

RECORDS RELATING TO
SUPPRESSION OF THUGGEE

1829—1832

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GOVERNMENT OF THE
CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR



SELECTED RECORDS

COLLECTED FROM THE CENTRAL PROVINCES
AND BERAR SECRETARIAT RELATING TO THE
SUPPRESSION OF THUGGEE

1829—1832

NAGPUR

GOVERNMENT PRINTING, C. P. & BERAR
1939

[Price—Rupees Three.]

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The bibliography on Thuggee is extensive. Meadows Taylor by virtue of his 'Confessions of a Thug' which while professedly a work of fiction is nevertheless closely modelled on the recorded deposition of the notorious thug, Amir Ali, is perhaps the best known writer on the subject. Sleeman, however, though possibly less well known for his literary work, is undoubtedly the most authoritative writer on Thuggee. His 'Ramaseeana' published in 1836 is a collection of miscellaneous papers of a highly authentic nature on all aspects of the depredations of the Thugs. Not the least valuable part of the book is the vocabulary of the language of the Thugs (Ramasi) which gives the book its name. Meadows Taylor quotes from 'Ramaseeana' in his Introduction to the Confessions; and other writers on the subject, e.g., the anonymous author of 'Illustrations of the History and Practices of the Thugs' a semi-official publication issued from London in 1837, freely acknowledge their debt to Captain Sleeman. The official records of the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories contain frequent references to his unique knowledge of the practices and customs of the Thugs. He had, moreover, the capacity to express this knowledge in vigorous prose and both his 'Rambles and Recollections' and his 'Ramaseeana' remain important works for the historical appreciation of the significance and nature of Thuggee. They are undoubtedly the main source for the latest work on the subject, Colonel Sleeman's 'Thug, or A Million Murders'. Prior to Sleeman, the most authoritative work on Thuggee was a monologue ('Of the Murderers called Phansigars') drawn up by Dr. Sherwood in 1816 in Madras and incorporated in Sleeman's 'Ramaseeana'*.

Though the period has thus been well covered, any additional documentary evidence relating to the practice of Thuggee is important, as the fact that organised murder on such an extensive scale was possible in a highly developed state of Indian civilization can never cease to be significant in the history of India. Moreover, the unique part played by the officers of the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories in the suppression of this criminal trade gives the records preserved in the Central Provinces Secretariat a special importance.

* Pages 327—362 edit. Calcutta 1836.

The Collection of papers presented here is not intended to be exhaustive as the administrative work of dealing with a problem of such intricate detail and wide extent led naturally to an exceedingly voluminous correspondence. Selection has, however, been made to illustrate some of the more difficult administrative problems, e.g., the question of the validity of the approvers' evidence ; the method of dealing with Thugs not actively participating in the murder but accessories to the crime ; the relations of the Department for the Suppression of Thuggee with Native States ; and the congestion of the courts caused by the numerous bands of thugs eventually brought to book and the almost innumerable murders with which they were each charged.

The history of Sleeman is the history of Thuggee suppression. It is to be read in his autobiographical 'Rambles and Recollections' and 'A Journey through Oudh', and in the introduction to his scholarly 'Ramaseeana', as well as in the more recent semi-biographical 'Thug or A Million Murders'. Sleeman thus modestly describes how he came to undertake this most laborious and painful duty, and the stations from which he exercised his jurisdiction :—

"When I first undertook the duty of superintending the operation for the arrest of these gangs, and of collecting the evidence for the cases in which they were to be committed for trial, the most laborious and painful that I have ever performed, I had the civil charge of the district of Jubulpore on the Nurbudda river. As that of Saugor was more central, and consequently more eligible, I was in January 1831 transferred to the civil charge of that district during the absence of Mr. C. Fraser on sick leave to the hills. On his return in January 1832, he resumed charge of the revenue and civil duties, and left me the criminal, which I continued to discharge till January 1835, while Captain Low continued to officiate for me in the civil charge of the Jubbulpore district. By the resolution of Government of the 10th January 1835 my headquarters were transferred back to Jubbulpore ; and having the general superintendence of all proceedings preliminary to trial over the whole field of our operations, which had now extended from Lahore to the Carnatic, I was relieved from every other charge".

Thus during the brief period in Sleeman's career between 1831 and 1843 Thuggee was almost completely stamped out. During this time he held the office of

Assistant to the Agent at Narsinghpur and then at Jubbulpore. Eventually he was transferred to Saugor as a more convenient centre for supervising Central India, and was appointed Superintendent of the operations in 1835: and subsequently Commissioner for the suppression of Thuggee and Dacoity in 1839. During the operations more than 1,400 Thugs were hanged and transported for life, one of whom confessed to having committed over 700 murders. Detection was only possible by means of informers, for whose protection from the vengeance of their associates a special gaol was established at Jubbulpore. Thereafter Sleeman was moved first to Gwalior (1843—49) and then to Lucknow (1849—56). He died at sea on his way home on February 10, 1856, just prior to the outbreak of the mutiny, which he would doubtless have felt as the break-up of his life's work. His monument, however, survives in a country where the robber rides on his raids no more.

These papers contain high tribute to his character and abilities from contemporary officers—a remarkable thing in a country, where he must, by his very position, have been subject to all the petty personal and service jealousies of officialdom. His official correspondence, at present being collected in the Central Provinces Secretariat, further reveals his outstanding ability and assiduous attention to duty that lifted him out of the contemporary scene. When he advocates rent remissions, it is with all the figures, all the local experience, all the human sympathy and all the vigour of literary style at his command. His recommendations so vigorously urged are seldom rejected and generally (albeit reluctantly by a Government whose revenues were still precarious) accepted. His knowledge of crops and their diseases, the peasantry's perpetual burden of debt, and the need of careful readjustments in every detail of the Settlements of the districts under his control is as remarkable as his knowledge of the wiles of the Thugs. A servant of Government, like his many contemporaries on the Indian scene, he has escaped the oblivion that engulfs so much official work, by his purposeful energy directed to a great task, and perhaps in part to a masterful and tireless pen capable of words that burned their way into the hearts as well as the minds of men.

It is true that much of the information relating to the manners and customs of Thugs embodied in these papers has already been incorporated in the publications of

Sleeman and Meadows Taylor. The interest, however, of original documents is that the information is presented unembellished and with factual accuracy. Merely going through these papers illustrates how from the first out-burst of moral indignation at the realization of the full enormity of this nefarious trade there was built up an elaborate administration to eradicate the evil, which eventually with its ramifications covered all India. The industry and unflagging application of those who had to bring the thugs to book as well as those who had to endure the ennui of the innumerable and protracted trials was prodigious.

Page 2 One of the early letters describes the extent of Thuggee and the methods, including the branding of convicted Thugs, proposed to deal with it. In paragraph 4 of

Pages 12 and 13. letter 6 we have an instance (forcibly expressed) of the moral indignation which the whole business aroused. In the same letter are discussed various administrative measures to deal with the problem including the vexed question of what was to be done with associate-informers (paragraph 9).

Page 18. The depositions of thug prisoners contained in these records reveal illuminating flashes on how quondam respectable peasants and tradesmen were initiated into the rites of this gruesome profession. Amanoola, the perpetrator of countless murders, confesses that he was linked to the thugs by the casual connection of marriage. He likewise describes the favourite method of dispersal of forces used by the thug bands on their excursions. The subsequent deposition of Haimraj is an epic on the revolting subject of organised wholesale murder.

Pages 19-27. The deposition of Poorun reveals a curious result of the pacification of the country and the suppression of Pindari free-booting under British administration. "It was before the establishment of tranquillity over the country", he says, "that I served under Oudey Singh at which time our excursions were neither carried to so great a distance as they have since been, nor were so lucrative or certain, for in those days travellers, particularly with much property, seldom ventured to go from one place to another without being well escorted or in large parties and we feared the Pindaries and other mounted plunderers as much as other classes did—not connected with them."

Actually this deposition ranks with its predecessor in its discursive and epic quality. It includes in the cross-examination an exact account, replete with grisly detail, ^{Pages 30 and 31.} of the methods of murder these gangs ordinarily employed.

The subsequent papers are mainly concerned with the administrative problems connected with the suppression. For instance, on pages 41, 42 the question of "general warrants" and the infringement on the common criminal law that these entail is discussed. Then in paragraph 35 of the same lengthy letter, which examines minutely each detail of administration, the proposal to create the post of Superintendent of Thugs (which Sleeman later so successfully occupied) is mooted. Sleeman's name, with an allusion to his manifest qualifications for the post, is actually advanced as the officer most capable of filling the appointment. The letter incidentally cites an illustration of the extreme bravado and daring of which thugs were capable. On this occasion at Lakhnadon a band of thugs murdered a large party of travellers within a stone's throw of the town and a hundred yards from the servants and tents of a Government officer (paragraph 11).

Page 52.

Pages 53 and 54.

Page 47.

Page 61.

The evidence of Motee, approver, shows the minute detail with which the depositions of such persons was recorded; the name of every thug mentioned is numbered for subsequent verification from any similar confession recorded elsewhere; page 63 of this deposition, for instance, is simply an unending catalogue of murderous crime, perpetrated apparently for the most part, for a trifling gain of a few rupees.

At page 77 we find the phrase that Meadows Taylor used so effectively in his introduction to 'Confessions of a Thug': "Thugs themselves acknowledge that like tigers whenever they have tasted human blood, they cannot be deterred from attacking the human species whenever they find an opportunity".

The Agent at Jubbulpore writing to the Agent at Simla stresses the need for having men "of energy of mind and honest determination to prosecute this public duty". He even goes so far as to say that "the Native Governments are entirely unfit to be entrusted with a task which must be pursued without regard to private interests and uninfluenced by the depraved passion of individuals".

Para 4, page 80.

The curious fact that army sepoys often fell the easiest prey to thugs is commented on at page 85 :—

“Sepoys trusting to their strength and courage are easily allured to their destruction by the submissive and wily conduct of these accomplished villains. The Thugs evidently find it as easy to destroy both the confident soldier as the timid and fearful treasure-carrier.”

Page 92.

Then follows one of the most interesting discussions in these papers arising out of the administrative measures adopted to combat the evil. A munshi in the employ of the Agent at Saugor, with the help of certain Thug approvers in an excess of zeal arrested a Brahman and a sepoy in the employ of the Bharatpur Raja on a charge of thuggee without even reporting his arrival to the Political Agent at Bharatpur. The controversy that ensued on this debacle is both wordy and violent, waged with all the zeal of a pen charged with departmental fury. This is not the last time that Saugor officers have been in conflict with the “superior” Political Agents of Central India : and doubtless official correspondence will be so enlivened again.

Para 92,
page 126

Page 105.

The lengthy letter at pages 104—126 is an accurate and detailed account of the whole system and practice of thuggee, showing remarkable insight into the manners and customs of thugs derived apparently largely from “Captain Sleeman”. The letter alludes to the part played by the dispersal of the Pindari and Marhatta free-booting bands in fostering thuggee ; and castigates the misguided policy of leniency towards people associated with the trade. “Without intending it, and with the sincerest desire to render strict justice”, this vigorous writer says, “the British Authorities have in a manner made themselves accessories to the subsequent Thuggees, which the liberated Thugs committed to pay for their ransom”—an even sadder eventuality than when the over-lenient magistrates of today release habitual burglars on bail only to learn of their further depredations committed with the laudable object of meeting their financial obligations under the law !

The same shrewd judge cautions the higher authorities against applying their English notions of justice to situations outside the scope of prevailing English law. “We carry our English notions into practice in a country where they are unsuitable and thereby work evil ; while intent on administering justice, we protect the lawless

assassins at the expense of the lives of numerous honest men. Gratitude to them (released thugs) is unknown and the bosom friend and benefactor, nay, their preservers from prison and death, as has been too often exemplified in these trials, are remorselessly sacrificed at the shrine of wealth".

Not the least interesting part of this writer's comments on the manners and customs of Thugs is his note on the omens which they so scrupulously interpreted and obeyed :

"The Ass, the Deer, and the Jackal, are considered the auspicious four-legged beasts, and omens from either of these are more valued than the call of one hundred of the most auspicious of the feathered tribe. If a Partridge and a Shamah call at the same time, or if the partridges are heard to call first to the right, and then to the left, or if the note of a Shamah is heard on the right, and the braying of an Ass to the left, the Omens are considered auspicious and the gang proceed on the expedition."

Thus in these pages will be found an account that supplements in many material particulars anything hitherto published on the suppression of Thuggee. They are essentially a tribute to the honesty, vigour and high sense of public duty of those officers entrusted with the responsibility of suppressing this evil.

J. W. MELDRUM,
*Under Secretary to Government,
Central Provinces and Berar.*

NAGPUR :
The 22nd Nov. 1937.

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1	VII of 1830 Jubbulpore Supplementary Records, Thuggee Department.	6-4-1830	From—Hon'ble the Court of Directors.	Extract from a General letter issued by the Judicial Department on 15th September 1830 expressing dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the public officers as a result of a great increase in the reported number of murders by Thugs caused by strangling and other devices and containing instructions to exact from the local officers a strict attention to their duties in regard to the discovery and apprehension of offenders.	
2	Do.	4-8-1830	From—G. W. Swinton, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government. To—F. C. Smith, Esq., Agent to Governor-General, Saugor and Nerbudda Territories.	Instructions regarding branding convicted Thugs as old offenders and calling for measures for breaking up the whole system of organised bands of Thugs by the apprehension of their principal leaders.	2-4
3	Do.	3-12-1830	Do.	Conveys the approbation of the Governor-General for the exertions made by him and by Captain Sleeman in tracing out and bringing to punishment the gangs of Thugs.	4-5
4	Do.	8-10-1830	Do.	Transmits copy of a dispatch from the Resident at Indore, dated 8th September 1830, submitting the proceedings regarding six prisoners, Kinda, Bukkut, Gangaram, Khimaly, Bhikari,	5-7

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5	Do	8-10-1830	Do.	Instructions regarding the preparation of a general list of all notorious Thugs known to approvers with a description of their persons, age, native village, etc.	9—10
6	Do.	23-10-1829	From—G. W. Swinton, Esqr., Chief Secretary to Government. To—Major Stewart, Resident, Indore.	Acknowledges the receipt of a dispatch from Major Stewart, dated 12th August 1829 and communi- cates the observa- tions and orders of the Governor-General in Council on the proceedings held by Captain Borthwick in the case of a large gang of Thugs ap- prehended by him on their return from an expedition into Gujarat together with depositions of Amanollah, Kaim- raj, Pooran, Bahadur Khan and Khwany Khan and a list of arti- cles found in the pos- session of the Thugs.	11—40

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8	Do.	19-11-1830	From—F. C. Smith, Esqr., Agent to Governor-General. To—H. T. Prinsep, Esq., Secretary to the Governor-General, Political Department.	Forwards copy of Captain Sleeman's letter of committal dated 19th October 1830 with proceedings in the Lucknadow case of murders perpetrated by Bhawani and other Thugs in 1823 in the Seoni district.	45—64
9	3 of 1831 Jubbulpore Supplementary Re- cords, Thug- gee Depart- ment.	2-4-1831	From—G. W. Swinton, Esqr., Chief Secretary to Government. To—F. C. Smith, Esqr., Agent to Governor-General.	Acknowledges the receipt of the despatch referred to above and communicates to him the final orders and decision of the Governor-General in Council on the several cases.	64—67
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11	Do. ...	25-3-1831	From—G. W. Swinton, Esqr., Chief Secretary to Government. To—Major Sow, Resident at Gwalior.	Communicates the orders of the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council with respect to the disposal of several Thugs—Drigpal, Ramchand and others on whose cases Captain Dyke had held proceedings.	68—69

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[COLLECTED FROM THE CENTRAL PROVINCES
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CORRESPONDENCE

*Jubbulpore Dn. Supplementary Records C. F. No. 7/1830
(Thuggee Department.)*

Extract from a general letter from the Hon'ble the Court of
Directors, dated the 6th April 1830

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Paragraph 8.—“We are sorry to perceive a great increase in the reported number of murders by Thugs. In cases coming under this denomination the persons murdered who are commonly travellers or Pilgrims, are first stupefied by Drugs clandestinely put in their food and then robbed. In some instances the persons so plundered have survived, but they have generally been found dead in Wells or in Fields by the road side stabbed or strangled. There are instances of this Crime in several Zillahs of the Western Provinces, but in most of them it is unknown. In Cawnpore, Futtehpore and Allahabad, it has been most frequent, and the Police have scarcely ever been successful in tracing the offenders. The reports in regard to this offence in some of the Districts are very vague. Bodies of persons found in such a state that it could not be known whether they had been murdered or not, are given as cases of murder by Thugs. It is stated by the Magistrate of Futtehpore, a district in which these offences are common, that in the course of a year in his Jurisdiction not less than 120 persons fall into wells, it may therefore be suspected that in many instances persons are reported to have been murdered by Thugs who have in truth died from some accident. On the other hand it is often stated in the Superintendent's Reports that several bodies have been found in a Field or in a well and these are set down altogether, as a case of murder by Thugs, and although in the figured Statements the number of cases of murder by Thugs in the two years 1826-1827, is said to be 96, the number of persons reported to have been murdered by Thugs is 174. We are by no means satisfied with the proceedings of the Public Officers in regard to offences of this class. These exertions have been but too plainly unsuccessful, yet we know no reason why some effective measures might not be adopted by an able and zealous Magistrate with a sufficient Police Establishment so that many of the offenders might be detected and the Crime in a great degree put down in places where it was most prevalent. We trust that you will endeavour to have the Reports of the cases of Thugs classed as accurately as possible in the Statements, and that you will exact from the Local Officers a strict attention to their duties in regard to the discovery and apprehension of the offenders.”

Fatehpur

Fatehpur

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT :
The 15th September 1830.

To

F. C. SMITH, ESQR.,
*Agent to the Governor-General,
Saugor and the Nerbudda Territories.*

SIR,

3. Adverting to the inveterate habits of the individuals
Recapitulation of Sentence.

No. *Death.*

- 1 Sheikh Mudaree.
- 2 Pultoo.
- 3 Radha Kishen.
- 4 Bowanny Pershad.
- 5 Sheikh Bhugwan.
- 6 Beharee.
- 7 Omereya.
- 8 Jafer Khan.
- 9 Ooley.
- 10 Kalee Khan.
- 22 Zurha.

11 Persons.

Transporattion for life.
13 Behader Khan.
19 Kurharee.

2 persons.

Imprisonment for fourteen years.
12 Zaber Khan.
14 Noor Khan.
15 Busseer Khan.
21 Guness Bramin.

4 Persons.

Imprisonment for seven years.

- 11 Goneya Gooja.
- 16 Ganess Aheer.
- 17 Purun.
- 18 Bhoojan.
- 20 Illahee Buksh.
- 23 Moosa Khan.
- 24 Sunere.

7 Persons.

To be released on security.

- 25 Kasee Ram.

1 Person.

Unconditional release

- 26 Heera.

1 Person

brought up to the horrid profession of Thuggee and to the obvious expediency of setting a mark on those who have been convicted of this crime and condemned to certain periods of imprisonment to be afterwards released on security, His Lordship in Council is pleased to direct that in addition to the infliction of imprisonment, the Thugs now under that sentence should be branded with the Godna on some part of their body not exposed to view, so that they may be recognized as old offenders should they again be apprehended in the pursuit of their inhuman calling after their liberation from Jail. Their names and the words "Convicted Thug" may be stamped on the back or shoulders of all sentenced to seven years' imprisonment and upwards, a deviation from the Regulations fully warranted by the enormity of the Crimes of Thuggee which firstly placed those who practised it beyond the pale of Social Law.

4. With regard to the two individuals No. 13 Bahadar Khan, and No. 19 Kurharee sentenced to transportation for life, you will forward them, under safe custody, with their warrants to the Superintendent of the Allipore Jail, who will be duly apprized of this order and will be prepared to carry the sentences into effect.

5. With reference to the 14 paragraph of your letter drawing the attention of the Governor-General in Council to the proposition by Captain Sleeman in his letter to your address of the 13th May last, namely that the entire management of the District of Bhilsa should be obtained from Sindia's Government, and be made the seat of some efficient Military and Police Establishment with a view to afford adequate protection to Travellers passing to and from Saugor and Malwa, I am directed to observe that, however anxious the Governor-General in Council is to give effect to whatever may conduce to the suppression of the system of Thuggee in the Districts alluded to, His Lordship in Council apprehended that the Durbar of Gwalior would not willingly consent to such an arrangement, and that even if it did, the remedy would not be effectual while it would necessarily entail a very heavy expense. His Lordship in Council proposes, therefore, to instruct the Resident at Gwalior to represent the state of the case to the Regent Bhye and her Ministers and to urge on them the paramount and imperious duty of using their utmost exertions to suppress the Thug system in the Bhilsah and other Districts subject to their authority in which it is said to prevail by issuing the most positive orders on the subject to the Aumils and other Officers in charge, and by directing them to co-operate zealously and cordially with the British Functionaries in the adjacent parts.

6. His Lordship in Council entirely approves of the steps you have taken with regard to Beharee Laul the Gomashta of a Banking House at Indore, whom there is much ground to suspect of being connected with the Thug Leaders and of employing them in the manner and for the purpose, described by Captain Sleeman should the Magistrate of Hummeerpore, in compliance with your application of the 7th April last, have seized Beharee Lall, and his Thug retainers and forwarded them to you, His Lordship in Council will approve of your taking evidence against them, and retaining them in custody pending a report of your proceedings to Government.

7. The attention of the Residents at Indore, Gwalior and Hyderabad and the Agent to the Governor-General in Bundelkhand will be called to the subject of your and Captain Sleeman's remarks on the probable result of delivering over to Native States or their Officers, Individuals connected or suspected of being Thugs. These functionaries will be called on to prosecute the subject of enquiry with regard to the instances enumerated in which convicted Thugs have been made over to the parties who have been plundered, for the purpose of assisting them in recovering the lost property, and who, it is to be feared, are little scrupulous as to the sources from whence the Individuals so employed derive the means of reimbursing them for the losses they have sustained.

Bhilsa.

Hamirpur

Bundelkhand.

8. On the subject of the 19th paragraph of your letter, I am directed to acquaint you that the Governor-General in Council is pleased to sanction, on the grounds stated by you, the pardon of the Witness Hurria, and to authorize you to imprison the other Witnesses Thakoor Doss *alias* Mahadeo and Mohabut and Maharaj until they furnish the security required for their good conduct in future. His Lordship in Council further approves of your holding out to the above-mentioned witnesses hopes of a mitigation of their sentence, should they give such evidence as may lead to the seizure and conviction of the Gang of Noor Khan *alias* Goolab. With regard to these organized Bands of inhuman wretches whose profession and livelihood is cold blooded murder, the Governor-General in Council deems it of the greatest importance to endeavour to break up if possible, the whole system by the apprehension of the principal leaders who must be well known. You are accordingly requested to consult with Captain Sleeman and other local Functionaries who have the best means of obtaining information, and to report the measures that you would recommend as most likely to effect so desirable an object. By the secret employment, under due precautions of some of the witnesses and approvers stimulated by the promise of a liberal reward on the conviction of the Leaders in question, such a knowledge might be acquired of their plans for their next annual excursion as might greatly facilitate their apprehensions by the British Authorities, if timely apprized of the probable scene of their operations.

* * * *

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient, Humble Servant,
G. W. SWINTON,
Chief Secretary to Government.

FORT WILLIAM :
4th August 1830.

To

F. C. SMITH, ESQR.,
*Agent to the Governor-General,
Saugor and Nerbudda Territories.*

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 15th Ultimo, forwarding copy of a letter addressed by you to the Agent in Bundelkhand and of one to the Resident at Indore respecting the apprehension of certain Thuggs, and in reply to convey to you the approbation of the Governor-General for the exertions made by you and by Captain Sleeman

Bundel khand.

your Assistant for the purpose of tracing out and bringing to punishment the gangs of Thuggs whose atrocities have so long infested the Country.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
G. W. SWINTON.

CAMP AT ALLAHABAD :
The 3rd December 1830.

To

F. C. SMITH, ESQR.,
*Agent to the Governor-General,
Saugor and Nurbadra Territories.*

SIR,

I am directed to transmit to you for your information and guidance the annexed copies of a Despatch dated 8th Ultimo from the Resident at Indore and of my reply of this date.

Pol. Deptt.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient, Humble servant,
G. W. SWINTON,
Chief Secretary to Government.

FORT WILLIAM :
8th October 1830.

COPIES
No. 6

INDORE
September 8th, 1830

To

G. SWINTON, ESQR.,
*Chief Secretary to Government,
Fort William.*

SIR,

I herewith enclose particulars regarding six prisoners now in Captain Borthwick's custody lying under a presumption of their being criminals of the Thug profession and request the orders of Government as to the disposal of them.

Khandesh
Jhansi.

Bundelkhand.

2. Four of the number, viz., Bukkut, Kinda, Gungaram and Khimoly have been recognized by some or other of their fellow Thugs who turned informers, under circumstances which leave no room to doubt their having been members of the Gang that cut off the Treasure remittance of Dhunraj Pokur Mul in Candesh in 1827, a portion of which it would appear was seized along with them by the Jhansi authorities and I would suggest that they be transported for life. Should Government however not think fit in the actual state of the evidence and proceedings against them to adopt this suggestion, I would recommend that they should be transmitted to the Governor-General's Agent in Bundelcund with the present evidence, in order that assisted by the light it affords he may prosecute further enquiries regarding them in that part of the Country, with a view of obtaining further information towards the establishment either of their criminality or of their innocence, so as to enable Government according to the results to decide the better of the disposal of them. Should this course again seem to Government unsuitable, I would suggest that they be made over to the Indore Authorities who with the despoiled Sahokars would turn the possession of their persons to such account as they might be able, in their object of recovering the plundered property. But in this case they would be ultimately released to prey upon society anew, instead of being made an example of, as justice and expediency so much require they should be, if really murderers and robbers as they appear to me proved beyond doubt to be.

3. With regard to the property in custody with them, I should recommend that it be at all events delivered to the Sahokars Dhunraj Pokurmal, being to all appearance part of their plundered property although they cannot positively swear to the identity of the mixed coins of which it is composed as being such, and not claimed by any other party.

4. With regard to the other two prisoners Drigpal and Ramchund, it is manifest from the evidence appearing on these proceedings that there are two notorious Thug associates of those names, who murdered a Soubadar near Dhar in this province and carried off his child; but the prisoners though of the same names, and taken up as such criminals at the indication of the Thug leaders Motee and Dhunoa who found it convenient for their own purposes to turn informers, yet have not been sufficiently identified as the notorious Thug leaders Drigpal and Ramchund referred to, to admit of their being sentenced to punishment as such. I would recommend therefore that they be transmitted to the Political Agent at Gwalior of which territory they are inhabitants, along with this evidence, in order that he may prosecute enquiries with a view to their identification or otherwise with the noted Thugs of the same names and if he should ascertain them to be clearly the identical individuals, and it should be ascertained that a Soubadar and his child who may have been taking the road in question have been actually missing since that time (for which purpose I shall put the Bombay Government in possession of the present evidences), I would suggest that they should be subjected to transportation for life. I may observe that about

the time at which Drigpal with his gang are stated to have been on the road between Mow and Baroda and to have murdered the Soubadar near Dhar reason was given for a belief that one or more individuals belonging to the Bombay Force in Malwa were murdered by Thug gangs in their progress along the road in question, and one or two of them near to Dhar; and a number of men were actually taken up at the time in the Mow cantonment under strong suspicion of their being one of these gangs but were released again from a want of proof against them.

Mhow.

5. While on the subject I may observe that the comprehensive set of proceedings taken with the gangs of Thugs dwelling in the Bundelkund and Gwalior direction, and the examples that have been made of some of them and have been kept hanging over others, have been attended apparently with very beneficial effects. They would now appear to feel that they are well known and cannot reckon on pursuing the vocation of Thugs with the same impunity as heretofore. There are evidences too, as will be found in the enclosed documents, of the proceedings taken against them having had the effect of generating suspicions, deadly enmities and divisions among them, which by destroying their confidence in one another must have a considerable tendency to break up their associations; and it becomes a matter of importance that the impression should not be allowed to weaken by any appearance of laxity or unnecessary leniency in regard to them on our part. It may be attributed as a consequence of the proceedings we have been taking with them and the impression created thereby, that no gangs of the kind have infested Malwa that I can hear of during the past season, whereas scarcely a season passed before in which this province has been free from visitations from them.

Bundelkhand.

I have, &c.,
 (Sd.) G. WELLESLEY,
Resident.

Proceedings of Mr. Fraser, Acting Agent in the Saugor and Nurbudda Territories dated the 4th November 1829

Government Prosecutor, in the case of Bukut, Kinda, Gungaram, Khemolee and Bhikaree, sent from Jhansee, and Motee, Dhirrooa, Drigpal, and Ramchund brought in prisoners from Gwalior.

Jhansi.

In the year 1828 Kullian Sing, Jumadar of Thugs, Baz Khan, Dowlut and other informers gave in a list of the names of 23 robbers who were inhabitants of the Jhansee country. The list was sent to the Agent in Bundelcund with a Roobukaree requesting that the offenders might be apprehended and in consequence of the injunctions of that gentleman the Soabadar of Jhansee seized five of the individuals above mentioned and sent them to this place with some of the Sahookears' property which was found in their possession. The examination of the

Jhansi.

Bundelkhand.

prisoners took place on the 21st January 1828 when it appeared that they had not been engaged in robbing the house of Seetaram Jeewan Ram at Jubbulpore, but it was shown by the evidence of the informer Motee, that they had plundered the remittance of Dhunraj Phokur Mull between Malygam and Dhoolia, consisting of Jewels, gold and silver, to the amount of 23,000 Rupees, and murdered the seven persons who were in charge of it.

A Roobukaree was afterwards received from the Resident at Gwalior enclosing an Urzee from Kishen Purshad, Holkur's Vukeel at Sindia's Durbar, stating that the informers Motee and Dhirrooa had been engaged in plundering the remittance of Dhunraj Phokur Mull between Malygam and Dhoolia. An English letter with statement to the same purport was subsequently received from the Resident at Indore. A letter has also lately arrived from the Resident at Nagpore enclosing an Urzee from Manik Ram Goomastha of Dhunraj Phokur Mull requesting that Motee and Dhirrooa might be sent to Gwalior or Alumpoor in order that the plundered property might be recovered.

Malegaon Dhuli. It appears that the five prisoners sent from Jhansee, though not implicated in the Jubbulpore robbery were engaged in plundering the remittance near Malygam. The Statements received from Gwalior and Indore represent that the informers Motee and Dhirrooa were also parties in the latter offence and the Resident at Gwalior from a belief in their guilt put them both in irons and sent them back from that place where they had gone for the purpose of pointing out Dacoits. Under the circumstances it is necessary that the five Jhansee prisoners with the property found upon them, the two informers Motee and Dhirrooa, and also Drigpal and Ramchund who have been brought in from the Gwalior Country, should all be sent to Indore in order that they may point out the property of Dhunraj Phokur Mull, and they are directed to be sent accordingly under a suitable guard.

* * * *

To
G. WELLESLEY, ESQR.,
Resident at Indore.

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of the 8th Ultimo, submitting the proceedings regarding six prisoners now in the custody of Captain Borthwick, under a presumption of their being Thugs.

Bundelkhand.

2. With respect to four of the number, namely, Bukkut, Kinda, Gungaram and Khemaly, His Lordship in Council deems it the most advisable course that, as suggested by you, those individuals should be forwarded under safe custody to the Agent to the Governor-General in Bundelcund, with the present evidence against them, in order that he may prosecute the enquiry regarding their guilt and identity, when he will be directed to report the result of his investigation for the final orders of Government.

3. The property found in their possession may be made over to the Sahookars as recommended in the 3rd paragraph of your letter.

4. Regarding the remaining two prisoners, Drigpaul and Ram Chand, His Lordship in Council, views with some suspicion, the evidence of the Thug Leaders, Motee and Dhrrooa, who, it is stated, found it convenient for their own purposes to turn informers against them. It appears therefore that the most expedient procedure, will be to adopt the suggestion submitted by you in the 5th paragraph of your despatch that they should be sent to the Resident at Gwalior for the purpose of that Officer holding further enquiries into their case. You will accordingly be pleased to forward the two Prisoners to the Acting Resident and he will be instructed to report his proceedings to Government, when orders will be passed on their case.

5. The information contained in the concluding paragraph of your letter, of the good effect already produced by the measures adopted against the Thugs, is highly satisfactory. His Lordship in Council trusts that by the continued zeal and activity of the local British Authorities, in tracing and bringing to trial and punishment on conviction, these common Pests of Society, the Thug association may be completely broken up and the Countries which have been the scene of their atrocities, be cleared of them entirely. With this view, it will be the duty of the several British Functionaries to maintain a frequent correspondence with each other, and communicate whatever new information they may acquire respecting their plans and rendezvous on the return of the season for their annual excursions.

I have, &c.,

(Sd.) G. SWINTON,

Chief Secretary to Government.

FORT WILLIAM :

8th October 1830.

To

F. C. SMITH, EsQUIRE,
*Agent to the Governor-General,
Saugor and the Nerbudda Territories.*

SIR,

With advertence to my separate Despatch under this date regarding certain Thugs apprehended at Indore, and to the accompanying copy of a letter which appeared in one of the periodical papers published at the Presidency, the Governor-General in Council deems the present a fitting opportunity for following up the recent proceedings against those barbarous associations, and endeavouring to extirpate the evil by the apprehension of all the notorious Leaders still at large.

Pol. Deptt.

2. With this view, you will be pleased to put yourself in communication with the Officer who was present at the execution of the 11 Thugs at Jubbulpore, and endeavour to ascertain

the Writer of the letter who appears to possess extensive knowledge of the character and habits of the Thugs, and to have acquired his information from those individuals who have been employed as approvers. You will request him to communicate to you such further particulars as may be consistent with his knowledge and calculated to promote the object in view of apprehending the Thug Sirdars still at liberty. You will then be pleased to consider the means of apprehending the parties alluded to, whether by the offer of rewards, the employment of spies near the Temple at which they are said to make their votive offerings before setting out on their periodical excursions, or in such other mode as may appear to be most advisable, and report your sentiments for the consideration of Government. It would be superfluous to caution you against the danger of the approvers who may be employed, conspiring for the sake of reward or from motives of enmity to accuse innocent individuals and convert their agency for the detection of criminals into a guilty source of gain or revenge for themselves.

3. It is to be presumed that the persons of the most notorious leaders are well known to their comrades now in custody, and one good security against imposition on the part of the informers would be, to obtain from them singly and without the privity of each other, a general list of all the noted Thugs known to them, with a description of their persons, age, native village, etc. These accounts might be compared with each other, and would serve as some check against false accusations on one hand, while on the other, they would strongly corroborate the evidence of identity, if an individual hereafter seized should be found to correspond with the description previously given by several approvers without previous communication with each other.

4. Another useful purpose which would be answered by collecting from all quarters descriptions of the persons of notorious Thugs would be, the spread of general alarm amongst those leaders every one of whom would become distrustful of his associates, lest he should be betrayed and delivered up to the British authorities; and thus the most successful means would be employed of breaking up the formidable bands which have hitherto been assembled every season for extensive and distant excursions.

5. His Lordship in Council relies on the approved zeal and activity already displayed by yourself and Captain Sleeman, in bringing to condign punishment, some of the most notorious of these inhuman wretches, and if through your instrumentality, the abominable race of Thugs should be ultimately exterminated, your services in the cause of humanity, would entitle you to the highest meed of applause.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient, Humble servant,
G. W. SWINTON,
Chief Secretary to Government

FORT WILLIAM :
8th October 1830.

COPIES
No. 32

To

G. SWINTON, Esqr.,
Chief Secretary to Government,
Fort William.

SIR,

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.

2. These proceedings detail so fully the system pursued by these Murderers that any comment or observations on them seem quite superfluous, the guilt[y] of the party being established beyond all doubts. 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 circumstances 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 on their expedition including of course everything of value.

3. 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.

4. 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 these Gangs particularly difficult; and I therefore 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.

5. 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 these to whom pardon has been promised, ought, I conceive, either to be banished from Hindoostan or confined for life.

I have, &c.,
 (Sd.) J. STEWART,
Resident

INDORE :

12th August 1829.

Copy

To

MAJOR STEWART,
Officiating Resident,
Indore.

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch of the 12th August submitting copies of a letter from Captain Borthwick and of proceedings held by him in the case of a Gang of Thugs, and to communicate to you the following observations and orders of the Governor-General in Council on the subject.

2. Captain Borthwick is considered to merit great praise for the seizure of so large a Gang of those atrocious criminals and for the full and satisfactory evidence which he has obtained of their guilt. The depositions of Amaun-oolla and the other four accomplices who came forward on the promise of pardon afford the strongest proof of the whole of the Prisoners belonging to the Gang, and of the numerous murders committed by them in the course of their progress through the several countries, which were the scene of their depredations. The discovery of the dead bodies in the places pointed out by Amaun-oolla, and the production and identification of some of the property found in the possession of the Gang, as detailed in the proceedings held by Captain Borthwick confirm the depositions of the five Evidence, and establish the guilt of the parties beyond the possibility of doubt. His Lordship in Council observes that one of the evidence, Khaimrauj deposed to no less than 71 Murders.

3. These murders having been perpetrated in territories belonging to various Native Chiefs, and the perpetrators being inhabitants of various Districts belonging to different authorities, there is no Chief, in particular, to whom we could deliver them up for punishment, as their Sovereign or as the Prince of the Territory in which the crime had been committed.

4. The hand of these inhuman monsters being against every one and there being no country within the range of their annual excursions, from Bundelcund to Guzeraut, in which they have not committed murder, it appears to His Lordship in Council

that they may be considered like Pirates, to be placed without the pale of social law, and be subjected to condign punishment by whatever authority they may be seized and convicted.

5. Under this view of the case and advertting to the relative situation of the British Government as the paramount power, the Governor-General in Council has no hesitation in authorizing and directing capital punishment to be inflicted on the leaders, and all of the Gang, who shall be proved to have been employed as the stranglers. With regard to those who in decoying and enticing the victims to their fate, or in aiding to remove and conceal the bodies, must be held to be accessories both before, and after the fact, they are equally criminal as the principals and deserving the same punishment of death, but His Lordship in Council authorizes you to commute the sentence of Capital punishment into transportation for life with hard labour beyond seas, or confinement for a certain term of years according to the circumstances of each particular case. Such of the Prisoners as have acted merely as followers of the Gang employment in the performance of Menial duties, such as Sypes, or Grass Cutters, and did not, as accomplices, share in the plunder, and Boys also, under 14 years of age, of whom there are three or four amongst the prisoners, are to be kept in confinement for such periods as you may consider proper.

6. His Lordship in Council conceives that much difficulty, with risk of escape, would attend the plan suggested by you of executing the individuals condemned to suffer death, each at his own village, and deems it more expedient that the whole on whom capital punishment is to be inflicted should be executed at the place where they are now confined. It will be proper to intimate to Holkar's Government the apprehension and conviction of the Gang, and the order which you have received for inflicting capital punishment on the murderers.

7. Previously to deciding on the fate of each individual Prisoner (seventy-four in number) the Governor-General in Council desires that you will instruct Captain Borthwick to call them up singly in the order of enclosure No. 11 of Captain Borthwick's letter, in which their defence is contained, and take the evidence of the five witnesses as to the identity of the individual, his degree of connection with the Gang, as Leader, accomplice, or menial, and compare the evidence as given by each of those five approvers. Captain Borthwick will also hear whatever the Prisoners may desire to offer further in their defence, and wherever a doubt may exist in his mind as to the fact of the Party being one of the Gang (notwithstanding the identification of one or more of the Evidence) that individual is to have the benefit of the doubt, and his case to be reserved for further orders. In the Depositions submitted with your Despatch the cases of the Prisoners are not given in the same numerical order in each, and it becomes difficult in some instances to know whether the witnesses refer to one and the same individual.

8. By the course of proceeding now directed, the first Prisoner to be identified according to list in Enclosure No. 11, is Omrao Sing. Each of the five Witnesses should be called

on in succession, and without the privity of one another to identify and name him, and Captain Borthwick will keep a record of the proceeding stating his own opinion, regarding the establishment of the Prisoner's guilt, and the punishment to which, with reference to the observation in a preceding part of this Letter, the Prisoner is subject. Captain Borthwick having completed these proceedings, will submit them to you, and you will pass final sentence on all those deserving of capital punishment and direct it to be carried into execution. Those adjudged to transportation beyond seas are to be sent under a suitable escort to Bombay, to be kept in custody there until the receipt of orders from hence, which will be sent without delay. The individuals who are to suffer temporary imprisonment, will be retained where they now are, and you will receive the final instructions of Government on the receipt of your report, and Captain Borthwick's further proceedings as above directed.

Bundelkhand.

9. With respect to the five witnesses to whom Captain Borthwick promised pardon, it does not appear, whether unconditional release on the conviction of their associates was distinctly pledged to them or not. Considering the past course of life which those individuals who have taken an active share in all the atrocities to which they depose, have led, His Lordship in Council feels extremely reluctant to let them again loose upon Society without security for their future good behaviour. If by pardon was only meant that their lives which had been forfeited by their crimes, should be spared, they may be considered to be treated with great lenity if no severer punishment be inflicted than confinement until they can give good security, and you will be pleased to send them under a guard to the care of the Governor-General's Agent in Bundelcund, with whom you will arrange as to the time of their despatch, and the place where they may be delivered over to the Escort, which that Officer may propose to send to the Frontier of his Jurisdiction, for the purpose of relieving the Guard which may be sent from Mahidpore. The Agent to the Governor-General will receive instructions regarding their disposal until they can furnish such security as he may see proper to accept. You will apprise the five Individuals of this decision in order that they may know their destination and adopt means for obtaining the security required.

Bundelkhand.

10. You will further apprise them that if by their means the Leaders and others of the Gang who separated from them some time before their seizure with the intention of returning to Bundelcund, or who made their escape when the rest were arrested, can be apprehended and convicted, they will establish a claim to further consideration and indulgence.

Bundelkhand.

11. It is the intention of Government to authorize the offer of a reward of one thousand Rupees for the apprehension of Heera, Ruttiram and any others whose names may be given by the approvers as notorious Leaders of Thugs. You will be pleased to communicate to the authorities in Bundelcund who will be authorized to offer the rewards above mentioned, whatever further information you may receive from their late associates.

12. Copies of the Depositions of the five Evidence will be communicated to the Judges and Magistrates of all the Districts where the system of Thuggism has prevailed, and it is not unlikely that the evidence of the Individuals in question, while they may remain in confinement in Bundelcund may be of use, in convicting Thug offenders, against which it might otherwise be difficult to bring proof.

I have, etc.,
 (Sd.) G. W. SWINTON,
Chief Secretary to Government.

FORT WILLIAM :
 23rd October 1829.

**Deposition of Amanoolah Phansygur admitted to give Evidences
 a Mussalman age about 50 years**

I am one of the Gang of Phansigurs now in confinement and with my associates was stopped in the month of Bysak last, at the village Dekola about 7 or 8 Coss northward of Bheelwara as we were returning to our homes in Hindostan. At this place a party of 8 or 10 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 they professed it 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 Phansigurs at the same time 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 to me 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 Phansygurs 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

Bhilwara.
 Hindustan.

Bhilwara.

Jaora.

Bundelkhand.
Datia.

Ujjain.

Gujarat.

Hindustan.

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 Phansyur but freely and fully state all that occurs to my memory to mention. I have been connected with these Phansygurs 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 Maudun Jemadar now a prisoner which consists chiefly of Mussulmans and is called the Mussalman Gang. According to the custom of all these Gangs of Phansygurs of proceeding at certain seasons to distant countries in quest of plunder (generally after the rains) our Jemadar Maudun 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 Dhuttia, on our sixth stage we came to the banks of a Nulla where there was a good deal of Jungle. There a Mussulman traveller on his way to Baroda who called himself a Mullah 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 Lebada and a straight double edged sword both of which are amongst the things seized upon us; other things of trifling value belonging to these Mussalman 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 Oogien. From Oogien we proceeded to Baroda by the usual stages without committing any murder or robbery on the way with only one exception about 5 Goss from the latter Town. This was upon the persons of a Hajam and Byragy who fell into our hands at the stage before we reached Baroda, and were murdered a short time after night had set in. A red woollen cloth jacket now among the things taken upon us and a Tattoo also present (the other evidences do not confirm this of the Tattoo belonging to the Hajam) fell into our hands. What was found upon the Byragy, 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 (prisoners) 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 Ruttiram Jemadar with their bands arrived and the day after that the Brahmin with his band set out on his return to Hindooostan. 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 them and coming up to them near an English Cantonment murdered them but were much disappointed to find that they were only poor stone-cutters 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 Baorda and made a stage of about three or four Coss where a Hadgee met with his fate at our hands. Our next act was the murder of two Besatees. 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 Palankeen 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 Mahajuns 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 Byragy's place where we made a good meal having killed three sheep for the purpose. Having finished our meal we took the road again without 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 Atta, Ghee, etc., for our meal at the end of the day's journey and halted at a Baulee where there was a large bur 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 Telingy 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 Ruttyram with 20 or 30 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 Coss beyond Neemuch four travellers apparently Poorbies 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 Hoondee which was burnt. A small Hooka belonging to him fell into my hands and is now in my possession. About 12 Coss further at the Village of Sanganair where we halted we formed an acquaintance with four travellers apparently Bunnyahs 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.

Ratlam.

Jaora.

Nimach.

Cross-examined.—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

Deccan
Khandesh, Aurangabad, Poona.

the Phansygurs and on 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 Dekhun. We passed through Candeish, visited Auringabad, Poonah and Hyderabad 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 the spots where most of the above mentioned murders were committed particularly those more recently perpetrated as being more fresh in my recollection. My connexion with the Phansygurs arose from the marriage of my two daughters with Bhuggy and Nuggoo two of the Gang and brothers of Heera, 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 Mandan's band, is a branch of the Gangs of Oomrao and Makhun who are the principal leaders of the Thugs from the Country about Jhansy, Dhuttia, Sampter, 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 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 Mussalman, am about 50 years of age and before I joined the Thugs followed the occupation of Elephant Keeper in the service of Nang Jalonewalah. In Jalone I lived for many years but am a Native of Singy Rampura. Mundesore is the name of the large Town we passed and without stopping proceeded 4 or 5 Coss further to a large Bur 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 Mahajun 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 Dekhun and we arrived in that quarter before anything 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; but in the Dekhun information was brought by our spies of treasure passing through the country on Agriahs which induced Oomrao to take a select Band of about 30 men and go after it directing the

Jhansi
Datia, Samthar.

Rampura.

Ratlam.

Bundelkhand.

Deccan.

Deccan.

remainder of his gang to remain in the neighbourhood of the place where we then were until he re-joined 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 18 Coss before they came up with the Augriahs 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, Pootlies 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. Mandan Jemadar is only the leader of the gang I belong to in conjunction with Heera Jemadar who is properly speaking the principal. Heera escaped at the time we were apprehended at Dekhola.

* * * *

(Sd.) W. BORTHWICK,
Political Agent.

**Deposition of Kaimraj Phansygur submitted to give evidence,
Caste Lohar, age about 50 years**

I was seized in the Month of Bysak last by a party of Horsemen at the village of Dekola in Mewar along with my companions who form the Gang of Phansygurs 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 Phansygurs 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 25 or 30 who were some time before sent to find their way home with the plunder we had then acquired 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 Towns 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

Bhilwara

Bhilwara.
Jaora.

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 anything. I therefore now come forward to disclose fully and truly all that I know regarding the Phansygurs 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.

Budelkhaand.

Samthar.

Sironj.

The fact is this that the Gang of Phansygurs now in custody is composed of men from the Bundelcund quarter. Makhun Jemadar (Prisoner) and his party are inhabitants of Sillaree Punharee in the Pergannah of Samptre, Oomrao Singh Jemadar (Prisoner) and his party came from the village Mallaitra, Purgunnah Palir, and different villages in that Pergannah, Mandan another Jemadar (Prisoner) and his party all Mussulmans come from the Village Mote and thereabouts in the Jhansi Pergunnah. My immediate superior Brikbhan Duffadur 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 Dirkpal Subadar (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 Dirkpal and Mandan 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 and all in which they have been concerned since I have been associated with them I speak from personal knowledge. Our first stage from Mullaitra was three Coss near to Jhansee. The next 10 or 12 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 Baulee. The next morning we continued our journey without doing anything. The stage following about the middle of it we came to a river where we found four Sepoys cooking their meal whom, after making our 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 at the moment have perceived the design of the party or from his extraordinary efforts to have 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 great 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 *Rasdharries 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 Munder and Boulee near to Bhopaul, where at night we murdered them and plundered them of all they had which was something about 40 or 50 rupees. There is a †Meerdung 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 Nalah 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 in the neighbourhood of Indore. The next morning about a Coss on our way we met a gang of fellow Phansygurs returning to Bundelcund from an excursion which they had set out two or three months before; they were chiefly Mussalmans and between 20 and 25 in number: when we met them they were following two Puckalies 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 Puckalies 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 Hindoostan. Finding by our spies that they had property we pretended that we were also going to Hindoostan 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 offer [ed] 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 Hoondees 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 Rago-ghur (in the Dewass Pergunnah). We three took up our quarters in a Tope near the Village. In the course of the day our spies formed an acquaintance with a subadar of Telingies

Bhopal.

Bhopal.

Bundelkhand.

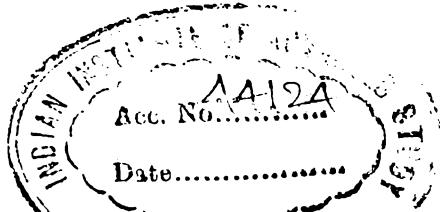
Bhopal.

Poona.

Hindustan.

Raghugarh Dewas

*Strolling actors who recite and exhibit the history and exploits of Kunnya.
†A hand Drum.



(sepoys of the Company's army) who with two sepoys had arrived there and taken up their lodging in the Bazar of the Village. Our spies so imposed upon them that they prevailed upon them to quit the Bazar 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 Sepoy's Topies which belonged to them besides a Tattoo (bay colour) now amongst those seized with us, and three Bullocks fell into our hands. The subadar and the two Sepoys we understood, had come from some Chawny, and were proceeding to Hindostan on leave. The Topies and the Jackets were burnt and the Bullocks disposed of some days afterwards in the Bazar at Dhar. A chatta which belonged to the subadar is amongst the things seized upon us when we were apprehended. Here also and on the same night on which we murdered the subadar and sepoys, a man of the Kachee* tribe who had come from the Cantonment of Mhow and taken up his quarters with us was murdered and his property plundered. Four Rupees in money, a Thalee and a Lotah was 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 $\frac{1}{2}$ of a Coss and buried. The next day we proceeded by the Cantonment of Mhow 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 Ragoghur. There (at Dhar) we remained three days waiting for our friends who were absent namely the four who were sent from the Powa Nalah to convey to our homes the plunder we had then acquired. They after an absence of about 20 or 25 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 subadar 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 Ragoghur until we reached Dhar we had done nothing but after our arrival there a Mussalman who came from Mhow on his way to Baroda was persuaded to encamp at the Tope along with us. In the evening or shortly after night-fall 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 Bara Hutt, a place on our route, so called, we met a Sahookar attended by four Sepoys with a Tattoo and a Bullock on his way to Baroda. The Jemadars and all our people by the most pointed attention and civility cultivated the Sahookar'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 Dookans and

*Cultivator of vegetables.

a stream of water flowed past it. We set the Sahookar's Bullock loose in the Jungle retaining the Tattoo which was with us until we arrived at Jawud (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 Sahookar and his attendants that they came from Oogien or Indore I forget which and it was thought probable that some of their friends or relations hearing of our apprehension would come and recognize it. From the place where the Sahookar and the Sepoys were murdered three moderate stages as well as I remember brought us to Oodeypore where a Rajah resides. Here we found a Gentleman who was on his way to Mhow 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 Mhow 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 Dirkpal 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 Coss or two daily. At Makney we halted a little distance from the Town and it happened that five Telingees (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 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 Hoodees were also found upon them and a Tattoo 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 Coss from this Town we met a Mussalman and Brahmin travelling together who had come from Dhulia Mallygam. 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 Tattoo laden with opium, beside 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 Cotwal 25 Rupees Mahsool on the sale. We here found eighteen Phansygurs of the Mussalman Gang with their leaders Mandun Jemadar (and Heera's, the former Prisoner) and Amanoollah (evidence), etc., who had been with Dirkpal and his party but not satisfied with what they had got remained behind to acquire more and joined us. We remained at Baroda three days during which Makhun Jemadar (prisoner) purchased different articles, clothes, etc., to the amount of about 40 Rupees. We afterwards proceeded on the Baroach road. For the first four or five days following our departure from Baroda nothing fell to our hands. We were within 7 Coss of Baroach when the day of the Hooly Festival arrived which we celebrated with due festivity making

Ujjain.

Udaipur.

Dhulia Malegaon
Bhopal

a halt for that purpose. At this place three travellers, two Musulmans and a Byragy passing the place where we were, were seduced into our power and murdered but I do not now remember what amount or description of property was found upon them. From thence we struck off the Baroach road and proceeded upon that of Joanuggur and Dwarka and leaving the high way made several stages in the direction of these places without falling in with any thing, in the course of which several fordable salt-water inlets crossed our path and one of which cost us 5 Rupees to be ferried over. As I have just said four or five stages had been performed without anything falling into our hands when one morning as we arrived at Pitlawud to which Town we had been steering our course some of our spies who had been absent on the look out returned with accounts that they had seen four travellers proceeding to Baroda with considerable property and they calculated that they would reach Baroda the same night from the distance they were when our spies left them. On learning this twenty-five men the stoutest and most active of the Gang were selected and sent in pursuit of them; the rest following as they were able and after a long and fatiguing march the detached party overtook the objects of their pursuit, a short distance from a cantonment belonging to the English and after accompanying them a little way fell upon and murdered them as they were walking along the road. To the great disappointment and chagrin of us all no property was found upon them for they turned out to be common stone-cutters and their tools tied up in bundles which they carried over their shoulders deceived the spies into the supposition that they were carrying treasure. The next day the principal part of the Gang that was behind joined the party detached on this job when we all took the road for Baroda. At one of our stages and near where we had stopped for the day, some horse-dealers came with horses and took up their quarters. At night we held a consultation to murder them and seize their property which we were only deterred from doing (though there were fifteen or sixteen including attendants) by the difficulty of disposing of the bodies of so many men in an open and frequented country such as it was where we were. In devising plans to get over this difficulty, so much of the night had passed that we considered it advisable to forego our designs upon this party. The same night Thieves came amongst us and carried off clothes and other things from Makhun Jemadar (prisoner). From this we proceeded to Baroda and after remaining there a day or two set out on our return to Hindostan. At the distance of about three Coss from Baroda three travellers fell into our hands and were murdered. I do not remember what property was found upon them. Our next stage was to within a short distance of the Town of Dubhoy where four men Bessaties (pedlars) with three Tattoos and their packs of wares, whom we had overtaken on the road were prevailed upon to take up their quarters with us. In the evening they were murdered and plundered. Their wares consisted of various articles of trifling value amongst which were a quantity of cornelian-stones cut into different forms, serrotas (beetle-nut cutters), coarse scissors, etc., and in money something about ten or twenty rupees were found upon them. At this place also our spies brought three men to our resting place whom they had enticed to come and

take up their quarters with us—one a Byragy and the other two having the appearance of Mussalmans. They likewise were murdered and their bodies stripped of what was upon them and buried. The next day we left Dubhoy and met six Palankeen Bearers who had been in service at Baroda and were proceeding to their country in Hindostan: with them were two women and two children in all ten persons. We persuaded them to join us and they accordingly proceeded along with us. At the first stage they took up their quarters in an old Temple in the Village by which circumstances we were there prevented from effecting our purpose upon them: on the way the next morning in the jungle it was accomplished: the whole were murdered and their bodies after being stripped of everything were buried a short distance from the road. On this occasion more previous arrangement was thought necessary than was usual where the victims were fewer in number and as it was resolved to despatch them on the journey while they were walking along in our company; accordingly some of the most expert hands at the business were fixed upon to despatch them; and a party whose business it was in the Gang was sent on before to prepare graves at a convenient spot for the bodies. A Tattoo and Tattoo mare belonging to them fell into our hands, also some base metal was taken off the legs of the woman with neck and other silver ornaments of small value; besides, other articles were found upon them which I cannot specify. From thence we proceeded to our ground on the Banks of a River, I think the Mhye, and encamped in four separate parties near to a village called Fettehpore. Here it happened that four Mussulman travellers from Bombay on their way to Bhopaul arrived and halted near one of our parties (that which had its place under a Kurny Tree), communication was immediately opened with the travellers and an acquaintance soon formed which terminated in their being murdered in the evening and their property plundered. They had five Menahs in a cage and four Tattoos which with their clothes and other things we took possession of. From thence our stage was Odeypore where we met a number of hackeries from Mhow laden with opium and escorted by Telingies (Company's sepoys). One of the Telingies remarked on seeing us that persons of the same description* in appearance had been seized at the cantonment: this being made known amongst us threw us into some apprehension and we took up our halting-ground at a retired spot in the jungle near a fountain of water. A party of Horsemen from Baroda with some sepoys and a Zenana Meeana† arrived and took up their quarters for the day in the Bazar where the prisoner Makhun Jemadar happened to be sitting at the time. One of the Horsemen observing him rather attentively remarked to one of his companions standing by him that "the mala (necklace) upon that man", pointing to Makhun appeared to be exactly the same as belonged to his Brother. This so disconcerted Makhun at the time though the Horseman did not follow up his remark by any question, that he immediately slipped off and on hearing from

Palanquin bearers.

Bhopal.

Udaipur.

* A band of strangers was at this time seized at Mhow and examined by Mr. Wellesley and though there were circumstances of strong suspicion connected with them they were released from want of sufficient proof.

† A kind of Palankeen.

(Sd.) W. B.

him what had occurred we were all thrown into such alarm that early the same night we started and proceeded many Coss on the Jhabooa road before we thought it safe to halt. We afterwards continued our progress and arrived at Jhabooa from whence Oomrao and Ruttyram separated from Makhun, preceding him a short distance on the Rutlam road. Their first stage after leaving Jhabooa was Pitlawud and Makhun with his Gang was in their rear a few Coss. The next day they quitted Pitlawud and Makhun with our party halted there. We took up our quarters at a Bawlee outside the Town near which we found a Mahajun with four attendants preparing their meal. The Mahajun from his respectable appearance, his dress and the ornaments he wore became the object of our attention and design, but having hastily finished his meal he and attendants set out in prosecution of their Journey towards Rutlam and we saw nothing more of them; but we afterwards found that they had fallen into the hands of Oomrao and Ruttyram. From Pitlawud we proceeded to the vicinity of Rutlam encamping a little distance from the Town. We there met some of the men of the advanced parties who told us that they had despatched the Mahajun and his attendants a few Coss from Rutlam and that they had proved a rich prize to which Makhun replied in a dissatisfied tone that good luck seemed to attend where the Mussulmans were. From Rutlam we took the Peeplodah road with the view to avoid Jowrah. Oomrao also deviated a little from the Jawrah road and met us at Dhodur the stage on the high road beyond Jawrah, and we afterwards proceeded together. On our way hereabouts we were searched once or twice for opium but none being found upon us we were allowed to proceed without further molestation. It was at Dhodur that some slight misunderstanding that subsisted between Oomrao and Ruttyram was reconciled and things went on as usual. Our stage from Dhodur was to a convenient spot where we halted for the night. We next day passed Mundesor and proceeding about four or five Coss further halted near a village under a large spreading Bur Tree and where there is a Nagara kept by a Fukeer who resides there. A Mussulman traveller here fell into our hands and was murdered during the night in the early part of it and buried a little distance from the road on the banks of a Nullah. The next morning we resumed our Journey and having proceeded a Coss or so we sat down at a Well where after some consultation it was determined to send Ruttyram with twenty or twenty-five men by the most direct route to our Country with the plunder which we had acquired. Ruttyram accordingly here left us, and the next morning we took the Neemuch road. Our stage was about a Coss or two on the other side (North side) of the Cantonment where we halted a day. At this place four travellers were enticed by our spies to rest themselves at the spot where we were, when on opportunity offering they were murdered and their property plundered. A stage or two beyond this another traveller fell into our hands and was murdered. And near the Village of Sanganeer four Bunnyahs were murdered. Of this last act I was informed by my companions, not having been present when it was committed. Nothing further occurred until we arrived at Dekollah where, as I have already stated, we were arrested.

Piploda.

Jiora.

Cross-examined.—I know of no other act of murder and robbery committed by the Thugs besides those I have stated above.

This is the first time that I have accompanied the Thugs on any of their predatory excursions. Brikbhan persuaded me to do so. I have frequently heard them since I have been amongst them talk of the acts committed by them on former excursions but can only speak of my own knowledge of those I have above detailed. My occupation among them has been to watch at night against theft and also to keep a look out when murders were being perpetrated. Old men like myself were generally employed in this way; beyond this I never took any part in the commission of the murders.

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(Sd.) W. BORTHWICK,
Political Agent.

Deposition of Poorun Phansygur or Thug, Caste Loda, Age upward of 60 years, inhabitant of Buraicha near to Salany

My father was a cultivator in Buraicha and other villages in the neighbourhood which occupation I also followed but joined the Thugs when I was about 30 years of age and have since continued to be more or less connected with them. I have not however accompanied them on every excursion they have, since that period, made, but on the contrary for intervals of two, three, and even six years remained at home, and earned a subsistence by the cultivation of land. In short, I have been upon six predatory excursions altogether, four under a Leader named Oodey Singh since dead, and two (the present and the one preceding it) with Makhun Jemadar (prisoner) to whose Gang I belong. During one of the intervals above mentioned (the last) that I remained at home I was apprehended at Jalon on information of being a Thug and was kept some time in confinement, but the proof which I brought forward, of having for so many years been seen employed in cultivation, was the means of my regaining my liberty. This event however threw me into embarrassment and to get rid of it, I went to Salany to borrow money from Makhun Jemadar, who I knew had generally some at command, but he would only agree to relieve my necessities on condition that I brought my family to Sillany and became one of his men to which from the destitute state my family was in, I was forced to agree, and accordingly joined his Gang and as I have already stated accompanied him on the present and preceding excursions. Oodey Singh, my former Leader, was beyond the prime of life when I joined him. He was however an active and enterprizing man; but becoming in due course less fit for exertion such as his situation required and his son Koman having been seized with other Thugs and thrown into confinement at Jubbulpore affected Oodey Singh so much that he completely renounced the habit of Thug and shortly after died. After this I joined Makhun. It was before the establishment of tranquillity over the country that I served under Oodey Singh at which time our excursions were neither carried to so great a distance as they have since been, nor were so lucrative or certain, for in those days travellers particularly with much property seldom ventured to go from one place to another without being well escorted

or in large parties, and we feared the Pindaries and other mounted plunderers as much as other classes did—not connected with them. According to my engagement with Makhun I joined his Gang and set out with him on an excursion to the Dekhun about three months after I had engaged myself to him. His Gang on this occasion consisted of about 40 men and set out from Bundelcund in the month of Phagoon Sumbut 1883 (about March 1826) proceeding by regular stages crossed the Nerbudda at the Cheepaunair Ghaut where we fell in with Chotee Jemadar (Brahmin) who joined us with his Gang which was about the same strength as our own. We proceeded towards Mallygaon and at Jhokur near that cantonment celebrated the Hooly after which we returned our progress and reached Mallygaon where we struck off by the Nassuck road intending to turn from Nassuck to Poonah and Aurungabad. After proceeding a Coss or two on this road we met a friend belonging to Oomrao and Ruttyram's Gangs a relation of Makhun's who told us that these two Leaders with their Gangs were close at hand on the Poonah road in pursuit of some Augriahs with Treasure. It was proposed to Makhun to send a party of his men to join them in order to be entitled to a share in the spoil and he thought of going himself but recollecting that Oomrao and he were not on good terms, he sent 25 men with Chotee Jemadar. The next day we received a message from them that they had effected the business and that they were going on with Oomrao and Ruttyram to Bhooranpoor where they requested we would meet them. We accordingly proceeded to that quarter and found Chotee Jemadar with the party at Bhooranpoor, Oomrao and Ruttyram having proceeded to their homes before we arrived. From them we learnt that the Augriahs were attacked and murdered near Jhokur* where we had celebrated the Hooly and that no less a sum than †Rs. 22,000 was found upon their persons in gold, bullion, mohurs, and pootlies, and that as the share of our two gangs they had received 6,000. This sum was immediately disposed of so far that Makhun received 2,000 of it for himself and his Gang and a similar sum was given to Chotee Jemadar for himself and his Gang. These two sums were despatched to our homes. That sent by Chotee reached in safety but one of Makhun's men who went in charge of our share having got drunk at Jansy blabbed out the secret that he was a Thug, and with others was returning with a large amount of plunder upon which the Sirkar there had him and his comrades seized and the money taken from them. The remainder of the prize, namely, 2,000 Rupees was retained for the expenses of the two Gangs. After this disposal of the share of the plunder acquired from the Augriahs (which was allotted by Oomrao and his brother Ruttyram to our two gangs) we left Bhooranpoor and proceeded to Aurungabad but meeting with little or no success we returned by Dhoolia and Bhopaul to Bundelcund and arrived at our different homes before the rains set in. About four months or so after the termination of the rainy season in the beginning of the month of Mah, Makhun's gang, having been again assembled, set out on an excursion towards Guzerat and were accompanied by Oomrao and his brother Ruttyram with their gangs.

*The Evidence is not certain that this is exactly the name of the village.
(Sd.) W. B., Political Agent.

†The plunder of this sahokar's remittance is confirmed by the sahokars.

The account which the Evidence here gives of the route they took to Guzzerat and also that by which they returned until he and his associates were seized at Dekhola also of the different acts of murder and robbery committed by the united gangs of Oomrao, Ruttyram and Makhun on their way to Guzzerat and of those perpetrated by them after the accession at Baroda of Mandun's gang as well as of all other incidents and circumstances that took place during this excursion, corresponds in every important particular with that given by the Evidence Kaimraj and differs from it in the following trivial points only :—

Gujarat.

Gujarat.

Kaimraj states: Here also (Ragoghur) and on the same night on which we murdered the Subadar and Sepoys a man of the Kachee tribe who had come from the Cantonment of Now and taken up his quarters with us was also murdered, four rupees in money, a Thalee and Lota were found upon him.

Kaimraj has no recollection of meeting Budloo Jemadar and his Gang or of the murder and Robbery of the four travellers as stated by Poorun to have taken place on that occasion.

Kaimraj states: At a village the fourth or fifth stage beyond Oodeypore we met with Drikpal Brahmin with his gang returned from Baroda.

Kaimraj has no recollection of the Malwa Gang here mentioned by Poorun.

Poorun in addition to the facts of this act as stated by Kaimraj states that a Box containing musk was also found on the person of the Kachee which is now among the things taken in their possession when seized at Dekhola.

Poorun states: Five or six stages beyond Dhar on our way to Baroda we met Budloo Jemadar and his Gang returning from that quarter and with them were four travellers on whom they had formed designs; we remained with Badloo that day and the travellers were murdered the same night some little money was found upon them of which Oomrao and Makhun received a share.

Udaipur.

Poorun states: The day after arrival at Baroda Drikpal, Heera and Mandun who had been traversing the Guzerat quarter arrived. The next day Drikpal left Baroda for Bundelcund and Heera and Mandun having hitherto been unsuccessful remained with their gangs and joined us.

Poorun states that where we (he and his associates) halted after the murder of the stone-cutters, we met a gang of Thugs from Malwa consisting of about 20 men. They came shortly after we had taken up our ground and being of the same cutting as ourselves and personally known to some of us took up their quarters along with us.

After leaving Baroda on their return to Hindoostan there is the following difference in the Evidence of Kaimraj and Poorun :—

Kaimraj states: At a distance of about three Coss from Baroda three travellers fell into our hands and were murdered. I do not remember what property was found upon them.

Poorun states: At our stage about three Coss from Baroda, Mandun and his Gang inveigled a Hadjee to take up his quarters with them whom they murdered the same night. This is the only murder that as far as I am aware of was perpetrated here.

Further at their halting ground at the Town of Dabha after coinciding in every particular in their evidence regarding the murder and robbery of the four Bussatties :—

Kaimraj states: After this place also our spies brought three men to our resting place whom they had enticed to come and take up their quarters with us one a Byraggy and the other having the appearance of Mussulmans ; they likewise were murdered and their bodies stripped of what was upon them and buried.

Chitor.
Bhilwara.
Bhilwara.

Poorun states: At this place also our spies enticed two Mussulmans to our encampment who were likewise murdered.

Poorun has no recollection of the Byraggy mentioned by Kaimraj.

Poorun states : At Chetore we fell in with 12 travellers, Marwaries, four of whom were going in the direction of Bheelwara and eight of them took a direction to the right of the Bheelwara road ; Makhun and his Gang took in hand the four proceeding direct to Bheelwara and murdered them near the village of Sanganaier. Oomrao accomplished the same with the eight persons he went and rejoined us at Dekhola.

Cross-examined.—Such acts as those above mentioned being of too common occurrence with people of our habits to make much impression upon me or any of my associates who had long been familiar with them, or to excite a curiosity among us to enquire into the particular circumstances attending the acquisition of plunder by parties detached from the main body and therefore it cannot be a matter of any surprise if some of the murders and Robberies committed may have escaped my recollection or of which I have no particular knowledge, but I have without reserve stated all that my memory serves me to mention with every circumstance attending them. I have never since I have belonged to the Thugs known one single instance of Robbery committed by them without the previous destruction of life, almost invariably by strangulation. This is effected either by means of a Roomal or shred of cloth well twisted and wetted or merely by the hands though the latter is rarely practised and only had recourse to from accidental failure in the former and usual mode. On a preconcerted signal being given, the victim or victims are instantly over-powered and the perpetration whether by the Roomal, or hands only, is a business of the moment. In perpetrating murder it is an invariable point with the Thugs to avoid spilling the blood of their victims, but if possible to take their lives by suffocation. This point is attended to with a view to leave no traces of murder by which suspicion of the deed might be excited in the minds of people passing the spot, and detection ensue. In the hurry, however, in which it is necessary sometimes to dispose of the bodies the holes are frequently not dug to such dimensions as to contain them in a whole state particularly when there is a good number to be disposed of, the bodies are cut into pieces and closely packed in them. When these holes are near the side of a road, which is generally the case and especially when in an open and exposed spot, after they are filled up with earth, fires are burnt over them in order to remove all appearance of the earth being newly

turned. Murders in the manner I have just described are with equal facility and certainty of accomplishment, and as frequently perpetrated while the victims are walking along the road as when they have been enticed to our places of encampment for the purpose and unconscious of what is to befall them are sitting amongst us with every thing carefully and leisurely arranged for their destruction. These murders are frequently perpetrated contiguous to villages where we encamp and have enticed strangers to take up their quarters with us; they take place generally before the twilight is completely over and night has set in, and always while the business is going on, the hand drum is beat and singing commenced to drown any noise that might be made by the victims. The different persons actually engaged commence their operations simultaneously, and by signal given which of course is preconcerted but at the same time quite arbitrary generally a common course expression is made use of not likely to strike the attention of the victims, such as "Tumbakoo lao" (bring tobacco). A Roomal or shred of cloth twisted on the occasion is the only implement which the Thugs use for strangling. I have never seen the Phansy or Noose made of cord used, though I am well aware of the general supposition that it is by such an implement people are strangled by us, but if such an implement had ever been in use of which I have great doubt, it has long since been laid aside for the obvious reason that on any incidental occasion of being seized it would inevitably lead to detection. Oomrao, Makhun and all the other Jemadars or leaders keep up a direct understanding with the Local authorities in Bundelcund in whose limits they and their followers reside and invariably on their return from an excursion conciliate their forbearance and favor by suitable Nuzzeranas. Assistance and support from English authorities being likewise indispensable, these are through artifice also obtained. The Jemadars and leaders have no direct intercourse themselves in this instance but through the medium of emissaries, who by misrepresentation and falsehood frequently contrive to extricate them from the difficulties which persons of our habits are constantly liable to be involved in. A relation of Oomrao's named Motee and a person named Lala Hajam an inhabitant of Secundra render important services in this way. Motee who was formerly a practical Thug has discontinued for some years going on predatory excursions. He first brought himself into notice with the Gentlemen by informing against a Gang which in consequence was seized and confined at Jubbulpoor where I believe the greater part still remains. Motee has ever since advanced in the favor of the Gentlemen making them suppose that he acts as a check upon the Thugs and other plunderers, at least he makes all this appear to us to be the case and in consequence exercises great influence over us making us pay well for his connivance and the good offices he no doubt frequently performs in our behalf. Oomrao, Ruttyram, Heera, Mandun and their Gangs are those for whom he more especially exerts himself to protect and assist.

Lala Hajam is the patron of Makhun and by means of representations to different persons of his acquaintance in the service of the Adalut at Cawnpore he renders great assistance to Makhun in getting him through matters of difficulty. Makhun when he

Burhanpur.

returned to Bundelcund from the excursion preceding the present one, after ascertaining the mishap that befell the share of plunder he sent from Bhoorapoore, had, as was usual with him in similar cases, recourse to his patron Lala Hajam. Lala lost no time in waiting upon his friend Mahdee Moonshee at Cawnpore to whom he represented matters in such a light that the Moonshee wrote himself or had an injunction written by his superiors to the Jansy Rajah, saying that it having been made known that he (the Rajah) had seized four travellers passing through his boundaries and plundered them of their property, the persons so treated being of respectable and inoffensive character he was directed to set them at liberty and restore to them the property he had taken from them. A day or two before the receipt of this letter of injunction the Rajah had released Makhun's men having in the first instance made them give him an acquittance for the money he had taken from them, but now thinking that as the matter had come to the knowledge of the English he would get a bad name with them and also lose the money unless he could prove that the men he had taken it from were Thugs and that their true character had been misrepresented, he (the Rajah) sent after them and had them again apprehended. I do not know what afterwards became of those men of Makhun's or what was the final result of the business. Besides Lala Hajam who manages matters in his favor through his acquaintances at the courts and kutcheries at Cawnpore, Etawah, Hummeerpoor, Auria, and Mynpoor, Makhun has a great friend and supporter in the Jhansi Vakeel who resides at Hummeepoorah named Gunnesh Lall. Oomrao may have other patrons besides his relation Mottee who watches over his interests principally at Jubbulpore. Makay Sahib at Kytah is a great friend of Mottee's and it was from him that he obtained the English pass which Oomrao showed to the Horsemen when we were apprehended at Dekola. In passing through a country, so great a number of men together as our Gangs sometimes present is certainly calculated to excite suspicion, but when this happens to be the case we are always prepared with some story or explanation to ward it off. Few of us carry arms perhaps among 15 or 20 persons two or three swords may be found but not more. When Thugs meet though strangers there is some thing in their manner that soon discovers itself to each other and to assure the surmise thus excited one exclaims, "Alee Khar" which on being repeated by the other party a recognition of each others' habits takes place but this is never followed by a disclosure of past acts. We do use certain terms to distinguish particular circumstances and events connected with our proceedings which are known to ourselves alone, *viz.*—

The persons whose office it is to strangle the victims are called—Ludda also Bullod.

Those who dig the graves or holes—Lucka.

Those who carry away the bodies—Gutree Walon.

Scout or spy—Tulha.

A traveller on whom designs are formed—Beetoo.

If a Mussulman—Sultan Beetoo.

If a Hindoo—Bundoo Beetoo.

Etawah.
Hamirpur.
Auraiya.
Jhansi.
Hamirpur.

A murder committed at the halting place or ground of Encampment—Tapa.
 A murder committed while the victims are walking along the road if during the day—Phoolkee.
 If during the nights—Kootub.
 The spot where the bodies are buried—Kurma.
 The spot where the murder is committed—Bale.
 A female victim—Enud.
 A child victim—Chumote.
 A Horse—Poorakna also Pootra.
 A Bullock—Lubba.
 A Sword—Lumberee.
 Matchlock—Puttakee.
 Turban—Akassee.
 Dhotee—Kurdhunny.
 Diamonds—Kukrya.
 Gold—Sirya.
 Silver or Roopee—Peeky.
 Gold Mohurs—Tandy.
 A Ring—Pullya.
 Pearls—Punnyara.
 A knife—Booky.
 The Roomauls with which people are strangled—Phyloo also Roomal.
 One—Eloo.
 Two—Beetree.
 Three—Singoo.
 Four—Bhurra.
 Five—Puchrao.
 Six—Chutroo, &c., &c.

These terms are known to all persons of similar habits, to ourselves as well to the Thugs of the Dakhan, of the Nagpore Country, of Malwa, of Kaunthul and Bagor, &c., as those of Bundelcund and Gwalior. The numbers apply exclusively to travellers and are used to communicate the number that fall into the hands of detached parties in pursuit of them. I believe there are few countries that do not produce Thugs those I have just particularized did I know contain them and do so I believe at the present moment. In the Oomrautee quarter there is a Gang called Naseer Khan's Karoo or Gang a well known Thug leader; but whether he is still the leader of it I cannot exactly say. In Kaunthul and Bagor, Makeema and Dulla were formerly the Thug leaders but who these are at present I do not know. The names of the leaders of the Malwa Thugs or of those of the Nagpore Country I am ignorant of.

In the division of plunder the Jemadars or principal leaders receive $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent besides sharing equally with the rest of the Gang but before any division whatever is made to the leaders or their men one of the principal of the former alienates a certain part greater or smaller in proportion to the amount acquired which is devoted to Bhowany our tutelar Deity. This however does not generally apply to Clothes or plunder of that description indeed it almost entirely refers to money in Gold or silver for when it consists of Diamonds or Pearls the leader draws blood from his hand and having sprinkled a little of it over them the sanction of the Deity to division is thereby considered to be obtained without any other alienation. But the omission of this

Deccan, Nagpur.

Bundelkhand.

ceremony or neglecting when success attends us to propitiate a continuance of Bhowany's favor by laying aside a part of our acquisitions to be appropriated to her service would we firmly conceive bring heavy misfortune upon us. The office of strangler in these gangs is never allowed to be self-assumed but is conferred with the due ceremony after the fitness of the candidate in point of firmness, bodily strength and activity has been ascertained and a sufficient degree of expertness in the use of the Roomal, or long shred of cloth used for the purpose of strangling has been acquired by long sham practice of the process among one another.

When thus qualified the person on whom the office is to be conferred proceeds to the fields, conducted by his Gooroo (spiritual guide) previously selected who carries with him the Roomal or shred of cloth and anxiously looking out for some favourable Omen, such as the chirping of certain birds or their flight past the right hand, he knots the Roomal at each end the moment that either occurs, and delivers it to the candidate imploring success upon him. After this they return and the ceremony is closed by a feast or distribution of sweetmeats. It is the seniors only who confer this office, generally old Thugs held in some estimation, but who from the infirmity of age have ceased to accompany the Gangs on their expeditions, and who receive their chief support from the voluntary contributions of those on whom they have conferred the privilege of using the Roomal.

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(Sd.) W. BORTHWICK,
Political Agent.

Deposition of Bahader Khan Havildar of the 1st Company,
Jawrah Contingent Corps of Infantry, age about 35 years

According to Orders I proceeded with a party of sepoys and three sowars in charge of Amanoola one of the Thug prisoners who was to point out the Bodies of certain Travellers said to have been murdered by the Gang of thugs in confinement at Jawrah between Mundesore and Dekolah on their route to Hindoostan. Accordingly the first spot the prisoner pointed out was about 4 or 5 Coss beyond Mundesore on the Hindoostan road near the Village of Tarrode in the Naraingurh District about one-fourth of a Coss from the road where on removing the earth to the depth of about 3 feet the body of a man was discovered. It was in a state of considerable decay and the features of the face were not distinguishable but from all appearance it could not have been long interred. The Tattoo said to have belonged to the murdered person and regarding which I was directed to make enquiries in the neighbourhood was brought to me by the Villagers of Tarrode who said that they believed it was left behind by a kafela of Travellers who had passed that way about 20 days before and had stopped under the large Bur tree during the night. The Prisoner next conducted us to the Village of Nawa about 2½ or 3 Coss beyond Neemuch to a spot about 4 or 500 paces from the side of the road and nearly the same distance

from the village in the midst of a clump of Date Trees, where on clearing away the Earth four bodies were discovered. The hair on their heads was long and the Brahminical string was upon two of them, and though the skin was but partially cracked and decayed, the features of the faces were not very distinctly discoverable, still by any one to whom they had been known in life-time they might have been recognized. From thence we proceeded to the Town of Gungrar and were taken by the prisoner to a place about one-fourth of a Coss from the side of the road to an Old Well in the middle of a clump of Trees in the wall of which (which had fallen down) the prisoner told us the body of the Traveller murdered by the Gang at that stage was deposited; accordingly on removing a few stones and rubbish it was found. The accounts of the seizure of the Gang a few days previous had spread over the country, and as we proceeded along, the purpose for which we were sent becoming known public curiosity was everywhere excited, and crowds of the inhabitants flocked around us to all the places we came to; accordingly on our arrival at Neemahura among others a kallah came to the place where we had taken up our quarters and in the course of his visit recognized in the hands of the Prisoner a small Hookah which he had a short time before provided for his son previous to setting out on a journey somewhere, this proved to the poor man the first fearful foreboding of his sad misfortune which was soon confirmed, for he followed us to the well the next morning and recognized in the features of the body dug out of the well, his son. We afterwards proceeded to Sanganair beyond which about half a Coss and a few paces from the edge of the road the prisoner pointed out a spot where on removing the Earth four Bodies were discovered; they were very little decayed and their features were still clear and distinct. This was about 3 Coss from Dekolah where the prisoner and his associates had been seized and he having told us that he had pointed out the Bodies of all the Travellers who had been murdered by them between Mundesore and that place, I considered my Orders executed and returned. According also to my instructions, I called the Patiels and Zemendars of the Villages in the vicinity of the different spots pointed out by the Prisoners as the scenes of the murders to witness the disinterment of the Bodies and took from them written statements of what they saw. (Here the Deponent produces the written statements of the Village Zemindars and Patels here alluded to, which are confirmatory of what he states in his deposition regarding the number and appearance of the bodies discovered at the different spots respectively.)

(Sd.) W. BORTHWICK,
Political Agent.

Deposition of Khowany Khan Havildar of the Powar Contingent Corps of Infantry, age 26 years

I proceeded according to Orders with a Guard in Charge of the Thug prisoner Madary who was to point out the spot where his associates a short while before they were seized at Dekolah, had murdered a Mahajun and his attendants. Accordingly the

prisoner proceeded to the Southward of Ratlam about 4 Coss on the Tanola-Pettawad road near the village of Bardah and in the boundary of that village to a spot on the side of a Nullah a little off the road in the jungle, where there was a large hole about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in depth and of a somewhat circular form which he pointed out as the spot where the bodies of the Mahajun and his attendants were interred after being strangled. No vestiges of the bodies remained, the friends of the deceased having, I was informed at Bardah as well as at Ratlam, carried them away after they were discovered, and disposed of them according to the funeral rites of their caste a heap of stones lay at the edge of the hole which had served to cover the bodies. After the spot had thus been pointed out by the prisoner I sent him back to Ratlam, and proceeding myself to Bardah waited upon Dhugee, the Thakoor of the village, who sent a Bhal named Budja who had been present at the first discovery of the Bodies of the persons murdered to point out to me where he had discovered them. The Bheel took me to the same spot and pointed out the hole shown by the prisoner at the place from which they had been disinterred.

(Sd.) W. BORTHWICK,
Political Agent.

Deposition of Bhudja Bheel inhabitant of the Village Bordah, Ratlam Djistrict, Age about 40 years

Some time as well as I can remember in the month of Bysak last (April 1828), it was reported one morning in the Village, that two men had been carried off by Tigers and that their mangled bodies were lying a short distance in the jungle. This excited the curiosity of the inhabitants and a crowd of them proceeded to the place where the bodies were said to be. I went among others and saw two bodies which appeared much torn by the wild beasts but it was almost immediately observed that the bodies must have been dragged from a heap of stones near to them. This heap was examined and on removing it three other bodies were discovered. They had been entirely stripped of clothes, but quite fresh and neither torn nor wounded in any part of them. All this brought certain circumstances that occurred to me ten days before, fresh to my recollection, the circumstances were these—I had gone in the morning to the jungle for firewood and was returning about mid-day with a cart-load, when near this spot I observed a large Kafela of Travellers, some sitting near the bank of the Nullah and others standing; immediately on observing me two of them came with a quick pace not quite a run but approaching to it, and told me that it was an English Kafela (Angraizy Kutla are the expressions of the Evidence) and as the road was narrow (there was jungle on each side) ordered me not to move until it had passed on, I accordingly stood fast and as they did not move off quickly I took the Bullocks out of the Cart to relieve them from their load, and before the whole went on, an interval of two Ghurries must have elapsed. Information was immediately conveyed to Ratlam of this discovery of the Bodies some days afterwards, accounts having been received that the persons murdered were a Mahajun and

4 attendants upon him from the Town of Gorda people came from Rutlam and burnt according to usage their delayed remains. The Thakoor sent me along with the Havildar sent by Captain Borthwick to point out the hole where the Bodies were found which I accordingly did.

(Sd.) W. BORTHWICK,

Political Agent.

**List of Articles found in the possession of the Thugs
when apprehended**

- 4 Pieces silken stuff.
- 1 Remnant ditto Ditto.
- 2 Choonries (Females dress) one red, and one of a dark-blue colour.
- 1 Angrica Kimkab.
- 1 Pair of silk paujamas.
- 5 Handkerchiefs, silk, 4 red and 1 yellow colour.
- 1 Hindoostany undress night Topee.
- 1 Sola, silk, worn round the loins by Hindoos when dressing their meals.
- 14 Turbands red colour.
- 12 Ditto, white ditto.
- 8 Doputtehs white 12 and red 6.
- 6 Handkerchiefs, cotton, 3 white and 3 coloured English manufacture.
- 9 Dhoties.
- 1 Remnant English Chintz.
- 2 Remnant fine white cloth (cotton) of English manufacture.
- 3 Putkehs.
- 22 Cotton cloth Angricas.
- 2 ditto, ditto, ditto padded with cotton.
- 1 Labada ditto, ditto, ditto.
- 4 Chudders woollen cloth, 3 red and 1 Green.
- 3 Jackets of woollen cloth, 2 French Gray and one red.
The Jackets appear to be Military but are much torn and the Buttons taken off.
- 1 Saddle cloth woollen (Native).
- 3 Kumbuls.
- 10 Paujamas white cotton.
- 1 Small Satrenjee woollen (for playing at the Game of that name).
- 3 Saries, female dress.
- 2 Webs consisting of 8 Ornies (female dresses) each, coloured.
- 1 Tabag copper.
- 1 Tabelah ditto.
- 1 Lamp ditto.
- 3 Amarty ditto.
- 1 Ink-holder ditto.
- 9 Thalies Brass.
- 3 Tabelahs ditto.
- 3 Chilnies ditto.

4 Spoons or Saddles brass.
 13 Kuttories ditto.
 2 Tusslahs Brass.
 1 Peala ditto.
 7 Lotas.
 4 Butlooees brass.
 4 Abkhoras ditto.
 5 Tawas Iron.
 1 Small common Goorgury or Hooka.
 5 Curry Combs Iron.
 2 Trunk Keys ditto.
 4 Hooks for cutting Grass ditto.
 6 Pins for Picketting Horses ditto.
 2 Spoons or Ladles ditto.
 2 Spear Blades ditto.
 1 Pair fire Tongs.
 2 Common Metal Hookah bottoms.
 8 Koorpas Iron.
 1 Axe ditto.
 18 Swords.
 3 Kuttars.
 2 Goopties.
 1 Pistol.
 3 Matchlocks.
 1 Blunderbuss.
 1 Ghorky.
 1 Native Saddle and Bridle.
 1 Ditto whip.
 3 Fish nets.
 1 Meerdung or hand Drum.
 8 Female leg and feet ornaments coarse metal.
 1 Bag containing a large quantity of cornelians cut in different forms such as necklaces, Taweezes Seals etc. also a number of Sirrotas for cutting beetle nut and other similar small ware articles.
 1 Small box containing Musk.
 1 Small chittery or umbrella.
 25 Tattoos.
 36 Rupees 4 as. of the following currencies.
 Rupees 7—12 as. Gojein.
 Rupees 7—8 as. Salim Shaee.
 Rupees 6—8 as. Kuldar.
 Rupees 14—8 as. Not known.
 85 Pysee chiefly of Malwa Coinage.
 1 Gold Necklace.
 1 Piece of silver being part of the mounting of a sword.
 4 Small bits of Silver.
 2 Silver Rings.
 1 Gold ditto.
 1 Pair of Hindooostany shoes woollen cloth embroidered.

(Sd.) W. BORTHWICK,
Political Agent.

List of articles found in the possession of the Thugs which have been recognized by their friends as belonging to the four Mussulman Travellers returning to Bhopal but murdered by the Gang on their way between Baroda and Malwa; also list of articles recognized as belonging to him by the friends of the Mahajun who with his attendants was murdered by the Gang to the Southward of Rutlam :—

*List of articles recognized as belonging to the
Mussulman Travellers.*

- 1 Piece about 2 yards of red woollen cloth used as chudder or covering in the cold weather.
- 1 Sword (Guzeratty).
- 1 Sword scabbard.
- 1 Sword Belt and Buckle.
- 1 Turband (red bolour).
- 2 Putkehs.
- 3 Doputtehs.
- 2 Common Metal Hookah Bottoms.
- 2 Trunk Keys.
- 1 Bridle.
- 1 Whip.
- 1 Native Saddle.
- 1 White Hankerchief with silk border.
- 2 Iron pins for picketting horses.
A mina Bird, and cage.

List of Articles recognized as belonging to the Mahajun.

- 1 Silken Sola; a piece of silk cloth to wrap round the loins of Hindoos when dressing their meals.
- 2 White Doputtahs.
- 2 Turbans (red).
- 1 Brass spoon or Ladle.

(Sd.) W. BORTHWICK,

Political Agent.

It may be necessary here to observe that the persons who came to recognize and claim the property of their deceased friends were in the first instance required to make out lists of the different articles of property which their friends had about them, before they were allowed to see single article of things found in the possession of the Thugs, and in the lists which they accordingly gave in, among many other articles which they respectively contained were specifically mentioned and described those enumerated in the above two lists as having been recognized.

(Sd.) W. BORTHWICK,

Political Agent.

List of articles identified by the evidences as belonging to particular Individuals and parties of Travellers murdered by the Gangs.

Gujarat

- 1 Khimkab Augrica.
- 1 Hindoostany undress night topee taken from the person of the Byragy or Fakir murdered by the Gang at the place where they celebrated the Hooly in Guzerat.
- 1 Lebada taken from the Mussulman murdered by the Gang of Heera and Mandun being the first act of murder they committed after setting out from their country.
- 2 Goopties one belonged to the above Mussulman and the other to the Hadjee murdered at the first stage from Baroda.
- 1 Blunderbuss belonged to 4 Travellers murdered at the stage of the Gang immediately beyond Neemuch.
- 3 Fish Nets belonged to the party of Kuhars murdered by the Gang between Guzerat and Malwa.
- 8 Female ornaments for the legs and feet belonged to the women with the above Kuhars.
- 1 Meerdung or hand Drum belong[ed] to the Rasdaries murdered by the Gangs of Oomrao and Makhun in their progress to Guzerat.
- 1 Box of Musk belonged to the Kachee murdered at Raggogurh. One of the Evidences (Madary) however thinks that this musk was found on the person of the Sahookar murdered near Bara Hutty in the progress of the Gang to Guzerat.
- 1 Chittery belonged to the Subadar murdered at Raggogurh.
The Cornelian Necklaces, seals, Taweezes, Sirrotas, etc. belonged to the Bissatties murdered near Dubhoy.
- 1 Khimkab Augrica also belonged to the Bissatties.
- 1 Pistol also belonged to the above Bissatties.

Gujarat.

Gujarat.

(Sd.) W. BORTHWICK,
Political Agent.

To

No. 908

GEORGE SWINTON, ESQUIRE,
Chief Secretary to Government

In the Political Department.

Fort William.

SIR,

Political.

A Gang of Thugs, were apprehended last February by the directions and exertions of the late Acting Agent and Captain Sleeman the Principal Assistant at Jubulpore; who have been convicted of having perpetrated no less than 22 Murders, between November 1829 and February 1830. The scene of their

outrages, with the exception of one place, Bahadurpore, was in the neighbouring territories of the Scindeahs, and in Bhopal. It has therefore appeared to me, that the case cannot be referred, for want of (torn) the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, the details of this dreadful trial.

2nd. I have the honor to submit, the following papers in the case, noted in the margin:—

1st.—The Persian record of the trial and the English correspondence submitted by the Principal Assistant at Jubbulpore.

2nd.—My Proceedings in English.

3rd.—A Précis in English of the Evidence, as it applies to each individual prisoner.

3rd. It is supposed, on good authority that no less than 400 Thugs, infested this part of the Country, in the Cold weather (torn).

5th. It will suffice me to state, that one Thug was seized, on the Rewah road, under circumstances of great suspicion, and the Gang dispersed for the time. The murders committed at Armur-pattun, have not, however, yet been satisfactorily investigated, and as far as the evidence obtained, have no reference to the present prisoners.

6th. A party of Najeebs, and Sawars, were then despatched towards the Saugor, and Bhopal Frontier, to scour the Roads, chiefly infested by these miscreants, with spies, and a General warrant signed by the Acting Agent to the Governor General, and succeeded in arresting the Prisoners from No. 1 to No. 24 both included.

7th. I am aware that the use of General Warrants, is disapproved of generally by Government, is liable to great abuse, and to lead to serious oppression. It must however be recollect- ed, and the fact deserves the highest consideration, that the hands of these miscreants are raised against mankind, in general, of all descriptions, sparing neither Hindoo, nor Mussulman. The Hindoo Thug murdering a Brehman and a Mussulman Phansiya slaying a Syud without compunction, or remorse, they assume no particular dress, belong to no caste, cannot be distinguished by outward appearance, from other men; possess few weapons, are adepts at all sorts of disguise, and descriptions, and move about the Country, with great rapidity, constantly changing their names and even Caste, and religion; under these circumstances, if they are to be brought to justice at all, than which nothing can be more desirable or imperative, on our Government, it must be done, by the aid of their confederates; and their arrest can only be effected by sudden, and often unforeseen measures; for the sake of the lives of all the travellers, thus miserably endangered; the liberty of the subject must bend to a temporary suspension as the lesser evil of the two, and therefore though the use of spies and general Warrants, will doubtless, occasionally create great evils and much distress to individuals it must be submitted to, as the least of the evils attending such a depraved state of society, as at present obtains in these provinces, and in general throughout the whole continent of India.

Government
v.
Madaree.

8th. The evidence against the prisoners, is I think, ample satisfactory; and their guilt is unquestionable. It consists of four approvers, Heera, Thakoordas *alias* Mahadeo, Mahabut, and Maharaj.

9th. Heera was with the gang in a menial capacity, and witnessed no less than 22 murders and is the Chief Witness in this case. His evidence has been corroborated by many circumstances of great weight carrying conviction of its truth to my mind—

1st.—The free unembarrassed and consistant way in which he gave his evidence before the Principal Assistant, and myself, undergoing a long, and intricate cross-examination, with the greatest collectedness, affording a moral certitude, that he related facts, which must have occurred in his presence.

2nd.—The evidence of Thakoordass, *alias* Mahadeo, Mahabut and Maharaj who formed part of a second gang, but who aided (and) abetted the prisoners at the Bar on two of the murders committed by them by their council, advice and eventual participation in the spoil.

3rd.—The depositions of several old pardoned Thugs, who recognize the prisoners, and unanimously agree about their parentage, mode of life and other points, in which false testimony would assuredly stumble.

4th.—The arrest of the prisoners in a gang, and their inability, to give any consistant account of themselves.

5th.—The nature of the property found upon them, consisting of all kinds of valuables, not at all consistant with their apparent poverty, or mode of life particularly two sepoy's regimental coats, one apparently of the line, and the other of the Artillery or Clashees.

6th.—The Turban of the Parsee, who was murdered at Omaree, and which was found on them, and recognized by the deceased's own servant.

7th.—The free and unbiased confession of Shaikh Mudaree, one of the gang, which through proving guilt only on himself, yet may be considered as a link in the chain, of corroborative evidence, and attesting the truth of the Approvers' depositions; and lastly, the fact that the bodies or remains of them of every murder deposited to, by Hurea, and Thakoordass have been subsequently pointed out by them affording a conclusive proof of the fidelity of their evidence.

10th. I do not therefore, think, that I have condemned the prisoners, on evidence in the least apocryphal.

11th. The sentences passed on the Prisoners have been framed on the Principles laid down in the 5th Paragraph of your letter to Major Stewart of the 23rd October 1829 *viz.* : To the leaders, and (to) all the Gang, proved to have been employed, in strangling; sentence of death has been passed; to those

employed in decoying and enticing the victims, to their fate; or in aiding to remove and conceal the bodies, sentence of Transportation for life, or confinement for a certain terms of year, according to the circumstances of each particular case, has been adjusted. To those who have acted merely as followers of the Gang employed, in the performance of menial duties, such as Sayees etc. a Minor term of imprisonment has been decreed.

12th. All descriptions of the Gang appearing however to have participated in the plunder I have not considered it proper, to pass a sentence less than 7 years, on any of them nor would it be safe, or proper to let loose any of this gang, without ample security.

13th. Security, and even deposits of money, are I lament to say, but inadequate checks upon these pests of society, as has been demonstrated by the late trial of Indore, many of those, executed there, having furnished ample security before they were released from the Husungabad Jail.

14th. I beg leave to draw the attention of his Lordship in Council to Captain Sleeman's proposition, relative to the district of Bhelsa, which experience has shown, is the favourite field for these monsters, to commit their enormities in.

15th. I also annex the correspondence noted below, and have no hesitation in stating that in my opinion Beharee Lall is a leader of Thugs and will if his career be not timely checked under pretence of zeal for his Banking house cause the death of hundreds of travellers by the employment of Thugs avowedly released from confinement to repay to him the money that they had robbed him of:—

From Captain Sleeman, 7th January 1830. To Captain Sleeman, 5th February.

From Acting Resident at Indore, 16th March.

From Captain Sleeman, 5th April—To the Magistrate at Hummeerpore, 7th April.

From Acting Resident at Indore, 29th April.

16th. Captain Sleeman has commented on the circumstances so fully that it would be waste of time for me to add anything on the subject. I shall therefore conclude with the hope that in future no Thugs, arrested by any British functionary will be made over to the Chieftains, and foreign authorities; but will be proceeded against, according to the rules laid down, in the 3rd and 4th Paragraphs of your letter of the 23rd October 1829 for His Lordship may rest assured that all Thugs thus made over to foreign Jurisdictions will be made a subject of Barter and trade and will be set at liberty to levy their ransom upon the travellers and way-faring men in all parts of India.

17th. The notes of depositions submitted with this letter were taken by me personally in the first instance to aid and guide my judgment, but eventually for submission to Government as I thought they might be considered more valuable than any translation of the Persian Documents.

18th. You will observe that I have sentenced the men to be hung in chains, in the hopes that such an example may deter the Thug community from infesting these provinces in future.

19th. The Witness Heeria having fully disclosed all he knew of the transactions of this gang, and being a novice in the trade I beg to recommend he may be pardoned entirely but Thakoor dass *alias* Mahadeo having left off strangling formerly and again taken to it as Muhabut and Maharaj know and having in my opinion fully deposed to the whole of the circumstances within their knowledge I would recommend should be imprisoned until they individually furnish security for their good conduct for life in the sum of 500 Rupees each which security shall be approved of by the Agent before their release shall take place, should however they give such evidence as may lead to the seizure and condemnation of the gang of Noorkhan *alias* Golab, hopes might be held out to them of a mitigation of their sentences.

20th. Finally I beg leave to state that I have spared neither time nor labour in the investigation of this momentous case, and the trial in the mode best adopted to the comprehension of the merits of the case.

I have, etc.

(Sd.) F. C. SMITH,
Agent to the Governor General.

OFFICE OF THE AGENT
TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL,
JUBBULPORE:
The 5th July 1830.

THE TRIAL OF GOVERNMENT *versus* SHIKH MADAREE AND OTHERS
FOR MURDER BY STRANGULATION OF 22 MEN BETWEEN NOVEMBER 1829 AND FEBRUARY 1830.

* * * *

To

F. C. SMITH, ESQUIRE,
Agent to the Governor General,
Saugor and the Nurbudda Territories.

SIR,

Political Department. I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch No. 908 of the 5th Ultimo submitting your proceedings relative to a Gang of Thugs seized under the order of the late Acting Agent and by Captain Sleeman, Principal Assistant at Jubulpore and convicted of having perpetrated no less than 22 Murders between November 1829 and February last.

2nd. For the reasons stated by you namely that the murders having been with the exception of one place committed in the adjacent Territories of the Sindeah and Bhopaul Frontiers could

not for want of regular jurisdiction be referred to the Judicial Department, the Governor General in Council approves of your having adopted a course of proceeding similar to that sanctioned in the case of the Gang of Thugs apprehended by Captain Brothwick at Mahidpore last year and I am now directed to communicate to you the orders of His Lordship in Council on the sentences pronounced by you on the several individuals who have been tried and convicted.

* * *

FORT OF WILLIAM :
4th August 1830.

I have, etc.,

(Sd.) G. W. SWINTON,
Chief Secretary to Government.

No. 1866

To

H. T. PRINSEP, ESQUIRE,
*Secretary to the Governor General
in the Political Department.*

Head Quarters.

SIR,

A short time after my receiving charge of the Agency I was informed that a number of persons had been confined in the different Jails under charge of Thuggee, ever since 1823 A. D. without having had any regular trial and without sentence having been passed on them which information was on enquiry confirmed.

Political.

2nd. On a perusal of the case as far as it had been investigated I immediately ordered the whole of the prisoners to be sent to the Jubulpore Jail, and directed Captain Sleeman whose knowledge of the Proceedings and Customs of those people has been most satisfactorily exhibited of late, to investigate into the merits, and if sufficient proof should be obtained to commit them for trial before me.

3rd. The Papers I have now the honour to submit for the orders of the Governor General are as follows :—

1st.—Captain Sleeman's letter of committal dated the 19th October last.

Copy.

2nd.—A Sketch map of the route taken by the Gang.

Original.

3rd.—My proceedings in Persian.

4thly.—My proceedings in English with a Precis of the Evidence as it applies to each individual prisoner.

4th. Gumberia the scene of one transaction wherein 11 men were strangled by the Gang was at the period in question 1822/23 in the Territory of the Scindeah; and it has therefore appeared to me that the trial cannot be referred to the Judicial

Department on default of Jurisdiction; but must be disposed of by the Political Department of which distinction was distinctly recognized as valid in Mr. Swinton's despatch of the 4th August 1830.

5th. It appears that in 1822 A. D. a noted Thug named Soorawun with several others escaped from the Mynpore Jail, Mr. H. T. Owen the officiating Magistrate anxious to recapture such dangerous and noted convicts, took measures for that purpose; but unfortunately he selected as his instrument a Jemadar of the Chuckurnagur Thanah, a man who united with the greatest pretences to zeal, activity and Humanity the deepest duplicity, hypocrisy and villainy. This man had for several years previous to the time in question, been in league with bands of Thugs, had several times joined in their strangling excursions, and his position near Scindouse, the former nursery of Thugs, a place so famous in the annals of Thug exploits, was admirably suited to favour his designs deceiving his superiors by a show of zeal and by occasionally arresting the Thugs obnoxious to his own gang and delivering them up to condign punishment he assumed with success the character of an efficient and energetic Police Officer with the anomalous title of Leader of Bands of Thugs, and murderers, at one and at the same time.

6th. This man with his companions, 9 Issuree Chuprassee and 72 Rae Khan Burkundaze was selected by the officiating Magistrate to arrest Soorawun and others; and was despatched with a general warrant with orders to proceed through Bundelkund and Central India in pursuit of his Mission.

7th. The Jemadar accordingly assembled his gang of dependent Thugs, and proceeded on his two-fold undertaking from the Mynporee district. He was joined by many Thugs on the road and after seizing several of the men* who had broken from Jail at Mynporee he made his appearance with about 60 Thugs at Gumberea near Bahtgur.

8th. Eleven men were destroyed by the Gang, they then proceeded to Rehly where 4 more were strangled. They then crossed the Nerbudda and killed a solitary wayfaring man near Adagoon, and thence to a place called Chourey, here their progress towards the south ceased.

9th. Dhunnee Khan, here received intimation from his scouts, that Soorawun was approaching with a Gang of Thugs from the Dukhun under the supreme command of Aman Soobadar. He immediately applied to an Officer on duty there, with a party of pioneers and obtained a detachment of sepoys by whose aid he arrested Soorawan. It was however, contrary to his interests, to take on the guard which was offered to him to escort the prisoner to Jubulpore and he therefore returned them to the Officer and proceeded with the gang towards Chupparah. Aman Soobadar fearful of being also arrested by the Jemadar who was perfectly aware of his pretensions and character, placed himself and his gang at his disposal, and elected him the Mundail of the united gang of Thugs and performed the ceremony of investing him with a turban of chieftainship at Chupparah in the presence of the united Gang.

Adhegaon.

*They were forwarded direct to Mr. Owen.

10th. At Chupparah a Moonshee returning from Hyderabad on his way to Hindustan overtook them, and was easily persuaded to travel with them by the pressing recommendations of Dhunnee Khan, the Chuprassie and the several Jemadars of Thugs for the sake of safety, and protection from the danger of the identical gang whom he had so ignorantly and so futilely joined, the fame of whose ravages were at the time so ripe.

1 Moonshee.
1 Wife.
1 Child.
8 Men.

11th. The gang with their intended prey in view, arrived safely at the village Lucknadow, in the Seonee district, and in the same evening murdered the whole party by a most systematic and well-organized plan of attack. On one side was the town close by, on the other not a hundred yards off were the servants and tents of an Officer; and close by a large convoy of Magazine stores, yet so perfect were the arrangements, that not the slightest alarm was given, nor the least interruption experienced on their undertaking. No suspicion of the character, nor of the acts of the gang were apparently entertained by any of the persons on the spot. Not satisfied with the murder of the adults, they actually buried alive the Babe of the unfortunate Moonshee who had been at the Massacre, saved by the Humanity (for even these remorseless wretches sometimes show glimpses of pity) of one of the Jemadars; but who was eventually sacrificed as a measure of precaution for the safety of the gang.

12th. They then proceeded to the Village of Dhooma in the Seonee district from whence 5 men who were journeying towards Jubulpore were followed by a deputation from the Gang and murdered. The spoil was brought back and duly divided and shared among the Gang.

Dhuma.
Seoni.

13th. I should here observe that the party of Thugs under Aman Singh who joined Dhunnee Khan near Chourey, murdered 5 travellers one of whom was a Jemadar and Soobadar of our regular Infantry at Doongurtal on the road between Seonee and Nagpoor previous to their junction with Dhunee Khan's party.

Seoni. Nagpur.

14th. The whole body after a short delay at Dhooma, crossed the Nerbudda at Jhansy Ghaut where their long and successful course of crime was at length interrupted and finally brought to a close.

15th. Kulean an approver and a leader of Thugs, in a former case was arrested in 1820 in the valley accused of murder of a number of travellers at Jhansy Ghaut on the Nerbudda. Fearful of the consequences of the arrest and naturally desirous of ingratiating himself into the good graces of Mr. Malony the former Agent to the Governor General of these territories, at whose mercy he justly considered himself to be placed. He in 1822 wrote to his Brother Motee* then in Scindeah's territories bordering on Bundelkhund, and Mynporee, directing him to join the 1st large gang of Thugs who might intend to proceed in the direction of Central India, for the purpose of witnessing their acts, and eventually to facilitate their arrest whenever they might approach towards Jubbulopre in their expedition. By chance they joined the present Gang, a most fortunate event and the salvation of many hundred lives.

*An approver in this case.

16th. Motee as soon as the Gang crossed the Nerbudda hastened to Jubulpore, and at his instigation, Mr. Malony caused the whole gang 115 in number to be arrested at Noonsur with a large collection of booty laden on tattoos the fruit of their numerous murders. They were all seized in a body and at the same time were brought in prisoners to that Gentleman.

17. It was certainly extremely unfortunate though by no means extraordinary that Dhunnee Khan, on producing his warrant and other vouchers to his identity as a police officer, so far deceived Mr. Malony that although he wrote in the document certifying their release from durance, that they were accused of being Thugs, he set them at large not considering it expedient to detain the police officers of the Mynpooree Magistrate without stronger proof of their culpability than he at that time possessed.

18. The gang led by Jemadar immediately marched to Patun a few coss on the road towards Saugor in a body but as a measure of precaution dispatched their Booty on loaded tattoos by a different route and sent some men back to the vicinity of Dhooma to bury the travellers whom they had but a few days before murdered and whose dead bodies they had neglected previously to inter.

19th. Kulean in despair at such an untoward result of his machinations and good intentions prevailed on several of the Gang, through the instrumentality of his brother, to come forward and relate circumstantially the misdeeds and cruelties they had seen performed by the Gang. Mr. Malony at length fully satisfied of the character of Thugs caused them to be finally arrested at Patun 103 in number desirous moreover of securing those who had departed with the Booty and others who had evaded arrest. He sent two of the informers Heera (now at Humeerpore Jail) and Deena (now at Bhopaul) with people commissioned to seize them; but these informers considering the trade of Thuggee as the most profitable, escaped from the guard which accompanied them, and never returned in the capacity of approvers.

20th. Mr. Malony then judged, that sufficient evidence no longer existed sufficient to convict the gang of the crimes they were accused of; and delayed their trial in consequence soon afterwards he proceeded to Saugor and to the great loss to the service in the course of a short period departed this life.

21st. It is not very clear why the case was subsequently postponed till at length it fell into oblivion. The changes of Agents and their repeated illnesses were most probably the chief causes.

22nd. Ample proof to substantiate the guilt of the survivors of the gang 72 in number, the rest having all died in Jail, has now been procured, and recorded in evidence, and many more of the Gang would have come forward and would have become approvers, if I had thought proper or had considered it necessary for the due administration of Justice to have sanctioned such a measure. The number of approvers already admitted I however

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18th March 1823.

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judged to be ample, and I felt no inclination to save from the due punishment of the law more of these wholesale murderers than were deemed sufficient for the condemnation of their accomplices.

23rd. The evidence against the prisoners is I think ample and satisfactory and their guilt will I have no doubt be considered unquestionable—

1st.—They were once arrested in a gang 115 in number; a second time in a gang of 103: are unable to give any satisfactory account of the cause of their being assembled in a body; and generally speaking deny having travelled together though they could not impugn their arrest in a body.

2nd.—There are no less than eight witnesses who actually were present at the atrocities committed by 'the Gang.

3rd.—The divided interests and deadly animosities of the witnesses towards each other, warrant the general fidelity and truth of their narrations, they form three classes of approvers and have in turns caused the arrest of the friends and allies of the others and when their testimony is imputing guilt on any individual, I cannot imagine a stronger evidence on which to ground a conviction. I have for the sake of perspecuity marked the classes A, B and C.

Class A.—Motee, Anundee, Dulpat and Chutaree—bitterly opposed to B.

Class B.—Busuntee, Dhun Singh and Daulut—bitterly opposed to A.

Class C.—Gungaram—bitterly opposed to both.

4th.—The free unembarrassed and consistent manner in which the approvers have deposed the minuteness of their descriptions, and the satisfactoriness of their cross-examinations afford a moral certainty that they have related only the facts they actually saw and known to be true.

5th. Some of the property found with the gang has been identified as having belonged to the men murdered by the gang.

(In the Doongertal case and some of the Monshee's property is recognized by the approvers.)

6th.—Eleven bodies murdered at Lucknadow were desinterred by order of Mr. Malony, were pointed out by the informers and were found to have been strangled and buried in the manner at the place they had perviously deposed to.

24th. The sentences passed on the Prisoners have been framed in the Principles laid down in the 5th Paragraph of Mr. Swinton's letter dated the 23rd October 1829, *viz.*—

1st.—On Prisoners proved to be known Thugs, but accused by only one Witness of having been a strangler on this occasion sentence of transportation for life.

Burthote.

2nd.—Full proof of prisoners having strangled or aided and assisted therein or having been a Jemadar or leader of Thugs, sentence of Death.

3rd.—On Prisoners convicted of having been present with the gang but not actively employed, sentence of 7 years imprisonment has been passed.

4th.—Prisoners Boys at the time to be released on security.

5th.—Superior Ministerial duties such as grave digger burier of murdered bodies, enticing victims and aiding to remove bodies—transportation for life.

6th.—Inferior Ministerial duties such as watching—imprisonment for 14 years.

25th. The proposition submitted by Captian Sleeman in the 11th Paragraph of his letter for the disposal of the approvers on this case is so reasonable and expedient, that I venture to recommend it for adoption.

26th. It may with some show of justice, more specious however than real, be urged that after the lapse of nearly eight years, since the prisoners were arrested, sentence of death ought not to be passed or carried into execution on any of them; but I can by no means assent to the correctness of such an observation. The crimes they are convicted of are abhorrent to human nature, they are the sworn natural and irreconcileable enemies of mankind united by the bonds of a depraved religion in their compact with each other; and as they show none, they deserve no mercy. Mercy to such wretches would be cruelty to mankind. Their respite from death for so long a period, may be attributed solely to their good fortune and can form no valid plea for present leniency.

27th. Moreover it is absolutely necessary to follow up the blows lately inflicted on this class of people at Indore and at Jubulpore and it is requisite to keep up the terror with which their comrades and confederates at large are at present inspired by demonstrating in the most conclusive manner that no mercy shall be extended towards men convicted of the horrid crime of Thuggee, Murder and Robbery.

28th. For these reasons I record though with pain and reluctance for I have not been accustomed to preside over trials of such fearful magnitude, and deep responsibility, my opinion that the law should in the case of the present prisoners, be permitted to take its course and that the sentences passed on the prisoners should be suffered to be carried into execution.

29th. It has been my endeavour and I have taken great pains and spared no labour in the task, to furnish a concise clear intelligible and comprehensive account of this momentous trial in hopes that the valuable time of the Governor General may be trespassed on as little as possible, and I shall be disappointed indeed, if I have been so unfortunate as to have failed in my endeavours; or if the précis of the trial, be pronounced either defective or obscure, I may at all events, I think, assert with confidence that I have summed up the evidence with impartiality and with fidelity.

30th. Having thus brought this case to its legitimate termination, the Governor General will naturally expect from my increased experience in the ways and customs of this atrocious class of savage murderers, a matured plan for the gradual extirpation of such a scourge to society. In truth my views have ever since I took possession of my present charge been turned to the momentous subject; and I entertain sanguine hopes that the course of procedure which I am now about to unfold will be found adequate to the exigency.

31st. In my letter of the 21st September last to Government, I intimated an intention to this effect, and the receipt of Mr. Secretary Swinton's despatch of the 8th October anticipating my proposal has added to my anxiety to meet the wishes of Government.

32nd. I had been in constant communication with Captain Sleeman respecting the best means of extirpating a race of men evidently on the increase of late years ever since I joined the Agency; and my leisure moments have been constantly devoted to considerations of that nature. I felt however considerable doubt respecting the proper course I ought to pursue as I was well aware of the difficulty of the undertaking, the many interests at stake concerned in upholding these miscreants most of the native states of Central India and in Bundelkhund sheltering and protecting them either avowedly or tacitly and I was I must also confess in some measures deterred from grappling manfully with the subject by personal (but not selfish) considerations. I recollect with dismay and discouragement, that neither success nor zeal, nor unbounded devotion to my duty could screen me from the successful misrepresentations of men interested in defaming my official conduct at Merutt; nor from the Government. I was also aware that I no longer possessed the health nor the stamina, nor the elasticity of mind which enable me to withstand and resist without shrinking from the former assault on my fame and character and that I no longer could with propriety run risks without injuring others far more dear to me than myself. With these recollections in view His Lordship will I trust pardon the demur which took place in volunteering my services in the cause of humanity, and will attribute the delay which did not exist for any length of time to anything rather than deficiency of zeal for the public service.

33rd. Mr. Secretary Swinton's despatch of the 8th October last has completely destroyed any remains of indecision on my part and with the hope of His Lordship's support and protection I shall embark on this arduous duty with all the devotion and zeal I can command.

34th. Captain Sleeman has authorized me to state that the account of the Thugs lately published in the newspapers copy of which was enclosed to me in Mr. Swinton's letter was written by him with a view to draw attention to a subject daily becoming more interesting, and which in his opinion, would soon if not timely checked, equal in atrocity and injury to India the Pindaree system so happily put down. The plan, which I am about to submit, he has seen and examined and the measures recommended are generally approved by him.

35th. Plan for the eventual destruction of the associations of Thugs which have of late infested Central India.

Bundelkhand.

1st.—An Officer to be denominated Superintendent of Thugs to be selected for the special duty of seizing, bringing to trial and condign punishment the numerous gangs of organized Thugs which infest Central India and Bundekhund—his warants to have force and virtue in all territories under the British Government. He should be authorized to follow and arrest this description of people in independent native territories in the neighbourhood applying in the first instance to the Agent to the Governor General of the Saugor and the Nerbudda territories for warants and furnishing a list of the men pursued by him to the British Political Agent superintending the native state.

2nd.—The Officer to commit all persons whom he may consider guilty of Thuggee for trial before the Agent to the Governor General of the Saugor and the Nerbudda territories without reference to the scene and locality of the outrages, who should proceed in the investigation of such cases on the principles laid down in Mr. Swinton's despatch of the 23rd October 1829 to the Resident at Indore. The Superintendent on the 1st of every month furnish the Agent to the Governor General with a report of all under confinement with a detailed statement of the grounds on which those arrested during the last month have been seized.

3rd.—The Superintendent should immediately on his appointment compile from the records in the Agency districts and the Sudder Office of Agent a nominal list of all persons accused of Thuggee with remarks showing the grounds and evidence on which such suspicion rests. Copies of such lists should be confidentially communicated to all the British Functionaries within the range of the Superintendent's duties north of the Nerbudda.

4th.—Specific rewards to be offered by the Superintendent with the sanction of the Agent to the Governor General not exceeding 1,000 Rs. for each leader of Thugs proved to be of that description by trial already concluded. If a higher reward be considered necessary the previous sanction of Government to be obtained. Rewards for the arrest of other Thugs and good conduct on the part of the Gurindas, to be paid according to circumstances by the Superintendent with the sanction of the Agent to the Governor General on the conditions already detailed.

5th.—It being generally the practice of Thugs to avoid murdering in the districts in which they and their family domicile, the Magistrates of Mirzapore, Allahabad, Futtypoor, Cawnpore and Mynpoore should be desired to comply with all requisitions for the arrest of suspected persons made to them by the Superintendent. They should likewise examine all such persons, search for dead bodies at the places pointed out by the deponents or by the Superintendent and in fact should aid him in every manner compatible with the Regulations with all their power and influence.

Mirzapur
Fatehpur
Mainpuri

6th.—A heavy penalty should be inflicted on the heads of villages convicted of harbouring notorious Thugs within our own and native territories, the former by sentence of the Superintendent, the latter through the medium of the Political Agent. The fines to defray the expense of rewards as far as they may go and to be remitted to the Superintendent as collected and in cases where a reward has been proclaimed for the arrest of a Thug leader, the Superintendent should be authorized to detain his wife and children until he be seized. They being generally the only ties by whose misfortunes he can be effectually affected; as Thugs are generally Hereditary there could be no injustice in claiming the lion's whelps till the lion is himself disposed of.

N. B.—Furingea the Chief leader of Thugs was lately arrested by these means—21st February 1821.

7th.—To prevent the approvers acting as spies at Saugor for the benefit of their friends a particular place should be walled in for the residence of all the approvers and pardoned Thugs who should be subjected to a sentence of imprisonment for life or leaving the bounds assigned to them without leave.

N. B.—Square large enough for them to build huts to reside in—21st February.

8th.—The system of Thuggee having existed for centuries and the partial and feeble efforts of the native Chiefs having totally failed to suppress the measure, no Thug should under any pretence be made over to a native Chieftain for punishment experience having satisfactorily shown their utter incapacity to put them down and expose their corrupt practice of releasing Thugs for valuable considerations. For the purposes of suppressing this trade which can only be effected by combined and energetic operations the Residents of Hyderabad, Nagpore, Indore, and Gwalior, at the commencement of the rains when they usually return to their homes, should be directed to cause the simultaneous arrest of all known and suspected Thugs and should be instructed to procure from the Government at which they are [incredited] their sanction to all Thugs being brought to trial before them. The proceedings being submitted to the Supreme Government for final decision the Superintendent of Thugs should in conjunction with these functionaries adopt the same course at the prescribed period as far as it applies to his particular situation.

9th.—In addition to pecuniary rewards small Jagheers burthened with a trifling Obaree or quit-rent might be granted to persons who may by extraordinary services and good conduct be thought worthy of such marks of favour and consideration. Honorary distinctions and titles might also be granted on special cases.

Not to reform Thugs, however on any account.

Captain Sleeman is undoubtedly in my opinion from his local knowledge and extensive acquaintance with the habits, haunts and customs of the Thugs and Phansigars the most proper person to be selected for the situation of Superintendent. The appointment he at present holds at Saugor is admirably suited for his head-quarters being situated in a centrical position in the vicinity of the scenes of the usual operations of the Gangs and will form a screen whereby his peculiar duty will be masked and from which he will be enabled to plan and execute his schemes in secrecy, and without previous disclosure of his intentions. It would undoubtedly create too much alarm among the

Remarks.

fraternity of stranglers if it were known, that a person was selected for the sole purpose of arresting them and I therefore think that the Office of Superintendent should be added to a substantive appointment: he should be authorized to follow and seize these people in every direction north of the Nerbudda and whenever he might experience resistance, he should point out and make over the accused to the Custody of the Chieftain and head zamindar of the Village in which the accused may be found, who should be held strictly responsible for the safe custody of the person thus entrusted to his charge. He should also immediately apply to the nearest British Political Agent for support and aid.

37th. The lives of approvers who must in a certain degree more or less be guilty of Thuggee should no doubt as a measure of policy be spared but they never should recover their unrestricted liberty, for numerous proofs exist of the utter impossibility of reclaiming even boys the sons of Thugs from this horrid but apparently irresistible profession, like tigers their taste of Blood is indelible and not to be eradicated while life exists: the case of Kehree No. 50 is in point. As a boy he had a hand cut off on conviction of belonging to a Thug association, he witnessed the appalling exhibition of his confederates being blown away from Guns but so far from abandoning this dangerous profession he is now in his old age condemned to death for the same description of crime he was punished for so severely in his youth. Small stipends and active surveillance should form the principal of action towards all such as may secure pardons and the system which has so admirably succeeded in some of the Regulation Provinces of this presidency of giving a mere maintenance to spies and ample rewards on the arrest or conviction of offenders, should undoubtedly be adopted as the most likely to stimulate to exertion and as affording the greatest inducement to active and faithful services.

N. B.—If this is approved no time should be lost in issuing the requisite orders to Captain Nicolson as it is out of his power to furnish even 50 men without the enlistment of account being previously sanctioned.

38th. To enable the Superintendent to carry into execution the duties now proposed to be entrusted to him, a toomun of Najeebs men to be selected on account of their activity and trustworthiness from the whole corps of Nerbudda Najeebs to be placed at his disposal and he should also be authorized to apply when necessary to the General at Saugor for a few regular Sepoys; such men would be superior to any other description, having more at stake to lose by misconduct, they would suffer no spy to arrest any person not named in the warrant, would not release any once arrested until examined by competent authority and would be less likely to be actuated by bribes or intimidated by threats and with respect to the employment of the latter, their zeal would abound from the recollection of the numerous comrades annually murdered by these communities on their way home on furlough.

39th. It would however be necessary to authorize Captain Nicolson to form an additional temporary toomun to his Corps which might easily be absorbed on the present duty being accomplished.

40th. The duty proposed to be entrusted to Captain Sleeman would require the devotion of the greater part of his time. Provision should therefore be made to enable him to apply his mind to this arduous duty. I would consequently propose that he should have an experienced Assistant capable of conducting part of the routine duties of Saugor assigned to him. Lieutenant Smith is the only Junior Assistant in the Agency possessed of experience, but it would be unjust to relieve him from the charge of the Rehly district unless an equivalent equal to the Deputation allowance he would lose by the measure was granted to him. Should any objection to such a measure be considered to over-balance the contemplated advantages by the adoption of the measure Messrs. Cotes and Sconce might be appointed Assistants at Saugor, but in that case I should be left without Assistant and in case of need should have no means of filling up any temporary vacancy and the duty which falls to my lot to transact is amply sufficient without the addition of translations and other inferior duties which may be equally as well performed by an Assistant as by myself.

41st. It is no doubt of great importance, that the Superintendent should have under his orders a Police establishment ready to obey his injunctions, to aid him in his researches and I therefore conclude that for these reasons as well as for those already submitted he should remain in charge of district.

42nd. I have just received a letter from Captain Sleeman, copy of which is annexed requesting the aid of two Maps of a peculiar construction. Probably in the event of the Governor General acceding to the plan I have now have the honour to propose His Lordship may direct the Surveyor General to confirm the indent.

Dated 18th November 1830.

43rd. As the Thugs return from their Marauding expeditions about May or June it will be requisite in order that a blow may be struck next season against these associations that the preliminary measures be all concluded previous to that period.

I have, &c.,
 (Sd.) F. C. SMITH,
Agent to the Governor General.

OFFICE OF THE AGENT, TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL,

Maihar

CAMP MYHER:

The 19th November 1830.

To

F. C. SMITH, ESQUIRE,
*Agent to the Governor General in the
 Saugor and Nerbudda Territories,
 Jubbulpore.*

SIR,

I have the honour to forward the Proceedings in the case of commonly called the Lucknadown case of Murders perpetrated by Bhowany and other Thugs in the year 1823 A. D. in the District of Seonee.

Seoni.

Mainpuri.

2nd. It appears that in the beginning of the year 1823 Soorawun Dhurrum Khan, Heera Sing, Mohun and other notorious Thugs made their escape from the Jail at Mynpooree. Dhunnee Khan Jemadar of the Thannah of Chuckurnagur, and Rae Khan Burkundaz and Esuree Sing Chuprasee were ordered to go in pursuit of them with such assistants as they might be able to procure. This Jemadar and the Durogha of the Thannah had been for three years, it is supposed, in league with the Thugs and willing to avail himself of the opportunity of carrying on their depredations under the present warrant, Dhunnee Khan collected a Gang of Thugs to go ostensibly in search of the fugitives. He collected some at Sundouse, proceeded to the Fort of Mynpooree where he caused the release of eight Thugs whom the kiladar under the authority of the Jhanse man his Master had seized and confined, and made him pay him a fine of fifty Rupees on pretence that he had sent these eight men in search of the fugitives and incurred a cost to that amount in their subsistence.

3rd. Increasing his Gang of Murderers as he went on, he proceeded to Pepericyna where he was joined by Gubboo Khan and his Gang; and from Odeypore they detached Munsa and five others towards Esagur in search of Dhrum Khan whom they seized and took to Mynpooree where Munsa lately seized got a reward of fifty Rupees and a Certificate under the protection of which he has been since acting. Soorjun Aheer, Buduloo Lodhee, Chotee Brahman were with him and when they had made over their prisoner they went on their murderous expeditions to the west as will appear hereafter.

Rahatgarh.

4th. Dhunnee Khan and Gubboo went on to Gharupore, Kahtgur and Gumberea a place on the high road about five Coss east of Rahtgur and fourteen Coss west from Saugor where they murdered eleven travellers on their road from Indore to Rehly a town between Saugor and the Nerbudda where they murdered four travellers who were strangled by—

No.

Bhooree dead.

(14) Gunno alias Khoda Buksh present.

(3) Doorgah present, son of Ram Sing.
 Jhurroo dead.

Assisted by—

- (29) Nezabut Khan present.
- (64) Ruhman *alias* Rehmut Khan.
Gopee dead.
- (15) Bhowanee Jemadar present.
Gubboo Khan dead.
- (9) Esuree Chuprassee present.
- (59) Bahadur Khan present.

They crossed the Nerbudda at Kerepane Ghaut and advancing on the Nagpoor road overtook a traveller whom Fettch Khan (39) now present strangled with aid of Mowjee (46) now present and Moloo (53) immediately after they met other Thugs near the Sudder Station of Seonee at the encampment of an Officer Commanding a Company of Pioneers and from them heard that Serawun was advancing at the head of a large gang and obtained from that Officer a Guard of Sepoys to assist in arresting him. They arrested him at the village of Chouree near Seonee, brought him back to the Officer and were requested by him to take on the Guard so far as Jubbulpore.

Nagpur.

Chaurai,
Seoni.

Chhapara.

Chhapara.
Lukhnadon.

5th. To have had the Guard with them would however have defeated their plans, they declined accepting the offer and proceeded on the road to Jubbulpore so far as Chauparah where they overtook a Moonshee from Hyderabad with his family consisting of a wife, two children and six servants. He joined their party at the persuasion of Esuree Chuprassee, Bhowany, Gubboo and other plausible men employed to deceive into a belief, that they were a safe escort to travel with. The whole of Sorawun's followers had by this time been persuaded to act under the new leaders under a secret promise that Sorawun should be released on crossing the valley and irons were put upon his legs at Chupara and he was conveyed upon a Charpae for the rest of the journey. At Lucknadow they found that some Companies of sepahees were to arrive and encamp the Morning after them, and in the Evening the Europeans Officers' tents were brought up and pitched leaving the Monshees and Thugs encampment there and the village and only a few yards distant from either. They determined to strangle him that night, lest he should go on with these Companies. As soon as it became dark Noor Khan (since dead) and his son Sadee Khan (No. 60) and others went to the tent and as they had been accustomed to do Noor Khan played some tunes upon a Seetar borrowed from Kasee R m (No.) while his son Sadee Khan and others sang and others possessed themselves of the Monshee's sword which lay near him. His wife and children were inside the Curtain. At the moment they were going to throw the fatal cloth over him he saw his danger, made a rush and called out "murder"; his wife hearing his cry made a rush at the same time; he was caught before he had gone four paces and she before she had gone twenty and both strangled. The saices were cleaning the horses and one of them seeing his danger rushed under his horse's belly and called out "Murder" but was seized and strangled. Though the Sepahees and Khulashees were pitching the Officers' tents within a few yards of the place, they heard nothing of these calls for help for the men continued to play and sing, while others at the concerted signal let loose

two horses and raised the noise common on such occasions in which the calls from the victims were drowned. All were strangled but the female infant about eight months old which Gubboo Khan who had strangled the Mother with the infant in her arms proposed to keep and adopt. Graves were dug near the spot and the nine bodies deposited in them when Dhunnee Khan and others advised him to murder the child as Soorawun their prisoner might suspect their practices and get them seized. He threw the infant in upon the bodies of its parents without strangling it and filling up the grave buried it alive.

6th. The stranglers "Burthote" were No. 15 Bhowanee (son of Moloo) now present strangled the Monshee himself.

Guppo (died in the Jubbulpore Jail) strangled the woman.
 (5) Chumput now in Jubbulpore.
 (37) Ram Buksh, son of Omed present.
 (3) Dorgah present, son of Man Sing.
 (14) Dunna *alias* Khodabuksh present.
 Bhugwan died in Jail of Jubbulpore.
 Noor Khan died at Huttah.
 (45) Purmola present.
 Holassie absconded.

They were aided by Shundreas or those who hold the hands of the victims.

(42) Purun *alias* Purmola.
 (29) Nujabut now present.
 Jhurroo dead.
 Khummola dead.
 Husunooa absconded.
 Cheyn absconded.
 (65) Baburrea *alias* Baburkhan.
 (47) Peer Buksh *alias* Bukha.
 (53) Molooa present.
 Bactawar dead.
 (59) Bahdur Khan present.

A Sword and several other articles of property belonging to the Monshee were found upon the Gang and are now in the Mall Khajana, but his friends have never come to recognize them and the most valuable had been made away with.

The next morning they came on to Dhooma where they overtook five men, two Mahamuddans and 2 Hindoos (Lohars) whom Mokhum and others persuaded to march a little after midnight as the weather was becoming hot and strangled them about four miles distant on the bank of a Nala in which they buried the bodies. They were strangled by "Burthotes" or Stranglers—

(26) Baljoo now present.
 (40) Newal present.
 Daulat, one of the approvers.
 (16) Okalee *alias* Kalee Khan.
 Birja dead.

They were aided by "Shumseeas" or holders—

(19) Sheikh Buzeed.
 Khosalee absconded.
 (14) Gunna, *alias* Khodabuksh son of Koseal present.

- (64) Rehman Khan.
- Himmut dead.
- (65) Babur *alias* Babur Khan present.
- (53) Matoo Kalee present.
- (42) Dhurum *alias* Purmola present.

7th. After leaving Dhooma they are supposed to have murdered the Brother of Manick Burkundaz of the Town Police Establishment and three men who had been travelling with him, as his jacket was found upon one of the Prisoners. Rambuksh son of Dhunnpaul, and the four unfortunate men have never been since heard of and the Brother performed the funeral rites over the clothes but none of the approvers appears to have been engaged in this affair and though they believe it occurred they cannot depose to it.

8th. Kulleean Sing a notorious leader of Thugs had been seized by Mr. Malony on crossing the valley of the Nerbudda on his return from an expedition to the South together with a large portion of his Gang and his Brother Motee was though young a leader in this gang. The gang knew that Kulleean Sing was in Jubulpore and would be glad of an opportunity of procuring his release by convicting them. After crossing the Nerbudda at Tilwara Ghaut about six Miles from Jubulpore they avoided the Town and passed on to Noorsur, but Motee had an interview *en passant* with his brother, and related to him all their proceedings. He came up to Mr. Malony, a party of horse and Infantry was sent to Noorsur, and the whole one hundred and fifteen Thugs were seized and brought back, Dhunee Sing Jemadar and Esuree Sing Chuprassee went up in full dress with their belt and warrants to Mr. Malony, shewed their Soorawan and told so plausible a story that he did not think himself authorized to detain them and ordered them all to be at once released.

9th. They went off with their Prisoner to Patun of the Saugor road, but as a precaution first detached a party of twelve on another road with the most valuable part of the property. Kulleean Sing made his brother prevail upon two or three more of the party to come forward and promise to point out the bodies and went to Mr. Malony a second time to beg that the gang might be again seized and detained till he should bring the bodies of the murdered people or point them out to my Officers, a party consisting of a complete Company of the 1st Battalion 4th Regiment Native Infantry. After this a detachment of local horse was again sent after them and they were all with exception of the party detached, seized and brought back from Patun while another party went and dug up the bodies where they were pointed out by Motee, Anunda, Deena and Heerah at Lucknadow and Dhooma. These people offered to dig up the bodies of the people murdered at the other places Doongertal, Rehly, Adagow and Gumbecrea, but Mr. Malony said that these were quite sufficient for the purpose of evidence, and was unwilling to have the remains of the others disturbed.

10th. Aman Sing Dhurum paul, Soorawun, Burhut, Bhugoo, Jowahir, Noorkhan and other Thug leaders were on their return from an expedition to the Duckun *via* Nagpore and Jubulpore to Bundelkhand their home at Doongertal two or three

Under Baboo
Sing Sobadar of the
late 1st Bn. 4th
N. I. now the
7th Regt., N.
Infantry.

Lakhnadon.
Dhuma.

stages north of Cantonment of the Nagpoor Subsidiary Force. They overtook five men returning from their Regiments to their homes *via* Nagpoor—Chumput Tewaree, Sepahee Abheman Sing, Chutterdharee, Seedul, his Cousin and another. They strangled them all five, buried their bodies and divided their property. They were strangled by—

Jafir Khan, lately seized and hung at Jubulpore for the Bhilsa affair.

Beharee, lately seized and hung at Jubulpore for the Bhilsa affair.

Odey Bhan Brahman son of Punchum absconded.

(25) Mahasook now present.

(34) Dhrum Paul present.

Aided by—

Noor Khan dead.

Aman dead.

Odeya, lately seized and hung at Jubbulpore in the Bhilsa affair.

Poosa absconded.

Jaloo absconded.

(50) Kasee Ram, lately acquitted in the Bhilsa affair.

Advancing on the Jubulpore road they met Dhunnee Khan and his party who seized Soorawan, but prevailed upon all the others to join them in murdering and plundering on their way back; and in the subsequent muders at Lucknadow and Dooma all united.

Part of the property found upon the Prisoner which was taken at Patun, was recognized by Sewsschac Sepahee and Selwant Chohee Subadar as belonging to their relations who left them at Nagpore to visit their homes and were murdered at Doongertal, a red coat, a mere, a walking stick, a pony, 4 Chowars, one Thalee, a sword 2 Moruts. Their depositions were taken before the late Mr. Malony accompanying the proceedings.

11th. When they were taken at Monsur they were one hundred and fifteen after the escape of Amon Holasee Pershawd, Peer Buksh and others and out of these twelve decamped with the booty leaving only one hundred and three (when last taken at Patun). Peerbuksh one of the twelve who went off with the booty and Mawzee, Kasee Ram, and Thakur Dass, have been since seized and are now present.

12th. Of the approvers in the case Basuntee, Dhun Sing and Dowlutt were set at large by Mr. Maddock in the beginning of 1828 for their services in securing the arrest of some Thugs in Bhopal and were lately rewarded for assisting in the arrest of the gang at Bhelsa, of which eleven were hung. They have been under no restraint relying upon a pardon for the past; and they may I believe be relied upon as having given up all desire to return to their former occupation. Motee was first to come forward, and by doing so he has saved society for many years from the depredations of this immense Gang of Murderers, for not one of them would have been arrested had he not reported the proceedings to Mr. Malony before they had crossed the valley. He was induced to come forward by his Brother Kulleean

Sing and as Kullean is not implicated in this case he deserves to be rewarded either by his release or by a donation. I should prefer donation. I think neither he nor his Brother should ever again be let entirely loose upon Society, for they would most assuredly return to the same pursuits, and teach others to follow them, and I know they have relations and friends ready to receive them as leaders; I venture to suggest that they and a third brother of theirs Cheynsa remain under surveillance at 4 Sonat Rupees per Month each and on a penalty of imprisonment for life if they desert. The dreadful consequence of employing these people in situations of authority and trust is sufficiently evinced in these proceedings and I should not recommend them for any specific employment, Anunda originally came forward and pointed out the bodies at Lucknadow: Gunga Ram was instrumental in seizing the Bhilsa Gangs and by their usefulness have acquired claims to a pardon. Chitma and Dulput who were both Boys at the time of the Murders and took no active parts. They have neither power nor influence and to leave them unpunished would tend to destroy the confidence on each other that is the bond of their union, and source of their strength, I venture to suggest that they remain upon three Sonat Rupees a Month each without irons under the same penalty if they abscond, and the same for Busuntee, Dhun Sing and Dowlut. They will all remain and be able and willing to make themselves extremely useful in seizing other Thugs, in order to augment their allowances by occasional donations for services.

13th. Deena and Heerah two men who absconded have been taken up for subsequent Murders committed out of these territories; and the former is confined in Bhopal and the latter in the Hummeerpore Jail.

OFFICE OF THE
P. A., A. G. G.

I have, &c.

(Sd.) W. H. SLEEMAN,
Political Agent to the Acting Governor General.

JUBBULPORE :
19th October 1830.

* * * *
The Evidence of Motee an approver

After being duly warned, stated on oath as follows:—Your information by which the Prisoners were arrested at Noonsur and then at Patun. Was with Bhowany Jemadar, Dhunnee Khan's Gang joined with them in the Jhansee Country by directions of his Brother Kullean Witness who was then in the Jubbulpore Jail. In the Jhansee Thuggee in 1820 [and] who directed him to act as a spy till they came to this part of the Country when they might be arrested. Dhunnee Khan started ostensibly to watch Soorawun, who had escaped from the Jail but really

Jubbulpore Division Supplementary Records
C. F. No. 31831
Thuggee Deptt.

Jhansi.
Jhansi.

on a Thug expedition, found at first 40 Thugs under Basuntee (11), Bhowany (15) and Kumolee Jemadars at Peepureea, Gubboo Khan with 18 men joined in seven days; we reached Gunherea, about 60 Thugs in all, about a gunshot outward of that Village, under a Pepul tree we halted. 11 travellers from Mhow joined us near Ruhtghur, and put up under the tree. Gunherea is on the west side of the Nellah, and in Ruhtghur, which was then in Scindea's jurisdiction. About 7 in the evening in Maugh, nearly eight years ago this took place; they were all strangled, Dhunnee Khan with Essurree Chauprassie and Rae (72) Khan Burkundaze was absent at Saugor, to show his warrants to Captain Hardy. Knows not who killed them and cannot describe the Burthotes and Sumshehas, because he was in Gunheerea. One Rupee was shared by each; the Burthotes got 4 annas extra and the Sumshehas two annas: the shares were distributed in his presence Cajee (45) Runjeeta (dead), Moolooa (52) received 4 annas each extra: was not present when the 2 annas were given, knows this because there was only one invariably rule in the distribution. The men were buried under the tree; knows not who buried them; knows for the sharing of plunder and shares that they had been killed, knew they would be killed. Asked why he did not mention this case of murder to Mr. Malony: replies that he mentioned it to him. The case mentioned in the former deposition of Semerea should have been written. Gumherea did not say 17 men killed. In two days reached Relhy and halted at a Tope; Bhowany (15) and Kumolee (dead) enticed four travellers from the Bazar to their quarters, and about half past 7 o'clock at night they were strangled; was present when they were killed. Juroo (dead) strangled one man, ordered by Bahadur Khan; Bhoora strangled the second aided by Rehmut Khan *(63); Doorga (3) strangled the third aided by †Bahadur Khan (64); the fourth was killed by Khodabux (14) alias Goona, aided by Bucktora; those who held hands buried them; Bhugwan (57), Heera (21) watched Essuree (9), Chuprassie was also watching; Dhunnee Khan and Rae Khan (72) were in the Bazar; they both got five Rupees each and the Chuprassie also five. They were all aware of the intention to murder these travellers, as it was first settled by the whole gang in their presence Bhowany Jemadar took a tattoo from the spoil in addition to his shares. It was a huge Jemadaree; the third day after we reached Kerpanee Ghaut on the Nerbudda and crossing reached Adagaon the third day between Adagaon and Chapara, a Bramun was murdered about three Coss from the former on the high road by Futteh Khan (30) alias Hattoo aided by Moojee (45) Himmut (dead) Moolooa and the two murderers carried the body to a Nullah and hid it under stones. The gang were some before, some behind on the alert; Essuree Chaprasie was close at hand, Dhunnee Khan and Rae Khan (72) were behind but could not see the murder, saw no share then made, but what was then taken was added to the Lucknadow spoil and divided. Essuree Chaprasie took the one-eyed chestnut Pony. We then went to Chuppura, thence to Choury then sent two spies to ascertain where Soorawun was, they returned and informed that he with

*Dulput says Bahadur Khan.

†Dulput says Rehmut one of them have confounded the two names.

Gunherea case

Rahatgarh

1st February
1823 where he
states 17 men were
killed at Semerea.
Rehly case.

The other wit-
ness says they were
before.

Aman Soobadar with 40 Thugs were coming. Dhunnee Khan got a guard from a Pioneer Officer there and seized Soorawun, but took Aman Singh and his gang with him returned to Chuppurah where they made Dhunnee Khan Mundul and tied a Pugree on his head. Essuree Chuprassie, and Rae Khan were both present at the ceremony which was performed in the presence of the whole gang. A Moonshee from Hydrabad with 8 Sepoys, 1 woman and a little child arrived at the time, Essuree Chuprrassec, went full dressed and persuaded him to go with the gang for safety and they all proceeded together to Lucknadow, the Chuprassic keeping close to the Moonshee. The Moonshee and his people put up at a Tope and the gang all round about him. In the evening they were murdered: first Noorkhan (dead), with Sadee Khan went to play the Seetar and sung to the Moonshee. Then Kumuooleal (dead) and Bhowany (15), Jemadar went to his place. There Guppo Khan stationed the Burthotes and Shumsheohas. The Moonshee seeing such crowd got up to escape, but Bhowany strangled him aided by Bucktownur (46). Then Guppo Khan strangled the woman but was not aided [as far as] [that] witness saw by anybody. Chumput (5) strangled a man aided by Keree (50), Rambut (37) strangled the second but does not know who aided him, Gunno (14) strangled the third aided by Nejabut (29), Doorgah (31) strangled the fourth aided by *Heera (now in Hummeerpore jail, Hoolassee strangled the fifth, aided by Daolaree (15), Purum (42) strangled the sixth aided by Berthan (48), Kummolee strangled the sixth aided by Babur Khan (64), Noor Khan (dead) killed the eighth aided by Moolooa (52), Guppo Khan saved the child at first but afraid of Soorawun threw it alive into the grave. Mungul (51), Pertaub (53), Gusrurea, Anunda (10), Heeral in Hummeerpore and the Sumshehas buried the bodies but witness did not see the burial. Bhugwan (57) Motec Gunnea, Essuree Chuprassie watched and Basuntee gave the word for murder (Jinnee). 2 Rs. were shared by each and 4 annas and 2 annas extra given to the active members, Dhunnee Khan, Essuree (9) Chunrassie and Rae Khan (72) received 5 Rs. each. Essuree Chuprassie got the Moonshee's watch and one Gold Mohur was kept in a mount by Bhowany which was at last [] Dhunnee Khan. At Dhooma a Hoondree of 12,000 Rs. was found, one horse and two tattoos were obtained, Hoolassee not present got the horse, Noor Khan one and Bhowany (15) and Kumolee (not present) got the third between them. Dhunnee Khan was at the Thannah but the Jemadars went and consulted him and obtained his consent. Rae Khan (72) was present at the consultation and heard what was said, Bhowany (15), Guppo Khan (dead), Kumoleea (dead), Aman Soobadar (dead), Noor Khan (dead), Khoman (1), Dhrumpal, and Basuntee (Witness) Jemadars were those who consulted, Dhunnee Khan when they came to consult, Rai Khan left another man in charge of the Prisoner. Bhowany (15), Jemadar got the Moonshee's sword and was found on him. This is the sword. We then proceeded to Dhooma and put up at the Bazar, saw five travellers, Mohun (dead) brought them to the quarters of the gang, 11 men were fixed upon by the Jemadars to kill them. Mokhum was placed at the head. They all proceeded

Chhappara

Hyderabad.

Lakhnadon.

Lucknadow case

Dhuma.

Dhuma.
Dhuma case.

*See Dulput's depositions at in the Sumsheohas.

about 2½ coss and were strangled at the bottom of the pass at noon, witness remained behind. The same Jemadars as before named selected in the presence of Dhunnee Khan, and Essuree Chuprassee. Rae Khan (72) was with his prisoner but was informed of the projected expeditions by Dhunnee Khan, Mokum Kalee Khan (strangler), Doulut (10) (strangler) Buljoo (26) (strangler) Nuwal (40), (strangler), Birjee (dead) strangler, Molooa (52), Shaikh Soorawun (Bilaw or pointed out the proper spot for murders) were selected I recollect. The others I forgot. One Rupee was shared by each individual. Dhunnee got the Gold Mohur of the Moonshee which had been detained and a brass plate, Rae Khan (72), got a Gold Mohur for him and Essuree Chuprassee from Dhooma we went to Peperea and then witness left and came to Mr. Malony and gave information. Saith (not present) had the Kodalee of Bhowany Jemadar, Heera (21) had the standard of Kumolee's gang, and the standard bearers he knows not, witness pointed out the dead bodies at Lucknadow taking Anunda (11), with Police Officers and 11 bodies were found in two graves, Mr. Malony ordered only the grave in one case to be opened.

* * * *

(Sd.) F. C. SMITH,
Agent to the Governor General.

To

Political Department.

FRANCIS CARVIN SMITH, ESQUIRE,
*Agent to the Governor General,
Saugor and Nerbudda Territories.*

SIR,

Your despatch to the Secretary to the Governor General, dated 19th November 1830, relative to the trial of certain Thugs (74 in number) having been transmitted by order of the Right Honorable the Governor General, to the Vice President in Council, I am now directed to communicate to you the final orders and decision of His Honor in Council on the several cases, and to desire that they be carried into execution accordingly.

2nd. The sentence of capital punishment proposed by you to be passed on the several prisoners (27 in number) whose names are shown below is confirmed:—

- (1) Khoman, (4) Deokee, (5) Chumput, (9) Essuree Chuprassie, (14) Khoda Buksh *alias* Joona, (15) Bhowany 1st, (19) Shaik Bazeed, (25) Maha Sing, (26) Buljoo, (29) Nijabut Khan, (31) Doorga 2nd, (34) Dhrumpal, (37) Rambut 2nd, (38) Shaik Soorawun, (39) Futtah Khan *alias* Hutttoo, (40) Newul 2nd, (42) Prum Lodhee *alias* Bermolea, (45) Mouzee, (46) Peerbux *alias* Bukhta, (48) Birkbhan, (49) Kaseeram, (50) Khrie, (52) Moolooa, (55) Doolaree, (58) Bahadur Khan, (63) Rehmut Khan, and (64) Babur Khan. Total—27.

3rd. You have recommended that the nine persons whose names are here stated below, should be sentenced to imprisonment, in transportation for life with stripes. The sentence proposed by you, with the remission of the stripes, is confirmed, and you will be pleased to take the necessary measures for transmitting the parties in question under safe custody to the Magistrate of the Suburbs of Calcutta [by] whom they will be kept in confinement, until an opportunity shall offer for their transportation beyond sea :—

(11) Essuree Aheer, (12) Runnoo, (16) Khallee Khan, (44) Sawae Khan, (47) Mohun, (53) Pertaub Gurareeah, (59) Sadee Khan, (67) Raheem Khan and (72) Raee Khan. Total—9.

4th. Sentence of imprisonment in transportation for life, but without stripes is also passed on the individuals nine in number whose names are inserted below. These individuals are to be sent to the Presidency as above directed :—

(51) Mungul, (54) Motee Gurareeah, (2) Kunhoy 1st., (6) Odeybhan (7) Hurbhan, (17) Bhowanee 2nd, son of Kheree, (27) Golaub Khan, (33) Peer Mahomed and (65) Assalut Khan. Total—9.

5th. All the prisoners, who are sentenced to transportation, are to be branded on the forehead or on the back, with the word "Thug" marked by the process of the Godna in the Hindee and Persian characters, but the word Mushoor (notorious) proposed by you, may be omitted, as being superfluous.

6th. The Vice President in Council being of opinion that unless should there be special grounds for investigation of punishment, every adult person who may be convicted of being a Thug by profession and shall have been apprehended in company with notorious Thugs, by whom murders have been committed, more particularly such as may have been present, though not proved to have been personally assisting at the perpetration of such murders should be sentenced to imprisonment in transportation for life.

7th. On this principal the three Prisoners named below upon whom you have proposed to pass sentence of 14 years imprisonment in fetters, with stripes and hard labour are to be transported for life, the corporal punishment being remitted. These several individuals although their office was that of watchmen, have nevertheless been fully proved to be notorious Thugs to have belonged to the gang of murderers apprehended; and to have been present at the murders committed :—

(21) Heera, (41) Godhun and (43) Nasir. Total—3.

8th. So also in regard to the three prisoners named below for whom you have proposed seven year imprisonment, these persons having been proved to be notorious Thugs and to have been present at several murders though there is no proof of their having actually assisted as principals in the perpetration of those crimes, are considered to be fit objects of punishment by transportation for life. More particularly the prisoner Sadoolah,

whom the witness Busuntee deposes, was the person who threw the infant child alive into the grave of its murdered parents at Lucknadow, but in these cases also, the sentence of corporal punishment is remitted :—

Lakhnadow

(18) Sadoollah, (23) Rambut 1st and (32) Rajaram.

9th. The five prisoners named below are proved to be Thugs by profession and were arrested in company with noted Thugs; but are not proved to have been with the gang when the murders were committed. They are, therefore, ordered to be detained in custody till they furnish the security required by you :—

(69) Omied, (70) Nehal, (71) Munsokh, (73) Chotah and (74) Urzoon. Total—5.

10th. The 15 Prisoners whose names are inserted below, are stated to have been boys at the time they were apprehended 1822/23; their several ages however are not mentioned, and they are all proved to be hereditary Thugs, whose fathers mostly belong to the Gang. They have likewise all been in the gang on their expeditions and have been present at the several murders committed :—

(3) Doorga 1st, (8) Joomun Khan, (10) Kunhoy 2nd, son of Faiza, (13) Junghee, (20) Manoollah, (22) Hussian Rae, (24) Peer Khan, (28) Hussun Khan, (30) Shere Khan, (35) Mohun (dead), (36) Nawun 1st, son of Mohun, (57) Bhugwan, (60) Gulab, (61) Chese and (62) Aman. Total—15.

11th. It is not probable that any of the 15 youths last named will have the means of furnishing the security required and as they have now probably attained the age of maturity, they could not be released (practised and hardened as they are in crimes, and unaccustomed as they are, to any honest occupation) without the risk of their immediately returning to their former habits. Before any final orders therefore are passed on these young delinquents the Vice President in Council desires that you will report their several ages—also whether any of them are capable of giving the required security, likewise what occupation they propose to follow in the event of their release, and where they would reside. On all the above points, they should be interrogated separately apart from each other, and the names of places of abode of those whom they may name as connections and friends should also carefully be noted down for future reference if necessary.

12th. The approvers named below are to be released unconditionally :—

(66) Thakordass and (68) Mahadeo. Total—2.

and Captain Sleeman is to be authorized to receive into service, the several approvers, also named below, as proposed by that Officer namely under surveillance, at Salaries of four and three rupees subject to the penalty of imprisonment, for life, if they abscond [and] are again apprehended :—

Busuntee, Dhun Sing, Doulut, Gungaram, Chehtanea and Dulput.

13th. You will be pleased to report what reward you would propose to grant to the witnesses Motee and Kullyan Sing for the services rendered by them and whether such reward should be in land or money.

14th. Finally with regard to the several approvers, who may be taken into service it appears expedient that they should be employed chiefly in aid of the objects for which an additional Toomun of Nujeebs are to be maintained under the direction of Captain Sleeman. They should be required to execute a Muchulka not to absent themselves without permission, and in order the better to ensure their zealous and active services, they should be assured of rewards on any occasion that they may render essential service, by giving information leading to the apprehension and conviction of Thugs.

* * * *

I have, &c.,

(Sd.) G. SWINTON,
Chief Secretary to the Government.

FORT WILLIAM :

2nd April 1831.

Jubbulpore Division Supplementary Records, C. F. No. 5-1831, (Thuggee Department).

To

F. C. SMITH, ESQR.,
Agent of the Governor General
in the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories.

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 25th Ultimo, transmitting copy of one from Captain Sleeman with a list of Thugs at large in March last, and in reply to state, that it does not appear to call for any particular orders from the Governor General, the needful information having been communicated by you to the Magistrates and other officers concerned.

2. The acknowledgements of the Government are due to Captain Sleeman for the pains with which the matter has been investigated and the several associations traced by his exertions.

It is presumed you will have sent a duplicate of your despatch under acknowledgement to the Presidency for the information of the Vice President in Council.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

H. T. PRINSEP,

Secretary to the Governor General.

SIMLA.

14th May 1831.

(Copy)

Political Department. To

MAJOR SOW,

Resident at Gualior.

SIR,

With reference to the Despatch from your Assistant to the address of the Secretary to the Governor General, dated the 19th Ultimo, and to Mr. Prinsep's letter to you dated the 7th Instant, I am directed to convey to you, the following orders of the Honourable the Vice President in Council, with respect to the disposal of the several Thugs on whose cases Captain Dyke had held proceedings.

2. The Vice President in Council concurring with the Governor General in opinion that there is ample ground to conclude that the two prisoners Drigpal and Ramchund are professional Thugs of such desperate character that it would be unsafe to release them, has resolved that they shall be transmitted to Agra to be kept in confinement, until Government shall be satisfied that they may be released without danger to the community.

3. You will accordingly be pleased to send the two Prisoners above mentioned under safe custody to the Judge of Agra, who will be instructed to keep them in close confinement.

4. With respect to the other Prisoners seized on the application of Captain Dyke to the Gualior Durbar, the Vice President in Council is pleased to direct that the Women and Boys be released, and the rest be sent to Captain Sleeman at Saugor, to be confronted with the witnesses at his command, when if not recognized as professional Thugs, they are also to be released otherwise proceedings will of course be instituted by Captain Sleeman to bring them to conviction.

5. The Boy Matadeen is to be detained at Gualior, to be disposed of as the result of Mr. Wellesley's further enquiries

Gwalior.

may lead to the discovery of his parentage. Mr. Wellesley will be instructed to correspond with you on this subject.

I have, &c.,

(Sd.) GEO. SWINTON,
Chief Secretary to Government.

FORT WILLIAM :

25th March 1831.

(Copy)

To

H. T. PRINSEP, ESQR.,
Secretary to the Governor General.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 21st Ultimo, and to report for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor General the measures adopted by me to promote the apprehension of the Sirdar Thugs harboured by the Khyrooa Jagheerdars and to prevent the recurrence of similar criminality on the part of the petty chiefs and their feudatories under this Agency.

2nd. On the 27th of November last the Soobadar of Jhansi was requested to call on the Thakoor of Khyrooa to answer to the charge of having harboured those miscreants and facilitating their escape. His best exertions were desired to effect their apprehension, and he was instructed if the Thakoor's explanation was unsatisfactory to punish them. On the 6th of February the Soobadar was informed that as no intimation of his having complied with request had been received from Jhansi, I expected he would immediately attack the Jageer if the Sirdar Thugs had not in the interim been seized and delivered up by the Thakoors. On the 1st instant the Vakeel of Jhansi communicated to me that a force was proceeding against Khyrooa, on which I despatched a Horseman to Jhansi to request the Soobadar to send the Jagheerdars to me, and as that Jagheer is situated amongst ravines and near the frontier of the Gualior, Dutteah and Oorcha States, all the native officers on the border of Jhansi were desired to co-operate with the Jhansi force.

Gwalior. Datia
Orequa.

I have, &c.,

(Sd.) M. AINSLIE,
Acting Governor General.

A. G. G. G.'s OFFICE,
BUNDELCUND HUMEERPOOR.
6th March 1831

Bundelkhand
Hamirpur.

To

F. C. SMITH, ESQR.,
*Agent to the Governor General,
 Saugor and Nerbudda Territories.*

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 9th Instant, forwarding Copy of one from Captain Sleeman with its enclosure, and in reply to state, that the Governor General cannot contemplate that the depredations and outrages of the Thugs will come to the pass to require that British Officers travelling for their own convenience generally with numerous servants should require to be furnished with Escorts more especially if the measures in progress to suppress this system of robbery and murder are attended with the desired success.

Cawnpore.

2. The case of the European stated to have been murdered with all his servants between Banda and the Chihtara Ghaut, even supposing the facts to be correctly reported by the Sirdar Feringheea would not warrant any measures of the description recommended; but His Lordship trusts that you have furnished the Magistrates of Banda and Cawnpoor with full statements of the particulars in order to enable them to use their utmost exertions to ascertain the facts and verify on the contrary the account given by Feringheea of this murder.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

H. T. PRINSEP,

Secretary to the Governor-General

CAMP MEERUT:

The 25th February 1831.

To

F. C. SMITH, ESQR.,
*Agent to the Governor General,
 Saugor and Nerbudda Territories.*

SIR,

I am directed by the Right Honorable the Governor General to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 20th Ultimo, with its enclosures on the subject of the further measures adopted by Captain Sleeman for the apprehension of a

party of Thugs of whose proceedings he has received information and mentioning the capture of Feringheea a notorious Sirdar whom he proposed to make instrumental to further discoveries with other matters.

2. The points on which His Lordship's orders appear to be required are the following :—

Firstly.—In respect to the opposition experienced from the holder of Khyrooa stated to be a dependent of Jhansi (and by Captain Sleeman called the Dutteah Chief) which occasioned a failure of the plan for the apprehension of the gang, laid upon information of undoubted correctness.

Datia.

Secondly.—In respect to the further pursuit of the Gang by a small party of Nujeebs stated to be under orders to follow them towards the unsettled Country of Jypoor and Runtumbhoor.

Jaipur. Ranthambhor.

Thirdly.—In respect to the measures adopted towards Feringheea, the Leader, whose person has been secured through the exertions of Captain Sleeman and the Party of Nujeebs sent to apprehend him.

3. On the first point, His Lordship presumes, that you have not failed to address Mr. Ainslie in order to procure that the Khyrooa Jageerdar should be called to account for his want of co-operation in the attempt to break up these gangs of Thug Murderers. A Copy of such parts of your letter and of its enclosure as relates to the misconduct of this Jageerdar will be sent to that Officer with an intimation that the Governor General will consider any Chief or servant, or dependent of a Chief who may be convicted of knowingly harbouring or encouraging murderers of this class to be offenders against the tranquillity and peace of the Country, and liable to be proceeded against with the utmost severity. Mr. Ainslie in conducting the inquiry into the complaint preferred against the Khyrooa Jageerdar, and to take every possible means of giving publicity to the determination of the Governor General in this respect.

Jaipur.

4. With respect to the second point noticed above, the Governor General doubts the expediency of sending small detachments into parts so disturbed as the Country of Jypoor is at present represented to be, more especially, as the Durbar, cannot in the present state of things either give effectual protection to the party, or be held responsible for any resistance or ill-treatment they might experience. In undisturbed Countries the only point to be considered is, that the party shall be strong enough to overpower any resistance of the gang. The principle Captain Sleeman will of course act upon, being that the Officers and Authority of the Local Government or Chief, will be available in aid of the laudable purposes in view.

5. On the third point, *viz.*, the course to be pursued towards Feringheea who has been apprehended and is now held in Jail; but who has been encouraged to give information by the

hope of procuring a pardon. The Governor General having given his attentive consideration to the circumstances stated in relation to this great Criminal, feels some reluctance in sanctioning his receiving a pardon on any terms, more especially as his previous employment on the public service under Sir David Ochterlony and the testimonials he is said to have received from that distinguished public officer, give a colour to his after-crimes particularly revolting. The profession of Thuggee would not seem to have been taken up by him from necessity or from any difficulty in procuring a respectable livelihood, but upon a deliberate calculation of the distinction and wealth attaching to the situation of leader.

6. Nevertheless, as it would seem, that hopes of conditional pardon have already been held out to Feringheea, and as from his intelligence and position in respect to the bands of Thugs still at large, much benefit can be derived from the information he has it in his power to give, and more particularly from a conviction that his public treachery will be a means of breeding distrust and so breaking up the associations in existence, His Lordship has been induced to confirm the pardon proposed to be granted conditionally to this man. You will accordingly direct Captain Sleeman to give effect to the proposition submitted by him for availing himself of his information.

7. Feringheea must, however, not be led to expect that he will ever be released from confinement and the pardon to be offered to him must, as proposed, extend only, to the specific offences of which he may make full confession naming his accomplices.

8. The authority given by you for the immediate distribution of the reward advertised for the capture of this leader of Thugs, and the manner of distribution ordered by you, that is, without deduction for the contingent expenses of the detachment, are approved and sanctioned.

I have the honour to be,
SIR,
Your most obedient servant,

H. T. PRINSEP,
Secretary to the Governor-General.

CAMP GUJROWLA :
The 21st February 1831.

*Subbulpore Division Supplementary Records C. F. No. 1 of 1832,
Thuggy Department.*

No. 532-Political

To

GEORGE SWINTON, ESQUIRE,
Chief Secretary to Government,
Fort William.

Camp Buttyegunga, the 25th March 1832.

*(Commissioner's report was formerly forwarded and a copy
now annexed.)*

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter under date the 12th instant, and in reply to state for the information of the Honourable the Vice President in Council that the report promised in the 4th paragraph of my dispatch of the 13th July 1831, was submitted to Mr. Secretary Prinsep on the 16th December 1831 duplicate of which was forwarded on the 19th of that month to you. I now annex a copy in case the report has been mislaid in your office.

2. The Honourable the Vice President in Council will observe on the arrival of the 26 trials of Trugs about to be dispatched for his sanctions and orders that a great and successful blow has been struck at the confederacy of Thugs combined for the murder and plunder of all travellers found defenceless on the high roads of India and scenes of horror such as have seldom been described before have been brought to light and substantiated by evidence the most conclusive and undeniable.

3. *But as the evil would be increased by a cessation Captain Sleeman has been retained.*—But to stop the prosecution of the measures hitherto adopted and still in progress for the destruction of these gangs of murderers would bring back the evils with redoubled violence and would enable the Thugs to prosecute their horrid avocation with additional security arising from the knowledge they have acquired by woeful experience of the tactics adopted to defeat them. It became therefore absolutely necessary to retain the invaluable services of Captain Sleeman on this duty at Saugor.

4. *A deputation allowance as a compensation for his labours submitted for approval.*—The duty thus entrusted to him is one of great trust requiring much judgment, considerable knowledge of the native character and disposition, and exceeding labours. Saugor is also a very unhealthy place in comparison with his proper station and his expenses at Jubulpore—in addition to the discomfort of being absent from his home are much increased. It would, therefore, I humbly submit be but an act of justice and it would not more than place him on an equality with his former allowances at Jubulpore, to allow him a deputation allowance of 500 rupees per mensem for such period he may be engaged in arresting the gangs of Thugs still at large in India North of the Nerbudda.

5. *Two seasons are still required for the work after which extra expenses will not be required.*—It will require two seasons more to carry the object of Government into successful execution and after the lapse of that period a watchful eye over the remnant of the fraternity at large will still be requisite to prevent their resuscitation but I hope and trust the State will not be put to any extra expense from that time.

Bundelkhuned.

Doab.

6. Having nearly cleared Bundelkhund and Central India we are about to pursue and to bring to justice the Thugs who reside in the Dooab and I propose in a few days to transmit to you a list of them, known to be practising war-fare against mankind in our Western provinces. I only hope our interference will not give umbrage to the magistrates of these provinces but on the contrary that we shall meet with their cordial support and assistance. I return Captain Sleeman's Deputation bill.

I have, etc.,

(Sd.) F. C. SMITH,

Agent to Governor-General.

Answered 16th April 1832.

No. 794-Political

To

W. H. MACNAGHTEN, ESQR.,

Secretary to Governor General,

Simlah.

Jupulpore, the 24th April 1832.

SIR,

I have the honour to submit for the information of His Lordship copy of a letter addressed to me by Captain Sleeman under date 18th April 1832 with several Functionaries named below:—

- 1 letter to Political Agent, Kotah.
- 2 letters to Political Agent, Ajmeer.
- 2 letters to Political Agent, Bhurtpore.
- 1 letter to Magistrate, Agra.

Ajmer.
Bharatpur.

Jaipur.

Doab.

2. I trust our detachments will prove successful in the search but they met with so much resistance last year particularly in the Jeypoor Territories that I apprehend we may fail unless His Lordship will be pleased to grant us his protection and countenance by a direct reference to the Political authorities in that part of the country.

3. I have now by me a list of the Thugs at large in the Dooab amounting to 464 men, copies have been distributed among the magistrates and applications made for this aid and I have also a list of the Thugs at large south of the Nerbudda in

number 150 but as I shall probably have to propose a plan for His Lordship's sanction to secure their arrest, I shall defer troubling you on the subject until I receive replies from the Residents of Nagpore and Hyderabad to which the plan has been sent for their observations.

Nagpur.

I have, etc.,
(Sd.) F. C. SMITH,
Agent to Governor-General.

Answered 15th May 1832.

No. 853-Political Thuggee

To

G. SWINTON, ESQUIRE,
*Chief Secretary to Government,
Political Department,
Fort William.*

*Government versus Bahadur Khan and 20 others.
Crime—Thuggee.*

Jubulpore, the 3rd May 1832.

SIR,

I have the honour to submit the second or Bheelpoor and Makunnee Thug trial noted above with the sentences passed on all the prisoners for the confirmation of Government.

2. For the preliminary observations respecting the evidence and an account of the approvers permit me to refer you to my letter in the first trial, dated the 26th April, with this addition; first, that all the Thugs are proved to have followed the profession up to the day of arrest unless otherwise specified, and second, that it is my intention in my general report to submit the treatment I consider the approvers deserve in future. If you will, therefore, bring these remarks before Government with each successive trial I shall feel obliged as it will spare the necessity of constant repetitions.

3. This gang has been convicted of having perpetrated the murder of 25 individuals between December 1830 and March 1831 and of the robbery of their property valued at 2,000 rupees. A portion of the gang originally united with the gang on the first trial and after proceeding with them as far as Beesanuggar they parted company. From Beesanuggar they travelled in search of prey all the way to Baroda but without success. They consequently determined to return. On their arrival at Bheelpore they murdered five individuals. They then appeared to have ascended the Malwa Ghauts and to have reached as far as Sajawulpore where they fell in with Lal Khan* Jamadar and a party of Thugs and they retraced their steps towards Guzerat with him. At Shahjehanpore they murdered two men. A portion of the

Gujarat.
Shahjehanpur.

* An approver in this case.

gang then diverged to Rungnode where they strangled one man and overtook the gang below the Ghauts at Chotee Odeypore where the fourth case of murder of two men was perpetrated. They then without meeting with further success reached Baroda where they stayed a few days and then returned towards Malwah. At Bheelpore where they stayed two days they slew at two intervals eight people of considerable respectability, one being a Parsi writer and others sepoys of the Company's army. The gang then proceeded to Makunnee where they strangled seven persons including Dhoul Singh Soobadar of irregular infantry with his servants. The gang then dispersed and returned homewards.

Udaipur
In the 3rd, 6th
and 7th cases.

Malwa

4. The names of several of the persons slain have been obtained. The bodies of 12 persons have been pointed out, part of the property stolen has been produced in Court. Altogether the evidence against the prisoners appears of a most conclusive nature and I therefore beg to recommend that the sentences may be confirmed.

I have, etc.,
(Sd.) F. C. SMITH,
Agent to the Governor-General.

N.B.—Boys and Thugs not proved to have been present at any particular murder have been sentenced to imprisonment for life or for such period as it may be deemed fit to release them on security.

To

G. SWINTON, ESQUIRE,
*Chief Secreatry to Government in the
Political Department,
Fort William.*

Jubulpore, the 8th May 1832.

SIR,

I have the honour to submit the trial noted below for the orders of Government:—

Fourth or Akola Trial—Government *versus* Munneeram and 73 other prisoners. *Crime—Murder by Thuggee.*

2. The case appears very voluminous but the bulk has been occasioned more by the number of prisoners tried than by the voluminous nature of the evidence. The sentences are, however, I trust so clearly drawn up that His Honor the Vice-President in Council will not be put to much trouble or inconvenience in passing his orders on the prisoners.

3. I consider this to be one of the best proved cases of the many well substantiated Thug Trials held by me at Saugor. There being no less than four confessions besides the evidence of approvers and ample circumstantial evidence to prove the guilt of the prisoners.

4. It is proved in evidence that an immense gang of Thugs acknowledged by the confessing prisoners to have exceeded 300 Thugs assembled under various leaders at Dhar in Malwah situate at the top of the Ghauts between Mhow in Malwah and Baroda in Gazerat. They there fell in with Soobadar Lalsingh who was travelling from Hindoostan towards Baroda in search of service with his wife and child, a handmaid and seven men servants. Dirgpal and Ajeebee, the former a Soobadar, the latter a Jemadar of Thugs persuaded this unfortunate man that they had a brother at Baroda high in office with the Guicwar and that if he would join their party they would obtain for him a situation on his arrival. He listened to their advice and for five or six days he marched in their company entertaining them the whole time at his expense. When they arrived at Akola the desired opportunity presented itself and the whole of these confiding men were strangled with the exception of the little child, who was preserved by Luchee (deceased) brother to Dirgpal Soobadar and who was ultimately found in his house.

Malwa.

Malwa.

Hindustan.

5. The child, a red and yellow saree [gold-lace], a saddle cloth and a Toshuk which belonged to the murdered party have been produced in Court and identified to have been their property and the boy who is with Captain Sleeman at Saugor still (and has always) retains the name of Girdharee given to him by his unfortunate parents.

6. In your letter of the 25th March 1831, you informed me that some prisoners would be transmitted to me from Gwalior against whom no certain proof could be obtained either there or at Indore. One of those prisoners has turned out to be Dirgpal, a Soobadar of Thugs, one of their most influential leaders. This result is likely to produce a favourable impression on prisoners of the correctness of our information and to prove the impossibility of Thug leaders now to escape from punishment or from recognition whenever arrested.

7. There are several prisoners upon whom I have passed sentence of imprisonment for life or for such period as it may be deemed unsafe to release them on security. They are either youths or persons proved to be Thugs but not to have been present at any particular murders. It is probable they may be convicted next sessions of some specific offence, but at all events it would be most injurious to release such characters for many years to come; for the Thugs themselves acknowledge that like tigers whenever they have tasted human blood, they cannot be deterred from attacking the human species whenever they find an opportunity.

8. There is one prisoner Motee No. 73 sentenced to be hanged whose case requires explanation.

Lacknadoon.

9. In 1823 he joined the Lucnadown gang and it was chiefly through his instrumentality that that immense gang was arrested. He was in consequence admitted as an approver and permitted to go at large on security. He ran away and it was not until his securities had been forfeited and till the Darbar at Gwalior was addressed that he could be arrested. He a second time ran away and was finally brought back a short time before I submitted the Lucnadown case. It appears that after he turned approver he took to his old trade, was a Jemadar in this murder besides others and studiously avoided in his deposition in the Lucnadown case to mention the present murder nor would he give any information respecting Lalsingh Soobadar's murder until he found several witnesses come forward. He then was willing enough to give evidence, but it was too late.

10. It is necessary to rule these Thug approvers who are the vilest of the vile, with a rod of iron otherwise we can have no hold upon those at present employed and they will become as great scourges to mankind as ever. I therefore trust that the sentence passed will be sanctioned.

11. The whole family of Lalsingh Soobadar being extirpated, it becomes difficult to say what should be done with his son Girdharee. I think it would be best to allow 3 rupees per mensem till he is sufficiently old to provide for himself and then to make him a Burkundaz.

I have, etc.,
 (Signed) F. C. SMITH,
 Agent to the Govenor-General

No. 1158

To

G. SWINTON, ESQUIRE,
*Chief Secretary to Government,
 Political Department,
 Fort William.*

Jubbulpore, the 26th May 1832.

SIR,

I have the honour to transmit for the orders of Government the 17th Bhaunpore and Dhurrah case noted below:—

*Government versus Chinsah and 78 prisoners. Crime—
 Murder and robbery.*

2. It appears that an immense gang of Thugs upwards of 150 in number were returning in 1817 A.D. from Indore. They passed through Rampore and then arrived at Bhaunpore where they encamped near a Bowlee. Here five sepoys in Holcur's service came to drink and were persuaded to halt near the gang.

Bhanpura.

Rampura.
Bhanpura.

At night they were all strangled. The gang remained stationary two days after which a Toomundar and four sepoys arrived and were in a similar manner induced to halt and murdered.

3. The gang then marched in the direction of Durrah. At Sunhera Akbar Mohammad Khan son-in-law to the late Nawab Ghuffoor Khan with nine men and his wife joined the gang and marched with them to Dhurrah. They all put up at a Dhurm-sala and the gang at night strangled the whole of them and buried them in the court yard.

4. A part of the gang then went to Anuntpore 10 or 12 coss off where they destroyed a Moonshee with two servants and two Hurkaras who had come from Hoshangabad.

5. The bodies of the two last murders have been pointed out and disinterred and it is proved by Captain Borthwick's letter that the son-in-law of the Nawab was actually destroyed about the period in question. A remarkable quarrel between Kullian Singh and Chotee, two approvers about a catamite served to impress the recollection of these murders more firmly on the minds of the approvers.

6. There are two prisoners Kader Khan and Mudeh Khan about whom it is necessary for me to say a few words. These prisoners were arrested while in the service of the Bejawur Rajah and have been serving as artillery men for some years. The Rajah appears to consider the persecution of these two individuals as having originated in spite, but the evidence clearly shows that the pretence is false.

7. Their father's name was Cassim who died in Huttah a convicted Thug. Their uncle is Noor Khan or Nutholee Jemadar a very notorious Thug whose two sons have been within the last two years punished. One Sadee is the person, who in the Lucknadow case was employed to play as a Musician before the Moonshee while preparations for murdering him and his servants were making.

8. I have made many enquiries on the subject of these prisoners and am satisfied that they ought not for a very long time if ever to be released. It is true they can find security; but money is no object to Thugs who if clever in their profession can always sell their services for a large sum and besides it is necessary to deprive the Thugs of all protectors.

9. Since we have commenced the systematic extermination of these gangs, many Thugs have entered into service with different Rajahs in hopes of being thereby protected and even the notorious Rambuksh for whose arrest I was authorized to offer a reward of 500 rupees is now in the service of the brother-in-law of His Highness the Guicwar. To release these two prisoners would be in fact to enable them to protect their brethren still at large.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) F. C. SMITH,

Agent to the Governor-General.

No. 1147

To

W. H. MACNAUGHTEN, ESQUIRE,

Agent to the Governor-General,

Simla.

Simla.

Jabulpore.

Jubbulpore, the 29th May 1832.

SIR,

In submitting a list of the chief Thugs who reside in the territories of the Nizam and other Native authorities south of the Nerbudda, I intimated in my despatch of the 24th April last that I should shortly propose a plan for the arrest and trial of these numerous murderers.

2. Having now received from the Residents at Hyderabad and Nagpore the information I solicited from them, I shall venture to intrude on the valuable time of the Governor-General with my sentiments on the documents noted below:—

Captain Sleeman's letter of the 12th April 1832 with its enclosure.

Captain Sleeman's letters with annexations from Major Stewart, dated the 30th April and 12th May 1832.

Mr. Greeme's letter, dated the 23rd May 1832.

The narrative of Syed Ameer Ali forwarded with a letter from Captain Sleeman, dated the 22nd May 1831.

3. The late trials at Saugor abundantly prove the urgent and indispensable necessity of immediate and vigorous measures being adopted to check and if possible eradicate a most extensive combination against the lives and properties of all travellers throughout India and particularly in the Deccan and in an especial manner against the classes of men commonly known by the name of Rokereas—men from the avocations of treasure-carriers peculiarly exposed to danger and the sepoy of our regular armies from the sister Presidencies.

See list in Captain Sleeman's letter of the 23rd May 1831. Number of murders related by him. Amount of property robbed

4. The number of principal Thugs at large in the Nizam's territories which only includes the most notorious consisting of 150 professional assassins is of itself sufficiently appalling; but a perusal of the dreadful narrative dictated by Syed Ameer Ali, and approver of ours, would, I think, satisfy the most incredulous, not only that immediate measures are called for to root out these pests and enemies of mankind, but that the Native Governments are entirely unfit to be entrusted with such a task requiring as it does both energy of mind and an honest determination to perform a great public duty without regard to private interests and uninfluenced by the depraved passions of individuals.

5. Captain Sleeman proposes that an officer of experience should be appointed to arrest the Thugs at large in the Deccan and collect the evidence necessary to prove their guilt and that

the Resident at Nagpore should hold periodical sessions at Chinndwarrah to try such Thugs as should be committed for trial from among the assassins arrested south of the Nerbudda reserving for himself the duty of clearing the Provinces North of the Nerbudda and committing such as he should seize to be tried by me at Saugor. I should here observe that the arrest and punishment of the Thugs South of the Nerbudda having already commenced with vigour and success and an officer to conduct the enquiries having been appointed by the Hyderabad Resident nothing now remains but to constitute a tribunal before which such prisoners as may be committed for trial may be judged.

Nagpur.

6. Major Stewart with great zeal and alacrity has fully entered into our views and has appointed an officer in whose zeal and ability he can confide to conduct all preliminary investigations.

7. Mr. Graeme for reasons set forth in his despatch to me considers all extraordinary proceedings uncalled for by the state of the Police in the Nagpore Territories, but will exert himself to assist us with all his influence. He also objects to being constituted the judge of the tribunal to decide the commitments made on the South of the Nerbudda.

8. For these reasons Captain Sleeman's plan of constituting a tribunal at Chinndwarah must fall to the ground and another scheme must be substituted in its stead.

Chhindwara.

9. There are several obvious modes:—

First.—Entrusting the trial of all Thug commitments South of the Nerbudda to the Native Authorities of the place, or

Second.—Constituting a tribunal consisting of one European and several Native Judges as proposed by Mr. Graeme, or

Third.—Confiding the duty to the Resident of Hyderabad, or lastly of bringing to trial before the Agent to the Governor-General at Saugor all Thugs arrested through the instrumentality of the Saugor approvers.

There may be others but these appear to me the most feasible.

10. The first plan of entrusting the trial of Prisoners to the common Native tribunals of the country, is I consider out of the question. The narrative of Ameer Ali alone will show the futility of such a scheme and the sale and purchase of Thug prisoners which so long disgraced the Native States in Bundelkhund and which has been so fully exemplified by the conduct of Beharee Lal Seth the Gumashtah of Dunraj Seth, are sufficient grounds for rejecting tribunals who make a mockery of justice and do not hesitate to sanction crimes profitable to the Rulers themselves.

Bundelkhand.

11. The second; of constituting a mixed tribunal, as proposed by Mr. Graeme, is, I think, liable to many grave objections. All natives may be said, without any want of charity, to have their price; though some are rated higher than others.

The Thugs have not only money of their own but can procure large sums by the sale of their future services in the Thug profession. To constitute a tribunal of persons so liable to be corrupted to investigate into cases of the nature of those which will be brought before them when 10,000 rupees have been before now paid for the release of one Thug alone would endanger the success of the measures adopted to put down the trade; I consider Hindoos unfitted by their habits and religion from deciding without bias and favour in criminal trials where a large portion of the prisoners are Brahmins. Moreover, I object decidedly to any division of responsibility which becomes the weaker, the more it is sub-divided. The indifferent Judge is better than half a dozen of good judges, forming one court of justice. This principle seems to have been prominent in His Lordship's mind when the late extensive Reform of the Circuit Courts of this Presidency was planned and executed.

12. The third, namely, to confide the duty to the Resident of Hyderabad would probably have proved the most feasible; but it will be observed that Major Stewart has not contemplated such an exigency and I conclude from his never having presided in Judicial Courts of Justice he would neither desire nor accept such as novel, responsible and painful task.

13. Should His Lordship honor the above arguments with his approbation, the last scheme, namely, to send the prisoners after all preliminary local investigations have terminated to Saugor to be tried at the extraordinary Sessions to be held there by me periodically will probably be preferred.

14. The chief objection would consist of the great distance from the Hyderabad Territories, but when it is recollected that prisoners from Ajmere, the Dooab, Guzerat and Candesh have been prosecuted to conviction under the able superintendence of Captain Sleeman, it will probably be acknowledged that his supervision will more than compensate for any inconvenience which may be experienced by the adoption of the proposed measure.

15. The narrative of Ameer Ali and all the information we are possessed of, shows that the Thugs travelled all over India in search of prey and avoid as much as possible performing their murderous avocations near their domiciles. Their residence therefore in one country by no means requires that they should be there tried, on the contrary it is probable that the evidence required to convict them may be as easily procured here and at a short distance as at the nearest Court of India to their homes. The number of approvers at Saugor and the mass of information in Captain Sleeman's Office also points him out as the most eligible public officer to entrust with the duty of bringing them to trial. The Hyderabad Thugs will in all probability be convicted of murders on both sides of the Nerbudda River.

16. Finally in thus expressing the sentiments I entertain on this subject, I beg His Lordship will do me the justice to believe that it is not from any desire to monopolize the credit of extinguishing these bands of assassins, though I am fully susceptible of the honor and credit attending the successful termination

of such a duty, that I have arrived at the above conclusion, but from a sincere conviction that the ends of justice will be best answered and furthered thereby. I have abundant duty already in my hands and much more likely to take place by the late transfer of authority in the Revenue and Criminal Departments, it cannot therefore be either to my personal comfort or ease, to covet a duty, highly responsible, very laborious and exceedingly distressing to the feelings of a man, but I have in conjunction with Captain Sleeman undertaken the task of extirpating the gangs of Thugs which infest India and with God's blessing, I will not allow either a sense of ease or any other personal consideration to deter me from the performance of a duty I consider myself pledged to his Lordship to carry through all difficulties to a successful accomplishment.

I have, etc.,

(Sd.) F. C. SMITH,

Agent to the Governor-General.

P. S.—Duplicate of this dispatch and of its accompaniments will be duly forwarded to the Government at Calcutta.

—
No. 1211

To

G. SWINTON, ESQUIRE,

Chief Secretary to Government,

Political Department,

Fort William.

Jubbulpore, the 4th June 1832. Jubbulpore.

SIR,

I have the honour to forward for the orders of Government the 19th Thug Trial, noted below:—

19th or Silodeh case. *Government versus Khan Muhumud and 42 other prisoners.*

2. Shortly after the acquisition of Saugor by the British Government and before any measures for the improvement of the Police were undertaken an assemblage of Thugs estimated at 150 took place at the village of Siloda situated in the district of Saugor at that time under the management of Doorjan Patel. They met to celebrate the Hooly. One day a Pundit named Bhaoo Sahib and six companions arrived and ignorant of their characters put up in the grove with the gang. They were all strangled at night. Four days afterwards four Kanwureetees (holy water carriers) and one woman arrived and were also put to death.

3. Govind Rao Pundit, the Aumil of the district, hearing of their arrival sent to have them seized but Doorjan Patel became answerable for their appearance before him and in consequence they were not molested. The leaders with the Patel waited on the Aumil who, being satisfied they were not thieves, released them.

4. The bodies of the murdered people have been found and inquests held on their remains. Considering that the Bayeh *Sahiba of Saugor during her reign befriended the Thugs it is not to be wondered at that her subordinates acted in the same manner but still this does not excuse Doorjun Patel. It would not at present be prudent to release him on security otherwise as he has not been accused of such transactions of a later date some consideration for his age might be shown.

5. I addressed the Bareilly Magistrate on the [] requesting him to give me information respecting a noted Jemadar of Thugs named Bukt *alias* Kishen Singh said to be confined for life in the Jail of that District but have not received any reply to my letter.

I have, etc.,
 (Sd.) F. C. SMITH,
Agent to the Governor-General.

No. 1182

To

G. SWINTON, ESQUIRE,
*Chief Secretary to Government,
 Political Department.*

Jubbulpore, the 31st May 1832.

SIR,

I have the honour to forward for the orders of Government the 16th trial of Thugs noted below:—

Government *versus* Budloo and 31 others. *Crime—
 Robbery and murder.*

2. It is proved in evidence that a large body of Thugs on their return from their favourite seat, the road to Baroda, halted about two or three coss on the Baroda side of Dhar. While cooking, 10 persons arrived on their way from Baroda to the gangs. Five of them who were much knocked up by hard marching agreed to accompany the gang by easy marches but the others went on promising to wait for them at the Cantonment of Mhow. In the night or rather early next morning they were murdered about $1\frac{1}{2}$ coss on the Mhow side of the Dhar and buried in a Nalah.

3. When the gang arrived in the vicinity of Mhow they divided. One part went round outside the Cantonment; the other went into the Cantonment; but a portion of them proceeded without halting to Dadowda the appointed place of rendezvous.

*See Syed Ameer Ali's Narrative.

4. Buktawar Singh and Matadeen two of the sepoys who escaped the snares of the enemy recognizing Gunga Bishun, the speaker of the gang of Thugs enquired what had become of the brother of the latter named Hurreebuggut and receiving no satisfactory reply, they caused the arrest of such of the gang as could be seized. Gangabishun, there can be no doubt, confessed to the sepoy that his brother had been murdered. Part of the property belonging to the five murdered people was found on the prisoners and identified. Some of the prisoners were also recognized as having belonged to the party in whose company the murdered people were last seen, yet the Resident of Indore released them after a fruitless enquiry of a few days. There were ample grounds for detaining them on suspicion; and I have no doubt in my mind that if Gungabishun had been properly managed, he would eventually, have disclosed the whole affair and have pointed out where the bodies could be found. It is lamentable to reflect on how many lives may have been thus sacrificed by Mr. Wellesley's ignorance of Judicial business.

5. For a more detailed account of this transaction permit me to refer you to the letter noted in the margin, but I cannot avoid pointing out the remarkable plausibility which these villains possess, how speciously they can persuade even near relations to part company and with what confidence travellers throw themselves into the snares of the destroyer. It is a well known fact that the braver the traveller the easier he is destroyed and the Thug approvers acknowledge that their chief victims consist of sepoys who trusting to their strength and courage are easily allured to their destruction by the submissive and wily conduct of these accomplished villains. The Thugs evidently find it as easy to destroy both the confident soldier as the timid and fearful treasure-carrier.

Captain Sleeman's
letter 17th January
1832.

I have, etc.,
(Sd.) F. C. SMITH,

Agent to the Governor-General.

No. 1253

To

G. SWINTON, ESQUIRE,

*Chief Secretary to Government,
Political Department,
Fort William.*

Jubbulpore, the 9th June 1832.

SIR,

I have the honour to forward for the orders of Government the Thug case noted below:—

22nd or Deonuggur case Government *versus* Gurhoo and 36 others.

Crime—Murder and Robbery.

Narsinghpur. 2. About the year 1819 or the beginning of 1820 [? ?] for the date is not accurately ascertained, the valley of the Ner-budda was much infested by gangs of Thugs. Sixty who were on an expedition to the Deccan encamped at the village of Deo-nuggur, which is situated on the road between Nursingpore and Seonee and is surrounded by Jungle and Forests.

Hyderabad. 3. Next day two Byrages from Hyderabad arrived and shared the same fate.

4. The witnesses who were examined by me at Saugor stated that seven of the murdered people were Sonars or Goldsmiths. On opening the graves several sets of Goldsmith's tools were found, which corroborate in the strongest manner the truth of the evidence detailed in this case.

Narsinghpur. 5. I had intended to have been present at the opening of the graves but the approvers did not arrive in time and the duty therefore devolved on Mr. Gouthin, the Principal Assistant at Nursingpore, whose letter describing the transaction you will find in page 30*.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) F. C. SMITH,

Agent to the Governor-General.

No. 1178

To

G. SWINTON, ESQUIRE,
*Chief Secretary to Government,
Political Department,
Fort William.*

Jubbulpore.

Jubbulpore, the 10th June 1832.

SIR,

I have the honour to forward the 21st trial of Thugs noted below for the orders of Government:—

21st or Bersugnee first Trial, Government *versus* Dullel and 33 others.

Crime.—Murder and robbery.

2. These prisoners have been convicted of the murder of 14 persons in February 1820 and the case is perhaps the most atrocious of any I have submitted to Government.

3. A large gang on their way home met three travellers at an old ruined temple at Kamptee and murdered them in the usual manner. Shortly afterwards, Hurbuns being with one

arm, his brother Newul Singh Jemadar in the Nizam's Service with six male companions, two of whom were his sons-in-law, his two daughters and son arrived on their way to Sindee Palaree near Banda and travelled in company with the gang. These people before they arrived at Jubulpore were warned of the character of their associates; but they had become attached to some of them so sincerely that they disbelieved their friends and rejected the warning. It appears that the Thugs from pity for the youth and beauty of the girls had hitherto refrained from murdering them, believing that they had not much wealth in their possession, but unfortunately suspicion fell on a part of the gang who had entered Jubulpore with the Jemadar and they were all searched when Jewels to a large amount were discovered and the death of the whole party resolved on without remorse although the unfortunate girls actually sat during the search on the property stolen from the three travellers at Kamptee to save these inhuman wretches.

Jubulpore.

Jubulpore.

4. After a few marches the whole 11 were strangled at Busegnee in the Punna Jagheer.

5. The bodies have been found and the relations of the murdered and their names, etc., satisfactorily ascertained. Two prisoners confess this foul act.

•

I have, etc.,

(Sd.) F. C. SMITH,

Agent to the Governor-General.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT

(Copy)

To

THE HONOURABLE R. CAVENDISH,
Resident at Gwalior.

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 4th Instant, and a copy has been subsequently received from the Governor-General's Agent in the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories of his letter to your address, dated the 7th Instant, both on the subject of Thuggee.

2. As the parties of Thugs carry their depredations in the course of one season through a variety of independent States to the remotest corners of India, it is next to impossible that any one of the protected States can possess the information beforehand which would enable it to apprehend them while they are in progress through its own Territories. The rapidity of their movements and the disguises they assume generally secure them from detection upon the spot and by the time the murderers are discovered, they have passed on to another jurisdiction where they cannot be followed. In short it is only by a well combined

system of operations which embraces in its scope the whole of India that these miscreants can be followed up and brought to justice and the performance of this duty, like the extirpation of the hordes of Pindarries naturally devolves upon the supreme power.

3. Saugor being the most central of the British possessions, the Officer in charge of that Province has been entrusted with the execution of this duty, with the valuable assistance of Captain Sleeman his efforts have been attended with eminent success. Great numbers of the Thugs have been apprehended and executed and, as the mass of evidence he has collected has put in possession of the names and, in many cases, furnished him with the means of conviction nearly all the professional Thugs in Upper India he is enabled to act with a degree of certainty and efficiency which, if his efforts are properly supported by the local authorities, promises the speedy extirpation of these miscreants.

4. I have been directed to furnish you with this brief outline of the motives which induced Government to entrust Mr. Smith with the task of putting down the system of Thuggee with a view to impress upon you in the most serious manner the necessity which exists for your seconding and assisting his efforts with all the means at your command.

I have, etc.,

SHIMLA : (Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTON,

The 24th June 1832. Secretary to the Governor-General.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT

(Copy)

To

THE HON'BLE R. CAVENDISH,

Resident at Gwalior.

SIR,

I am directed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter, dated the 17th Instant, on the subject of the efforts now making for the suppression of the Crime of Thuggee.

2. You are under a mistake in supposing that Informers are sent from the Saugor Territory into all independent states to apprehend Thugs. These Informers are sent merely for the purpose of pointing out the Individuals who have been in the habit of practising this atrocious offence.

3. Your suggestion that a British Officer, Civil or Military, of great experience and regard for the right and independence of the native states should be deputed to accompany the party in quest of Thugs could not be carried into effect without great inconvenience. Indeed such a deputation would be impracticable

consistent with the secrecy and celerity of movement required to give effect to the expedition in search of those wily and vagrant offenders.

4. A trustworthy Subadar has been attached to each of the parties sent from the Saugor Territories and should you or the authorities at the Durbar notwithstanding this precaution, apprehend that there is a danger of collusion for oppressive purposes between the party so deputed and the Gwalior Police, you are at liberty, His Lordship observes, to depute any other officer in whom you may have confidence to act as a check upon their proceedings.

5. That some of the Individuals pointed out as Thugs by the informers and apprehended as such may be innocent His Lordship is ready to admit, but he does not consider it at all probable that many instances of this nature are likely to occur nor does His Lordship think that we should suffer ourselves to be deterred by the prospect of possible evil from the prosecution of a scheme which would alone appear calculated to protect the lives and property of the Community from the most insidious and foulest of depredators.

6. You will of course lose no time in communicating to Mr. Smith any instance that may come to your knowledge of misconduct on the part of the individuals deputed by him and a copy of your letter now acknowledged will be forwarded by me to the same authority in order that he may adopt any further precautions which may in his opinion be likely to have the effect of preventing the inconveniences to the public which you appear to contemplate.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTON,
Secretary to the Governor-General.

SIMLAH :

Simla.

The 25th May 1832.

(Copy)

To

W. H. MACNAGHTON, ESQUIRE,
Secretary to the Governor-General.

SIR,

I have the honour to report that Informers are sent from the Saugor Territory into all independent states to apprehend Thugs or persons accused of being Thugs and that these informers are themselves Thugs acknowledging murders innumerable.

2. Whether all persons pointed out by them ought to be seized and delivered up to our police parties accompanying those Thugs is submitted for the consideration and orders of the Supreme Government. In my opinion no native or natives ought to be trusted with such unlimited power and I beg leave to suggest that a British Officer, Civil or Military, of great experience and regard for the rights and independence of the native states should be deputed with such a party or parties with instructions to institute to an immediate enquiry if the employment of informers be considered absolutely requisite for the suppression of Thuggee.

3. Now whoever is apprehended justly or unjustly is transported to Saugor unless the informer or party with him should find it more profitable to release him immediately and though the orders be positive for his transmission to Saugor, it may be doubted whether they are always attended to when the parties employed are so far removed from control or check but even granting the apprehended be always sent to Saugor, their apprehension, detention and confinement, if innocent, must be considered great evils.

4. The Gwalior Territory has had several visits for such purposes since my arrival, and having been a Magistrate in former days I know the difficulty of preventing extortion and oppression even when on the spot to check and punish any abuse of power and I do not like to see Independent States subject to such visitations unless in cases of extreme necessity and under the considerate surveillance of an experienced British Functionary.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) R. CAVENDISH,

Resident.

GWALIOR RESIDENCY :

The 17th May 1832.

P. S.—I have just received a report from the Kotewal of our Bazar confirmatory in some degree of the abuse of granting a roving commission to a party of natives free from all check and control.

(Signed) R. CAVENDISH,

Resident.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT

(Copy)

To

G. SWINTON, ESQUIRE,
Chief Secretary to Government,

SIR,

Fort William.

With reference to the letter to my address from the Agent to the Governor-General in the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories, dated the 29th Ultimo, a duplicate of which has been forwarded direct to Calcutta regarding the mode of proceeding

against the Thugs in the Nizam's Territory, I am directed to inform you that, if the plan meets with the concurrence of the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council, His Lordship proposes to invest the Resident at Hyderabad with the charge of apprehending the Thugs in the States of Hyderabad and Nagpore and other Countries to the South of our Territories upon the Nerbudda and of conducting their trials himself without any further restriction than may be imposed by the necessity of obtaining the final sanction of Government to the sentences passed upon them while Mr. Smith will still remain charged with the extirpation of the system in the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories, and in all the Countries situated to the North, East and West of that Province.

Nagpur.

2. His Lordship anticipates that Major Stewart's exertions will be productive of the happiest effects in the suppression of the System of Thuggee in the South of India and Mr. Smith and Captain Sleeman will of course communicate freely with him and Major Smith, the officer whom he has appointed to the immediate charge of apprehending the Thugs sending to them the approvers who are connected with that part of the country, and furnishing them with copies of such portions as they may require of the voluminous evidence which has given a clue to the persons of most of these miscreants and fully exposed their dreadful practices.

3. Should the course of proceeding above suggested be approved His Lordship requests that with a view to save time the necessary instructions may be issued direct from the Presidency to the authorities concerned.

I have, etc.,

(Sd.) W. H. MACNAGHTON,
Secretary to the Governor-General.

SHIMLA.
The 25th June 1832.

Simla.

[Received the 23rd August 1832.]

To

FRANCIS CURVIN SMITH, ESQUIRE,
*Agent to the Governor-General,
Saugor and Nerbudda Territories.*

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 2nd Instant, submitting a duplicate of your despatch to the address of the Secretary with the Governor-General of the 29th Ultimo, relative to a plan for the extirpation of the Gangs of Thugs to the Southward of the Nerbudda.

2. With reference to the 2nd paragraph of your letter to my address, I am directed to inform you that the Vice-President in Council is pleased to comply with your recommendation that

you should be authorized to an exemption from the punishment of death or from transportation for life in favour of the informer Syyud Ameer Alli.

3. On the subject of the 3rd paragraph of your letter, I am directed to inform you that it is not deemed advisable to hang in chains the bodies of those Thugs who may be condemned to suffer capital punishment. The number is too great, and it might be difficult to prevent the removal of the bodies by the numerous friends of the parties.

4. With regard to the publication of Syyud Ameer Alli's narrative, it is proposed to communicate it to one of the Editors of the periodical publications for that purpose.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obed'ent Humble Servant,

G. W. SWINTON,

Chief Secretary to the Government.

FORT WILLIAM :
The 25th June 1832.

(Copy)

To

W. H. MACNAGHTON, ESQUIRE,
Secretary to the Right Hon'ble the

Governor-General,

Political Department,

Simla.

SIR,

I have the honour to transmit to you for the purpose of being submitted to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, copies of three despatches to my address under dates as noted in the margin from the Political Agent at Bharatpur relative to the proceeding at that place, of a Moonshee and detachment of sepoys despatched under the orders of the Governor-General's Agent at Saugor in search of Thugs.

2. The conduct of the Moonshee in question Meer Villayet Ali as stated by Mr. Lushington and the Thug approvers who accompanied him in forcibly arresting a Brahmin and a sepahee in the service of the Bharatpur Rajah on a charge of Thuggery without even reporting his arrival to the Political Agent at Bharatpur, or informing the Regent Ministers of his reasons for so extraordinary an act cannot fail to attract the serious attention of His Lordship as illustrative of the procedure of a low Moonshee when vested with so large a share of discretionary authority in the Territory of a native, independent prince of India.

Bharatpur
13th June 1832.

Bharatpur.

Bharatpur.

3. The whole procedure of the Moonshee in this case as detailed by Mr. Lushington appears to me highly reprehensible and might have been attended by serious consequences had not that officer interfered as he did in so prompt and judicious a manner.

4. What must any independent Prince or Chieftain think of such a procedure, a common Moonshee accompanied by certain condemned murderers and a party of British Sepoys, proceeding direct to his Capital and therein forcibly seizing and arresting a Brahmin and one of the Prince's Soldiers without any charge of criminality or any communication having been made to the Prince himself, to his Ministers, or to the Agent residing at his Court? An act more unusual and more humiliating to the Prince, cannot be conceived.

5. Mr. Lushington's observations on this case in his letter to the address of the Agent to the Governor-General for the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories, and his conduct throughout, will I am satisfied meet the approbation of the Right Honorable the Governor-General.

6. I have made the necessary communication to the Rajah of Jeypoor as directed in your letter of the 15th ultimo of the intended journey of the party through that Territory for the apprehension of Thugs and have requested that the authorities there may be directed to afford them every proper assistance but I do not expect they will receive any; the natives strange as it may appear do not co-operate heartily in such undertakings and the very Moonshees who read the official letter to the Rajahs on the subject, have it in their power to thwart the measures in view by communicating the approach of the police party and thereby enabling the Thugs to keep out of the way.

Jaipur

7. The plan indeed proposed as far as I understand it from the papers in circulation appear to me objectionable in many respects and very ill-calculated to secure success. An ordinary native and perhaps an ignorant and indiscreet one too is not fitted for a duty of so much importance and requiring so large a portion of good sense, caution, discretion and address and the publicity given to his proceedings at any Town where the party may halt, as well as from the official communications to all the Chiefs of the country must excite alarm among the Gang of Thugs and keep them out of the way. The few respectable natives with whom I have conversed on the subject, seem to think that no good can arise from the plan now pursued but that a great deal of positive mischief may accrue from placing the honor and character of every native of the Country at the discretion of perhaps an intriguing and corrupt Moonshee.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) A. LOCKETT,

Agent to the Governor-General.

RAJPOOTANA AGENCY, AJMERE:

The 23rd June 1832.

Rajputana.

To

THE AGENT TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL,
Saugor and Nerbudda Territories.

SIR,

I have the honour to state for your information that the Detachment sent by you under Roostum Khan Subadar accompanied by Meer Vilayut Ali Moonshee and three Thug approvers arrived in these Territories about four days ago and that two persons have been apprehended by them on the evidence of the Thug approvers.

Bharatpur.

2. Previously to entering into an examination of the evidence on which these individuals have been arrested I feel it my duty to bring to your notice the (as I conceive) improper conduct of the Moonshee who accompanied the detachment in forcibly arresting a Sepahee in the service of the Bhrutpoor Raja on a charge of Thuggery without even reporting his arrival at Bhrutpoor to me, without having in any way informed the Bhrutpoor Regent Ministers of his reasons for so arresting the Sepahee or requested their aid or permission which had he done so, would have been most readily granted.

Bharatpur.

3. The circumstances of a Sepahee in the Raja's service and a Zamedar of a Bhrutpoor Village having been arrested by a guard of British Sepahees at the orders of a person styling himself a Moonshee from Saugor brought to my notice a few days ago by the Bhrutpoor authorities who at the same time expressed their surprise at this occurrence. I immediately sent a Chuprassy to summon the Moonshee Meer Vilayut Ali to the Agency and accordingly made his appearance in the course of a few hours accompanied by the Thugs and the Sepahee and Brahmin whom he had seized.

(Sd.) G. T. L.

4. Upon my questioning him as to the authority under which he had apprehended the aforesaid persons he produced* an English letter to my address from you and a Persian Purwanah which he said fully warranted his seizing all persons who might be accused of Thuggery by the approvers. I remarked in reply that if you had intended providing the letter and Purwanah by no means [produced] to confer that unlimited power of search and seizure not only in the Territory attached to Saugor but throughout Hindooostan you would not have deemed it necessary to furnish him with letters to the different Rajas of these parts nor would you have addressed a letter to me requesting my aid in apprehending offenders; that a procedure of the sort which had just occurred appeared to me highly irregular and improper and likely to lead to most unpleasant results by bringing him into collision with the native authorities and perhaps subjecting himself and companions to insult and outrage from the turbulent zemeendars of these parts. I stated to him that in my opinion he ought in the first instance to have applied to me or to the Bhrutpoor Ministers for permission to arrest certain persons suspected of Thuggery that Purwanahs and every assistance would have been most cheerfully granted him and the

Bharatpur.

*He had been 2 or 3 days in Bharutpoor.

Bhrutpoor Raja spared the humiliation of seeing his own servants arrested by British Troops on the evidence of a self-convicted murderer and common prostitute without his being so much as informed of the crime with which they were charged. To this the Moonshee replied that he had arrested various persons after the same fashion in the Gwalior, Dholepoor and Jeypoor Territory and that unless he had done so the Criminals would in all probability have heard of the objects of his mission and have made their escape accordingly.

Jaipur.

5. I have adverted to this point at such length because it appears to me of much importance, it involves with it the question whether Bhrutpoor is recognized as an independent state or not by the British Government? Whether its internal affairs are to be managed and its subjects controlled by its own Native Authorities alone? Or whether a Moonshee in the employ of the British Government and armed by Purwanahs from a British Officer in the Saugor and Nerbudda Territory has a right to [seize] upon Bhrutpoor Sepahees and subjects without the consent or knowledge of the Bhrutpoor Government? Admitting that the object with which the seizure was made is most desirable—granting also that the Thuggism is an evil and a reproach so [obnoxious] to our Government as almost to justify any means that may tend to its suppression. There still remains the question whether the end in view may not have been attained without having had recourse to a procedure of the nature above stated.

Bharatpur.

6. The prisoners of course assert their entire innocence of the crime imputed to them and I must confess that I do not by any means feel assured of their guilt on a consideration of the evidence preferred against them. First with regard to the Bhrutpoor Sepahee (he is known here by the name of Jhundee Khan but the Thug approver declares that his proper name is Booree Khan). He is now about 20 or 21 years of age and is stated to have been a Thug seven years ago in Malwa. The Thug approvers have not seen him for seven years and he was when they knew him a lad of 13 or 14. He has been in the service of the Raja here for 4½ years and asserts that prior to his obtaining service here he was in the employ of the Raja of Hussein in the Coel district. I have written to the judge at Coel to ascertain this point and the character of Jhundee Khan's father who is also stated to have been a Thug. The approvers assert that the prisoner was for a month or more with Noor Khan's gang in the Dhar territory about [] years ago and that he was present with him on three separate occasions of murders committed on the persons of Company's Sepahees proceeding *via* Dhar to their homes. They state that Jhundee Khan was employed in burning the bodies of the persons murdered—but noways concerned in the murdering.

Bharatpur.

7. Jhundee Khan is now in confinement here and in the event of the other approvers under custody at Saugor having charges to advance against him he shall either be forwarded for trial to you or should you consider his guilt to be established he can be subjected to such punishment here as may seem proper. The second person accused of Thuggery is a Brahmin of the name of Kuloo, an inhabitant and Mokuddim of the village of

Bharatpur. Kujooree, Bhrutpoor Territory. The approver Puharee Khan does not recognize the person but a female of the name of [Ladhoor] formerly the mistress of Meer Khan in prison at Saugor declares that her keeper assured her of Kuloo's having joined his party on various occasions. The person will also be forwarded to you should you consider it proper.

Bharatpur. 8. The third person Girdaree by caste a Telee of the same village (Kujooree) [should] be here I believe in the course of a few days as orders have been issued for his apprehension by the Bhrutpore Authorities. On his arrival I shall do myself the honour of addressing you again on the subject.

Bharatpur. 9. The remarks which I have felt it my duty to submit as to the conduct of the Moonshee will not I feel assured be considered to indicate any desire on my part to screen a Criminal because he happens to be in the Bhrutpore service. What I am apprehensive of is that the power entrusted to this detachment of seizing whomsoever they please may be abused and perverted into an engine of oppression; that innocent persons may be apprehended on this most dreadful of charges. The other objection to the system is that it unnecessarily interferes with the native powers, inasmuch as it delegates to a Mere Moonshee a control over the liberties and persons of their subjects which may be perverted to the worst of purposes. It is said that some of the Native Princes are in the habit of harbouring and protecting Thugs, but I am not aware that the Bhrutpore Government have ever been suspected of so doing even allowing that it was so suspected the British Agent on the spot might at any rate have been applied to; it is to be presumed that he would from motives of duty and interest have exerted himself to the utmost in fulfilling the wishes of Government and that any communication made through him on the subject of Thuggery would have met with the readiest attention from the Bhrutpore authorities.

I have, etc.,
 (Signed) G. T. LUSHINGTON,
Political Agent.

BHRUTPORE POLITICAL AGENCY :

The 13th June 1832.

To

COLONEL A. LOCKETT,
*Superintendent and Agent to the
 Governor-General,
 Ajmere.*

SIR,

In continuation of my letter of yesterday on the subject of the proceedings of the Saugor Moonshee, I have the honour to forward copies of the evidence deposited to before the Bhrutpore Authorities by the Thug approvers.

2. On a reference to this document you will perceive that of the 3 Thug evidence Durya knows nothing whatever of Booree Khan, Kuloo Bhamin, or Girdaree that Baz Khan only recognizes Booree Khan but knows nothing of the Bhamin or Telee, that Paharee Khan silent as to these two persons, that Ladhoo* *This is what she stated before me at the Agency. Kusbin does not know anything against them of her own knowledge but *has heard from her keeper Meer Khan* in prison at Saugor that "these 2 people used to accompany him in his Thugging excursions".

3. Kuloo Bhamin was therefore attested on the evidence, if such it may be called of the Kusbin, who herself knows nothing against him, but had heard from her keeper that he was [a Thug]. On this mere hearsay is a respectable Zumeendar and Mokuddim of a Village to be apprehended as a murderer and sent in chains to Saugor?

4. I would beg to ask whether it is consistent with Justice to capture persons on such a charge and evidence, and this too without allowing the prisoner to say a word in his defence.

5. It is of course the object of the Thug witnesses to convict some one, for on the convictions effected by them their hopes of eventual pardon rest and I think with reference to their previous habits, their utter disregard, not only of truth and justice, but also of those Minor considerations which restrain other thieves and murderers, I am justified in asserting that as they do not scruple to murder whosoever may cross their path, *with the hope of eventual gain* so neither would they on the same principle, hesitate at accusing any person of Thuggery whether innocent or guilty.

6. Add to what is above stated the circumstance (which I myself ascertained from the Moon:hee) that these Thug accusers are noways kept separate, and that they may therefore with perfect ease agree among themselves to bring charges against any person whatsoever, it follows, that even if their statements agree together they are not entitled to evidence. The agreement, if it existed, would prove nothing but in the case of the Brahmin whom they arrested, there was not even this agreement; there was not even one of them who of his own knowledge attested to his (the Brahmin's) criminality the prostitute in question kindly volunteered her hearsay evidence, and on this hearsay, the man was captured.

7. Even had the man been guilty it would have been a stretch of authority to apprehend him on such evidence but supposing for an instant that he is not guilty according to the maxim of English Law that "every prisoner must be considered innocent until his guilt be proved" this man is innocent, has not a gross act of injustice been committed upon him for he has been confined as a murderer and his character which even to the poorest of beings, is precious, has been most cruelly outraged?

8. I am perfectly aware of the benevolent ground on which Government determined to institute a rigid search after Thugs throughout India. Every man possessed of the common feelings of humanity must apprehend the end aimed at; at the same time I conceive he would object to the means employed, or rather to the abuse of them.

9. Let us suppose a case by no means unlikely to occur. The Thug witnesses from their continued journeys over Hindoo-stan are well acquainted with the localities of the different States and convertant with the names of Villages and with those of their Zumeendars and Mokuddims. The Moonshee arrives with his Thug approvers at a Village one or two of the Zumeendars of which are known to the latter. The Mokuddum is summoned by the Moonshee and either charged himself with Thuggery or some of his Bhaiebunds and fellow Biswadars are criminated. His defence is not heard or if heard is not recorded and the man has before him the prospect of a Journey in chains to Saugor (with the chance of eventual escape). To avoid this indignity he has however one remedy left, *viz.*, that of bribing the Moonshee, after this process the scales may fall from the eyes of the latter, he may discover that there is not sufficient evidence to warant his forwarding the accused to Saugor and in his mercy be pleased to release him.

10. In the above remarks I have not alluded to the suppression of constituted powers and the consequent lowering of the authority in the eyes of their subjects produced by the act of this party. This is indeed no slight evil but it is easy of remedy whereas there is no reparation or remedy for the parties wrongfully arrested.

11. Such then are the evils which I honestly conceive have flowed and are likely to flow from a delegation of this power of search and seizure to the parties engaged in hunting after [] and with a view to prevent such evils in future, I would beg to suggest that the parties so engaged be prohibited in future from seizing any person except through the constituted authorities of the place and that a full record of the evidence of the approvers and of what the accused may have to allege in their defence may then be taken. It is likely enough that less seizures would be made under this system but on the other hand, few, if any, unjust arrests would take place and I fancy every one will allow that "It is better that ten guilty should escape than that one innocent person should suffer".

12. In conclusion I have the honour to submit copy of a note just received by the Vakeel in attendance from the Regent Ministers from which it appears that the Inhabitants of the City have been (not unnaturally) thrown into a state of the greatest alarm and dread, and owing to this Moonshee persisting in searching for persons without informing the authorities or asking their aid. I have written to him in consequence and have also summoned him to appear before me and I shall not scruple to assure him that if he continues to act in this manner a guard of Company's Sepahees shall be placed over him and his party, nor shall they be released until they have learnt to conduct themselves with propriety.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) G. T. LUSHINGTON,

Political Agent.

Bharatpur.

BHURPORE POLITICAL AGENCY :

The [] June 1832.

No. 57

To

G. SWINTON, ESQUIRE,

*Chief Secretary to Government,
Fort William.*

Indore, the 18th August 1832.

SIR,

I have the honour to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a letter from Captain Borthwick, together with a copy of that Officer's proceedings on the trial of a gang of Thugs who were apprehended by him in the month of October last, and of whose guilt with a few exceptions, the most satisfactory evidence has been obtained by the confession of four approvers whose statements are confirmed by the acknowledgment of the greater part of their accomplices.

2. The circumstantial manner in which they have severally detailed the narrative of their operations, distinguishing the actual perpetrators of each murder from those who were merely accessories or employed in a subordinate capacity, the minute account which they have in general given of the nature and value of the property obtained in the course of their excursions, of the number of the deaths which they inflicted, of the resistance which they occasionally experienced, of the means by which they overcame that resistance and of the contrivances by which they ensnared their victims, constitute altogether such a mass of consistent and conclusive evidence both of the profession to which the prisoners belong, of the organized and systematic manner in which the pursuits of it were conducted and of their dreadfully successful prosecution as appears to preclude the possibility of all doubt either as to the truth of the facts which they have related, or as to the guilt of the several individuals to whom they are attributed.

3. The capital punishment proposed by Captain Borthwick to be awarded to such of the prisoners as were employed in the capacity of stranglers, to which they do not appear to have been admitted without a long probation and their qualification for which is represented by one of the approvers to have been celebrated among them as a kind of festival, appears to me to be warranted by their admitted guilt, nor do I think that the demands of public justice would be satisfied by the infliction of an inferior penalty. The names and numbers of the prisoners whose cases have appeared to merit that degree of punishment, are noted below:—

- (1) Nathoo, (2) Bhowanee, (3) Dewa *alias* Roostum, (4) Chitoo, (5) Nundu, (6) Malia, (7) Raeta, (8) Fukeera, (9) Fukeera (second), (10) Sheir Khan, (12) Kana, (13) Nathoo, (14) Bhyroo, (15) Kooshall, (16) Mana, (18) Joomal *alias* Jooma, (19) Raheem *alias* Rubeemtoo, (20) Roostum *alias* Dubora, (21) Doulut Khan, and (27) Khoman *alias* Sheik Khooman.

4. With respect to others who, although members of the association were either from their age or inexperience disqualified from exercising the more daring and destructive arts of their profession and who do not therefore appear to have been the actual perpetrators of any murder, Captain Borthwick has distributed them into two classes of which one is proposed to be sentenced to transportation for life and the other for a term of years.

5. The names and numbers of the prisoners composing the first class are noted below, and I recommend that they should receive the punishment proposed to be awarded to them :—

(17) *Bukshoo alias* *Bukshoo*, (22) *Khooman*, (23) *Cheetoo*,
 (24) *Nadir Khan*, (25) *Beera Chumar*, (26) *Dewa alias Lalu*, (28) *Keema alias Ramsany*, (31) *Ajeet Khan*, (32) *Roopa*, (33) *Nader Khan* (second), (36) *Bhopal alias Bhoopjee*, (37) *Bhooljee*, (29) *Hassein*, (30) *Ghasy Khan* and (34) *Hussein Khan*.

6. Of the individuals belonging to the remaining class, whose names and numbers are likewise noted above, I recommend the imprisonment at Bombay for the term of 14 years.

7. The rest of the prisoners having been acquitted I beg leave to suggest the propriety of their being released from confinement; and made over to the native authorities of the villages to which they belong under an engagement from those authorities to exercise a watchful vigilance over their future conduct. The names and numbers of those prisoners are also specified below :—

(35) *Bhyroo*, (38) *Kurreem*, (39) *Mohumdo*, (40) *Shair Khan*, (41) *Sohbul*, (42) *Peer Khan*, (13) *Moty*, (44) *Omra*, (45) *Laloo*, (46) *Rusheed Khan* and (47) *Koula*.

8. With respect to the approvers who seem to have been all employed as leaders of Gangs and whose immediate liberation from all restraint would, therefore, I conceive, be dangerous. I think that a similar precaution ought to be adopted, and I accordingly hope that Captain Borthwick's suggestion of it will be sanctioned.

9. I request that I may be furnished with the orders of Government respecting the disposal of the plundered property and the application of the money which is adverted to in the 8th paragraph of Captain Borthwick's letter whose promised report of the result of his endeavours to discover the owner of the Diamond Ring will be submitted, as soon as received, for the consideration and orders of the Honorable the Vice-President in Council.

10. Three of the Prisoners, *viz.*, *Ghassy Khan* No. 30, *Nadir Khan* No. 24, and *Bhyroo* No. 35, not appearing to me to have been satisfactorily identified, I requested further explanation on the subject of those prisoners from Captain Borthwick a copy of whose letter in reply I have the honour to enclose.

• I have, etc.,

(Signed) W. B. MARTIN,

Resident.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT

(Copy)

To

GEO. SWINTON, ESQUIRE,

*Chief Secretary to Government,**Fort William.*

SIR,

In reply to your letter, dated the 6th Instant, I am directed to observe that it was not His Lordship's intention that measures should be adopted by the Resident at Hyderabad to seize Thugs in the Nagpoor Territory without previously obtaining the Rajah's sanction. Mr. Graeme had already extended his aid to Captain Sleeman's parties in the prosecution of their calling in the Nagpoor dominions and from the cordial understanding which seemed to prevail, there appeared to be no reason to apprehend any difference of opinion among the Local authorities regarding the mode most proper to be used for extending the operations against the Thugs to the Nagpoor dominions.

The course of proceeding adverted to in the last paragraph of your Letter will naturally be adopted by Major Stewart. The Centre of Operations will be in the Hyderabad Country and the Evidence and informers necessary for identifying the suspected Thugs will, generally speaking, be furnished from thence but whether the suspected persons in the Nagpoor State are apprehended by a party actually sent from Hyderabad or through the Agency of the Rajah's own establishments with the assistance of the evidence and informers supplied by Major Stewart seems to be a matter of indifference which may be safely left to be determined by the parties concerned.

His Lordship considers it highly proper that the consent of the Prince of the Country should be obtained previous to the execution or transportation of convicted Thugs and it certainly appears desirable that where the sentence may be imprisonment for a certain term of years the consent of the Native Government should be obtained to their being confined in some of our Jails in our own Territory. This is the practice which has hitherto obtained at Saugor, and the prisoners convicted before Mr. Smith have always been confined in our own Jails wherever they may happen to have been apprehended.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) W. H. MACNAGHTON,

Secretary to the Governor-General.

SHIMLAH :

Simla.

The 31st August 1832.

To

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL A. LOCKETT,

*Superintendent and Agent**to the Governor-General,**Ajmere.*

Ajmer.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 11th instant, enclosing copy of one from Secretary, Mr. Macnaghten of the 23rd ultimo on the subject of the proceedings of the Moonshee and Thug approvers at this place.

2. The object of my despatches was to point out the objectionable method (as it appeared to me) pursued by this party of Thug Hunters in apprehending persons upon mere hearsay evidence without receiving the defence of the parties apprehended and without asking or obtaining the sanction of the Local authorities. I now learn, I must confess, with no little astonishment that however "extraordinary" the measures adopted may have been, still they were both just and necessary because Thuggee cannot otherwise be checked. In other words that the end sanctifies the means a doctrine which I had erroneously supposed to have been long since exploded, alike from morals as politics.

3. It is stated in Mr. Macnaghten's letter that the whole of Mr. Lushington's argument appears to be founded on the erroneous supposition that the assertions of the approvers constituted the sum total of the evidence *adduceable* against the individuals apprehended, I fancied indeed (if this be the erroneous supposition adverted to) that the guilt or innocence of parties rested not on the quantity of evidence *adduceable* against them but on the quantity actually adduced. How was I to form an opinion as to the quantity of evidence *adduceable* against the parties? The question before me was, I submit whether the evidence *adduced* warranted apprehension of them and the *transmitting them in chains to Saugor*. I considered on due deliberation that it was not sufficient, that there was no reason why even this degree of punishment should be inflicted on the parties, and in this opinion Government appears to coincide; at the same time, I referred the point to Mr. Smith.

4. In another part of Mr. Macnaghten's letter it is observed that "Here again he seems to confound the two processes of apprehension and conviction". With all due deference I beg to submit that I did not so confound them nor did I suppose that "any British Officer would found a sentence of conviction upon such evidence" I spoke not of the parties being convicted by British Officers but by the Thug Murderers convicted, that is to say, after their fashion of conviction the good old fashion of Rhadamanthus. As to what may have been the motives of the Thugs "in accusing persons whose apprehension they

could not justify by proof of guilt" I would beg to ask whether they did or did not so arrest the Brahmin by named Kuloo ! I do not profess to know the anatomy of a Thug's heart, but it must be curiously constructed, for who but a Thug would coolly and wantonly murder a miserable Fukeer or traveller upon whose person he may or may not find a few pice or a worn out Dhootee?

5. I imagine that Government when they issued these instructions had not before them my letter to Mr. Smith on this subject and Captain Sleeman's reply thereto. It will be seen from the letter that I offered to send the Brahmin and Sepahee to Saugor had Mr. Smith intimated his desire to that effect. In reply Captain Sleeman directed the Moonshee to be discharged but expressed no wish to have the persons arrested in these Territories forwarded to him. From Mr. Macnaghten's letter I do not precisely understand whether the Governor-General thinks these persons ought to have been forwarded or not, but I am told that I am "responsible that they do not effect their escape". I must own that I do not perceive the justness of this remark. The Bhurtpoor Ministers or rather the persons who went bail for the prisoners may be responsible for them, should they make their escape but why I am to be considered directly responsible for the acts of these Bhurtpoor subjects, over whom I have no immediate control and with whom I am specially forbidden by the Government itself to interfere, is, I must confess, more, than I can comprehend. The Bhurtpoor Ministers objected to the apprehension of these persons and submitted to me the propriety of allowing them to be released on security given by them. Government may be of opinion that I was wrong in acceding to this request, if so, I must lament this error of judgment on my part.

Bharatpur.

Bharatpur.

Bharatpur.

Bharatpur.

Bharatpur.

6. In conclusion, I beg to observe that in the instructions of Government the possibility of these persons being innocent is not so much as alluded to nor is the slightest notice taken of the insult put upon the Bhurtpoor Rajah in arresting one of his Sepahees without his knowledge or consent. The Government may be of opinion that a humiliation of this sort is not felt by a native prince but I can take upon me to assert that it was felt and deeply too, and that it is not by such measures as these that the Bhurtpoor (or any native authorities) will be induced to co-operate heartily in the suppression of Thuggee.

I have, etc.,

(Sd.) G. T. LUSHINGTON,

Political Agent.

POLITICAL AGENCY :

The 16th July 1832.

*Jubbulpore Division Supplementary Records. C. F. No. 4-1832
(Thuggy Department).*

No. 1356

REPORT ON THE SESSIONS OF 1831-32

To

GEORGE SWINTON, ESQUIRE,
Chief Secretary to Government,
Political Department,
Fort William.

Jubbulpore, the 20th June 1832.

SIR,

The laborious duties of the Sessions held by me at Saugor in the Political Department, in the months of December 1831, January and February 1832, having now terminated by the despatch on the 18th instant of the last, or 26th, trial of Thugs, the Government will naturally expect from me, a report on the proceedings, the mode adopted to arrest and bring to justice the numerous gangs of professional murderers who have so long infested and desolated India, and the opinions and conclusions formed on a deliberate and cautious consideration in the course of this extensive and comprehensive duty of the habits, customs and manners of this extraordinary and sanguinary class of people.

2. *Observations antecedent to the sessions of 1831-32.*—It is not my intention to trace the origin, rise and progress of the confederacy of Thugs or to trouble the Government with any speculations regarding this class of people prior to their expulsion from the Purgunnah of Sindouse, it will be sufficient here to state, that the curse of Thuggyism has been satisfactorily proved in my opinion to have been introduced into India by the first Mahomedan Conquerors. The Thugs are distinctly ascertained to have existed in great numbers in the reign of Akbar the Great, no less than 500 having been executed in the Etawah province by that Emperor, and they are known to have been for centuries, living and exercising their horrid avocation in every part of India from the Sutledge to Cape Comorin.

3. *I write from memory having no memorandum of the Sindouse campaign.*—During the early part of the British dominion in the Doab the ravages of the Thugs appear to have increased to such an intolerable degree that in 1812 or 1813, the Government deputed that active and intelligent officer Mr. N. I. Halhead to attack their headquarters in the Purgunnah of Sindouse which being situated on the right bank of the Jumna opposite to Etawah, and consisting entirely of ravines and inaccessible fastnesses formed a suitable and until then a safe retreat to the gangs to leave their families in, during their periodical expeditions and to pass the rainy season, and to

deposit and dispose of the plunder acquired during their extensive excursions all over India. The extent to which they carried their depredations may be appreciated by a perusal of Syed Ameer Alee's narrative transmitted to Government on the 29th May 1832. It will be here sufficient to state that he was present at 150 cases of murder wherein 719 people were killed and robbed of 67,000 Rupees in hard cash and property estimated at 1,50,000 Rupees besides property which cannot be valued.

[Almost all the Thugs north of the Nerbudda and west of the Ganges trace their origin to twelve villages of the Purgunnah of Sindouse, 2 Mermal, 3 Bindooa, 4 Chooreepoora, 5 Khore, 6 Puhul, 7 Puruase, 8 Sursal, 9 Gureea first held by the Kuchwaha Rajpoots, 10 Gurtha, 11 Anhutta, 12 Puseea. Two more were added to the 12 before the final emigration, namely, 13 Gurheea, 14 Gurhea.]

4. That officer carried fire and sword into this small Purgunnah, and entirely drove away its predatory inhabitants; who were in consequence, dispersed in every direction, where they could find refuge from the pelting of the storm, but the principal portion, who escaped the sword or the Gallows took refuge in the Bundelkhund States of Jhansee, Dutteea, Tehree and Jhalone and in the neighbouring provinces of the Scindeah.

5. It is to me, extremely doubtful whether by this dispersion of the Thug headquarters we performed any real benefit to India. The blow, severe at the time, if it had been properly followed up might have annihilated the gangs; but whether objections of a political nature prevented the adoption of effectual measures for that purpose being undertaken or not, it is certain the British Government of the time was satisfied with the local though great exertions of Messrs. Perry, Hockwell and Halhead at Etawah and of Mr. William E. Wright at the Madras Presidency and took no general and comprehensive measures which, alone, could have broken up a confederacy so extensive and of such long standing.

6. The Nepaul, the Pindaree and the Marhatta wars of 1814, 1815, 1816 and 1817, ensued immediately after their dispersion into foreign lands; and these formidable gangs, the more formidable from the secrecy of their acts, and the general ignorance almost of their existence by the public at large, gradually recovered strength; till in the end of 1817 they were found in Malwah, in as strong numbers, and as daring in their acts, as ever. (See the seventeenth or Dharrah Case.)

7. The general peace which followed the termination of the Marhatta War, opened the road to commerce, all over the Peninsula, and the monopoly of opium, at that period established in the province of Malwah by the British Government still further invigorated the drooping commerce of Central India.

Bundelkhund.
Jhansi. Datia

8. The state of Central India and Rajpootana during the existence of the Pindaree power was singularly favourable to the growth of freebooters. Travellers were compelled to go in large bodies for the sake of protection, and the Thugs could, under the same pretence, assemble in numerous gangs without suspicion falling on them. At the termination of the Pindaree War, and subsequently, the fear of the Thugs led to the same

Malwa.

Rajputana

result, and travellers, from ignorance, and by the wiles of the Thugs, repeatedly joined gangs, under the firm belief, that their safety was thereby ensured; they thus, of their own accord fell into the jaws of the destroyer, when they considered themselves most safe from harm.

Malwa.

9. The monopoly of opium, and the annually increasing flourishing condition of Malwah, occasioned an export which required returns to repay it, far exceeding the natural, limited, wants of the Province: the imports, therefore, were by no means adequate to pay for the produce exported to other countries. The monied men were, by these circumstances, induced to make remittances from the Bombay Presidency, in Jewels, Dollars, Gold mohurs and other returns of a portable, valuable, and not bulky nature; which were generally sent under charge of Rokerias or Treasure Carriers, who, by forced marches, and by various disguises, more or less successfully attempted to escape the Lynx Eyes of the vigilant and watchful Thugs: but often, by their negligence, they allowed their secret calling to transpire, and the result infallibly ended in the death of the carriers, and robbery of the treasure. It is incalculable, the loss sustained to the commerce of the Country, by these dreadful calamities, which have befallen the Bankers and Monied Interests of Bombay, the Deccan and of Central India through the instrumentality of these freebooters.

10. By the pacification of India, the armies of the Madras and Bombay Governments, were brought in contact with the frontiers of the Bengal Presidency; and numerous recruits were obtained from the Gangetic Provinces to their armies. The men of those Provinces, are notoriously much more attached to their homes, than their brethren of the Sister Presidencies; and the roads being no longer shut up, by open and avowed enemies and the secret dangers being either unknown or despised by them; numbers every year, have taken furlough and returned towards Hindooostan with their small savings about their persons. These sepoys the Thugs always marked as their own, and next to the Treasure Carriers, the murder and robbery of these faithful servants of Government was their favourite occupation. Trained to danger, and confident in their own strength and courage, they are easily misled by the wily and submissive conduct of the able and intelligent Thug leaders, who are, from their infancy practised in the wiles and deceipts requisite to deceive and allure travellers to their destruction. The approvers have often told Captain Sleeman that the reason why they choose the Native Officers and Sepoys of our Armies in preference to other travellers, is that they commonly carry more money and other valuable articles of property about their persons, and are from their arms, their strength, self-confidence, and haughty bearing, more easily deceived by the feigned humility and respect of the Thugs; and led off the high roads into jungly and solitary situations previously selected where they are easily murdered and their bodies disposed of. Thus the very features of the character of this class of men which to an ordinary observer would appear to be conducive to their safety in travelling prove their bane and facilitate their destruction.

11. Failing these two descriptions of prey, the Thugs destroy the Kawrrutta, the Pilgrim, the solitary traveller, and when opportunity occurs the rich and wealthy. In this way, the relation of the late Nawab Chuffoorkhan, and numerous Moonshees and other respectable persons have fallen victims to these miscreants' love of plunder.

12. They decline murdering the Chuprassies of Government except under peculiar circumstances as they dread the inquiry which might result. The gang who murdered the Insurance Peon in the 11th trial, were at the time starving or they would not have touched him. They also seldom meddle with Europeans for the same reason. It was only after many years of success that they ventured about three years ago, to murder near Banda, an Invalid Serjeant. In 1823, they deliberated previous to murdering the Moonshee at Lucknadow, whether they should destroy two Officers passing the Dak; but the question was negative, first because the *saheblog* seldom carry valuables with them in Dak trips, second because they always carry Pistols; third because their destruction would draw too much publicity on their proceedings. I have no doubt these scruples would have soon vanished if the Government had not taken the most decisive steps to check their audacious career of blood, slaughter and pillage.

Lakhnadon.

13. From 1820, large gangs infested every part of Central India, and the valley of the Nerbudda did not obtain a respite from their ravages until the arrest of one gang in 1820*, and another in 1823†, turned the current in another direction.

*Chowrahat and Jhansee Ghat Trials.

†Lukhnadon.

14. From that time till the end of 1820, the only modes adopted to check their audacity were of a local and precautionary nature; but about this time, and at the commencement of 1830, events took place which attracted the most serious attention and notice of the Government. The atrocities brought to light in the trial of the large gang arrested by Captain Borthwick followed up so shortly afterwards by the trial and execution of the Bhelsa gang proved to demonstration that unless the war could be carried into the Enemy's Country the abominations and nuisances with which the country was filled could not be extirpated or abated. About this time also an anonymous letter printed in the journals at Calcutta attracted universal notice, and had its due share in rousing the attention of the functionaries of Government to the imperative necessity of exterminating the gangs of Thugs.

(See Mr. Swinton's letter of the)—
(Since known to have been penned by Captain Sleeman.)

15. I had no sooner joined the Agency*, than I foresaw the necessity of abandoning the temporizing and precautionary manner of proceeding, and of adopting a combined and united effort all over India, to rid the country of a set of professional murderers, who had hitherto set at defiance every well meant, but isolated effort to restrain them, and I was therefore induced at an early period to solicit the permission of Government, to

*February 183.

place before them a plan for that purpose. It is satisfactory to reflect, that an order to that purpose to my address left your office about the same time, that my address left Jubbulpore a sure proof of the unanimity of feeling which existed at that period on the subject.

Lakhnadon.

16. After mature deliberation and in concert with Captain Sleeman, I proposed a plan which accompanied the trial of the prisoners accused of the Lucknadon murders which met with the approbation of Government. The departure of Mr. Fraser to the Hills on sick certificate enabled me to station Captain Sleeman, an officer better acquainted with the habits, haunts, and history of those people, than any other in India, at that central position Saugor, from which place, he could watch, follow up, and arrest, the gangs on their departure or return to their homes in Bundelkhund. From that period the arrest of Thugs has been prosecuted with the greatest vigour and success and a blow has been struck, which only requires to be followed up for a few years, to complete the ruin of the confederacy and prevent the possibility of a resurrection. I will not conceal from Government, that the Functionaries of the British Government, particularly in the Doab, are not sufficiently alive to the wasting devastation and widespread-misery occasioned by these pests of society : hitherto, our provinces have been comparatively speaking free from the ravages of the Thugs ; but the operations of the last two years in Central India, have now driven numerous bodies into the Company's provinces and the murders though unknown to the Magistrates, which have taken, and which will, take place, are enough to freeze the blood with horror. The indignation of the authorities must be roused by a publication of the several narratives of approvers, furnished by me to you and their zeal must be excited by the express commands of Government, all cants, all jealousy of interference and all desire of individual benefit must be sacrificed at the shrine of a public duty, than which I know of none, of a more emergent nature that can be entrusted to men of honour or feeling, namely, the duty of protecting our willing and faithful subjects from the horrors of secret murder and robbery.

January 1834.

Bundelkhand

17. The arrest of one of their most influential leaders Feringeea *alias* Deokeenundun, *alias* Doorgapurshad gave the first impulse by enabling us to arrest a number of Thugs in Bundelkhund, from among whom Goindahs of approved intelligence and ability, have been selected : from that period, arrests continued to take place till I arrived at Saugor in December 1831 to hold the extraordinary Sessions for the trial of such Thugs as had been committed by Captain Sleeman for trial.

18. Twenty-six trials of Thugs took place during these Sessions for crimes committed in the years noted below. The result has been as follows :—345 prisoners have been tried though from many having been more than once tried, I have had the same trouble as if 847 Prisoners had been arraigned. 338 persons have been proved to have been murdered by the Prisoners at the Bar, besides innumerable others not judiciously in proof, of whom the names of 54 have been ascertained. 136

of the bodies have been disinterred and inquests held on them. The plunder has been immense, but it has been found impossible to sum it up :—

Observations on the Sessions.

- 1817 A. D.—2 cases, 17th and 19th trials.
- 1819 A. D.—1 case, 22nd trial.
- 1820 A. D.—4 cases, 18th, 20th, 21st and 25th trials.
- 1823 A. D.—1 case, 10th trial.
- 1826 A. D.—1 case, 5th trial.
- 1827 A. D.—2 cases, 4th and 6th trials.
- 1828 A. D.—4 cases, 7th, 8th, 16th and 23rd trials.
- 1829 A. D.—4 cases, 3rd, 9th, 11th and 26th trials.
- 1829-30 A. D.—1 case, 13th trial.
- 1830 A. D.—3 cases, 12th, 15th and 24th trials.
- 1830-31 A. D.—3 cases, 1st, 2nd and 14th trials.

19. The prisoners have been thus disposed of—

- 12 Pardon.
- 111 Sentenced to death.
- 167 To transportation for life.
- 32 To imprisonment for life.
- 8 Released on security.
- 2 Released without security.
- 13 Died subsequent to trial.

The proportion of prisoners, of Hindoos and Moosulman, are 470 of the former, and 377 of the latter, 55 prisoners died before their trials came on—a list of them is given below :—

Rheyme Khan, Shaikh Lall *alias* Saljoo, Toolsee, son of Omer, Buhora, Narain, Bhowanee Jhat, Imam-buksh, Indhur, Rummi, Nuggooa Mussalman, Kutruck Sani *alias* Nuggoo, Rujolee, Punum Sookh Lodhee, Gunesh, Bhugwan, Mohun, Kalee Khan, Bishun, Budhoo *alias* Badul, Buksah Jemadar, Cheyn, Sheikh Adhar, Bhowanee, Gopee, Tijjoola *alias* Tejja, Jychund, Molooa, Nynsook, Kanjoo, Panooa, Omurkhan *alias* Saabutkhan, Hoolea Mussumat, Molooa, Kehree, Mungul *alias* Omrao, Jumal, Hormut Khan *alias* Busson Khan, Chotee, Sheikh Golab, Omeysa Mussumat, Molooa Lodhee, Emam Khan, Gungadeen, Tildke Ghasee, Gunesh, Luchmun, Buduloo, Chuttur Mussulman, Khandee Lodhee, Aman, son of Ghasee, Manick, son of Muckolay, Chotee, Jowahir, son of Kohman and Ryhemee.

20. The series commences with No. 17 or Dhurrah Murders which occurred in 1817. It is remarkable for the formidable number of the gangs, their audacity and the cunning with which they were enabled to beguile and lead to their net people of the better and educated classes.

21. In 1820 E. E. the Thugs mustered extremely strong and appear to have selected the valley of the Nerbudda and the Deccan for their incursions that season. An immense gang after a progress through the Deccan arrived at Kamptee* near Nagpore, and murdered three men who were in charge of Mushuroo on

* 21st or Beseynee trial, 18th or Jhansee Ghaut Trial.

Seoni. Jubbulpore. Sunday, the 17th of January: they then followed 17 persons all through the Seonee and Jubbulpoor districts and on the 2nd of February they murdered them at Beseynee, in the Punnah Jageer. They then retraced their steps towards the vailey to Gurra Ghaut, whence they proceeded to Jhansee Ghaut on the Nerbudda, where they strangled nine persons, four of whom were Treasure Carriers, on the 10th March 1820. They then went to Bygunya (towards Hoshangabad) where they divided. One Party under Asalut and Alee Khan Jemadars murdered five men of the Brazier caste about the 15th March; the other under Kullean murdered five sepoys near Hutwass about the 20th March. Both parties then joined at the appointed rendezvous of Seonee Zillah Hoshangabad, where 66 of them were arrested on the 25th March 1820. The rest of the gang took to flight and went to Omrowtee. I should here state that when at Kamptee a portion of the gang separated as they refused to follow up the 11 people who were murdered at Beseynee, from a superstitious notion that they would lose their limbs, if they killed a man who had been deprived of an arm. To return, at Omrowtee, the dispersed members, joined the gang which had separated at Kamptee, and they then, returning towards Hindoostan *via* the Nerbudda Territories, strangled 19 persons at Chuppara in the end of April. Hence they marched to Gurra Ghaut where Buddun Sing and others were arrested. It will be observed that the prisoners of these four gangs were ramifications from one immense gang of Thugs, who appear to have possessed the ablest leaders, a system of regular tactics with a power of combination peculiar to these able and blood-thirsty men.

22. We now arrive at the period when the Treasure Parties from Bombay and Omraotee to Indore suffered to severely with such destruction of life extending from 1826 to 1829 as noted below:—

1826—Chowpara or 5th trial—Treasure robbed valued at Rupees 25,000.

1827—The Dhoolea and Malegaon or 6th trial—Treasure robbed valued at Rupees 22,000.

1828—The Dhoreekote or 7th Case—Property cost Rupees 12,000. The Burwaha Ghaut or 8th case—Property robbed Rupees 40,000=52,000.

1829—The Dhoree or 9th trial—Property robbed Rupees 72,300. Total in four years Rupees 1,71,300.

See my letter dated 19th May 1832 altogether estimated to exceed a lac.

Baroda. 23. In 1830-31 the Jeypore or 14th and the two Buroda trials or first and second bring up the series to a conclusion.

24. The other trials not alluded to in this brief explanation, were unconnected cases of Thuggee; which might probably have been traced to particular gangs, if we had had more perfect information; probably the next Sessions will furnish the information, and fill up the hiatus. For a full explanation of the whole series I beg to refer to the statement in the Appendix marked B.

25. *The conduct of Beharee Lal Gomashta to Dhunraj Seth and Pohkurmul.*—I formerly in my despatch of the 5th April 1830, drew the attention of Government, to the misconduct of the Gomashta of the Bankers who had suffered so severely. In your reply of the 4th August 1830, the sanction of Government to the arrest of Beharee Lall was signified, but as yet he has not been sent to Saugor.

26. The late trials and particularly the 8th have afforded a clear insight into the malpractices of the firm, who have, by abetting the Thugs and procuring their release on mortgaging their future gains to them, obtained the restoration of upwards of 20,000 Rupees of which not above 2,000 Rupees were even their own property.

27. It appears that as soon as they obtained information of the Bunoaha Ghaut or 8th affair, they procured from the British Resident at Indore letters to the Agent to the Governor-General in Bundelkhund, and to the Resident at Gwalior and some Hurkaras to assist in seizing the murderers and with this aid, they secured several of the principal Thug leaders. They were first taken to the Agent to the Governor-General at Humeerpoor, who transferred them to the Resident at Indore who returned them back to Humeerpore, whence they were made over to the Bundelkhund Chieftains, in whose jurisdiction they resided with orders to them to make good to these merchants the money they had lost. The Chiefs instead of paying cash, gave up to the Agents of the Bankers the Thugs, at a valuation, and on condition that they would repay 12 annas in the Rupee of the plunder they had shared; who released them all. The Agents have ever since been employed in collecting from these common enemies of mankind portions of the booty which they had formerly acquired and what they have since been able to acquire. The bankers seem to have established at Aulunpore, a tribunal where they bind and loose at their discretion all the Thugs, they can get hold of without check or control from the Ruler of the country.

28. The inconsistent bandying about of the prisoners from one distant jurisdiction to another and the fatal measure of selling the Thugs to the Seths cannot but have proved highly injurious, and the mischief which has been thus sanctioned or connived at, is most serious and lamentable. Without intending it, and with the sincerest desire to render strict justice, the British authorities in a manner have made themselves accessories to the subsequent Thuggees, which the liberated Thugs committed to pay for their ransom.

29. A retrospect of the mistakes and errors of the Functionaries of Government at all times most painful, and sometimes improper, can only now be of use to enable us to apply a remedy to the evils which have arisen from those causes. The banking firm must not only be prevented from trading in the blood and treasure of the travellers, all over India, but should, I submit, be punished as accomplices to the Thugs, they have employed. I shall close this subject by transcribing the sentiments Captain Sleeman has placed on record with regard to the misconduct of these Bankers.

Bundelkhand.

Hamirpur.

Hamirpur.

A Jemadar named
Dhuni Khan paid
9,000 Rupees.

Amraoti.

Captain Sleeman's letter, dated 12th April 1832.—“I cannot omit this opportunity of stating that I consider it essentially necessary to the success of this or of any other plan for the suppression of this horrid system of murder, that we should prevent Dhunraj Seith, the great Banker of Omraotee, or any of his partners or numerous agents from having communication with the Thugs seized, for in their attempts to indemnify themselves for the losses they have sustained they have [ascertained] accustomed themselves to profit by their murders, to effect their release by bribery, corruption, intrigue or solicitation from all the Native Princes and Chiefs in whose dominions they have found them imprisoned; and to send them again upon the roads with advances of money for subsistence, till fresh murders have brought them fresh stores for division; and had their attempts not been providentially checked by our operations, I declare before God that I believe this House would have become the great Capitalists and patrons of murder from Lahore to Cape Comorin, and that the price of blood would have flowed into their coffers from every road throughout this enormous Empire. Whenever a few Thugs are to be found, they have their agents employed and I have been repeatedly urged since I came to Saugor, to permit a branch of this House to be established ostensibly for commercial purposes in this Town, where they have had an agent, ever since I began operations against the Thugs, but I have always refused with the open declaration that I believe the sole object of such an establishment would be the prospect of profit from the impunity and more extensive employment of murderers. I am every day in the habits of hearing young men acknowledge that they follow this trade of murder in the services of the very wretches, who, they know, murdered their parents while they were yet infants on their bosoms; and when asked how they could do so after they had discovered that their fathers and mothers were put to death by them; their only answer has been invariably that their habits had been formed before the discovery was made; and that it is difficult to change one's occupations and associates in life; so it is with this great banking establishment they began with an attempt to recover lost property, and they will go on from mere habit, to speculate in the trade of murder if not prevented by our continued watchfulness.”

30. Having thus described the result of the Sessions it will be satisfactory to Government, no doubt, to be informed of first the nature of the evidence on which the Prisoners have been condemned, and second the method adopted in holding the trials and in preparing them for the perusal of Government.

First—The nature of the evidence on which the prisoners have been condemned.—The murders have been very satisfactorily proved by collateral and circumstantial evidence unconnected with the approvers; who are necessarily Thugs; and the accomplices of the Prisoners in the murders in question, the disinterment of the bodies of murdered people, the recognition of plundered property found on Prisoners. The confession of some prisoners, and many other evidences of a similar kind, have left no doubt as to the fact that the murders had been committed; but to prove the guilt of individuals, the evidence of

their accomplices in guilt could alone be procured. The secrecy with which Thugs act, and their precaution of never robbing an individual till they first kill and bury him, render the attainment of any other evidence impossible. Such evidence, however, ought only to be received and credited with every precaution and reserve; and in this respect we have not been wanting in our duty.

31. In the preliminary process of arrest the following precautions have always been adopted:—First, the Approvers are examined separately respecting their whole life: in the course of the narrative of which they pointed out the murders at which they were present. They are then made to descend to particulars in each case and to state the names of the Thugs who were present at each murder. The names of the Thugs are then inserted in a Register with the evidence of each approver annexed. The approvers are then sent under guards to point out the Thugs at their homes or on the roads, whom they have already denounced and the guards are ordered most strictly to seize no man who is not named in the list furnished to them; to release no man once seized by them till they have brought them before the authorities of the district; to leave it to such local authorities to retain, release or make over to them, to be brought to Saugor and never to allow the Approvers to go out of their sight.

The form of
Register in the
Appendix marked
C.

32. There is not much chance, I submit, of innocent people being injured by such cautious proceedings; but should any innocent individuals be brought to Saugor, their innocence at the trial can hardly fail to be made manifest.

33. The Principal Approvers employed are either of old emigrants from the twelve villages in Sindouse, described in a former part of this report, or their sons who have followed the trade of their ancestors who not only know each other well, but are acquainted with each other's adopted sons and disciples. They have led to the seizure and arrest of each other's dearest connections and friends in so many instances that the deadliest enmity exists between them and such a spirit of hatred against each other is entertained that no event can be kept secret from us. When, therefore, these bitter enemies join in their evidence against a man, there can be little fear of being deceived.

34. I have annexed to the Appendix a list of the approvers who have given evidence in these trials, with an account of the factions into which they are split.

See. D.

35. It will be also remarked that many of the approvers were formerly Jemadars of Thugs and headed large Confederacies the cause of this is obvious; they alone know the ramifications of the confederacies and can alone point out the Majority of Thugs. We require the ablest men to assist us, and the Chiefs alone come up to that character, it is wonderful the memory they possess and the ability they display.

36. *Second—The method adopted in holding the Trials and in preparing them for the perusal of Government.—I have endeavoured to follow the system adopted by the Courts of Circuit as far as possible in the trial of the Prisoners, but to avoid*

as much as possible, any combination of approvers, to condemn persons obnoxious to a particular witness; I always made the Prisoner who was to be identified, stand up merely mentioning his number to the Nazir, but not his name and directed the approvers to name him. The trial being finished, the papers were made over to my Assistant, Mr. Wilson, to translate, which performed, the sentences had to be drawn out in English, a task the magnitude of which may be conceived, when I state that I had 847 sentences all of more than one page to prepare. Six months unremitting labour brought this arduous task to a completion.

Closing observa-
tion.

37. The ability displayed by the Thug approvers, I shall take this opportunity of bringing to notice, by inserting an extract from a letter addressed by Captain Sleeman under date the 11th instant to the Honourable Mr. Cavendish.

Extract from Captain Sleeman's letter to the Hon'ble Mr. Cavendish, dated 11th June 1832.

Paragraph 5.—“Under these circumstances it is on the Sovereigns of great states, their Ministers, and the British Residents at their Courts alone that we can depend for support; and unless we can impress them with a full conviction that none but professed murderers can possibly suffer anything but a temporary restraint, it is impossible to expect from them that aid and assistance [in the pursuit of] which we find so indispensably necessary. It was only about two months ago that a party of mine pointed out as a notorious Thug a non-commissioned officer, who was superintending the drill of soldiers in the very Court Yard of His Highness the Holkar, to the great astonishment of the Court: he was instantly secured and soon after acknowledged that during the whole twenty years that he had been a Sepahee in the Service of the Honourable Company, or that of different Native Chiefs, he had been himself a Thug or in league with the gangs that passed annually up and down the Country; and that there was not a Thug of any note in the Hyderabad Territories in those of Scindea, Holkar and the Bundelkhund States with whom he had not in that time become personally acquainted.”

Bundelkand.

Paragraph 6.—“One of the men who has now as a boon received the promise of exemption from the punishment of death and transportation beyond Seas for all past murders, with the assurance that he is to be imprisoned for life, ‘Feringeea alias Deokee Dundun’ was in the service of Sir David Ochterlony for four years up to the time of his death; though his family had been Thugs for seventeen generations and he had himself been a leader of Thugs for more than ten years before he entered his service; which he did merely to be a sleeping partner for a time; and to become more perfect in the act of assuming characters, and deceiving victims.”

Paragraph 7.—“Others who are now here and have been convicted upon the most unquestionable evidence, and their own confessions of leading gangs of Thugs and of having been from their youth up, engaged in annual expeditions through distant

provinces were found reading their scriptures to admiring villagers and pointed out as murderers to the astonished Local Officers who indignantly declared that they were the most pious and amiable of men and had been known never to leave home, except to pay their devotions once a year to distant shrines and holy places ! The notorious Heera Jemadar one of the leaders in the Indore Gang for whose apprehension Government offered in October 1829, a reward of one Thousand Rupees, was by a party of mine found only a few days ago innocently employed in the pursuit of agriculture, under the name of Kalee Khan, in the village of Bendha in Gwalior; and given up by the local authority when he thought it idle any longer to conceal his real name and character seeing his old associates around him and knowing that his two brothers and almost all his other male relations were in my custody at Saugor. Rambuksh, another notorious leader, for whose apprehension Government has offered a reward of five hundred rupees was lately discovered by another party of mine in orderly attendance, upon one of the family of the Guicwar Raja in the city of Baroda."

Paragraph 8.—“To win the confidence, favour and affection of men, is the business of their lives from infancy of old age; and they frequently enter the service of Native Chiefs and men high in office, to secure their intercession in time of need, and to collect Purwanahs and other official documents to carry with them and lend to their friends in their distant expeditions. Indeed there are few leaders among them that have not been, some portion of their lives, in the service of great men, European or Native; and it is a fact worth recording that one of the leaders about to suffer death at Saugor was admitted an approver by the late Mr. Malony; remained in orderly attendance upon the officer in charge of the Jubulpore district; went on an expedition to Baroda at the head of a gang, during a short leave of absence, to visit his family in Gwalior and perpetrated the murders for which he has now been sentenced.”

Jubbulpore.

38. *First—Terms of pardon granted to approvers.*—The terms of pardon granted to approvers are exemption from the punishment of death, and from transportation for life. No hopes of future freedom or release from Jails are held out and indeed, the more intimately acquainted I become with the characters, induration of heart and perversion of intellect of the Thugs, the more deep becomes the impression of the impossibility of a Thug abandoning the profession. We have taken in writing numerous narratives of the lives and exploits of the pardoned Thugs; more or less interesting and detailed, affording, in the majority of instances, internal and intrinsic evidence, of the veracity, credibility and uncommon powers of mind and memory of the deponents. The constant recollection of one fact alone, may serve to make them cautious, not to suppress, the mention of any crimes at which they were present; namely, that they are well assured, that sentence of death, will infallibly follow their conviction of having been engaged in any expedition or murder not mentioned in the Narratives.

39. *The Rules by which the sentences of the prisoners have been adjusted.*—The sentences have been passed in concurrence

with the views of Government as detailed in Mr. Chief Secretary Swinton's despatch of the 2nd of April 1831, namely—

First.—Every adult person convicted of being a Thug by profession and present at the perpetration of Murder by a gang, though not personally assisting—sentenced to transportation for life.

Second.—Every Jemadar or leader of Thugs, every Runaway Approver, who may have subsequently returned to his old course; every servant of Government, or who had formerly been such, have been sentenced to death.

Third.—All persons convicted of being professional Thugs or present as Boys, or for the first time at a murder, sentenced to imprisonment for life, or for such period as it may be deemed unsafe to release them on security.

40. There will be upwards of 160 prisoners to be sent to the Presidency next cold weather. An escort of at least a company will be sent with them to Mirzapore, but it will be requisite for the Government to issue orders to the Magistrate at Mirzapore to prepare boats, etc., on my requisition, and to the Commanding Officers at that station and all the way to Calcutta to furnish the necessary Escorts otherwise the prisoners will assuredly break loose.

41. *Observations on the progress made since the Sessions.*—Our progress in the great work since the termination of the Sessions has been satisfactory. We have swept the roads with detachments, as far as Baroda to the South-West, and Bundelkhund in the North-West, and in a circle all through Raipootana, Agra, the Doab and Bundelkhund, whereby the lives and property of many travellers and more especially of our faithful Sepoys of the Sister Presidencies, have been preserved. A plan has been matured for the arrest of the numerous gangs of the Thugs, who reside in the Hyderabad Territories, and the Campaign has there been opened with much success and with the most commendable zeal by all the British Officers in that part of the Country, headed by that able and zealous Officer Major Stewart, the Resident. A list of 150 of the principal and most influential Thugs in the Deccan has been transmitted to Major Stewart, and some very smart intelligent Approvers have been sent to him to point out the Thugs who possess information up to within a fortnight of their leaving Chhindwarah last month. One of them was there arrested on his way home from an expedition to the South, and another at Indore, only a month before. He was sent off, and had up to that time been in close communication with them.

43. In the Doab though we have not been as successful as we might have been, still we have done good service in the cause of humanity and I trust we have roused the indignation of the British Functionaries against these horrible murderers, which will ensure their future cordial aid and assistance; some steps on the part of the Government are, however, required to open their eyes entirely, to the dreadful scenes daily acted and

Mirzapur.

Chhindwara.

still acting in their vicinity, without their knowledge, or even suspicion, of such fatal events which can only be done, by publication, which will lay bare the system of Thuggee in its blackest colours.

44. We have already secured a number of prisoners about Mynpooree and Furruckabad, who will afford us excellent opportunities of proceeding to extremities with the Thugs of the Doab and of Lucknow next season; should Government deem our exertions in those quarters necessary or expedient.

45. I have circulated to all the Magistrates of the Upper Provinces, lists of 464 Thugs known to be at large in the constant practice of their profession in the Doab with every information respecting their real designations; but, as Thugs always possess numerous names, it will be found always difficult, and generally impossible to secure them without the assistance of accomplices who can trace and recognize them through all their wiles and deceits.

46. In Bundelkhund our progress has, through the zealous exertions of Mr. Ainslie, the Agent to the Governor-General, been very satisfactory and the Thugs, I believe, find that province no longer a secure refuge for them or their families. The Rajahs of Jhansee and Duttea have behaved in the handsomest manner, affording every assistance in their power, and have gone to considerable expense in sending prisoners from their States to Saugor; but I regret to add that the present Minister of the Rajah of Tehree, who is said to be in a state of imbecility, has conducted himself in a most shameful manner and continues to do everything he can to obstruct us, more like, as if he himself belonged to the fraternity, than as the minister of a friendly power—combined with the British, to put down malefactors and robbers; and all other general and mutual nuisances. I cannot in too strong terms, express the sense I entertain of this person's misconduct.

47. Some obstructions have been thrown in our way by the Hon'ble Mr. Cavendish, the Resident at Gwalior, from a misunderstanding of our mode of acting, and manner of managing the Approvers, and checking the parties deputed to arrest Thugs in that Raj; but as both *Captain Sleeman and myself† have addressed to him, letters on the subject fully explanatory of our wishes, and intentions, I have, no doubt, all difficulties will now vanish. Should unfortunately that Gentleman still adhere to his former opinion and way of proceeding, the Government may rest assured, not only that we shall be seriously checked and affected thereby, in our proceedings but that the Gwalior Territory will become an asylum for all the Thugs who are still at large, and a source from which Thuggee will again spread all over the country, and the system will arise with renewed strength; and in as pernicious a manner as that we have broken up and destroyed; the snake will have been scotched, not killed.

48. The Jemadars or Chiefs of the Thugs have been sought after with so much industry and intelligence, that the arrest of those still at large becomes daily a task of greater and greater

difficulty and delicacy. We have driven them to their last stronghold, the service of the Native Chiefs; and they are now mainly to be found in the Courts and Services of the Native Princes, whose kindness they conciliate, and whom they know to be averse from a besotted and ignorant point of honour, which knows not how to discriminate to give up even a known murderer. The duty, has, therefore, become of a more delicate and intricate nature but with the assistance of the British Residents and the avowed countenance and support of Government all obstacles will be overcome by prudence, foresight and suavity of demeanour.

49. There are already a considerable number of prisoners committed for trial next sessions, and many more will be brought into Saugor before the approaching cold weather. I may, therefore, expect as much labour and as much anxiety of mind next sessions as I have endured this with this difference that the novelty and excitement will have passed away and will be succeeded by disgust at the interminable display of the most ferocious and atrocious actions ever put on record. The regular duties of the Agency have also to be transacted with punctuality and despatch; and it is, therefore, with unqualified regret that I view the late changes in the Revenue and Criminal Branches, which I consider only tend to increase the duties and retard the wheels of Government without adding an iota either to good Government or to the Revenue of the State. It is singularly unfortunate that such changes should occur just at a period when they were least required by the state of affairs; and when the Agent was least able to bear additional impediments to the freedom of his administration.

50. What is good is often spoilt by trying to make it better; and I only trust that my apprehensions on this point will be found erroneous.

51. I shall now recapitulate the work in progress—

First.—The Hydrabad Thugs.

Second.—The Dooab Thugs.

Third.—The Ajmere and Jeypore and Rajpootana Gangs.

Fourth.—The Buroda and Guzerat Thugs.

Fifth.—The Bundelkhund and Gwalior Thugs are all now the objects of our pursuits.

52. *The result of our proceedings.*—The roads by which the Sepahies from the Sister Presidencies and from some of our own Military Stations pass to their homes on furlough through Central India on the space between the lines of the Jumna and Nerbudda rivers and the stations of Buroda, Indore, Neemutch, Jypore and Agra have by the arrangements made at the commencement of the season, and by the dread inflicted by our numerous arrests, been kept free, this season, from the visits which the gangs of murderers have been so long in the habit of annually paying them.

53. The Register of arrests shows the number of 608 persons suspected of being Thugs up to the 1st of June since which we have heard of many other seizures all over the Country, but the prisoners not having arrived at Saugor, their names

Hyderabad.
Doab.
Ajmer, Jaipur,
Rajputana,
Baroda, Gujarat,
Bundelkhand.

Baroda, Nimach,
Jaipur.

have not yet been entered in the Register book kept for that purpose. I may here add that all the Jemadars of note, known to us except four who reside on the North of the Nerbudda and on this side of the Jumna have been arrested, and that we have at least 20 Jemadars who could, if released, at any time collect 1,000 followers at a short notice.

54. *General observations.*—The nature of the subject under discussion will oblige me in this division of my report, to string together a number of desultory observations which I could not without intruding too far, on the patience of Government insert in the narrative.

In the first division I have brought down the History of our exertions to destroy the confederacy of Thugs, up to the time I commenced the Sessions. In the second, I submitted such observations as appeared necessary to elucidate the trials themselves. In the third I set forth the steps adopted since the Sessions, in furtherance of our exertions up to the present day. And in the last, I shall state such observations as could not conveniently be brought under any of the other heads. I by no means, propose to compile a regular dissertation on the manners, customs, habits, etc., of this class of people. They have been repeatedly set forth already and many papers on the subject are on the records of Government, all I intend is to state a few circumstances which appear to me particularly worthy of being noticed at the present period.

55. *The manner in which the Thugs travel; their power of combining large bodies; the connivance of foreign States; and mode of escaping from punishment when arrested.*—The Thugs generally leave their homes at the Dusserah, and travel all over India in search of prey, uniting and separating as occasions require, and concentrating to deliberate at points in distant Countries where the local authorities have been bribed to their interests. They periodically appoint signs whereby they make known to each other their line of march, and have the power, whenever necessary, to assemble in large force. To govern their movements they have distinctive grades from the Soobadar, who is the highest; to the Jemadar who is the next in authority, to the Thug followers. They are moreover divided into stranglers (Bhuttote) : hand holders or assist stranglers (Shumsheas); Watchmen, Sextons, men to find out the proper places to murder; the fluent and eloquent to inveigle travellers [] Boys and Servants. They have a discipline sufficiently severe as was evinced in the treatment, Kulian Singh received in 1817 from Aman Singh Soobadar for his misconduct at the Durrah murders. The native states appear to have established a Nerick for the release of Thugs when they did not choose to inflict punishment and they always carry about them Purwanahs and other papers obtained by them under various pretences for this very purpose.

It was by these means the gang, tried on the 14th or Jeypore case, was traced to Ajmer by our informers.

Jaipur, Ajmer.

17th Trial

One Gold Mohur
each Thug.

56. The distribution of spoil is conducted on the fairest principles. The Capitalist or Jemadar receives a superior share, and takes half from the shares of his dependents who have not arrived at any of the dignities of the tribe. This is the cause of such large gangs being found assembled; it diminishes the

profit to the common man, but adds to the emolument of the Chief. Out of 100 there are often more than half found to be idlers and only fit to swell the train of their Chiefs.

57. The stranglers receive also more than the common Thug. Their life is a life of pleasure; but their prosperity is evanescent. They are in a great degree during their expeditions free from the trammels of caste, and live on the fat of the land; but their wealth seldom remains with them long, being either, consumed on the spot, or expended in bribing the Jumeendars, under whose protection they reside or the authorities who connive at their atrocities or in purchasing their release from bondage.

58. *The manner of searching for their prey, of inveigling them and of putting them to death.*—The Thugs have recourse to all kinds of subterfuges, to inveigle travellers to join their gangs. On travellers suited to their purpose being found they first depute spies to ascertain their names, route, etc., who enlarge on the dangers of the road, and profess to be bound to the same part of the Country. Travellers are then frequently induced to join them for protection or because some of the gang belong to the same part of their Country. If the wayfaring men are of inferior caste they are regaled by the Brahmins of the gang. If they are Brahmins they are out of charity according to the universal custom of India, entertained free of expense. If the travellers are sepoys fatigued by rapid marches, they are allured to join by the offer of the loan of the Tattoos of the gang to carry their baggage. Some of the gangs wear badges or Chuprasses, obtained by previous murders on their breasts and pass themselves off as the servants of the Government. The leaders when necessary dress magnificently and claim kindred with Countries of Native States and allure the better class to accompany them by the proffer of their influence to obtain their situations. Some eloquent men always accompany the gangs whose duty is to deceive the passengers by their discourses. Where travellers are found on their guard and will neither eat, drink or join the gangs, they then, as the last resource, assume the garb and actions of the bold and ruthless villain and murder the passengers by open violence.

59. The spies of the Thugs abound in all directions and their vigilance and industry are not to be surpassed. The numerous custom houses in the Dekhan, where all travellers are in a certain degree obliged to discover their possessions and property afford them infallible clues, whereby, to select and pounce upon their victims.

60. A feast with these wretches is the sure harbinger of death and the salt of hospitality cannot restrain them from their murderous intentions.

61. It would take up more time than I can afford, were I to descant and enlarge on the manifold wiles and means adopted to lure Travellers into the Net of destruction. I shall, therefore, close the subject by stating that they consider themselves in the same relation towards mankind, that tigers do towards cattle.

62. *Their irreclaimable attachment and devotion to the profession and their ruthless habits and mode of carrying on the trade of blood.*—Once a Thug always a Thug is their motto and their creed. Nothing can or will reform or deter him from the practice of his profession. He may for a temporary space retire from business owing to the possession of riches, or other causes but as sure as a dog returns to his vomit, so sure will a Thug return to his business sooner or later. What folly and ignorance is it then, to release such blood hounds on security, as is the too frequent practice of our Courts. We carry our English notions into practice in a country where they are unsuitable and we thereby work evil, while intent on administering Justice. We protect the lawless assassins at the expense of the lives of numerous honest men. No mercy is ever shewn to the softness or weakness of woman, or the old age of man, and the very mercy which spares the infant at the breast is with them a refinement in cruelty by their bringing up the babes to their own horrid profession and their participation thereby in their crimes, and their usually subsequent untimely death. Money is their object and their God, and to obtain it they sacrifice all the feelings of humanity. Gratitude is to them unknown, and the bosom friend and benefactor may, their preservers from prison and death, as has been too often exemplified in these trials, are remorselessly sacrificed at the shrine of wealth.

63. As a proof of the impossibility of reclaiming a Thug I shall merely adduce two instances.

Syud Ameer Ali, a descendent of the Prophet, after running a long course of every crime that can be committed under Heaven, was at the end of 18 years arrested and imprisoned at Lucknow. He remained in custody 12 years, and was then, on the accession of His present Majesty of Oude, by an act of grace or rather of folly let loose upon society to recommence his career of blood.

No sooner free from his bonds, but he proceeded to Bundelkhund, rejoined his old companions, and after three or four additional years spent in the commission of murder and rapine, he was finally arrested by our runners in Rajpootana. This man confesses having witnessed the murders of upwards of seven hundred people and robbery of property and cash exceeding 2 Lacs of Rupees in value.

Another man after an arrest of years was released and subsequently again caught. On enquiry he avowed that as soon as he was let loose he went to Calpee, married a wife with whom he stayed two months and then returned to his trade as a matter of course.

64. For a description of their savage conduct, their ingratitude, and their baseness, I beg to refer to the trial of the first Buseynnee or 21st Trial and to paragraph 3 of my letter, dated the 20th of June 1832, submitting the 21st Trial to Government.

65. *Their behaviour under trial and their opinion of punishment.*—Their dread of punishments, at least of the infrequent punishments they have hitherto suffered, appears to be

Bundelkhand.

Rajpootana.

of a very trifling nature. Although we have now been engaged for near[ly] two years in arresting and punishing Thugs and although numerous examples have been made, yet the Thugs at large still pursue their dreadful trade undeterred by the sufferings of their accomplices. Their belief in predestination and fatalism will in a manner account for their apathetic indifference.

66. The change in the demeanour of many of the prisoners during the consecutive trials they underwent during this session was remarkable. At the first two or three arraignments they affected much nonchalance and indifference some actually laying down to sleep, while others kept spinning bats of cotton in their hands, but latterly their attention was evidently directed with intense interest towards the proceedings and especially whenever a question affected any of them in a more than usually criminal way till at last several pleaded guilty and begged only to have their lives spared, consenting to transportation as an inevitable result of the trials. In Deosein, Budloo and Chemsah the change of conduct and opinion was particularly noted and I am, therefore, on the whole inclined to believe that their indifference to the prospect of punishment originates in the known difficulty of their being convicted, and that a great change in their opinion will take place after the result of these trials become known all over India. One advantage of importance at least will be, I trust, thus obtained by our exertions.

67. The knowledge of Thuggee can only be acquired by a long apprenticeship to the profession, and unless a person commences from his youth he never can rise to the dignity of a Bhuttote. It is, I conclude, as difficult to manage, with dexterity, the Roomal, as to throw the Lasso and nothing but practise from infancy can produce the requisite skill. If we can therefore, secure all the grown up Thugs, and in particular their Gooroos, and teachers, who are all old Thugs invalided by age and infirmity, the next generation would be ignorant of the rises and dangers encountered by the present and past.

68. *The manners and customs of the Thugs.*—I have no intention of entering at large on the subject of the manners and customs of the Thugs. They have been often described before by persons much more able to do justice to the theme. I shall merely state the few observations I have made of late and have obtained from Captain Sleeman, to whom I am indebted for much, that, will be found interesting in this report.

No man feels
disgust at his profession.

(Sd.) F.C. S.

69. The minds of these people are warped from the path of virtue, and honesty. The man who will in the way of his profession, murder for the sake of plunder, hundreds of unoffending travellers, without compunction or remorse, will be tremblingly alive to every superstitious notion; will watch with intense anxiety the flight of birds, and will stop in his career at the ominous call of a partridge, or untimely appearance of a hare.

70. The bodily deficiency of a traveller will often save him from destruction, and the Thug will lament with unfeigned sorrow, the death of a relation or friend, and will do anything,

even to the surrender of himself to justice to extricate his wife and children from imprisonment. For instance a considerable portion of the gang in the 21st murder, left them at Kamptee considering the Jemadar with one arm as an unlucky man to strangle, and that his fate would be theirs, if they killed him. Feringeea, the Jamadar of Thugs, avows, with what truth I know not, that he would have surrendered himself after the Bhelsah affair, if he had met the party of the Najeebs who had charge of his family; and he has more than once burst into a flood of tears on Captain Sleeman's alluding to his relations who were condemned in the Bhelsa trial and hanged at Julapore.

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71. The Thug will attend to the duties of his religion with the greatest strictness and will feed and worship one day the Brahmun, or reverence the descendant of the Prophet, according to his creed being Hindoo or Mussalman, whom if he met, as a traveller on the road he would without mercy strangle.

72. In the moment of death even he will be found scrupulously attentive to the preservation of his caste, and will plead as earnestly or more so, to be spared the indignity of being touched by the low caste hangman, as for the preservation of his life.

73. The extraordinary ability displayed by the Thugs in ascertaining the characters, trade, name, residence, and intentions of their victims; the adroitness with which they warm themselves into their confidence, and the strong recollection of facts which have occurred many years ago, all display in a wonderful manner, the tact and ability of their leaders and the scientific and lasting principles on which the association is founded.

74. They possess a slang language not understood, except by the initiated, and can ascertain a Thug by signs though they have never before seen him. They have concerted signals whereby they can trace a gang, or concentrate their forces and are thus enabled to proceed by small divisions, without dread of exciting suspicion until the moment arrives for action, when the forces concentrate and the murders are effected.

75. *Auspices.*—A gang never starts on an expedition without first obtaining auspicious omens of their future success. Their Astrologers are Brahmuns, who appoint the time for going out, and wait the enquiries preparatory to setting out. Their manner of consulting the auspices is thus described by an Approver, Punna. The Subadar Ghasee and some men of the party, left the village of Sindouse, at the head of his gang, a little before day-light, bearing a brass lotah in his hand, full of water, and on reaching the appointed place, in a field, the Thugs all stood still, and he said "Oh mighty Goddess Bhowany of Bind-a-chul if in this expedition we are to prosper and acquire riches, vouchsafe us the *Thebaun* and *Pilaw*". Soon after a Partridge called on the right, and a Shahmah on the left, the auspicious omens were gracefully recognized, and they proceeded with confidence on their expedition.

76. The Ass, the Deer, and the Jackal, are considered the auspicious four legged beasts, and omens from either of these are more valued than the call of one hundred of the most auspicious

of the feathedered tribe. If a Partridge and a Shamah call at the same time, or if the Partridges are heard to call first to the right, and then to the left, or if the note of a Shamah is heard on the right, and the braying of an Ass to the left, the Omens are considered auspicious and the gang proceed on the expedition.

Mirzapur.

77. A visit to the Temple of Bhowany at her temple of Binda-churn, or Binda-chul, on the banks of the Ganges at Mirzapoor, is deemed very meritorious and a portion of their gains is offered to the Goddess. The priest or Pundahs in return indicate the route the gangs should take that season on their expeditions and pray for their success. A portion of their plunder seems generally to be reserved for the use of the Temple.

78. *Rules of the Bones.*—The Ostakhan or Bones, as they term it, is with them a rule, that the first victim of an expedition, must be a foot traveller, and not accompanied by horse, bullock or any other animal of burthen, or indeed any animal at all. The term, Captain Sleeman, is of opinion, is derived from the rule never to touch the person of a man, bearing the bones of his parent, or any other relation, to the Ganges, though it should be covered with diamonds. In setting out on an expedition they extend the privilege of the Bones, to all persons accompanied by animals, till they have committed the first murder. They do the same to those who are seen to have Gold on their persons.

79. *Bad omens.*—If an owl screeches, or an antelope passes them on the left, they consider them (as well as many others) to be very bad omens. The way the latter is averted, is thus described by Punna Approver. "Ghassee Subadar took a betelnut, which he broke on the head of the consecrated pick-axe into as many pieces as there were Jemadars in the gang, gave a piece to each, who ate it, in the name of Bhowany. They then left the road they were going and took another.

80. A Thug lately released from arrest is deemed unlucky, and often excluded by a gang from participation in an expedition, partly I apprehend, from superstitious notions, and partly from the natural dread of his being recognized as a Daghee, or marked character, and thereby involving his companions in the same unfavourable conclusions, and in the same fate.

81. When they have been unsuccessful, they sacrifice a Goat, and eat Goor, purchased by some of the money obtained by murder, which they eat in the name of their patroness the Goddess Bhowany.

82. *Shaving and eating Paun.*—The Thugs make it a rule never to shave or eat paun till after the murder of the first traveller.

83. *Offices among the Thugs.*—The Thugs have various offices among their gangs. The Bhutote (Stranglers), Shamsea (Assistant Strangler) have been already described.

84. *Belhaee Bale.*—The Belhaee is the person who goes on in advance to select the place for murdering and burying and bele is the place appointed. The rule is, if the Belhaee stands

still, when the gang come in sight of him, and till they approach close to where he is, they murder the doomed travellers on reaching the spot, but if he keeps moving on, in their sight before them, they conclude it was not prudent to prepare the grave at that place.

85. *Sothace*.—Sothace is the office of winning the confidence of the men intended to be murdered, and make them do what is required to suit their purpose.

86. *Phool*.—The Parole of rendezvous for the gang, is called Phool.

87. *Fidelity of the Thugs to each other*.—Though there are numerous instances of treachery among the Thugs, there are also many examples of their fidelity, even to death, to their comrades. Punna Approver mentions the names of Pahar Khan and Saljoo, Thugs, who suffered death by order of Atmaram, a Mahratta Aumil, rather than betray their associates, and of two Mussulman boys whom that ruler unmercifully horse-whipped, but without compelling them to give up their companions.

88. Dacoits who plunder in the plains and pick-pocket when they meet with Thugs, force them to pay contributions to them, by the threat of discovering their real characters, but in the Jungles and wastes of Central India and the Dekhan the Thugs retaliate. Punna describes the murder of 28 Dacoits who had in their possession at the time property to a large amount, who had imprudently threatened the immense gang of Ghasee Soobadar with exposure.

89. *The conclusion*.—It is probable such dreadful disclosures of the villainy and blood thirsty character of the people of India, for the Thugs are taken from all classes of the community, was never before submitted to the abhorrence of Government. In all my experience in the Judicial line for upwards of 20 years, I never heard of such atrocities, or presided over such trials, such cold blooded murders, such heart-rending scenes of distress, and misery; such base ingratitude; such a total abandonment of every principle, which binds man to man; which softens the heart and elevates mankind above the brute creation, were probably never before brought to the notice of a Court of Justice. Well do these outlaws describe themselves, when they unblushingly avow that they stand towards mankind in the same relation, that tigers do to cattle—ruthless, regardless of shedding blood, indifferent to caste, sex or age, incapable of reformation, when they have once tasted blood they face the public, avowed, but insidious enemies of mankind and wage a war of extermination with all they meet on the high ways and byways. Mercy to such wretches would be the extreme of cruelty to mankind, and they must be met in their own ways, by a rigid adherence to the law, of *Lex Talionis*—Blood for blood.

90. *One hundred and eleven men*.—These considerations, and these alone, could have reconciled me to the awful duty I have performed, of sentencing so many human beings to suffer the extreme penalty of the law. They alone have comforted and supported me in the performance of this most responsible

charge; responsible both to God and man! for the execution of the faithful administration of a stern but imperiously called for execution of the penalties of the law on the enemies of mankind. How far zeal has been tempered by judgment and discrimination, it belongs not to me to decide. Pledged to put down the gangs of Thugs, Captain Sleeman and myself have devoted our time, our entire energies and our thoughts to the successful accomplishment of the duty; and we have I may truly say laboured with intense application, to justify the expectations and to realize the trust reposed in us by Government.

91. It is with some feeling of pride, that I am able to assert, that in thus performing a duty, foreign to my proper appointment, and equalling in extent and magnitude to my proper duty of the Agency, I have not neglected my original charge. There are no arrears in any department of the Agency, except a few Civil appeals which will be disposed of in a month, and reports on the land settlement, which have been delayed for want of writers to prepare the papers for Government.

92. Nothing remains now for me, but the gratifying task of bringing to the notice of Government, the zeal and ability displayed by my Assistants on his occasion. Of Captain Sleeman's merits and exertions, it is unnecessary for me to speak. His acts, the arrest, trial, and conviction of 345 wholesale murderers, are abundantly sufficiently to stamp his fame, on a solid basis; nor would I attempt to depreciate the just need of applause, which he will receive from a discriminating Government, by a feeble attempt to eulogize his meritorious services, in the cause of humanity. I cannot, however, close without an acknowledgment, that to his industry, research, and learning, I am indebted for much of the information contained in this report.

93. To Messrs. Macleod and Wilson, my thanks are due, for their exertions and assistance, during the arduous labours of preparing and translating the trials for submission to Government, to the latter in an especial manner, for the ability displayed in his translations of the 26 Trials. The former, did not join his appointment of Personal Assistant to the Agent, till I left Saugor; few Assistants, I may safely aver, have undergone such drudgery and labour, within the same space of time; and all performed with a cheerfulness and desire to be useful, which cannot be too much commended or appreciated. His Honour the Vice-President in Council, may rest assured that they will, both, prove able, zealous and industrious officers of Government, and equal to any duty they may be entrusted with, and it has been a source of pleasure to me, to have been aided and assisted, by such willing and efficient Assistants.

I have, etc.,
 (Sd.) F. C. SMITH,
Agent to the Governor-General.

Examination of the Thug approver Rama Jemadar No. 1

*Jubbulpore Division Supplementary Records C. F. No. 7/1832
(Thuggy Department).*

My name is Rama, age about 27 years and caste Naik. I have within the last few years resided at different villages but latterly at Sagtilly in the Pertabghur District. I am a native of Tulkara in the Rutlam District. My family have followed exclusively the occupation of Thugs for two hundred years past and I was brought up to no other. My grandfather was a celebrated Thug Jemadar and my father who succeeded him became a leader of equal note. Omeida, my elder Brother, too, became under my father's tuition an expert hand in all Thug ways and practices, but they are both dead and before they died misfortune fell upon them. They were seized on information of being Thugs and kept six months in confinement, and though at the expiration of that period they were set at liberty in consequence of the watch that was kept upon them and the constant alarm they were afterwards always under, they were never able to assemble a Gang. My father made one adventure with a few hands but the little success that attended it made the Thugs unwilling to serve under him, he shortly after died and my brother in despair took service as a private under the Jemadar Bhowana (Prisoner No. 2.) I had always since I was a boy and capable of performing a journey accompanied my father and brother on their excursions, in order to learn the ways of the Thugs and be able to practise them when I grew up, and having arrived at a sufficient age to put in practice the experience I had acquired I accompanied my brother and having along with him taken service under Bhowana we joined the Gang that was then assembling at Ambyrama, Purtaubghur District, under that Jemadar to proceed on the excursion which he had projected, and having left Ambyrama we went to Pullora in the Rutlam District and from thence to Euria same District collecting men for the gang as we went along. At Euria we stopped a few days, three or four, to allow those who had not arrived to join; from Euria we went to Kachy Barada where having made our halt we took our final departure on the excursion

Partabgarh.

* * *

Proceeding by Jirranda Rajghur, Para Jirry, Chota Oodey-poor, and Dubooee we arrived at Baroda where we halted a few days and afterwards proceeded in the direction of Dalka, Kate, Seemry, Samlee and Than and on the stage from the latter village met a traveller coming from Rajkote riding on a cart the owner of which he had we found persuaded to give him and his baggage a lift to Baroda where he was going. By deceitful persuasion we induced him to quit the cart and join us. We proceeded on to the next stage where we halted for the night and the next day at a place about 2 Coss; this Traveller was strangled by Rambuksh Poorbia (at large) assisted by Dutta (at large) who held his hands. I do not remember who buried the body. One hundred rupees were found upon him.

After this we went to Nuggur where we remained a considerable time, nearly a month and celebrated the Hooly, which occurred at this time. A few days after this our spies brought information of four *Augriahs having left the town for Joria Bunder upon which Bhowanee ordered seventeen or eighteen Thugs to go after them. I was one of the party. We accordingly set out, but the Augriahs had got so much the start of us that they reached Jaria Bunder before we could come up with them. The day we arrived at Jaria Bunder three Horse dealers with seven Horses arrived from Sind, and having consulted among ourselves as to forming designs upon them, we considered them an enterprize worth our attempting. At the moment we were concerting our plans against three Horse dealers our spies came with information that three Augriahs had that moment left the Town. On this information we immediately started for the Baroda road, the road by which they were proceeding, determined to dispose of them in the meantime. Accordingly we soon overtook them, and at the distance of about a coss from Jaria we fell upon them and strangled them. Rambuksh Poorbia (at large) strangled one. My brother Omeida (dead) strangled another, and Dutta Kureea Mala (at large) the third. I myself and others held their hands. I do not remember the names of those who buried them. Eight Rupees weight of Gold was found upon them.

After this we went and put up at a village between Jaria and Nuggur from whence we sent a man to Nuggur to inform Bhowana of the Horse dealers. He joined us the next day, after which we all went to Jaria but found that the Horse dealers had left it and proceeded by the Rajkote road. On hearing this we took the same direction making enquiries after them at the different villages as we went along; we did not however hear of them until we reached Rajkote where we found they had just arrived before us. The first day we contented ourselves with finding out the place where they had taken up their quarters and having ascertained this Bhowana the next day sent for them and telling them that he was looking out to purchase horses asked them their terms; in short after much pretended earnestness on his part to abate their demands and obstinate endeavours on theirs to make the best bargain they could, one was concluded but purposely in order to give ourselves the opportunity of carrying our designs upon them into effect, not before we had made one stage in their company towards Baroda. The opportunity looked for not having been afforded this stage the delusion was continued to be kept up. Bhowana Singh was represented to be a Thakoor of high rank and wealth, and he informed them, that he had a Hoondie on Baroda for 10,000 Rupees which until cashed the would be unable to pay for the Horses. To all this the unsuspecting Horse dealers yielding implicit credit, the scene soon closed upon them for the same night they were beset and strangled and their Horses taken possession of by us. One of the three was strangled by Ruheem *alias* Rahimta (Prisoner No. 19), one

* Augriahs are foot carriers employed by Sahookars and other Native merchants to convey articles of value but small bulk from one place to another sewed or otherwise concealed in their coats and clothes.

by Rambuksh Poorbia (at large) and one by Shew Lall Poorbia (at large), six other Thugs held their hands, but the names of these I do not remember. There were one hundred and seventy-five rupees found upon them.

We started early the next morning and after proceeding about four Coss stopped at a Village on the way to deliberate as to the disposal of the Horses, when it was determined to retain one of them for Bhowana's use, another for Fauj Khan Jemadar (since dead) and the five remaining to be sent to Baroda to be sold. Accordingly the five were given in charge to Rama (approver No. 3), the relation of Bhowana, and seven other Thugs who were directed to sell them if they could to Ameen Jemadar at Baroda in the service of the Maharajah Seajee.

At this village we separated into two Gangs to traverse the country in different directions, and settled to meet again at the expiration of a month or twenty days at Nuggur. Bhowana continued the leader of the one and Fauj Khan Jemadar (since dead) became that of the other. Bhowana's Gang took the direction of Joonaghur while that of Fauj Khan with which my brother Oomeida and myself then proceeded towards Dhundoka.

On our way the second day after this we fell in with two Mussulman Travellers coming from Joonaghur and going towards Baroda. That day having made a long stage and being much battered and fatigued we made no attempt upon them but halted for the day at the same place. The next day we started some time before them, but being on the look out we again fell in with them, and shortly after strangled them. Khooshall (prisoner No. 15) strangled one and Ruheem *alias* Ruheemta prisoner No. 19) the other. I do not remember who assisted or buried them. One hundred and fifty or two hundred rupees were found upon them.

The next day my brother Oomeida was seized with cholera of which he died in a few hours.

Five days after this we arrived by regular stages at Dhundoka where we halted one day and afterwards proceeded in the directions of Jyte and Koondur, from the latter (which we reached in six days) we went to Dhoolajee and from thence moved in the direction of Poolumder where in a few days we arrived and halted two days. Here during this time Fauj Khan, the Jemadar, made acquaintance with four travellers bound for Kutch Bhooj whom he met in the town, and so intimated himself into their good opinion and confidence that he prevailed upon them to come and take up their quarters with us outside. During the night we kept strict watch over them that they should not leave us, the place not suiting our further purpose upon them but the next day while they were travelling with us strangled them about six Coss from. Pollumder Dulla (at large), Nunda (since dead), Rambuksh Poorbia (at large) were three of the stranglers on this occasion but the name of the fourth I do not remember —Nor do I remember the names of those who assisted. Three hundred rupees were found upon them. From thence we returned to Dhoolajee, where we met Bhowana and his party and in mutually communicating the occurrence that had taken place during our separation we learnt that only two travellers had fallen into their hands.

The Gang being again united, we moved in the direction of Kundrah and at about five or six Coss from that place fell in with three travellers with a camel also proceeding in the direction of Kundrah. That day we made their acquaintance and gained their confidence so that at Kundrah they took up their quarters near to us. The next morning they left Kundrah along with us and at the distance of about two Coss seizing our opportunity we strangled them. The names of the stranglers on this occasion I do not recollect. Fifty or sixty Rupees only were obtained. Bhowana took the camel for himself and afterwards exchanged it with the Rajah of Baukanair for a horse when we went to that place about two months afterwards.

After this affair near Kundrah we moved about for about six days without doing anything, when we went to Nuggur, and having halted there a few days, proceeded on the Doolajee road came to a village which we intended to make our stage, when at the same moment two travellers passed with a camel without halting. We immediately got ready and followed them and at a village distant between six or seven coss they made their stage for the day which we did also, and having taken up our quarters near them by marked civility and attention we worked ourselves into their acquaintance and good will. The next morning we accompanied them on their way and halted at the same village they did, and near to them, so that during the day a constant intercourse was kept up with them and at night we strangled them. Rambuksh Poorbia (at large) strangled the one and Ruheem *alias* Ruhimta (Prisoner No. 19) the other. Eight Katy-war Saddles, one hundred and twenty-five Turbans, or there-about, and one Hundred Rupees were obtained. The camel was immediately sent in charge of two Thugs to Sadra and sold for 60 Rupees.

From hence we proceeded to Baukanair making one stage on the way. From Baukanair we went to Huldo and Moorly afterwards to Dhoolka and Kumbat (Cambag). The second stage before we arrived at Kumbat we fell in with two travellers who had come from Joonaghur and were proceeding towards Baroda. We joined them and by assiduous attention not only kept them in our company, but prevailed on them to take up their quarters with us at the halting place where during the night we strangled them. Ruheem *alias* Ruhimta (Prisoner No. 19) strangled one and Khooshall (Prisoner No. 15) the other. Chitra (Prisoner No. 4) held the hands of one, but who besides him were employed in this part of the business, I do not remember. The booty obtained must have been trifling as I have no recollection what it was.

After this we went to Kumbat and remained there eight or nine days in the hope of travellers setting out for Baroda or other place, but none having been observed by us, we started at the expiration of this period and went to Bussooee where we remained two days and then proceeded to Seiryabad. Here two travellers proceeding towards Baroda were observed by us. Rambuksha Poorbia went and formed acquaintance with them, and by deceitful pretences brought them to where we had taken up our quarters in order to their accompanying us the next morning. They accordingly proceeded with us and at a convenient spot on the road were strangled. Joomal (Prisoner

No. 21) strangled one and Rambuksh Poorbia the other. Shair Khan (Prisoner No. 10), Nunda (since dead) another Thug who, I do not recollect and myself, held their hands; 43 Rupees were found upon them.

After this we proceeded to Baroda and remained there fifteen or twenty days. There on our arrival we found Rama (approver No. 3) who had been sent with the horses. He had not succeeded in disposing of them to the Jemadar in the Maharajah's service they being too small. While at Baroda our spies one day brought intelligence of three Augriahs proceeding towards Broach and Surat upon which we set out after them and having overtaken them accompanied them as far as about midway between the villages Mira and Eutawa where we murdered them. One of them was strangled by Fackeera (Prisoner No. 8) another by Rambukhsh Poorbia. The third Augriah escaped from the hands of those who attempted to overpower him, he drew his sword and took to flight and had nearly escaped when Bhowana who was on horse-back pursued him and after an obstinate resistance succeeded in cutting him down. Bhowana himself made a narrow escape from the blow of the Augriah, having been wounded in three places and was only saved from the effect of one of the Augriah's blows by his turban the folds of which were cut in two. This affair being attended with much noise and stir about the place where it happened gave us a good deal of alarm, and in consequence we dispersed in small parties and again quietly assembled at Baroda. On this occasion something about 300 Rupees was obtained. The hands of the two Augriahs who were strangled we held while that was being done by Shew Lall (at large), Rahimta (since dead), Ajoo (at large) and another whom I do not remember.

At Baroda we halted one day and afterwards moved towards Dhakorjee and at a village about 9 coss from Baroda on the bank of the Mhye river met Nathoo Jemadar (Prisoner No. 1) with a Gang of seventeen or eighteen men. He with his Gang accompanied us to Dhakorjee where he remained five or six days, when Bhowana's Gang formed themselves under Nathoo leaving four or five men with Bhowana who was unable to accompany us on account of the wounds he received from the Augriah.

Under Nathoo we took the direction of Ahmedabad, but at a place where we halted near to that city called Bhuttoo. Rama (approver No. 3) and myself had a quarrel, in consequence of which I quitted the Gang and with Chitra (Prisoner No. 4), Rankaria (since dead) and Khoobukhsh (since dead) returned home. I cannot, therefore, speak of its further proceedings, no murders having been committed from the time the Gang left Dhakorjee, up to the period of my quitting it and my friends and myself committed none on our way home.

One year and a half after the excursion under Bhowana, in Guzerat regarding which I have been examined another was projected by that Jemadar towards Marwar who accordingly collected a Gang for the purpose.

* * *

The Gang conducted by Bhowana left Raigria, Peoplonda district, where it had assembled and proceeded by Mundesore passing the skirts of the Cantonment of Neemuch—Chytore, and

Shapoora and arrived at Malpoora in the Jeypoor Territory from whence we proceeded on the Jeypoor road. During our second stage on this road we fell in with three Rajpoots whom we strangled, Dewa (2nd) since dead, myself and another Thug strangled one of them, Shew Lall (at large), and other (I have forgotten who) strangled another and the third was strangled by Dilla of Kurrea (at large) and two others, but the names of the others I do not remember. Jooda (dead), Kheema *alias* Ramzany (Prisoner No. 28), Roopa (Prisoner No. 32) and others buried the bodies. One pair of shawl, one sela value about 10 Rupees, several articles of Dress—some copper vessels and sixty Rupees were obtained.

After this, having halted at three or four different places on the road, we arrived at Jeypoor. At Jeypoor having remained eight days, we proceeded towards Kishengurh, and on the way met with four Mussulman travellers who told us they were proceeding to Jodhpoor. Under the pretence that we were going there also we joined and kept in company with them and arrived at Kishengurh. From Kishengurh we proceeded to Ajmere but without halting beyond a few minutes went on to Pokhurjee where we stopped for the night. From Pokhurjee we went the next day to Umamass (the four travellers still with us) where we halted the next day we again started with the travellers and on the way seizing a favourable opportunity strangled them. Fukera of Wasslaee (Prisoner No. 8), Shew Lall (at large), Dilla (at large), Nunda (Prisoner No. 5), myself (Rama approver), and one or two others were the Thugs engaged on this occasion in strangling them. Some brass and copper vessels, cloths and two hundred rupees were obtained.

The rains had now set in which obliged us to turn homeward after having made what we considered a very unsuccessful excursion.

About one year after, I had returned from the excursion to Marwar under Bhowana, I projected one myself towards Guzerat for which purpose I collected a small Gang consisting of the Thugs, and as their leader proceeded with them to that quarter.

* * *

From the village of Motya, Purtaubghur district, where I had a few months previously gone from Sogtilly to reside, we started, and proceeding by Jooba and Amjenah arrived at Godra which just before we reached we fell in with two travellers proceeding to Datorjee. They halted at Godra that day and the next morning started on their journey accompanied by us, we strangled them after having proceeded a few coss. One was strangled by Chitra (Prisoner No. 4) and the other by Fauj Khan (Prisoner No. 11) while the hands of the Travellers were seized and held by Kheema (at large), Dilla (at large), Ooankaria (dead) and Nathoo (Prisoner No. 13). Forty or Fifty Rupees were found on them and a Hoondee which I destroyed.

After this we proceeded by moderate stages to Baroda where we halted three days during which we formed our designs upon a Traveller, a native of Hindoostan, on his return thither, whom we found in the Town, and accordingly watched his departure.

He had with him a horse for his riding and when he set out on his journey we followed him. At about six coss from Baroda he stopped and took refreshment which we did also and along with him started again. We had reached within about two coss of Dubooee when by deceitful persuasion we prevailed upon him to dismount and walk with us, shortly after which we strangled him. Chitra (Prisoner No. 4) was the strangler while Fauz Khan (Prisoner No. 11), Oonkaria (since dead), and Keema (at large), Kheema *alias* Ramzany (Prisoner No. 28) were the Thugs who seized him and held his hands. A few Rupees in money and articles of different sorts to the value of about 20 Rupees were found upon him. His horse I kept for my own use and afterwards sold at a place about a stage from Rajkote for 50 Rupees.

After this we travelled about the country for many days having visited Kumbat Doolka, Dhundhokur, Rajkote, Khoondra and other places, when the men of the Gang becoming sickly I resolved to return homewards. We accordingly began to retrace our steps and at Dabooee halted three days, having there observed a traveller on whom our information regarding him, induced us to form our designs. He had a small Tattoo with him and when he left Dabooee we started at the same time along with him but it was not until the second stage that we had an opportunity of carrying our designs upon him into execution. He was strangled by Chitra (Prisoner No. 4) having been seized and held by Fauz Khan (Prisoner No. 11) and Buksha (dead). There were others besides engaged in this murder, but I only further remember that Beera, Chamar (Prisoner No. 25) and Bukshah (dead) were Two of those who buried him. There were found in the Traveller's possession three pieces of silk and six hundred rupees in money.

After this we continued our way home by regular stages without doing anything further.

We set out on this excursion about eight days before the Dewalee, three years and a half ago (beginning of November 1828), and returned a few days before the following Hooly which we celebrated at our homes.

From the village of Matya where I had been living for some time, ever since the Mewar Excursion under the Jemadar Bhowana (Prisoner No. 2) I moved to Sagtilly in the same district (Pertabgurh) and had been at Sagtilly one or two months when I resolved upon preparing for another excursion and accordingly collected the Thugs and formed them into a Gang for the purpose.

* * *

I fixed on Marwar as the Quarter to proceed and having made all necessary arrangements we started immediately after the Dewalee (November 1829) proceeding by regular stages we passed through the cantonment of Neemuch, and going by Chyttoe, Khumeergurh and Ajmere we arrived at Phokurjee where we halted two days and afterwards took the directions of Meertha to which place we went. On leaving Meertha the next day we fell in with three Travellers on whom we formed our designs, and though we followed them from day to day for six days successively practising every wile to entrap them, and watching

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every moment for an opportunity to carry our schemes upon them into execution, invariably some obstructing circumstance came in the way to prevent us, and they at length escaped from us altogether within three or four coss of Jhodepoor where they were going.

At Jhodepoor we stopped six or seven days and then proceeded in the direction of Guzerat, we went by Kole and Bheemal and at the second stage from the latter place fell in with a traveller proceeding to Guzerat whom we persuaded to join us, and, on the road, the day after he was strangled by Chitra (Prisoner No. 4), Oonkaria (dead) and Lall Sing Poorbia (at large). Thirty Rupees were found upon him.

Two stages after this brought us to Puran Puttan where we halted two days and started along with two Rajpoots going to Guzerat whom we strangled during the first stage. The Thugs who strangled them were Malia (Prisoner No. 6), Chitra (Prisoner No. 4), Oonkaria (dead), Lall Sing Poorbia (at large) and Buksha (dead) and another whom I do not remember. One hundred and twenty-five Rupees were found upon them. We made this day a stage of about eight Coss from Puran Puttan and next day arrived at Deesa where there is a cantonment and took up our quarters in the Town.

From Deesa we went in the direction of Simmy Radhunpoor and at the stage beyond the former of these Towns met two travellers going to Kutch. We formed an acquaintance with them and about the middle of the stage they were strangled by Malia (Prisoner No. 6), Lall Singh Poorbia (at large), Buksha (dead), Chitra (Prisoner No. 4), Oonkaria (dead) and Nathoo (Prisoner No. 13).

After this we proceeded in the direction of Bhooj by the Town of Araseer where we halted two days. From Araseer we took the Huldoor and Moonby road. The distance between Araseer and Huldoor is twenty-five coss which we performed in one stage, in consequence of the road which runs along the sea shore being, we heard overflowed during the spring tides which were then expected, at which being alarmed not knowing what might be the consequence to us we made this effort and passed before the Tides took place. We halted one day at Huldoor and afterwards proceeded to the town of Budwan where we remained three days and afterwards went by Poona to Raupoor.

From Raupoor we accompanied two travellers and the second stage an opportunity for carrying our designs upon them into effect having afforded they were strangled by Chitra (Prisoner No. 4), Lall Sing Poorbia (at large), Malia (Prisoner No. 6), Dilla (at large), and Oonkaria (dead). Two Hundred Rupees were found upon them. Kheema alias Ramzany (Prisoner No. 28), Dilla (at large), Oonkaria (dead), Nathoo (Prisoner No. 13) and Roopa (Prisoner No. 32) buried the bodies.

After this we proceeded by Dhundooka, Goga or Kata, Kate, Dhalka and the cantonment of Kaira to Pitlawud—thence taking the Baroda road went to Bassooee where we halted two days and then went to Baroda.

After halting four or five days we took the Broach direction at which town we arrived in four stages. Here we had been three or four days when we obtained information of the arrival of the

Gujarat.

Gujarat.

three Augriahs on their way to Baroda. We immediately joined them and set out with them to Baroda but they proved too cautious and watchful for us to make an attempt upon them and in spite of all the snares we laid and the artifices we practised they escaped from our hands and reached Baroda in safety.

We remained at Baroda about seven days and afterwards started for Dabooee on our way homewards and proceeding by Soonkhera, Making and Oodeypoor we fell in at the latter place with two Augriahs whom we joined and accompanied from stage to stage until within five coss of journey where they were strangled by Chitra (Prisoner No. 4), Malia (Prisoner No. 6), Lal Sing Poorbia (at large), Oonkaria (dead), Nathoo (Prisoner No. 13) and another whose name I do not recollect. Kheema *alias* Ramzany (Prisoner No. 28), Oonkaria (dead) and Lall Sing (at large) buried the bodies. There were found upon them—

One Diamond Ring of considerable value.

Two Emerald Rings of small value.

One Ruby Ring of small value.

One small Diamond not set, about half a seer of Pearl all of them small seed Pearls except five, of which four were large and one small and about one Hundred Rupees weight of Gold.

The further account and disposal of this booty is this. After reaching home I made a division of a part of it giving to each of the stranglers six Tolahs of Gold and 25 strings of the small Pearls. To those performing the office of burying and menial duties I gave 4½ Tolahs of Gold and 10 strings of Pearls, and took for myself as the leader eight Tolahs of Gold, 100 strings of the small and two of the large Pearls, over and above the shares they had already received in common with the other stranglers. I gave to those who performed this office on that occasion between four and five Tolahs of Gold and twelve strings of the small Pearls. As I have already said I took two of the large pearls as my own share, while the other two went to that of sixteen of the men of the Gang and were delivered into the hands of Bhopjee (Prisoner No. 36). The Rings and small unset diamond I reserved in my possession for future division after the value of each was ascertained and they could be disposed of. After having kept the Rings about a twelve months Bunsraj and Lala Rana Bunnyahs and relations of Amer Singh Purmaicha of Selana came to my house at Sagtilly when I showed them, the Diamond Ring, on which they strongly advised me not to think of disposing of an article of such value in this country as doing so would certainly lead to my detection, but recommended me to carry it to Oodeypoor where they would accompany me and assist me in disposing of it without any such danger and they said that there were some Charaus at Salna who were about to proceed with horses to Oodeypore in whose company they and myself could go with all safety to that place. I approved of their plan and they returned to Selana to speak to the Charaus, when they happened to mention the circumstance to Ameer Singh, who, in the middle of the night left Selana and in great haste came to Sagtilly about day break next morning and stopping at a little distance outside of the village sent and called me. At first he

reproached me with a want of good faith and confidence in keeping secret from him the acquisition of an article of such value as he understood the diamond ring to be reminding me that his forefather and mine had for one or two generations past been on a footing of the most intimate and unreserved friendship, and that between them dealings of the most secret nature had been carried on; that all this had descended to him and to me and had hitherto been maintained by us and he hoped would continue to be so. He continued for some time in this strain to speak to me, and offering to dispose of the ring for me at length prevailed upon me to deliver it into his hands for that purpose giving me the most solemn pledges that he would act honestly by me in the transaction. I agreed to give him five per cent commission on the price for which he might sell it. He carried the ring to Rutlam and showed it to different Jewelers and Merchants but did not succeed in finding a purchaser. Some time afterwards Amer Sing sent Hunsraj who is his Nephew with 1,200 rupees on account to meet my expenses, but of this sum I only took 500 Rupees. At this time I also gave two of the other Rings, namely, the Emerald and Ruby, and the small unset diamond to Amer Singh to be sold. Some days afterwards Amer Sing sent for me to Rachrode and told me that the stones in the rings as well as the small unset diamond were false but that he could get about 25 Rupees for each of these articles and would give me that sum for them if I chose but I declined the offer and shortly afterwards he sent his servant Deen Mahomed to me with these articles. The diamond Ring still remained in his possession and being in want of money I sent to ask a further advance upon it of 500 Rupees which he gave me. In this way I obtained advances from him first and last receiving 1,200 Rupees upon this article. When having been given reason to suspect that he had treacherous designs against me, I immediately went to him and insisted upon his restoring the Ring to me. Amer Sing conceiving that I was instigated to do so by Sirdar Mhyta the Kamdar of the Rajah of Selana in order to get the Ring into his Sirdar Mhyta's possession and that he would lose the handsome profits he had calculated upon deriving from it proceeded, as I afterwards found, to you, and having disclosed the circumstances connected with it, placed it in your hands. On hearing this I became greatly alarmed but Amer Sing some time afterwards by assurances removed my fears and carried me secretly to a respectable person at Jawra (the manager's brother) by whom I was further assured and the Ring shown to me which left me nothing to apprehend.

When my suspicions of Amer Sing were first awakened and I went as I have said to demand the Ring from him, he told me to repay him the money he had advanced me upon it and I should have it, upon which I went to Bhopa Sah of Kumlakeree with whom I had frequently before had dealings and having explained the matter to him obtained the loan of the requisite sum 1,200 Rupees and placed in his hands the Emerald and Ruby Rings and a Nuth (a female nose ornament) of small value. This money was lent on the confidence produced by former dealings, and not these articles the value of which though I cannot state it would have formed but a small portion of the sum.

To Butchraj, a nephew of Amer Sing, to whom I owed 200 rupees I gave the two large pearls and some strings of the small kind, and in general with regard to booty acquired by myself and others we used on our return from any excursion to dispose of it to Bunnyahs or give it to them in liquidation of debts.

I do not recollect the names of all the different Bunnyahs and Sonars to whom I have given or disposed of articles of booty. But those I have pointed out are the persons to whom myself and others chiefly of or disposed with, the greater part of the booty acquired during the last mentioned excursion; but principally from the Augriahs strangled near to Jirry on our way homewards. (The approver had previously pointed out the different persons whose names appear in the list of articles annexed to these proceedings.)

(Sd.) W. BORTHWICK,
Political Agent.

Examination of Thug Approver Moty No. 2.

My name is Moty, age about 25 years, but on this point I cannot speak with exactness, I am a Mussulman. I have for the last four or five years been residing at the village of Euria in the Rutlam district, before that at Jir in the same district where I was born. My father was a Thug and I was brought up to the same calling. I have been on several excursions with the Thugs some of these while a boy of which in consequence I have little [or] no recollection, but I can speak of those on which I proceeded after I had grown up; and accompanied the Gangs to qualify myself to take a part in their proceeding.

The first Excursion, the occurrences of which I have a recollection of, though an imperfect one, took place about eight years ago when Nathoo Jemadar (Prisoner No. 1) who had a claim against my late father came to Euria and demanded of me to settle it. I showed him that I had not the means on which he insisted that I should join his Gang and follow him on an Excursion which he was about to proceed upon. I consented and accompanied him to Kachee Baroda (Boodnawar district, Dhar territory) where the different individuals intended to form the Gang on this occasion were assembled.

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Guzerat was the quarter fixed upon, and proceeding by Jenanda, Para, Chandpore, Chota Oodypore, Making, Sonkhera and Bahaderpore we reached Dabooee before the life of any one was attempted. Here on two strangers (Hindoos) who had arrived from Baroda and taken up their quarters near us, we formed designs, and about two Ghurries of the night carried them into effect. Fouj Khan (dead) was the person who strangled one of them, and Rahimta (dead) the other, while Amour (at large) and Mana (Prisoner No. 16) held their hands. Between thirty and forty Rupees were found upon them.

The same night we left Dabooee for Baroda and took up our quarters at a place outside of the town where we remained three days. We afterwards proceeded to the Cantonment of Kaira where we stopped one night and went the next day to

Russooee. Here a traveller arrived from Surat and having taken up his quarters near us he was strangled shortly after it became dark by Mana, Ambowala (Prisoner No. 16), Russool (at large) assisted Mana, by holding the traveller's hand on overpowering him. He was a Mussulman and sixty Rupees were found upon him.

From Bassooee we took the direction of Banugger and stopped at a place during the night the name of which I do not recollect. The next morning we were proceeding on our way when we fell in with two travellers who were coming from Joonagurh. Nathoo Jemadar soon discovered that they were Augriahs and having formed a party consisting of Malia (Prisoner No. 6), Raeeta (Prisoner No. 7), Fouj Khan (dead), Anwar (at large), headed by himself went after them. The rest of us he (the Jemadar) ordered to proceed to a certain village and there await his return, in consequence however of what happened in his affair with the Augriahs he did not come back to the village but made a precipitate retreat to an out-of-the-way village called Kurrera whence he sent to us to join him. We learnt from him and the party on our arrival that one of the Augriahs was overpowered and strangled without difficulty but the other at the moment the Roomal was going to be twisted round his neck had observed the intention in time to make an effort in his own defence and having caught the Roomal with one hand seized with the other Fouj Khan to whom the strangling of him had been assigned, and throwing him on the ground drew his sword with which he wounded Fouj Khan. At this moment the Jemadar and Raeeta fell upon the Augriah when he was soon overpowered and murdered. It being a much frequented road where this happened the Jemadar and party had only time hastily to put the bodies aside a short distance without burying them and afterwards as I have already said, made a rapid retreat to this distant village where we joined him. Two thousand Baba Shahee Rupees were found upon the Augriahs tied about them and sewed up in the Angahs or Coats.

From Kurrera we proceeded to Pitlawud making one stage between and the next morning moved about three or four coss to a small village where we halted: two travellers on their way to Baroda arrived but passed on after stopping a few minutes. The Jemadar seeing that they were Augriahs who seemed to have a good deal of money concealed about them instantly made arrangements and followed them. Having overtaken them we accompanied them a considerable distance and had them strangled. The stranglers on this occasion were Mana (Prisoner No. 16), and Kulloo (since dead) and were assisted by Maila (Prisoner No. 6) and Rahimet alias Rahimta (dead). Two thousand rupees were found upon them.

After this we returned to Baroda from whence we sent Kulloo, Russoola, Rumzanee and Dulla with money for our families' expences. We remained here nearly a month sending our spies and occasionally parties on different roads but I do not recollect of anything having been done at the expiration of this period. The four men we sent to our homes with money returned, after which we left Baroda and proceeded in the Ahmedabad direction by villages called Chauney and

Lairyabad in each of which we made a stage. The stage we made beyond Lairyabad, the name of the place I do not remember we fell in with three Augriahs coming from Ahmedabad in the Baroda direction two or three coss on the Ahmedabad side of it, and having allowed them to pass we immediately separated into parties and went off the road in order to get unperceived before them, this being effected the party with the stranglers and others destined to attack them allowed them to come up and after accompanying them some distance until a suitable opportunity offered strangled them. This was done at a small river. Rahimta, Mana, Kulloo, Raeeta, Malia, and Futta were the stranglers employed. One thousand five hundred Dollars were found upon them. After this nothing further was attempted for fear lest the different murders we had so recently committed and the large sum of money we had acquired all within so very limited a space of country might draw suspicion upon us; we therefore turned our steps towards home and by long stages continued in uninterrupted progress until we arrived.

This excursion took place eight years ago. We set out upon it in the latter end of the cold weather and returned during the rains. It was the first excursion I was ever upon and I proceeded merely as a learner without any occupation being assigned to me, still I received 75 Rupees as my share while the stranglers and others who had particular duties to perform received much more but what that was I do not remember. It is the custom of the Augriahs to convey money and valuable property from one place to another sewed in their clothes and otherwise concealed about them but such is the experience of the Thugs in the practices they follow that such persons are sure to be discovered by them independent of which no single passenger, or passengers in small parties escape their attacks.

The year following a Gang of the Thugs assembled at Euria, where I resided, under the Jemadar Bhowana (Prisoner No.2) preparatory to proceeding on an excursion, and being invited to join them I did so. The Gang on this occasion consisted as well as I can remember of the following individuals, but at this distant period my recollection is far from being clear on this point nor do I retain a full and perfect remembrance of all the occurrences that took place during the excursion, but those I have to mention positively took place.

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Being all ready we left Euria, and making one halt at Kachee Boroda, set out for Guzerat to which quarter it was resolved upon to proceed, and by regular stages reached to within four or five coss of Doobooee before we began our proceedings. Here we met two travellers armed with matchlocks. After they had passed as Bhowana sent a party of his men after them the names of whom I do not remember, but they soon rejoined us at Dubooee after having strangled the travellers and possessed themselves of their money. This they made it appear was twenty-five rupees. I do not now remember the names of the party who perpetrated this deed. From Doobooee we went to Baroda and halting there two days, proceeded to Tankaria having made

four or five stages on the way, after which we went to a village called Than and on the way observed a traveller who with his baggage was on a hackery from which we succeeded in inveigling him to join us after which we strangled him. Rambuksh Poorbia (at large) was the strangler employed on this occasion, assisted by Dulla *alias* Dullia (at large). On the body of this traveller was found forty Baba Shaee Rupees some Pooties in Gold and six white turbans. From there we went to Baukanair where we stopped a day and afterwards entered the districts of Huldoor and Moorbee. In our progress here we met two Kummul weavers with loads of Kummuls on their backs, and thinking the loads might give cover to more valuable articles we strangled them when to our disappointment we found the loads consisted only of Kummuls, besides twelve Rupees were found on them. I do not remember who the Thugs were who strangled them or assisted in the business. After this we continued moving about for some days without anything falling into our hands and at length went to Nugger. Here we found several Thugs belonging to Nathoo Jemaadr (Prisoner No. 1) who had been sent to look out for travellers with property. These were Mana (Prisoner No. 16), Futta (at large), Fouj Khan (Prisoner No. 11), Ruhimta (dead). From them we learnt that Nathoo was with a Gang at Rajkote. On hearing this I quitted Bhowana's party and proceeded with Nathoo's men to join. The stage before we reached Rajkote we met a traveller going to that place whom we beset and strangled. Mana of Amba (Prisoner No. 16) was the Thug who strangled him. Forty Rupees were found upon him. Nathoo and the Gang left Rajkote the day after we joined. Accompanied by us, we continued moving about from place to place for several days without anything coming in our way when Kulloo the father-in-law of Nathoo Jemadar fell sick. On his account we were obliged to stop 10 or 15 days until he recovered. We afterwards proceeded slowly towards Baroda and when within a short distance of the town myself and a few others went to it to enjoy ourselves while the Jemadar and the rest of the Gang continued to traverse the country in the vicinity. At Baroda we found Bhowana and his Gang who had been there some time, but a day or two after our arrival they left it to follow some travellers of whom they had received information. The same day, or the day after they returned with Bhowana and several of his men wounded in the resistance which the travellers had made. Myself and the others who had come with me joined them and the next day we all set out for Dhakorjee. On the way we fell in with Nathoo and his men who also accompanied Bhowana to Dhakorjee where two days afterwards we all arrived. After remaining at Dhakorjee a few days the whole of the Thugs proceeded in search of travellers and passengers under Nathoo to attend Bhowana until he should recover from his wounds and be able to take his post again. We proceeded in the direction of Ahmedabad and after traversing the country in that neighbourhood for a considerable time without acquiring anything I became impatient to return home and accordingly left the Gang and accompanied by Dulla (at large), Dulla (2nd) (at large), Futta (at large) and Hussun of Roupoora (Prisoner No. 29) arrived at Euria having returned by regular stages without attempting anything on the way.

The following two seasons comprehending a period of about two years and a half I remained at home. The third season arrived when Dewa *alias* Roostum Jemadar (Prisoner No. 3) with other Thugs came to Euria with the intention of forming a Gang there and proceeding on an excursion. Accordingly a sufficient number was shortly assembled and a Gang, which I joined, was formed under the above Dewa.

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After having completed all our arrangements we proceeded making regular stages by the way of Rajgurh, Jirry, Chandpoor, Chota Oodypoor, and Baroda having fixed upon Guzerat as the scene of our proceedings and Baroda the point from whence to commence upon them, arrived here we halted two days and resolved to proceed towards Kumbut (Combay). We accordingly left Baroda and within two stages of our destination overtook two travellers bound for the same place. Having made their acquaintance and accompanied them a few coss we took our opportunity to carry into effect our designs upon them. The one being strangled by Khooshall (at large) and Himta (at large) and the other by Malia (Prisoner No. 8) and Raheem *alias* Rahimta (Prisoner No. 19), Bukhsha (at large), Rassia (at large), Ajoo (at large) and Ruheemta (at large) were the Thugs who buried the bodies. Twenty Rupees was all that was found upon them. After this we proceeded on our way to Kumbat and having passed one night on the road arrived here next day. We stopped these two days and proceeded afterwards in the Joonagurh direction and while on the second stage fell in with three travellers whom we strangled. Malia (Prisoner No. 6) and Ajoo (at large) strangled one, another was strangled by Oomla (at large) and Khooshall (at large) and the third by Himta (at large) and Raeeta (Prisoner No. 7). The bodies were buried by Rahimta (dead), Bukhsha (at large), Fakirra (at large), Bahader (at large) and one or two others whose names I do not recollect. One hundred Rupees were found upon them. After this we went to Joonagurh where several of the Thugs who had a quarrel with Dewa the Jemadar separated from him and returned to Baroda, while he with the rest of the Thugs who remained with him took the direction of Nugger in which neighbourhood Nathoo Jemadar (Prisoner No. 1) with a Gang then was. Those who separated from Dewa were—

Moty (approver) under examination, Rambukhsh of Euria (at large), Ajoo (at large), Rassia (at large), Mana (approver No. 4), Peer Khan (Prisoner No. 42), Roostum (Prisoner No. 20), Bahadur (at large), Khooshall (at large), Himta (at large), Rambukhsh Poorbia (at large), Fouj Khan of Euria (dead), Malia (Prisoner No. 6).

On our way to Baroda and about four coss beyond Bussooee we overtook two travellers, on whom we formed our designs. Up to this moment I have never inbrued my hands in the blood of any one but urged by Rambuksh Poorbia and others to make an attempt on one of these two travellers and having hitherto accompanied the Gangs for the purpose of qualifying myself to

take a part in the commission of their acts, besides having shared in the booty they had acquired, I complied with their wishes on the present occasion and being prepared with the roomal assisted by Rambukhsh Poorbia (at large) and Malia (Prisoner No. 6) my relation, I strangled the traveller assigned to my hands. The other traveller was strangled by Ajoo (at large) and Himta (at large). One hundred and fifty Rupees were found upon them. Rassia (at large), Keessia (dead) and Bahader (at large) buried the bodies. These being my first and successful attempt, I with Rambukhsha who as the person who had initiated me took to himself credit on that account laid out five Rupees in sweetmeats and distributed them amongst our comrades in order to propitiate future success.

At Baroda we remained one night and next morning directed our course homewards. At the first stage from Baroda two travellers proceeding to Malwa arrived and halted for the day. Rambukhsh Poorbia made acquaintance with them and by his address prevailed on them to take up their quarters with us. At night according to preconcerted design they were strangled. I strangled one of them assisted by Rumbukhsha and the other was strangled by Rahimta assisted by Himta. About ninety Rupees were found upon them. They were buried by Khooshall (at large), Fouj Khan (brother of Anwar at large), since dead, and one or two others. At this stage Mana, Ajoo, Malia, Fouj Khan of Euria, Rassia separated from us and went to join Nathoo Jemadar (Prisoner No. 1) who with his Gang was still in Guzerat while the rest of us continued our course home but without doing anything further. About a month after my return home I with other Thugs was seized on suspicion of being characters of that description and carried to Jemadar, but after being examined and kept some time in confinement we were released on security. This occurred about three years ago and prevented me from joining in any of the excursions which the Thugs have since proceeded upon.

(Sd.) W. BORTHWICK,
Political Agent.

Examination of the Thug Approver Rama No. 3

My name is Rama, age about 31 years. I am of the Naik caste. My father is dead, his name was Heera. He was a Thug and brought up myself and only brother Dewah who died a few years ago to be Thugs also. I have been on several of those excursions undertaken by the Thugs at certain seasons to acquire plunder in the mode peculiar to them. I remember the Excursion of Thugs that proceeded from Malwa to Guzerat about seven years ago under the conduct of Bhowana Jemadar (Prisoner No. 2). Bhowana is my relation. I was present on that Excursion and have a recollection of the more particular occurrences that happened while some of those of a common nature may have escaped my memory. I believe I can state the names of most of those Thugs who formed the Gang on that occasion. I can

speak positively to the offices the different individuals performed and recollect the names of some of those who were engaged in the several acts of murder perpetrated during that Excursion but it is now so long since it took place that many of them I have forgotten.

* * *

I was then living at Ambyrama from whence I went and joined Bhowana at Euria in the Rutlam District where most of the Gang were assembled. In a few days afterwards we were all ready, and started for Guzerat to which quarter it was determined we should proceed. We went by the usual route but the names of the different stages I do not remember.

Gujarat.

In the neighbourhood of Dabooee two travellers fell into our hands and we strangled them but all that I recollect of the matter is that they had a Tattoo which I believe was given by Bhowana to Omeida Jemadar the brother of Rama (approver No. 1).

The next person who fell a victim to our designs was a traveller whom we met near Than. He was observed by Rambuksh Poorbia and was riding on a Hackery which Rambukhsh prevailed upon him to quit and join us. He was afterwards strangled by Rambuksh.

After this two Kummul wearers were met and strangled but besides the bundles of Kumlies which they were carrying and a few Rupees nothing was found upon them. Rambuksh Poorbia strangled one of them but who strangled the other or what other Thugs were employed in this murder I do not remember.

After this we went to Nuggur where we heard of four Augriahs proceeding towards Joria Bunder on which [Bhowana sent a party under Fouj Khan Jemadar (since dead)] after them. The distance to Joria Bunder being short they reached that place before they could be overtaken; we however went on to Joria and the next day left it in pursuit of three travellers whose departure we had observed, and having joined and accompanied them a considerable distance we strangled them. Who the stranglers were on this occasion and what property was found upon the travellers I do not remember. We halted at a village near to where this took place from whence we sent a man to Bhowana who came and joined us, after which we all proceeded to Rajkote.

At Rajkote we formed an acquaintance with three Horse dealers who had seven horses which they were conveying into the country to dispose of and when they left Rajkote we accompanied them under the pretence set up by Bhowana that he wished to purchase their horses. The second or third stage after we left Rajkote we strangled them and seized their horses. Rambukhsh and Shew Lall Poorbia (both at large) were two of the Thugs who were employed and strangled them.

Five of the horses were given into my charge to be taken to Baroda the other two were retained one by Bhowana Jemadar and another by Fouj Khan Jemadar (since dead) according to the directions of Bhowana. I took the horses to Baroda but

did not succeed in effecting the disposal of them until the arrival of Bhowana with the other Thugs about 20 days or so afterwards, when three of them were sold to two Mahrattas and the other two to other persons.

Bhowana remained at Baroda 10 or 12 days when he proceeded on information that had been brought to him after three Augriahs. After coming up with them (the Augriahs) two of them were strangled but the third escaped and but for Bhowana who pursued him and cut him down with his sword not however before he had received three wounds from the Augriahs this victim would have got away altogether; then having separated in different parties we returned to Baroda where having halted during the night we proceeded next morning joined by Nathoo Jemadar (Prisoner No. 1) and his gang to Dakorjee.

After remaining a few days at Dakorjee both Gangs were formed into one under Nathoo Jemadar and proceeded in the direction of Ahmedabad having left a few men to take care of Bhowana until he recovered. We traversed the country in different directions in the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad for upwards of a month without (as well as I can remember) anything falling into our hands when Bhowana who had recovered from the effects of his wounds joined us.

After this we went towards Nugger and on our way fell in with a traveller whom we strangled. Three hundred Rupees were found upon him; but to our great disappointment and chagrin the whole of them turned out to be counterfeit.

A few days after this Nathoo separated from us taking a different direction while we continued in the neighbourhood of Nugger wandering.

Some days afterwards we met two Augriahs whom we strangled. Two thousand four-anna pieces were found upon them.

After this we went towards Joonagur and Kumbat (Cambay) both of which places we visited and then began to turn our steps homewards by the way of Baroda.

At Baroda we stopped one day. Here 10 or 15 Thugs remained with the intention of not yet returning home but joining Nathoo Jemadar. Among those whom I remember were Mana approver No. 4), Himta (at large), Ruheem (Prisoner No. 19), Bukshha (Prisoner No. 17), the father of Raheem, and Ajoo (at large), the others have escaped my memory.

Bhowana and the rest of us continued our way home by regular stages and arrived some time in the beginning of the hot weather.

I perfectly remember Moty (approver No. 2) leaving us to join Nathoo Jemadar (then heard of being at Rajkote) soon after we arrived in Guzerat.

I was one of the party sent by Bhowana under Fouj Khan after the Augriahs proceeding to Joria Bunder. We may have gone a second time to Joria Bunder but I do not remember that we did.

Ameen Jemadar was mentioned by Bhowana as a person who purchased horses for the Maharaja (the Gaickwar's) service and I tried to dispose of them there but failed as they were not of the proper description.

I do not exactly remember whether or not Nathoo Jemadar with his Gang was at Baroda at the time Bhowana was wounded by the Augriah but rather think he was not, and that we met him on the way to Dakorjee when he joined us. Some of his men may have been at Baroda but I do not remember that any were.

I had a quarrel with Rama Jemadar (approver No. 1) or rather he took offence at something I said to him and left us in consequence. I am not certain but think this took place in the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad.

After my return home from the Excursion to Gezerat I remained with my relation Bhowana Jemadar at Ambyrama in the Purtabgurh district for about six months when with him I moved to Ringnia in the Peoplouda Purgunah where we had been about one year when he (Bhowana) set about forming a Gang for another excursion and having collected what he considered a sufficient number for the purpose accordingly started having fixed upon the Jeypore and Jodhpoor quarters for the excursion.

* * *

Proceeding by the usual Mewar road and making moderate stages we arrived at a place called Jooria the second stage to the North of Shapoora before anything fell into our hands or was attempted. At Jooria our designs fell upon three or four travellers proceeding to Jeypoor and were strangled by us at the distance of five or six coss from that place. I do not remember the Thugs who were engaged in perpetrating the murder nor what money was found upon the travellers but I recollect a shaul was obtained.

Four or five stages more brought us to Jeypore where after halting six or seven days we set out in the direction of Jodhpoor and on the way at Kishengurh, which we visited we met with four travellers whom we determined to make an attempt upon and accordingly having formed an acquaintance with them, we kept them in our company for three or four days before an opportunity for effecting our purpose offered. At length near to Alneawass we fell upon them and strangled them. Shew Lall Poorbia (at large) Nunda (Prisoner No. 5), Dilla of Ambyrama and three or four others whose names I have forgotten, were engaged in strangling them.

This was the last act of the kind we perpetrated on this Excursion having immediately afterwards in consequence of the rains returned home.

Between six and seven months after we returned from the excursion in the Mewar and Marwar quarters, Bhowana having determined on another, proceeded to Euria in the Rutlam district accompanied by Omcida Naik (at large) and Kooshal (at large) for the purpose of collecting a Gang, and had only been there a few days when he with Omeida (at large), Kooshala (at large), Rustoom (Prisoner No. 20), Himta (at large), Bukhshoo

(Prisoner No. 17), Khooshala, a Mussulman (at large), Moty (approver No. 2) and others were seized and carried to Rutlam where they were thrown into confinement, and it was not until about a. . . . or more afterwards that they were set at liberty on producing security. Geerut Sing Thakoor of Ringnia a relation of the Thakoor of Peeplooda became Bhowana's security and carried him with him to Ringnia but some months after the Thakur and Bhowana had a violent quarrel about some demands which the Thakoor had made upon him, which, being too unreasonable, he had refused to comply with and in consequence fearing the Thakoor's displeasure fled from Ringnia during the night. The Thakoor hearing of his flight immediately afterwards, sent Mhoggiahs after him to bring him back. The Mhoggiahs coming up with Bhowana attacked him and his friends and killed one of the Thugs who accompanied him while he and the rest escaped and went to the village, Motya some days after Bhowana proceeded to Sagtilly in the Pertabgurh district. The name of the Thug who was killed by the Mhoggiahs was Roopa. Bhowana remained some time at Sagtilly and afterwards purchased a house in the neighbouring village of Wasslaee (same district) where he carried his family and settled.

After a considerable lapse of time Bhowana resolved on venturing upon an excursion, and having made arrangements with the Thugs who resided at Wasslaee, he proceeded to Ambyrama to consult with Nathoo Jemadar (Prisoner No. 1) and having with him laid his plans he called the Wasslaee Thugs to Ambyrama, and collecting those of that village who agreed to follow him, set out on his projected excursion.

* * *

Some matters at home having detained me I did not start with Bhowana and the Gang, but with other Thugs followed a few days afterwards and joined him near Ajmere.

On joining I learnt from Bhowana and others of the Gang that two travellers had fallen into their hands and were strangled near Bholatukry.

In a few days we arrived at Ajmere; from thence we went to Phokurjee and afterwards to Mairtha making some stages between and in a village beyond Mairtha met four travellers whom we joined, and starting with them the next day we strangled them on the road. Himta (at large), Fukeera (2nd) of Kureea (Prisoner No. 9), Fukeera of Wusslaee (prisoner No. 8), Omeida (at large) and Nunda (Prisoner No. 5) were the stranglers on this occasion. The names of those who buried the bodies I do not remember; some Pootlies (foreign Gold Coins) were found upon them.

After this we went to Patee, thence to Jalore, and from Jalore we proceeded to Bheelman, leaving Bheelman we met four travellers in the way whom we joined and accompanied to the end of the day's journey when we prevailed on them to take up their quarters along with us, but here not having an opportunity to effect our purpose we started with them the next morning and on the way strangled them. Ruheem alias Ruheemta (Prisoner No. 19), Himta (at large), Jooma (Prisoner No. 18), Fukeera (2nd) of Kurreea (Prisoner No. 9), Nunda (Prisoner

No. 5), Omeida (at large) and another whose name I have forgotten were the stranglers. Khoman (Prisoner No. 22), Joda (dead), Rumzany (at large), Rassia (at large) and others, but whose names I do not recollect, buried the bodies, a few small carpets was all that was obtained.

A few days after this making moderate stages we arrived at Deesa and moving from thence on the second stage beyond it, fell in with two travellers whom we beset and strangled shortly after meeting them. I do not remember the names of the Thugs who strangled them nor do I recollect the amount or description of the booty obtained.

Two days after this another traveller fell into our hands and was strangled from whom a few Rupees were obtained but the names of the Thugs who strangled him I do not remember.

After this we proceeded to Seetapore; from Seetapore we went towards Kattywar and moving about in different directions for the space of fifteen or twenty days, we did nothing when at length four Augriahs fell into our hands and were strangled. Himta (at large), Ruheem (Prisoner No. 19), Nunda (Prisoner No. 5), Omeida (at large), Fukeera of Kurrea (Prisoner No. 9), Oomla (at large) and another Thug whose name I do not recollect, were the stranglers. A number of Native Ornaments set with precious stones, also a quantity of small pearls were found upon the bodies.

Kathiawar.

What with this rather rich booty and the rainy season being at hand, we are induced to think of returning home and accordingly began to retrace our steps, and reached our homes about the middle of the wet season without any more travellers falling a victim to our designs.

I remember perfectly the names of the Thugs who accompanied and joined Bhowana and the Gang with me near Ajmere, their names are as follows:—

Omeida, Jooda, Nunda, Dewa *alias* Lala, Koman of Roorpoora.

The first part of the Rains was nearly over before we reached home and about a month or two afterwards we were all seized.

I gave the greater number of the articles that fell to my share during this last Excursion to Ghassyram Bunnya of Peeplooda. I also gave some few things to other Bunnyahs but do not recollect their names. Bhowana Jemadar and others also gave things to Ghassyram.

(Sd.) W. BORTHWICK,
Political Agent.

Examination of the Thug Approver Mana No. 4

My name is Mana—Age about forty-five years, caste Afghan. I am a Thug by profession which has been that of my family for generations past. My father is dead, his name was Joomal; he died when I was about twenty years of age; before that event I had never been on any Thug excursion, my father having

always gone accompanied by my elder brother; but after his death, I occasionally went on these excursions as the only mode I had been taught to look to for my support. The name of my elder brother is Bukheha *alias* Bakhshoo, who with his son, Ruheem, my nephew, is a prisoner (Prisoners Nos. 17 and 19).

I have too imperfect recollection of the excursions on which I went in more remote years to give any satisfactory account of them; but those on which I have been within the last seven or eight, are sufficiently fresh in my remembrance to be able to mention the greater number of the murders that were committed during them respectively. And though I may not be able to state the names of the different Thugs actually engaged in the perpetration of the several murders, I remember nearly all the names of the stranglers who were present on these excursions whose office it was to strangle the passengers or travellers who fell into the hands of the Gang and in which office some of them were, on every occasion, invariably employed.

I was present on the excursion that took place under Bhowana Jemadar about seven years ago. I remember he came from Ambryama with a considerable number of Thugs whom he had collected there and the neighbouring villages, to Euria where I then resided, and whence, after the Gang which I joined was completed, we started for Guzerat.

* * *

Having started we reached Duboee in about seven or eight days, proceeding by the usual route and there two Travellers from the Bhooj Quarter fell into our hands, and were strangled but all that I further remember of the occurrence is that, something about forty or fifty Rupees were found upon them, and a Tattoo belonging to one of them was given by Bhowana to Omeida Jemadar (dead).

After this we went to Baroda, making one stage about half way, we arrived there the next day. At Baroda we remained six or seven days and afterwards proceeded to Dhoolka, from thence in two or three days to Kote, from Kote to Than, and the day we left Than a traveller riding on a Hackery took our attention. Ram Bukhsh Poorbia was sent to form an acquaintance with him and endeavour to persuade him to join us which he succeeded in doing, and after he had been with us one day an opportunity having offered for carrying our designs upon him into effect he was strangled by Ram Bukhsh and Dilla (at large). Forty Rupees were found upon him.

After this we went to Nuggur and while there two Augriahs were observed to leave it for Jooria after whom Bhowana went with a party of ten or fifteen Thugs, but they escaped from him.

Bhowana remained one night at Jooria and was about to return the next day to Nuggur when he heard of three Augriahs having been observed to leave the place in some direction, upon which he sent the Jemadar Fouj Khan (dead), Rama Jemadar (approver No. 3), Chitra (Prisoner No. 4), Dilla (at large), Bhooljee (Prisoner No. 37), Khooshal (Prisoner No. 15), Bukhsha (Prisoner No. 17) and a few others to beset them; this party accordingly went on the track of the Augriahs, and succeeded in overtaking and strangling them.

From a village where this party had halted after strangling the three Augriahs, they sent a man to call Bhowana who had returned to Nuggur. He accordingly took the rest of the Gang with him and went to the village where they were and found that they had called him to consult about taking in hand some Horse Dealers whom they had seen. It being decided to attack the Horse Dealers, we left the village in search of them and proceeded to Nuggur in which direction we heard they had gone. On our arrival at Nuggur we found them, and having formed an acquaintance with them, accompanied them on their way when they left it and one stage before Rajkote we set upon them and strangled them, after which we possessed ourselves of their horses and the money that was found upon them. Ram Bukhsh Poorbia (at large) and Shew Lall Poorbia (at large) were the Principal stranglers on the occasion, the names of the others who assisted, I do not remember. There were seven horses, and about one hundred Rupees were found on the bodies of the dealers. One horse Bhowana retained for his own use and the rest were sent to Baroda to be disposed of.

After this the Gang was divided into two Parties, one under Bhowana and the other under Fouj Khan, Jemadar. The latter went in the Ahmedabad direction, while the former, with which I was, proceeded towards Cambay.

After moving about five or six days, we fell in with one Augriah and strangled him, and found upon him three hundred counterfeit or bad Rupees. Dilla (at alrge) was the Thug who strangled this Augriah.

Six days after this we proceeded towards Joonagurh, and on the way, met two passengers with a camel, on whom we formed our designs and strangled. I do not remember the names of stranglers employed on this occasion and to the Booty obtained I only recollect of some Kattyawar Saddles.

Five days after this two passengers carrying each a bundle of Cumlies, fell into our hands and were strangled. This happened near Bankanair. Besides the Cumlies a few Rupees, but how many, I do not recollect, were obtained. The names of the Thugs who strangled them, I do not remember.

The next enterprise was upon two Augriahs whom we met near Dhoolajee and Khumdoola, in whose clothes and about their bodies we found two thousand four-anna Rupees or Pieces, I do not remember the names of the Thugs who strangled them.

Ten or twelve days after this we went to Baroda where we remained nearly a month when our spies, who had constantly during that time been looking out for objects worthy of forming an enterprise upon, brought information of three Augriahs having left the Town and proceedings in a certain direction. Bhowana immediately took a select party with him and went after them and about two stages from Baroda fell upon them. Two of them were immediately strangled; but the third escaped from the hands of those who made the same attempt on him; but was killed by Bhowana who cut him down with his sword after a short resistance. Bhowana was on this occasion severely wounded by the Augriah as also others of the Thugs who pursued him. After this Bhowana returned to Baroda and from

thence accompanied by Nathoo Jemadar (Prisoner No. 13) and his Gang, proceeded to Dhakhorjee, to remain there until he recovered from his wounds. From Dhakoorjee we went under the conduct of Nathoo in consequence of Bhowana's wounds which prevented him from accompanying us, and moved about the country for fifteen or twenty days when Bhowana joined us after which the two Gangs, Nathoo's and Bhowana's which in the latter's absence, had formed a junction and proceeded under Nathoo, separated and took different directions, our party (Bhowana's Gang) continued to move for some time longer about Nuggur, but I do not remember that any travellers fell into our hands when we determined to proceed homewards. We accordingly came to Baroda when myself and several others changed our intention of going home at that time and allowed Bhowana and the rest of the Gang to continue their progress homeward while we remained at Baroda intending to join Nathoo; but this intention we gave up and followed Bhowana a few days afterwards.

I was not myself present with the party that went after the Augriahs to Jooria Bunder and what I have mentioned of the three Augriahs who were strangled while proceeding from that place, I heard from those of the Party who were present when they returned.

It was impressed on my memory that Bhowana himself headed the party to Jooria Bunder though certainly the greater part of the Gang remained at Nuaggur until called to the village by Fouj Khan's Party to consult about the Horse Dealers.

After Bhowana returned to Nuggur, Fouj Khan became the leader of the party sent after the Augriahs who were seen to leave Jooria Bunder.

There were three Horse Dealers and seven Horses and as well as I remember, one Horse only was retained by Bhowana and the rest sent to Baroda to be sold.

I think Nathoo and his gang were at Baroda and arrived a day or so before the attack on the three Augriahs in which Bhowana was wounded and that some of his men accompanied Bhowana on that occasion, such is my recollection of these circumstances.

The two thousand four-anna pieces as well as I can remember were obtained before we went to Dhakorjee.

After the excursion on which I went under Bhowana (the above excursion on which the Approver has been examined) I remained upwards of two years at home when Dewa of Kachy Baroda (Prisoner No. 3) came to Euria to collect men for an excursion, when I engaged myself to him and was included in the gang he formed.

* * *

Guzerat was the quarter to which we proceeded, and after reaching that province we took to the Cambay road and within about ten coss of that town fell in with travellers coming from the direction of Baroda both of whom we strangled, but I do

not remember the names of any of the Thugs by whose hands they were murdered, and I have only a faint recollection as to the Booty that was obtained, that it was something about forty or fifty Rupees.

After this we proceeded towards Joonagarh and on the way we met two or perhaps three Travellers. I do not exactly recollect which, who were strangled by us, but beyond the act of murder I have no recollection as to who were the actual perpetrators, or what money or property was found on the bodies.

After this we proceeded to Joonagurh and remained there some time. During our stay at Joonagurh a quarrel broke out between Dewa and others of the gang in consequence of which the following Thugs refused any longer to serve under him and separated from him:—

Himta, Ajoo, Shabaz, Malia, Raeeta, Tukora, Ram Bukhsh Poorbia, Moty, Mana (under examination), Rassia, Roostum and Peer Khan.

Upon this separation we (the approver under examination and the above Thugs) immediately quitted Joonagurh, leaving Dewa and the rest of the Gang at that place, and proceeded towards Baroda. On our way we strangled four travellers, two during one stage and two during another. The stranglers on these two occasions, that I remember, were Ram Bukhsh Poorbia (at large), Ajoo (at large), and Moty (approver No. 2.) The latter, I particularly remember as it was the first time he had attempted to put the roomal in practice (to perform the act of strangling). I do not remember anything regarding the money or property found upon the travellers. After this we arrived at Baroda, and having remained there a few days, the following Thugs of this party separated to return home:—

Ram Bukhsh, Moty, Himta, Peer Khan, Tukora and Rassia,

while myself (approver under examination) and the rest remained at Baroda.

About fifteen days after we had been at Baroda Nathoo Jemadar with a gang under him arrived from the Nuggur quarter and as it was the rainy season stopped there.

About a month or so afterwards, when the weather cleared up Nathoo with his gang, whom we had joined left Baroda and proceeded towards Ahmedabad, which quarter of the country we traversed for some time, when at length we obtained information of five Augriahs and having got upon their track, soon came in contact with them and strangled them. Of the stranglers who acted on the occasion I remember Fukeera of Kunea (Prisoner No. 9), Ruhimta (at large), Shew Lall Poorbia (at large) and Mana of Amha (Prisoner No. 16), the names of the others I have forgotten but they were all men of Nathoo's Gang. Property to a large amount was found upon the bodies consisting of Gold, Silver, Pearls, and such valuable articles. After this we returned home.

I remember perfectly well that Moty (approver No. 2) when he strangled one of the travellers who fell into our hands between Joonagurh and Baroda in consequence of its being his first

assay in strangling, distributed sweetmeat amongst us, as was usual on such occasions.

I made a mistake in stating that four travellers fell into our hands between Joonagurh and Baroda, that four were strangled by us about that time, is the fact; but I now remember that only two of them fell into our hands on that line of Road and that the other two were strangled at a village on the Malwa side of Baroda shortly after night-fall, the name of the village I do not remember but it was from thence that I and the others who remained behind separated from those who proceeded homewards, and returned to Baroda.

I received as my share of the Booty, acquired by the murder of the five Augriahs perpetrated, as I have already stated, by the men of Nathoo's Gang, eight strings of small pearls, one and a half Rupees weight of gold, and eight Rupees in Silver.

I do not know what Nathoo took as his share, or gave to the men of his Gang, but it must have been something considerable.

After returning from the excursion with Nathoo and his Gang as I have before stated, I remained at home until last year when I accompanied Bhowana Jemadar (Prisoner No. 2) on one, which he then projected, and proceeded upon, with a gang which he formed for the purpose consisting of the following Thugs.

* * * * *

Meywar and Marwar were the quarters fixed upon for the excursion towards which we started, and in about eight days reached Shahpoor. About two coss from this Town near a place called Bholatgeery, we made our first enterprise on two travellers whom, after joining and accompanying a short way, seizing them completely off their guard, we strangled them. One of the stranglers was Fukeera, but whether Fukeera of Musslaee (Prisoner No. 8) or Fukeera, of Kunea (Prisoner No. 9), I cannot state positively, was another of the stranglers. Jooma (Prisoner No. 18), Omla (at large), Ruheem (Prisoner No. 19), Himta (at large), and one of the Fukeeras seized and held their hands and legs. But as I have just said I do not remember which of the Fukeeras took the latter part, and which used the Roomal but that they were both engaged in this murder I can positively and with truth affirm. Rassia and Omeida (both at large) and two or three others buried the bodies. Fifty or sixty Rupees was all that were found upon them.

After this we went to Ajmere from thence to Mairtha and Palee, and between the two last places fell in with, and strangled four travellers who were proceeding together to the latter Town. The stranglers who perpetrated this murder were, Oomla (at large), Dilla (at large) Shair Khan (Prisoner No. 10), Omeida (at large), Himta (at large), Fukeera of Kuneera (Prisoner No. 9), Nunda (Prisoner No. 5) and Fukeera of Musslaee (Prisoner No. 8), Jooda (dead), Rassia (at large) and others whom I do not now remember, buried the bodies. Upon them were found four or five Pootlies (Gold coins) and twenty or twenty-five Rupees in Silver.

After this we proceeded to Palee from thence to Bheelman, after leaving which we came up with four travellers whom we joined, and forming an acquaintance with them, found they were proceeding to Guzerat. Watching our opportunity, we strangled them after having proceeded in their company a short way. The stranglers on this occasion were Fukeera of Musslaee (Prisoner No. 8), Oomla (at large), Nunda (Prisoner No. 5), Omeida (at large), Ruheem (Prisoner No. 19), Himta (at large), Shair Khan (Prisoner No. 10), Jooma (Prisoner No. 18), and two or three others whose names I do not recollect. Some carpets, a few Rupees, and some things of trifling value, were obtained. Ramzany (at large), Khoman of Ambyrama (Prisoner No. 22) and others buried the Bodies.

Having resolved upon proceeding to Guzerat, we pursued the road in that direction and shortly afterwards fell in with two Travellers whom we strangled. Nunda (Prisoner No. 5), Fukeera of Musslaee (Prisoner No. 8), Omeida (at large) and Himta (at large) were the stranglers. About one hundred Rupees were found upon them.

After this near Seetpoor another traveller fell into our hands and was strangled; but I do not remember who on this occasion were the stranglers that were employed. Something very trifling was found on the body, about ten or twelve Rupees.

Some days after this having travelled a long way without meeting with any enterprise we at length got information of four Augriahs whom we went after, and having overtaken, strangled them. Shair Khan (Prisoner No. 10), Fukeera of Kunea (Prisoner No. 9), Jooma (Prisoner No. 18), Oomla (at large), Ruheem (Prisoner No. 19), Himta (at large), Nunda (Prisoner No. 5) and Omeida (at large) were the principal stranglers. Native ornaments of gold set with precious stones of considerable value were found concealed in their clothes.

Being satisfied with the result of this enterprise we returned home, without attempting any more, and arrived about the middle of the rains. A two months or so afterwards we were all seized.

The native ornaments and other Articles of booty acquired by the murder last mentioned of the four Augriahs were divided on the spot; the ornaments being broken up for that purpose, and I received as my share, four Rupees weight of these Articles which after I returned home I sold to Ghassy Ram Bunnyah of Peeplouda for fifty Rupees.

We proceeded on this occasion in the beginning of the hot weather last year (between March and April 1831) and as I have stated returned about the middle of the following rains (July—August following).

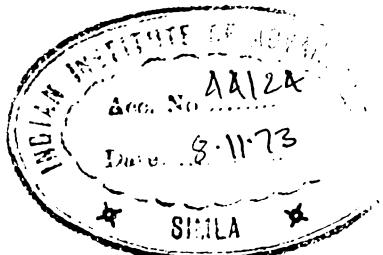
I do not remember Rama (Approver No. 8), being present on the excursion and that he did not start at the same time that Bhowana and the rest of us did, but with others joined us afterwards somewhere about Ajmere.

I do not remember the names of all those who joined afterwards with Rama but recollect that Nunda, Koman *alias* Komara of Roopoora and Jooda were amongst them.

Omeida, as I have mentioned, though a strangler, assisted on the occasion. I have alluded to in my examination, in burying the bodies, and though it never happened that those who had not been regularly taught the use of the Roomal and duly initiated in the business and office of the strangler, were even so employed or even allowed to assist in holding the arms and legs of the victims while they were being strangled; the stranglers sometimes assisted of their own accord, or, as occasion might require, in carrying the bodies to a convenient spot and burying them.

Bhowana Jemadar, with whom I had an account, disposed of my share of booty acquired on this excursion, to the Bunnyahs for me.

(Sd.) W. BORTHWICK,
Political Agent.





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