo of Lohar caste, and his age about fifty years. He said:—"I was seized in the month of Bysack last, by a party of horsemen, at the village of Dekhola in Mewar, along with my companions, who form the gang of Phansigars and Thugs now in confinement, of which gang I am one. The horsemen, when they came to us, said they were sent with orders to stop us, on information that we had opium; and that we must therefore return with them to Bheelwarah, to be searched. Deceived by this subterfuge (as we soon found it to be), we readily accompanied them to that town, without fear or apprehension of any mischance befalling us. In this, however, we were soon undeceived; for, shortly after our arrival at Bheelwarah, the horsemen openly accused us of being Phansigars; saying, that Captain Borthwick had received positive information to that effect, and they had, in consequence, been sent by that gentleman to take us into custody. The people of the place had previously joined in aid of the horsemen, to prevent our escape; and we had nothing for it, but to submit to our fate. Some individuals of the gang, taking alarm on the first appearance of the horsemen, ran off, and escaped; but with the exception of them, and a party of twenty-five or thirty, who were some time before sent, with the plunder we had then acquired, to find their way



way home by a more direct route than the main body intended to take, the whole of the individuals who for the last few months have formed this gang are now here in confinement. From Bheelwarah we were brought to Jowrah; the people of the town and villages on the way joining the horsemen, as they had done at that place; by which means we have been brought here in safe custody.

“ It is not usual with persons of our character, when apprehended, to make disclosures from intimidation or the application of severities; and I should never have made confession had such a course been resorted to with me: indeed, I was firmly resolved to keep silent; but finding that two or three of my companions had already told all, and had pointed out the spots and bodies of the different individuals whom we had murdered during the last few days previous to our being seized, I considered it would be very foolish in me to abide by such a resolution, particularly when I found I might probably save my life by a full and true confession, while remaining silent would not avail me, or any of my companions, any thing. I therefore now come forward to disclose fully and truly all that I know regarding the Phansigars and Thugs, and what has been done by them since the time that I have belonged to them, as far as my knowledge and recollection of deeds and incidents will serve me.

“ The



“ The fact is, that the gang of Phansigars now in custody is composed of men from the Bundelcund quarter. Makhun Jemadar (prisoner), and his party, are inhabitants of Sillanee Punharee, in the purgunah of Sumpdre. Oomrao Singh Jemadar (prisoner), and his party, come from the village Mullaitra, purgunah Palir, and different villages in that purgunah. Mandun, another Jemadar (prisoner), and his party, all Mussulmans, come from the village Mote and thereabouts, in the Jhansee purgunah. My immediate superior, Brikbhan Dufadar, also comes from the village Mote. I am an inhabitant of Mullaitra; and for the last four years have been on intimate footing with Oomrao Singh and his party; but it was not until the last year that I actually joined them, and accompanied them on the present excursion. Previous to setting out upon it, Makhun Jemadar, and Dirkpai Subahdar (the leader of another gang), with their gangs or parties, together with Oomrao Singh's party, assembled at Oomrao's residence at Mullaitra and the neighbourhood; when Dirkpai and Mandun Jemadar, with their gang, that is, the Brahmin and Mussulman gangs, as their parties were usually designated, preceded Oomrao Singh and Makhun fifteen or twenty days, when the latter followed with theirs. To these parties I belonged; but more properly to that of Oomrao Singh. Of their acts and proceedings, therefore, all in which they have



have been concerned since I have been associated with them, I speak from personal knowledge. Our first stage from Mullaitra was three cose near to Jhandee ; the next, ten or twelve ; the third about the same to the Khar ghaut. Three stages more brought us to Seronge ; where, on the night of our arrival, we murdered a traveller who had taken up his quarters at the same place that we did, namely, the Pundwankee Bowlee. The next morning we continued our journey, without doing any thing. The stage following, about the middle of it, we came to a river ; where we found four Sepoys cooking their meal, whom, after making arrangements for the purpose, we murdered, and possessed ourselves of their property : this occupied some time, and was not effected without difficulty. When the Sepoys saw us, they seemed to have entertained suspicion of us ; for having, in a hurried manner, got through their meal, they quickly commenced their journey, and stopped at a village a short distance from the river, where our spies followed them, and saw them fairly lodged. We halted at another village, at a short distance from the one they were at ; and at night sent a select party to effect our object. The Sepoys commenced their journey the next morning, followed by our party, who, watching their opportunity, when at a distance from any village, fell upon them, and murdered them as they were going along the road : one of the Sepoys, who must  
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at the moment have perceived the design of the party, from his extraordinary efforts to save his life, got away a few paces, and raised his spear in his defence ; but he was instantly overpowered, and murdered also. Two thousand rupees was the amount of plunder obtained on this occasion.

“ The same stage, and as we were resting at no distance from where the Sepoys had just met their fate, (having come up with the party who had effected that deed,) a party of four Rasdharies (strolling actors) joined us. We spoke kindly to them, promising to hear their Ras at our halting-place, and to give them a rupee for their performance : they were persuaded to accompany and take up their quarters at the same place we did, a well-known temple and bowlee near to Bhopaul ; where, at night, we murdered them, and plundered them of all they had, which was something about forty or fifty rupees. There is a meerdung (drum) among the things which were found in our possession, when we were seized by the horsemen, which belonged to these Rasdharies.

“ After this, our next stage was to the Powa Nullah, a short distance from Bhopaul, where we made a division of the plunder which we had acquired : and after having settled each person's share, we sent four of our comrades to our country with what remained surplus to our immediate necessities, and settled that they should rejoin us somewhere  
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in the neighbourhood of Indore. The next morning, about a cose on our way, we met a gang of fellow-Phansigars, returning to Bundelcund from an excursion which they had set out upon two or three months before: they were chiefly Mussulmans, and between twenty and twenty-five in number. When we met them, they were following two water-carriers with a bullock, whom they had formed designs upon. For the sake of friendship, and to admit us to share in the booty that might be acquired from the water-carriers, they invited some of our men to join them. Accordingly, Oomrao Singh sent four men with them; who rejoined us the third or fourth day afterwards, bringing with them, as our share of the plunder, a tuslah or brass-pot, a saree, and the bullock, all which was given over to Oomrao. We were now four or five short stages to the west of Bhopaul. When preparing to leave the village we had halted at during the night, two Brahmins arrived, who had come from the Poonah quarter, and were going, they said, to Hindostan. Finding, by our spies, that they had property, we pretended that we were also going to Hindostan, and prevailed upon them to join our company and go along with us. They accordingly put up with us outside of the village; and in the evening, taking the opportunity which then offered for accomplishing our purpose, we murdered them, and took their property; the amount



of which I cannot exactly state, but some gold, and one or two hoondies, were found upon them: the latter were burnt.

“The next morning we left the place; and proceeded two stages without acquiring any thing. Our third stage was to Rugoghur (in the Dewass purgunah): we there took up our quarters, in a tope near the village. In the course of the day, our spies formed an acquaintance with a Subahdar of Telingies (Sepoys of the Company’s army), who, with two Sepoys, had arrived there, and taken up their lodgings in the bazaar of the village. Our spies so imposed upon them, that they prevailed upon them to quit the bazaar, and encamp along with us outside. In the early part of the evening, a party of our people, appointed for the purpose, fell upon them, and murdered them. I cannot speak to the amount of money and property found upon them; but I saw two red jackets and two Sepoys’ caps which belonged to them, besides a a pony (bay colour) now amongst those seized with us, and three bullocks, which fell into our hands. The Subahdar and the two Sepoys, we understood, had come from some cantonment, and were proceeding to Hindostan on leave. The caps and the jackets were burnt; and the bullocks disposed of, some days afterwards, in the bazaar at Dhar. A chatta which belonged to the Subahdar is amongst the things seized upon us, when we were apprehended.



hended. Here also, and on the same night on which we murdered the Subahdar and Sepoys, a man of the Kachee tribe, who had come from the cantonment of Mow, and taken up his quarters with us, was murdered, and his property plundered. Four rupees in money, a thalee, and a lotah, were found upon him. The tope, where all this was done, being, we thought, too near the village, we had the four murdered bodies conveyed a short distance, about a quarter of a cose, and buried.

“ The next day we proceeded by the cantonment of Mow, but without stopping there, and halted near a village at a good distance from it: the name of the place I do not know, but remember we made the town of Dhar in four stages from Rugoghur. There, at Dhar, we remained three days, waiting for our friends who were absent; namely, the four who were sent from the Powanullah, to convey to our homes the plunder we had then acquired. They, after an absence of about twenty or twenty-five days, rejoined us a few stages beyond Dhar; we having loitered about, and made short stages, to admit of their overtaking us. Besides them, four others were left behind with the bullocks we took from the Subahdar and Sepoys; who also at the same time joined us, having, as I have already said, sold the bullocks in the Dhar market, after we left that town. From the time we left Rugoghur until we reached Dhar, we had done

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nothing : but after our arrival there, a Mussulman, who came from Mow, on his way to Baroda, was persuaded to encamp at the tope, along with us. In the evening, or shortly after nightfall, he met with his fate at our hands, and was buried near the spot where he was murdered. Having, after a halt of three days, left Dhar for Baroda, we proceeded by short stages, until, as I have just said, our absent friends joined us ; after which, we quickened our pace. At Bora Hutty, a place on our route, so called, we met a banker, attended by four Sepoys, with a pony and a bullock, on his way to Baroda. The Jemadars and all our people, by the most pointed attention and civility, cultivated the banker's acquaintance, as well as that of his attendants, the Sepoys, with a view to the success of our designs upon them : still, we had to proceed three or four stages in their company, before these were carried into execution. At length, an opportunity offering, he and his attendants were murdered, and their property plundered. The name of the place where this took place I do not remember ; but the village had two or three shops, and a stream of water flowed past it. We set the banker's bullocks loose in the jungle ; retaining the pony, which was with us until we arrived at Juwud (after our apprehension) ; where it was poisoned, through the fear that, being discovered in our possession, it might lead to our detection : for we understood, from the  
banker



banker and his attendants, that they came from Ougien or Indore, I forget which; and it was thought probable that some of their friends or relations, hearing of our apprehension, would come and recognise it.

“ From the place where the banker and the Sepoys were murdered, three moderate stages, as well as I remember, brought us to Oodeypore, where the Rajah resides. Here we found a gentleman who was on his way to Mow from Bombay; and not relishing to be seen by him, we studiously kept out of his way. The next morning he proceeded on his way to Mow, accompanied by a number of travellers who had sought his protection; and we took the road to Baroda. At a village the fourth or fifth stage beyond Oodeypore, we met with Dirkpai Brahmin, with his gang, returning from Baroda. They passed the night with us; and the next morning continued their journey homewards, and we ours towards Baroda. We proceeded from this very leisurely, at the rate of little more than a cose or two daily. At Makney, we halted a little distance from the town; and it happened that five Telingies (Company's Sepoys), from Bombay, arrived there the same day. Our spies seeing them, brought them, after using much deceitful entreaty and many false pretences, to the spot where we were. In the evening, we murdered them, and took their property. I am not aware of  
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all the more trifling articles of clothes and brass pots that were taken, but remember that seven small bars of gold, and some rupees, were found upon them. I do not remember the exact number of the rupees, but altogether it was considered a good productive job: one or two hoondies were also found upon them; and a pony, which they had, was set loose in the jungle. From Makney we proceeded, in the same manner as we had done for some days previous, slowly, and making short stages; and arrived at Dubhoy. About a cose from this town we met a Mussulman and Brahmin travelling together, who had come from Dhoolia Mallygaum. Our usual artifices were practised upon them with success: they halted for the day at the same place that we did; and in the evening, were murdered, and their property plundered. They had a pony laden with opium, besides some brass utensils and other articles of small value, all which fell into our hands. The opium we disposed of at Baroda, where we proceeded the next day, for 100 rupees: out of which we had to give the Cutwal twenty-five rupees *mahsool* on the sale. We here found eighteen Phansigars of the Mussulman gang, with their leaders, Mandun Jemadar (and Heira's, the former prisoner) and Amanoollah (evidence) &c., who had been with Dirkpai and his party, but, not satisfied with what they had got, remained behind to acquire more, and joined us.

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