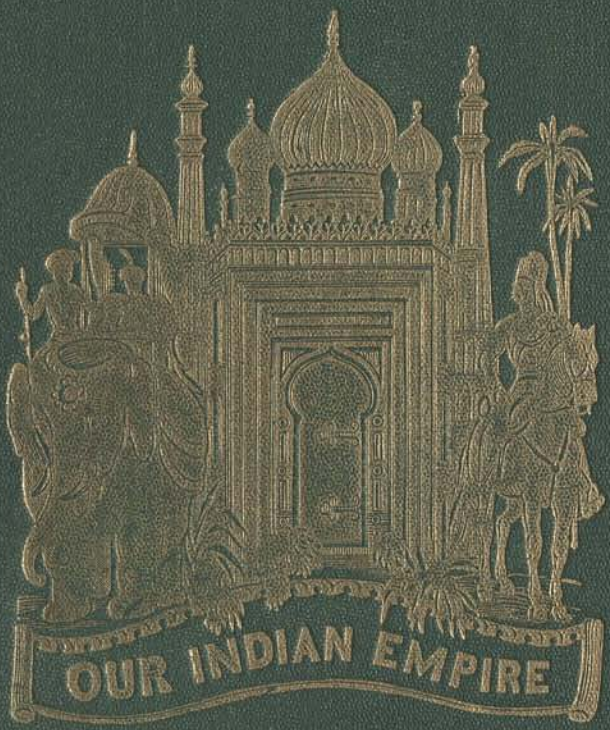
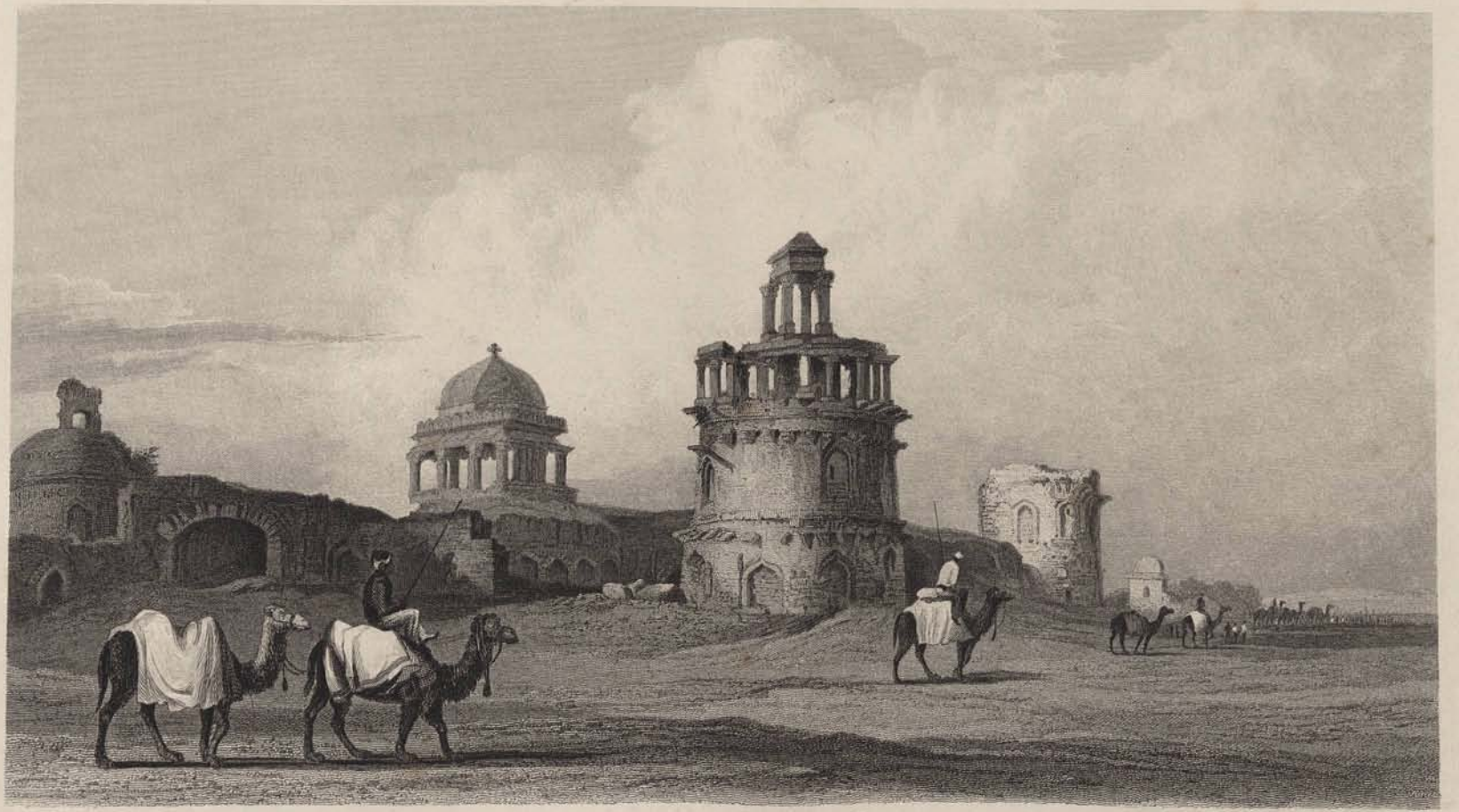

OUR INDIAN EMPIRE


Ex Libris
K.K.Venugopal



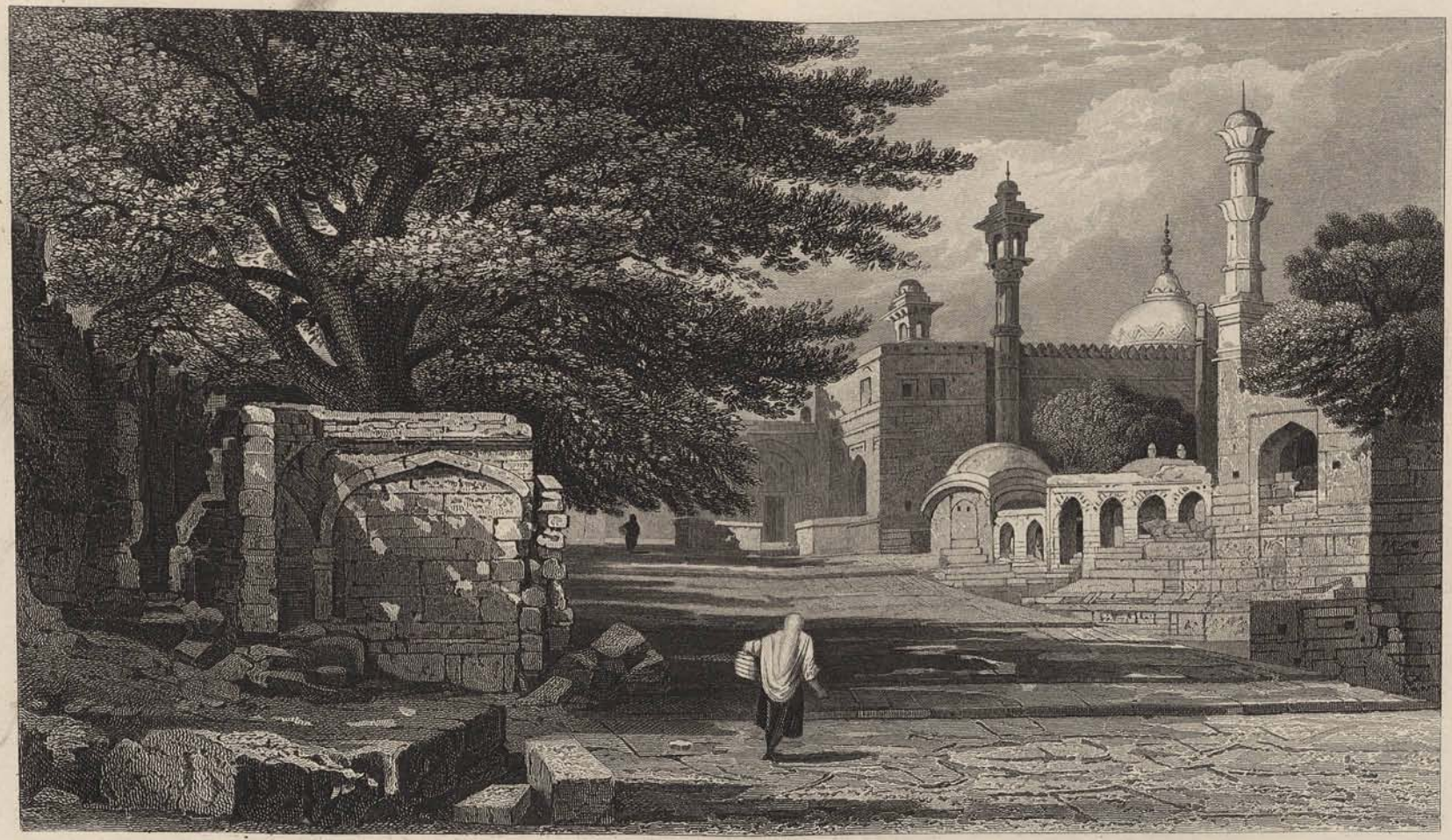
RUINS _ OLD DELHI.

Old Delhi at one time covered a space of twenty square miles; the ruins are strewed over a plain of nearly equal extent.

Drawn by W. Purser. Sketched by Capt R. Elliot, R.N. Engraved by W. Taylor.

SARNÂT, A BOODH MONUMENT NEAR BENARES.

VILLAGE OF KOGHERA & DEODAR FOREST.



AURUNGZEBE'S TOMB, ROZAH.

Drawn by J. S. Cotman. Engraved by W. Le Petit.

PERAWA, MALWA.

The province of Malwa was the scene of many of the most fearful outrages during the mutiny. It was in this province the defection of the Gwalior contingent occurred, also the revolt and murder at Mhow

Drawn by C. Cattermole.

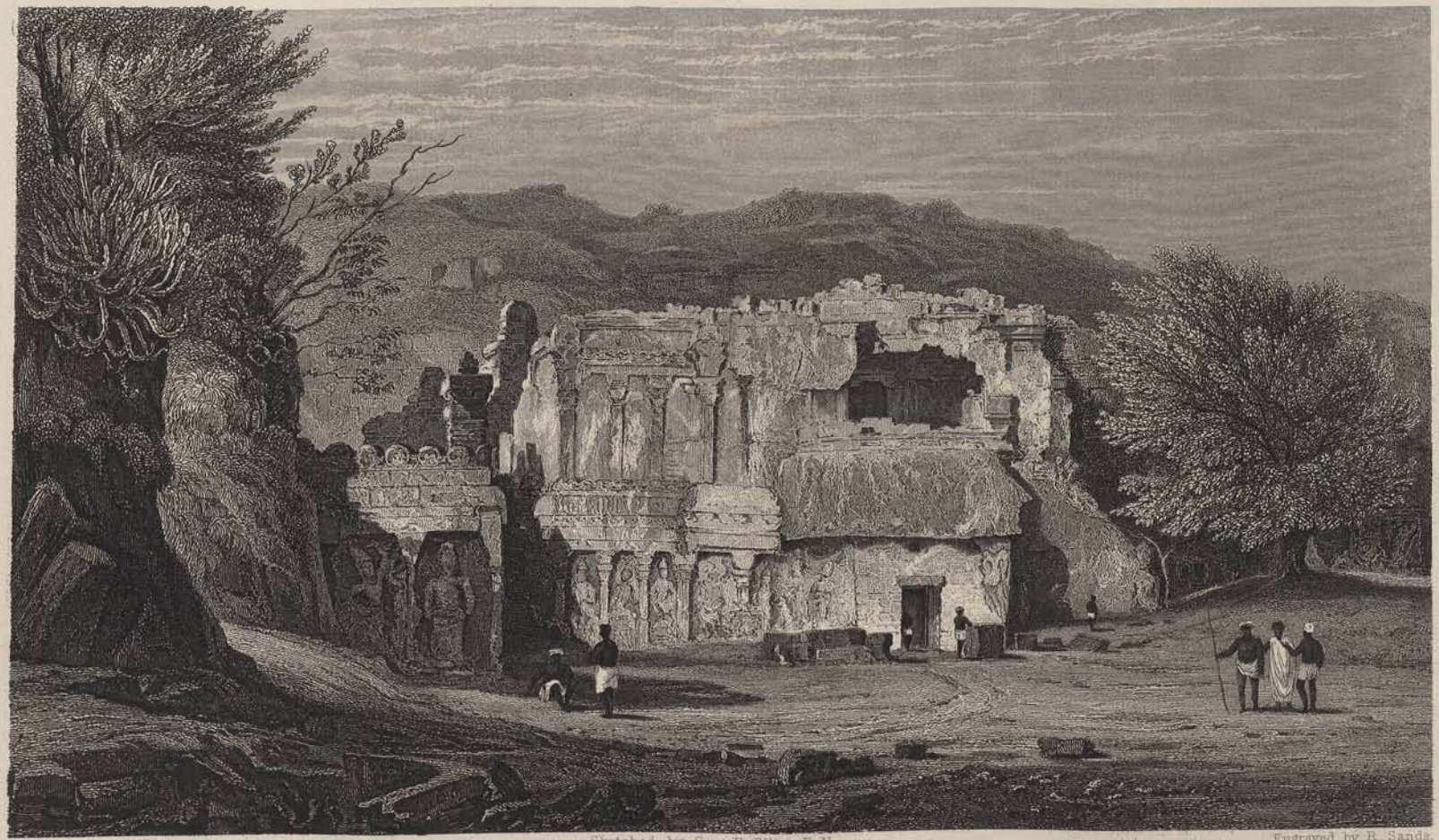
Engraved by J. Bishop.

THE CAVE OF KARLI.

SEVEN-STORIED PALACE, BEJAPORE.

Drawn by W. Purser. Sketched by Capt. R. Elliot, R.N. Engraved by W. Finden.

PALACE OF THE SEVEN STORIES, — BEEJAPORE.



Drawn by S. Prout. Esq.

Sketched by Capt R. Elliot R.N.

Engraved by R. Sands.

FRONT VIEW OF THE KYLAS, CAVES OF ELLORA.

Sketched by Capt R. Elliot R. N.

ENTRANCE TO THE CAVE OF ELEPHANTA.

DEFEAT OF THE SEALKOTE MUTINEERS BY GENERAL NICHOLSON'S COLUMN.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED

ASSAULT OF DELHI — CAPTURE OF THE CASHMERE GATE.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED.

DEATH OF COLONEL FINNIS AT MEERUT.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED

CAPTURE OF THE GUNS BY THE HIGHLANDERS BEFORE CAWNPORE.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED

THE RELIEF OF LUCKNOW BY GENERAL HAVELOCK.

Revolt of the Native Troops at Lucknow, May 30th 1857 — The Residency invested by the Rebels, June 29th — Relieved by General Havelock, Sept.r 25th; again surrounded Sept.r 26th — Finally relieved by Sir Colin Campbell, Nov.r 17th

REPELLING A SORTIE BEFORE DELHI.

The 60th Rifles were ordered to conceal themselves as it was getting dusk, and the "retire" was sounded; the Sepoys thinking that we had actually fallen back, came up rapidly, when about 20 yards distant they were received by a tremendous volley, which compelled them to retreat with great loss.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED.

dence, the whole of the Bengal troops were engaged in an incipient conspiracy before they well knew what they were conspiring about. We left the poison full time to work. The filthy cartridges prepared for them did, we cannot now doubt, actually contain the forbidden substance, which prisoners starving in a dungeon, and sepoys on board ship, will perish sooner than touch; and yet, instead of manfully owning the error, and atoning for it by changing the paper, and, once for all, removing every shadow of suspicion, we persisted in holding it over their heads like a drawn sword, to be let fall at any moment. So late as the 5th of March (the government respite not having then arrived), the sepoys at Dum Dum were, notwithstanding their remonstrances, employed in making cartridges of the new, and as they believed greased, paper; and Major Bontein was preparing to enforce the regulations, and considering how to deal with the prisoners he expected to be obliged to make for disobedience of orders.*

The first mutiny was not, however, destined to occur at Dum Dum: it broke out at Burhampoor on the Ganges, about 120 miles from Calcutta. The only troops then at the station were the 19th Native infantry, a detachment of Native cavalry, and a battery of Native artillery. The 19th and 34th had been stationed together at Lucknow for two years; and the men were of course personally acquainted. During the latter part of the month of February, two sepoy parties of the 34th regiment were sent from Calcutta to Burhampoor. The second came as the escort of some sick Europeans on the 25th, and their communications regarding the proceedings at Barrackpoor so alarmed the 19th, that the whole corps, Hindoos, Seiks, and Mohammedans, resolved upon a general fast; and for three days, beginning with the 26th, took only bhang, and other exciting drugs. Of this excitement, their commanding officer, Colonel Mitchell, was entirely ignorant. The new muskets had arrived shortly before, and he had explained to the sepoys that the necessary grease would be prepared before them by the pay havildars. On the 26th of February, orders were given for the firing of fifteen rounds of blank cartridge per man. The cartridges were then sent to the bells of arms, and examined by the men. They had previously been in the habit of making all they used. Those now served out were of two kinds; one like the paper they had been accustomed to, the other whiter and thinner. The sepoys compared them in all ways; they burnt the paper, and laid other portions in water. Still they saw, or fancied they saw, a marked difference. They felt convinced that they were greased, and refused to take the percussion-caps served out for the intended practice; saying, "Why should we take the caps, as we won't take the cartridges until the doubt about them is cleared up?"† This occurred at about four o'clock in the afternoon. The incidents which followed are best told in the words of the petition subsequently laid before government by the 19th regiment, and which the governor-general in council had pronounced to be, "upon the whole, a fair account of what took place on the occasion of the outbreak; the main points being borne out by the evidence at the court of inquiry."‡

"At half-past seven o'clock," the petitioners state, "the colonel, accompanied by the adjutant, came on parade, and very angrily gave orders to us, saying, 'If you will not take the cartridges I will take you to Burmah, or to China,§ where, through hardship, you will all die. These cartridges were left behind by the 7th Native infantry, and I will serve them out to-morrow morning by the hands of the officers commanding companies.' He gave this order so angrily, that we were convinced that the cartridges were greased, otherwise he would not have spoken so."‖

Colonel Mitchell sent an order to the cavalry and artillery (whose lines were about three miles from those of the infantry), to assemble on parade, for the purpose of compelling the sepoys to use the cartridges. It would appear that the sepoys were right in believing that the cartridges were to be bitten, not torn. The news soon got wind; and the same night, about a quarter to eleven, shouts were heard in the lines; some persons cried fire, others that they were surrounded by Europeans—that the guns

* Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutinies, p. 38.

† *Ibid.*, p. 273.

‡ Minute of March 27th, 1857.—Appendix, p. 50.

§ This threat was denied by Colonel Mitchell, but established on European as well as Native testimony. It might easily have been uttered in the excitement of so critical a moment, and forgotten by the utterer, but not by those whose interests were immediately affected by it.—Appendix, &c., p. 290.

‖ Appendix to Parl. Papers, pp. 278, 279.

and cavalry had arrived. In the midst of the din the alarm was sounded; and the sepoys, mad with fear, rushed to the bells and seized their arms.

It is manifest they had no plan, and no intention of attempting violence, or they would not have refused to receive the percussion-caps offered them that afternoon, nor have remained passive while the 11th irregular cavalry and guns were fetched to the parade, which they reached by torchlight between twelve and one. The armed sepoys then ran out of their lines to the parade in the greatest alarm. The colonel was much excited, and said, that he and the officers were prepared to do their duty, should the men not yield obedience; they (the officers) were ready to die, and would die there. The Native officers represented that the sepoys really believed that the matter affected their religion, and begged the colonel to send away the cavalry and guns; which was accordingly done.* The sepoys lodged their arms quietly, and returned to their lines. The whole regiment appeared on parade the next morning; and, on the 28th, there was another parade. The cartridges which the men had refused to fire, were publicly inspected; and the two kinds were put up by Colonel Mitchell, and forwarded for the inspection of government, with an account of what had taken place. Daily parades took place, and the 19th again became as steady and orderly as any men could be.†

Tranquillity was restored, and might have been maintained, had the government been sufficiently generous or discreet to deal gently with an offence which their own indiscretion had provoked. The disbandment of the regiment was summarily decided on, without any correspondence with the commander-in-chief, whose concurrence it appeared was necessary to the simple alteration of a clumsy mode of loading, which was goading the troops to mutiny, but was not necessary to the enactment of a decree which suddenly reduced a thousand men, whose fault must have varied very considerably in its circumstances, to the same utter poverty. Their appeal made to government, through Colonel Mitchell, was very touching. They said it was hard, after so many years' service, to lose their bread. Since the unfortunate night of the 26th of February, all their duties had been carefully carried on, and (they add) "so shall be; as long as we live we will faithfully obey all orders; wherever, in the field of battle, we are ordered to go, there shall we be found; therefore, with every respect, we now petition, that since this is a religious question from which arose our dread, and as religion is, by the order of God, the first thing, we petition that, as we have done formerly, we may be also allowed to make up our own cartridges, and we will obey whatever orders may be given to us, and we will ever pray for you."

There is no mistaking the earnestness with which the 19th, even in the moment of reaction and reflection, dwelt on the immediate cause of their outbreak. The government, in acquainting the Court of Directors with the whole transaction, gave the same version, by saying that the regiment had refused to take the cartridges, "in consequence of the reports in circulation that the paper of which they were made was greased with the fat of cows and pigs."

This despatch is dated 8th April, 1857. On the same day, the directors were inditing one expressive of their gratification at learning that the matter had been fully explained to the men at Barrackpoor and Dum Dum, and that they appeared perfectly satisfied that no intention existed of interfering with their caste. Of course by this time it was pretty evident that the sepoys generally were convinced of the direct opposite, and viewed the 19th as a body of victims and martyrs.

The penalty of disbandment found little favour with any party. The ultra-disciplinarians pronounced the punishment insufficient for what the governor-general thought fit to term "open and defiant mutiny;" and moderate men considered it would have been wiser to have accepted the offer of the corps, and make it a general service regiment, rather than send a thousand men to their homes, to beg or plunder food for the support of themselves and their families, and to sow the seed of distrust and disaffection wherever they went. Besides, evidence was adduced which proved beyond a doubt that the 19th had been instigated to mutiny by the representations of the 34th, who had

* It is highly improbable that, in the absence of European soldiers, the Native corps would have fired on their countrymen in such a case as this; yet the mode in which "the coercing force was withdrawn," was pronounced by the governor in council as a special reason for declaring Colonel Mitchell unfit for the command of a regiment.—Appendix to Parl. Papers, p. 297.

† Letter of Lieutenant-colonel Mitchell, March 3rd, 1857.—Appendix, p. 267.

been long on the verge of an outbreak, and were only kept back by the influence of their officers. The government, knowing this, resolved on making the 19th the scapegoat for the 34th and other regiments, whose disaffection had been proved by incendiarism and sullen murmurings, and ordered the disbandment to take place at Barrackpoor.

The Calcutta authorities were not quite insensible to the danger pointed out by Napier, of "attempting to bully large masses of men." The sentence resolved on against the 19th was not made public until H.M.'s 84th regiment had been brought from Rangoon. The 84th arrived at Calcutta on the 20th of March, and were immediately conveyed to Chinsurah—a station about eight miles from Barrackpoor, whither the 19th were ordered to proceed. The arrival of the Europeans increased the excitement among the Native troops at Barrackpoor, which was evidently the centre of disaffection. Two of the 2nd Native grenadiers were taken up on a charge of endeavouring to excite mutiny on the 11th of March, found guilty, and sentenced to fourteen years' hard labour. The sentence is memorable, since General Anson thought fit to write a minute on it from his far-distant residence in the Himalayas—a mark of interest which the disbanding of entire regiments had not elicited. Death would, he considered, have been the proper penalty; but fourteen years of disgraceful labour might be to some worse than death; therefore he would not call for a revision of the sentence. "The miserable fate which the prisoners had brought upon themselves, would," he added, "excite no pity in the breast of any true soldier." *

Avowedly, in consequence of communications sent them by the 34th regiment, three companies of the 63rd regiment at Sooree refused to accept their furloughs, saying, "If our brethren at Barrackpoor go, we will go; but we hear they are not going." Afterwards they expressed contrition for their conduct, and were allowed to enjoy their furloughs. The refusal occurred on the 28th of March. On the afternoon of Sunday, the 29th, the Native officers of the 34th regiment at Barrackpoor reported that the men were in a very excited state. Sergeant-major Hewson proceeded to the lines, and found a sepoy walking up and down in front of the quarter-guard, and calling out to the men of the brigade to join him in defending and dying for their religion and their caste. This was Mungul Pandy, a man of previously excellent character, who had been above seven years in the service, but had lately taken to the use of intoxicating preparations of opium and bhang. Whether he had resorted to these stimulants, as the Indian soldiery are in the habit of doing, to nerve himself for this special purpose, or whether the habit itself had rendered him reckless of consequences, does not appear; but General Hearsey speaks of the actuating motive as "religious frenzy." "The Europeans," Mungul Pandy said, alluding to a wing of her majesty's 53rd, detached from Dum Dum, "had come to slaughter the sepoys, or else force them to bite the cartridges, and become apostates;" and when the English sergeant attempted to seize him, he called out to the men who were thronging the lines, in their undress and unarmed, to come and support him. "You incited me to this," he cried; "and now, poltroons, you will not join me." Taking aim at Sergeant Hewson, he fired, but missed; upon which the sergeant retreated, and called to the guard to fall-in and load. Adjutant Baugh, of the 34th, next rode up, calling out, "Where is he? where is he?" Mungul Pandy fired at the adjutant, and his horse fell wounded. The adjutant drew a pistol from his holster and took aim, but failed, upon which he and the sergeant rushed on Mungul Pandy, who wounded both with his tulwar, or native sword. The other sepoys began to hustle and surround the two Europeans, but their lives were saved by the courage and devotion of a Mohammedan sepoy, named Sheik Phultoo, who rushed forward unarmed, and intercepted a blow directed at the adjutant; and, flinging his right arm round Mungul Pandy (the left being severely wounded), enabled the Europeans to escape. A shot from the direction of the quarter-guard was fired at them, but without effect. There were about 400 men in the lines, looking on; and Adjutant Baugh, as he passed them maimed and bleeding, said, "You cowardly set of rascals! You see an officer cut down before your eyes, and not a man of you advances to assist him." They made no reply; but all turned their backs on the speaker, and moved slowly and sullenly away. The unpopularity of the adjutant† is alleged to have influenced the sepoys; and, after he had left, they compelled Sheik Phultoo to let Mungul Pandy go.

* Appendix to Parl. Papers, p. 86. † *Ibid.*, p. 147.

Lieutenant-colonel Wheeler, the officer in command of the regiment, came on parade soon after, and ordered the quarter-guard to secure the mutineer. The jemadar who ought to have led them, sided with Mungul Pandy; and, coming up to the colonel, told him that the men refused to obey the order. A native standing by said, that the offender being a Brahmin, nobody would hurt him. Colonel Wheeler "considered it quite useless, and a useless sacrifice of life, to order a European officer with the guard to seize him, as he would no doubt have picked off the European officer, without receiving any assistance from the guard itself." The colonel therefore left the spot, and reported the matter to the brigadier. On learning what had occurred, General Hearsey, with his two sons and Major Ross, rode to the quarter-guard house, where about ten or twelve men had turned out. Mungul Pandy watched their approach, and Captain Hearsey called out to his father to be on his guard, for the mutineer was taking aim at him. The general replied, "If I fall, John, rush upon him, and put him to death." In a moment Mungul Pandy dropped on his knee, turned the muzzle of his musket to his own breast, and pulled the trigger with his foot. The bullet made a deep graze, ripping up the muscles of the chest, shoulder, and neck. He fell prostrate, with his clothes on fire, was picked up shivering, convulsed, and apparently dying, and was handcuffed and conveyed to the hospital; none of the sepoys attempting further interference.

General Hearsey rode amongst the 43rd and 34th Native regiments, and, while blaming the latter for their conduct (which appears to have been most outrageous), he assured them that no person should be permitted to interfere with their religious and caste prejudices while he commanded them. No attempt was made to arrest the jemadar or the sepoys of the quarter-guard, probably because General Hearsey feared to precipitate a struggle for which he was not yet prepared. The culprits must have known the rules of British discipline too well to expect to escape with impunity the consequences of their mutinous and dastardly conduct. That night, in the lines, a plan of action was concocted; and the 19th regiment, on their arrival at Baraset (eight miles from Barrackpoor) on the following morning, found messengers waiting for them from the 34th, who proposed to them to rise that evening, kill their officers, and march to Barrackpoor, where they would find the 2nd and 34th in readiness to co-operate with them in overpowering the European force, and proceeding to surprise and sack Calcutta.

The unfortunate 19th had already suffered deeply for listening to suggestions from Barrackpoor. They rejected the proposals decidedly and at once; but they did not betray their tempters, who returned safely, their errand unsuspected.

The disbandment took place on the following morning at Barrackpoor, in presence of the available troops of all arms within two days' march of that station. The government order having been read, the arms were piled, and the colours deposited by the sepoys, who evinced much sadness, but no sullenness. The number of the regiment was not to be effaced from the army list; and there were other slight concessions, of which General Hearsey made the most in addressing the men. They knew he pitied them; and as they left the ground, disgraced and impoverished, they cheered him cordially, and wished him long life—a wish which he as cordially returned. Perhaps no regiment in the Bengal army was more sound at the core than the 19th. Lieutenant-colonel Macgregor, who had been stationed with them at Burhampoor for some months, declared that he had never met with a quieter or better-behaved regiment, and described them as appearing very sorry for the outbreak of the 26th of February. They felt that they had been misled by the 34th; and when their request to be suffered to re-enlist was refused, they are said to have begged, before leaving the ground, to be allowed to resume their arms for one half-hour, and brought face to face with the 34th, on whom they promised to avenge the quarrel of the government and their own.

Some alarm, says Mr. Mead, was entertained lest they should plunder the villages on their way up country, but they conducted themselves peaceably. Many got employment as durwans (or gate-keepers), and a few were entertained by magistrates, for whom they afterwards did efficient service in the capture of fugitive mutineers. Hundreds died of cholera by the way-side, and a large proportion went into the service of the Nawab of Moorshedabad. It was not proved that any of them entered the ranks of the rebel army.*

* Mead's *Sepoy Revolt*, p. 62.

The order for the disbandment of the 19th was read on parade to every regiment throughout India. If the change from biting to tearing the cartridges had been simultaneously announced, the army might have been tranquillised, and accepted the fate of the 19th as a vicarious sacrifice for the general benefit. Instead of this the order of disbandment was read alone; and no mention whatever being made of the cartridges, the natural conclusion was, that the sepoys would be compelled to bite them or be turned on the world after long years of faithful service. The General Orders certainly contained an assertion, that "it had been the unvarying rule of the government of India to treat the religious feelings of all its servants, of every creed, with careful respect;" but, as it was notorious that a flagrant breach of this rule had been recently committed, and was, so far as the sepoys could tell, to be determinedly persevered in, it followed that the assurance, intended to tranquillise them, utterly failed in its effect; and the only part of the address which really impressed them, was the declared intention of government never to cease exacting the unhesitating obedience the men had sworn to give.

The 19th being disposed of, the next question was, how to deal with the 34th. Never was prompt action more evidently needed; yet five weeks were allowed to elapse, during which tokens of mutiny were multiplying throughout India, without any decision being arrived at regarding the dastardly quarter-guard. Mungul Pandy was tried, condemned, and hung, on the 7th of April, in the presence of all the troops then at Barrackpoor. He was much debilitated by his wound (which would probably have proved mortal); but he met his death with perfect composure, and refused to make any statement which could implicate his comrades. The jemadar, who commanded the guard of the 34th, was also tried and condemned to death, but the execution of the sentence was delayed until the 21st of April, owing to the time lost in corresponding with the commander-in-chief at Simla; who first declined, and then consented, to empower General Hearsey to confirm the sentences of court-martials on Native commissioned officers.*

It seemed as if government had resolved to drop proceedings here. The remarks appended to General Anson's confirmation of the jemadar's sentence, were very like an act of amnesty to the Barrackpoor troops in general, and the 34th in particular. He stated his trust that the crime of which Mungul Pandy and the jemadar had been guilty, would be viewed with horror by every man in the army; and he added, in evident allusion to the guard, that if there were any "who had looked on with apathy or passive encouragement," he hoped the fate of their guilty comrades would "have a beneficial effect upon their future conduct."†

The Mohammedan orderly who had saved the life of the adjutant and sergeant, was promoted to the rank of havildar by General Hearsey, and given an Order of Merit for his conduct. The divisional order to this effect was issued on the 5th of April. The general was reproved by the governor-general in council, for having exceeded his authority by this act, and also for having described Mungul Pandy as stimulated by "religious frenzy."‡ Lord Canning, in his own minute, spoke of Mungul Pandy as "that fanatic;" but considered, that "however probable it may be that religious feelings influenced him," it would have been better to have left this feature of the case unnoticed.§

Early in April, a Native court-martial sentenced a jemadar, of the 70th Native infantry, to dismissal from the army (in which he had served thirty-three years), in consequence of his having incited other Native officers to mutiny, as the only means of avoiding the pollution of biting the new cartridges. The commander-in-chief desired that the sentence should be revised, as too lenient; but the Native officers persisted in their decision, which was eventually confirmed.

An event took place at the same time, which showed that the temper of the distant troops was mutinous and disaffected. The 48th infantry, a corps reputed to be one of the

* A telegram was transmitted to Simla, on the 14th of April, strongly urging General Anson to issue a special warrant to General Hearsey, for the purpose of at once carrying out the sentence in which the trial then pending was expected to issue. On the 17th, the following telegram was sent to General Hearsey, from Calcutta:—"The commander-in-chief refuses to empower you to confirm sentences of courts-martial on commissioned officers." On the 20th, General Anson changed his mind, and sent the desired warrant.—(See Appendix to Parl. Papers on the Mutinies, 1857; pp. 104—107.)

† *Ibid.*, p. 124. A sepoy was identified as having struck the sergeant-major (when cut down by Mungul Pandy) with the butt of his musket; but he escaped punishment by desertion.—(p. 158.)

‡ Divisional order, April 5th, 1857; p. 63.

§ Appendix to Parl Papers on Mutinies, p. 63.

finest in the service, long commanded by Sir H. M. Wheeler, the general in charge of Cawnpoor, was at this time stationed at Lucknow, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Palmer. Dr. Wells, the surgeon of the regiment, having occasion to visit the medicine store at the hospital, and being at the time indisposed, drank a portion of a carminative from a bottle containing a quantity, after which no high-caste Hindoo could partake of the remainder without pollution. The Native apothecary in attendance, saw and reported the act to the sick sepoys, upon which they all refused to touch any of the medicines prescribed for them. Colonel Palmer assembled the Native officers, and, in their presence, rebuked the surgeon for his heedlessness, and destroyed the bottle which he had put to his mouth. The men took their medicines as before; but a few nights after, the bungalow (thatched house) in which Dr. Wells resided was fired, and most of his property destroyed. It was notorious that the incendiaries belonged to the 48th Native infantry; but their comrades shielded them, and no proof could be obtained against the individuals.

Not long after, the Native officers of the regiment were reported to be intriguing with Rookan-oo-Dowlah and Mustapha Ali, relatives of the King of Oude, residing in Lucknow. The most absurd rumours were circulated and believed in the city. While the cartridges were to be used as the means of compelling the sepoys to lose caste, other measures were, it was reported, being taken to rob the non-military class of theirs. Government was said to have sent up cart-loads and boat-loads of bone-dust, to mix with the otta (prepared flour) and sweetmeats sold in the bazaars; and the authorities vainly strove to disabuse the public mind, which was kept in a perpetually-recurring panic. Money was repeatedly given, with directions to purchase some of the adulterated otta; but though the parties always returned with the money in their hands, stating their inability to find the shops where it was sold, it was evident that they were silenced, but not convinced of its non-existence. Sir Henry Lawrence listened with patient attention to all these rumours, and did what probably few other men could have done to extract their venom. But the yet unwithdrawn order for biting the cartridges, afforded to the earnest a reason, and to the intriguing a pretext, for distrusting the government; and the four first months of 1857 had given time for the growth of seed, which could not afterwards be prevented from producing baneful fruit. There was a Hindoo subahdar of one of the Oude local artillery batteries, named Dabee Sing, an old and tried soldier. Mr. Gubbins speaks of Sir Henry Lawrence as having been closeted for hours at a time with this man, who told him all the wild projects attributed to the British government for the purpose of procuring the annihilation of the religious and territorial rights of the people of India. Among other things which Dabee Sing gravely related, without expressing his own opinion one way or the other, was a plan for transporting to India the numerous widows of the Europeans who had perished in the Crimean campaign. The principal zemindars of the country were to be compelled to marry them; and their children, who would of course not be Hindoos, were to be declared the heirs to the estates. Thus the Hindoo proprietors of land were to be supplanted!*

How far such reports as these really gained credence, or how far they were adopted as a means of expressing the discontent excited by the annexation and resumption measures, did not appear; but throughout the Bengal army, the cartridges continued to be the rallying-cry for discontent up to and beyond the end of April. At Agra incendiary fires had been frequent, and the sepoys had refused their aid to subdue the flames: at Sealkote, letters had been discovered from the Barrackpoor sepoys, inciting their brethren at that distant station to revolt: at Umballah, the discontent and distrust excited by the new fire-arms, had been most marked.† The

* Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, pp. 86; 88. A singular instance of the extent of the gulf which separated us from the aboriginal tribes, and the small respect they felt for European civilisation, was witnessed by Mr. Gubbins many years ago. A report got abroad among the hill-men of the sanitarium at Simla, that orders had arrived from the governor-general for the preparation of a certain quantity of human fat, to be sent down to Calcutta; and that, for this purpose, the local authorities were engaged in entrapping the hill-men, killing and boiling them down. Numbers of these men were at that time employed in carrying the ladies' litters, and in a variety of domestic duties which brought them in daily contact with the Europeans. Yet the panic spread, until numbers fled from the station; nor were they, Mr. Gubbins believes, ever thoroughly convinced of the falsehood of the report.—(p. 87.)

† *Mutiny of the Bengal Army:* by one who has served under Sir Charles Napier; p. 28.

Calcutta authorities were, nevertheless, so blind to the imminence of the peril, that the *Oriental*, which was supposed to be lying at Madras, was twice telegraphed for to convey the 84th back to Burmah; and but for the accident that sent her across to Rangoon, the month of May would have found Calcutta left as before, with only the wing of a European regiment. Nothing was decided upon with regard to the 34th, or the Barrackpoor division in general, despite Brigadier Hearsey's warning (given two months before, and confirmed by the very unsatisfactory evidence adduced before the court-martial) regarding the condition of the troops stationed there. It afterwards transpired, that an order, and a most needful one, for the disbandment of the 34th, was actually drafted immediately after the attack on Lieutenant Baugh; but it was withheld until new outbreaks in various directions heralded the shock for which the government were forewarned, but not forearmed.

The home authorities shielded themselves from the charge of negligence, on the ground that up to May, 1857, not "the slightest indication of any disaffection among the troops had been sent home,"* "Indophilus," who had means of information peculiar to a man whose position enabled him to search the government records, and examine the original papers unpublished, said that it could not be ascertained, by the most careful inquiry, that General Anson ever made a single representation to the directors,† or to any member of her majesty's government, on the subject; but that, on the contrary, assurances were given of the satisfactory state of the Bengal army, and especially of its continued fidelity, which might well lull suspicion to sleep. "It is hard," he adds, "to expect a government to see better than with its own eyes."‡ The government might have saved the nation many disasters, and themselves much discredit, by condescending to look through the eyes of those bystanders who proverbially was more of the game than the players. But in this instance they did not heed the warnings of even their own servants. Sir Charles Napier, Lord Melville, Sir John Lawrence, and Colonel Jacob, all lifted up their voices in vain; nay, Lord Dalhousie himself remonstrated against the removal of Europeans, in a manner which proved his mistrust of the tone and temper of the Native army.§ The Duke of Wellington always watched Indian proceedings with an anxious eye. His decision against Napier was possibly prompted even less by the partial statements laid before him, than by the feeling that if the spirit of mutiny had been roused in the Bengal army, it would need all the influence of united authority for its extinction. No commander-in-chief could effect it except with the full support and cordial co-operation of the governor-general. Such a state of things was impossible between Lord Dalhousie and General Napier. "The suppression of mutiny," the Duke wrote, in his memorandum on the proffered resignation of Sir Charles Napier, "particularly if at all general or extended to numbers, and the restoration of order and subordination to authority and discipline among troops who have mutinied, is the most arduous and delicate duty upon which an officer can be employed, and which requires, in the person who undertakes it, all the highest qualifications of an officer, and moral qualities; and he who should undertake to perform the duty, should enjoy, in a high degree, the respect and confidence of the troops and of the government."‖ Sir William Gomm, the successor to Napier appointed by the Duke (an active, kind-hearted, and thoroughly gentlemanly man), appears to have been popular both with the government and the army, European and Native, and mutiny certainly made no head under him. It does not appear that General Anson enjoyed this advantage, either with regard to the government¶ or the Native troops; but, with the latter, decidedly the reverse. His appointment was a notorious instance of the principle of "taking care of Dowb," at the expense of the best interests of the country. It is true, that in the civil position of "Clerk of the Ordnance," he had been both active and efficient; and to

* Speech of Mr. Vernon Smith.—India debate, July 27th, 1857.

† The chairman of the East India Company likewise declared in parliament, that not a single word of notice had been received from General Anson on the subject.—(India debate, July 15th, 1857.)

‡ *Letters of Indophilus*, p. 25.

§ See *ante*, p. 120.

‖ Napier's *Life*, vol. iv., p. 414.

¶ Great difference of opinion is alleged to have existed between Lord Canning and General Anson; and the conduct of the latter, together with the tone of the very few and brief communications published, as having passed between Simla and Calcutta even in the height of the crisis, tends to confirm this allegation. Mr. Smith blamed Mr. Disraeli for alluding to it; but acknowledged the prevalence of the assertion "in private circles."—*Times*, June 30th, 1857.

a reputation for practical business habits, he united that of a popular "man about town;" was a high authority on racing matters, and a first-rate card-player; but he had never commanded a regiment, and would certainly not have been selected, at sixty years of age, to take charge of the Indian army, had he not been a member, not only of an honoured and really honourable, but also of a very influential family. In fact, he was a person to be handsomely provided for. By acts of commission and omission, he largely contributed to bring the mutiny to a head; yet, strangely enough, those who have been most lavish of censure regarding Lord Canning and his colleagues, have for the most part passed over, in complete silence, the notorious fact that General Anson remained quietly in the Himalayas, in the healthiest season of the year for Calcutta, without taking the slightest share in the anxious deliberations of the Supreme Council; yet, nevertheless, drew £6,000 a-year for being a member thereof, in addition to his salary of £10,000 as commander-in-chief. For instance, "One who has served under Sir Charles Napier," says—"The men who ruled India in 1857, knew little of Asiatic character. The two civilians [Messrs. Dorin and Grant] had seen only that specimen of it of which the educated Bengalee is a type: the legal member [Mr. Peacock] and Lord Canning had seen no more; and General Low was a Madras officer:" but the very name of General Anson is significantly omitted. The manner in which the council treated the crisis through which they were passing, proved, he adds, that they did not comprehend it.* This was conspicuous in the reproaches directed against Colonel Wheeler for conversing with the sepoys, as well as the natives generally, on the subject of Christianity, and disseminating tracts among them. No single complaint was ever uttered by the sepoys on this head. They were quite capable of distinguishing the zeal of an individual from the supposed forcible and fraudulent measure of the greased cartridges, by which they believed the government desired to compel them to become apostates *en masse*. It was not change of creed, but loss of caste they dreaded; not tracts and arguments, but greased cartridges, backed by the penalty of disbandment, courts-martial, and a park of artillery. "Already, in their eyes, we were on a par with their lowest caste: a Christian was one who drank brandy and ate pork and beef. Was not the idea that we wished to reduce them, by trick, to the same degrading position, sufficient to excite every deep-seated prejudice against us?"† The military writer of the above sentence, does not add that Lord Canning and his council really sought to conciliate the sepoys by every measure short of the compromise of dignity, which they unhappily considered to be involved in withdrawing the cartridges (as they ought to have done in January), and publicly denouncing and punishing what the Supreme Council did not hesitate to call, among themselves, "the very culpable conduct of the Ordnance department, which had caused all this excitement."‡ It is, however, highly improbable that, had the council proposed such a measure, General Anson would, at any time during the first four months of 1857, have sanctioned such a concession to what he termed the "beastly prejudices," which, ever since he came to India, he had been labouring to destroy; forgetting that the Bengal army, whether wisely or foolishly, had been established and maintained on the basis of toleration of caste observances, and that that basis could not be touched with impunity. He had been for a short time in command at Madras, previous to his appointment as commander-in-chief of the three Indian armies; and it was probably what he learned there, that gave rise to his strong anti-caste opinions. The sepoys had enjoyed perfect toleration for nearly a hundred years; but General Anson's policy, from the first, indicated a resolve, which the Anglo-Indian press earnestly supported, to abandon the old policy. The Bengal force had been, from its commencement, an enormous local militia, enlisted for service in India, and in India only; special regiments (of which there were six), or volunteer corps, being employed on foreign service, and rewarded by extra allowances. In 1856, government declared its intention of radically altering the constitution of the army, and issued an order that every recruit should be enlisted for general service wherever the state might require. There can be no doubt, says Mr. Gubbins, speaking of the General Service Order, "that the vast change which it must of necessity make in the position of the Bengal soldier, was not duly weighed; or, if weighed, provision was certainly not made to meet the consequences

* *Mutiny of Bengal Army*, p. 59.
† *Ibid.*, p. 58.
‡ Appendix to Papers on Mutinies, p. 212.

of the dissatisfaction which it would produce."*

Nearly at the same time another order was published, which affected not merely the prospects of recruits, but also the dearest privilege of the existing Native troops. Under the old regulations the sepoy might become invalided after fifteen years' service, and retire to his home on a monthly pension of four rupees. The Bengallee, it must be remembered, was never accompanied by his family when on service, like the Madrassee; and so earnestly was the power of returning home coveted, that men starved themselves for months, and became weak and emaciated for the sake of retiring on this scanty pittance. In former times, the evil had been met by holding out inducements to longer service; an extra rupee per month being granted after fifteen, and two rupees after twenty, years' service. A further allowance, called hutting-money, was granted to them by Lord Hardinge; and an honourable distinction, accompanied by a valuable increase of pay, was opened to the Native officers, by the establishment of the "Order of British India." Still the love of home proved too strong; and in pursuance of the new policy, it was decided that a sepoy who was declared unfit for foreign service, should no longer be permitted to retire to his home on an invalid pension, but should be retained with the colours, and employed in ordinary cantonment duty. This order was, as usual, read out to each regiment on parade, and it excited a murmur of general dissatisfaction throughout the ranks. By these two measures the retired sepoy was transformed into a local militiaman, and the former militia became general service soldiers.† The first measure was a direct blow at caste; the second was a manifest breach of the terms of enlistment. There were also other circumstances, indicative of a policy very different to the genial kindly consideration of old times. "General Anson," says the late adjutant-general of the Bombay army (Major-general Tucker), "anxiously desired to innovate; his predecessor had been harshly charged with supineness and apathy; his own he designed should be a reign of a very different description, and he attempted to commence it with a curtailment of the leave or furlough annually granted to the sepoys—a very hasty and injudicious beginning—and apparently so considered by more than myself; for it was then negatived, though I have since heard, that at a later period, it was successfully advocated."‡

The above circumstances tend to account for the disbelief evidenced by the sepoys in the protestations of government, and the excitement created by the unprecedented order to bite cartridges made in the arsenal, instead of by themselves, as heretofore. Brigadier Hearsey must have been well acquainted with the general feeling, when he urged in January, the immediate and total withdrawal of the new cartridges; the idea of forcible conversion in connection with them, being so rooted in the minds of the sepoys, that it would be both "idle and unwise to attempt its removal."

This idle and unwise attempt was, as we have seen, continued through the months of February, March, and April; and in spite of the mutiny of the 34th, and the disbandment of the 19th, the experiment of explanatory words, and deeds of severe and increasing coercion, was continued, until the vigorous measures taken in May, issued not in the disbandment, but in the revolt of the entire Bengal army.

One feature connected with the preliminary stage of the mutinies remains to be noticed; namely, the circulation in February of chupatties (small unleavened cakes) through certain districts of the North-West Provinces, and especially of the Saugor territory. Major Erskine, the commissioner for Saugor, made some enquiry regarding the purport of this strange proceeding; but could discover nothing, "beyond the fact of the spread of the cakes, and the general

* *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 94.

† The authority here relied on is Mr. Gubbins. But it appears, that before the alterations in the invaliding regulations referred to by him, as nearly simultaneous with the general service order, stringent rules had been given to the medical committees, which as early as 1854 had proved "a fruitful source of discontent and disgust;" native officers of excellent character being refused promotion, because "lame, worn-out, and unfit for further service;" yet kept for cantonment duty, while younger men were passed over their heads, instead of being pensioned and suffered to retire and enjoy their latter years in the bosom of their families. "In my own regiment," a British officer writes to the *Times*, "we have havildars (sergeants), of forty years' service; and the last muster roll I signed, the strength of my company bore upon it, I think, five full privates of twenty years' service."—*Times*, July 2nd, 1857. Letter signed Sookhn Sunj.

‡ Major-general Tucker's Letter to the *Times* dated July 19th, 1857.

belief that such distribution, passed on from village to village, will prevent hail falling, and keep away sickness. I also understand," the major adds, "that this practice is adopted by dyers, when their dye will not clear properly; and the impression is, that these cakes originally came from Scindia's, or the Bhopal states."*

Certainly, there was no attempt at secrecy; the Native officials themselves brought the chupatties to the European magistrates for inspection; but either could not, or would not, give any satisfactory account of the meaning of the transaction. It appears, that each recipient of two cakes was to make ten others, and transmit them in couples to the chokeydars (constables) of the nearest villages. It is asserted, that the cakes were circulated among the heads of villages not concerned in the mutiny, and did not pass at all among the sepoys.†

Still, the circumstance was a suspicious one, especially if there be any truth in the allegation, that sugar was used as a signal at the time of the Vellore mutiny.‡ The notion of thus conveying a warning to be in readiness for a preconcerted rising, is one which would naturally present itself to any people; and we are told that, in China, the "Feast of the Moon Loaves" is still held, in commemoration of a similar device in the conspiracy by which the Mongol dynasty was overthrown 500 years ago.§ At all events, it would have been only prudent in the government to endeavour to trace out the source of the movement, and the intent of its originators.

It is difficult to frame a succinct narrative of the events which occurred during the first few days of May. The various accounts laid before parliament were not only fragmentary, but consisted in great part of telegrams founded on current rumours; and those narratives of individuals, published in the public journals; were, for the most part, from the nature of the subject, trustworthy only as regards transactions which occurred in the immediate locality of the writers. The official documents, disconnected and unsatisfactory as they were, furnished a clue to the inconsistency, indecision, and delay, which characterised the proceedings of the authorities; namely, that the objects and instructions of the commander-in-chief, were diametrically opposed to those of the governor-general in council. They appear to have acted, the one on an avowedly innovating and coercive, the other on a professedly conservative plan; each issuing orders which puzzled the Europeans, and aggravated the distrust of the natives. The officers were placed in a most painful position; they could not tell which was to prevail, the Calcutta or the Simla policy; and, meanwhile, they did not know what tone to adopt towards their men. In a circular issued in May, by the governor-general in council, their incertitude is specially noticed in a paragraph, which states that, "from communications lately received by the government, it seems that misapprehension regarding the cartridges is not confined to the Native troops," but shared in by "some officers." The communications referred to would probably throw light on this critical period; and a handful of papers, uninteresting or needlessly given in duplicate, might have been left out of the Blue Books to make room for them. But they might have involved unpleasant revelations, and were probably purposely withheld. As it is, the series of papers published on the subject, when carefully analysed, produce a painful conviction, not only that the attitude assumed by both civil and military authorities, was calculated to alarm the natives generally, and the Bengal army in particular; but also that the authorities, themselves being aware of this, concurred in withholding from the directors of the East India Company and from parliament, the evidences of their own disunion, vacillation, and inconsistency. Otherwise, surely they would have felt it necessary, and found it easy, to furnish the British nation with a connected statement of their measures and policy attested by the needful documents, instead of sending home a heterogeneous mass of papers, which, except in the case of those specially moved for by resolute members of parliament, resemble a heap of chaff in which some grains of wheat have been left by mistake.

One of these grains is an official communication, dated Simla, 4th of May, in which General Anson, with an infatuation which would be incredible except on his own showing, takes the success of his system for granted, and informs the Supreme government, as a matter for congratulation, that the practice of the Enfield rifle has been commenced at the several mus-

* Letter, March 5th, 1857.—Parl. Papers.
† *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1857. ‡ *Ibid.*
§ Gabet and Huc's *Travels in Tartary in* 1844, chap. iii.

ketry depôts, and that "the men of all grades have unhesitatingly and cheerfully used the new cartridges."* In the commander-in-chief's private circle "teaching the sepoys to fire with the Enfield rifle" was, however, spoken of as an "expensive amusement"† to government, on account of the incendiary fires by which the sepoys gave vent to their feelings. In a circular issued in the middle of May, the governor-general in council affirms, that "no cartridges for the new musket, and no cartridges made of a new kind of paper, have at any time been issued to any regiment of the army."‡ The substitution of tearing for biting, is referred to in the same paper as having been generally carried out; but this was not the case; for unquestionably, the first mutiny which occurred in Oude was directly caused by an attempt to compel a body of men, for the first time in their lives, to bite suspected cartridges.

Oude. 7th N. Infantry disarmed.—On the 1st of May, there were about 2,200 Native troops in Oude, and some 900 Europeans. The entire force consisted of—H. M.'s 32nd regiment; a troop of horse artillery; 7th light cavalry; seven regiments of Native infantry; three field batteries of the Oude irregular force; three regiments of Oude irregular infantry: and three regiments of Oude police.

Sir Henry Lawrence was, as has been shown (page 88), fully aware of the dangerous character of the force provided by government for the maintenance of British power in Oude. His endeavours to conciliate the talookdars by redressing some of the most notorious cases of oppression, had not been ineffectual; and the reductions made from the original rates of assessment in certain districts, had afforded some measure of relief from our revenue screw. In short, things seemed settling down quietly, or at least the authorities thought so; and they welcomed the rapidity with which the district treasuries were filled on the commencement of the month, as a very favourable indication of the temper of the people. The troops were far from being in a satisfactory condition; but the care with which Sir Henry watched, met, and explained away rumours calculated to incite them to mutiny, preserved, and might have continued to preserve, at least their outward allegiance, but for the suicidal folly committed in issuing an order to the 7th infantry, which the men could not obey without being, in the words of General Low, "guilty of a heinous sin." They therefore refused, "not from any feeling of disloyalty or disaffection towards the government or their officers, but from an unfeigned and sincere dread, owing to their belief in the late rumours about the construction of these cartridges, that the act of biting them would involve a serious injury to their caste and to their future respectability of character."§

The commanding officer, Captain Graydon, was absent in the hills, on sick leave; and Lieutenant Watson was in charge, when, on the 2nd of May, according to the brief official account,‖ the 7th N. infantry, stationed seven miles from the Lucknow cantonments, "refused to bite the cartridge when ordered by its own officers; and, subsequently, by the brigadier,"¶ on the ground of a current rumour that the cartridges had been tampered with.** In the afternoon of the following day, Brigadier Gray reported to Sir Henry Lawrence, at Lucknow, that the regiment was in a very mutinous and excited state. About the same time a letter was placed in the hands of Sir Henry, in which the men of the 7th infantry sought the advice and co-operation of their "superiors" or "elders" of the 48th, in the matter of the cartridges, and promised to follow their instructions for either active or passive resistance. This letter was originally delivered to a Brahmin sepoy of the 48th, who com-

* Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutinies, p. 370.

† An officer of rank, writing a semi-official letter from Simla on the 28th of April, 1857, by command of General Anson, says, "It is an expensive amusement teaching the sepoys to fire with the Enfield rifle, at least as far as it has turned out at Umballa. It has cost, I believe, the government by two fires alone some 32,700 rupees, and I take the liberty of doubting whether the old musket in the hands of the sepoy was not quite as efficient an arm as the new one is ever likely to prove." From March 26th to May 1st, fires occurred on fifteen different evenings. "The 'new cartridges' were pointed out by Commissioner Barnes as the sole cause which rendered the musketry depôt obnoxious to the incendiaries."—May 7th, 157. Further Papers (Parl.), p. 24.

‡ Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutinies; p. 340.

§ Minute by Major-general Low.—*Ibid.*, p. 211.

‖ The dates given above are taken from the official letter written by the secretary of the chief commissioner (Sir H. Lawrence,) to the secretary to government at Calcutta, on the 4th of May, 1857. Mr. Gubbins, in his interesting account of the affair, places it a week later; that is, dates the émeute on Sunday, the 10th, instead of the 3rd of May; and other consecutive events accordingly.

¶ Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutinies, p. 209.

** Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 10.

municated its contents to two Native officers, and the three laid it before the chief commissioner.*

Sir Henry Lawrence ordered the brigadier to parade the regiment, make every possible explanation, and induce the sepoys to bite the cartridge. One Native officer was nearly prevailed on to obey the obnoxious orders; but several of the men called out to him that, even if he did so, they would not. A wing of H.M.'s 32nd regiment, and a strong body of Native infantry and cavalry, selected from various corps, were ordered out by Sir Henry, and arrived at the lines of the mutineers about nine o'clock in the evening of the 3rd of May, the second Sunday—memorable for panic and strife. But the climax was not yet reached. The cup was not yet full to overflowing.

Two officers (Captain Boileau and Lieutenant Hardinge) unconnected with the regiment,† and whose extraordinary and most creditable influence is not accounted for, succeeded, before the arrival of the coercing force, in restoring order; and, what was quite unparalleled, in inducing the 7th to deliver up the writers of the treasonable letter before named, and to promise the surrender of forty other ringleaders. The approach of Sir Henry Lawrence and his staff, with the European troops, renewed the excitement which had nearly subsided. The terrified sepoys watched the position taken up by the European artillery and infantry. It was bright moonlight, when an artillery sergeant, by some mistake, lighted a port-fire. The 7th thought an order for their extermination had been given. About 120 men stood firm, but the great mass of the regiment flung down their arms and fled. A squadron of light cavalry (native) was sent off to intercept the fugitives, and many of them were brought back. Sir Henry rode up to the remaining men, spoke calmly to them, and bade them place on the ground their muskets and accoutrements. The order was unhesitatingly obeyed. The sepoys laid down their pieces, and took off their cross-belts with subdued exclamations of good-will to the service, resting satisfied with Sir Henry's assurance, that though government would be asked to disband the corps, those found guiltless might be re-enlisted.‡ The disarmed men were directed to recall the runaways, which they did; and by about noon on the following day (the 4th), the entire regiment had returned and reoccupied its lines.

The views taken of the matter by the members of the Supreme Council differed materially; nevertheless, they all agreed with the governor-general in censuring the re-enlistment proposed by Sir Henry Lawrence, and in seeing "no reason, in the tardy contrition of the regiment, for hesitating to confirm the punishment of all who were guilty."

Mr. Dorin wrote a minute on the subject; which must suffice to exempt him, as senior member of council, from any portion of the censure heaped on Lord Canning for undue "moderation." He pronounced disbandment an insufficient punishment; adding—"The sooner this epidemic of mutiny is put a stop to the better." (The conclusion is indisputable; but it was formed some months too late to be acted on.) "Mild measures wont do it. A severe example is wanted. * * * I would try the whole of the men concerned, for mutiny, and punish them with the utmost rigour of military law. * * * My theory is, that no corps mutinies that is well commanded. If it should turn out that the officers of the 7th have been negligent in their duty, I would remand every one of them to their own regiments." This was a pretty compliment to regimental officers in general; perhaps some of them had their theory also, and held that no people rebel who are well governed. If so, they might reasonably inquire whether there were no means of "remanding" a civilian of sixty years of age, described as being "in all his habits a very Sybarite;" who "in no other country but India, and in no other service but the civil service, would have attained any but the most subordinate position;"§ but who, nevertheless, in the event of any casualty occurring to Lord Canning, would become, by rule of seniority, the actual and despotic sovereign of the Anglo-Indian empire. To return to the case in point. Mr. Dorin concluded his minute by declaring, that the biting of the cartridge could only have been an excuse for mutiny; an assertion which corroborates the opinion expressed by the writer above quoted—that despite Mr. Dorin's thirty-three years' service in Calcutta (and he had never been fifty miles beyond it), he was "practically ignorant of

* *Mutiny of the Bengal Army:* by one who has served under Sir Charles Napier; p. 30.

† Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutinies, p. 211.

‡ Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutinies, p. 210.

§ *Mutiny in the Bengal Army:* by one who has served under Sir Charles Napier; p. 13.

the manners, and customs, and peculiar requirements of the people of India."* General Low, whose experience of native character was second to that of no man in India, frankly pointed out the order to bite the cartridge as the cause, not the pretext, of mutiny. Had the energy of the general been equal to his judgment and integrity, a much wiser course would probably have long before been adopted by the council: but fifty-seven years' service in India can hardly be expected to leave a man the physical strength needful to the lucid exposition of his views, and to the maintenance and vindication of his own ripened convictions in antagonism to the prejudices of younger colleagues.

Mr. Grant, a civilian, of thirty years' standing, and a man of unquestioned talent, agreed with General Low in attributing the conduct of the men to an "unfeigned dread of losing caste, engendered by the stories regarding cartridges, which have been running like wildfire through the country lately." Sepoys are, he added, very much like children; and "acts which, on the part of European soldiers, would be proof of the blackest disloyalty, may have a very different signification when done by these credulous and inconsiderate, but generally not ill-disposed beings." He concurred with Mr. Dorin in censuring the officers; and considered that the mere fact of making cartridge-biting a point, after it had been purposely dropped from the authorised system of drill, merely for "rifle practice, was a presumption for any imaginable degree of perverse management." Lord Canning also seems to have been puzzled on this point; for he remarks, that "it appears that the revised instructions for the platoon exercise, by which the biting of the cartridge is dispensed with, had not come into operation at Lucknow." The mischief would have been prevented had the government publicly and entirely withdrawn, instead of privately and partially "dropped," the obnoxious practice: but even as the case stands, it is unaccountable that a subaltern, left in charge of a regiment, should, on his own responsibility, have issued an order manifestly provocative of mutiny, without any apparent object whatever. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary it is much more probable that he acted on orders emanating from Simla.

Whatever the cause of the *émeute*, Mr. Grant (who has been satirically described as belonging "to a family distinguished for obstructive ability")† advised that the same "calm, just, considerate, and dignified course" which had been adopted in each of the cases of the 19th and 34th Native infantry, should be followed now; and he suggested "the dismissal of the bad men, with the trial, by court-martial, of a few of the worst men a month hence."‡

Fortunately for the lives of every European in India (not excepting that of Mr. Grant), Sir Henry Lawrence was not the man to stand with folded arms, watching the progress of a devouring flame, and waiting orders regarding the most calm and dignified course to be adopted for its extinction "a month hence." He poured water on at once, and quenched the flames so effectively, that Oude, the very centre of combustion, did not again catch fire until long after the "severe example," desired by Mr. Dorin, had taken place in Meerut, and set all India in a blaze.

The conduct of Sir Henry was so utterly opposed to that of a model official, that there can be little doubt he would have received something worse than the "severe wigging"§ given to General Hearsey, for his prompt reward of native fidelity, had not one of those crises been at hand, which, while they last, secure unchecked authority to the men who have nerve and skill to weather the storm. While the council were deliberating, Sir Henry was acting. He forthwith appointed a court of inquiry, to investigate the cause, and attendant circumstances, of the so-called mutiny; and then, instead of disbanding the regiment, according to his first impulse, he dismissed all the Native officers (with one or two exceptions) and about fifteen sepoys, and forgave the rest; re-arming about 200 (probably those who stood firm, or were first to return to their duty), and awaiting the orders of government with regard to the others. He promoted several whose good conduct had been conspicuous. The Native officers and sepoy who brought him the treasonable letter from the 7th, were made the objects of special favour; as was also a sepoy of the

* *Mutiny of the Bengal Army:* by one who has served under Sir Charles Napier; p. 13.

† Mead's *Sepoy Revolt*, p. 21.

‡ Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutinies, p. 213.

§ *Mutiny of the Bengal Army;* by one who has served under Sir Charles Napier; p. 25. See also *ante*, p. 133; and Lord Derby's speeches in the India debates of December 3rd and 7th, 1857.

13th Native infantry, whose loyalty had been evidenced by the surrender of two Lucknow citizens, who had endeavoured to stir up mutiny in the cantonments. A grand durbar, or state reception, was held at the chief commissioner's residence, in the Muriaon cantonments (whither Sir Henry had removed from the Lucknow residency, on account of the heat). All the chief civilians and military men were present, and chairs were provided for the Native officers of the troops in the cantonments, as also for the leading people of Lucknow. Sir Henry spoke ably and emphatically on the religious toleration of the British government, and appealed to the history of an entire century, for evidence of the improbability of any interference being now attempted. He reminded his hearers that Mussulman rulers at Delhi had persecuted Hindoos; and Hindoo rulers, at Lahore, had persecuted Mussulmans; but that the British had equally protected both parties. Some evil-disposed persons seeing only a few Europeans here and there, imagined that, by circulating false reports, the government might be easily overthrown; but the power which had sent 50,000 Europeans to fight against Russia, could, in the space of three months, land twice that number in India. Then calling forth the natives who had given proof of fidelity, he bestowed on them khelats or dresses of honour, swords, and purses of money; and cordially shaking hands with the recipients, wished them long life to enjoy the honours they had richly deserved. The tone taken by Sir Henry was adopted by the other Europeans. They mixed freely with the Native officers; and such as could understand one another conversed together in groups, on the momentous affairs of the period. Sir Henry Lawrence gained time by this judicious policy, and used it wisely in preparing for the struggle which he had delayed, but could not avert.

Disbandment of 34th at Barrackpoor.—It is now necessary to notice the course adopted by the governor-general in council, with regard to the 34th regiment—a course which Mr. Grant, in a minute dated as late as the 7th of May, applauded in the highest terms, as having been "neither too hasty nor too dilatory;" adding, "it appears to me, to have had the best effects, and to have been generally approved by sensible men."* There were, however, not a few leading men in India who took a very different view of the case, and quoted the long-deferred decision regarding the 34th, in illustration of the assertion of an Indian journal (*Calcutta Englishman*), that of two stamps in the Calcutta post-office, respectively marked "insufficient," and "too late," one or both ought to have been impressed upon every act of the Supreme government.

Some five weeks after the memorable Sunday afternoon on which 400 men of the 34th Native infantry witnessed, with more than tacit approval, a murderous attack on two of their European officers, the government resolved† on disbanding the seven companies of that regiment present at the time. The remaining three companies, stationed at Chittagong, were in no way implicated; but had, on the contrary, proffered assurances of continued allegiance, and of regret for the misconduct of their comrades.‡ On the 6th of May, at five in the morning, in presence of all the troops within two marches of the station, the seven companies were paraded, and commanded to pile their arms and strip off the uniform they had disgraced. They obeyed; the payment of arrears was then commenced; and in about two hours the men, no longer soldiers, were marched off to Pulta ghaut for conveyance to Chinsurah. General Hearsey, who gave so interesting an account of the disbandment of the 19th, abstained from furnishing any particulars in the case of the 34th; but his very silence is significant, and lends weight to a circumstance quoted by a military author, in evidence of the bitter feelings of the latter corps. The sepoys wore Kilmarnock caps, which, having paid for themselves, they were allowed to keep. Before crossing the river, many of them were seen to take off their caps, dash them on the ground, and trample them in the mud,§ as if in angry defiance of their late masters. The order for their disbandment was directed to be read on parade, at the head of every regiment in

* Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutinies, p. 213.

† This resolve, tardy as it was, is said to have been hastened by telegraphic tidings of the *émeute* in Oude on the 3rd. The government order was dated the 4th of May; the punishment of the 34th being of imperative necessity before the disaffection of the 7th irregular infantry could become publicly known at Barrackpoor. Lord Derby commented on the want of foresight and vigour evidenced by Lord Canning's advisers in these proceedings.—*Times*, Dec. 4th, 1857.

‡ Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutinies, p. 147.

§ *Mutiny of the Bengal Army*, p. 33.

India, still unaccompanied by any assurance of the withdrawal of the abhorred cartridges. Either for this or some other reason, Sir Henry Lawrence would not allow the order to be read to the troops in Oude, fearing that it would hasten rather than repress an outbreak.*

We have now reached the end of the "passive, respectful mutinies," which our own blind inconsistencies provoked and fostered. The name of Meerut stands at the head of a new series, the history of which might be fitly written in characters of blood.

CHAPTER III.

MEERUT—23RD APRIL TO 11TH MAY, 1857.

THE cantonment of Meerut, two miles distant from the town, was divided into two parts by a branch of the Calee Nuddee river, and was chiefly remarkable for its great extent, five miles long by two broad, and for a fine parade-ground, four miles long by one broad. It had a very large bazaar, abounding in "budmashes" (literally, men of bad livelihood), near which stood a gaol crowded with convicts. The road to Delhi (thirty-two miles distant) lay close to the Native lines. The troops stationed here consisted of H.M.'s 6th dragoon guards (carabineers); H.M.'s 60th rifles (one battalion); a light field battery; a party of horse artillery; 3rd Native light cavalry; 11th and 20th Native infantry; some sappers and miners. The European troops (exclusive of the sappers and miners), amounted to 1,863, including 132 commissioned officers. The Natives numbered 2,912, including only 52 commissioned officers.†

The chief purpose of stationing an unusually large proportion of Europeans here, was to keep in check the Native garrison of Delhi; but this very proportion seems to have rendered the authorities more than commonly indifferent to the feelings of the sepoys, and to the dissatisfaction which manifested itself in the form of determined disobedience to orders as early as the 24th of April. The cause and pretext (cause with the credulous, pretext with the designing) was of course the cartridge, which had by this time become the recognised *bête noir* of the whole Bengal army.

The 3rd Native cavalry was a leading regiment. It had been greatly valued by Lord Lake, for service rendered at Delhi, Laswaree, Deig, and Bhurtpoor; since then Afghanistan, Ghuznee, Aliwal, and Sobraon, had been added to its list of battles. It contained a large proportion of men of good family and high-caste. The general weapon was the sword; but fifteen in each troop were taught to use fire-arms, and distinguished as carabineers or skirmishers. There were a few bad characters among the carabineers, but the majority were the flower of a remarkably fine corps. To these men their commanding officer‡ suddenly resolved to teach the mode of tearing instead of biting the cartridges, in anticipation of the new kind coming out; and on the afternoon of the 23rd, he issued an order for a parade of all the skirmishers on the following morning. The order created great excitement; and an old Hindoo havildar, named Heerah Sing, waited on Captain Craigie, the captain of his troop, and, in the name of his comrades, besought that the skirmishers might be excused from parade, because the name of the regiment would suffer in the estimation of other corps, if they were to use the cartridges during the present excitement on the subject. They did not threaten to refuse to fire them, but only sued for delay. Captain Craigie reasoned with Heerah Sing on the absurdity of being influenced by groundless rumours; but he knew that the feeling was real, however unreasonable the cause; and

* *Mutiny of the Bengal Army:* by one who has served under Sir Charles Napier; p. 34.

† Parl. Paper.—(Commons), 9th February, 1858; p. 3.

‡ According to the *East India Register and Army List* the colonel of the regiment, Colonel H. Thomson was absent "on furlough." The *East India Register* dates his first appointment at 1798; and, therefore, after sixty years' service the veteran officer may be supposed to have been warranted in retiring from active service for the remainder of his life. In the *Army List* the name of the officer in command is given as Colonel G. M. C. Smyth, and the date of his first commission as 1819.

it being then nearly ten o'clock, he wrote a private note to the adjutant of the regiment, stating the request which had been made to him, and urging compliance with it, as, "if disregarded, the regiment might immediately be in a state of mutiny." Other officers had meanwhile reported on the distress of the regiment, and the colonel seemed inclined to put off the parade, when the adjutant unluckily suggested, that if he did so the men would say that he was afraid of them. The fear of being accused of fear decided the colonel on leaving his order uncancelled. In the course of the evening, the house of the orderly (the hated favourite of the colonel) was set on fire; also an empty horse hospital; and the men kept aloof, in evident disaffection.

Next morning, at daybreak, the skirmishers appeared on parade, and the fated cartridges were brought forward in bundles. The colonel harangued the men in bad Hindustani, and endeavoured to explain to them that the cartridges were to be used by tearing, not biting; and assured the troopers that if they obeyed, he would report them to head-quarters, and make them famous. But "there was no confidence towards him in their hearts, and his words only mystified them." Heerah Sing, and four other troopers, took the cartridges; the other eighty-five refused them. The colonel then dismissed the parade, and reported what had occurred to General Hewitt. A court of inquiry was held, and the disobedient skirmishers were put off duty, and directed to remain in the lines till further orders. The European officers of the 3rd anxiously waited instructions from the commander-in-chief on the subject, anticipating, as an extreme sentence, that, "the skirmishers might be dismissed without defence; in which case, it was whispered that the whole corps would mutiny, and be joined by the other Native troops in the station." The letter from which the above circumstances are quoted, was written on the 30th of April. The writer adds—"We are strongly garrisoned by European troops here; but what a horrible idea that they should be required to defend us!"

The 3rd of May came, and brought no word from head-quarters, and the alarm began to subside: but between the 3rd and the 6th, orders on the subject must have been sent; for a despatch was written from Simla on the latter day (from the adjutant-general to the secretary of government), informing the authorities at Calcutta that General Anson had directed the trial, by a general court-martial, of eighty-five men of the 3rd cavalry, who had refused to receive the cartridges tendered to them. It further stated, that a squad of artillery recruits (seventeen in number) having in like manner refused "the carbine cartridges ordered to be served out to them for use at the drill," had been at once summarily dismissed by the officer commanding the artillery at the station—a punishment which the commander-in-chief censured as incommensurate to the offence.* No report of the general court-martial had been made public up to December, 1858.†

In previous instances, the commander-in-chief had vainly endeavoured to compel Native court-martials to adjudge penalties commensurate with his notions of the heinousness of sepoy offences: it is therefore necessary that some explanation should be given for the unaccountable severity of this harsh sentence. In the first place, did

* Despatch, May 6th.—Appendix to the first series of Parl. Papers on the Mutinies, p. 373. This was the only parliamentary document then published containing any reference to the events preceding the 9th of May. The above account is based on the graphic and succinct narrative, evidently written, though not signed, by the wife of Captain Craigie, dated April 30th, and published in the *Daily News* of 29th July, 1857. Mrs. Craigie adds—"General (Hewitt), commanding here, was extremely angry on learning the crisis which Colonel (Smyth) had brought on, bitterly blaming his having ordered that parade. * * * Of course, ordering the parade at all, under the present excitement, was a lamentable piece of indiscretion; but even when that had been done, the colonel might have extricated himself without humiliation. Henry feels convinced that he could have got the men to fire, or the parade might have been turned into an explanation of the new cartridge, without any firing being proposed. Henry, as a troop captain, had nothing to do beyond his own troop; but thither he rode at daybreak on that fatal morning, and remained for hours among his men, enjoining them to keep steady, and withstand any impulse to join others in excitement; bidding them do nothing without consulting him, and assuring them that, though differing from them in faith, he was one of them—their friend and protector, as long as they were true to their duty; and the men felt that he spoke the truth. They would have fired for him: they told him they would, though unwillingly."

† It was held on the 6th, 7th, and 8th of May, and the court was composed of six Mohammedan and nine Native officers, and presided over by the deputy-judge-advocate-general. For the latter piece of information, I am indebted to the courtesy of Sir Archdale Wilson, and for the former portion of the paragraph to that of Mr. Philip Melville, late head of the military department of the East India House.

the Native officers actually decree the entire sentence of hard labour *in irons?** and if so, under what amount of direct or indirect coercion was it pronounced? Had the court received any private intimation of the decision at which they were expected to arrive? In what terms did the judge sum up the proceedings, and dictate or suggest the sentence; and had it or had it not been previously suggested to him? Sufficient evidenced oozed out to prove that the commander-in-chief gave very decided instructions on the conduct of the trial: the British public had a clear right to know precisely what they were, in order to ascertain what degree of general mismanagement, of individual crotchets in the governors, affecting the deepest religious convictions of the governed, and of petty tyranny, might be indulged in by future commanders-in-chief, without driving an Indian army too near the dizzy verge of mutiny. It appeared, that some days before the assemblage of the court-martial, the European authorities knew the decision which would be arrived at, and anticipated its most natural result; for Mr. Greathed, the commissioner of Meerut, being called away to Alighur on political business, returned to his post on the 9th (a day earlier than he had at first intended), because "he knew that imprisonment would follow the trial, and that an attempt to force the gaol and to liberate the prisoners might be expected."†

A private letter from Meerut says, it was understood that General Hewitt had been desired to treat the skirmishers with the "utmost severity." The trial was conducted accordingly. "The prisoners were charged with disobedience, which was undeniable, and which certainly demanded punishment. A few tried to plead, with little skill but considerable truth; but the principle adopted towards them seemed indifference to whatever they might have to say, and the men felt themselves condemned already in the minds of their court." They were all found guilty, and sentenced to imprisonment in gaol and hard labour—eighty for ten and five for six years, the very noteworthy circumstance in the latter case being, that the favoured five had served under instead of above three years. Many of the former must have been able to plead a long term of faithful service; but that, it seems, was regarded as an aggravation, not an extenuation, of their fault.

General Hewitt had received orders to carry out the sentence of the court-martial, without waiting its confirmation by the

* Since the above statement was written, some additional information has been published by government on the Meerut proceedings, under the title of *Further Papers relative to the Insurrection* (not *mutiny*, as heretofore styled by the authorities) *in the East Indies*. The papers only occupy six pages, and contain the usual amount of repetition and extraneous official matter. The proceedings of the court of inquiry and of the three days' court-martial were withheld, and the only new light on the subject was afforded in a "Memorandum drawn up by the judge-advocate-general of the army, of the circumstances which apparently led to the mutiny of the Native army being precipitated." It is therein stated, that "by the votes of fourteen out of the fifteen Native officers who composed the court-martial, the whole of the accused were convicted and sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for ten years each. But the court solicited favourable consideration for the prisoners, on account of the good character which they had hitherto borne, as testified to by their commanding officer; and on account of their having been misled by vague reports regarding the cartridges." Major-general Hewitt, however, declared he could find nothing in the conduct of the prisoners to warrant him in attending to the recommendation of the court. "Their former good conduct has been blasted by present misbehaviour, and their having allowed themselves to be influenced by vague reports, instead of attending to the advice, and obeying the orders of their European superiors, is the gist of the offence for which they have been condemned. * * * Some of them even had the insolence to desire that firing parades might be deferred till the agitation about cartridges among the Native troops had come to a close. * * * Even now, they attempt to justify so gross an outrage upon discipline, by alleging that they had doubts of the cartridges; there has been no acknowledgment of error, no expression of regret, no pleading for mercy." This latter hinted aggravation is explained away by the testimony already quoted regarding the conviction entertained by the men, that nothing they could say would shake the foregone conclusion of the court. They persevered in asserting their belief that, by using the "new greased cartridges" urged upon them, they would forfeit caste. Major-general Hewitt declared, that to the majority of the prisoners no portion of the sentence would be remitted; but that some of them being very young, those who had not been above five years in the service, would be set free at the expiration of five instead of ten years. Not only was there no remission of the sentence, but a very cruel degradation was superadded, by the painful and ignominious fettering. Even General Anson, when informed of the prisoners having been "put in irons on parade-ground in the presence of their regiment, expressed his regret at this unusual procedure." Notwithstanding this qualification, it is evident that General Hewitt acted in accordance with the spirit, if not the letter, of his instructions. In the published papers, there is much in the confirmation, and nothing in contradiction, of Mrs. Cragie's statement.

† *Letters written during the siege of Delhi;* by H. H. Greathed, Esq., late of the Bengal civil service, and political Agent of Delhi. Edited by his widow. Longman, 1855.—Introduction, p. xv.

commander-in-chief, and arrangements were made for its execution on the following morning, in the presence of all the troops at the station. A guard of European dragoons and rifles was ordered to keep watch over the prisoners during the night, and some difficulty was experienced in calming the excitement which the presence of the Europeans created in the Native lines. At daybreak on the 9th of May, the troops assembled for this most memorable punishment parade. The "sunless and stormy" atmosphere, described by an eye-witness, bore but too close an analogy to the temper of the sepoys. The scene must have distressed the British officers of the 3rd; who, if not absolutely blinded by prejudice, must have felt for and with their men: but they were compelled to refrain from offering the slightest or most private and respectful warning, at this fearful crisis, by the "severe reprimand"* bestowed by the commander-in-chief on Captain Craigie, for his timely but neglected suggestions, given on the night before the parade of the 24th of April. After such a lesson, the subordinate officers could only watch, in silent amazement, the incendiary proceedings of their superiors. The uniform of the mutineers was stripped off, and the armourers' and smiths' departments of the horse artillery being in readiness, each man was heavily ironed and shackled, preparatory to being worked, for the allotted term of years, in gangs on the roads. These ill-omened proceedings occupied three long hours. The victims to our inconsistent policy showed the deepest sense of the degradation inflicted on them. But resistance would have been madness; the slightest attempt would have produced an exterminating fire from the guns manned by the Europeans, and pointed at them. Some clasped their hands together, and appealed to General Hewitt for mercy; their comrades stood looking on in gloomy silence, an order having been given that their officers only should attend on horseback. When the fettering had been at length accomplished, the men were marched off the field. As they passed the ranks of the 3rd they shouted blessings on Captain Craigie, and curses on their colonel,† and hurled reproaches at the dismounted troopers, for having suffered them to be thus degraded.‡ At length, when the military authorities had done their work, they coolly delivered over the mutineers to the civil magistrate, to be lodged in the common gaol, in company with some 1,200 convicts; the whole to be left under the sole guard of native burkandauz, or matchlockmen.

The sepoys returned to their lines apparently completely cowed. The Europeans were left masters of the situation; and the affair having gone off so quietly, the majority were probably disposed to view more favourably than ever, General Anson's resolve to trample under foot the caste scruples of the sepoys, and "never give in to their beastly prejudices."§ The phrase, not a very attractive one, has been quoted before; but it is necessary to repeat it, as the best explanation of the commander-in-chief's proceedings. Those about his person could, it was said, furnish other traits, equally striking and characteristic.

The mutineers were, as we have seen, marched off to prison; the men returned to their lines, and the Europeans to their bungalows, to take a siesta or a drive, to smoke or play billiards, till dinner-time. The officers of the 3rd had, however, a painful task assigned them—that of visiting the mutineers in prison to inquire about their debts, and arrange their affairs. The anxiety of the captives about their destitute families was most touching, and three of the officers resolved to set on foot a subscription to provide for the support of these innocent sufferers. But nothing transpired within the prison to give the visitors any idea of an intended revolt, or to lend weight to the rumours abroad. This same evening, Colonel

* The above fact is taken from a short unpublished paper, printed for private circulation, and entitled, *A Brief Account of the Mutiny of the 3rd Light Cavalry;* by Colonel Smyth. It appears that the colonel had, in the early part of April, received intelligence from a friend, regarding the feelings of a party of sepoys with whom he "had fallen in." They spoke strongly in favour of the disbanded 19th, and expressed themselves ready to join in a general mutiny. This information Colonel Smyth forwarded to General Anson about the middle of April; and, on the 23rd, he (Colonel Smyth) ordered a parade, intending to teach the men to load without biting their cartridges, which he thought they would be pleased to learn. The cartridges were to be distributed over-night. The men refused to take them; and Colonel Smyth adds—"One of my officers (Captain Craigie) wrote to the adjutant in the strongest terms, urging me to put off the parade, *for which he received a severe reprimand* from the commander-in-chief."

† Testimony of an eye-witness.

‡ *Mutiny of the Bengal Army:* by one who has served under Sir C. Napier; p. 35. See, also, letter of correspondent to *Calcutta Englishman.*

§ Cooper's *Crisis in the Punjab;* p. 37.

Finnis, of the 11th Native infantry, was seated at Colonel Custine's dinner table, when a lady remarked that placards were said to have been seen about the city, calling upon all true Mussulmans to rise and slaughter the English. "The threat," says Mrs. Greathed, "was treated by us all with indignant disbelief."*

If any of the party could have heard what was then passing in the widely scattered Native lines, it might have spoiled their sleep that night. As it was, no one—not even the commissioner, who had foreseen the probability of an attack on the gaol—seems to have manifested any anxiety regarding the temper of the Native soldiery, or inquired the workings of their mind upon an act calculated to fill them with shame and sorrow for their comrades, and with terror for themselves. The penalty of disbandment for refusing to use the abhorred cartridges, was changed, by the act of that morning, into the degrading punishment of a common felon: the recusants were doomed to labour for years, perhaps for life, in irons, for the profit of their foreign masters, while their wives and children were left to starve! Was there no alternative for them except the cruel one of forfeiture of caste, of virtual excommunication, with all its wretched consequences, its civil and religious disabilities? Both Mohammedans and Hindoos had, as has been shown, recent grievances rankling in their breasts: the present measure looked like part of a system to prostrate them in the dust, if not to wholly crush them; and when the humbled 3rd looked at the empty huts of their comrades, and thought of the crowded gaol (which the excessive cleanliness associated with high-caste renders specially disgusting) and of their forlorn families, no wonder their hearts sank within them. Beneath the general depression, there were, doubtless, under-currents; and the suggestions of the bolder or more intriguing, would naturally gain ready hearing. There must have been decided dissatisfaction; but there is no evidence to show that any plot was formed on the night of the 9th; it rather appears, that until late in the afternoon of Sunday, the 10th, the troops remained, as it were, paralysed, but ready to be thrown into a state of panic by the most trifling occurrence. In fact, their excessive fear verged on despair: no report regarding the hostile intentions of the government was too absurd to be believed; and fancying themselves driven into a corner, they drugged themselves with bhang, and, to the amazement of the Europeans, suddenly changed their attitude of humble deprecation, for one of reckless, pitiless, unreasoning ferocity.

The best authority on the subject (General Hewitt) considered, that "the outbreak was not premeditated; but the result of a rumour that a party was parading to seize their arms; which was strengthened by the fact of the 60th rifles parading for evening service."†

The conclusion was evidently a just one; for had there been any combination, however secret, or however superficial, the sepoys would have waited till the Europeans were either in church, or in their beds. They had no superiority of numbers to presume upon; and the majority acted, beyond all doubt, on an ungovernable influence of rage and desperation. Shortly before six o'clock P.M., a body of the 3rd cavalry flung themselves on their horses, and galloped off to the gaol, where they released their comrades, and the other prisoners, amounting in number to 1,200. Of course, many of these latter played a leading part in the outrages of that terrible night; but some were so terrified by the madness of their new associates, that they went and voluntarily gave themselves up to the magistrates as soon as the first tumult had subsided. The rescued "eighty-five" were brought back in triumph to the Native lines. They had had enough of prison discipline to rouse, not quench, their fiercest passions. The degradation was fresh; their limbs were yet bruised and raw with the fetters. They proceeded to the compound of Captain Galloway, of the 3rd light cavalry, and compelled his blacksmith to remove their chains.‡ Then they went among their comrades, calling aloud for vengeance. The whole of the 3rd, except Captain Craigie's troop of fifty men, joined the mutineers: so did the 20th N. I.; but the 11th N. I. hung back, defended their officers, and such of them as were stationed on guard, remained at their posts.

The mass of the troops had now crossed the Rubicon, and knew that to recede or hesitate would be to ensure the death of

* Greathed's *Letters;* Introduction, p. xiv.

† Major-general Hewitt to adjutant-general of the army, May 11th, 1857.—Further Papers on Mutinies (Commons), No. 3; p. 9.

‡ Letter of the Rev. J C. Smyth, one of the chaplains at Meerut.—*Times*, June 30th, 1857.

rebels, or the life of galley-slaves. The inflammable bungalows, mostly thatched with straw, were soon set on fire, including General Hewitt's. Dense clouds of smoke filled the hot night air, and volumes of flame were seen shooting up in columns to heaven, or rolling in billows along the ground. The bugle sounded the alarm; irregular discharges of musketry were heard on every side. The sepoys seemed to have turned in a moment from obedient children to infuriated madmen. The madness, too, was fearfully contagious; the impetus was irresistible. The 11th held out long, and stood by their officers, while their colonel reasoned with the mutineers. But, alas! the time was past for arguing the matter, save with swords and guns. A sepoy of the 20th Native infantry took aim at Colonel Finnis: the example was instantly followed; and the good and gallant officer fell dead from his horse, amid a shower of bullets. On this the 20th fired into the 11th; and the latter corps being no longer able to remain neutral,* reluctantly joined their countrymen, after having first placed their officers in safety. Then incendiarism, practised in detail at the musketry depôts ever since the hated cartridges were distributed, reached its height, the mutineers being "assisted by the population of the bazaar, the city, and the neighbouring villages." It was mutiny coupled with insurrection. The sepoys had, however, no leaders, and their movements were, to the last degree, irregular and disconnected. Kill, kill! was the cry of a few desperate fanatics maddened with bhang; booty, booty! was the all-comprehensive object of the budmashes of the city, and of the scum of the vast following which ever attends a large Indian cantonment, and which was now suddenly let loose on the affrighted European families. The scene was terrible; but it resembled rather the raid of insurgent villagers than the revolt of trained troops: there was, in fact, no fighting at all, properly so called; for the incensed 3rd cavalry mutineers (who, it must be remembered, were Mohammedans of high family) were anxious to reach Delhi, where they felt sure of the sympathy of their co-religionists; while the mass of the sepoys had joined the mutiny because they could not remain neutral; and the first flush of excitement passed, their great desire was to get out of the reach of the European guns. Eight women and seven or eight children perished; and there were instances in which the dead bodies were horribly slashed and cut by the infuriated mob; but the highest official account of European lives lost, including officers and soldiers, did not reach forty.

The only considerable body of sepoys who remained thoroughly staunch during the night was Captain Craigie's troop of cavalry; but it required not merely his remarkable influence over his men, but consummate tact in using it, to prevent their being carried away by the torrent. Never was there a more conspicuous instance of the value of that "faculty for managing natives," spoken of by the Calcutta correspondent of the *Times* as a "sixth sense, which can neither be communicated nor learnt."† Mrs. Craigie's account of the affair bears strong internal evidence of truthfulness, and is corroborated by cotemporary official and private statements. She was driving to church with another lady, when, passing the mess of the 3rd regiment, they saw the servants leaning over the walls of the compound, all looking towards the road from the Native infantry lines. Several voices called out to the ladies to return, for there was a mutiny of the Native infantry, and a fight in the bazaar. Crowds of armed men were now seen hurrying towards the carriage. Its occupants drove back in great alarm; but soon overtaking an English private running for his life from several men (not sepoys) armed with lattees (long sticks), they stopped the carriage, and drew in the fugitive, his assailants continuing to strike at him; but the heroines held out their arms and pleaded for him, and were suffered to drive off in safety with the rescued soldier. On reaching her own bungalow, Mrs. Craigie found her husband in entire ignorance of what was occurring. He started off to the lines of the 3rd, and found that the three first troops had disappeared; but his own (the 4th), with the 5th and 6th, were still there. Another of the troop captains, whose name does not appear, but who was senior in rank to Captain Craigie, now joined him, and the two officers asked the men if they could rely on them. The answer was an eager declaration of fidelity. The men said they had heard there was fighting at the gaol to release the prisoners; and clustering round Captain Craigie, professed themselves ready to do whatever he might order. The officers

* General Hewitt's letter.

† *Times*, June 15th, 1857.

directed the troops to mount and follow them. Meanwhile, a gentleman, whose name is not stated, came up, and was asked if he had any orders from the colonel. The reply was, that "the colonel was flying for his life, and had given no orders."* The officers rode on with the three troops. Captain Craigie, anxiously occupied with his own men, discovered, after riding some distance, that he was alone with the 4th troop. He soon afterwards met the released cavalry mutineers with their irons broken. They were on their way to Delhi, and were mounted and in uniform, their comrades having given them their own equipments. The fugitives recognised Captain Craigie, shouted to him that they were free, and poured forth blessings on him. "He was," says his wife, "indeed their friend; and had he been listened to, these horrors might never have happened." Captain Craigie, seeing that it was too late to preserve the gaol, turned back, to try and save the standards of the 3rd from the lines. The roads were thronged with infantry mutineers and bazaar men, armed and firing. A lady† was driving by in a carriage, when a trooper came up with her and stabbed her. Captain Craigie cut the assassin down with his sword, but the victim was already dead. Soon after this, a ball whizzed by his own ear; and looking round, he saw a trooper out of uniform, with his head muffled, fire at him again. "Was that meant for me?" he shouted. "Yes!" said the trooper, "I will have your blood."

Captain Craigie's presence of mind did not desert him; he believed the men might mutiny from him if he fired; and turning to them, he asked if they would see him shot. They vociferated "No!" and forced the mutineer back again and again; but would neither kill nor seize him. A Christian trumpeter urged the captain to save himself by riding faster, and he dashed on to the lines; but passing his own house by the way, he asked who would go and defend his wife. The whole troop (at least all with him) raised their hands. He said he only wanted four men. "I, I, I," cried every one; so he sent the first four, and rode on with the others to the lines, where he found Major Richardson and two European officers, with a few remaining men of the other troops. The Native infantry were flying across the parade-ground, pursued by the European artillery. The officers, bidding their men follow, galloped into the open country, with three of the four regimental standards; and, on seeing them safe, Captain Craigie, by the permission of Major Richardson, returned to provide for the safety of his wife. She, poor lady! had endured an interval of terrible anxiety; but, like her husband, had retained perfect self-possession. The rescued European was one of the carabiniers—a guard of whom had been placed over the mutineers, and had thereby become the objects of especial hatred with the mob. She dressed him in her husband's clothes, and then she and her female companion watched the progress of the incendiary crew, and seeing bungalow after bungalow blazing round them, expected that the lines of fire would close them in. At length the mob reached the next compound, and set light to the stables. The groans of the horses were fearful; but soon the more terrible utterance of human agony was heard through the din; and Mrs. Craigie, looking from the upper part of her own dwelling, saw a lady (Mrs. Chambers) in the verandah of the next house. At her entreaty, the servants ran to try and bring their unfortunate neighbour over the low separating wall. But it was too late; the poor victim (who had but newly arrived in India, and was on the eve of her confinement) had been already killed, and cut horribly. This was fearful news for Mrs. Craigie and her companions; they soon saw men bringing a burning log from the next compound, and thought their own ordeal was at hand. Crowds gathered round; but the name of

* "This statement is partially incorrect, for the colonel had directed Adjutant Clarke to order the men to stand to their horses, to be ready to mount if required." The order did not reach the men, and would evidently have exercised very little effect if it had; but the former portion of the quotation in question is corroborated by Colonel Smyth's own words. "Six officers," he states, "came into my compound chased by infantry sepoys, and concealed themselves in my house. I then went to inform the general (Hewitt) of what was going on. I took my own orderly and the field officers with me. I told them to draw swords, as the road was getting crowded, and immediately galloped off as fast as I could, the bazaar people striking at me with swords and sticks, and shouting after me, which Mr. Rose, of the barrack department, witnessed. I went first to Mr. Greathed's, the gate of whose compound was open; but a man ran to it to shut it, I suppose; but I got in and rode up to the house, and gave the information to the servants, as I was informed Mr. Greathed was out. I then went on to the general's, and heard he had just left the house in his carriage."—Colonel Smyth's *Narrative*.

† Mrs. Courtenay, wife of the hotel keeper at Meerut.

Captain Craigie was frequently shouted in deprecation of any assault on his dwelling; and a few of the Hindoo servants who remained faithful, especially one Buctour, a tent lascar, ran to and fro, trying to clear the compound, and declaring that his master was "the people's friend," and no one should burn his house.

At this crisis the ladies saw the four troopers sent to guard them riding in, and, recognising the well-known uniform, though not the wearers, hailed them at once as deliverers. The troopers dismounted, and rushed eagerly upstairs; Mrs. Craigie strove to take their hands in her's, but they prostrated themselves before her, and touching her feet with their foreheads, swore to protect her at the hazard of their lives; which they actually did. They implored her to keep within shelter, and not expose herself on the verandah. But anxiety for her husband overpowered every other consideration, and she could not be restrained from gazing forth on the blazing cantonment in an agony of suspense, which prevented her from heeding the blinding, suffocating smoke, the parching heat, or even the shots fired at herself, until at length the brother of her young friend arrived in safety, and was soon followed by Captain Craigie, who having nobly performed his public duty, now came to rescue his heroic wife. Fearing that the house would be surrounded, the officers wrapped dark stable-blankets round the light muslin dresses of the ladies, to hide them from the glare of the flaming station, and lessen the risk of fire, and concealed them in a little thick-walled, single-doored temple, which stood on the grounds. There they remained several hours; during which time, a band of armed thieves broke into the house; but two of them were shot (one by Buctour), and the others fled. Cavalry troopers continued to join the party, including one of the condemned eighty-five, who offered to stay and defend the Europeans; but Captain Craigie said he must surrender him if he did; and, "after a time, the boy disappeared." The other troopers, to the number of about thirty, entreated Captain Craigie not to take his wife away, as they would protect her with their lives; but he dared not run the risk:* and when the roads became quieter, he put to the horses (all the stable-servants having fled), and hurried the ladies off to the artillery lines, first allowing them to collect together a few clothes and their trinkets. The plate they could not get, the khitmutgar (Mohammedan steward) having run off with the keys. He had, however, buried the property in the first moments of alarm, and he subsequently brought the whole intact to his master. The troopers, gallantly as they had behaved, "looked very blank" at the idea of proceeding to the European lines. Instead of confidently expecting reward, they "feared being made prisoners;" and it was with the utmost difficulty that they were induced to venture within reach of the unreasoning fury of the British force. It is needful to remember this; for probably the excessive dread inspired by our policy, had been, with the vast majority of the Bengal army, the inciting cause of mutiny. Our very inconsistencies and vacillations had been ascribed by them to some hidden motive. At the outset, the only body of sepoys who kept together and obeyed orders during this terrible night, evidenced the most entire disbelief in the gratitude or justice of the military authorities, and ventured to remain in allegiance, wholly in dependence on the individual character of their captain. But for him, they too would have joined the mutineers.

During the night, many Europeans were saved by the fidelity and daring of native servants, at the risk of their own lives. The commissioner (Mr. Greathed) and his wife are among the number. On seeing the mob approach their house, they took shelter with two English ladies on the terrace roof; but the wood-work was soon set on fire, and no alternative apparently remained but to descend and surrender themselves, when Gholab Khan, their head gardener, succeeded in inciting the crowd to pillage a large storehouse at some distance, he affecting to share in the plunder.† Ladders were then placed against the opposite wall by others of the establishment, every member continuing faithful, and the whole party escaped off the roof (which, some few minutes later, fell in with a fearful crash), and took refuge in the garden. When day broke, the rioters having left the place, Gholab Khan brought a buggy, wherein the commissioner and his three companions proceeded in safety to the artillery school of instruction, whither, on the morning of the 11th, all the ladies of the cantonment, with their children and servants, were taken by

* Captain Craigie's house, and another, were the only ones left standing in the 3rd cavalry lines.

† Greathed's *Letters*, p. 291.

their husbands without any military escort. The school was a large, easily defensible enclosure, with lines of barracks; and here all the civilians and such of the staff as were not required outside took refuge, there being no fort at Meerut. Captain and Mrs. Macdonald (20th regiment) were both slain; but their ayah (nurse) seized the children, and conveyed them to a place of safety.

The following is the official list of the Europeans killed at Meerut, not already named. *3rd Light Cavalry*—Lieutenant McNabb (a youth of much promise, who had only just joined his regiment, and was returning home unarmed from the artillery mess); Veterinary Surgeons Phillips* and Dawson, Mrs. Dawson and children. *60th Rifles*—one corporal. *20th Native Infantry*—Captain Taylor, Lieutenant Henderson, Ensign Pattle, Mr. Tregear (inspector in the educational department). A gunner, two Chelsea pensioners, a fife-major of the 11th Native infantry, four children, five men, and two women (whose names were unknown), were all killed by the released convicts or bazaar people.†

There was, as has been before stated, no organised resistance; and the general opinion, pronounced almost without a dissentient voice by the press of England and of India, was that the deficiency of the rebels in leaders was more than counterbalanced by the incapacity of the British authorities. After making all reasonable allowance for the suddenness of the shock, and the unpreparedness of the officers in command (although that was, in fact, rather an aggravation than an extenuation of their conduct), it is not possible to account satisfactorily either for the space of time occupied in getting the troops, especially the dragoons, under arms, or for the neglect of any attempt to forestal the mutineers in their undisguised plan of proceeding to Delhi, which everybody knew was strongly fortified, richly stored, and weakly garrisoned by Native troops; and the care of which was, in fact, the one great reason for the maintenance of the costly and extensive Meerut cantonment. To begin with the first count, the 60th rifles were parading for evening service when the tumult began. They, therefore, ought to have been ready to act at once against the gathering crowds; while the European dragoons, if too late in mounting to save the gaol, should have been sent off either to intercept the fugitives or preoccupy the city.‡ Captain Craigie, who had acted on his own responsibility in proceeding with his troop to try and preserve the gaol, met several of the released prisoners, already on the road to Delhi, at that early hour of the evening. Even the 3rd cavalry do not appear to have gone off together in any large body, but rather in straggling parties; and it appears that they might have been cut off, or at least dispersed in detail. The effort ought to have been made at all hazards. There was no fort in Meerut; but the women and children might surely have been gathered together in the artillery school, under the escort of European soldiers, at the first outbreak of the mutiny, while the 11th—who long held back, and to the last protected the families of their officers—were yet obedient; and while one portion of the force remained to protect the cantonment, the cavalry and guns might have overtaken the fugitives, the greater number of whom were on foot.

Major-general Hewitt's own account of the affair is the best proof of the utter absence of any solicitude on his part, or, it would appear, of any suggestion on the part of those around him, for the preservation of Delhi. In acquainting the adjutant-general, in a letter dated May the 11th, with the events of the preceding night, he never even alluded to any plan of proceeding against the mutineers, or anticipated any other employment for the 1,863 European soldiers stationed at Meerut, than to take care of the half-burned cantonments, and mount guard over their wives and families, until reinforcements should arrive to help them

* This gentleman had calmly looked on during the punishment parade of the previous day, and had advocated the adoption of the sternest measures to compel the entire corps to use the new cartridges. He was shot while driving his buggy, and, it is said, mutilated by five troopers.—Letter of the Rev. J. C. Smyth, chaplain at Meerut.—*Times*. The governor of the gaol is said to have owed his life entirely to the gratitude of certain of the mutineers, to whom he had spoken kindly while under his charge.

† *Supplement to Gazette*, May 6th, 1858; p. 2262.

‡ The last witness on the subject is Mr. Russell, who, in October, 1858, examined Meerut in company with Colonel Johnson of the artillery, an officer present at the mutiny. Mr. Russell satisfied himself that there was indeed just ground, admitting the difficulty of the situation, and many embarrassing circumstances, "to deplore the want of energy of those who had ample means in their hands to punish the murderers on the spot, and to, in all probability, arrest or delay considerably the massacre and revolt at Delhi."—*Times*, 29th Nov., 1858.

hold their own, and assist in carrying out drum-head courts-martial for the punishment of the insurgent villagers and bazaar budmashes; as to the civil law and civil courts, they were swept away by the first breath of the storm.

Many a gallant spirit must have chafed and raged that night, asking, in bitterness of spirit, the question generally uppermost in the minds of British soldiers—"What will they say of us in England?" But then—and it is not the least strange point of the case—we heard of no single soldier or civilian offering to lead a party, or go, if need were, alone, to Delhi, if only to warn the defenceless families assembled there, of the danger by which they were menaced.

The ride was nothing; some thirty-six miles on a moonlight midsummer night: the bullet of a mutineer might bring it to a speedy close; but was that enough to deter soldiers from endeavouring to perform their duty to the state of which they were sworn defenders, or Englishmen from endeavouring to save a multitude of their countrywomen from evils more terrible than death? As individuals even, they might surely have done something, though perhaps not much, clogged as they were in a peculiar manner by the working of a system which, amid other defects, makes a general of fifty-five a phenomenon in India.* The commanding officer at Meerut was not a Napier or a Campbell, gifted beyond his fellows with immunity from the physical and mental inertia which threescore years and ten usually bring in their train. If General Hewitt had been ever characterised by vigour and decision, at least these qualities were not evidenced at Meerut. It is painful to animadvert on even the public conduct of a brave old officer; the more so, because the despatch which evidences what he failed to do, is particularly straightforward and manly. He states, without preface or apology, that "as soon as the alarm was given, the artillery, carabiniers, and 60th rifles were got under arms; but by the time we reached the Native infantry parade-ground, it was too dark to act with efficiency in that direction; consequently the troops retired to the north of the nullah" (small stream before alluded to), "so as to cover the barracks and officers' lines of the artillery, carabiniers, and 60th rifles, which were, with the exception of one house, preserved, though the insurgents —*for I believe the mutineers had at that time retired by the Alighur and Delhi roads*— burnt the vacant sapper and miner lines. At break of day the force was divided: one-half on guard, and the other taken to patrol the Native lines." Then follows a statement of certain small parties of the 11th and 20th Native infantry who remained faithful, and of the fifty men of the 3rd cavalry; and the general adds—"Efficient measures are being taken to secure the treasure, ammunition, and barracks, and to place the females and European inhabitants in the greatest security obtainable. Nearly the whole of the cantonment and Zillah police have deserted."†

The delay which took place in bringing the 6th dragoons into action is quite unaccounted for. A medical officer, writing from Meerut on the 12th of May, says, that between five and six o'clock on the evening of the previous day, while preparing for a ride with Colonel Finnis, he heard a buzzing, murmuring noise, such as was common in case of fire; and shortly after, while putting on his uniform, the havildar-major of the 11th rushed into the room, exclaiming, "Fly! sahib, the regiments are in open mutiny; Colonel Finnis has just been shot in my arms. Ride to the European cavalry lines and give the alarm." The doctor did so; galloped off to the house of the colonel of the dragoon guards, which he had just left, and then on to the barrack lines, where Colonel Jones was engaged in ordering the men to saddle, arm, and mount forthwith. The remaining movements of the dragoons are best told in the words of this eye-witness, whose account is the only circumstantial one which has been made public, regarding the proceedings of a corps which, rightly used, might have saved Delhi, and thousands of lives.

"It took us a long time, in my opinion, to get ready, and it was dark before the dragoons were ready to start in a body; while by this time flames began to ascend in all directions from the lines, and the officers' bungalows of the 3rd cavalry and the 11th and 20th Native infantry; from public buildings, mess-houses, private residences, and, in fact, every structure or thing that came within the reach of the torch, and the fury of the mutineers and of the bazaar *canaille*. * * * When the carabiniers were mounted we rode off at a brisk trot, through clouds of suffocating dust and darkness, in an easterly direction, and along a narrow road; not advancing in the direction of the conflagration, but, on the contrary, leaving it behind on our right rear. In this way we proceeded for some two or

* *Times*.—Calcutta correspondent, June 15th, 1858.

† Parl. Papers on Mutinies (No. 3), 1857; p. 9.

three miles, to my no small surprise, when suddenly the 'halt' was sounded, and we faced about, and, retracing our steps and verging off to our left, debouched on the left rear of the Native infantry lines, which were all in a blaze. Skirting along behind these lines we turned them at the western end, and wheeling to the left, came upon the 11th parade-ground, where, at a little distance, we found the horse artillery and H. M.'s 60th rifles. It appears that the three regiments of mutineers had by this time commenced dropping off to the eastward and to the Delhi-road; for here some firing took place between them and the rifles; and presently the horse artillery coming to the front and unlimbering, opened upon a copse or wood in which they had apparently found cover, with heavy discharges of grape and canister, which tore and rattled among the trees, and all was silent again. The horse artillery now limbered up and wheeled round, and here I joined them, having lost the dragoons in the darkness. By this time, however, the moon arose; 'we blessed her useful light' [so did the mutineers, no doubt]; and the horse artillery column, with rifles at its head, moving across the parade-ground, we entered the long street, turning from the southward behind the light cavalry lines. It was by this time past ten o'clock, and having made the entire circuit of the lines, we passed up to the eastward of them, and, joined by the dragoons and rifles, bivouacked for the night."*

At daybreak the doctor proceeded to visit the almost deserted hospital, where a few patients, prostrate with small-pox, alone remained. On his way he met a dhooly, and, stopping the bearers, inquired what they carried. They answered, "The colonel sahib." It was the body of poor Finnis (with whom the inquirer had been preparing to ride scarce twelve hours before) which had just been found where he fell, and was being carried towards the churchyard. No search had been made for him or for any other of the fallen Europeans, who, if not wholly killed by the insurgents, must have perished in needless misery. Colonel Smyth, on the following morning, saw ten or twelve European dead bodies on the Delhi-road, near the old gaol.†

The mutineers had abundant leisure to initiate, with a success they could never have anticipated, their first great step of systematic hostility. They were not, however, unanimous in their views. Many of the 20th Native infantry were still loyal at heart, and 120 of them turned back, and presented themselves at Meerut, where the influence of the officers and families whom they had protected, procured them a favourable reception. Several of the 3rd cavalry also appear to have returned and surrendered themselves, and many of them were met with, wandering about the country, longing, but not daring, to return to their homes. Meanwhile, the mass of the mutineers, counselled by a few more daring spirits, took care to cut off the telegraph communication between Meerut and Delhi, and to post a guard of a hundred troopers at a narrow suspension-bridge over the Hindun, one of the two rivers between them and Delhi; but which then, in the height of the hot season, was easily fordable. They knew that there was no other obstacle, the country being smooth as a bowling-green; and they took full advantage of the apathy of the British, by bivouacking for a brief rest, within six miles of the scene of their outrages; after which, they rose up and pursued their way without the slightest interruption. Their arrival at Delhi will be narrated in the following chapter. The Meerut catastrophe is sufficiently important to deserve what Nelson wished for—a gazette to itself.

The general opinion of the Indian press and public, declared it "certain that the severe sentences on the mutineers of the 3rd cavalry was the immediate cause of the Meerut massacre."‡ In England, the same conclusion was naturally and almost unavoidably arrived at. Colonel Sykes, ex-chairman of the East India Company, and also a high authority on the score of individual character and experience, declared in the most emphatic language, his "thorough conviction, that but for the fatal punishment of the eighty-five troopers at Meerut to ten years' confinement in irons, with hard labour as felons, for resisting the compulsory use of the suspected cartridges, the first instance in a hundred years, in Bengal, of sepoys in combination imbruing their hands in the blood of their officers, would not have occurred. In short, had the policy adopted by Colonel Montresor in the contingent force at Hyderabad in 1806, in abrogating a dangerous order upon his own responsibility, been adopted at Meerut, we might still have had a loyal Bengal army, as we still have a loyal Madras army, although the latter had, fifty-one years ago, revolted upon religious grounds."§

Again, in his place in the House of Commons, Colonel Sykes said, that at the moment of ironing the troopers on parade, "an electric shock of sympathy went through

* *Times*, June 29th, 1857.

† *Brief Account of the Mutiny*, p. 6.

‡ Letter from an eye-witness of the seizure of Delhi by the mutineers.—*Times*, July 14th, 1857.

§ Letter to the *Times*, October, 1857.

the whole army, and amongst their co-religionists in the contingents with native powers. Up to that time there had been doubts and alarms, but no common sympathy or understanding. Then, however, every sepoy in the Bengal army made the case of the condemned his own."*

Lord Ellenborough contrasted the promptitude manifested by Sir Henry Lawrence in Oude, with the shiftless incapacity displayed at Meerut. At the latter place, the mutineers, he said, rose at 6 P.M., and it was not until nightfall that H.M.'s carabiniers were able to move. "How did it happen that with a Queen's regiment of infantry, another of cavalry, and an overwhelming force of horse and foot artillery, the mutineers yet escaped without injury to Delhi, and made a march of thirty to forty miles?" Lord Ellenborough spoke forcibly on the power of individual character in influencing events in India; and, alluding to General Hewitt, he declared that no government was justified in placing in a most important position a man of whom the troops knew nothing, and with whose qualifications the government themselves were unacquainted. "Where," he added, "was the commander-in-chief upon this occasion? Why was not he in the midst of his troops? He must have been aware of all the difficulties which were growing up. He must have known the dangers by which he was beset. * * * He, however, went to the hills, leaving the dangers to which I refer behind him in the plain. Such is not the conduct which a man occupying the position of commander-in-chief ought to have pursued."†

The leading reviews and magazines took up the same tone; and the writer of an able and temperate article in one of them, gave a question and reply, which contain, in few words, the common-sense view of the matter. "Why was nothing done or attempted, before the insurgents reached Delhi, to arrest their murderous progress, and protect the unfortunate residents in that city? Why, but that our leaders were unequal to their duty, and that General Anson had rushed into a menacing display of authority, without troubling himself to consider the means or the persons by whom it was to be sustained."‡

In India, however, the Meerut authorities were not wholly without apologists, and even vindicators. Some intercepted sepoy letters were said to show, that the entire Bengal army had resolved on a simultaneous rising on the 15th of May; consequently, the blundering cruelties practised at Meerut were supposed to have precipitated the insurrectionary movement, and prevented the intended co-operation of the widely dispersed troops. The evidence in favour of this supposition was little better than rumour; if there had been any of weight, the authorities would have been only too glad to publish it for the diminution of their own blame. But had such a plot existed, its development at Meerut would have been particularly unfortunate; for subsequent events showed, that in most other stations, the officers in command (whether soldiers or civilians) were ready to make public duty their paramount consideration; and proved, in many remarkable instances, no less conspicuous for the employment of their often slender resources for the public good, than the Meerut leaders had been for the misuse of their almost unparalleled advantages. The wantonly provoked catastrophe at Meerut was fitly followed by an access of stupefaction, which can alone account for the absence of any effort to save Delhi.

The following is an extract from a sermon preached on the occasion by Mr. Rotton, one of the chaplains of the Meerut station; who was subsequently attached to the besieging force sent against Delhi, where, according to Mr. Greathed, he was "well thought of," and "attentive to his duties."§ The tone indicates the view generally taken of the dreadful outbreak; preaching of so very decided a character would, if not approved, scarcely be tolerated by any congregation.

"Think awhile of our past position and our brightening prospects. The mutiny came upon us most unexpectedly. The scene of its commencement was Meerut; and the circumstances which led to its outbreak here, were doubtless arranged by matchless wisdom and unbounded love. It seems, if report speaks truly, that a diabolical and deep-laid plot had been conceived, and was hourly maturing in detail, for the destruction of British supremacy in India." On this mere rumour, Mr. Rotton proceeded to ground a description of the "unparalleled skill" with which "the Mohammedan" had framed his alleged plot, and the

* Speech on proposed India Bill, Feb. 18th, 1858.
† India Debate.—*Times*, 30th June, 1857.
‡ Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine* for Sept., 1857.
§ Greathed's *Letters*, p. 188.

means adopted by Providence for its disclosure. "Hence, I say, He [the Almighty] arranged every incident connected with the mutiny of Native troops in this station [including, of course, the attempted enforcement of the polluting cartridges and the three hours' fettering]; and but for the solemn and sad warning which we received here, it is possible, yea, very probable, that the enemy's plans would have arrived at such maturity, that our destruction might have been certain and complete. Such are the convictions of men of experience and judgment in India. They look on the outbreak at Meerut as the salvation of India."

The above quotation is not a very encouraging one to lay before the religious portion of the British public, now earnestly striving, in an entirely opposite spirit, and with entirely different weapons, for the spiritual and temporal salvation of the people of India. But it is well that the zealous and self-denying supporters of missionary enterprise should fully recognise the dangers and difficulties, from within and without, which beset the progress of Christianity in India. Within the pale, an insidious spirit of formality, self-sufficiency, and belligerent intolerance is at work, which is diametrically opposed to the first principles of the gospel. The doctrine of a special Providence, for instance, as illustrated above, can happily do little harm to hearers accustomed from childhood to test human teaching by the standard of Holy Writ, and to rely on the assistance of Divine wisdom to enable them to arrive at a right judgment. "Christians of the Book," as General Hearsey aptly translated Protestants, may indeed well dispense with any other light than that reflected from their Bibles by the operation of the Holy Spirit; but if we send missionaries to India for the express purpose of expounding the Scriptures, we ought to be most careful that they be duly qualified for the work.

Such teachers should have, at least in measure, the zeal of Peter and the love of John united with the controversial power of Paul. It is no simple task to disentangle the subtle web of casuistry which modern Brahminism has woven round the great verities of their ancient faith, or to eradicate from the affections of the people the rank growth of impure idolatries, of superstitious and sensual customs founded on allegories originally more graceful and far more metaphysical than those of Greece or Rome—and to graft in place of them simple faith in the Father of the spirits of all flesh, and in the One Mediator between God and man.

With the Mohammedans the difficulties are still greater. Their deep reverence for the great Head of our church would seem, at first sight, to facilitate their acceptance of Christianity; but it is not really so, for they view themselves as the objects of a further and fuller revelation than ours, which it is their duty to guard and propagate. Impressed with this conviction, they will not, like the Brahmins, engage in arguments, or view possible conversion to Christianity in any light than as a crime, which if not repented of, must be punished with death. Thus, and thus only, can the plague of apostasy be stayed among them.

There is no surer obstacle to Mohammedan conversion than an irreverent handling of the deepest mysteries of the Christian faith. Yet the more rash and incompetent the preacher, the more likely is he to "rush in where angels fear to tread." An example of this is quoted by Lord Hastings in the diary kept by him, when making a tour as governor-general in 1815. He went to church at Meerut, in the handsome and extensive structure, towards the recent erection of which the Begum Sumroo* (a Roman Catholic by profession) had been the chief contributor. "The tenor of the sermon was," he says, "to impress upon us a strict and defined repartition of functions between the different persons of the Trinity —a line which we were assured would be inviolably preserved from the indelicacy which each must feel would attend the trespassing of the prerogatives of another."†

The impediments to making proselytes in India will not, however, deter those from making the attempt who act in obedience to a Divine command, and in reliance on Divine aid. Still in this, as in all similar cases, we must do our utmost before venturing to expect a blessing on our labours. An inexperienced and slenderly-gifted man, who would preach to empty pews in England, is not likely to attract hearers among a people whom he addresses under all the drawbacks inseparable from the position of a stranger and a foreigner, who, unpractised in their language, and yet more so in their modes of thought, comes to tell his audience that they and their

* Her jaghire was included in what is now the Meerut district. See *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 373.

† *Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings*; edited by the Marchioness of Bute; vol. ii., p. 329.

fathers, and their venerated priesthood, have long lain in ignorance and darkness. To a preacher thus situated, it must be no small advantage to be perfectly versed in the antecedents of his hearers: he can hardly know too much of their customs and prejudices, of their strength and their weakness: his store of information cannot be too great: he should, like Moses, be versed not only in Israelitish history, but in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. In fact, the preliminary course of study requisite for an Indian missionary is altogether an exceptional one. Controversy in Europe is usually exercised regarding minor points of form, doctrine, and discipline. In India, the first articles of our faith—the creation of the world according to the Book of Genesis, the incarnation of the Saviour the very existence of the "Christ of history," are controverted points, before admitting the truth of which the Hindoos must unlearn the lessons of a lifetime, and disown traditions cherished for centuries as Divine revelations. Alas! will it please God to raise up the meek, holy scholars who, to human judgment, seem alone capable of the task? But we must not despair; India has had already a Schwartz, Carey, and Martyn, a Middleton and Heber. She lost a most excellent bishop (in Dr. Wilson, the late venerable diocesan of Calcutta); and there are probably many now living, clergymen and laymen, whose labours, though comparatively unknown, are working out greater results than we dream of. Only when we send labourers into the vineyard, let them be our very best—clear-headed, large-hearted, gentle, men: no bigots, no sectarians, no formalists, no shams.

CHAPTER IV.

DELHI—MAY 11TH.

It would be very easy to write a full and glowing account of the seizure of Delhi and its terrible consequences, on the plan of selecting the most probable and interesting portions of the statements yet published, and discarding the improbable and conflicting ones; but it is difficult to frame even a brief narrative, grounded on authentic data, while the trial of the King of Delhi, with all the important evidence taken thereon, remains, like the Meerut court-martial, a sealed book to the general public, and the most important points have to be searched for bit by bit, through masses of Blue-Book verbiage, or received on the testimony of individuals, more or less discriminating in testing the accuracy of the intelligence they communicated to their friends in England.

It is from private letters only that we derive our information of the state of feeling in Delhi immediately before the outbreak, and of the excitement occasioned by the cartridge question among its immense population, but especially among the three Native regiments by which it was garrisoned. The census of 1846 states the population of the city, exclusive of its suburbs, at 137,977; of these, 71,530 were Hindoos, 66,120 Mohammedans, and 327 Christians (chiefly Eurasians). Nowhere else in India was the proportion of Mohammedans to be compared with this: and although the British government might view the ancient capital of the Moguls as the shrine of buried greatness, interesting only to the poet, the antiquarian, or the artist, many a poverty-stricken Moslem noble, many a half-starved Rajpoot chieftain or ousted zemindar, remembered that a Great Mogul yet lived within the marble palaces of his ancestors, surrounded by a numerous offspring. Brahmins and Rajpoots had fought for the Moguls, and had filled the highest offices of the state, from which Hindoos and Mohammedans were alike excluded by the ungenerous policy of their present rulers. Men suffering under existing grievances, rarely think much of those of their predecessors from opposite causes; and it is only natural to suppose that there were many malcontents in India, who beheld the raj of the Feringhee with intense bitterness, and were well content to unite on common ground as natives, for the expulsion of the hated foreigners, and then fight out their own quarrels by themselves. Of course, the great mass of the people, who earn a scanty subsistence literally in the sweat of their

brow—who depend on daily toil for daily food, and who die by hundreds when anything occurs to interrupt their monotonous, resourceless industry—neither make, nor willingly take part in revolutions; for it is certain that, whichever side prevails, a multitude of the lowest classes will be trodden under foot by the combatants. Thus it was in all cases; but especially at Delhi, where thousands of peaceful citizens, with helpless families, had as good a right to expect from the British the benefits of a wise and strong administration, and protection against the mutinous spirit abroad amid the Bengal army, as any member of the covenanted service. The Indian population, could they but find hearing, have a right to initiate rather than echo the indignant question of their fellow-subjects in England—why did government "make Delhi a strong fortress, surround it with new bastions, excavate a deep ditch out of the granite rock, leave within it a hundred thousand muskets, two parks of the heaviest artillery in India, and powder enough to blaze away at any enemy for a year, and then place the whole in the sole charge of three Native regiments?"* and leave it there, while incendiary fires, in different stations, were telling, week by week and month by month, the spread of disaffection. The circulation of the chupatties has been compared to the Fiery Cross transmitted by the Scottish Highlanders. The burning bungalows at the musketry depôts ought to have afforded a far more significant warning of what was going on, written, as the information was, in characters of fire, which they who ran might read.

Letters dated almost simultaneously with the execution of that fatal sentence on the Meerut troopers (which was, in truth, the death-warrant of every European massacred in the following week), prove that some at least of the Delhi officers were anxiously watching the signs of the times. The three Native regiments—the 38th, 54th, and 74th Native infantry—consisted of about 3,500 men; there was also a company of Native artillery, comprising about 160 men. The Europeans numbered, in all, only fifty-two; of whom three commissioned officers and two sergeants belonged to the artillery.† They occupied the hottest cantonments in India; the low rocky ridge on which modern Delhi is built, reflecting the intense glare of the fierce Indian sun, under which many sank down in fever; while their comrades had additional work to perform by day, with volunteer duty as nurses by night. Still, so far from being blinded by languor or fatigue to the temper of the Native troops, they noted it well; and their correspondence tells of a degree of excitement unparalleled for many years; of the disbanding of the 19th (the poor 19th, as those who know its history still sorrowfully term it); and of the unremoved persuasion of the sepoys, "that ox fat and hogs' lard had been imposed upon them in their cartridges." Where the officers could speak the language well, they reasoned with their men for a time successfully; but where, as in the majority of cases, this free communication did not exist, and "where the best speakers of native languages had been called away by staff appointments or for civil service, leaving only dumb novices, or even dumb elders behind them," there mutiny most surely flourished. So said these letters, written some forty-eight hours before the outbreak. Want of head and of moral union among the disaffected, was, it was added, the only chance of safety left to the Europeans: and so it proved.‡

These vague apprehensions had, however, no connection with Meerut. That station was the last in all India to which the idea of danger was attached, and it was the special *point d'appui* for the Europeans at Delhi. At what hour the telegraphic communication was cut off between these posts, does not appear; but it is probable that the absence of any intimation of the disturbances, which commenced at Meerut as early or earlier than five o'clock on Sunday, was occasioned by the same miserable incapacity which marked the whole conduct of the authorities. The communication with Agra was not cut off till nine o'clock; for at that hour, intimation of what was occurring was dispatched to that city, in the form of a private message, by the postmaster's sister, to prevent her aunt from starting for Meerut, according to a previous engagement.§ Unhappily, no private emergency induced the sending of a similar communication to Delhi.

* *Times* (leader), July 24th, 1857.

† The parliamentary return, from which these statements are taken, gives sixty-five as the total number of "sick of all ranks;" but whether this heading is intended to include Europeans, or, as is most probable, only the native patients in hospital, does not appear.—Parl. Papers, February 9th, 1858; p. 3.

‡ See *Daily News*, July 28th, 1857.

§ Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutinies, p. 175.

The mutineers, on their part, do not appear to have sent on messengers; and there is no ground for believing that, at daybreak on Monday, the 11th of May, any individual of the vast population of the Mohammedan capital and its suburbs had received the slightest warning of the impending calamity.

The troops were paraded, in the cool of the early morning, to hear the sentences of the Barrackpoor courts-martial, which were read here as elsewhere, without any withdrawal of, or explanation regarding, the cartridges. After parade, the garrison guards were told-off, and the officers and men separated to perform their ordinary course of duty.

The first alarm appears to have been taken by Mr. Todd, of the telegraph office; who, finding the communication with Meerut interrupted, proceeded to the bridge of boats across the Jumna, near one of the seven gates of the city, and there met a party of the 3rd cavalry, and was murdered by them. His fate was not known until late in the day. The European authorities do not state the manner in which they first learned the arrival of the Meerut mutineers in Delhi; but it would seem that a few of the released troopers rode in at the river gate, as the forerunners of the disorganised bands then on the road. At about eight o'clock the resident, Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, proceeded to the Delhi magazine, for the purpose of ordering two guns to be placed on the bridge, to arrest the progress of the mutineers. He found Lieutenant Willoughby, and the other European and Native members of the establishment, at their post; and on alighting from his buggy, Sir Theophilus, with Lieutenants Willoughby and Forrest, proceeded to a small bastion on the river face, which commanded a full view of the bridge, and there saw but too distinctly that the time for preoccupation was over; the mutineers had already posted a body of cavalry on the Delhi side, and were marching on in open column.

The resident and the lieutenant immediately proceeded to ascertain whether the river gate had been closed against the mutineers: this had been done, but to no purpose, and Lieutenant Willoughby hurried back to place the guns and howitzers in the best possible positions for the defence of the magazine. The nine Europeans* then remained in quiet expectation of the worst, which, when it came, they met with such wise valour.

Meanwhile, it may be reasonably asked, who was the chief officer? and what orders did he give? The chief officer was Brigadier Graves; and it would appear that after parade he, like the other officers, went home to breakfast. When he learned the approach of the mutineers does not appear; but the first authentic mention of his presence, describes him as having proceeded with his staff to a circular brick building of some strength, whence the daily gun was fired, situated on an eminence near the cantonment, and within a short distance of the Moree and Cashmere gates. To this building, called the Flagstaff tower, the European women and civilians flocked for safety on the first alarm, and found Brigadier Graves watching from thence the movements of the rebel force on the north and western faces of the city. "He had," one of the party† writes, "no one to advise him, apparently; and I do not think any one present envied him his post." In truth, it was no easy task to know what to do for the defence of a city seven miles in circumference, when mutiny without met mutiny within. Probably the brigadier was anxiously looking for reinforcements: indeed, one of the officers of the 38th, says—"What puzzled us was the non-appearance of Europeans from Meerut, in pursuit of the insurgents." An expectation of this kind alone explains the absence of any plan for the removal of the ladies and children to Kurnaul or Meerut, instead of suffering them to remain in the tower from morning till evening, although the obstacles against escape were multiplying every hour. The length of time occupied by the Delhi tragedy is not its least painful feature. The massacre was not a general one, but a series of murders, which might have been cut short at any moment by the arrival of a regiment, or even a troop of European cavalry; for the rebels made no attempt to seize the guns till nearly sunset; nor did any considerable body of the Delhi troops join the mutineers until after the disorderly flight of the European officers and their families. The total disorganisation was, perhaps, inevitable; but the accounts of many of the sufferers evidence the absence of any clear

* Lieutenants Willoughby, Forrest, and Raynor; Conductors Buckley, Shaw, Scully, and Acting Sub-Conductor Crow; Sergeants Edwards and Stewart.

† Mrs. Peile, the wife of a lieutenant in the 38th; who had been very ill, and was about leaving Delhi on sick leave.—*Times*, September 25th, 1857.

understanding between Brigadier Graves and the officers commanding Native corps.

To form a just idea of the events of this miserable day, they must be detailed, as far as possible, in the order of their occurrence. The next victim after Mr. Todd, was the commissioner, Mr. Fraser; and the only circumstantial account of his death yet published, is given by a native eye-witness, whose narrative, corroborated in various essential points by the official documents, serves to relieve what the *Journal des Débats* terms their "incomparable aridity."

Early in the morning of the 11th, a party of Hindoos, bound for a well-known place of Brahminical pilgrimage, started from Delhi for Mussoorie. Shortly after crossing the bridge of boats they met eighteen troopers, who inquired their business. "Pilgrims proceeding to Hurdwar," was the reply. The troopers ordered them to turn back on peril of their lives: they obeyed, and witnessed the mutineers enter the city by the Delhi gate, after killing a European (probably Mr. Todd) whom they met on the bridge. The cavalry cantered in, uttering protestations of good-will to the native inhabitants, but death to the Europeans. They appear to have found the gate open, and to have ridden through without opposition; but it was closed after them. The cutwal, or native magistrate, sent word to Mr. Fraser, who immediately ordered the records of his office to be removed from the palace; and getting into a buggy, with a double-barrelled gun loaded, with two mounted (native) orderlies, proceeded towards the mutineers. They saw and advanced to meet him, calling out to his escort—"Are you for the Feringhee (the foreigner), or for the faith?" "Deen, deen!" (the faith, the faith!) was the reply. Mr. Fraser heard the ominous Mohammedan war-cry once more raised in Delhi; and as the mutineers approached him, he fired twice, shooting one man through the head, and wounding the horse of another; then springing from his buggy, he rushed in at the Lahore gate of the palace, calling out to the subahdar on duty to close it as he passed, which was accordingly done.

A trooper now rode up, told the Meerut story, gained a hearing despite the efforts of Mr. Fraser and Captain Douglas (the commandant of the palace guards), and won over the subahdar and company of the 38th then on guard at the palace gate. The subahdar, being reproached by the Europeans for treachery in holding a parley with the mutineers, turned angrily on his reprovers, and bade them seek safety in flight, at the same time opening the gate for the troopers. Mr. Fraser and Captain Douglas ran towards the interior of the palace, followed by the mutineers, one of whom fired a pistol after the fugitives, which took effect, for the commissioner staggered and leant against a wall; whereupon another trooper went up, and, with a sword, severed his head from his body at a stroke. Captain Douglas was slain at the same time; and the assassins proceeding to the king's hall of audience, found two other Europeans (one of whom was probably Mr. Nixon, Mr. Fraser's head-clerk), and killed them there. The Rev. M. J. Jennings and his daughter, who were living with Captain Douglas over the Lahore gate of the palace, are said to have perished at this time, as also their guest, a Miss Clifford. The mutineers attempted to open a negotiation with the king, who was, it must be remembered, with his family, wholly at their mercy, in that very palace where the eyes of his aged ancestor, Shah Alum, had been stabbed out by a Mohammedan freebooter. What could a pageant king, of above eighty years of age—surrounded by a progeny born and reared in an atmosphere of besotted sensuality, which we had never made one single effort to purify—do in such a case as this but temporise? So far as the tale has yet been told, the royal family, doubtless more from fear and interest than any affection for the British government, were extremely loth to countenance the insurgents, and cordially joined the Europeans in hoping for succour from Meerut. The king wrote a letter to Mr. Colvin, the lieutenant-governor at Agra, informing him that the town and fort of Delhi, and his own person, were in the hands of the rebel troops of the place, who, it was added, had opened the gates, and joined about 100 mutineers from Meerut. The fate of Mr. Fraser, of Captain Douglas, and of Miss Jennings, was also mentioned in this letter; and a telegram founded on it, was sent from Agra to Calcutta on the 14th.* The account thus given was one of the earliest received by the Supreme government.

The Delhi cantonment was two miles from the city. At about ten o'clock, tidings reached the lines of what had taken place at

* Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutinies, p. 178.

the palace, and the 54th regiment were ordered down to the city. One of the junior officers (a youth of nineteen, who wrote his touching tale home to his sister) says—"Of course, at this time, we had not the slightest doubt as to its loyalty." Happily for him, his company and one other were left to wait for two guns, with which Major Paterson was to follow as quickly as possible, the rest of the regiment marching on at once. A lady already mentioned (Mrs. Peile), who was then living close to the lines, watched the 54th pass the house; and she writes, that seeing "their cheerful appearance, and yet determined look, we congratulated ourselves on having such a brave set of fellows, as we thought, to go forward and fight for us."*

Colonel Ripley, the commandant of the regiment, led his men into the city without letting them load, intending to charge the mutineers with the bayonet. The 54th met the rebels advancing towards the cantonment, in numbers nowhere stated on authority, and, in private accounts, very variously from twenty to 150. The original invaders had been probably, by this time, reinforced by straggling parties of their own mutinous comrades, as also by the rabble of Delhi, and by the lawless Goojurs of the neighbouring villages—a predatory and semi-barbarous tribe, whose marauding propensities were, even in peace, very imperfectly kept in check by our defective system of police; and who, in disturbed times, were the indiscriminating enemy of every one who had anything to lose, whether European, Hindoo, or Mohammedan. The insurgents came on, and met Colonel Ripley's force at the English church,† near the Cashmere gate. They advanced without hesitation, calling out to the 54th, that their quarrel was not with them, but with their officers. The 54th first delayed firing on the plea of not being loaded; and, when they had loaded, their shots whistled harmlessly over the heads of the troopers. These galloping up, took deliberate aim in the faces of the Europeans, all of whom were unarmed except Colonel Ripley, who shot two of his assailants before he fell—hit by their pistols, and bayoneted by a sepoy of his own corps. The countenances of the troopers are described as wearing the expression of maniacs; one was a mere youth, rushing about and flourishing his sword, and displaying all the fury of a man under the influence of bhang.‡ Captains Smith and Burrowes, Lieutenants Edwards and Waterfield, were killed, and Lieutenant Butler wounded. The Quartermaster-sergeant also fell. Dr. Stewart, the garrison surgeon, had a very narrow escape: "he tripped on a stone, which saved him from a shot; dodged behind a wall, and reached cantonments."§

It was long before the guns to support the 54th were ready; for the Native artillerymen, though neither disrespectful nor disobedient, were manifestly unwilling to take part against their countrymen. At length Major Paterson, with the remaining two companies and two pieces of artillery, passed through the Cashmere gate into the city. The mutineers fled at once, in wild disorder, through the streets. Major Paterson then returned through the Cashmere gate, and took up his position at a small fortified bastion, called the Main-guard, where he remained all day in momentary expectation of being attacked. The slaughtered Europeans were lying at a little distance, and the sepoys who had remained faithful brought in the bodies. "It was a most heartrending sight," says the young officer before quoted, "to see all our poor chaps, whom we had seen and been with that very morning, talking and laughing together at our coffee-shop, lying dead, side by side, and some of them dreadfully mutilated." Colonel Ripley had been previously carried back to the cantonments, and was found by two ladies (the wife of Major Paterson and Mrs. Peile), lying on a rude bed at the bells of arms. He pointed to a frightful wound on his left shoulder, and said that the men of his own regiment had bayoneted him. The colonel implored the native doctor to give him a dose of opium to deaden his sufferings, which, after some persuasion, was done; and the ladies, anxious for the safety of their children, returned to

* Letter.—*Times*, September 25th, 1857.

† The English church was erected at the cost of £10,000, by Lieutenant-colonel Skinner. This officer, one of the ablest commanders of irregular troops who ever served the E. I. Company, was a half-caste, and received an honorary lieutenant-colonelship from Lord Hastings in 1814, the motive being partly the governor-general's characteristic sense of justice, and partly, as the marquis himself says, the fear of losing a most valuable public servant, by subjecting him to be placed under the orders of inexperienced European juniors.—Marquis of Hastings' *Private Journal*, vol. i., p. 285.

‡ Letter from an eye-witness.—*Delhi Gazette*, published at Agra (after the seizure of Delhi).

§ Private letter from an officer of the 38th.

their homes. On their way, they met men and women-servants, wandering about in the greatest confusion and distress. The servants begged them not to remain in the lines, as it was understood that the bungalows would be burned at night. The two ladies, therefore, packed up such property as they could in boxes, directed the natives to hide it, and left the lines about two o'clock, under the care of Lieutenant Peile, who first sought out Colonel Ripley, placed him in a dhooly, and rode by his side to the Flagstaff tower, which the whole party reached without encountering any molestation.

The assembled Europeans were grievously disappointed by the non-arrival of succour from Meerut;* and Surgeon Batson, of the 7th Native infantry, offered to attempt the conveyance thither of a request for assistance. Brigadier Graves accordingly wrote a despatch to this effect; and Mr. Batson, leaving his wife and three daughters in the tower, proceeded to his own house, where he dyed his face, hands, and feet; and, assuming the garb of a fakir, went through the city, intending to cross the bridge of boats; but, finding the bridge broken, he returned towards the cantonment, and tried to pass the Jumna at a ferry near the powder-magazine. The sowars, or troopers of the 3rd cavalry, had, however, preceded him, attended by crowds of Goojurs, who were plundering and firing the houses. Mr. Batson despaired of being able to reach Meerut, and rushed across the parade-ground. Either the act betrayed him, or his disguise was seen through, for the sepoys fired at him; but he succeeded in getting as far as the garden near the canal, where he was seized by some villagers, and "deprived of every particle of clothing." In this forlorn condition he proceeded on the road to Kurnaul, in hopes of overtaking some officers and ladies who had fled in that direction. Thus the only effort to communicate with Meerut was frustrated; for no other appears to have been attempted, even by the more promising means of native agency.

Had it been successful, it is not probable that the Meerut authorities would have made any effort, or encountered any risk, to remedy the evils their torpor had occasioned. A message that a few scattered handfuls of men, women, and children were in momentary danger of being murdered some thirty-five miles off, would not have startled them into compassion; for the calamity had been foreseen on the Sunday night. The Rev. Mr. Rotton describes himself and his wife as watching their children "reposing in profound security beneath the paternal roof" (a bungalow in the European lines); gazing upon the shining moon, "and anticipating what would befall our Christian brethren in Delhi on the coming morn, who, less happy than ourselves, had no faithful and friendly European battalions to shield them from the bloodthirsty rage of the sepoys."†

Up till a late hour on Monday, the mass of the Delhi sepoys remained ostensibly true to their salt. On the departure of the 54th from the cantonment, the 74th moved on to the artillery parade, where Captain de Teissier was posted with a portion of his battery: the 38th were marched towards the Flagstaff tower, and formed in line along the high road. When Major Paterson took up his position at the Mainguard, he directed Captain Wallace to proceed to cantonments to bring down the 74th Native infantry, with two more guns.

Major Abbott, the commanding officer of the 74th, had previously heard that the men of the 54th had refused to act, and that their officers were being murdered. The intelligence reached him about eleven o'clock. He says—"I instantly rode off to the lines of my regiment, and got as many as there were in the lines together. I fully explained to them that it was a time to show themselves honest; and that as I intended to go down to the Cashmere gate of the city, I required good, honest men to follow me, and called for volunteers. Every man present stepped to the front, and being ordered to load, they obeyed promptly, and marched down in a spirited manner. On arriving at the Cashmere gate, we took possession of the post, drawn up in readiness to receive any attack that might be made. Up to 3 P.M. no enemy appeared, nor could we, during that period, get any information of the insurgents."‡

The Meerut mutineers actually in Delhi at this time, were evidently but few: it is

* "It was so inexplicable to us why troops from Meerut did not arrive."—Lieutenant Gambier's Letter.—*Times*, August 6th, 1857.

† The Chaplain's *Narrative of Siege of Delhi*, p. 6.

‡ Despatch from Major Abbott to government; dated "Meerut, May 13th, 1857."—Further Parliamentary Papers on the Mutiny, No. 3 (Commons,) 1858; p. 10.

impossible to tell in what numbers, or to what extent, the 38th and 54th had as yet co-operated with them; but the dregs of the population of the city, suburbs, and villages, were thronging the streets, and especially around the magazine, the surrender of which was demanded by a party of the treacherous palace guards (the 38th), in the name of the king. No reply was given, whereupon the mutineers brought scaling-ladders from the palace, and placed them against the walls. The conduct of the native establishment had before this been suspicious; and a durwan, or doorkeeper, named Kurreem Buksh, appeared to be keeping up a communication with the enemy, greatly to the annoyance of Lieutenant Willoughby, who ordered Lieutenant Forrest to shoot him should he again approach the gate. The escalade from without was the signal for a similar movement from within; for the natives, having first hidden the priming-pouches, deserted the Europeans by climbing up the sloped sheds on the inside of the magazine, and descending the ladders on the outside. The insurgents then gathered in crowds on the walls; but the besieged kept up an incessant fire of grape, which told well as long as a single round remained. At length, Conductor Buckley—who had been loading and firing with the same steadiness as if on parade, although the enemy were then some hundreds in number, and kept up a continual fire of musketry on the Europeans within forty or fifty yards—received a ball in his arm; and Lieutenant Forrest, who had been assisting him, was at the same time struck by two balls in the left hand. Further defence was hopeless. The idea of betraying their trust by capitulation never seems to have been entertained by the gallant little band. Conductor Scully had volunteered to fire the trains which had been laid hours before, in readiness to blow up the magazine as soon as the last round from the howitzers should be expended. The moment had arrived. Lieutenant Willoughby gave the order; Conductor Buckley, according to previous arrangement, raised his hat from his head, and Conductor Scully instantly fired the trains, and perished in the explosion, as did also Sergeant Edwards. The other Europeans, though all hurt, escaped from beneath the smoking ruins, and retreated through the sally-port on the river face. It is probable that many of the leading mutineers perished here. "Lieutenant Willoughby estimated the number killed to be little short of 1,000 men."* The Hurdwar pilgrims before referred to, fix the same amount; but a native news-writer, in relating the same event, speaks of about 500 persons being killed in the different streets; adding—"The bullets fell in the houses of people to such a degree, that some children picked up two pounds, and some four pounds, from the yards of their houses."†

The Europeans at the tower, and those on duty at the Mainguard, had listened to the heavy firing at the magazine with great anxiety. A little after three o'clock the explosion was heard; but it was not very loud, and they did not know whether it was the result of accident or design. The 38th Native infantry, on guard at the tower, seized their arms, crying out, "Deen, Deen!" The Europeans seeing this ominous movement, desired the sepoys to surrender their weapons, which they actually did, and the ladies assisted in passing the arms to the top of the tower. At four o'clock, the telegraphic communication to the northward being still uninterrupted, the brigadier dispatched the following message to Umballah, the second of three sent there from Delhi in the course of the day:—

"*Telegram.*—Cantonment in a state of siege. Mutineers from Meerut, 3rd light cavalry, numbers not known, said to be 150 men, cut off communication with Meerut; taken possession of the bridge of boats; 54th N. I. sent against them, but would not act. Several officers killed and wounded. City in a state of considerable excitement. Troops sent down, but nothing certain yet. Information will be forwarded."‡

The brigadier, so far from having yet resolved on evacuating Delhi, desired to defend the cantonments, and ordered Major Abbott to send back two guns. The major's reasons for not doing so, and the narrative of his subsequent conduct and escape to Meerut, may be best told in his own words. Interesting particulars, on official authority, regarding this memorable epoch, are extremely rare, and claim quotation *in extenso*, especially where, as in the present instance, the writer has occupied a responsible position in the affairs he describes.

"This order [for the return of the guns] I was on the point of carrying out, when

* Major Abbott's despatch.—Further Parl. Papers (No. 3), p. 10.

† *Lahore Chronicle:* republished in *Times*, September 18th, 1858.

‡ Further Papers, No. 3 (Commons), p. 5. The first telegram from Delhi is not given.

Major Paterson told me, if I did he would abandon the post, and entreated me not to go. He was supported by the civil officer, a deputy-collector, who had charge of the treasury, who said he had no confidence in the 54th men who were on guard at the treasury. Although I strongly objected to this act of, as it were, disobeying orders, yet as the deputy-collector begged for a delay of only a quarter of an hour, I acceded to his request. When the quarter of an hour was up, I made preparations for leaving the Mainguard, and was about to march out, when the two guns I had sent back to cantonments, under Second-lieutenant Aislabie, returned to the Mainguard with some men of the 38th light infantry. I inquired why they had come back, and was told, in reply, by the drivers, that the gunners had deserted the guns, therefore they could not go on. I inquired if any firing had taken place in cantonments. My orderly replied, he had heard several shots; and said, 'Sir, let us go up to cantonments immediately!' I then ordered the men to form sections. A jemadar said, 'Never mind sections, pray go on, sir.' My orderly havildar then called up, and said, 'Pray, sir, for God's sake leave this place—pray be quick!' I thought this referred to going up to the relief of cantonments, and accordingly gave the order to march. I had scarcely got a hundred paces beyond the gate, when I heard a brisk firing in the Mainguard. I said, 'What is that?' Some of the men replied, 'The 38th men are shooting the European officers.' I then ordered the men with me, about a hundred, to return to their assistance. The men said, 'Sir, it is useless; they are all killed by this time, and we shall not save any one. We have saved you, and we shall not allow you to go back and be murdered.' The men formed round me, and hurried me along the road on foot back to cantonments to our quarter-guard. I waited here for some time, and sent up to the saluting [Flagstaff] tower to make inquiries as to what was going on, and where the brigadier was; but got no reply."

To supply the hiatus in Major Abbott's story, as to what was going on at the tower, we must fall back on the statements of private persons.

At about five o'clock, a cart, drawn by bullocks, was seen approaching the building. An attempt had been made to hide its contents by throwing one or two women's gowns over them; but an arm hanging stiff and cold over the side of the cart, betrayed its use as the hearse of the officers who had been shot in the city. Happily, the ladies in the tower had little time, amid the momentarily increasing confusion, to dwell on this painful incident. One poor girl was anxiously enquiring of the officers who were now flocking in from various parts, if they knew anything of her step-brother, Captain Burrowes; but they shrank from her, knowing that all the while his corpse lay but a few hundred yards distant, at the gate under the window of the tower, covered over, like the bodies of his fallen comrades, with some article of feminine apparel. The men of Captain de Teissier's horse field battery were at length "persuaded to take part with the mutineers, but only when pressed round by them in overwhelming numbers, and unable to extricate themselves from their power."* The commandant had his horse shot under him; but he reached the tower in safety, and there found his wife, with her infant in her arms, watching in agony for him. The insurgents then took possession of two of the light guns. Major Paterson, and Ensign Elton of the 74th, came in about the same time from the quarter-guard, and said that the Europeans were being shot down. On receiving this intelligence, the brigadier† ordered a general retreat to Kurnaul, a distance of about seventy miles. Several ladies protested against quitting Delhi until they should be rejoined by their husbands, whom some of them had not seen since the morning. Alas! there was already at least one widow among their number.‡ But the night was closing in, and Captain Tytler, of the 38th, urged immediate departure, and went with Lieutenant Peile to get the men of that regiment together to accompany the Europeans. Carriages of all descriptions were in waiting at the foot of the tower; but, in some cases, the native servants had proved fearful or unfaithful; and the vehicles were insufficient for the fugitives, so that wounded men found themselves burdened with the charge of women and children, without any means of conveyance. Lieutenant Peile, having Dr. Wood of the 38th (who had been shot in the face), Mrs. Wood,

* Despatch from Lieutenant-governor Colvin, to the governor-general in council, May 22nd, 1857.—Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 312.

† Account by Lieut. Gambier, of the 38th N. I.

‡ Account by Mrs. Peile.—*Times*, Sept. 25th, 1857.

and his own wife and child to take care of, and "not knowing how he was to get on," sought counsel of the brigade-major, Captain Nicoll: the answer he received was, "The best way you can."*

Another lady† describes the general departure from the tower as taking place at about six o'clock; and states—"We got into Captain Nicoll's carriage [apparently meaning herself, her husband and child], and put in as many others as we could, and drove one pair of horses for fifty miles." A large number of Europeans, including Brigadier Graves, started at the same time, and some branched off to Meerut; while the others pursued the Kurnaul road, and arrived safely at Kurnaul on the following morning. Here a fresh separation took place, half the party, or about ten persons, going on to Umballah at once, the remaining ten following more slowly. The natives were "so unwilling" to assist them, "that," says the lady above quoted, "it was with the greatest difficulty we managed to get on at all; L—— [her husband] being obliged to threaten to shoot any one who refused to give us assistance." However, they did get on, and started from Thunessir, a dawk station on the Umballah road, at six o'clock P.M. on Wednesday, "in a *cart drawn by coolies*," reaching Umballah about eight o'clock on Thursday morning.‡

It would be unreasonable to criticise the measures of a man who saw the lives of his wife and infant in imminent peril. Only had the villagers been either cruel or vindictive, a few bullets or *lattees* would have quickly changed the aspect of affairs. The disinclination of the villagers to aid the Europeans, may possibly have some connection with the manner in which the English had recently assumed supremacy over the district of which Thunessir, or Thwanessur, is the chief town. That territory contains about a hundred villages, producing an annual revenue of £7,600 sterling. A moiety is said to have "escheated to the British government, by reason of the failure of heirs in 1833 and in 1851," and the remaining portions were soon afterwards confiscated, "in consequence of the failure of the chiefs in their allegiance."§

Very few of the fugitives had the chance of carrying matters with such a high hand as "L." and his companions. So far from harnessing the natives to carts, Englishmen and Englishwomen, cold, naked, and hungry, were then in different villages, beseeching, even on their knees, for food, clothing, and shelter; literally begging—for they were penniless—a morsel of unleavened bread and a drop of water for their children, or a refuge from the night-dews, and the far more dreaded mutineers. The varied adventures of the scattered Europeans are deeply interesting and suggestive. Many an individual gained more experience of native character between Delhi and their haven of refuge in Umballah or Meerut, in that third week of May, 1857, than they would have obtained in a lifetime spent in the ordinary routine of Indian life, than which it is scarcely possible to conceive anything more superficial and conventional, or better calculated to foster arrogance and self-indulgence.

The next in order of flight to the brigade-major's party was Major Abbott, to whose narrative we return, as affording another link in the chain of events. After vainly attempting to get any orders from Brigadier Graves, his attention was directed to some carriages going up the Kurnaul road, among which he recognised his own, occupied by his wife and daughters. The men of his regiment, at the quarter-guard, assured him that the officers and their families were leaving the cantonment, and entreated him to do the same. The major states—"I yielded to their wishes, and told them, 'Very well, I am off to Meerut. Bring the colours, and let me see as many of you at Meerut as are not inclined to become traitors.' I then got up behind Captain Hawkey, on his horse, and rode to the guns, which were also proceeding in the direction the carriages had taken, and so rode on one of the waggons for about four miles, when the drivers refused to go any further, because, they said, 'we have left our families behind, and there are no artillerymen to serve the guns.' They then turned their horses, and went back towards cantonments. I was picked up by Captain Wallace, who also took Ensign Elton with him in the buggy.

* Account by Mrs. Peile.—*Times*, September 25th, 1857.

† Probably the wife of one of the law officers, Mr. L. Berkeley, the principal Sudder Ameen, who escaped to Kurnaul with his wife and infant. The identification is of some interest, on account of an incident mentioned in the text.

‡ Letter published in the *Times*, July 17th, 1857.

§ Thornton's *Gazetteer*, on the authority of Indian Pol. Disp., 29th July, 1835; and 10th Sept., 1851.

"Ensign Elton informed me, that he and the rest of the officers of the 74th Native infantry were on the point of going to march out with a detachment, when he heard a shot, and, on looking round, saw Captain Gordon down dead; a second shot, almost simultaneously, laid Lieutenant Revely low; he (Elton) then resolved to do something to save himself; and, making for the bastion of the fort, jumped over the parapet down into the ditch, ran up to the counterscarp, and made across the country to our lines, where he was received by our men, and there took the direction the rest had, mounted on a gun." The party with Major Abbott went up the Kurnaul road, until they came to the cross-road leading to Meerut, *viâ* the Bhagput Ghaut, which they took, and arrived at Meerut about eight o'clock in the evening of the 12th.*

Regarding the origin of the outbreak, Major Abbott says—

"From all I could glean, there is not the slightest doubt that this insurrection has been originated and matured in the palace of the King of Delhi, and that with his full knowledge and sanction, in the mad attempt to establish himself in the sovereignty of this country. It is well known that he has called on the neighbouring states to co-operate with him in thus trying to subvert the existing government. The method he adopted appears to be to gain the sympathy of the 38th light infantry, by spreading the lying reports now going through the country, of the government having it in contemplation to upset their religion, and have them all forcibly inducted to Christianity.

"The 38th light infantry, by insidious and false arguments, quietly gained over the 54th and 74th Native infantry, each being unacquainted with the other's real sentiments. I am perfectly persuaded that the 54th and 74th Native infantry were forced to join the combination by threats that, on the one hand, the 38th and 54th would annihilate the 74th Native infantry if they refused, and *vice versâ*, the 38th taking the lead. I am almost convinced that had the 38th Native infantry men not been on guard at the Cashmere gate, the results would have been different. The men of the 74th Native infantry would have shot every man who had the temerity to assail the post.

"The post-office, electric telegraph, Delhi bank, the *Delhi Gazette* press, every house in cantonments and the lines, have been destroyed. Those who escaped the massacre fled with only what they had on their backs, unprovided with any provisions for the road, or money to purchase food. Every officer has lost all he possessed, and not one of us has even a change of clothes."

Major Abbott's opinion of the conduct of the King of Delhi, does not appear justified by any evidence then published; and his censure of the 38th hardly accords with the fact, that not one of the officers of that corps were killed.

Lieutenant Gambier, writing from Meerut on the 29th of May, says—

"Meer Mundoor Ali, and Sahye Sing [Native officers from Delhi], who came over for court-martial on the mutineers, declare that nothing of this outbreak was known before it occurred, and that if we two [himself and Colonel Knyvett] went to Delhi, the men would flock to us. I also believe our lives would be safe among the 38th, but the rascals would not stand by us; and I make no doubt that the garrison duty men, influenced by the example of the 54th, would have committed any excess."

The fugitives who escaped in carriages or carts, whether dragged by natives or quadrupeds, had probably little conception of the sufferings endured by the footsore and weary wanderers who had no such help on their perilous journey. When the sepoys at the Mainguard turned against their officers, the latter strove to escape as Ensign Elton describes himself to have done, but were interrupted by the screams of some ladies in the officers' quarters. The Europeans ran back, and making a rope with their handkerchiefs, assisted their terrified countrywomen to jump from the rampart into the ditch, and then with great difficulty, and nearly half-an-hour's labour, succeeded in enabling them to scramble up the opposite side. During the whole time not a shot was fired at them by the sepoys, and the party succeeded in making their way to a house on the banks of the river, belonging to Sir T. Metcalfe, where they obtained some food from the servants, who had not seen their master since the morning.† Here they stayed until they beheld the whole of the three cantonments on fire, and saw "a regular battle raging in that direction:"‡ they then, under cover of nightfall, ran to the river, and made their escape. The party then consisted of five officers and of five ladies—namely, Lieutenant Forrest, his wife, and three daughters; Lieutenant Procter, of the 38th; Lieutenant Vibart, of the 54th; Lieutenant Wilson, of the artillery; a Lieutenant Salkeld, of the engineers; and Mrs. Fraser, the wife of an

* Despatch dated May 13th, 1857.—Further Part. Papers on the Mutiny (No. 3), p. 10.

† In the letter from which the above facts are taken, the writer says, "young Metcalfe had fled in the morning." This is a mistake, for he was still in Delhi, as will be shown in a subsequent page.

‡ This fact shows how far the sepoys were from acting on any plan, much less having any recognised leader; in which case, burning the cantonments and fighting among themselves, after getting rid of their European masters, would have been quite out of the question.

officer of the engineers, then absent on duty.* This poor lady, though shot through the shoulder at the time the Europeans were fired on in the Mainguard, bore up cheerfully, in the hope of finding her husband at Meerut. At an early period of their journey the party fell in with Major Knyvett and Lieutenant Gambier, to the latter of whom a peculiar interest attaches, because, after escaping from Delhi, he returned thither with the besieging force, and received his death wound at the hands of the mutineers. By his account, corroborated by other testimony, it seems that at the time of the evacuation of the Flagstaff tower, it was generally supposed that a considerable body, if not the greater portion, of the Native troops would accompany the fugitives to Meerut. They actually started for the purpose; but Lieutenant Gambier, who was in the rear, says the sepoys were soon seen streaming off by hundreds, till at length he and Colonel Knyvett found themselves alone with the colours of the 38th and about 150 men, who refused to proceed further, and, laying hold of the non-commissioned officers with the colours, went to their lines. The two Europeans followed them, sounded the "assembly," and implored them to fall in, but without effect; and the colonel, too grieved by the defection of his regiment to be heedful of personal danger, went in amongst them, and said, "If you wish to shoot me, here I am; you had better do it." The men vehemently denied any such intention, and then the two officers dismounted, not knowing what they ought to do. Lieutenant Gambier, who tells their adventures with the simplicity which characterises the highest class of bravery, adds —"I do not know whether we fully recognised the extent of the evil, but we then did not think of getting away. I had my bed sent down to the quarter-guard; and my kit [kitmutgar] went for some dinner." Wearied with fatigue and excitement he fell asleep, and it was night before he awoke. On looking round, he saw Lieutenants Peile and Addington (74th), and Mr. McWhirter, collector of Paniput (who was in ill-health, and had come on a visit to Delhi), with Mr. Marshall, an auctioneer and merchant, standing near him. The sepoys urgently pressed the officers to escape, offering shelter and concealment in their huts. Firing was now commencing in the lines, and Peile and Gambier, each taking a colour, reached the door of the quarter-guard; but the sepoys thronged round and jerked the colours from the hands of the officers. Lieutenant Gambier, meeting Colonel Knyvett in the doorway, said, "We must be off." The colonel objected; but the lieutenant took him by the wrist, pulled him outside, and forced him away from the doomed regiment; on which the colonel looked back with something of the bitter yearning with which a sea-captain quits the sinking ship which has been for years his home, his pride, and his delight, the parting pang overpowering the sense of danger, even though a frail boat or a bare plank may offer the sole chance of escape from imminent personal peril. Neither the colonel nor his young companion had any ladies to protect, otherwise the feelings of husbands and fathers might naturally have neutralised the intense mortification and reluctance with which they turned their backs on Delhi. But though Mrs. Knyvett was safe at a distance, and the lieutenant was unmarried, yet the latter had his colonel to support and save. "We hurried on," he writes, "tripping and stumbling, till we reached a tree, under which we fell down exhausted. I feared I should get the colonel no further; he had touched nothing all day, and the sun had more or less affected him; but to remain was death; and after a few minutes' rest, we again started forward. So we passed all that dreadful night. The moon rose, and the blaze of cantonments on fire made it light as day, bringing out the colonel's scales and my scabbard and white clothing in most disadvantageous relief: as we lay, the colonel used to spread his blue pocket-handkerchief over my jacket, in order to conceal it as much as possible." The elder officer was unarmed and bareheaded; he was, besides, subject to the gout, an attack of which the distress of mind and bodily fatigue he was undergoing were well calculated to bring on. In the morning, some Brahmins coming to their work discovered the fugitives hiding in the long jungle grass, and after giving them some chupatties and milk, led them to a ford over a branch of the Jumna. They met on the road Mr. Marshall, with whom they had parted in the quarter-guard: he had wandered on alone; Mr. McWhirter having been, he believed, drowned in attempting to cross the canal cut at the back of the canton-

* Letter of officer of 54th (probably Lieutenant Vibart).—*Times*, July 23rd, 1857.

ments.* Soon afterwards the trio learned from a villager that there were other Europeans about a mile further on in the jungle. On proceeding thither, they came up with and joined Lieutenant Forrest's party, which raised their number to thirteen. The fording of the Jumna on the second night of their toilsome march, was the greatest obstacle they had to encounter. "The water was so deep, that whereas a tall man might just wade it, a short man must be drowned." The ladies, however, got over, supported by a native on one side, and a European on the other. Some of them lost their shoes in the river, and had to proceed barefoot over "a country composed exclusively of stubble-fields, thistles, and a low thorny bush." The treatment they met with was very varied: at one village they were given food, and suffered to rest awhile; then they were wilfully misled by their guides, because they had no means of paying them; and had nearly recrossed the Jumna in mistake for the Hindun, but were prevented by the presence of mind of Lieutenant Salkeld, in ascertaining the course of the stream by throwing some weeds into it. It was intensely cold on the river bank, and the wind seemed to pierce through the wet clothes of the fugitives into their very bones. They laid down side by side for a short time, silent, except for the noise of their chattering teeth; and then, after an hour or two's pause (for rest it could hardly be called), they resumed their weary journey. Next they encountered a party of Goojurs, who plundered and well-nigh stripped them; after which they fell in with some humane Brahmins, who brought them to a village called Bhekia or Khekra,† gave them charpoys to rest on, and chupatties and dholl (lentil pottage) to eat. Crowds gathered round the wanderers, "gaping in wonderment, and cracking coarse jokes" at their condition and chance of life. But the villagers, though rough and boorish in manner, were kind in act, until "a horrid hag" suddenly made her way to the Europeans, and flinging up her skinny arms, invoked the most fearful curses on them, tilted up their charpoys one by one, and drove them away. A fakir proved more compassionate, and hid them in his dwelling; and here their number, though not their strength, was increased by two sergeants' wives and their babes. One of the latter was a cause of serious inconvenience and even danger; for at a time when the general safety depended on concealment, the poor child was incessantly on the point of compromising them, for it "roared all day, and howled all night." On the Thursday after leaving Delhi, a native volunteered to carry a letter to Meerut, and one (written in French) was accordingly entrusted to him. All Saturday they spent "grilling under some apologies for trees;" but towards evening a message arrived from a village named "Hurchundpoor," that one Francis Cohen, a European zemindar, would gladly receive and shelter them. With some difficulty they procured a hackery for the ladies, who were by this time completely crippled, and, escorted by about a dozen villagers, reached Hurchundpoor in safety, where they received the welcome greeting of "How d'ye do?—go inside—sit down." The speaker, Francis Cohen, though very like a native in appearance and habits, was a German, about eighty-five years of age, who had formerly served under the Begum Sumroo. He placed the upper story of his dwelling at the disposal of the fugitives, sent skirts and petticoats for the ladies, with pieces of stuff to cut into more, and provided the officers with various kinds of native attire; and once again they "ate off plates and sat on chairs." On Sunday, at sunset, while they were enjoying rest, after such a week's work as none of them had ever dreamed of enduring, the news came that a party of sowars (Native cavalry) were at the gate, sent by the King of Delhi to conduct the Europeans as prisoners to "the presence." The officers sprang up, and were hastily resuming the portions of their uniform which they still possessed, when two Europeans rode into the courtyard, announcing themselves as the leaders of thirty troopers from Meerut, come in answer to the letter sent thither by a native messenger.

Of course, troopers of the 3rd cavalry‡

* Second Supplement to the *London Gazette*, May 6th, 1858; p. 2241.

† In the copies of this letter printed for private circulation, from one of which the above statements are taken, the name of the village is given as Khekra; in the abstract published in the *Times*, August 6th, 1857, it is Bhekia.

‡ The faithful remnant of the 3rd did not, however, include Captain Craigie's entire troop. On his return to the parade-ground with his men, he found, as has been stated, Brevet-major Richardson with part of his troop, and Captain and Lieutenant Fairlie (brothers), with the remains of the 5th and 6th. Some hurried conversation ensued between the officers, which was interrupted by their being fired at. The mob of mutineers from the infantry

were the last persons looked to for deliverance: nevertheless, Lieutenant Gambier adds—"These fine fellows had ridden all day, first to Bhekia, and afterwards to Hurchundpoor, near forty miles, to our assistance." Under this escort, Colonel Knyvett and his companions succeeded in reaching Meerut at about 10 P.M.—the eighth night after leaving Delhi. The first question of Mrs. Fraser was for her husband. An officer, not knowing her, immediately communicated the fact of his death, the manner of which will be hereafter shown. The rest of the party were more fortunate, many friends coming in by degrees, who had been given up for lost.

All the officers of the 38th escaped; Lieutenant Peile and his wife encountered extreme peril, aggravated for a time by separation from each other, as well as from their child. The carriages had nearly all driven off from the Flagstaff tower, when a gentleman, seeing that Mrs. Peile had no conveyance, offered her a seat in his. She accepted his offer for her little boy, who reached Meerut some days before his parents, and while they were supposed to have perished. Then Mrs. Peile joined Dr. Wood and his wife. The doctor had been shot in the face, as is supposed by the men of his own regiment (the 38th), and his lower jaw was broken. The ladies with him were the last to leave Delhi; and they had scarcely started, when some natives came to them, and advised their turning back, declaring that the officers and others who had preceded them on the Kurnaul road had all been murdered. They returned accordingly to Delhi, and took refuge in the Company's gardens, where they found a gunner, who went to the hospital, at their request, to fetch a native doctor. Other natives brought a charpoy for the wounded European to lie on; and in about an hour a coolie arrived with some lint and bandages from the hospital, accompanied by a message from the native doctors, that they would gladly have come, but that they were then starting in dhoolies by command of the King of Delhi, to attend on his wounded troops. A band of marauders discovered the trembling women and their helpless companion; carried off their horses, and broke up their carriages. Not daring to remain where they were, they started at midnight in search of a village near the artillery lines, where they were fed and concealed by the head man of the village—an aged Hindoo, who turned the cattle out of a cow-shed to make room for the distressed wayfarers. The next morning, the three started again on their travels; and after receiving great kindness at several villages, and narrowly escaping death at the hands of marauders, they at length reached a village inhabited by "the ranee of Balghur," probably a Rajpootni chieftainess, who received them in her house, bade her servants cook rice and milk for their dinner, and gave them leave to remain as long as they pleased. In the morning, however, she told them she could not protect them a second night, for her people would rise against her. This was on the 18th, and the fugitives were as yet only twenty-two miles from Delhi. Providentially, on that very day Major Paterson and Mr. Peile arrived separately at Balghur, from whence they all started together that evening. They met with some remarkable instances of kindness on the road. In one case, "the working men, seeing what difficulty we had in getting the doctor along, volunteered to carry him from village to village, where they could be relieved of their burden. This was a most kind offer,

lines were seen advancing, and the officers agreed to start with the standards for the European lines. Captain Craigie states, that owing to the deafening uproar, the intense excitement, and the bewildering confusion which prevailed, the advance sounded on the trumpet was scarcely audible, and the greater part of the still faithful troopers did not hear it, and were consequently left behind. A few men who were nearest the officers went with them to the European lines; and these, with some married troopers who had gone to place their wives in safety, with between twenty and thirty men of different troops who rallied round Captain Craigie, and assisted in defending his house and escorting him to the European lines, formed the remnant of the 3rd cavalry, which, with few exceptions, remained staunch during the mutiny, doing good service on all occasions. They, and they only, of the Meerut sepoys were permitted to retain their arms; even the 150 faithful men of the 11th N. I. being disbanded, but taken into service by the magistrates. Major Smythe reported the state of the regiment, 31st of May, 1857, as follows:—

Remaining in camp . .	78
On furlough	83
On command	9
Dismissed the service . .	85
Invalided	7
Deserted	235
Total . .	497

The infant child of Captain and Mrs. Fraser was separated from its parents, and perished from exposure on the Kurnaul road.—*London Gazette.*

and was most gladly accepted by us." At length, Mrs. Peile, who had been robbed of her bonnet and shawl at the onset of their flight, began to feel her head affected; but a wet cloth bound round her temples relieved her, and enabled her to prosecute the remainder of the journey, which terminated in a very different manner to its commencement; for our staunch ally, the rajah of Putteeala, on learning the vicinity of Europeans in distress, sent forty horsemen, well-mounted and gaily dressed, to escort them into Kurnaul, where they arrived on the 20th. Mrs. Paterson and her two children had previously reached Simla in safety.

Surgeon Batson likewise, after wandering twenty-five days among the topes (groves of trees) and villages, eventually succeeded in joining the force before Delhi. He was an excellent linguist; but he vainly strove to pass as a Cashmere fakir. "No, no," said the Hindoos, "your blue eyes betray you; you are surely a Feringhee." They were, however, kind to him; but the Mohammedans would have killed him, had he not uttered "the most profound praises in behalf of their prophet Mahomet," and begged they would spare his life, "if they believed that the Imaum Mendhee would come to judge the world." The adjuration was effective, and Surgeon Batson's term of life was extended a little, and only a little, longer. His wife and daughters were among the more fortunate fugitives.*

The adventures of Sir T. Metcalfe have not been circumstantially related beyond that after leaving Lieutenant Willoughby, he was attacked by the rabble; but escaped from them, when he concealed himself in the city; and, after remaining there for three days, eventually succeeded in making his way to Hansi. Lieutenant Willoughby was less fortunate. He is supposed to have perished near the Hindun river. Lieutenant Gambier states—"There escaped with Willoughby, Osborne, B——, H——, and A——. Osborne's wound necessitated his being left in a ditch: he ultimately reached this place; they have not." From the account given by a native, it is believed that Lieutenant Willoughby shot a Brahmin, on which the villagers attacked and murdered him.†

Mr. Wagentreiber, of the *Delhi Gazette*, fled with his wife and daughter, in his buggy. They were attacked five times. Mrs. Wagentreiber received some severe blows from iron-bound lattees; as he did also, besides a sword-cut on the arm. But the ladies loaded, and he fired at their assailants with so much effect, as to kill four, and wound two others; after which, the fugitives succeeded in making good their way to Kurnaul.‡

Mrs. Leeson, the wife of the deputy-collector, made her escape from Delhi at a much later period, after losing three children in the massacre.§ Two faithful natives accompanied and protected her; one of them perished by the hands of the mutineers in attempting to pass the Ajmere gate; the other accompanied her in her wanderings, till they reached the European picket at Subzie Mundie. The poor lady, who had nothing but a dirty piece of cloth round her body, and another piece, folded turban-fashion, on her head, on finding herself again in safety, knelt down, and thanked heaven for her deliverance.‖

In the midst of all these tales of strife and misery, it is well that an English official has placed on record the following statement of the humanity evinced by the villagers generally. Mr. Greathed, the commissioner, writing from Meerut, in the very height of the excitement, states—"All the Delhi fugitives have to tell of some kind acts of protection and rough hospitality; and yesterday a fakir came in with a European child he had picked up on the Jumna. He had been a good deal mauled on the way, but he made good his point. He refused any present, but expressed a hope that a well might be made in his name, to commemorate the act. I promised to attend to his wishes; and Himam Bhartee, of Dhunoura, will, I hope, long live in the memory of man. The parents have not been discovered, but there are plenty of good Samaritans."

The loyalty of the nawab of Kurnaul largely contributed to the safety of the

* Surgeon H. S. Batson's Letter.—*Times*, August 18th, 1857.

† Lieutenant Gambier's account. The mother of Lieutenant Willoughby being left a widow with four children, appealed to Sir Charles Napier, on his return to England after the conquest of Sinde, to aid in providing for her sons; and he, though a perfect stranger, interested himself in the case, and obtained Addiscombe cadetships for two of the young men. Sir Charles, had he lived to see the career of his *protégés*, would have been richly rewarded for his disinterested kindness.—*United Service Gazette.*

‡ Lieut. Gambier's account.—*Times*, July 14, 1857.

§ Second Supplement to the *London Gazette*, May 6th, 1858.

‖ Ball's *Indian Mutiny*, pp. 100—107.

fugitive Europeans, who chose the road to Umballah instead of to Meerut. Mr. le Bas, the Delhi judge, had a very interesting interview with this chief. There was at the time no European force in the neighbourhood of Kurnaul, to counteract the effect of the unmolested retreat of the mutineers from the head-quarters of the British artillery at Meerut, followed by their unopposed occupation of Delhi. Moreover, European women and children were known to have been left to perish there; and cherished wives and mothers, on whom crowds of servants had waited from the moment they set foot in India, were now seen ragged, hungry, and footsore, begging their way to the nearest stations. The chiefs, country-people, and ryots doubted if they were awake or dreaming; but if awake, then surely the British raj had come to an end. At all events, the Great Mogul was in Delhi, and from Delhi the British had fled in the wildest disorder; whereupon a native journalist thought fit to raise the following Io Pean, which, like all similar effusions, whether indited by Europeans or Asiatics, is characterised by the most irreverent bigotry:—

"Oh! Lord, the English have now seen a specimen of Thy power!

"To-day they were in a state of high power; to-morrow they wrapped themselves in blood, and began to fly. Notwithstanding that their forces were about three lacs strong in India, they began to yield up life like cowards. Forgetting their palanquins and carriages, they fled to the jungles without either boots or hats. Leaving their houses, they asked shelter from the meanest of men; and, abandoning their power, they fell into the hands of marauders."*

The British cause was, in May, 1857, generally considered the losing one; and even those friendly to it, were for the most part anxious, in native phraseology, "to keep their feet in both stirrups." There were, however, many brilliant exceptions—but for which, the sceptre of Queen Victoria would hardly now have much authority in Northern India. The nawab of Kurnaul was one of the first to identify himself with the British in the hour of their deepest humiliation.

Soon after the arrival of Mr. le Bas, the nawab came to him and said, "I have spent a sleepless night in meditating on the state of affairs. I have decided to throw in my lot with your's. My sword, my purse, and my followers are at your disposal." And he redeemed his promise in many ways; among others, by raising an efficient troop of 100 horse, which he armed and equipped on the model of the Punjab mounted police corps. Mr. le Bas subsequently presented the nawab with the favourite horse whose speed had saved his master's life.† We hope the British government were similarly mindful of the service rendered by their faithful ally.

Many providential preservations have been related: the painful task remains of describing, as far as possible, the fate of the Europeans who were unable to effect their escape from Delhi. Among the victims was Colonel Ripley. His dhooly-bearers refused to carry him on with the first party of Europeans; and Lieutenant Peile, his former preserver, having left even his own wife and child to try and save the regimental colours, the wounded officer remained at the mercy of the native bearers, whose services are at the best of times little to be depended on; for, being frequently compulsory, they naturally take the first opportunity of escaping to their homes. They did not, however, give up the colonel to the mutineers, but hid him near the ice-pits at the cantonments. Here he remained for some days, until he was found and killed by a sepoy. This, at least, was the account given to Surgeon Batson, during his wanderings among the jungles.‡ Colonel Ripley's sufferings must have been fearful. His isolation, and the state of utter helplessness in which he awaited the violent death which at length terminated his protracted anguish, renders him the subject of a quite peculiar interest. The little that is narrated of him conveys the idea of a thoroughly brave man. He had need of all his natural courage, and of the far higher strength imparted from Above, to enable him to resist the temptation to suicide; to which, later in the rebellion, others yielded, under (so far as human judgment can decide) much less temptation.

The mutineers found it very difficult to convince the king, and probably still more so to convince themselves, that European troops were not already marching on Delhi. It was positively asserted, on European

* *Parsee Reformer:* quoted in *Bombay Telegraph.* —See *Times*, August 3rd, 1857.

† Raikes' *Revolt in N.W. Provinces*, pp. 91, 92.

‡ *Times*, August 18th, 1857.

authority, that "the king sent a sowaree camel* down to the Meerut road, to report how near the British troops were to his city. When the messenger returned, saying there were certainly no European soldiers within twenty miles of Delhi, the spirit of mutiny could restrain itself no longer."†

A native, writing to the vakeel of one of the Rajpootana chiefs, says that it was at ten at night two pultuns (regiments) arrived from Meerut, and fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns; but he adds, that "it was not until the following day, about three in the afternoon, that the empire was proclaimed under the King of Delhi, and the imperial flag hoisted at the Cutwallee, or chief police-station." But the authority thus proclaimed, was at first at least almost entirely nominal; and later testimony tends to confirm the statement of the native eye-witness previously quoted; who, writing on the 13th of May, says—"There is now no ruler in the city, and no order. Everyone has to defend his house. An attack was made on the great banker, Mungnee Ram; but he had assembled so many defenders, that after much fighting, the attack was unsuccessful. Other bankers' establishments were pillaged; hundreds of wealthy men have become beggars; hundreds of vagabonds have become men of mark. When an heir to the city arises, then the public market will be reopened, and order be restored. For these two days thousands have remained fasting; such of the shops as are left unpillaged, being closed. * * * Hundreds of corpses are lying under the magazine. The burners of the dead wander about to recognise the looked-for faces, and give them funeral rites. * * * The mutineers roam about the city, sacking it on every side. The post is stopped. The electric wires have been cut. There is not a European face to be seen. Where have they gone, and how many have been killed?" This last question has been but imperfectly answered. The following statement is compiled from the report furnished by the magistrate of Delhi, and other government returns:—

List of the European victims (not before named) who perished on the 11th of May, or at some unknown date, in Delhi.

Mr. Hutchinson, officiating magistrate and collector, after going to cantonments for assistance, rejoined Mr. Fraser, and is believed to have been killed at the Calcutta gate, on duty.

Mr. A. Galloway, joint magistrate and deputy-collector, perished at the Cutchery, on duty.

The *Rev. A. Hubbard*, missionary. *Mr. L. Sandys*, the head-master of the Delhi mission school, and *Mr. L. Cock*, or *Koehe*, were killed at the school or at the bank.

Mr. F. Taylor, principal of the Delhi college, and *Mr. R. Stewart*, the second master, are thought to have been in the magazine until the explosion, and then to have taken refuge with Moolvee Bakir Ali, who gave them up to the mutineers.

Mr. J. McNally, second clerk in the commissioner's office, was killed on his way thither. *Messrs. Montreaux* and *Fleming*, fifth and sixth clerks, perished, but the particulars of their death are not known.

Mr. Beresford, the manager of the Delhi bank, would not quit his post, though warned by his servants; he was murdered there with his wife and three young children, and the money seized on by the mob. *Mr. Churcher*, the deputy-manager, likewise perished.

Mr. Dalton, inspector of post-offices, and *Mr. C. Bayley*, the deputy-postmaster, were cut down at their post.

Sergeant Edwards, of the ordnance department, perished at the magazine on duty; and *Sergeant Hoyle* is supposed to have been killed on his way thither.

Mr. T. Corbett, of the medical department, was on a visit to *Mr. McNally*; and he also perished on the 11th of May.

Mr. T. W. Collins fled to the Cutchery, and was killed there; his wife and three children were murdered in the college compound, but on what day is not known.

Mr. Staines, the head-clerk of the treasury office, and two youths of the same name, were killed, the former at the Cutchery, and the latter at Deriagunge.

Mr. E. Staines, draftsman, railway department, also fell in Delhi.

Mrs. Thompson, the widow of a Baptist missionary, with her two daughters, and a *Mrs. Hunt*, were killed in the city.

Mr. G. White, head-clerk of the political agency office, was murdered in Delhi, but on what day is not known.

Sergeant Dennis, of the canal department, with his wife, his son, and *Mrs. White*, were killed at his house on the canal banks.

Mr. J. Rennell, pensioner, his wife, two daughters and his son-in-law, and *Mr. G. Skinner*, were massacred in the city, but the date of the latter crime has not been ascertained.

Sergeant Foulan, of the public works' department, and *Mr. Thomas*, agent of the Inland Transit Company, and an Italian showman and his wife, named *Georsetti*, engaged in exhibiting wax-work figures, were massacred near the Hindun river.

Three persons surnamed *George*—one a youth who had received pay from the King of Delhi for some service not known—were massacred in Delhi; as was also a Portuguese music-master, named *Perez*, and a *Mr. O'Brien*.

Father Zacharias, a Roman Catholic priest, was murdered in the city.

Mrs. (*Major*) *Foster*, and her sister, *Mrs. Fuller*, endeavoured to escape, and got "into the city ditch"

* Meaning a trooper on a camel.

† Statement of Delhi deputy-collector.—Rotton's *Narrative of the Siege of Delhi*, p. 12.

(probably near the Mainguard). *Mrs. Foster* was unable to proceed any further, and her sister would not leave her; they are supposed to have been found and murdered there. *Mrs. Hickie* (described as a half-servant, probably a half-caste), in attendance on *Mrs. Foster*, was killed in the city.

Chummum Lall, the native assistant-surgeon, was one of the earliest victims of the outbreak.

Mr. Phillips, a pensioner, was killed in Delhi, but on what day is not known. A *Mr. Clarke*, a pensioner, occupied a two-story house in the Cashmere bazaar, with his wife and child, in conjunction with a *Mr.* and *Mrs. Morley*, and their three children, and was murdered there on the 11th.

In a letter signed "James Morley," and published when the public excitement was at its height, the following horrible particulars were related concerning the murder of Mr. Clarke and his family. The *Gazette* made no mention of the circumstances; but the statement is important, as one of the exceptional ones made by a European eye-witness, of massacre aggravated by wanton cruelty.

Mr. Morley states, that after the blowing up of the magazine, he crept from his hiding-place in the city, and went to his own house, near the door of which he found a faithful old Hindoo [a dhoby, or washerman], sitting and crying bitterly. The Hindoo said that a large crowd, armed with sticks, swords, and spears, had entered the compound, pushed past Mr. Clarke, and began to "loot" or break everything. At length one man went up to Mrs. Clarke, "and touched her face, and spoke bad words to her." The enraged husband called the wretch by the most opprobrious epithet which can be applied to a Mohammedan (you pig!), and shot him dead; then, after discharging the contents of the second barrel into the body of another of the insurgents, he began fighting with the butt-end of his gun. The old Hindoo, knowing that the doom of both husband and wife was now sealed, ran off in search of his own mistress and her children; but they were already in the hands of the mob, who drove off the dhoby with blows, and threatened to kill him if he did not keep away. Morley went into the house with his servant, and found Mr. and Mrs. Clarke (she far advanced in pregnancy) lying side by side, and their little boy pinned to the wall, with a pool of blood at his feet. Turning away from this sickening sight, Morley rushed on towards the bath-room, at the door of which the old man stood wringing his hands. The fear of seeing his own wife as he had seen Mrs. Clarke, deterred him, he says, from ascertaining for himself the fate of Mrs. Morley and his children. When the first shock was over, he put on a petticoat and veil belonging to the wife of the Hindoo, and succeeded, accompanied by the latter, in reaching Kurnaul in six days. In the course of the journey, he states himself to have seen "the body of a European woman lying shockingly mutilated by the road-side; and it made me sick to see a vulture come flying along with a shrill cry. I saw another body of one of our countrymen. It was that of a lad about sixteen. He had been evidently killed with the blow of a stick. I buried him; but it was but a shallow grave I could give him. I heard, on the road, of a party of Europeans being some distance ahead of me, and tried to overtake them, but could not." It is rather strange that the parties who preceded Mr. Morley, should neither have seen nor heard of the murdered man and woman; and it is still more strange, that this one European should narrate horrors so far exceeding any which the other fugitives encountered, or heard of. Stories of mutilation, together with violation of the most abominable description, were certainly published in the Indian and English papers of 1857; but they were almost exclusively founded on bazaar reports, or, what is much the same thing, the accounts of the lowest class of natives, who knew quite well, that the more highly coloured the narrative, the more attention it was likely to excite. Perhaps reporters of a higher class were not uninfluenced by a similar desire to gratify the morbid curiosity of the moment; for the atrocities alleged to have been committed, were such as only the most practised imagination could conceive, or the most incarnate fiends have perpetrated. It should be remembered, that so far as indignities to Englishwomen were concerned, the least aggravated of the alleged offences would have cost the high-caste, or twice-born Hindoos, whether Brahmin or Rajpoot, the irremediable forfeiture of caste. Besides, the class of crime is one utterly opposed to their character and habits, and scarcely less so to that of the Goojurs, who, in fact, had no passion either of lust or revenge to indulge—nothing but an absorbing love of loot, which might tempt them to rob a lady of the cherished wedding-ring, but not to defile the purity of the sacred union it symbolised. With the Mohammedans the case may be different: but whatever we may think of

the unwarrantable license given by the Koran, it may be doubted whether the scenes recorded in the history of cities sacked in European warfare by nominally Christian conquerors, have not afforded sufficient evidence of lust and rapine to explain why we looked to hear of such things, almost as necessary incidents, in a calamity like that of Delhi. But happily for us, our foes were not a united body of soldiers; far from this, the great mass of the sepoys, and even of the escaped convicts, were a disorderly, panic-struck crew; and it was only the long interval of rest which elapsed while the authorities were making up their minds how to prepare for action, that taught the sepoys the value of the advantages which our superlative folly had given them, and the importance of their position in the eyes of their countrymen throughout India. At first their leading thought was, "let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die;" and it was during this phase of their career that they broke open the gaol, and released some 500 convicts. Gradually a few of the more capable of the mutineers began to think that there was a chance for them, and that that chance lay in the extirpation of "the seed of the accursed Feringhee" from the land. Conscious of their own weakness, they naturally adopted a cowardly and merciless, but not vindictive or wantonly cruel policy. The Europeans slain on the 11th of May, or subsequently at an unknown date, have been enumerated. The following is the—

List of the Delhi victims killed on the 12th, 13th, and 16th of May.

Mr. T. Jones, of the collector's office, and *Mr. T. Leonard*, of the magistrate's office, with his wife, and two youths of the same, held out in the house which they occupied together near the Moree gate, until some time on the 12th, when they perished by the hands of the insurgents.

A much larger party defended themselves until the 13th, at Deriagunge, in a house belonging to the rajah of Bullubghur, but rented by a Mr. Aldwell. Here *Mr. Nolan*, one of the conductors of the ordnance department, was killed on the 12th by a grapeshot. On the 13th, a man named Azeezullah enticed the whole party from their retreat by saying that the king had sent him to fetch them safely to the palace. The Europeans, who were probably holding out in hopes of succour from Meerut, were deceived by the traitor, and were thus spared a longer period of sickening suspense, with despair as its climax. The official record states, that *Mr. A. G. Aldwell*, son of the gentleman who rented the house; *Mr. F. Davies*, third clerk of the commissioner's office; *Mr. T. Davies*, head-clerk of the agency office, and *Miss J. Davies; Mr. J. B. Hanley*, another agency clerk, with his wife and four of his family; *Mr. Mackey*, a Baptist missionary; *Mrs. Wilson*, and her son; *Mrs. Nolan*, and her six children; *Mr. Settle*, conductor of ordnance; *Mrs.* and *Miss Settle; Mrs. Crowe*, and her two daughters; *Sergeants Connor*, *Hoyle*, and *Stewart*, of the ordnance department, with a child belonging to the last; *Mrs. Buckley*, and her three children; *Mrs. Prince; Mrs. Riley*, and her son; *Mrs. Ives*, and *Mrs. Foulan*—were all slaughtered on the 13th, in a bullock-shed near the house.

After this horrible butchery, no Europeans were found in Delhi until the 16th; and on that day, a party who had taken refuge in the palace on the 11th, were now delivered up to the insurgents, and put to death. The native authority above quoted, describes the victims as having been tied to a tree and shot, after which the bodies were burned.

Mr. E. Roberts, head-master of the Delhi college, and his son, together with *Mrs. S. S. Stewart*, two *Misses Stewart* and their brother, are said to have been massacred "at the instigation of Zeenath Mahal." The two *Misses Beresford; Mrs. Shaw*, and her two children; *Mrs. Glynn; Mrs. Scully; Mrs. Edwards*, and her three children; *Mrs. Molloy*, the wife of the band-master of the 54th Native infantry, and her two sons; *Mr. J. Smith*, head-clerk of the Delhi magazine; *Mrs. Corbett*, and her child; *Mrs. E. P. Staines*; the two *Misses Hunt*, and their young brother; *Mrs. Cochrane; Mrs.* and *Miss Sheehan*, government pensioners; *Miss C. Staines*, and *Miss Louisa Ryley*—are recorded as having been murdered, without any particulars being given of the attendant circumstances.*

The above statements are taken from the *Gazette*. A native gives the following somewhat different account of particulars which he describes himself as having actually witnessed:—"On the third day, the mutineers went back to the house [Mr. Aldwell's] near the mosque, where some Europeans had taken refuge. As they were without water, &c., for several days, they called for a subahdar and five others, and asked them to take their oaths that they would give them water and take them alive to the king; he might kill them if he liked. On this oath the Europeans came out: the mutineers placed water before them, and said, 'Lay down your arms, and then you get water.' They gave over two guns, all they had. The mutineers gave no water. They seized eleven chlldren (among them infants), eight ladies, and eight gentlemen. They took them to the cattle-sheds. One lady, who seemed more self-possessed than the rest, observed that they were not taking them to the palace; they replied, they were taking them *viâ* Derya Gunje. Deponent says that he saw all this, and saw them placed in a row and shot. One woman entreated them to give her child water, though they might kill her. A sepoy took her child and dashed it on the ground. The people looked on in dismay, and feared for Delhi."†

An anonymous writer, who describes

* Second Supplement to the *London Gazette*, May 6th, 1858.

† Statement made to deputy-commissioner Farrington, of Jullundur, by three servants of Kapor-thella rajah.—*Times*, August 3rd, 1857.

himself as having been in Delhi at the outbreak, but who does not state either the time or the manner of his own escape, writes—"Several Europeans, said to number forty-eight, were taken to the palace, or perhaps went there for protection. These were taken care of by the King of Delhi; but the sowars of the 3rd cavalry, whose thirst for European blood had not been quenched, rested not till they were all given up to them, when they murdered them one by one in cold blood." The narrator adds, that the troopers were said "to have pointed to their legs before they murdered their victims, and called attention to the marks of their manacles, asking if they were not justified in what they were doing."*

In a separate and evidently incorrect list, published in the same *Gazette* as that from which the above account has been framed, several names are given in addition to, or in mistake for, those already stated.† Among others, a "*Mrs. Morgan and her grandchild*" are said to have been among the victims of this most horrible butchery, in which maid and matron, the grandame and the babe, were alike mercilessly hewn down. It must, however, be remembered, that many put down in the official records as massacred at Delhi, were probably killed after escaping from the city.

We have not, and probably never shall have, any authentic statement of the number of Eurasians who perished at this period, nor of the amount of native life lost in the struggle between the citizens of Delhi and the ruthless insurgents. The mutineers, it is said, "asked the king either to give them two months' pay, or their daily rations. The king summoned all the shroffs and mahajuns (bankers and money-changers), telling them, if they did not meet the demand of the mutineers they would be murdered; on which the shroffs agreed to give them dholl rotee for twenty days; adding, they could not afford more. The mutineers replied—'We have determined to die; how can we eat dholl rotee for the few days we have to live in this world.'"‡ The cavalry, consequently, received one rupee, and the infantry four annas a day. With every offensive weapon Delhi was abundantly stocked. After the escape of Lieutenant Willoughby and his companions, the mutineers (according to a native news-writer previously quoted), "together with the low people of the city, entered the magazine compound and began to plunder weapons, accoutrements, gun-caps, &c. The 'loot' continued for three days; each sepoy took three or four muskets, and as many swords and bayonets as he could. The Classies filled their houses with fine blacksmiths' tools, weapons, and gun-caps, which they sell by degrees at the rate of two seers per rupee. In these successful days, the highest price of a musket was eight annas, or one shilling; however, the people feared to buy it: a fine English sword was dear for four annas, and one anna was too much for a good bayonet. Pouches and belts were so common, that the owners could not get anything for this booty of theirs."§ Lieutenant Willoughby and his companions had succeeded in destroying a portion of the stores in the Delhi arsenal; but abundance of shot and shell remained behind, and the cantonments afforded large stores of gunpowder. From native testimony we further learn, that "the Derya Gunje Bazaar was turned into an encampment for the mutineers. Shops were plundered in the Chandnee Chouk‖ and Diereeba Bazaar. The shops were shut for five days. The king refused to go upon the throne. The mutineers assured him that a similar massacre had taken place up to Peshawur and down to Calcutta. He agreed, and commenced to give orders: went through the city, and told the people to open their shops. On the fifth day, notice was given that if any one concealed a European he would be destroyed. People disguised many, and sent them off; but many were killed that day, mostly by people of the city. A tailor concealed no less than five Europeans. * * * The mutineers say, when the army approaches they will fight, and that the Native troops with the army are sure to join them. Many mutineers who tried to get away with plunder were robbed; this has prevented many others from leaving."¶

This latter statement accords with a

* *Times*, July 14th, 1857.

† The same persons are given under different names: Koehe in one, is Cock in the other; Aldwell in one, is Aidwell in the other; with other mistakes of a similar character. Compare page 2220 with pages 2238 to 2241 of *Gazette*, May 6th, 1858.

‡ Statement of Hurdwar pilgrims, before quoted.

§ See *Times*, September 18th, 1857.

‖ The principal street in Delhi.

¶ Statement made to deputy-commissioner Farrington, of Jullundur, by three servants of the rajah of Kaporthella.—*Times*, August 3rd, 1857.

prominent feature in the character of the Hindoos—namely, their strong attachment to their native village. All experienced magistrates know, that however great a crime a Hindoo may have committed, he will, sooner or later, risk even death for the sake of revisiting his early home. Their domestic affections are likewise very powerful; and, undoubtedly, the combination against us would have been far stronger, but for the temporarily successful attempts of many, and the unsuccessful attempts of many more, to escape to their wives and children from the vortex of destruction towards which they had been impelled. Hundreds, and probably thousands, remained in Delhi because their sole chance of life lay in combined resistance. The sepoys, as a body, felt that they would be held answerable for the slaughter at the "bullock-shed," and for atrocities which, there is every reason to believe, were never perpetrated by them; but which, in the words of an English officer, "were committed by the scum of the earth, that never comes forth but on such occasions of murder and rapine, whose existence most people are ignorant of."*

We know, however, that this scum exists even in England; the daily police reports give us occasional glimpses of it: those whose professional duties compel them to examine the records of our penal settlements (Norfolk Island for instance), see its most hideous aspect; while others who have witnessed the class which appears with the barricades in Paris, and disappears with them, can easily imagine the bloody vengeance a mass of released convicts would be likely to inflict on their foreign masters. Many of the sepoys, especially of the 3rd cavalry, would gladly have returned to their allegiance. Captain Craigie received earnest solicitations to this effect from men whom he knew to have been completely carried away by the current; but it was too late: they were taught to consider their doom sealed; there was for them no hope of escape, no mitigation of their sentence, the execution of which might tarry, but would never be voluntarily abandoned. A most horrible epoch of crime and suffering, pillage, destruction, bloodshed and starvation, had commenced for Delhi. The escaped Europeans shuddered as they thought of the probable fate of those they had left behind: but far more torturing were the apprehensions of the natives who had accompanied the flight of their English mistresses and foster-children, not simply at the risk of their lives, but at the cost of forsaking their own husbands and families. So soon as they had seen the Europeans in safety, their natural yearnings became irresistible, and they persisted in returning to ascertain the fate of their relatives. A lady who arrived at Meerut on the evening of the 12th of May, with her husband and children, having, she writes, "come the whole distance with our own poor horses, only stopping day or night to bait for an hour or two here and there," and had since learned that her house had been burnt to the ground; adds—"Of all our poor servants we have not since been able to hear a word; four came with us; but of the rest we know nothing; and I have many fears as to what became of them, as, if all had been right, I feel sure that they would have followed us in some way, several of them having been with us ever since we came out. Our coachman and children's ayah (nurse) set off to Delhi three days ago, dressing themselves as beggars, in order to make some inquiries about their families. We begged them not to enter Delhi, and they promised not to do so. Should they do so they will be almost sure to be killed; they will return to us in a few days we hope."†

This melancholy chapter can hardly have a more soothing conclusion. The writer depicts herself lodged in the artillery school at Meerut, in a "centre strip" of a large arched building partitioned off with matting. It is night—her husband and children are in their beds, and the rain is pouring down "in plenty of places; but that is nothing." Afraid of being late for the post the next day, she sits writing to England; and it is after mentioning very briefly that she and her husband have "lost everything they had," that she expresses, at much greater length, her solicitude for the lives of her faithful household. The host of admirable letters written for home circles, but generously published to gratify the earnest longing of the British nation for Indian intelligence, do not furnish a more charming picture of the quiet courage and cheerfulness, under circumstances of peril and privation, which we proudly believe to characterise our countrywomen, than the one thus unconsciously afforded.

* *Diary of an Officer in Calcutta.—Times*, August 3rd, 1857.

† Letter from the wife of a Delhi officer.—*Times* September 3rd, 1857.

CHAPTER V.

UMBALLAH—KURNAUL—MEERUT—FEROZPOOR.—MAY, 1857.

UMBALLAH is a military station, fifty-five miles north of Kurnaul, 120 miles N.N.W. of Delhi, and 1,020 N.W. of Calcutta. The district known by this name was formerly in the possession of a Seik sirdar, but "has escheated to the East India Company in default of rightful heirs."* The large walled town of Umballah has a fort, under the walls of which lies the encamping-ground of the British troops. The actual force stationed here at the time of the outbreak, was as follows:—

Two troops of artillery. *Europeans*—12 commissioned officers, 19 sergeants, 207 rank and file. *Native*—2 havildars, 54 rank and file, and 15 sick of all ranks.

One regiment of H.M.'s dragoons, 9th lancers. *Europeans*—24 commissioned officers, 48 sergeants, 563 rank and file; 27 sick of all ranks.

One regiment of Native light cavalry. *Europeans*—14 commissioned officers, 2 sergeants. *Native*—11 commissioned officers, 25 havildars, 421 rank and file; 20 sick of all ranks.

The 5th and 60th regiments of Native infantry. 29 commissioned officers, 4 sergeants. *Native*—40 commissioned officers, 117 havildars, 2,116 rank and file; 43 sick of all ranks. Detachment of irregular cavalry. [No *European* officer.] *Native*—3 commissioned officers, 1 havildar, and 89 rank and file.†

Thus, at Umballah, there were, exclusive of the sick, about 2,290 Europeans to 2,819 Natives. Here, as at Meerut, the strength of the Europeans appears to have rendered them indifferent to the mutinous feeling exhibited in the conflagrations already noticed as occurring in March, April, and the opening days of May, 1857. The cause of the disaffection was notorious, and was nowhere more clearly evidenced than in the immediate circle of the commander-in-chief. The circumstances have not been made public; and, as they are of importance, they are given here in the words in which they were communicated to the author.

"In the commencement of 1857, each regiment of Native infantry received instructions to detach one smart officer, and a party of sepoys, to the school of instruction, for practice in the use of the Enfield rifle.

"The 36th Native infantry, at the time of the issue of these instructions, composed part of the escort of the commander-in-chief. The quota furnished by this corps left General Anson's camp at Agra for the school of musketry at Umballah, commanded by a promising young officer, Lieutenant A. W. Craigie, since dead of wounds received in the encounter with the Joudpoor legion. The commander-in-chief continued his tour of inspection, and, after passing through Bareilly, arrived at Umballah in March. The detachment of the 36th came out to meet their regiment on its marching into the station; but were repulsed by their comrades, and by the Native officers of their regiment, and declared '*Hookah panee bund*' (excommunicated), in consequence of their having lost caste by the use of the polluted cartridges at the school. The men explained to their regiment that there was nothing polluting in the cartridges, and nothing which any Hindoo or Mussulman could object to. The regiment was deaf to their explanations, and treated them as outcasts. The unhappy men then repaired to their officer, Lieutenant Craigie, and informed him of the fact. Wringing their hands, and with tears in their eyes, they described their miserable state. They said that they were convinced of the purity of the cartridges, but that they were ruined for ever, as their families would refuse to receive them after what had happened in the regiment.

"The circumstances were brought to the notice of the officers commanding the depôt, who communicated with the officer commanding the 36th Native infantry. This officer, assembling the Native officers, stated to them the facts, as reported to him, and censured them severely for permitting such unwarrantable treatment to the men. The Native officers replied, that there was no substance in the complaint, and that the refusal to eat, or smoke the hookah, with the men of the depôt, had been simply a jest! Here, unfortunately, the matter was permitted to rest; and such was the prevailing conviction in the minds of the natives on

* Thornton's *Gazetteer;* and Prinsep's *Life of Runjeet Sing*, p. 215.

† Parl. Papers (Commons), 9th February, 1858, pp. 4, 5.

this question, that the unhappy detachment of the 36th Native infantry attending the school, were never acknowledged again by the regiment."

It was after this memorable warning, and in defiance of increasing incendiarism, that General Anson persisted in enforcing the use of the obnoxious cartridges. In fact, he fairly launched the sepoys on the stream of mutiny, and left them to drift on towards the engulphing vortex at their own time and discretion, while he went off "on a shooting excursion among the hills,"* no one knew exactly where; nor was the point of much importance until it became necessary to acquaint him of the massacres of Meerut and Delhi, and of the rapidity with which the Bengal army "was relieving itself of the benefit of his command."†

It appears that the Umballah regiments were with difficulty restrained from following out the course taken at Meerut. No official account has been published of the Umballah *émeute;* but private letters show that the authorities acted with considerable energy and discretion. An officer of the Lancers, writing on the 14th, gives the following description of the scenes in which he took part.

"Last Sunday, after we had returned from church and just finished our breakfast, at about 10 A.M., the alarm sounded for the regiment to turn out. The men were lying in the barracks undressed, and most of them asleep; but in an almost incredibly short time they were all on parade, mounted, and fully equipped; the artillery were ready nearly as soon. When on the parade-ground, we found that the 60th Native infantry had mutinied, and turned out with their arms; but we could not go down, because they had their officers prisoners, and threatened to shoot them if we came down; but that if we did not they would return quietly. If our men had had the chance to go in at them, they would have made short work of them, they are so enraged at having had so much night-work lately, in consequence of the fires, which are all attributed to the sepoys. They (*i.e.*, our men) only get about two nights a-week in bed. At twelve o'clock (noon) we were turned out again in consequence of the 5th Native infantry having turned out; but we were again disappointed. They appeared to think us too attentive, and returned to their barracks. For the last two nights the wives of married officers are sent down to the canteen for better security. An officer remains at the Mainguard all night, and an artillery officer with the guns, which are loaded; and ammunition is served out every hour. Two patrols go out every hour; and all is alert. Yesterday (May 13th), three companies of the 75th (H.M.) marched up from Kussowlee. They started at noon on Tuesday, and arrived at about 2 P.M. on Wednesday. The distance is forty-eight miles—a wonderful march under an Indian sun, when the thermometer was 92° to 94° in the shade: there was not a single straggler."

A young civilian, attached to the Punjab district, who also witnessed the incipient mutiny at Umballah, and claims to have been the first to convey the tidings of the general revolt to the commander-in-chief, thus narrates what he saw and did:—

"On Monday we received the painful news of what was going on at Delhi. It was heartrending to know that our countrymen and countrywomen were actually being murdered at the very moment we received the intelligence. The news came in by electric telegraph. * * * Towards afternoon we received another message, mentioning the names of some of the unfortunates.

"On Tuesday came the news from Meerut, which took longer in coming, as it had to come by post instead of telegraph. But it was not a quiet night that we passed at Umballah. We had intelligence, which, thank God, turned out to be false, that on this night all the natives were to rise. Though three miles from cantonments, we were best off at the civil lines, as we had only our treasury guard of about fifty men of the 5th Native infantry to dread, while we had 200 faithful Sikhs to back us up. We patrolled the city all night, and the people in the cantonments kept a sharp look-out. All was quiet. But it seemed to us, in our excitement, a quiet of ill omen.

"On Monday, the commander-in-chief, who was up at Simla, about ninety miles from Umballah, was written to, to send down troops at once from the hills, where three regiments of Europeans are stationed.

"On Tuesday, the first of the Delhi fugitives came creeping in; and on Wednesday evening there came a letter from a small band of miserables, who were collected at Kurnaul (eighty miles from Delhi, whence they had escaped), asking for aid. This letter, and another calling for immediate assistance in Europeans, I volunteered to take up to the commander-in-chief at Simla, and, after a hot ride through the heat of the day, and the best part of the night, I reached the commander-in-chief at about half-past four in the morning of Thursday. I turned him out of bed; they held a council of war, and at half-past ten, we were all riding back again. On reaching the foot of the hills, I was knocked up—the sun, and want of sleep for two nights, added to a ride of 130 miles, having been too much for me. By this time the last European had left the hills, and on Sunday morning all were cantoned in Umballah. I reached Umballah myself on Saturday."‡

The first telegram referred to in the above letter, has been given in the preceding chapter; the second is undated, and appears to have been sent by the members of the telegraph establishment on their private responsibility, just before taking flight.

Second (or third) Telegram from Delhi (May 11th).

"We must leave office. All the bungalows are

* Mead's *Sepoy Revolt*, p. 73.

† *The Bengal Mutiny.* Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine*, 1858; p. 387.

‡ *Times*, September 18th, 1857.

burning down by the sepoys from Meerut. They came in this morning—we are off—dont——

"To-day Mr. C. Todd is dead, I think. He went out this morning, and has not returned yet. We heard that nine Europeans were killed. Good-bye."

This intelligence was promptly conveyed from the Umballah office to the neighbouring station at Dehra, and was sent on from thence by Major-general Sir Henry Barnard, the officer in command of the Sirhind division, to the adjutant-general at Simla, with the following comment thereon :—

"As Delhi has a large magazine, and only Native troops in cantonments there, the intelligence may be of importance. * * * Philloor, also, with a large magazine, has only Native troops, who have been in a state of disorganisation. As it is possible this may be a combined movement, I have sent private despatches to the officers in command in the hills, to hold their men ready (quietly) to move at the shortest notice. I have also sent on to Jullundur and Philloor; and should the officer in command at Philloor be under any apprehension, I have authorised him to apply to Jullundur by telegraph for assistance. * * * It may be possible that the message is greatly exaggerated; but coming at the present crisis, and from the authority of Europeans attached to the telegraph, I have deemed precaution desirable, and that his excellency should be made acquainted with the circumstances without delay. I send by my aide-de-camp, Captain Barnard."*

Whether Captain Barnard or the young civilian had the honour of first communicating the above intelligence to General Anson, does not appear; but the adjutant-general (Colonel Chester), on the 14th of May, forwarded it to the secretary to the government at Calcutta, with a very brief notice of the state of affairs at Umballah, and the measures initiated by the commander-in-chief.

After recapitulating the Meerut and Delhi intelligence, Colonel Chester adds—

"Circumstances have also taken place at Umballah which render it impossible to rely on the perfect fidelity of the 5th and 60th regiments of N.I. His excellency, therefore, has made the following arrangements to meet the existing state of affairs :—

"The 75th foot marched yesterday from Kussowlee for Umballah, which place they will reach to-morrow morning. The 1st European fusiliers from Dugshaie have been ordered to follow the 75th foot with all practicable expedition. The 2nd European fusiliers are held in readiness to move at the shortest notice. The Sirmoor battalion has been ordered from Dehra to Meerut. Two companies of the 8th foot from Jullundur have been ordered to proceed from Lahore to Govindghur. The officer commanding at Ferozepoor has been ordered to place a detachment of European troops in charge of the magazine.

"General Anson, I am to add, is anxiously looking for further intelligence, which will enable him to decide on the advisability of his at once moving down to Umballah."†

The above despatch took a long time in reaching its destination; for it is asserted that, for three weeks after the Meerut mutiny, no direct intelligence of the movements of the commander-in-chief was received at Calcutta.‡ Before those three weeks had elapsed, General Anson was dead. The interval preceding his demise must have been one of intense mental suffering. His fatal misconception of the temper of the Bengal army, ceased just at the moment when the policy founded on it was in full bearing. Sir John Lawrence,§ and Lieutenant-governor Colvin, addressed such cogent arguments to him on the subject, warning him that the irregulars would follow the example of the regular corps, that the commander-in-chief followed up the proclamation issued by him on the 14th of May (withdrawing the cartridges), with another and far stronger one; in which, after expressing his hope that the former order would have calmed the prevailing excitement, he confesses his mistake. The general order of the 19th contains the following singular admissions :—

"He [General Anson] still perceives that the very name of the new cartridges causes agitation; and he has been informed, that some of those sepoys who entertain the strongest attachment and loyalty to government, and are ready at any moment to obey its orders, would still be apprehensive that their families would not believe that they were not in some way or other contaminated by its use. * * * His excellency, therefore, has determined that the new cartridge shall be discontinued. He announces this to the Native army, in the full confidence that all will

* Further Papers on the Mutiny (No. 3), p. 6.

† *Ibid.*, p. 5.

‡ Mead's *Sepoy Revolt*, p. 73. This assertion is partially corroborated by a telegram dated "Calcutta, May 26th, 1857," in which the Supreme government asks, whether, "notwithstanding the failure of the dawk and telegraph, some means might not be devised of communicating with the commander-in-chief."—Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 320.

§ Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 373.

now perform their duty free from anxiety and care, and be prepared to stand and shed the last drop of their blood, as they have formerly done, by the side of the British troops, and in defence of their country."

This climax is simply absurd: the contest then unhappily commenced had none of the elements of defensive warfare in it, but involved the most revolting attributes of civil strife. Mohammedans and Hindoos, if true to their salt, were called on to fight, in support of Christian supremacy, against their co-religionists—it might be, against their own relatives. The general order, however, need not be discussed: before it could be promulgated, the process of dissolution of the Bengal army was well-nigh complete—the vitality, the coherence, quite extinct.

General Anson, grievously as he had erred, was both brave and energetic. His energy and his ignorance, together with his utter inexperience in military life, had combined in producing the present state of affairs. His fatal innovations were such as Generals Hewitt and Wilson would not have attempted; but had he been at Meerut on the 10th, the mutineers would probably never have reached Delhi: as it was, he no sooner learned the fate of the city, than he earnestly desired to press forward for its immediate recapture. He reached Umballah on the 15th of May. A council of war was held, composed of five members, none of whom lived to see the capture of Delhi. Generals Anson and Barnard, Brigadier Halifax, and Colonel Mowatt, died of cholera; Colonel Chester, the adjutant, was killed in action. Anson proposed to march on to Delhi at once, without waiting for reinforcements. "The guns might follow, he thought; but it was pointed out to him that there was no commissariat, no camels, not a day's allowance of provisions for troops in the field;" and, to crown the whole, not a single medicine-chest available.

"We cannot move at present," General Anson himself says, in an undated telegram addressed to the governor-general, "for want of tents and carriage; it would destroy Europeans to march without both, and we have no men to spare. I see the risk of going to Delhi with such small means as we have—perhaps 2,500 Europeans; for should they suffer any loss, it would be serious, having nothing more to depend upon in the North-West Provinces; but it must be done."*

On the 23rd, he writes from Umballah, that he proposes advancing towards Delhi from Kurnaul on the 1st of June, and hopes to be joined by reinforcements (including 120 artillerymen, to work the small siege-train already on the road from Loodiana) from Meerut, under General Hewitt, at Bhagput on the 5th. He adds—"It is reported here that a detachment of the mutineers, with two guns, are posted on the Meerut side of the river. They should be captured, and no mercy must be shown to the mutineers."†

At half-past two on the morning of the 27th, General Anson died of cholera at Kurnaul,‡ a few hours after his first seizure, and was buried that same evening at sunset. One of the Delhi fugitives who was at Kurnaul at the time, says, "I do not know why it was, but he was laid in his grave without a military honour." Lieutenant-governor Colvin, in the telegram reporting this intelligence to the Supreme government, mentions that a copy of the order withdrawing all new cartridges came by the same express. Mr. Colvin adds—"The issue of an immediate nomination to the command-in-chief of the army proceeding fast on Delhi, under General Anson's orders, is solicited. Indian ability and experience will be very valuable; but time is before all; every hour is precious."§

The government announcement of the death of the commander-in-chief, declared that, "in General Anson, the army has lost a commander than whom none was ever more earnest and indefatigable in labouring to improve the condition, extend the comforts, and increase the efficiency of every branch of the service committed to his charge."‖

An official notice of the death of a leading personage generally follows the rule of

* Neither the date of the despatch nor of the receipt of this telegram is given in the Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 372.

† Despatch to Major-general Hewitt.—Further Papers (No. 3), pp. 19, 20.

‡ *Times*, 25th September, 1857. It is worthy of remark, that on the 26th ult., the day previous to General Anson's death, and again on the following day, when the event took place, there was a report in the bazaars here that the general had died either by assassination or a stroke of the sun, according to different accounts. The notion had taken a strong hold of the natives, and was generally entertained by them.—*Bengal Hurkaru*, June 5th.

§ Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 363.

‖ Gen. Order, 5th June, 1857.—*London Gazette.*

tombstone inscriptions, and describes "not what he was, but what he should have been." Yet the praise, so far as the European branch of the service is concerned, was probably not undeserved; for, in reviewing the various regiments, he is described by the officers as having been keenly alive to their discipline; and even as giving the example of diligent application to the study of native languages—a mark of no small energy in a man who was some fifty-five years of age when he first set foot in India. Whatever progress he made in the native languages, it is certain he manifested a most lamentable ignorance of the native character; and there were probably few men in India in May, 1857, who, however well they individually liked the commander-in-chief, did not agree with Major-general Tucker, that "both the results of his (General Anson's) command and his antecedents, are in proof that a vast weight of responsibility rests upon those who appointed to this important command a general so utterly inexperienced in practical military affairs. * * * I venture to say," Major-general Tucker adds, "it will be found, on inquiry, that he was quite unequal to the occasion; and paiuful as it is to point to the weakness of one who was talented, amiable, and gentlemanly, it is yet due to the country, and to those whose sons and daughters, and kith and kin, are being sacrificed in India, to expose the favouritism which in high places has led to many such appointments."*

Major-general Tucker writes, it must be recollected, as one whose past position under General Anson, as adjutant-general, entitles his opinion to consideration. The Indian correspondence of the period confirms his observations; but gives further, and certainly exaggerated, views of the late commander-in-chief's notorious unfitness. One writer, apparently an Indian official of a certain rank, asserts — "General Anson's death saved him from assassination. He was hated by the troops, and they burnt his tents. He was quite unfitted for his post. Horses and gaming appear to have been his pursuits; and, as a gentleman said, 'No court pet flunky ought to come to India.' Every one gave a sigh of relief when they heard he was gone. Pat Grant is come over from Madras, to head the army till orders come from England. Henry Lawrence (also a brigadier-general) has been named for the appointment, but he cannot be spared from Oude."†

The term "court pet flunky" is not fairly applicable to the officer in question; but it is quoted here because expressions such as these, emanating from one of the masters of India, exercise an influence in the native mind, the effect of which can hardly be over-estimated. Englishmen at the dinner-table are not famed for diplomatic reserve: it follows that, through the servants in attendance (as well as in many other ways), the quick-witted natives are enabled to form a pretty clear notion of the views of the *sahib logue* (literally *master-people*) regarding their chief functionaries. Thus we know, on the authority of Mr. Raikes, that in February, 1857, a native journal had the audacity to declare—"Now is the time for India to rise, with a governor-general who has had no experience of public affairs in this country, and a commander-in-chief who has had no experience of war in any country."‡

This is nearly correct. General Anson (son of the first Viscount Anson, and brother of the first Earl of Lichfield) had been a commissioned officer in the 3rd or Scots fusilier guards, with which regiment he served at the battle of Waterloo, in the baggage guard, being then eighteen years of age. Ten years later he was placed on half pay as a lieutenant-colonel by brevet.

The *Times* describes his election to parliament, as member for Great Yarmouth, in 1818, and his acceptance of the Chiltern Hundreds in 1853, on his departure for Madras. The local rank of general was conferred on him in 1855; and in December, 1856, he was nominated to the colonelcy of the 55th regiment of foot. His occupation as Clerk of the Ordnance (from 1846 to 1852) has been already adverted to; and he had previously filled the office of principal Storekeeper of the Ordnance, under the administration of Viscount Melbourne. "He was by hereditary descent, and by personal conviction, a liberal in politics, and invariably sided with the whig leaders." This sentence probably explains why her majesty's ministers considered Colonel Anson eligible for one of the most lucrative appointments in their gift, despite the manifest impropriety of confiding the charge of a large army to an officer who had never commanded a regiment; and the conclud-

* Letter of Major-general Tucker to the editor of the *Times*, July 19th, 1857.

† *Daily News*, August 5th, 1857.

‡ Raikes, p. 173.

ing statement of the obituary, that Colonel Anson "was a zealous patron of the turf,"* shows why the far-away appointment was eligible to a most popular man about town. Only, had Sir Charles Napier's words been deemed worth attention, the government would have felt that a character of an altogether different type was needed to influence, by precept and example, European officers in India, where gentlemanly vices (and especially gaming, and the pleasures of the table) are peculiarly seductive, as enlivening the monotony of military routine, in a most enervating climate, during a period of profound peace. As to the Native army, it is the less to be wondered at that utter inexperience was not deemed a disqualification for its command; because the authorities, if they thought of it at all, viewed it as a huge, clumsy, old-fashioned, but very safe machine, not quite fitted for the requirements of the times, but altogether too great an affair to be meddled with by persons entrusted with political powers of certainly very precarious, and possibly ephemeral, existence.

So the army was supplemented with "irregular" corps, which in many points resembled what the old regiments had been in, and long after, the days of Clive. These additions complicated the working of the original machine, the constructors of which had long ago died, and, it would seem, their plans with them; for when the whole concern was suddenly found to be dropping in pieces, the chief engineer proved utterly incapable of pointing out, much less of counteracting, the cause of the mischief.

The *Friend of India*, the best known of Indian journals, in a leader published on the 14th of May, 1857 (while General Anson was yet alive), says—

"An army has often been likened to a machine; and we wish the comparison were thoroughly accepted. When your engine goes wrong, it is found needful to have at hand a man who understands every portion of it. Being able to place his hand on the defective spot, he knows exactly what is required in the way of reparation, and how to set about the work. But we never, except by chance, have a capable engineer in the person of the exalted official who has to guide the vast and powerful mechanism that holds the soil and collects the revenues of India. It is hard to divine in most cases the cause of his appointment—harder still to justify the fact of it. It is a miserable thing to say that the state gains by the idleness of a commander-in-chief; and yet, in most cases, all ranks of the community would join in wishing that he would fold his hands, and only open them to clutch what ought to be the recompense of zeal, intellect, and energy."

It is asserted, that immediately before his seizure, General Anson, finding that his utter inexperience in warfare disqualified him for conducting the attack on Delhi, had formally communicated to General Barnard, through the adjutant-general, the intention to resign the command of the army.

One other circumstance remains to be noticed, in illustration of the ill-advised "favouritism" which Major-general Tucker denounces as exercising so baneful an influence in India. About the same time, when the "good-service pension" of £100 a-year was meted out to the gallant Havelock, an intimation appeared that the widow of General Anson had, in addition to the pension on account of her late husband's rank in the service, been granted a stipend of £200 a-year out of the annual sum of £1,200 granted by parliament, and known as the "Literary Fund."†

* *Times*, July 14th, 1857.

† In the year 1857, the *Times*, in alluding to the manner in which this sum had been diverted from its original destination, remarked—"We should be glad if the widows and families of those persons who have distinguished themselves in war, in diplomacy, or in administration, could be provided for from some other fund; for certainly the sum of £1,200 a-year is no great amount for such a country as England to expend upon the relief of science and literature in distress." To the widow of Mr. Gilbert A'Beckett a pension of £100 per annum was allotted, "in consideration of the literary merits of her husband, also of the eminent public services rendered by him in his capacity of a police magistrate in the metropolis, and of the destitute circumstances in which his widow and their children are now placed."—(*Times*, July 9th, 1857). In this case, it would appear that a conjunction of reasons is deemed necessary to justify the pension of a single hundred a-year to the widow of a distinguished *littérateur*. A pension of £70 to the widow of Hugh Millar, is likewise accorded on the double ground of his eminent literary services and her poverty. In 1858, a pension of £100 per annum was allotted from the same fund to the widow of Douglas Jerrold; £50 per annum to each of the two Miss Landers, "in consideration of the eminent services of their father, the late Mr. John Lander, who died from the effects of the climate while exploring the river Niger, and of the straitened circumstances in which they are placed at his decease;" £40 per annum to the daughter of James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd; and £50 to the aged widow of the late Dr. Dick, the author of the *Christian Philosopher* and other admirable works, "in consideration of the merits of her late husband as a moral and theological writer, and of the straitened circumstances in which she is now placed." Then follows—£200 per annum to the Hon. Isabella Elizabeth Annabella Anson, in consideration of the services of her husband, the late General the Hon. George Anson; and £200 per annum to Dame Isabella Letitia Barnard, in consideration of the services of her husband, the

It seems to be an inevitable necessity that, save in some rare cases, the rank of those who serve, rather than the value of the service rendered, is to be the rule of the reward. The East India Company have been accused of carrying this principle to an extreme, by their rigid adherence to the seniority system; but it would be hard to bring against them any more direct instance (so far as the Europeans are concerned) of robbing poor Peter to pay rich Paul than that above noticed.

The Indian crisis, however, for the moment, laid favouritism, patronage, and seniority together on the shelf, and the question was earnestly and eagerly discussed, "Who is the fittest man to command the forces?" The emergency was far greater than that which had previously issued in the sending out of General Napier; but the result was partially the same; for as the war was ended before Sir Charles reached the scene of action, so, in 1857, the news of the recapture of Delhi greeted Sir Colin Campbell on his arrival at Calcutta. The prediction of Lieutenant-governor Colvin had, in fact, been fulfilled—"John Lawrence and his Sikhs had saved India."*

Pending the decision of the Calcutta government regarding the vacant position of commander-in-chief, the command devolved on Major-general Barnard, who was himself summoned, by a telegraph, from a sick bed to receive the last instructions of General Anson regarding the intended march on Delhi. New delays are said to have arisen, in consequence of the detention of Brigadier Archdale Wilson, and the reinforcements expected from Meerut, by the orders of Mr. Greathed; so that General Barnard, disappointed of the artillery and gunners which were to have joined the Delhi column according to General Anson's arrangements, was compelled to send elephants to Meerut to bring on the troops from thence.† The authorities at that unfortunate cantonment had not yet recovered from the paralytic panic which had seized them on the 10th. In fact, they had had a new shock; for a fresh mutiny had broken out among a body of 600 Native sappers and miners, who had been sent in from Roorkee to repair and strengthen the Meerut station. They arrived on the 15th of May. On the 16th about 400 of them rose in a body, and after murdering their commandant (Captain Fraser), they made off towards Delhi, but being pursued by two squadrons of the carabineers, were overtaken about six miles off, and forty-seven of them slain. The remainder continued their flight. One of the carabineers was killed, and two or three wounded, including Colonel Hogge, an active and energetic officer, who led the pursuit, and received a ball in his thigh, which unfortunately laid him up at a time when his services could be ill-spared. The remaining two companies were disarmed, and continued perfectly quiet.

Two days later, a sapper detachment, about 300 strong, mutinied at Roorkee. A company had been detached to join the commander-in-chief's column, and had got half-way to Seharunpore, when tidings reached it of the collision at Meerut, in which Captain Fraser lost his life. It would advance no farther, but marched back to the cantonment at Roorkee, bringing the European officers, and treating them personally with respect. When the men returned, Lieutenants Drummond, Bingham, and Fulford, had already left cantonments at the earnest request of the Native officers, and had been escorted to the college by them; and a body of old sepoys resolutely resisted the attempts of a small party among the men, who urged the massacre of the Europeans.‡

On the 13th, intelligence reached Meerut that *Sirdhana*, formerly the chief place of the Begum Sumroo's jaghire, had been devastated by the villagers, and that the nuns and children of the convent there were actually in a state of siege. The postmaster at Meerut, having female relations at Sirdhana, asked for a small escort to go to their relief. The authorities replied, that not a single European soldier could be spared from the station, but that four Native troopers would be allowed to accompany him. Even these he could not get; but he armed three or four of his office people, started off at half-past four on the Thursday

late Major-general Sir H. W. Barnard, K.C.B. (*Times*, July 28th, 1858). In the two last-named cases, the allusion to "straitened circumstances" is omitted. Yet it is the only conceivable excuse for placing these two ladies on the Literary Fund. In the case of Mrs. Dick and others, it would surely have been more gracious to have accorded their slender pittances as a token of public respect to the merits of the departed, and not as a charitable dole, their claim to which needed to be eked out by poverty.

* Raikes' *Revolt in the N. W. Provinces.*

† See *Memoir of General Barnard's Services*; by a near connexion.—*Times*, December 25th, 1857.

‡ Bombay correspondent: *Daily News*, July 15th, 1857.

evening, and returned a little after seven, with five females and girls. The nuns would not abandon the children, but had entreated him to try and send them some help. The Rev. Mr. Smythe, who was at Meerut at the time, says—"The postmaster tried all he could to get a guard to escort them to this station, but did not succeed; and yesterday morning (the 15th), having given up the idea of procuring a guard from the military authorities, he went round, and by speaking to some gentlemen, got about fifteen persons to volunteer their services to go and rescue the poor nuns and children from Sirdhana; and, I am happy to say, they succeeded in their charitable errand without any one having been injured."*

The authorities subsequently took care to publish the rescue of the defenceless women and children, but were discreetly silent as to the individual gallantry by which it had been accomplished. Neither did they mention an offer made, according to the Rev. Mr. Rotton, on the evening of the mutiny, by an officer of the carabineers, to pursue the fugitives, but "declined by the general commanding the Meerut division."†

Mr. Raikes also, in describing the course of events at Agra, records "the indignation with which, on Thursday evening, we learned that the mutineers, after firing the station, murdering our countrymen, women, and children, and breaking the gaol, had been permitted to retire quietly on Delhi, taking their barbers, water-carriers, bag and baggage, just as if they had been on an ordinary march:" and adds, "I now know that Major Rosser, of H.M.'s 6th carabineers, asked permission to follow them with cavalry and guns. If he had been allowed to do so, it is quite possible, and indeed probable, that the mutiny, for the present at least, might have been crushed."‡ The Calcutta government were not insensible of the supineness indulged in at Meerut; for the governor-general in council, in a telegram dated June 1st, 1857, entreated Mr. Colvin to endeavour "to keep up communication with the south;" adding, "this, like everything else, has been culpably neglected at Meerut."§

Ferozpoor.—The next outbreak after that at Delhi, occurred at Ferozpoor, an important city, which long formed our frontier station in the north-west, and which, in May, 1857, contained an intrenched magazine of the largest class, filled with military stores scarcely inferior in amount to those in the arsenal of Fort William. Ferozpoor commands one high road from Lahore to Delhi, as Umritsir does the other.

The troops stationed there consisted of H.M.'s 61st foot, about 1,000 strong; two companies of artillery, composed of a nearly equal number of Europeans, about 300 in all; the 10th Native light cavalry, under 500 men; and the 45th and 57th Native infantry. Brigadier Innes‖ assumed the command at Ferozpoor on the 11th of May; on the 12th, he learned the events which had occurred at Meerut; and, on the following morning, he ordered a general parade, with the view of ascertaining the temper of the troops; which, on reviewing them, he thought "haughty." At noon, information arrived of the occupation of Delhi (seventy-three miles distant) by the rebels. The intrenchments were at this time held by a company of the 57th Native infantry; but a detachment of H.M.'s 61st, under Major Redmond, was immediately dispatched thither. The brigadier likewise resolved "to move the Native troops out of cantonments;" and the European artillery, with twelve guns, was ordered down, "to overawe or destroy the two Native corps"—that is, of infantry; the cavalry being considered perfectly reliable, and entrusted with the care of the new arsenal, its magazine, and contents. The preliminary arrangements were completed by five o'clock; and

* Letters of Rev. Mr. Smythe, dated 16th and 17th May, 1857.

† The Chaplain's *Narrative of the Siege of Delhi*, p. 7. Mr. Rotton (whose book is far more moderate in tone than might have been expected from the extract from his sermon given in Colonel Smythe's *Narrative*, and quoted at p. 154) says, that "in truth, our military authorities were paralysed. No one knew what was best to do, and nothing accordingly was done. The rebels had it all their own way." Mr Rotton also adverts to the "one thing which impressed every one—the delay in leading the troops from the grand parade-ground to the scene of mutiny and bloodshed. The native soldiery, and the fellows of baser sort in the bazaars, had ample time to commit the greatest outrages in consequence of this simple fact."—(p. 4.) It is, however, alleged that General Hewitt cannot justly be held responsible for this tardiness, because although he was general of the Meerut division, Brigadier Wilson was in command of the station; and it is urged, that of the proceedings of the latter officer during the memorable night of the outbreak, not one word, good, bad, or indifferent, is on record.

‡ *Revolt in the N.W. Provinces*, p. 13.

§ Appendix to Papers on Mutiny, p. 355.

‖ Printed "James" in Further Papers on Mutiny (No. 3, p. 8), by one of the unaccountable blunders with which the Indian and Colonial Blue Books abound.

the Native troops being assembled on the parade-ground at that hour, the brigadier formed them up in quarter-distance columns, addressed them, and ordered the two regiments to move off in contrary directions. Both obeyed without hesitation; but the road the 45th were directed to take to the place where they were to encamp, lay close to the intrenched camp; on reaching which, the men broke into open mutiny, loaded their muskets, and, heedless of the entreaties of their officers, ran to the north-west bastion of the magazine, and stood still, apparently hesitating what to do next. At this moment, scaling-ladders were thrown out to them by the company of the 57th, who had been left there to avoid raising the suspicions of their comrades before the parade. The 45th commenced climbing the parapet; and some 300 of them having succeeded in making their way over, attacked a company of the 61st, which was hurriedly drawn up to receive them. Major Redmond was wounded in repulsing the mutineers, who made a second attempt; but, being again defeated, broke up, and dispersed themselves through the bazaars and cantonments. A body of about 150 men continued to obey Colonel Liptrap and their other officers, and encamped in the place pointed out to them; the rest were deaf to threats and entreaties. Instead of acting on the offensive, and immediately following the mutineers, Brigadier Innes, according to his report, assumed an exclusively defensive attitude. He desired the Europeans to leave the cantonments, and come into the barracks; and suffered a portion of H.M.'s 61st to remain in their lines, while the mutineers, having carried their dead to the Mohammedan burying-ground, returned in small bodies to the cantonments, and burned the church, Roman Catholic chapel, two vacant hospitals, the mess-house of the 61st, and sixteen bungalows. Two merchants (Messrs. Coates and Hughes) positively refused to abandon their houses, and, collecting their servants, successfully defended themselves; Mr. Hughes' son, a mere boy, shooting one of the assailants. The fact of there being "20,000 barrels of gunpowder in the arsenal"* to care for, is alleged in excuse for the sacrifice of the buildings. The next measure was still more extraordinary. Brigadier Innes states—

"On hearing from Colonel Liptrap that the 45th intended to seize their magazine on the morning of the 14th, I determined to blow up the magazines both of the 45th and 57th. * * * The blowing up of the magazines so enraged the 45th, that they immediately seized their colours, and marched off towards Furreed Kote. On Colonel Liptrap reporting this, I desired him to march in with those that stood faithful, and lay down their arms to the 61st; 133 of all ranks did so. Three troops of the 10th light cavalry, under Majors Beatson and Harvey, and two guns, I sent in pursuit of the mutineers.

"Major Marsden, deputy-commissioner, having volunteered his services, and from his knowledge of the country, I entrusted to him the command of the whole. He followed them for about twelve miles. They dispersed in all directions, throwing away their arms and colours into wells and other places. A few were made prisoners, and the country-people have since brought in several.

"The above occurrences took place on the 14th. In the early part of the day, I acquainted Colonel Darvall that I would receive such men of his regiment as would come in and lay down their arms: the light company, under Captain Salmon, and owing to his exertions, almost to a man did so. On laying down their arms, I permitted them to return to their lines. It was immediately reported that stragglers from the 45th had entered their lines and threatened them, on which a company of the 61st cleared their lines. Unfortunately, the 57th, seeing European troops in their lines, believed that their light company were being made prisoners, which caused a panic in the 57th, and prevented their coming in to lay down their arms, which Colonel Darvall reported they intended to have done. On regaining confidence, several parties came in under their officers; and in the evening Colonel Darvall brought in —— of all ranks, with his colours, and I required them to lay down their arms, which they did without hesitation, but with a haughty air.

"I am unable to furnish present states, but I believe that, of the 57th, about 520 men are present, and about half that number of the 45th.

"It is gratifying to state that the 25th Native light cavalry have remained staunch, and have done good service. The greatest credit is due to Major M'Donnell and his officers for keeping his regiment together, for this corps must have the same ideas as the other portions of the Native army. * * * The 10th cavalry are constantly in the saddle."†

Such is the account given, by the leading authority, of an affair which occasioned his "summary removal from the list of brigadiers," and materially strengthened the rebel cause.

Mr. Cooper remarks that, "on the 28th of May, the remainder of the 45th were turned ingloriously out of cantonments, and escorted to the boundaries of the district. They probably combated with no diminished acrimony against us at Delhi, from having been allowed to reach it alive, without money and without food."‡

* Cooper's *Crisis in the Punjab*, p. 13.

† Brigadier Innes' despatch, May 16th, 1857.—Further Parl. Papers (No. 3), p. 7.

‡ *Crisis in the Punjab*, p. 13.

CHAPTER VI.

AGRA, ALIGHUR, MYNPOORIE, NEEMUCH, AND NUSSEERABAD.—MAY AND JUNE, 1857.

Agra.—Nowhere could the tidings of the rebellion be more calculated to excite alarm than in the stately city of Agra—the rival of Delhi in the palmy days of the Mogul empire, and now the chief place in the division of the British dominions known as the N. W. Provinces. Agra is situated on the banks of the Jumna, 139 miles south-east of Delhi.

The troops in the station consisted of one company of artillery (chiefly Europeans), H.M.'s 3rd foot, the 44th and 67th regiments of Native infantry, and a detachment of irregular cavalry, consisting of thirty-seven men, commanded by two Native officers. Intelligence of the outbreak at Meerut was published in Agra on the morning of the 11th of May; but the newspaper announcement was accompanied by a remark, on the part of the editor, that, "in a station like Meerut, with the 6th dragoons, 60th rifles, and European artillery, it might be presumed that the mutineers had a very short race of it."* It was not until three days later that the Europeans at Agra became acquainted with the extent of the calamity.

Lieutenant-governor Colvin was, happily, a man of experience and discretion. While the cloud was as yet no bigger than a man's hand, he recognised the tempest it portended; and, slowly as the intelligence reached Agra, he was more ready for the worst than some who had had longer warning. On the 13th he dispatched a telegram to Calcutta, suggesting that "the force returning from the Persian gulf, or a considerable portion of it, should be summoned in straight to Calcutta, and thence sent up the country." On the 14th, he wrote urging that martial law should be proclaimed in the Meerut district; which, as we have seen, was done, and necessarily so, for our civil and criminal courts, always detested by the natives, were swept away by the first blast of the storm; and, a few days later, Lieutenant-governor Colvin reported that, "around Meerut, the state of license in the villages, caused by the absence of all government, spread for about twenty or twenty-five miles south, and about the same limit, or somewhat more, north. Within this belt, unchecked license reigned from the Jumna to the Ganges. The absence of any light cavalry, or effective means of scouring the country in this severely hot weather, paralysed the attempts of the Meerut force to maintain any regularity or order beyond the immediate line of its pickets."†

The question of holding the various small stations scattered throughout the disturbed provinces, became early one of anxious interest. They could be retained only at imminent risk to the handful of Europeans who were placed there; nevertheless, the general good could scarcely be more effectively served, than by each man standing to his post at all hazards, sooner than seem to fly before the rebels. Every one who knew the Asiatic character, concurred in this opinion; and none stated it more clearly than Lieutenant-governor Colvin. His view of the conduct of the collector of Goorgaon—a district, the chief place of which (also named Goorgaon) is only eighteen miles from Delhi—shows how stern a sense he had of the duty of even civilians under new and trying circumstances. In describing the state of affairs in the North-Western Provinces, he writes:—

"On the evening of the 13th instant [May], Mr. Ford, and his assistant, Mr. W. Clifford, having no support beyond their police and a party of the contingent of the Jhujjur horse, whose tone and conduct became rapidly menacing, thought that no good object would be attained by their staying at Goorgaon. The lieutenant-governor regrets the determination to quit the station on Mr. Ford's part, because he does not doubt that the best mode, especially in India, of staying violent outbursts against authority of this kind, is to remain at the post to the last, even at the direct risk of life.

"Withdrawal from a post, except under immediate attack and irresistible compulsion, at once destroys all authority, which, in our civil administration, in its strength is respected, if exercised only by a Chupprassee; while in the event of any general resistance, accompanied by defection of our military force, it has in truth no solid foundation to rest upon: but the lieutenant-governor has not thought

* *Mofussulite* (*extra*); May 11th, 1857.

† Despatch from Lieutenant-governor Colvin, May 22nd, 1857.—Appendix to Parl. Papers, p. 311.

it necessary on this account, after such alarmingly emergent circumstances as had occurred at Delhi, to censure Mr. Ford for the course which he adopted.

"The introduction of general disorder into the villages of the Goorgaon district, soon communicated itself to the northern portion of Muttra; and the isolated customs' patrol officers, whose duties render them necessarily unpopular, fell back from their posts with their men. This spread further the impression of a cessation of all government, and was having a very injurious effect up to the very walls of the important town of Muttra.

"This state of things has, however, greatly altered for the better by the advance of an effective portion of the Bhurtpoor troops, which has now taken up a position on the Muttra and Goorgaon frontier."

The Jhujjur and Bhurtpoor troops mentioned in the foregoing paragraph, consisted partly of a contingent or subsidiary force, furnished by the chiefs of those territories to the British government, and partly of their own immediate retainers, who, being a kind of feudal militia, were perfectly trustworthy; whereas the former, whether contingent or subsidiary, were essentially a portion of the Bengal army, drawn from the same sources, disciplined in the same manner, and officered by Europeans—having in all respects a fellow-feeling with the Delhi mutineers. At first, a degree of confidence was reposed in the fidelity of the native contingents, which was neither warranted by their antecedents, nor supported by their subsequent conduct; for they were false to us, in defiance of the strenuous endeavours of the native princes, on whom we had forced them under a mistaken view of our own interests. Sindia, Holcar, the rajah of Bhurtpoor, and other princes, never wavered in their opinion of the disaffection of the subsidiary troops, and gave conspicuous and self-sacrificing tokens of their personal fidelity, by placing their own retainers at the disposal of the British. As early as the 14th of May, Colvin received a message from Sindia, that his body-guard of 400 cavalry, and a battery of horse artillery, would be ready to start from Gwalior for Agra on the following evening. The offer was gladly accepted.

On the 15th, the lieutenant-governor reviewed the troops stationed at Agra, having previously ascertained, from undoubted authority, that a deep and genuine conviction had seized the mind of the sepoy army, that the government was steadily bent on causing a general forfeiture of caste by the compulsory handling of impure things. Privately, and on parade, the men assured the lieutenant-governor, that "all they wanted to be certain of," was the non-existence of the suspected plot: he therefore addressed the Supreme government by telegraph, urging the immediate issue of a proclamation containing a simple and direct assurance that no attempt whatever would be made against the caste of the Native troops. He added—"An inducement, too, is wanted for not joining the mutineers, and for leaving them. I am in the thick of it, and know what is wanted. I earnestly beg this, to strengthen me."*

On the 16th, the governor-general in council sent a telegraphic reply, promising that the desired proclamation should be issued, and encouraging Colvin in the course he was pursuing, by the following cordial expression of approval:—"I thank you sincerely for all you have so admirably done, and for your stout heart."†

No proclamation, properly so called, appears to have been issued; but, according to the inaccurate and hasty summary of events sent to the Court of Directors from Calcutta, "a circular was issued on the 29th, explaining that none of the new cartridges had been issued to Native regiments." This statement was, as has been before stated, in complete opposition to that of General Anson, who had, some days before, formally withdrawn the identical cartridges which Lord Canning declared had never been issued. To complicate the matter still further, the same page of the Calcutta intelligence which contained the notice of the circular of the Supreme government, stated also, as the latest intelligence from Umritsir, that "the 59th N. I. do not object to the new cartridges."‡

The position of Colvin was most harassing. He never received any communication whatever from General Anson—the regular posts being stopped, and the general not fertile in expedients for the conveyance or obtainment of intelligence. A council of war was held at the Agra government-house on the 13th of May: and even at this early period, Mr. Raikes describes the lieutenant-governor as "exposed to that rush of alarm, advice, suggestion, expostulation, and threat, which went on increasing for nearly two months, until he was driven nearly broken-hearted into the fort." The officers naturally urged advice with especial earnestness on a civil governor, and "every

* Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, 1857; p. 181.

† *Ibid.*, p. 193.

‡ *Ibid.*, p 301.

man was anxious to do his best, but to do it his own way."*

Long experience of native character, however, had given Mr. Colvin an insight into the causes of the mutiny, which convinced him of the paramount influence that panic, and the feeling of being irremediably compromised by the misconduct of others, had exercised, and were still exercising, in the minds of the sepoys. In the excitement of the crisis his policy was the subject of sweeping censure; but, eventually, measures of a similar tendency were resorted to, as the sole means of healing a breach which he strove to narrow and close at its commencement. With regard to the Europeans, the attitude he advised and adopted was most unflinching. The same feeling which induced him to blame the abandonment of Goorgaon, led him to declare, a week later, when the danger was fast increasing—

"It is a vitally useful lesson to be learnt from the experience of present events, that not one step should be yielded in retreat, on an outbreak in India, which can be avoided with any safety. Plunder and general license immediately commence, and all useful tenure of the country is annihilated. It is not by shutting ourselves in forts in India that our power can be upheld; and I will decidedly oppose myself to any proposal for throwing the European force into the fort except in the very last extremity."†

With regard to the Native army, he believed one measure, and only one, remained which might arrest the plague of mutiny by affording opportunity for repentance before war *à l'outrance* should be declared against the Europeans. Addressing the governor-general by telegraph on the 24th of May, he writes:—

"On the mode of dealing with the mutineers, I would strenuously oppose general severity towards all. Such a course would, as we are unanimously convinced by a knowledge of the feeling of the people, acquired among them from a variety of sources, estrange the remainder of the army. Hope, I am firmly convinced, should be held out to all those who were not ringleaders or actively concerned in murder and violence. Many are in the rebels' ranks because they could not get away; many certainly thought we were tricking them out of their caste; and this opinion is held, however unwisely, by the mass of the population, and even by some of the more intelligent classes. Never was delusion more wide or deep. Many of the best soldiers in the army—among others, of its most faithful section, the irregular cavalry—show a marked reluctance to engage in a war against men whom they believe to have been misled on the point of religious honour. A tone of general menace would, I am persuaded, be wrong. The commander-in-chief should, in my view, be authorised to act upon the above line of policy; and when means of escape are thus open to those who can be admitted to mercy, the remnant will be considered obstinate traitors even by their own countrymen, who will have no hesitation in siding against them."

On the following day, Mr. Colvin reported to the governor-general that he had himself taken the decisive step:—

"Impressed by the knowledge of the feelings of the native population, as communicated in my message of yesterday, and supported by the unanimous opinion of all officers of experience here, that this mutiny is not one to be put down by high-handed authority; and thinking it essential at present to give a favourable turn to the feelings of the sepoys who have not yet entered against us, I have taken the grave responsibility of issuing, on my own authority, the following proclamation. A weighty reason with me has been the total dissolution of order, and the loss of every means of control in many districts. My latest letter from Meerut is now seven days old, and not a single letter has reached me from the commander-in-chief.

"PROCLAMATION.

"Soldiers engaged in the late disturbances, who are desirous of going to their own homes, and who give up their arms at the nearest government civil or military post, and retire quietly, shall be permitted to do so unmolested.

"Many faithful soldiers have been driven into resistance to government only because they were in the ranks and could not escape from them, and because they really thought their feelings of religion and honour injured by the measures of government. This feeling was wholly a mistake; but it acted on men's minds. A proclamation of the governor-general now issued is perfectly explicit, and will remove all doubts on these points.

"Every evil-minded instigator in the disturbance, and those guilty of heinous crimes against private persons, shall be punished. All those who appear in arms against the government after this notification is known shall be treated as open enemies."‡

The proclamation, according to Sir Charles Trevelyan, "was universally approved at Agra." He adds, that "its object was to apply a solvent to reduce the compact mass of rebellion to its elements, and to give to the well-disposed an opportunity of returning to their allegiance, leaving the guilty remainder to their well-deserved fate."§

The governor-general in council took a different view of the subject; and a telegram, dated May 26th, declared that the

* Raikes' *Revolt in the N.W. Provinces*, p. 10.

† Mr. Colvin to the governor-general, May 22nd, 1857.—The first two sentences of the quotation from Mr. Colvin's despatch to the governor-general, are quoted from the Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 313; the third, omitted in the Blue Book, is given by "Indophilus" in his Letter to the *Times*, Dec. 25th, 1857.

‡ Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, 1857.

§ *Times*, December 25th, 1857.

proclamation was disapproved, and that the embarrassment in which it would place the government and the commander-in-chief was very great. Everything was therefore to be done to stop its operation. Mr. Colvin protested against the repudiation of the proclamation, and denied the justice of the chief ground on which it was denounced by the governor-general in council—namely, that it offered means of escape to the men who murdered their officers. Lord Canning persisted in ordering its withdrawal, and directed that the following proclamation should be issued in its stead:—

"Every soldier of a regiment which, although it has deserted its post, has not committed outrages, will receive a free pardon and permission to proceed to his home, if he immediately delivers up his arms to the civil or military authority, and if no heinous crime is shown to have been perpetrated by himself personally.

"This offer of free and unconditional pardon cannot be extended to those regiments which have killed or wounded their officers or other persons, or which have been concerned in the commission of cruel outrages.

"The men of such regiments must submit themselves unconditionally to the authority and justice of the government of India.

"Any proclamations offering pardon to soldiers engaged in the late disturbances, which may have been issued by local authorities previously to the promulgation of the present proclamation, will thereupon cease to have effect; but all persons who may have availed themselves of the offer made in such proclamations, shall enjoy the benefit thereof."*

It was clearly impolitic to issue orders and counter-orders which, to the natives, would bear the semblance of vacillation of purpose, if not of double-dealing. But in the excitement of the period, it is probable that nothing short of an explicit offer of amnesty to all who could not be proved to have actually shed blood, or been notorious ringleaders, would have sufficed to arrest the course of mutiny. The government of India, true to the motto of their policy, "insufficient or too late," could not yet understand the urgency of the case, and went so far as to blame the lieutenant-governor for having taken upon himself the responsibility of an important measure, "without necessity for any extreme haste." And this to a man who heard the "crash of regiments" on every side.

Lord Elphinstone, the governor of Bombay, dispatched a telegram to Lord Canning on the 17th of May, proposing to send an officer in a fast steamer, to overtake the mail, which had left Bombay four days previously. The governor-general rejected the offer as unnecessary, although it involved the saving of twenty-eight days in the appeal for reinforcements from England. About the same time, intelligence reached Agra that the treaty of peace was ratified with Persia, and that three European regiments, and a portion of the European artillery, were to return to India immediately. Mr. Colvin entreated that the troops, on arriving at Calcutta, might be immediately dispatched to the Upper Provinces; but the answer he received was, that many weeks must elapse before the force could reach India; in the meantime, a European regiment had been called for from Madras, and one from Pegu; but these were not expected at Calcutta under a fortnight, and not a single European could be spared until then. In the event of being severely pressed, Mr. Colvin was to apply to the rajah of Putteeala, or to the rajah of Jheend, for aid. The services of both these chiefs had already been volunteered, and immediately accepted and employed.

The rajah of Putteeala has been mentioned as sending cavalry to the rescue of the fugitives from Delhi. His name will recur frequently, in the course of the narrative, as that of "a constant, honourable, and invaluable ally." His principality was one of the most important of those known as the Seik protected states; and its extent was increased by grants from the British government, bestowed in reward for his fidelity during the war with Lahore, on condition of his making and maintaining in repair a military road, and abolishing Suttee, infanticide, and slave-dealing in his dominions.

A parliamentary return on the subject then fixed the area of Putteeala at 4,448 miles, and the population at 662,752 persons. The territory is very fertile, and exports large quantities of grain across the Sutlej to Lahore and Umritsir. The chief place, also named Putteeala (twenty miles from Umballah), is a densely peopled and compact town, with a small citadel, in which the rajah, or, as he was more generally called, the maharajah, resided. He was described as "a man in the prime of life, of some thirty-three or thirty-four years of age, of commanding stature and fine presence, inclining to obesity; a handsome oval face, black flowing beard, moustache, and whiskers; Grecian nose, and large dark

* Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, 1857; pp. 334-5.

eyes of the almond shape, which is so much admired by the Asiatics. His court is the last which is left in the north-west of India, and is maintained with Oriental magnificence. As a governor he is absolute in his own dominions, which he rules vigorously and energetically with his own hands."*

The position of Putteeala, the resources and energy of its ruler, and the disaffection of many of his subjects towards British supremacy, rendered the question of his allegiance one of extreme importance. His decision was immediate and unqualified; and he assisted the British government, not only with troops and supplies of provision, but actually with a loan of money to the amount of £210,000.† The Umballah cantonment was in so disorganised a condition at the time of the general mutiny, that, according to Mr. Raikes, it could hardly have been preserved without the help of the Putteeala rajah. When summoned thither, he came clad in a suit of mail, driving his own elephant, and spared no exertion to prove his zeal.‡

Jheend is another, but much smaller, Cis-Sutlej state, part of which was annexed on the failure of direct heirs; but the remainder was suffered to pass into the possession of a collateral heir in 1837. Its limits were increased after the conclusion of the war with Lahore, on the same terms as those of Putteeala, and for the same reason—namely, the good service rendered by its rajah. Jheend comprises an area of 376 square miles, and a population of about 56,000 persons. The rajah had an early opportunity of manifesting his determined allegiance to the English. It is said, that a deputation from Delhi sought him while reviewing his troops in his chief place, and that, on learning their errand, he immediately ordered every man of the messengers to be cut down.§

These were the allies to whom Lord Canning bade Mr. Colvin turn for the help; and to them, among other benefits, we owe the aid of our first Seik levies.‖

As the month of May wore on, affairs in Agra began to assume a gloomier aspect. The detachments of the Gwalior contingent, sent as reinforcements, speedily betrayed their sympathy with the mutineers against whom they were expected to act, by asking whether the flour supplied to their camp was from the government stores. If so, they would not touch it, having been informed that cows' bones had been pulverised and mixed with the otta sold in the bazaars.¶ These indications of disaffection were marked by the Europeans with great uneasiness, the general feeling being, that the Hindoos were completely under the influence of the Mussulmans, who "were all, or nearly all, thirsting for English blood." And, indeed, the feeling against them became so general and indiscriminating, that Mohammedan, in the North-West Provinces, was viewed as only "another word for a rebel."** The news from outstations gave additional cause for alarm and distrust.

Alighur lies between Delhi and Agra, about fifty-one miles to the north of the latter city. The position was very important, as it commanded the communications up and down the country. It was garrisoned by three or four companies of the 9th N. I., "the men of which behaved very steadily and well; and, in this manner, broke the shock of the insurrection for a few days."†† On the 19th of May, a religious mendicant appeared in the lines, and endeavoured to incite the men to mutiny. Two of the sepoys whom he addressed, seized and carried him before the commanding officer, who ordered a court-martial to be instantly assembled. The Native officers found the prisoner guilty, and sentenced him to death. On the following morning the troops were assembled, and the offender brought out and hung, no opposition or displeasure being evinced at his fate; but before the men were marched off the ground, the rifle company, which had just been relieved from the outpost of Bolundshuhur, made their appearance; and a Brahmin sepoy, stepping out from the ranks, upbraided his comrades for having betrayed a holy man, who came to save them from disgrace in this world, and eternal perdition in the next.‡‡ The men listened, debated, wavered, and finally broke up with loud shouts, declaring their intention of joining their comrades at Delhi, which they actually did; for it is stated,

* *Times* (Mr. Russell), 29th November, 1858.
† *Ibid.*
Raikes' *Revolt in the N. W. Provinces*, pp. 88, 89.
§ *Daily News*, June 29th, 1857.
‖ Murray's *Quarterly Review*, 1858; p. 226.
¶ Raikes' *Revolt in N. W. Provinces*, p. 14.
** *Ibid.*, pp. 53; 173.
†† Lieutenant-governor Colvin to governor-general; May 22nd, 1857.—Appendix, p. 313.
‡‡ Mead's *Sepoy Revolt*, p. 148.

that the regimental number of the 9th was found on the bodies of some of the most daring opponents of the British army.* The officers, and Europeans generally, were neither injured nor insulted; but, on their departure, the treasury was seized, the gaol broken open, and the bungalows burned. The officials, both civil and military, retreated to Hattrass, a station about twenty miles distant; but some persons fled in different directions; and Mr. Raikes describes Lady Outram (the wife of General Sir James Outram) as reaching Agra on the 23rd, "foot-sore, from Alighur, having fled part of the way without her shoes."

The fall of Alighur, recounted with all imaginable exaggerations, became the immediate topic of conversation in Agra. The budmashes twisted their moustachios significantly in the bazaars, and the Englishmen handled their swords or revolvers. Mr. Raikes mentions a singular exception to the prevailing panic. The Church Missionary College, he writes, "was about the last to close, and the first to reopen, of all our public institutions at Agra during the period of the revolt. There Dr. French, the principal, sat calmly, hundreds of young natives at his feet, hanging on the lips which taught them the simple lessons of the Bible. The students at the government, and still more the missionary schools, kept steadily to their classes; and when others doubted or fled, they trusted implicitly to their teachers, and openly espoused the Christian cause."

Their exemplary conduct did not excite any special rancour against them on the part of the insurgents; on the contrary, it is asserted as "a curious fact, that at Agra, Alighur, Mynpoorie, Futtehghur, and other places, less danger was done to the churches than to the private dwellings of the English."† This was also the case at Meerut. Three companies of the 9th Native infantry, stationed at *Mynpoorie*, mutinied there on the 23rd of May. Mynpoorie is the chief town of a district of the same name, ceded by Dowlut Rao Sindia to the East India Company, in 1803. The population are chiefly Hindoos of high caste. One of the Meerut mutineers (a Rajpoot, named Rajnath Sing) escaped to his native village. The magistrate sent some police and a detachment of the 9th to apprehend their countryman and co-religionist; instead of which, they, as might have been expected, enabled him to escape. The news of the mutiny at Alighur reached Mynpoorie on the evening of the 22nd, and created great excitement, which, being reported to the magistrate, he immediately made arrangements for sending the European females (sixteen in number), with their children, to Agra, seventy miles distant, which city they reached in safety.

Being thus relieved from the office of protecting a helpless crowd, the leading Europeans prepared to lay down their lives in defence of their public charge. Their presence of mind and moderation was crowned with extraordinary success. The particulars of the affair are thus narrated by Mr. J. Power, the magistrate of Mynpoorie. After the departure of the women, he writes—

"Mr. Cocks and I proceeded to the house of Lieutenant Crawford, commanding the station, and this officer agreed directly to take the detachment out of the station and march them to Bhowgaon. After leaving a small guard at the treasury and quarter-guard, which I visited with him, Lieutenant Crawford then left the station, and I then returned to my house, where I found Dr. Watson [surgeon], the Rev. Mr. Kellner, and Mr Cocks assembled.

"This was about four or five in the morning; and I had not retired to rest more than ten minutes, before Lieutenant Crawford galloped back to my house, and informed me that his men had broken out into open mutiny, and, after refusing to obey him, had fired at him with their muskets.

"Lieutenant Crawford stated he had then found it useless to attempt commanding his men, and that he had thought it best to hurry back to Mynpoorie to warn the station, and that he believed Lieutenant de Kantzow was killed. Mr. Cocks and the Rev. Mr. Kellner immediately decided on leaving, and the former tried to induce me to leave also: as I informed him that I did not desire to leave my post, he honoured me by terming my conduct 'romantic,' and immediately departed in company with the Rev. Mr. Kellner. I then left my house, which I had no means of defending, and which I was informed the sepoys meant to attack, and proceeded to the large bridge over the Eesun, on the grand trunk road. My brother determined on accompanying me, and to share my fate; and I shall not be accused of favouritism, I hope, when I state that his coolness and determination were of the greatest aid and comfort to me throughout this trying occasion.

"On proceeding to the bridge, I was joined by Dr. Watson, and shortly afterwards by Rao Bhowanee Sing, the first cousin of the rajah of Mynpoorie, with a small force of horse and foot; Sergeants Mitchell, Scott, and Montgomery, of the road and canal departments; and Mr. McGlone, clerk in the Mynpoorie magistrate's office, also joined me at the bridge.

"I was, at this time, most doubtful of the fate of Mr. de Kantzow, for I had not coincided in Lieutenant Crawford's opinion that he had been killed, Lieutenant Crawford not having seen him fall; and on this account I was unwilling to leave the position

* Mead's *Sepoy Revolt*, p. 148.

† Raikes' *Revolt in the N. W. Provinces*, pp. 15, 16, 94.

I had taken, though strongly urged to do so. The sepoys returned at this time to the station, having utterly thrown off all control, dragging (as I afterwards learnt) Lieutenant de Kantzow with them. They passed the dâk bungalow, and fired a volley into the house of Sergeant Montgomery (which was close by), the inmates of which had fortunately left, and they then searched the whole house over, with the view of finding money; they also fired at Dr. Watson's house, who had, as I have mentioned, joined me; and they then proceeded to the rear-guard, the magazine of which they broke open, plundering it completely of its contents.

"Lieutenant de Kantzow informed me that the rebels took the whole of the ammunition away, and being unable to carry it themselves, they procured two government camels for that purpose from the lines; each man must have supplied himself with some 300 rounds or more; and an immense quantity of other government stores was taken by them besides. Lieutenant de Kantzow informs me that his life stood in the greatest danger at the rear-guard at this time. The men fired at random, and muskets were levelled at him, but dashed aside by some better-disposed of the infuriated brutes, who remembered, perhaps, even in that moment of madness, the kind and generous disposition of their brave young officer. Lieutenant de Kantzow stood up before his men; he showed the utmost coolness and presence of mind; he urged them to reflect on the lawlessness of their acts, and evinced the utmost indifference of his own life in his zeal to make the sepoys return to their duty. The men turned from the rear-guard to the Cutchery, dragging the lieutenant with them. They were met at the treasury by my gaol guard, who were prepared to oppose them and fire on them; but Mr. de Kantzow prevented them from firing, and his order has certainly prevented an immense loss of life.

"A fearful scene here occurred; the sepoys tried to force open the iron gates of the treasury, and were opposed by the gaol guard and some of the gaol officials; the latter rallied round Mr. de Kantzow, and did their best to assist him; but they, though behaving excellently, were only a handful of twenty or thirty (if so many), and poorly armed, against the infuriated sepoys, who were well and completely armed and in full force.

"It is impossible to describe, accurately, the continuation of the scene of the disturbance at the treasury; left by his superior officer, unaided by the presence of any European, jostled with cruel and insulting violence, buffeted by the hands of men who had received innumerable kindnesses from him, and who had obeyed him but a few hours before with crawling servility, Lieutenant de Kantzow stood for three dreary hours against the rebels at the imminent peril of life.

"It was not till long after he had thus been situated at the treasury, that I learnt of his being there. I was anxious with all my heart to help him, but was deterred from going by the urgent advice of Rao Bhowanee Sing, who informed me that it was impossible to face the sepoys with the small force at my disposal; and I received at this time a brief note from Lieutenant de Kantzow himself, by a trustworthy emissary I sent to him, desiring me not to come to the treasury, as the sepoys were getting quieted, and that my presence would only make matters worse, as the beasts were yelling for my life. At this time, the most signal service was done by Rao Bhowanee Sing, who went alone to the rebels, volunteering to use his own influence and persuasion to make them retire. It is unnecessary to lengthen the account; Rao Bhowanee Sing succeeded ably in his efforts, drew off, and then accompanied the rebels to the lines; where, after a space of time, they broke open and looted the bells of arms, the quarter-guard carrying off, it is supposed, 6,000 rupees in money, and all the arms, &c., they found of use to them.

"I had retired, and the Europeans with me, to the rajah of Mynpoorie's fort, on the departure of Rao Bhowanee Sing, according to his advice; and shortly after the sepoys left the treasury, Lieutenant de Kantzow joined me, and I again took possession of the Cutchery. I found, on my return, the whole of the Malkhana looted, the sepoys having helped themselves to swords, iron-bound sticks, &c., which had accumulated during ages past. The staples of the stout iron doors of the treasury had alone given way, but the doors themselves stood firm.

"My motives in taking up a position at the bridge were, first, that I might keep the high road open; second, to keep the sepoys from proceeding to the city, and the budmashes of the city from joining the sepoys. The effect of the victory (if I may use such a term) over the sepoys, trifling though it may appear, has been of incalculable benefit. It has restored confidence in the city and district, and among the panic-stricken inhabitants; and I hope the safety of the treasure, amounting to three lacs, will prove an advantage in these troubled times to government. * * * Rao Bhowanee Sing's conduct has been deserving in the extreme; I believe he has saved the station and our lives by his coolness and tact, and has supported the ancient character of his race for loyalty to the British government.

"During the insurrection of the sepoys, I was joined by Dumber Sing, Risaldar, of the 2nd irregulars—a fine old Rajpoot, who did me right good service; and by Pylad Sing, Duffadar, of the 8th irregulars. These men guarded the gaol, which the sepoys threatened to break into. Their conduct I beg to bring to the special notice of his honour the lieutenant-governor. These officers have since raised for me a most excellent body of horse, composed chiefly of irregulars, which I have placed under the care of the Risaldar."

The magistrate concluded by stating, that he and his companions had fortified the office, and could "easily stand a siege in it."*

Mr. Colvin was delighted by a spirit so congenial to his own, and hastened to lay the whole account before the governor-general; who, besides sending Lieutenant de Kantzow the thanks of government, wrote him a private note, declaring that he (Lord Canning) could not adequately describe the admiration and respect with which he had read the report of the magistrate of Mynpoorie, concerning the "noble example of courage, patience, good judgment, and temper, exhibited by the young officer."†

* Letter of magistrate of Mynpoorie, May 25th, 1857.—Appendix, pp. 54, 55.

† Lord Canning, June 7th, 1857.

Another detachment of the 9th Native infantry, stationed at Etawah, likewise mutinied and marched off to Delhi, after plundering the treasury and burning the bungalows. No blood was shed. Mr. Hume, the magistrate, escaped in the dress of a native woman. A chief, spoken of as the Etawah or Elah rajah, took part with the mutineers. The post between Agra and Allahabad was by this means interrupted; while the evacuation of Alighur broke off the communication between Meerut and Agra, and between the former place and Cawnpoor.

Immediately before the outbreak at Alighur, 233 of the irregular Gwalior cavalry were sent from Agra thither, under the command of Lieutenant Cockburn. They arrived just in time to assist in escorting the Europeans to Hattrass. After accomplishing this, eighty of the Gwalior horse broke into open mutiny, formed, and rode round the camp, entreating their comrades to join them by every plea of temporal and eternal interest; but finding their argument of no avail, they went off by themselves to Delhi. With a party now reduced to 123 men, and in a disturbed, if not absolutely hostile, country, Lieutenant Cockburn and his troopers contrived to do good service. Hearing that a party of 500 men had collected near Hattrass, and were plundering the neighbouring country, the lieutenant procured a curtained bullock-cart, such as coloured women travel in up the country; and having let down the curtains, and persuaded four of his troopers to enter it with loaded carbines, and go forward, he himself, with twenty men, followed at a distance, screened by the shade of some trees. The plot succeeded. The marauders, on seeing the cart, rushed forward to attack and plunder the women whom they believed to be concealed inside. The foremost of them was shot dead; and Lieutenant Cockburn's party, on hearing the report, advanced instantly on the insurgents, and rapidly dispersed them—killing forty-eight, wounding three, and taking ten prisoners; while others, in the extremity of their fear, flung themselves into wells, to avoid falling into the hands of their pursuers.*

A subsequent expedition, attempted for the purpose of attacking the Elah rajah, and reopening the Alighur road, had a very different termination. The expedition consisted of 200 men of the 2nd irregular cavalry, under Captain Fletcher Hayes (military secretary to Sir H. Lawrence), who was accompanied by Captain Carey, of the 17th N.I., and two other Europeans, Adjutant Barber and Mr. Fayrer. The detachment reached Bowgous on Saturday, May 30th; and Captains Hayes and Carey, leaving their men in charge of the adjutant, proceeded, on the same evening, to Mynpoorie, eight miles distant, to consult with the magistrate (Power) on their proposed movements, and remained there until the following Monday. In the meantime, the thanadar of Bowgous sent a message to Captain Hayes regarding the disaffection of the men; but he attributing it to annoyance at long and frequent marches, paid little heed to the warning, and started, according to his previous intention, on Monday morning, to join the men at the appointed place. The two officers—Hayes and Carey—"cantered along all merrily," writes the survivor, "and after riding about eleven miles, came in sight of the troopers going quietly along a parallel road." The officers crossed an intervening plain, to join the men, who faced round, and halted at their approach; but one or two of the Native officers rode forward, and said, in an under tone, "Fly, Sahibs, fly!" "Upon this," Captain Carey states, "poor Hayes said to me, as we wheeled round our horses, 'Well, we must now fly for our lives;' and away we went, with the two troops after us like demons yelling, and sending the bullets from their carbines flying all round us." Hayes was cut down from his saddle by one blow from a Native officer; his Arab horse dashed on riderless. Carey escaped unhurt. He was chased for about two miles by two horsemen; and after they had relinquished the pursuit, his own mare was unable to proceed further, and he was saved by meeting opportunely one of the troopers, who appears to have lagged behind his comrades, and who took the European up on his own horse till they overtook Captain Hayes' Arab, which Captain Carey mounted, and reached Mynpoorie in safety. An old Seik sirdar, with two followers, who had accompanied the expedition, and remained faithful to the British, said that Barber and Fayrer had been murdered ten minutes before the arrival of the other two Europeans. A sowar (trooper) stole behind young Fayrer as he was drinking at a well, and with one blow of his tulwar half severed the head

* *Friend of India;* quoted in *Times*, August 6th, 1857.

from the body of his victim. Barber fled up the road, several mutineers giving chase; he shot one horse and two of the troopers, when he was hit with a ball, and then cut down. The three bodies were brought in to the cantonment in the course of the evening: the head of poor Hayes was frightfully hacked about; his right hand cut off, and his left fearfully lacerated; his watch, ring, boots, all gone, and his clothes cut and torn to pieces. The murderers made off for Delhi.

The gallant band at Mynpoorie, undaunted by this terrible catastrophe, continued to maintain their position. The Cutchery, or court-house, was a large brick building, from the top of which they were prepared to make a good fight if no guns were brought by the enemy. Their force consisted of 100 of the Gwalior horse, under Major Raikes (the brother of the judge at Agra), who raised cavalry and infantry in all directions. At the commencement of June the recruits numbered about 100; and the total defence was completed by a few men of the 9th Native infantry, who had remained true to their salt.*

Troops could not be spared from Agra for the reoccupation of Alighur; but a party of volunteers, headed by Captain Watson, and accompanied by Mr. Cocks, of the civil service,† proceeded thither, and succeeded in making themselves literally "masters of the situation," and in reopening the road between them and Agra.

The extremely "irregular" character of the warfare carried on in the highways and byeways of the North-West Provinces, may be understood from the following extract from a private letter from the "Volunteers' Camp, Alighur," dated June 5th, 1857:—

"Some two nights ago we made a *dour* (a foray or raid) to the village of Khyr, where a Rao‡ had possessed himself of the place, and was defying British authority. We fell upon the village, after travelling all night, at about 8 A.M.; surrounded it, and one party entered and asked the Rao to surrender. He at first refused; but, on being threatened and told that his stronghold should be burst open, he opened the doors, and was immediately taken prisoner with thirteen of his adherents. The little army he had assembled had dispersed early in the morning, not expecting we should have been there so soon. We walked by the side of the prisoner from the place where he was taken, to a mango tope out of the village, where he was tried. We reached it in half-an-hour, when he was tried and hung for rebellion.

"Last evening, again, we received information that some 150 Goojurs had assembled eight or ten miles from this to intercept the dawk. We were ordered out at once in pursuit, and came upon them about 5 P.M. They got sight of us at a distance, and took to their heels, and we after them. Several of them were shot or cut down. We were then ordered to fire their villages, which some of us did by dismounting and applying our cigars to what was combustible. We then returned to Alighur, and have not the slightest idea what will be our next move. The road is perfectly safe from Agra to this."§

While the volunteers were hanging real or suspected rebels by drum-head courts-martial, and setting villages on fire by the aid of their cigars, Mr. Colvin was striving to check the insurrectionary spirit fast spreading through his government, by endeavouring to enlist the landholders on his side. The *Agra Gazette Extraordinary* contained a distinct pledge, the redemption of which is now anxiously looked for by those who have fulfilled the preliminary conditions. There is no mistaking language so distinct as this:—

"Whereas it has been ascertained that in the districts of Meerut, and in and immediately round Delhi, some short-sighted rebels have dared to raise resistance to the British government: it is hereby declared, that every talookdar, zemindar, or other owner of land, who may join in such resistance, will forfeit all rights in landed property, which will be confiscated, and transferred in perpetuity to the faithful talookdars and zemindars of the same quarter, who may show by their acts of obedience to the government, and exertions for the maintenance of tranquillity, that they deserve reward and favour from the state."‖

The close of May arrived, and the Native troops at Agra (the 44th and 67th), although they had been restrained from open mutiny, had yet, by nightly fires and secret meetings, given indications of decided disaffection. A company of one of these regiments was sent from Agra to *Muttra*, a distance of thirty-five miles, to relieve another company on duty at that ancient and once wealthy Hindoo city. On the 30th, both companies, relieving and relieved,

* Letter of Captain Carey, 17th Native infantry; dated, "Mynpoorie, June 2nd, 1857."

† Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 298.

‡ The Bombay correspondent of the *Times* states that this chief was Rao Bhossah Sing, of Burtowlee, and that the volunteers were led by Mr. Watson, magistrate of Alighur, and Lieutenant Greathed.—*Times*, July 15th, 1857.

§ *Times*, July 14th, 1857.

‖ Quoted in *Times*, June 29th, 1857.

threw off their allegiance, plundered the treasury, and marched to Delhi. This circumstance decided Mr. Colvin on the disarmment of the 44th and 67th, which was accomplished on the morning of the 31st, and the men were dismissed to their homes on two months' leave of absence.

Rajpootana, or *Rajast'han*.—While the events just recorded disturbed the peace of Agra and the N.W. Provinces from within, dangers were arising in the neighbouring territories of Rajpootana, or the Saugor District (as the revenue officers term that country), which threatened to bring an overwhelming number of mutineers to bear upon the scattered Europeans.

The stations of *Nusseerabad* (near Ajmeer) and *Neemuch*, usually garrisoned from Bombay, had been, at the beginning of the year, drained of the infantry and guns of the army of that presidency by the pressure of the Persian war. There remained a wing of the 1st Bombay light cavalry (Lancers) cantoned at Nusseerabad; but that station received for infantry the 15th Bengal Native regiment from Meerut, and the 30th from Agra; and for artillery, a company of the 7th Bengal battalion. To Neemuch, the 72nd Native infantry, and a troop of Native horse artillery, were sent from Agra, and a wing of the 1st Bengal light cavalry from Mhow. Great excitement had been caused at both stations by the tidings from Delhi and Meerut; and at half-past three in the afternoon of the 28th of May, the 15th Native infantry, at Nusseerabad, broke into open mutiny by seizing the guns of Captain Timbrell's battery, while the horses of the troop, with the men, had gone to water. Captain Hardy, and the other officers of the lancers, hastened to their lines, and, in a few minutes, the troopers were mounted, formed into open column, and led against the mutineers, who opened the guns upon their assailants. Captain Spottiswoode was killed at the head of his troop, after getting into the battery. Cornet Newberry was also shot while in the act of charging; and Captain Hardy was wounded, with several officers. Other charges were made, but without success, until Colonel Penny ordered the troops to desist, and form in readiness to act upon the mutineers, in case they should leave their lines and come into the plain. About five o'clock the officers of the 15th Native infantry took refuge in the lines of the Lancers, having been expelled by their own men, but not injured, though they are reported to have been fired at. The 30th Native infantry remained neutral, neither obeying orders nor joining the mutineers. The aspect of affairs seemed so alarming, that the immediate evacuation of the station was resolved on, and the ladies and children were moved out while light remained. The party retreated towards Beawur, halting half-way at midnight, to rest and let stragglers assemble; and here the dead body of Colonel Penny was brought in. The colonel had been too ill on the previous night to give orders for the retreat, and had apparently fallen off his horse and died on the road from exhaustion. The other fugitives reached Beawur in safety. Eleven of the Lancers joined the rebels; the conduct of the remainder was most exemplary. "Cantoned with two mutinous regiments, the regiment has," Captain Hardy reports, "been nightly on duty for a fortnight past, and entirely responsible for the safety of the cantonment. They have been constantly assailed with abuse, with no other result than telling their officers. They turned out in the promptest way to attack the mutineers; and they marched out of camp, when ordered, as they stood, leaving their families and everything they had in the world behind them. They are now without tents in a hot plain, and without any possibility of being comfortable; but up to this time all has been most cheerfully borne, and all duty correctly performed."*

The governor-general directed that the Native officers who had most distinguished themselves at Nusseerabad should be promoted, and liberal compensation "awarded for the loss of property abandoned in the cantonment and subsequently destroyed, when the lancers, in obedience to orders, marched out to protect the families of the European officers, leaving their own unguarded in cantonments." At night the Nusseerabad lines were set on fire, and on the following morning the rebels started for the favourite rendezvous of Delhi.

The tidings of the revolt at Nusseerabad turned the scale at Neemuch, where the officers had been exerting themselves to the uttermost to check the evident tendency of the men, by affecting a confidence which they were far from feeling. Colonel Abbott slept every night in a tent in the lines of

* Despatch from Captain Hardy to the Major of Brigade, Rajpootana field force, May 30th, 1857.

his regiment, without a guard or sentry; and, latterly, all officers did the same even with their families. One wing of the 7th regiment Gwalior contingent held the fortified square and treasury; the other wing was encamped close to, but outside, the walls. Towards the close of May the utmost panic had prevailed in the Sudder Bazaar; and, among the current reports, was that of an intended attack on Neemuch by a British force, which was a perversion of a plan for the protection of Jawud (a walled town, about twelve miles from Neemuch), by the movement there of the Kotah force, under Major Burton.

On the morning of the 2nd of June, Colonel Abbott received information of the state of feeling in the Native lines, and warned Captain Lloyd, the superintendent, that the outbreak could not be delayed beyond a few hours. Captain Lloyd made arrangements for securing a few of the most valuable records, and for insuring a line of retreat for fugitives by the Oodipoor road, by means of a detachment of mounted police. Meanwhile, Colonel Abbott assembled the Native officers, and, after some discussion, induced them to swear (the Mohammedans on the Koran, the Brahmins on Ganges-water) that they now trusted each other (want of mutual confidence having been previously believed to exist), and would remain true to their salt. The commanding officer was requested to take an oath of faith in their good intentions, which he did; and the meeting was thus concluded, apparently to the satisfaction of all parties. That day, and the following one, passed quietly; but, on the second night, symptoms of mutiny were shown by the Native artillerymen; and at eleven o'clock several of them rushed to the guns, and, loading them, fired two off, evidently as a preconcerted signal. The cavalry rushed from their lines, and the 72nd followed the example. The wing of the 7th Gwalior regiment was marched inside on the report of the guns, and rewards of 100, 300, and 500 rupees each were offered to the sepoys, naiks, and havildars respectively, on condition of their successfully defending the fort and treasury. For nearly three hours the garrison remained firm, watching the mutineers thrusting lighted torches, fastened to long poles, into the thatch of the bungalows. At the expiration of that time two more guns were fired; when an old Rajpoot, of fifty years' standing in the service, ordered his men to open the gates, desired the officers to save themselves, and eventually caused them to be escorted to a place of comparative safety. Captain Macdonald and his companions resisted, but were told, that if they did not hasten to escape, they would assuredly be massacred by the sepoys of other regiments, and those of their own would be unable to defend them. The manner of the flight which ensued was not unlike that from Delhi, only the number of the fugitives was far smaller, and the road shorter and less perilous. Mrs. Burton (the wife of the commanding officer of the Kotah force) states, that having timely notice of the mutiny, she quitted Neemuch immediately before the outbreak, and took refuge at the small fort of Jawud, which was under the charge of her eldest son. The next morning fifteen officers, three ladies, and three young children came to the gates, having escaped on foot from Neemuch. An hour later, Major Burton and two of his sons arrived, having preceded the force under his charge, consisting, according to Mrs. Burton's account, of 1,500 men, who had already marched "ninety miles in three days," and, being quite exhausted, were left to rest by their leader, while he proceeded to Jawud, to provide for the safety of his wife and other children. A report came that the rebels were advancing to attack Jawud, attended by a retinue of convicts released from the Neemuch gaol; and Major Burton, considering the fort utterly incapable of resisting guns, abandoned it, and marched off with the small garrison and the Europeans who had taken refuge there, to his own camp, sixteen miles distant. The next morning the major advanced against the mutineers; but they had learned his intention, and were gone with the guns in the direction of Agra.

The treasury had been sacked; every bungalow but one had been burned to the ground; and the native inhabitants had so completely shared the misfortunes of the Europeans, that Mrs. Burton writes—"The shopkeepers have lost everything, so that we have not the means of buying common clothes."*

It does not appear that any massacre took place, though this was at first asserted. The carriage of Mrs. Walker, the wife of an artillery officer, was fired into by mounted troopers, but neither she nor her

* Letter published in the *Times*, August 7th, 1857.

child are stated to have been injured. The rana of Oodipoor dispatched a force of his best troops against the mutineers, under Captain Showers, the political agent for Mewar; and behaved with princely generosity to the fugitives who took refuge in his dominions. He sent escorts to meet them; gave up a palace at Oodipoor for their reception; supplied them with food and clothing as long as they chose to stay; furnished them with escorts to the different stations they desired to reach; and even visited them in person—a very unusual compliment from the representative of a most ancient and haughty Hindoo dynasty. The chivalry of the Rajpoots was manifested equally in the villages as in the capital of Mewar. One of the fugitives, Dr. Murray, surgeon of the 72nd Native infantry, has given a graphic account of his escape with Dr. Gane to Kussaunda. It was a bright moonlight night, and the distance from Neemuch only five miles; but the ground was heavy; and beside being wearied with previous excitement, the two Europeans were parched with thirst. They therefore awakened the villagers, and asked to be taken to the head man, which was immediately done; and they found him in a small fort, with some half-dozen companions. He received the wanderers with great courtesy; had a place cleared for them in his own house; set milk, chupatties, dhol, rice, and mangoes before them; after partaking of which they lay down to rest. About nine o'clock next morning, a party of the 1st light cavalry, who were scouring the country, arrived, and shouting "Death to the Feringhees!" insisted on their surrender. The two doctors thought their case hopeless; but the Rajpoots put them in a dilapidated shed on one of the bastions, saying—"You have eaten with us, and are our guests; and now, if you were our greatest enemy we would defend you." The troopers threatened to attack the village; but the Rajpoots replied—"Kussaunda belongs to the rana; we are his subjects; and if you molest us he will send 10,000 soldiers after you." On this, the troopers went away much enraged, threatening to return with the guns in the evening, and blow the little fort to pieces. The fugitives, fearing the rebels might keep their word, did not await their threatened return, but started afresh on their journey, escorted by several Rajpoots. At a Bheel village named Bheeliya Kegaon, situated in the heart of the jungle, great hospitality was evinced. On reaching Burra Sadree, on the 5th of June, the adventurers found the majority of the officers of the 7th Gwalior contingent of the 1st cavalry and artillery, assembled there in safety with their wives and children. The party moved from Burra Sadree to Doongla on the 7th, and, on the 9th, were joined by the Oodipoor force under Captain Showers, who was proceeding in pursuit of the mutineers. The officers (now "unattached" by the mutiny of their men) accompanied the expedition, except a few who went with the women and children to Oodipoor, where they remained, from the 12th to the 22nd of June, in perfect safety, until they were able to rejoin their countrymen.*

CHAPTER VII.

THE PUNJAB AND THE PESHAWUR VALLEY.—MAY, 1857.

LAHORE.—A telegraphic message reached the great political capital of the Punjab on the morning of the 12th of May, conveying an exaggerated account of the massacres which had taken place at Meerut and Delhi; and declaring that, at the latter place, every man, woman, and child, having the appearance or dress of a Christian, had been massacred. The troops stationed at Lahore and at *Meean-Meer* (the large

* The government return published on May 6th, 1858, of all Europeans killed during the rebellion, gives the wife and three children of Sergeant Supple as having been "burnt to death in boxes." They appear to have been the only victims of the outbreak at Neemuch; and it is therefore probable that they had hidden themselves, and perished in the general conflagration.

military cantonment, five or six miles from the city), are thus stated in the government report:—

"H.M.'s 81st foot, 881 strong; and 54 in hospital. Two troops of horse artillery, comprising—Europeans, 215; Natives, 56; and 11 in hospital. Four companies of foot artillery—Europeans, 282; Natives, 143; 21 in hospital. The 8th light cavalry—Europeans, 16; Natives, 498; exclusive of five in hospital. The 16th (grenadiers), 26th (light), and 49th Native infantry regiments—European officers, 47; Natives, 3,176; exclusive of 121 in hospital. A detachment of 54 rank and file (Native infantry), with three Native officers, posted at Googaira; and of 93, with seven officers (one European and six Native), at Jutog."*

There do not appear to have been any indications of disaffection exhibited at Lahore, either by incendiary fires or night meetings; still the Europeans could not but anxiously question the degree to which the sepoys might be disposed to sympathise with the cause of revolt. The city itself had a population of 100,000 persons, of whom a large proportion were hereditary soldiers—Seiks and Mohammedans; from the former class the spirit of the *Sing Guru*, and "the Baptism of the Sword," had not wholly passed away; while many of the latter, subjected first by the Seiks, and subsequently by the British, would, it was believed, be only too ready to follow the example of insurrection. The Persian treaty had been scarcely ratified; and the inflammatory proclamation of the Shah, calling on all the faithful to free the land from the yoke of "the treacherous tribe of the British," was yet fresh in the public mind.†

Sir John Lawrence, the chief commissioner, was absent at Rawul Pindee; but it was "the essence of the Punjab administration to have good subordinate officers,"‡ energetic in action, and not afraid of responsibility.

Immediately on receipt of the telegraphic message of the 12th of May, Mr. Montgomery, the judicial commissioner, assembled in council the following gentlemen:—

Mr. D. M'Leod, the Financial Commissioner; Colonel Macpherson, Military Secretary to the Chief Commissioner; Mr. A. Roberts, Commissioner of the Lahore Division; Colonel R. Lawrence, Commandant of the Punjab Police; Major Ommaney, Chief Engineer of the Punjab; Captain Hutchinson, Assistant Engineer.

All concurred in the necessity for promptitude; and Mr. Montgomery, accompanied by Colonel Macpherson, proceeded at once to Meean-Meer, to inform Brigadier Corbett of the telegraphic intelligence, and devise means of meeting the danger. His plan was, to deprive the Native troops of their ammunition and gun-caps, and to throw additional Europeans into the fort; but this intention was supplanted by the necessity for more decisive measures, consequent on the discovery made, during the day, by a Seik non-commissioned officer in the police corps, of a conspiracy formed by the Meean-Meer Native troops, "involving the safety of the Lahore fort, and the lives of all the European residents in the cantonment and the civil station of Anarkullee."

The statement of an actual conspiracy is distinctly made both by Mr. Cooper and by a gentleman writing from Lahore, whose narrative forms the staple of the following account.§ According to the former authority, "intercepted correspondence" was the channel by which the information recorded by him was obtained; but neither writer gives any exact data on the subject. It is possible, therefore, that the scheme which they speak of as digested and approved, amounted in reality to nothing beyond the crude suggestions of one or two discontented sepoys. In the absence, however, of officially recorded particulars, the anonymous narrative of one of the actors in the proceedings at Lahore, is very interesting.

The fort itself, situated within the city walls, was ordinarily garrisoned by one company, a European regiment, one of foot artillery, and a wing of one of the Native regiments from Meean-Meer; the chief object of this force being to keep a check on the city, and to guard the government treasury.

During the former half of May, the 26th Native infantry had furnished the wing on guard, which was, in due course, to be relieved, on the 15th of the month, by a wing of the 49th Native infantry. It was arranged by the conspirators, that while the wings of both regiments were in the fort together, in the act of relief, the united force, amounting to about 1,100 men (all detachments sent on guard being made up to their full strength), were to rush on their officers, seize the gates, and take possession

* Parl. Papers (Commons), February 9th, 1858; p. 4.

† *Crisis in the Punjab;* by Frederick Cooper, Esq., deputy-commissioner of Umritsir; p. xiii.

‡ Letter of *Times'* correspondent, dated "Lahore, May 28th."

§ Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine*, January 1858: article entitled "Poorbeah Mutiny."

of the citadel, the magazine, and the treasury. The small body of Europeans, not above 150 in all, consisting of eighty of H.M.'s 81st, and seventy of the artillery, would, it was expected, be easily overwhelmed; and then an empty hospital close by, in the deserted lines at Anarkullee, was to be set on fire, as a signal to the rebels at Meean-Meer, of the success of the opening scene of the plot. The rise was expected to become general in the cantonments; the guns were to be seized, the central gaol forced, its 2,000 prisoners liberated; and the triumph was to terminate in a promiscuous massacre of Europeans.

Information subsequently obtained, is alleged to have shown that the plot extended much beyond Lahore, and included Ferozpoor, Phillour, Jullundur, and Umritsir.

The officers of the Native regiments were, in this, as in almost every instance, slow to believe the unwelcome tidings. Each one was disposed to repudiate, on behalf of his own men, the charge of complicity; yet the brigadier resolved on the bold and unprecedented step of disarming the whole of the Native troops in the station. The following morning was fixed for the time of the proposed *coup d'état*, and arrangements were made with anxious secrecy. That evening (the 12th) a ball was to be given by the station to the officers of H.M.'s 81st regiment. The fear of affording any cause of suspicion to the sepoys, prevented its being postponed. The Europeans assembled according to previous arrangements, and the dancing was carried on with more spirit than gaiety. The ladies could not but glance at the "piled arms" in the corners of the rooms. Their partners could not but watch the doors and windows in readiness to seize each one his ready weapon. But all continued quiet; and at two in the morning the party broke up; and after a few more anxious hours, the gentlemen assembled on the parade-ground.

Civilians and soldiers—all were there. The real point at issue was one on which the lives of themselves, their wives and children, depended; but even the avowed cause of the parade was an important and an anxious one. The Europeans had long viewed the sepoy army as the bulwark of British power in India; and its continued allegiance was confidently expected, as ensured by the mutual interest of the employers and the employed. Now that a new light was thrown on the subject, the officers looked with strangely mingled feelings upon the men they had trained and disciplined, as they marched up and stood in order, to hear the general order for the disbandment of a portion of the Native infantry at Barrackpoor.

The order was read at the heads of the several Native regiments: then, as if to form a part of the brigade manœuvres of the day, the whole of the troops were countermarched, so as to face inwards—on one side the Native regiments at quarter-column distance, and in front of them the 81st Queen's (only five companies) in line, with the guns along their rear. The crisis had arrived; and Lieutenant Mocatta, adjutant of the 26th Native infantry, stepped forward, and read an address to the sepoys, explaining how the mutinous spirit, which had been so unexpectedly found to pervade other regiments, had determined the brigadier to take prompt measures to prevent its spread among those under his control—his object being not so much the peace of the country, which the British could themselves maintain, but rather the preservation of the good name of regiments whose colours told of many glorious battle-fields. It was therefore desirable to prevent the men from involving themselves in a ruinous mutiny. The exordium was sufficiently significant. While it was being read, the 81st, according to a prearrangement, formed into subdivisions, and fell back between the guns; so that when the address ended with two short words—"Pile arms"—the 16th grenadiers (to whom the order was first given) found themselves confronted, not by a thin line of European soldiers, but by twelve guns loaded with grape, and portfires burning.

The 16th was no common regiment; its men had been numbered among General Nott's "noble sepoys" at Candahar and Ghuznee. They had served with distinction in Cabool, Maharajpoor, Moodkee, Ferozshuhur, Sobraon; and, in evidence of their earlier exploits, had an embroidered star on their colours, in memory of their presence at Seringapatam; and a royal tiger under a banian tree, for Mysore. A slight hesitation and delay were perceptible among their ranks; but the clear voice of Colonel Renny ordering his men to load, with the ringing response of each ramrod as it drove home its ball-cartridge, denounced, with irresistible force, the madness of resistance. The waverers sullenly piled arms, as did also the

49th Native infantry and a portion of the 26th light infantry. The 8th cavalry unbuckled and dropped their sabres. Thus, to the unspeakable relief of the 600 Europeans, the 2,500 soldiers stood disarmed, and were marched off to their lines comparatively harmless. The troops no longer to be trusted with arms, had been actively employed in the conquest of the country. The sepoys in the fort were dealt with in an equally summary manner. Major Spencer, who commanded the wing of the 26th light infantry in the fort, was privately informed that his men would be relieved on the morning of the 14th, instead of on the 15th, as before ordered. At daybreak on the 14th, three companies of the 81st, under Colonel Smith, entered the fort, to the utter dismay of the sepoys, who obeyed without demur the order to lay down their arms, and were speedily marched off to their own lines at Meean-Meer.

The immediate danger being thus averted, provision was made for the future in the same masterly manner. Very happy was Lahore, alike in its chief military and civil authority; and especially so in the cordial co-operation of the soldier and the "political." Brigadier Corbett is described as a man to whom seven-and-thirty years of Indian service had given ripe experience, yet robbed of none of the mental and physical vigour necessary to cope with unprecedented difficulties. Responsibility, the bugbear of so many Indian officials, had no terrors for him; and he devoted himself to the detail of the great military movements which were about to be made; while his coadjutor, Montgomery, acting for the absent chief commissioner, procured the stoppage of all sepoys' letters passing through the post-offices, and the removal of all treasure from the smaller civil stations to places of greater security; having it immediately taken out of the charge of Hindoostanee guards, and escorted by Punjabee police. Montgomery urged on the district officers (in a circular very like those issued by General Wellesley, while engaged in the pacification of Malabar in 1803), that "no signs of alarm or excitement should be exhibited, but that each functionary should be prepared to act, and careful to obtain the best information from every possible source." To Frederick Cooper, the deputy-commissioner at Umritsir, he wrote privately on the 12th of May, urging him to keep the strictest watch on the sepoys stationed there (the 59th Native infantry, and a company of foot artillery), as also on the state of feeling among the population; and to take every possible precaution, "so as to be ready in case of a row."

Umritsir was the holy city of the Seiks. The adjacent fort of Govindghur was named after their great general, judge, and priest, Govind Sing. The *Koh-i-Noor* had been deposited here previous to its seizure by the British; and the possession of the fort, like that of the famous gem, was looked upon as a talismanic pledge of power. The question arose, whether the "Khalsa,"* shaken in their confidence in the "Ikbal" (luck or good fortune) of the English, might not be induced to co-operate even with the hated Mohammedan and despised Hindoo, for the expulsion of the foreigners who had equally humbled every native power? Mr. Cooper possessed much personal influence, which he used in controlling the Seik and Mohammedan leaders. Besides this, the harvest in the Punjab had been singularly abundant; and the Jat, or agricultural population, contented themselves, had no sympathy with the grievances of the "Poorbeahs," or Easterns, as the Bengal sepoys were usually called in Western India, on account of their being raised chiefly from territory situated to the east of the Ganges. In the evening of the 14th, an express from Lahore brought warning of the rumoured intention of the disarmed regiments of Meean-Meer to fly somewhere—possibly in the direction of Ferozpoor; but more probably to attack Govindghur, in reliance on the fraternal feeling of the sepoy garrison.

Mr. Macnaghten, the assistant-commissioner, volunteered to go midway on the road to Lahore, and raise a band of villagers to intercept the expected rebels. The country-people responded with enthusiasm. About midnight, Mr. Macnaghten, hearing a great tramp, mustered his volunteers, and formed a barricade across the road. The villagers suggested that the oxen and bullocks should remain, because the Hindoos would not cut through them; but the experiment was not tried; for, happily, the new-comers proved to be about eighty of H.M.'s 81st, who had been sent off from Lahore, thirty miles distant, on the previous morning, in *ekkas*, or light native carts, drawn by ponies. The safety of *Phillour*, the chief place in the Jullundur or Trans-Sutlej division, was

* The Khalsa (literally, the elect or chosen), was the proud title assumed by the Seiks on conquering the Punjab.

obtained by stationing a strong European detachment within the fort, which had previously been wholly left in the hands of the natives; not a single European sleeping within its walls. The care of the civil lines, and the peace of the town, was the next important object; and the first consideration of the officer in charge (the deputy-commissioner, Captain Farrington) was, what course would be taken by Rajah Rundheer Sing, whose territory lay between Jullundur and the river Beas. The Kaporthella chief was one of the Seik sirdars whose estates were partly confiscated by the English on the annexation of the Jullundur Doab in 1846. The present rajah succeeded his father in 1853, and is described as a handsome young man of about six-and-twenty, who, "with the manly bearing and address of a Seik noble, combines a general intelligence far beyond his class, and a deep sympathy with English modes of life and thought." Captain Farrington immediately sent to Kaporthella for assistance. The rajah had been absent on a pilgrimage to Hurdwar, but was on his return home, and reached Phillour on the 11th of May, where his minister met him with tidings of the telegraphic intelligence, and appeal for aid. This was heartily given: the rajah marched straight into Jullundur, placed his escort at the disposal of the British, and furnished, besides, about 500 men and two guns, which force Captain Farrington distributed for the defence of the treasury, gaol, and other public buildings.

In the course of the first eventful week of the mutiny, it became evident that the Seiks and Jats of the Punjab, generally, had no intention of making common cause with the Bengal army. On the contrary, they had old scores of their own, which they hoped to have an opportunity of wiping off. It is said they were specially eager to aid in the capture of Delhi, in consequence of the existence of a prophecy, that they, in conjunction with the "topee wallahs" (hat wearers) who should come over the sea, would lay the head of the son of the Delhi sovereign on the very same spot where that of their Guru (spiritual chief) had been exposed 180 years before, by order of the emperor Aurungzebe; and this, as the course of the narrative will show, they actually accomplished.

The *Peshawur Valley* was a point the security of which was of extreme importance. The force stationed at Peshawur, Nowshera, Murdaun, and the frontier forts at the foot of the surrounding hills, comprised nearly 14,000 men of all arms, of whom less than a third were Europeans. The exact proportions of the Native troops in the Peshawur district have not been stated; but according to a valuable state paper recently published by the Punjab government, the total Native force then serving in the Punjab and Delhi territory, consisted of 24,000 Punjabees and 41,000 Hindoostanees.*

Of the artillery, twenty-four light field guns were partially manned and driven by Hindoostanees, and the eight guns of the mountain-train battery entirely so.

Very early in the crisis, Rajah Sahib Dyal, an old and faithful adherent of government, asked Cooper, of Umritsir, "how matters looked at Peshawur?" The reply was satisfactory. "Otherwise——," said the questioner; and he took up the skirt of his muslin robe, and rolled it significantly up, as if preparing for flight.† Nor were his fears unreasonable.

The city of Peshawur is situated forty miles from the Indus, and ten from the mouth of the Khyber Pass, which is itself formed and guarded by the central and highest of the snow-capped mountains that surround the fertile horse-shoe valley of Peshawur. The predominating characteristics of the city are Indian; yet many indications exist there of Afghan life and manners—such as the trees planted throughout the streets; the western fruits exposed for sale; the strict seclusion of the women; above all, the prevalence of the stern aquiline Jewish physiognomy among the population. The cantonments resembled all other Indian ones, being only remarkable for extent. The parade-ground was sufficient for 6,000 soldiers. There were the same white houses, each in its own enclosure; the same straight lines of road; the same red brick barracks for the Europeans; the same mud huts for the Native troops.‡ Like Agra, Peshawur had a fanatical Mohammedan population; a crowded bazaar, with its reckless, ruthless mob; and an additional danger existed in the host of poor and plunder-loving tribes

* Quoted in *Overland Indian Mail;* January 8th, 1859.

† Cooper's *Crisis in the Punjab*, p. 57.

‡ Article on "Peshawur," in *Fraser's Magazine*, January, 1859.

who inhabited the surrounding hills, and, in the event of a struggle, would assuredly take part with the stronger. The wilds and hilly fastnesses, which extend north and south along our frontier for 800 miles, were in the hands of some thirty or more different tribes. The political management of these rested with Colonel Nicholson and Major Edwardes, under the supervision of Sir John Lawrence.

On the 13th of May, a court-martial met at Peshawur, consisting of General Reid, Brigadier Cotton, Brigadier Neville Chamberlain, Colonel Edwardes, and Colonel Nicholson, and resolved that the troops in the hills should be concentrated in Jhelum, the central point of the Punjab. In accordance with this resolution, H.M.'s 27th foot from the hills at Nowshera, H.M.'s 24th foot from Rawul Pindee, one European troop of horse artillery from Peshawur, the Guide corps from Murdaun, 16th irregular cavalry from Rawul Pindee, the native Kumaon battalion from the same place, the 1st Punjab infantry from Bunnoo, a wing of the 2nd Punjab cavalry from Kohat, and half a company of sappers from Attock, were ordered to concentrate at Jhelum, for the purpose of forming a movable column, in readiness to quell mutiny wherever it might appear.

The danger which menaced the Punjab was fully appreciated by Sir John Lawrence; but without waiting to test the temper of the Seiks, and even while considering (as he afterwards stated) that "no man could hope, much less foresee, that they would withstand the temptation of avenging the loss of their national independence,"* he nevertheless urged on the commander-in-chief, in the earliest days of the mutiny, the paramount necessity of wresting Delhi from the hands of the rebels, at any hazard and any sacrifice, before the example of successful resistance should become known in India—before reinforcements of mutineers should flock to the imperial city, and thus teach its present craven occupants the value of the *prestige* they had so undeservedly obtained, and of the advantages they at first evinced so little capacity of using.

General Anson, on relinquishing his idea of marching immediately on Delhi, seriously discussed the advisability of fortifying Umballah; and asked the advice of Sir John Lawrence, whose reply, given in the language of the whist table—with which the commander-in-chief was notoriously more conversant than with that of war, offensive or defensive†—was simply this: "When in doubt, win the trick. Clubs are trumps; not spades."‡ To render his advice practicable, Sir John Lawrence strained every nerve in raising corps for reinforcements, and even parted with the famous Guide corps; sending it, the Kumaon battalion, and other portions of the movable column, to join the army moving on Delhi, and recruiting his own ranks as best he could.

The Peshawur residency, although deemed unsafe for habitation, was, at this critical period, richly stored. Twenty-five lacs of rupees, or £250,000, intended as a subsidy for Dost Mohammed, had been most opportunely deposited there; for, in the financial paralysis consequent on the crisis, this money proved of the greatest service in enabling the authorities to meet the heavy commissariat expenses.§ To retain it in the residency was, however, only to offer a strong temptation to the lowest classes of the population; and it was therefore sent for safety to the strong and famous old fort of *Attock*, which commands the passage of the Indus, whose waters wash its walls. The fort was garrisoned by a wing of H.M.'s 27th foot; provisioned for a siege, and its weak points strengthened. The communication between Attock and Peshawur (a distance of forty miles) was protected by sending the 55th Native infantry, and part of the 10th irregular cavalry, from Nowshera, on the Attock road, across the Cabool river to Murdaun, a station left vacant by the departure of the Guides. The men suspected that they had been sent there because their loyalty was distrusted; and taunted their colonel, Spottiswoode, with having brought them to a prison. The colonel, who firmly believed in the integrity of his regiment, assured them to the contrary, and promised to forward to head-quarters any petition they might draw up. They accordingly framed one; and the most prominent grievance of which they complained, was the breaking up in practice, though not in name, of the invalid establishment.‖

* Letter from Sir J. Lawrence to Mr. Raikes. — *Revolt in the N. W. Provinces*, p. 75.

† General Anson is said to have been the author of a well-known Hand-book on Whist, by "Major A."

‡ Cooper's *Crisis in the Punjab*, p. 45.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

‖ See Introductory Chapter to narrative of Mutiny p. 111.

Meanwhile, the 24th and 27th Native infantry, at Peshawur, had held a midnight meeting; and the 51st Native infantry, and 5th light cavalry, had likewise given evidence of disaffection. The 27th had Nicholson for their colonel—the mighty man of war, to whom the native chiefs now applied the title once given to Runjeet Sing—the Lion of the Punjab. Nicholson earnestly recommended the disarming of the suspected regiments; but Brigadier Cotton hesitated, until Colonel Edwardes, arriving at the critical moment at Peshawur, from Calcutta, strenuously urged the adoption of the measure, which was successfully carried through on the morning of the 21st of May. The fidelity of the 21st Native infantry was deemed perfectly trustworthy; and subsequent events proved it so. Among the intercepted letters, there were none which in any way compromised this regiment: on the contrary, an old subahdar was found, in reply to some mutinous proposition, to have urged the sepoys to stand by their salt, as, though the mutineers might have their way for three months, after that the British would be supreme again. The tone of the other letters was different, though the sentiments of the writers were often veiled in allegorical expressions. "Pearls," or white-faces, were quoted as low in the market; "red wheat," or coloured faces, as looking up.

When intelligence reached Peshawur concerning the state of the 55th at Murdaun, a European detachment was sent off thither under Colonel Chute, who, on arriving there, found a body of the 55th Native infantry, consisting of about 120 men, drawn up to receive him. This was the faithful remnant of the 55th; the rest of the sepoys having broken up and taken to flight, without attempting to injure their officers. Colonel Spottiswoode, in the first bitterness of disappointment, committed suicide. Colonel Nicholson, with a troop of horse artillery, the 18th irregular cavalry, one hundred Punjab infantry, and forty of his personal escort, started off in pursuit of the mutineers, and captured 150 of them, with the colours, and upwards of 200 stand of arms. "Nicholson was in the saddle twenty hours, having gone over some seventy miles. The terror of his name spread throughout the valley, and gave additional emphasis to the moral effect of the disarming policy." The zemindars of Huzara, through which district the mutineers strove to escape to Hindoostan, brought most of them in to the government, with their money all safe. The conduct of the Punjab infantry (the 5th) in this first encounter was very satisfactory; it seemed like a pledge of the fidelity of the whole Punjab force.

The 10th irregular cavalry had refused to act against the 55th. They were, consequently, disarmed and disbanded. The first person executed for mutiny at Peshawur was a subahdar-major of the 51st Native infantry, who was captured and hanged. He boasted that he had been a rebel for more than a year, and that the English rule was at an end. Twelve men of the same regiment were hanged two days afterwards, in a row, on full parade of all the troops; and, subsequently, the fearful penalty of blowing away from guns was inflicted upon forty of the 55th Native infantry.

The number of mutineers caught, and brought in by the hill tribes, must have been considerable; but no official statement has been published on the subject. The peculiar tenets and practice of the Seiks, were regarded as calculated to prevent coalition between them and the frontier Mohammedans. The two classes were therefore eliminated from the disarmed masses, and formed into a new corps. A Patan regiment was also raised. Ten men out of every European company were at once instructed in gun drill, and the Peshawur light horse sprang into existence, mounted on horses from the 5th light cavalry and the disbanded 10th irregulars.

Some of the officers employed in the laborious and responsible labour of assembling and drilling recruits, have become deservedly famous, and their names are now household words in the homes of England and her colonies. Others have been less fortunate, especially the members of the civil service, many of whom, with John Lawrence and Robert Montgomery for leaders, acted most zealously as recruiting sergeants. The "Letters" published since the death of Major Hodson, throw considerable light on the exploits of this officer and his gallant comrades. On the 19th of May he received orders to raise and command a new regiment, afterwards well known as Hodson's Horse; which he was well fitted to do, from the ability he had previously shown while connected with the Guides. "On the 20th of May, having been placed in charge of the Intelligence Department, he started

from Kurnaul at nine in the evening, with one led horse and an escort of Seik cavalry; arrived at Meerut about daybreak; delivered the commander-in-chief's despatches to General Wilson; had a bath, breakfast, and two hours' sleep, and then rode back the seventy-six miles, thirty miles of the distance lying through a hostile country."*

General van Cortlandt was another commander of irregular troops, whose name will frequently appear in the course of the narrative. He was serving the British government in a civil capacity at the time of the outbreak, but was then called on to levy recruits. The nucleus of his force consisted of 300 Dogras (short built, sturdy men), belonging to Rajah Jowahir Sing, of Lahore. This number he increased to 1,000; and the Dogras did good service under their veteran leader.

CHAPTER VIII.

MARCH OF BRITISH FORCES, AND SIEGE OF DELHI.—MAY 27TH TO JUNE 24TH, 1857.

ADVANCE ON DELHI.—The terrible turning-point passed, and the fact proved that, in the hands of Sir John Lawrence and his lieutenants, the Punjab was not a source of danger, but a mine of strength, affairs at head-quarters assumed a new aspect; and the arrival of the Seik reinforcements was of invaluable assistance to the small band of Europeans on whom alone reliance could previously be placed, it having been found necessary to disarm the 5th Native infantry at Umballah on the morning of May 29th, the day before General Barnard, with the staff of the army, started from Kurnaul for Delhi. The 60th Native infantry were detached to Rohtuck, it being considered too great a trial of fidelity to employ this Hindoostanee corps in besieging their countrymen and co-religionists.

Encounter at the Hindun.—The small detachment of troops from Meerut, under Brigadier Wilson, marched thence on the 27th of May, to join the main body, and, on the morning of the 30th, encamped at Ghazi-u-deen Nuggur, a small but strongly fortified position on the river Hindun, about ten miles from Delhi. The troops were weary with night marches, and enfeebled by the intensity of the hot winds. No one entertained any suspicion of the vicinity of the enemy. At about four o'clock in the afternoon, when officers and men were for the most part asleep, a picket of irregulars, stationed beyond the suspension-bridge, gave the alarm of an approaching foe. The bugles sounded, and the Rifles had scarcely formed before an 18-pounder shot burst into the British camp, and took one leg from each of two native palkee-bearers, who were sitting at the tent door of the Carabineers' hospital. The attacking force consisted of a strong detachment of mutineers from Delhi, who had succeeded in bringing their heavy guns to bear on the British camp before even their vicinity was suspected. Two 18-pounders were speedily opened to meet the hostile fire; the Rifles crossed the bridge, and were soon actively engaged in front; while the horse artillery, under Lieutenant-colonel Mackenzie, turned the left flank of the enemy, who thereupon commenced a retreat, leaving behind them five guns (two of large calibre),† and carts full of intrenching tools and sand-bags. The long delay of the British had evidently given time to the rebels to plan, but not to execute, the occupation of a fortified position on the Hindun. The numbers engaged are but vaguely stated. The chaplain who accompanied the expedition, speaks of 700 Englishmen attacking a force seven times their number.‡ The loss on the British side, in killed and wounded, did not exceed forty-four men; and was chiefly occasioned by the explosion of a cart-full of ammunition near the toll-bar, which a havildar of the 11th (a Meerut mutineer) fired into when the rout began. He was instantly bayoneted. Captain Andrews, of the Rifles, was killed

* *Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India*, p. 7.
† Greathed's *Letters*, p. 6.
‡ The Chaplain's *Narrative*, p. 26.

while cheering his men to the charge; and a young lieutenant of the same regiment, Napier by name, and of the true lion breed, was shot in the leg. Amputation was performed, and the sufferer sank slowly under its effects; exclaiming often, with bitter tears, "I shall never lead the Rifles again! I shall never lead the Rifles again!"

Captain Dickson had a narrow escape. His horse ran away during the pursuit, and carried him far ahead of his troop, into the midst of the fugitives; but he cut down two sepoys, and returned unhurt. The loss of life, on the part of the mutineers, must have been very heavy. Some took refuge in a village, which was burnt; many were destroyed by the Carabineers; and about fifty were found "concealed in a ditch, not one of whom was permitted to escape."*

The following day (Whit-Sunday) opened with the burial of the slain. At noon a second attack was made by the rebels, who were defeated, driven out of two villages, and forced to retire from ridge to ridge, until they disappeared in the distance, in full retreat to Delhi. They succeeded, however, in carrying off their cannon, consisting of two heavy pieces and five light guns, the remains of Captain de Teissier's battery; the excessive heat and want of water hindering the pursuit of the Rifles. The European loss, in killed and wounded, amounted to twenty-four: of these, ten were sun-struck.†

The conduct of the Goorkas was considered extremely satisfactory. A false alarm being given on the 3rd of June, they were so delighted at the chance of getting a fight, that "they threw somersaults and cut capers." Mr. Greathed adds—"We feel quite safe about the Goorkas; their grog-drinking propensities are a great bond with the British soldier."

Notwithstanding the resemblance between the two races in the point which of all other most mars the efficiency of the British army, very strong doubts had been entertained, previous to the march of the force, regarding the fidelity of the hardy little mountaineers. In fact, a general panic had been occasioned at Simla by a report that the Nusseeree battalion stationed at Jutog, seven miles off, were in open mutiny, and had refused to march when ordered down by the commander-in-chief.

* The Chaplain's *Narrative*, p. 27.

† Return, by Brigadier Wilson.—Further Parl. Papers, 1857; pp. 119 to 121.

Simla, very shortly after its original occupation, became, to the leading Calcutta functionaries, what the lovely valley of Cashmere had been to the Great Moguls. The civilians of highest rank in the East India Company's service, with their wives and families, resorted thither; several governors-general almost lived there; and officers on leave of absence helped to make up a population of a quite peculiar character. The feeling of security had been, up to May, 1857, general and uninterrupted; ladies had travelled from Calcutta to Simla, and, indeed, through all parts of India, under an exclusively native escort, without one thought of danger; but the news from Meerut and Delhi broke with startling force on the mind of a very weak and very wealthy community, and led the residents to regard with anxiety every indication of the temper of the troops. Simla was not a military station; and the neighbouring one of Jutog, seven miles distant, was held by the Nusseeree battalion, containing nearly 800 Goorkas and six European officers. The 1st European Bengal Fusiliers were cantoned at the sanitary station of Dugshai (in Sirmoor; a Rajpoot hill-state, adjoining Putteeala), sixteen miles south of Simla; and H.M.'s 75th foot at Kussowlie, another sanatarium, forty miles distant: but the frightened population had no reason to place confidence in any prompt measures being adopted for their protection in the event of an *émeute*, after the incapacity evinced at Meerut. The fidelity of the Goorkas was the uppermost question with them; and it was not without cause that they were at one moment convinced that the sword was suspended over their defenceless heads by something little stronger than a hair.

The Nusseeree battalion, says an authority who may be supposed to know the truth of what he affirms, "was distinctly disaffected on the cartridge question." The order for the entire battalion to march down into the plains, was an unprecedented one; a company having been, on all previous occasions, left to protect their families during their absence. The precautions adopted by the residents at Simla, were indignantly denounced by the Goorkas as evincing mistrust in them, especially the removal of the Goorka guard from the government treasury, and the measures adopted for its defence. They demanded, as an evidence of confidence, that they should be

put on guard over and in the bank, in which lay some 80,000 Company's rupees. "The critical state of affairs," Mr. Cooper states, "may be judged not only from the audacity of their demands, but the undisguised audacity of their bearing. They demanded to be shown the actual treasure; and their swarthy features lit up with glee unpleasant to the eye of the bystander, when they saw the shining pieces. One sepoy tossed back the flap of the coat of a gentleman present, and made a queer remark on the revolver he saw worn underneath."* At Kussowlie, just above Umballah, a party of Goorkas actually robbed the treasury, and the rest broke into open bloodshed. Captain Blackall was about to order a party of H.M.'s 75th to act against the Goorkas; when Mr. Taylor, the assistant-commissioner, represented to him, that the safety of the helpless community of Simla depended on the avoidance of an outbreak. Captain Blackall acknowledged the force of the argument, and contented himself with adopting purely defensive measures, although actually surrounded by the Goorkas, and taunted with such expressions as "Shot for shot!" "Life for life!" In fact, the wise counsel of Mr. Taylor, and the address and temper evinced by Captain Blackall, proved the means of preserving Simla from being the scene of "horrors, in which, in enormities, perhaps Cawnpoor would have been outdone."† The wisdom of the conciliation policy practised at Kussowlie, was not at first appreciated at Simla; and the replacement of the government treasury under the charge of the Goorkas, was viewed, naturally enough, as a perilous confession of weakness. "The panic reached its climax, and general and precipitate flight commenced. Officers, in high employ, rushed into ladies' houses, shouting, 'Fly for your lives! the Goorkas are upon us!' Simla was in a state of consternation: shoals of half-crazed fugitives, timid ladies, hopeless invalids, sickly children hardly able to totter—whole families burst forth, and poured helter-skelter down on Dugshai and Kussowlie. Some ran down steep khuds [ravines] and places marked only by the footprints of the mountain herds, and remained all night. Never had those stately pines looked down upon, or those sullen glens and mossy retreats echoed with, such a tumult and hubbub. Ladies, who are now placidly pursuing ordinary domestic duties, wrote off perhaps for the last time to their distracted husbands in the plains: then, snatching up their little ones, fled away, anywhere out of the Simla world. Extraordinary feats were performed; some walked thirty miles! Some, alas! died from the effects of exhaustion and fear." The Mohammedan servants exulted in the belief that the European raj was about to close; and among the many anecdotes current during the panic, was one of a little boy being jeeringly told that his mamma would soon be grinding gram for the King of Delhi!‡

The news reached the commander-in-chief (Anson) at the time when the scales had just fallen from his eyes, and when the massacres of Meerut and Delhi, and the remonstrances of Sir John Lawrence and Colvin, had convinced him of the miserable error of his past proceedings. The plan of coercing and disbanding regiments had worse than failed with the Poorbeahs: it was not likely to succeed with the Goorkas. The Jutog troops were on the point, if not in the act, of mutiny; and, if not arrested, their example of defection or rebellion might be followed by the Kumaon and Sirmoor battalions, and the 66th (Napier's corps);§ and thus the resources of government would be lessened, and its difficulties greatly increased. In this strait, General Anson selected Captain Briggs, superintendent of roads, who possessed an intimate knowledge of the habits, customs, and feelings of the Goorkas, and desired him to hold communication with them, and secure their adherence even at the price of wholesale condonation of mutiny. This was actually done. A free pardon was given to the regiment generally, the only exception being a subahdar, named Chunderbun, described by Major Bagot as one of the best soldiers in the corps, and who had been absent at the time of the mutiny, but who had irretrievably offended his comrades by stating that they had no objection to use the new cartridges. Two men, "dismissed by order of court-martial" for taunting the school of musketry, "were restored to the service." These extraordinary concessions proved as successful as the opposite policy (commenced by the disbandment of the unfortunate 19th N. I.) had been disastrous. The advance on Delhi during the intense heat was as trying to the Goorkas as to the

* Cooper's *Crisis in the Punjab*, p. 103.
† *Ibid.*, p. 104.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 99.
§ See page 107, *ante*.

Europeans. Yet they never showed any symptoms of disaffection. "The men," says Captain Chester, writing on the 17th of June, "have marched double marches; from their small numbers, every man, in addition, has been on daily duty. They have suffered severely from fever and cholera without a murmur." In fact, it was deemed politic to dwell exclusively on the bright side of the Goorka character. The Simla panic was talked of as if there had been no reasonable ground for any apprehension whatever; and the case being now changed, the "savage little demons," who had been conquered in a recent war by our "faithful Hindoostanee sepoys," became recognised as the "gallant hardy mountaineers," whose inveterate hatred to the "treacherous Poorbeahs" was alone a virtue calculated to counterbalance every less desirable characteristic. More unscrupulous auxiliaries in offensive warfare could scarcely have been found; no Pindarree of olden times ever loved pillage better than a modern Goorka, and probably none had so keen a zest for the work of destruction. No pen has traced, or perhaps ever can trace, even a sketch of the misery which must have been inflicted by the British army, and its hasty heterogeneous assemblage of irregular troops—with its terrible requirements of compulsory, and often unpaid, always ill-paid, labour from man and beast, and its other almost inevitable accompaniments of violence and pillage—on the helpless population of India. It is only an incidental remark here and there, which affords a glimpse of the working of what are termed military operations in a densely populated country. Mr. Greathed, for instance, mentions, that shortly after the second encounter at Ghazi-u-deen, while riding about the scene of action, he noticed that "a party of our people were destroying the village of Urthulla, to prevent the enemy from getting under cover in it in case of another attack. The elephants were engaged in pushing down the walls. The poor inhabitants are certainly to be pitied; but the destruction is a necessity: they were unluckily Jats, who are for the most part our friends."* No compensation appears to have been thought necessary in this case; if it had been, Mr. Greathed, as political agent specially attached to the field force, would hardly have left so important a point unnoticed. On the contrary, he speaks of the "baggage people" being employed "in plundering the village of Urthulla" quite as a matter of course, not at all requiring the intervention of the provost-marshal, or the sharp correctives the mention of which are familiar to the readers of the Indian despatches of General Wellesley.

On the night of the 5th June, Brigadier Wilson and the Meerut force crossed the Jumna at Bhagput by a bridge of boats, "and slept like so many alligators on the sand till dawn."† On Sunday, the 7th, they joined the main body under Sir Henry Barnard at Alipoor, ten miles from Delhi. After the junction, the force in camp comprised about 600 cavalry, and 2,400 infantry, with twenty-two guns, besides the siege-train. The details were as follows:—

Sixteen horse artillery guns (Europeans); six horse battery guns (ditto); 9th Lancers; two squadrons Carabineers; six companies 60th Rifles; 75th foot; 1st Fusiliers; six companies 2nd Fusiliers; head-quarters Sirmoor battalion; and the portion of the sappers and miners which had not yet mutinied—about 150 in number. The siege-train consisted of eight 18-pounder guns, four 8-inch howitzers, four 8-inch mortars, and twelve 5⅘-inch mortars; and had attached to it a weak company of European artillery (4th of 6th battalion), and 100 European artillery recruits.

At 2 A.M. on the 8th of June, the troops marched from Alipoor to attack the enemy's advanced intrenched position at Badulee-ke-Serai, four miles from Delhi. The baggage was left behind until the result of the attack should be known, under the charge of a squadron of the Carabineers, a company of the Fusiliers, and the chief part of the contingent of the rajah of Jheend. The Serai (or open building for the reception of travellers) held by the mutineers, lay on the right of the Trunk road, and was defended by a sand-bag battery, erected on a small natural elevation. The main assault was made in front just as the day broke, and the lights in the enemy's camp became visible. The flank attack was delayed by the difficulty experienced by Brigadier Grant in getting his guns over some watercourses, and the fire of the enemy's heavy battery began to tell seriously on the main body; the men fell fast: and the staff offering a tempting mark, two officers, Colonel Chester (the adjutant-general) and Captain Russell, were mortally wounded by the same shot, and several horses were hit in the course of one or two minutes. When Colonel Chester fell, with his horse also mortally wounded under him, Captain Barnard, the son of the general,

* Greathed's *Letters*, p. 15. † *Ibid.*, p. 24.

raised the head of the wounded man, and enabled him to see the nature of his injury; after which, knowing his case hopeless, he bade young Barnard leave him, and expired. The sufferings of Captain Russell were far more protracted: his leg had been shot off above the knee, and he lived for some hours in great bodily agony. But his mind was clear; and he died praying, in the words of the publican, "God be merciful to me a sinner."* After these officers were shot, the 75th were ordered to charge and take the heavy battery. The corps, led by Brigadier Showers and Colonel Herbert, accomplished this duty with the assistance of the 1st Fusiliers, and the insurgents fell back, abandoning their camp and several guns. The British pushed on in pursuit, clearing many gardens until they reached the cross-roads, one of which led to the city through the Subzee Mundee (or vegetable market) suburb, and the other to the cantonments. Here the troops divided into two columns, each of which marched on till they met on either side of a ridge, on which stood the Flagstaff tower, Hindoo Rao's house, and a mosque midway between these two afterwards famous positions. The insurgents had posted three guns at the Flagstaff tower, and from thence a cannonade was opened on the advancing force; but the guns were soon silenced by Sir Henry Barnard's column, which proceeded along the crest of the ridge, carrying all before it, until, on reaching Hindoo Rao's house, a junction was effected with Brigadier Wilson's column, which had come by the Subzee Mundee suburb, had been opposed on the way, and had captured an 18-pounder gun. The action terminated at about half-past nine.

The British camp was pitched on the parade-ground, having its rear protected by the canal, with the advantage of bridges on either extreme, which the enemy had previously attempted to destroy with only partial success. Several batteries were established on the ridge; but the nearest of them was 1,200 yards, or upwards, from the walls; deficiency in the number of troops, and character of ordnance, rendering it unsafe to approach nearer.† The main picket was at Hindoo Rao's house, a building which formerly belonged to a rich old Hindoo, and had verandahs, outhouses, and every other accommodation on a most extensive scale. During the siege it is said to have afforded "a sort of protection to 800 troops, besides 200 or 300 coolies, servants, and camp-followers of all kinds;" and being built in the strong native fashion, it withstood, in the most surprising manner, the constant cannonading directed against it.‡ The picket was commanded from the very first by Major Reid, of the Sirmoor battalion; who never left his post even to come into camp, from the time he assumed command of it till the 14th of September, the day of the storming operations, when he was severely wounded.

The total loss on the side of the British, in the action of the 8th of June, was 51 killed, 132 wounded, and two missing. It has been asserted, that a thousand of the mutineers who came out never returned to Delhi. Their killed and wounded are supposed to have amounted to three or four hundred; and many took the opportunity of decamping to their homes after or during the battle. Thirteen guns were captured.

Major-general Reid, the provincial commander-in-chief, arrived at Alipoor, from Rawul Pindee, on the 8th of June, just as the troops were marching. Unwell and greatly fatigued by a rapid journey during intense heat, he took no part in the action, and never assumed command until after the death of Sir Henry Barnard, though his advice in matters of moment was freely sought and given.

On the morning of the 9th of June, the Guide corps—the first reinforcement sent from the Punjab by Lawrence—reached Delhi, under the command of Captain Daly. It consisted of three troops of cavalry and six companies of infantry, and had marched from Murdaun, on the Peshawur frontier, to Delhi, 580 miles in twenty-two of the hottest days in the year; and though the infantry were occasionally assisted with camels or ponies on the line of road, the march was a surprising one even for cavalry. The men showed extreme delight at finding their old commandant, Lieutenant Hodson, in camp; and, surrounding him with exclamations of "Burra serai-wallah" (great in battle), they seized his bridle, dress, hands, and feet, and flung themselves down before his horse, frantic with joy. It seems that some unfortunate misunderstanding with the authorities, concerning the regimental accounts, had led to his removal from the

* The Chaplain's *Narrative*, p. 43.

† *Campaign of the Delhi Army*, by Major H. W. Norman, deputy adjutant-general; p. 12.

‡ Letter from Lieutenant Hawes, of the Guide corps.—*Star*, Sept. 18th, 1857.

corps two years before; and they rejoiced in his restoration to them, as much as he did in the prospect of again leading "the dear old Guides." He had not long to wait before hearing their well-known cheer as they followed him to battle, though under the immediate command of Captain Daly. That same afternoon the mutineers marched out of Delhi, and attacked the Hindoo Rao picket. The Guides moved up to support the position, and the insurgents were driven back into the city with considerable slaughter. Several lives were lost on the side of the British, including that of Quintin Battye, the youthful commandant of the Guides' cavalry—a popular and enthusiastic soldier, to whose amiable qualities Hodson bears full testimony; adding, "The brave boy died with a smile on his lip, and a Latin quotation on his tongue."*

No correct estimate could be formed of the strength of the force in Delhi. Besides the mutinous garrison, the Meerut rebels, and those who had flocked from Roorkee, Alighur, Boolundshuhur, Muttra, Ferozpoor, and Umballah, a strong reinforcement had immediately preceded the besieging army—namely, the Hurriana light infantry battalion, and the 4th irregular cavalry, which had mutinied at Hansi, Hissar, and Sirsa.

Hansi is a strong town, which, towards the close of the last century, was the chief place in the jaghire of the successful adventurer, George Thomas. It is situated eighty-nine miles north-west of Delhi. *Hissar* and *Sirsa* (two military stations of minor importance) lie fifteen and forty-five miles, respectively, further in the same direction. The circumstances of the outbreak were not then officially related; but, from private sources, it appeared to have been sudden and unexpected. Mr. Taylor, the assistant in charge of the government cattle-farm at Hissar, was sitting playing chess at noon on the 30th of May, with another European in the civil service of the Company, when a servant rushed into the room, and announced the arrival of some sowars from Delhi. The Native troops and population seem to have risen immediately. The majority of the Europeans sought and found safety in flight. Mr. Taylor received several wounds, but succeeded in effecting his escape. Seven European men and seven women, with fifteen children and two Eurasian women, are stated to have perished in the return furnished by the officiating commissioner of Hissar; but Mr. Taylor's list, likewise published by authority, and apparently grounded on more accurate data, gives the total number at fourteen. The magistrate, Mr. Wedderburn, and Lieutenant Barwell, adjutant of the Hurriana light cavalry, fell by the hands of the mutineers; while Mrs. Wedderburn, her child, and Mrs. Barwell, were thought to have been murdered by the customs' peons.†

The rajah of Putteeala acted in the most noble manner towards the Hansi and Hissar fugitives. He sent out troops to search for them and cover their retreat; furnished them with every necessary, in the way of money, food, and clothing; and desired that whatever they might call for should be supplied gratis. The effect of this conduct was most beneficial to the British, and warrants the strong expression used by Mr. Douglas Forsyth, deputy-commissioner of the Umballah and adjacent districts—that "if it had not been for the rajah of Putteeala, none of us in these Cis-Sutlej States would now be alive."

At Hansi several lives were also alleged to have been lost; but the official records were silent on the subject. The mutineers, after plundering the Hissar treasury, which contained about a lac of rupees (£10,000), marched off unopposed to Delhi. They arrived there, as has been stated, before General Barnard; but had it been otherwise, their entrance to the city could not have been prevented, at least not by means compatible with the rules adopted for the conduct of the campaign by the military commanders. Sir John, or Sir Henry Lawrence, or Nicholson, or any soldier or civilian acquainted with the native character, and alive to the paramount importance of wresting Delhi from the hands of the rebels in their first moment of weakness and utter incapacity, would probably, had they been entrusted with the direction of affairs, have marched on the city at all hazards, trusting to promptitude and energy, free pardons and liberal rewards, as the best mode of dealing with a frightened, excited, unreasoning multitude—without leaders, without a plan, and evidently without confidence in one another.

The distressing and humiliating position in which the British found themselves on sitting down before Delhi, was indeed calculated to teach "a terrible lesson on the

* See p. 118, *ante*.

† *London Gazette* (2nd supplement), May 6th, 1858.

evils of delay." Any advantage gained thereby was, as ought to have been foreseen, more than counterbalanced by the rapid growth of the enemy's resources.*

Before a siege-train could be procured, a marked change had taken place in the attitude of the mutineers. The name of Delhi in revolt offered to discontented adventurers throughout India, and especially to Mohammedans, an almost irresistible attraction; and while the British raised regiments of doubtful or dangerous character with toil, by dint of the most unremitting energy, and at an enormous cost, thousands flocked in at the open gates of the city, and seized the weapons and manned the guns left ready to their hand.

The long waited for siege-train, when it arrived, proved quite insufficient for the work required. "No one," as Mr. Greathed naïvely remarks, "seems to have thought that the guns at the disposal of the mutineers are 24-pounders, and that the 18-pounders we brought with us were not likely to silence them; and it is for this reason our approach to the town is rendered so difficult. There was certainly an entire miscalculation of the power of resistance afforded to the rebels by their command of the Delhi arsenal."†

In fact, the British troops, instead of the besiegers, became literally the besieged, and were thankful for the shelter offered by the ridge on which the advanced pickets stood, and which enabled them to say—"Here we are in camp, as secure against assaults as if we were in Delhi, and the mutineers outside."‡ Even this was not always the case; for at sunrise on the morning of the 12th of June, the most advanced picket, that at the Flagstaff tower, was fiercely attacked, and nearly carried by surprise, by a large body of mutineers who had contrived to approach unobserved under cover of night, and conceal themselves in the ravines in the compound or grounds attached to Sir T. Metcalfe's late house, situated between the Flagstaff tower and the river. The picket was hard pressed; the two artillery guns were nearly taken; Captain Knox, and several of the 75th foot, were killed: the enemy even descended the camp side of the ridge; and three of the rebels were killed in the sepoy lines, within a short distance of the tents, before reinforcements could be brought up to support the disputed position, and drive off the insurgents. To prevent the recurrence of a similar danger, a large picket was sent to occupy Metcalfe's house—a precaution which would have been taken earlier but for the difficulty of providing relief, and which threw up, as it were, a left flank to the British defences, and rendered it almost impossible for the enemy to pass round to attack the camp on that side. The attempt upon the Flagstaff tower had hardly been repulsed, when other bodies of insurgents advanced against Hindoo Rao's house, and through the Subzee Mundee, into the gardens on the right flank of the camp. The first of these movements was inconsiderable; but supports of all arms had to be moved up to oppose the second. Major Jacob led the 1st Fusiliers against the rebels, and drove them out of the gardens with much slaughter.§

The manifest insufficiency of the British force to besiege, much less blockade, Delhi, led certain of the officers to desire to attempt its capture by a *coup-de-main;* and Sir Henry Barnard directed three engineer officers (Wilberforce Greathed, Chesney, and Maunsell), assisted by Hodson, to form a project of attack, of which, when laid before the general, he highly approved.‖ Two gates of the city were to be blown in by powder-bags, by which means two columns of the attacking force (comprising some 1,700 or 1,800 infantry) were to effect an entrance. Early on the morning of the 13th of June, corps were formed in readiness; and the Rifles had actually got within 400 or 500 yards of the city wall, unperceived by the enemy, when they were recalled in consequence of "the mistake of a superior officer in delaying the withdrawal of the pickets, without which the infantry regiments were mere skeletons." The abandonment of the plan became inevitable, as daylight was fast approaching, and it was felt that success could not be anticipated except as the result of surprise. Major Norman pronounces the accident which hindered the attempt, an interposition of Providence on behalf of the British; and considers that defeat, or even partial success, would have been ruin; while complete success would not have achieved the results subsequently obtained.¶ Considerable difference of opinion, however, prevailed on the subject.

* Hodson's *Twelve Years in India*, p. 198.
† Greathed's *Letters*, p. 18.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 50.
§ Norman's *Campaign of the Delhi Army*, p. 13.
‖ Hodson's *Twelve Years in India*, p. 203.
¶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

Commissioner Greathed lamented the failure of the scheme, believing that an important opportunity had been lost through "the obtusity of one individual."* It was, however, a plan which could not be revived after having once been abandoned; for the enemy, though not aware of the near approach of the European troops at the time, must, it was considered, have subsequently heard of it by some channel or other, and would be more on their guard for the future. Moreover, General Barnard probably repented of having sanctioned the attempt; for he is accused of having been induced, by his Crimean experience, to overestimate the amount of resistance to be expected within the walls, and to be "disposed to treat the Pandies as Russians."† From this period almost daily sallies were made from Delhi; the British troops were much harassed, and their losses bore "a sadly large proportion to their successes."‡ The rainy season was approaching; the hospitals were full; some cases of cholera had appeared in camp; and while crippled in all their operations by the deficiency in the calibre and number of their guns, and also of men to work them, the British had the mortification of seeing constant reinforcements arriving, like tributary streams, to feed the great reservoir of revolt. The 60th Native infantry regiment reached Delhi on the 13th of June, having mutinied at Rohtuck. Colonel Seaton and the officers, though fired on by their men, succeeded in gaining the British camp in safety after a ride of fifty miles. Three or four days later, the Nusseerabad brigade joined the rebel garrison, bringing in triumph the Jellalabad field battery, under the charge of the famous company of artillery which, by Lord Ellenborough's decree, was never to be separated from the guns it had once served so gallantly. On the 19th of June, those very guns, decorated (also by Lord Ellenborough's order) with a mural crown, were turned with fatal effect against the Europeans. An hour before sunset, an attack was made by a strong body of the enemy, consisting chiefly of the Nusseerabad mutineers, on the rear of the British. The action continued some time after dark. The firing on both sides then gradually ceased, and the combatants quitted the field. Our loss was twenty killed, and seventy-seven wounded. Three officers fell, including Major Yule, of the 9th Lancers. His body was found covered with gashes, and four of his men lay dead beside him. Captain Daly, the gallant commandant of the Guide corps, was badly wounded, and Lieutenant Hodson was appointed to supply his place. Brigadier Hope Grant, who led the troops, had his horse shot under him, and was only saved by the devotion of two men of his own regiment, and two orderly sowars of the 4th irregular cavalry. A very serious accident occurred by reason of the darkness, our own guns firing into our own men.§

At a council of war held on the 17th, it had been formally resolved to wait for reinforcements, and, in the interim, to "do nothing but fire away long shots‖ at the distance of a mile, and repel the enemy's attacks"—a mode of procedure which excited the intense disgust of the younger and more enterprising officers, who exclaimed with Hodson, "If only Sir Henry Lawrence were in camp!" Hodson adds—"The mismanagement of affairs is perfectly sickening. Nothing the rebels can do will equal the evils arising from incapacity and indecision."¶

The action of the 19th exercised a depressing influence on the British camp; and it was currently reported, "that the general conceived misgivings as to the wisdom of the force continuing before Delhi."** On the 22nd, reinforcements from the Punjab, amounting to about 850 men and five guns, reached the British camp; but the ranks of the mutinous garrison were also replenished by the arrival of bands of rebels

* Greathed's *Letters*, p. 44. The obtuse individual in question is not named; but it was probably the brigadier on duty, who refused to withdraw the pickets guarding the guns on the height on any authority less than a written command from General Barnard. Hodson speaks of him as "the man who first lost Delhi, and has now, by folly, prevented its being recaptured."—Rotton's *Narrative*, p. 72. Hodson's *Twelve Years in India*, p. 208.

† Greathed's *Letters*, p. 92.

‡ Hodson's *Twelve Years in India*, p. 217.

§ Rotton's *Narrative*, p. 92.

‖ The round shot from the enemy's batteries occasionally did much damage to the advanced pickets. One, according to Mr. Rotton, was fired, on the 17th of June, into Hindoo Rao's house, which killed Ensign Wheatley, of the 54th N. I., as he lay asleep in his own apartment, and, in its course, struck down eight other men, of whom six died on the spot, and the other two were mortally wounded.—*Narrative of the Siege of Delhi*, p. 86.

¶ Hodson's *Twelve Years in India*, p. 216.

** Rotton's *Narrative*, p. 92.

from Jullundur and Phillour, composed of the 6th light cavalry, the 3rd, 36th, and 61st N.I., which regiments had mutinied during the first week of June.

The 23rd of June being the centenary of Plassy, was anxiously expected, both within and without the walls of Delhi, on account of an alleged prophecy of wide circulation, that the British raj was to expire after a hundred years' existence. The enemy issued forth in considerable force, occupied the Subzee Mundee suburb, and attacked the Hindoo Rao ridge. The contest lasted eleven hours (from 6 P.M. to 5 A.M.) before the rebels were finally compelled to retreat, Subzee Mundee being carried by the Rifles, Goorkas, and Guides. The British casualties were—one officer (Lieutenant Jackson, of the Fusiliers) and thirty-eight men killed, and 118 wounded. The mutineers were said to have lost 400 killed and 300 wounded. Among the incidents of the battle talked over that night in camp, the most popular was a grim practical joke, enacted while the rebels were being gradually driven out of the Subzee Mundee suburb. A Poorbeah, thinking all was over, put his head out of the window of one of the houses, in the shade of which a few Europeans and Goorkas were resting. Quick as thought, a Goorka sprang up, seized the rebel by his hair, and, with one sweep of his "kookery" (crooked sword), took off his head.* From this time an advanced picket was stationed in Subzee Mundee, and maintained during the rest of the siege; consisting of 180 Europeans, posted between a serai on one side, and a Hindoo temple on the other side of the Great Trunk road, both of which were strengthened and rendered defensible by the engineers.

The new adjutant-general, Colonel Chester's successor, reached the camp on the 24th of June, which the annalists of the siege mark as a red-letter day for that reason. Hodson writes—"Neville Chamberlain has arrived, and he ought to be worth a thousand men to us;" but the entry in his diary for that same day, records the arrival of the following telegram from Agra:—"Heavy firing at Cawnpoor; result not known."†

It is strange now to look back on the deep gloom, the horrible uncertainty, which overshadowed the prospects of the Europeans in Northern India; and to contrast it with the easy matter-of-course manner in which the authorities in London received the startling intelligence of mutiny, massacre, and the occupation of Delhi. While Sir John Lawrence, the actual viceroy of Northern India, was using all means, and running all hazards, to increase the force before Delhi, and was urging the maintenance of the siege, not simply as the means of preserving the power, but of saving the lives of his widely-scattered countrymen—Mr. Vernon Smith, the president of the India Board, was assuring the House of Commons that it was "notorious that Delhi might be easily surrounded, so that the place could be reduced by famine, if not by force." For his own part, however, Mr. Smith entertained no doubt that it would be reduced by force immediately that a man of the well-known vigour of his gallant friend, General Anson, should appear before the walls. The mail had brought advices, that an "ample force" of infantry, cavalry, and artillery would shortly be before the town. "Unfortunately," Mr. Smith added, "I cannot therefore apprise the house that the fort of Delhi has been razed to the ground; but I hope that ample retribution has been by this time inflicted on the mutineers."‡

The next Indian mail brought tidings calculated to convince even the most ignorant or indifferent, that the capture, whether by storm or blockade, of a large, strong, well-fortified, and abundantly supplied city, with a river running beneath its walls, was not an easy matter: other news followed, which spread grief and fear throughout the United Kingdom; telling the rapid spread of mutiny, in its most terrible form, throughout the entire Bengal army.§

* Hodson's *Twelve Years in India*, p. 245.

† *Ibid.*, p. 216.

‡ Indian debate, June 29th, 1857.

§ In the debate of June 23rd, Mr. Smith had informed the house that the 19th N.I. had been disbanded on account of its mutinous behaviour, but there was no intention of disbanding any other portion of the Native army. The Calcutta correspondent of the *Times* (June 24th) likewise stated, "The sepoy army is not in revolt; it does not even appear that it is discontented:" and this in utter contempt of the warning of General Hearsey and of the vicinity to the seat of government of Barrackpoor, where the "greased cartridges" had already produced rampant mutiny, manifested in the act of Mungul Pandy—the first of the Pandies—and the more than tacit approval of his comrades.

CHAPTER IX.

ROHILCUND, BAREILLY, MORADABAD, SEHARUNPOOR, SHAHJEHANPOOR, BUDAON, AND ALMORA.—MAY 21ST TO JUNE 3RD, 1857.

ROHILCUND lies between Oude and the Ganges, which river separates it from the Dooab. The five military stations of this province contained the following troops at the time of the outbreak:—

BAREILLY.—The 18th and 68th N.I.—*Europeans*, 28; *Natives*, 2,317. The 8th irregular cavalry—*Europeans*, 3; *Natives*, 547. The 6th company of Bengal Native artillery—4 *Europeans*, and 110 *Natives*. There were, besides, 52 of all ranks in hospital.

MORADABAD.—The 29th N.I.—*Europeans*, 16; *Natives*, 1,078. Sick of all ranks in hospital, 43. Detail of foot artillery—*European*, 1; *Natives*, 50.

SEHARUNPOOR.—Detachment of N. I.—*Europeans*, none; *Natives*, 82.

SHAHJEHANPOOR.—28th N. I.—*Europeans*, 16; *Natives*, 1,106. Sick of all ranks in hospital, 11. Detail of foot artillery—*Europeans*, none; *Natives*, 29.

BUDAON.—Detachment of N. I.—*Europeans*, none; *Natives*, 50.

The military arrangements for the *Kumaon* district, were under the charge of the same officer (Brigadier Sibbald) as those of Rohilcund; and both Kumaon and Rohilcund were included in the Meerut division. *Almora*, the chief place of Kumaon, was memorable for having been the scene of the decisive contest with the Goorkas in 1815.

ALMORA.—66th N. I. (Goorkas)—*Europeans*, 48; *Natives*, 680. Sick of all ranks, 22. Detachment of Sirmoor battalion—*Europeans*, none; *Natives*, 28. Company of artillery—*Europeans*, 2; *Natives*, 105.

The whole of the above troops, excepting the Goorkas, rebelled in the course of a few days.

Bareilly, the head-quarters of the Rohilcund division, is only 152 miles from Delhi; and the tidings of the assertion of Mohammedan supremacy in the imperial city, travelled fast, and created great excitement among the Rohillas generally. "A very bad and uneasy feeling" was considered, by Brigadier Sibbald, to be prevalent among the Bareilly soldiery; but he attributed its origin to distrust of the intentions of the British government; and on the 21st of May, he ordered a general parade of the troops in the cantonments, and begged them to dismiss from their minds the causeless dread that prevailed among them. The sepoys appeared much relieved by his assurances, and said they "had commenced a new life." In a despatch dated May 23rd, the brigadier stated that the reports from Moradabad, Shahjehanpoor, and Almora, were most satisfactory, and that the conduct of the 8th irregular cavalry was "beyond praise."* This last point was remarkable, inasmuch as the regiment in question consisted chiefly of Patans taken from the neighbourhood of Delhi. With regard to Moradabad, it is evident that the brigadier thought it best to take a very lenient view of the outbreak which had occurred there. A party of the 29th N.I. had actually broken open the gaol, and released a great number of prisoners, including a notorious villain named Nujjoo Khan, who was under sentence of transportation for life (for having attempted to murder a European magistrate), and who subsequently became a rebel leader of some note.† The brigadier does not enter into particulars; but he urged that "a free pardon from the highest authorities" should be extended to the troops in general; and he added, that the 29th were "proving their repentance for the outbreak of bad men among them." The temper of the population was, however, far less promising: indeed, throughout Rohilcund, disorganisation in the civil government seems to have preceded mutiny in the cantonments. Mr. Edwards, the magistrate and collector of the Budaon district, says, that as early as the 19th of May, the infection had "spread from the tracts on the right bank of the Ganges, which were by that time in open rebellion. Bands of marauders sprang up, as it were, by magic, and commenced plundering on the roads, and sacking and plundering villages."‡ The officers and civilians became alarmed, and sent their wives and children to Nynee Tal, a sanitary station, seventy miles distant, in the Kumaon district. The sepoys remonstrated against

* Further Parl. Papers, 1857; p. 64.

† *Personal Adventures during the Indian Rebellion in Rohilcund, Futtehghur, and Oude;* by William Edwards, judge of Benares, and late magistrate and collector of Budaon, in Rohilcund; p. 3.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

this evidence of distrust, but happily in vain. In the 8th irregular cavalry, however, such perfect reliance continued to be placed, that their commandant, Captain Mackenzie, was empowered to raise additional troops for permanent service; and the cavalry lines were appointed as the place of rendezvous in the event of an outbreak.

Nor was this confidence without foundation. The corps, it is true, succumbed; but it is evident the men had no systematic treachery in view, but were simply carried away by what to them must have been an irresistible impulse. At Bareilly there yet remained a lineal descendant of the brave but ill-fated Hafiz Rehmet, the Rohilla chief who fell when British bayonets were hired out by Warren Hastings, to enable Shujah Dowlah, of Oude, to "annex" a neighbouring country. Khan Bahadoor Khan was a venerable-looking man, of dignified manners, and considerable ability—much respected by both Europeans and natives. Being a pensioner of government in his double capacity as representative of the former ruler of the country, and also as a retired Principal Sudder Ameen (or native judge), the old man was considered, by the commissioner and collector, as identified with British interests; and he was daily closeted with them as a counsellor in their anxious discussions regarding the state of affairs.* From subsequent events, he is believed to have been instrumental in fomenting disaffection, rather than to have been carried away by the torrent; but no very conclusive evidence has yet appeared on the subject. On the 29th of May, some of the Native officers reported to Colonel Troup, the second in command, that whilst bathing in the river, the men of the 18th and 68th N.I. had sworn to rise in the middle of the day and massacre the Europeans. Notice was immediately given to Captain Mackenzie; under whom the irregular cavalry turned out with the utmost promptitude, and appeared quite resolved to stand by the Europeans.†

No outbreak occurred during this or the following day; but great numbers of the 45th mutineers, from Ferozpoor, passed through Bareilly on both these days, and spread alarm among the yet obedient troops, by assuring them that a large European force, with artillery, had been concentrated in the vicinity of the station, and that the destruction of the whole of the Native regiments had been resolved on by the "*gora logue*" (white people). The Native lines were a scene of confusion throughout the night of Saturday the 30th; few of the men retired to their own huts; and the Europeans were in a state of extreme anxiety, having received warning of the determination at which the irregular cavalry had arrived—of remaining strictly neutral in the approaching struggle, and neither raising their hands against their countrymen nor the Europeans. The confidence of some of the officers in their men was unbroken to the last. For instance, at nine o'clock on the Sunday morning, Major Pearson, who was in command of the 18th, called on Colonel Troup, and assured him that his men were all right. Two hours later a gun was fired by the artillery, and immediately afterwards the sepoys began firing on the officers' bungalows. Brigadier Sibbald mounted his horse, and rode towards the cavalry lines, but was met by a party of infantry, who shot him in the chest: the brave old soldier rode on till he reached the appointed rendezvous, and then dropped dead from his horse. Ensign Tucker perished while endeavouring to save the life of the sergeant-major. The chief part of the Europeans, civil and military, reached the cavalry lines in safety, and agreed to retire on Nynee Tal. The troopers were assembled in readiness to join in the retreat, when Captain Mackenzie came up, and asked Colonel Troup's permission to comply with the wishes of the men, who desired "to have a crack at the mutineers." They returned accordingly, and soon came in sight of the rebels. The result may be readily guessed. The sight of the green flag—the symbol of their faith—sufficed to turn the scale with the troopers; and when directed to charge upon their co-religionists, they halted, began to murmur, and ended by turning their horses' heads, and ranging themselves around the same banner. The officers (Captain Mackenzie and Lieutenant Becher), with a faithful remnant of their late regiment,‡ were compelled to rejoin the party proceeding to

* *Mutiny of the Bengal Army*, p. 198.

† Col. Troup's report.—Further Parl. Papers, p. 138.

‡ Mohammed Nizam, a Native officer, was told by Captain Mackenzie to go back and look after his three motherless boys, who were left in the lines of the mutineers. The old man grasped the hand of his commander, and, looking up to heaven with tears in his eyes, exclaimed, "No, I will go on with you,

Nynee Tal. Mr. Alexander, the commissioner, had a very narrow escape. He was ill and in bed, when the gun, the signal for mutiny, was fired. His native servant rushed in, and begged him to fly. The commissioner declared himself unable to ride, but was lifted on to his saddle in an almost fainting state, by his attendant. The horse took fright at the firing, and ran away, happily taking the Nynee Tal road, and thus saving the life of its rider. The fate of those who did not succeed in effecting their escape was not fully ascertained. Six officers—namely, Major Pearson, Captains Richardson and Hathorn, Lieutenant Stewart, and Ensign Dyson, at first believed to be concealed in a village seven miles from Delhi—were stated, in the *Gazette* of May 6th, 1858, as still missing, and supposed to have been killed by the villagers. Messrs. Robertson and Raikes, judges of Bareilly; Dr. Hay, son-in-law to the late Lieutenant-governor Thomason; Mr. Wyatt, the deputy-collector; and Dr. Carl Buch, principal of the Bareilly college, remained behind. They are alleged to have been formally tried by the mutineers, who omitted none of the usual forms, and made Khan Bahadoor Khan act as the judge. A jury was sworn, witnesses were examined, a conviction obtained, and sentence of death passed with affected solemnity on the unfortunate gentlemen, who were then publicly hanged in front of the gaol. To appreciate the force of this horrible sarcasm, it must be remembered that our administration of justice, both civil and criminal, was detested by the natives; and that a Rohilcund magistrate had been, for more than a year before the outbreak, representing "the great abuse of the power of the civil courts, and the reckless manner in which they decreed the sale of rights and interests connected with the soil, in satisfaction of petty debts, and the dangerous dislocation of society which was in consequence being produced."* Moreover, one of the victims, Mr. Wyatt, had himself published, anonymously, a book entitled *Revelations respecting the Police, Magistracy, and Criminal Courts*,† which sufficiently accounts for the deep-rooted animosity excited by our system, and which naturally extended to its administrators.

Dr. Hansbrow, the medical officer in charge of the gaol, ascended to the roof of that building, and attempted to resist the insurgents, but was overpowered and put to death. The prisoners, to the number of about 4,000, were released.‡ The treasury was plundered, the cantonments fired, and many lives were lost in the contest for booty, which ensued between the sepoys and the population.

At *Shahjehanpoor*, a mutiny occurred on the same Sunday, of which no official account has ever been furnished; for those whose duty it would have been to report the details to government, were themselves among the victims. The 28th N.I. rose *en masse* during the time of morning service, and some of the men entered the church, murdered the collector (Mr. Ricketts) and Dr. Bowling, and wounded Ensign Spens. Captain James, the officer in command of the regiment, was killed while endeavouring to recall his men to a sense of duty; Captain Salmon was wounded while running to the parade-ground; but he, with Ensign Spens and twenty-six other persons, including eight ladies and four children, made their escape to Mohumdee, a station in Oude, where their arrival caused great excitement among the Native troops, and accelerated the catastrophe in which they perished.

The account here given is derived from a letter written by the assistant-commissioner of Mohumdee, Captain Patrick Orr, to his brother at Lucknow.§ Circumstantial narratives of the Shahjehanpoor mutiny were published in various Indian journals; but they contradict one another in important particulars, and are probably all equally fictitious.

Budaon is about thirty miles from Bareilly. In the afternoon of Sunday, the 31st, intelligence was received that crowds of released convicts were thronging the Bareilly road, and were already within eight miles of Budaon; and further, that a detachment of the mutineers were in full march thither, in the assurance of being joined by the treasury guard in plundering and burning the station. The magistrate, Mr. Edwards, whose narrative has been already quoted, felt that the discontent of the population rendered it hopeless to attempt to oppose the insurgents. Mr. Phillips, the

and do my duty." The children did not perish, but suffered much from poverty and neglect.—Raikes' *Revolt*, p. 155.

* Edwards' *Personal Adventures*, p. 14.

† Ostensibly by "Orderly Panchkooree Khan."

‡ Further Parl. Papers, 1857; p. 2.

§ Gubbins' *Mutiny in Oudh*, p. 123; Rees' *Siege of Lucknow*, p. 48.

magistrate of Etah, was at this time at Budaon, having come thus far on his way to Bareilly, whither he was proceeding to procure military aid to put down disturbances in his own district. On learning what had occurred, he mounted his horse, and with an escort composed of a dozen horsemen (some belonging to different regiments of irregular horse, others common police sowars), dashed off at full gallop, in order to reach the Ghauts across the Ganges before the convicts or rebels could close the road, and prevent his return to Etah. Edwards was sorely tempted to make his escape also. His wife and child had previously found refuge at Nynee Tal; but he considered it his duty "to stick to the ship as long as she floated." He remained the only European officer in charge of a district, containing a lawless population of nearly 1,100 souls, with a Mohammedan deputy-collector for his sole assistant. "I went," he says, "into my room, and prayed earnestly that God would protect and guide me, and enable me to do my duty. I then summoned my kotwal, and arranged with him as best we could, for maintaining, as long as possible, the peace of the town." At ten at night, Mr. Donald, an indigo planter, and his son; Mr. Gibson, a patrol in the customs department, temporarily on duty in the district; and Mr. Stewart and his wife and family (Eurasians), sought protection in Mr. Edwards' house. By congregating together, however, they rather increased than diminished their mutual danger, by attracting attention, which was the more to be deprecated, "as some of the party were at feud with the people of the district, in consequence of having purchased estates, sold under harsh circumstances by decrees of our civil courts." This statement is followed by others, which deserve quotation in full, as illustrating the gulf that opened at the feet of the governing race the moment the Bengal mercenaries hoisted the standard of revolt.

"To the large number of these sales during the past twelve or fifteen years, and the operation of our revenue system, which has had the result of destroying the gentry of the country, and breaking up the village communities, I attribute solely the disorganisation of this and the neighbouring districts in these provinces. By fraud or chicanery, a vast number of the estates of families of rank and influence have been alienated, either wholly or in part, and have been purchased by new men, chiefly traders or government officials, without character or influence over their tenantry. * * * The very first people who came in to me, imploring aid, were of this new proprietary body, to whom I had a right to look for vigorous and efficient efforts in the maintenance of order. On the other hand, those who really could control the vast masses of the rural population, were interested in bringing about a state of disturbance and general anarchy."

In adverting to the manufacture and distribution of the chupatties in the North-Western Provinces, Mr. Edwards says—"I truly believe that the rural population of all classes among whom these cakes spread, were as ignorant as I was myself of their real object; but it was clear they were a secret sign to be on the alert; and the minds of the people were, through them, kept watchful and excited. As soon as the disturbances broke out at Meerut and Delhi, the cakes explained themselves, and the people at once perceived what was expected from them. In Budaon, the mass of the population rose in a body, and the entire district became a scene of anarchy and confusion. The ancient proprietary body took the opportunity of murdering or expelling the auction purchasers, and resumed possession of their hereditary estates. * * * The rural classes would never have joined in rebelling with the sepoys, whom they hated, had not these causes of discontent already existed. They evinced no sympathy whatever about the cartridges, or flour said to be made of human bones, and could not have been acted on by any cry of their religion being in danger. It is questions involving their rights and interests in the soil, and hereditary holdings invariably termed by them 'jan se azeez' (*dearer than life*), which excite them to a dangerous degree."*

At six o'clock on Monday afternoon, the company of the 68th N.I., on guard at the treasury, broke into open mutiny, released 300 prisoners confined in the gaol, and seized the money entrusted to their charge, amounting to about £15,000. The smallness of the sum was a great disappointment: they had expected to find £70,000 in the treasury; and would have done so, had not Mr. Edwards, anticipating the outbreak, refused to receive the customary payments of the zemindars. Directly after the rise of the guard, a party of the Bareilly mutineers entered the station, and the Native police threw away their badges and fraternised with the rebels. The released convicts issued from the gaol, and proceeded, hooting and yelling, to the magistrate's house. The Europeans heard the ominous sounds; and mounting the horses which had been standing saddled all the day, rode for their lives. Mr. Edwards and the two Donalds succeeded in forcing their way, revolver in hand, through the crowd; but Mr. Gibson was killed. The others were subsequently protected by Mooltan Khan—a "fine powerful Patan, between forty and fifty years of age," related to, and in the service of, a petty chief, known as the nawab of Shumsabad, a place

* Edwards' *Personal Adventures*, pp. 13—17.

near the Ganges. Mooltan Khan told the fugitives that their escape was impossible, on account of the state of the country; and he seemed inclined either to leave them to their fate, or to allow the half-a-dozen troopers appointed by the nawab to escort the Europeans on their way, to dispose of them summarily. Edwards saw that a crisis had arrived; and riding up to Mooltan Khan, he laid his hand on his shoulder, saying, "Have you a family, and little children?" The Patan nodded. "Are they not dependent on you for bread?" "Yes," was the answer. "Well," rejoined Edwards, "so have I; and I am confident you are not the man to take my life and destroy their means of support." Mooltan Khan hesitated a moment, and then said, "I will save your life if I can; follow me." He set off at a gallop, the three Europeans after him; and despite the remonstrances of the troopers, who desired the death of the fugitives, Mooltan Khan conveyed them by a circuitous cross-country route, avoiding the hostile villagers, and enabled them to reach a place of temporary safety; that is to say, a station not then submerged beneath the flood of mutiny. During Mr. Edwards' wanderings, he was attended with unwavering fidelity by an Afghan servant, and by a Seik named Wuzeer Sing, who had retired from the 29th regiment of N.I. in April, 1857, to join a small band of native Christians resident at Budaon, and had subsequently been employed as an orderly.

Moradabad.—News of the outbreak and massacre at Bareilly reached Moradabad on the 2nd of June, and a marked alteration took place in the demeanour of the 29th N.I., and in that of the population. The treasury, containing 75,000 rupees, was under the charge of the sepoys, who commenced plundering it on the 3rd of June. The sepoys, disappointed by the smallness of the booty, seized the treasurer, carried him up to the guns, and threatened to blow him away unless he disclosed where the supposed remainder was hidden. Mr. Saunders (the magistrate) and Mr. Wilson (the judge) succeeded in rescuing their countryman, but not without danger to themselves; for a few of the mutineers put the percussion-caps on their muskets, and took deliberate aim at the retreating Europeans. Some of the Native officers rushed forward, and reminding the men that they had taken an oath to refrain from bloodshedding, persuaded them to drop their weapons.

Mr. Wilson had great influence with the 29th N.I.; his knowledge of the language having enabled him both to harangue them publicly, and converse familiarly with them in their lines. To this cause, and the nerve and moderation evinced by both officers and civilians, may be attributed the absence of the tragic excesses committed in other stations. The regiment, and artillery detachment, proceeded quietly to appropriate the government treasure, the opium, and all the plate-chests, and other valuable property of private individuals, which had been sent for security to the government treasury. The Native police withdrew, and hid themselves; and the Europeans, with their wives and children, quitted the station; some proceeding to Meerut, others to Nynee Tal. There were at Moradabad several Native officers on leave from their regiments, whose services had been previously placed at the disposal of the local authorities. They volunteered to escort the Europeans to Meerut; the offer was accepted, and the promise fulfilled.*

The various mutinous regiments of Rohilcund united, and marched to Delhi, where their co-operation was much desired, as we learn from the following characteristic epistle, intercepted at Haupper (near Meerut):—

"*From the Officers of the Army at Delhi, to the Officers of the Bareilly and Moradabad Regiments.*—If you are coming to help us, it is incumbent on you that if you eat your food there, you wash your hands here, for here the fight is going on with the English; and by the goodness of God, even one defeat to us is ten to them, and our troops are assembled here in large numbers. It is now necessary for you to come here; for large rewards will be conferred by the king of kings, the centre of prosperity, the King of Delhi. We are looking out most anxiously for you, like fasters watching for the call of the *mezzin* [the signal that the fast is ended].

"Come, come for there is no rose
Without the spring of your presence.
The opening bud with drought
Is as an infant without milk."†

On the 1st of July, the longing eyes of the rebel Delhi garrison were gladdened, and those of the besiegers mortified, by the sight of the Rohilcund mutineers, who were watched by friends and foes crossing the Jumna in boats (the bridge being broken), and marching into one of the seven gates of the city in military array, with infantry, cavalry, artillery, and some hundred cart-loads of treasure.

* Further Parl. Papers, pp. 9—11.

† *Daily News*, August 17th, 1857. Bombay Special Correspondent.

CHAPTER X.

OUDE, LUCKNOW, SEETAPOOR, MOHUMDEE, MULLAON, BAHRAETCH, GONDAH, MULLAPOOR, FYZABAD, SALONE, AND DURIABAD.—MAY 16TH TO JULY 4TH, 1857.

OUDE.—The efforts of Sir Henry Lawrence were successful in preserving the tranquillity of Oude up to the end of May. In the meantime, he had taken precautions in anticipation of a calamity which he considered nothing short of the speedy recapture of Delhi could avert. On the 16th of May, he requested the Supreme government, by telegraph, to entrust him with plenary military power in Oude; which was immediately granted.* He was appointed brigadier-general, and he lost not a moment in entirely changing the disposition of the troops. Arrangements for Lucknow, he considered, might be satisfactorily made; but the unprotected condition of Allahabad, Benares, and especially of Cawnpoor, filled him with alarm; and he wrote urgently to the governor-general, entreating that no expense might be spared in sending Europeans to reinforce that place. At midnight on the 20th, an application for aid was dispatched from thence to Lucknow (fifty miles distant), and was answered by the immediate dispatch of fifty men of H.M.'s 32nd, and two squadrons of Native cavalry. The cavalry were not needed at Cawnpoor; and Captain Fletcher Hayes projected, and obtained leave to attempt, the expedition against the Etah rajah, the melancholy result of which has been already related.

Lucknow itself needed every precaution which Sir Henry Lawrence had the means of taking. It extended along the right bank of the Goomtee for four miles, and its buildings covered an area of seven miles. It contained, according to Mr. Raikes, 200,000 fighting-men, and as many more armed citizens. Sleeman estimated the total population at 1,000,000 persons;† others have placed it at 1,200,000: but no census had been attempted either by the Native or European government. The rising of the Lucknow people was anticipated by the resident Europeans as a very probable event, for the plain reason that, in the words of one of the annalists of the siege, "we had done very little to merit their love, and much to merit their detestation;" and "the people in general, and especially the poor, were dissatisfied, because they were taxed directly and indirectly in every way."‡ The mutiny of the Native troops was still more confidently expected; and Sir Henry Lawrence was urged to prevent it by disarming them: but he considered that this measure, though practicable and even desirable had the capital only required to be cared for, might precipitate an outbreak at Cawnpoor and at the out-stations of Oude, and therefore ought not to be adopted except in the last extremity. In the distribution of the forces, the chief object had been to station the Europeans where they would suffer least from exposure to the climate; and the natives had been entrusted with the sole charge of several important positions. It became necessary to make a new arrangement, and likewise to reduce the number of stations, that, in the event of an outbreak, the Europeans might not be cut off in detail. "We had eight posts," writes Sir H. Lawrence to Sir Hugh Wheeler, on the 20th of May: "as Sir C. Napier would say, we were like chips in porridge. We have given up four posts, and greatly strengthened three."§

Of these three, the *Muchee Bhawn* was the one which was at the onset most relied on. This fort, which derives its name of Muchee (fish)‖ from the device over the gateway, and Bhawn (Sanscrit for house), had the appearance of a formidable and secure stronghold, and was held by the natives to be almost impregnable. It occupied a commanding position with regard to the town; and advantage was taken of this by planting cannon on its walls; or where that could not be done, supplying the deficiency with "jingals," or immense blunderbusses moving on pivots. All the magazine stores, previously under the charge of sepoys, were removed into the Muchee Bhawn, and a company of Europeans placed on guard there; supplies of wheat, and all sorts of

* Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 187.

† Raikes' *Revolt*, p. 104. Sleeman's *Oude*, vol. i., p. 136.

‡ Rees' *Siege of Lucknow*, p. 34.

§ Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 311.

‖ The order of the Fish was the highest and most coveted distinction in the Mogul empire.

provisions, were laid in, and also very largely into the Residency, which was the post next in strength. At the treasury, within the Residency compound, were stationed 130 Europeans, 200 Natives, and six guns: the sepoys were allowed to remain on guard at the treasury tent; but the guns were so disposed as to give the Europeans complete command over the tent, in the event of an attempt upon it.

A copy of the proclamation issued at Agra, promising immunity from punishment to all sepoys not concerned in the murderous attacks upon Europeans, now reached Lucknow. Sir Henry Lawrence followed the example of Mr. Colvin, by directing the judicial commissioner to prepare, and issue throughout Oude, a notification holding out still stronger assurances of clemency. This policy was generally approved at Lucknow, as it had been at Agra, on the ground that it was just possible the dreaded combination of the Native troops might be stopped by timely conciliation.*

While a semblance of order was maintained among the troops, some hope remained of averting the danger; and even after the outbreak, the necessity of stopping the process of coalition and combination among the rebels was so manifest, that, despite the fierce cry for vengeance which speedily arose, some voices were still raised in favour of a rule of action more befitting a Christian people, than the adoption of the Draconian principle, that death was to be the indiscriminating punishment of every grade of mutiny or insurrection. For instance, a letter written from Simla on the 23rd of June, descriptive of the tone of feeling prevalent there, states that "Lord William Hay, deputy-commissioner up here, and Mr. Campbell, say if the mutineers would now lay down their arms, and promise to go to their homes, we should be most thankful to grasp at the proposal."† If this opinion could be formed by a person of such sound judgment and intimate acquaintance with native character as Lord William Hay, at the latter end of June, much more might of course be urged in favour of the view taken by Sir Henry Lawrence before the explosion which took place at Lucknow at the close of May.

The Mohammedan festival of the "Eed," or "New Moon," fell on the 24th of May; and considerable apprehension was felt during its celebration. On the preceding evening, a telegram from General Wheeler had stated it as almost certain that the troops would rise that night at Cawnpoor; and it was believed that the example would be immediately followed at Lucknow. Incendiarism had everywhere marked the first movements of the mutineers at other stations; and, from the beginning of the month, had shown itself at Lucknow. Placards, inviting all true Hindoos and Mussulmans to exterminate the Feringhees, were posted up at night in several places. Reports that the 71st regiment was in actual mutiny, had more than once got about; and, on one occasion, Sir Henry Lawrence and the military staff had been called down to the lines in the middle of the day by an alarm of the kind.

The Eed, however, passed off without any disturbance. Still it was thought advisable that the ladies and children should leave cantonments, and take shelter in the Residency and adjacent houses comprehended within the intrenchments, afterwards so gallantly defended. Mr. Gubbins, the commissioner for Oude, had used all possible precautions against the anticipated siege. His house, solidly built of masonry, comprised two stories, and was exposed on three sides to the city. Masonry parapets, pierced with loopholes, were erected all around the roof; the verandahs and doorways were similarly protected with walls of masonry; and strong doors, cased with sheet-iron on the outside, were fixed upon the entrances on the ground floor. Mr. Gubbins commenced his fortifications at a time when few other Europeans in Lucknow seriously contemplated an attack on the Residency; and his preparations were not carried on without exciting the mirth of some of his neighbours;‡ while others imitated his example.

Throughout the whole month of May, Sir Henry Lawrence is described as having been "untiring in his exertions. He generally visited the Muchee Bhawn every morning, and any other post that called for his attention. From breakfast until dark he was consulting with his military subordinates, closeted with Native officers, or at work with his pen."§ He was the mainspring of the entire community. Military men and civilians, covenanted and uncovenanted;

* Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 43.
† *Daily News*, August 23rd, 1857.
‡ Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 27.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

merchants, tradespeople, servants, the Eurasians, and all the loyal natives, vied with each other in loving and trusting Henry Lawrence. The uncovenanted assistants, comprising clerks, copyists, &c., were embodied as special constables, and cheerfully took night duty; each man feeling that his services, if well performed, however subordinate in character, would not pass unnoticed or unrewarded. Rees says, "the uncovenanted, particularly, had a kind friend in Sir Henry; and with the common soldier he was equally, if not even more popular."* The enthusiasm displayed when he removed the head-quarters of his office from cantonments into the Residency (31st May), was very striking. The sight of his attenuated but soldier-like form—the eyes already sunken with sleeplessness, the forehead furrowed with anxious thought, the soft hair cut short on the head, the long wavy beard descending to his breast—all the well-known features of probably the most generally beloved man in India—called forth a perfect storm of acclamation. Loud "hurrahs!" and shouts of "Long life to Sir Henry!" continued until he had passed out of sight into the Residency, where he was soon to receive his death-wound.

On the afternoon of Saturday, the 30th, he wrote a private letter to Mr. Raikes at Agra, by the last regular post that left Lucknow for nearly a year; in which he observes—"If the commander-in-chief delay much longer, he may have to recover Cawnpoor, Lucknow, and Allahabad; indeed, all down to Calcutta. * * * While we are intrenching two posts in the city, we are virtually besieging four regiments (in a quiet way) with 300 Europeans. Not very pleasant diversion from my civil duties. I am daily in the town, four miles off, for some hours; but reside in the cantonments, guarded by the gentlemen we are besieging. * * * What I most fear are risings in the districts, and the irregulars getting tainted."†

Both these evils were manifesting themselves at the time when the above paragraph was written. The disorganised condition of the Doab districts was reacting on the Oude border. Up to the 25th of May, no overt act of insurrection occurred; but then several of the dispossessed talookdars began to resume possession of the villages from whence they had been ejected; and the zemindars of Mulheeabad and its neighbourhood, distant about eighteen miles from Lucknow, evinced undisguised disaffection. These people were the descendants of Afreedees, who came from the Khyber mountains, and are described as "greedy, poor, and idle." They began assembling in their villages, and threatened the local treasury at Mulheeabad. To repress them, a party of police, under Captain Weston, was detached from Lucknow, with temporary good effect.

Another interesting letter reached Mr. Raikes by the same post, from his son-in-law, Mr. Christian, an able and experienced revenue officer, who expressed a hope that the eyes of government would now be opened to the effect of the levelling policy, by the state of affairs in the disturbed provinces, where they had hardly a single man of influence to look to for help, all being equal in their poverty. He added, however, as far as Lucknow was concerned—"Sir Henry Lawrence has arranged admirably; and, come what will, we are prepared."‡

That is to say, about 930 Europeans held themselves in readiness for the very possible contingency of a hand-to-hand struggle with above 4,000 of their own trained troops.

That same evening (30th May), the nine o'clock gun gave the signal for mutiny to a portion of the Native troops. A party of the 71st N.I. had been removed from the Muchee Bhawn a few days before, on account of their suspected disaffection, and were stationed in the city. It was not, however, these men, but those of another company of the same regiment in cantonments, who turned out and commenced firing, while a body of about forty made straight for the mess-house, ransacked, and set it on fire. The officers everywhere were on the alert, and left their messes upon the first shot being fired. Sir Henry rode at once to the European camp. Brigadier Handscomb, a fine old soldier, advanced on the lines of the 71st with a company of H.M.'s 32nd. The word to "fix bayonets" was given, and the Europeans could scarcely be restrained from charging without orders. The brigadier withheld them, saying, "You might kill friends." Then bidding them halt, he advanced alone, intending, despite the darkness and confusion, to address the mutineers; but was fired on, and fell from his horse dead. The sepoys of the 71st,

* Rees' *Siege of Lucknow*, p. 39.
† Raikes' *Revolt in the N. W. Provinces*, p. 22.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

becoming more bold, marched upon a body of H.M.'s 32nd foot and four guns, posted to the right of them in the European camp; but a volley of grape soon drove them back into their lines. Lieutenant Grant, of the 71st N.I., was killed while on picket duty at another part of the cantonments. The subahdar on guard had concealed him under a charpoy, or four-legged native bed, when some of the mutineers rushed in. The subahdar told them that the lieutenant had escaped; but a havildar of the same guard, merciless in his intense bigotry, pointed to the place of concealment,* and the unfortunate officer was immediately dragged forth, and pierced through by bayonets and musket-balls.

The 71st mutineers possessed themselves both of the colours and treasure of their regiment. The 13th N.I. were assembled on their own parade, and detained there for a considerable time by the exertions of Major Bruère. Many of the men, however, broke away and forced open the magazine. The adjutant, Lieutenant Chambers, tried to prevent the plunder of the ammunition, but was fired upon, and severely wounded in the leg. Finding his men deserting him, Major Bruère at length marched off a remnant of the 13th with the colours, and took post with about 200 men by the side of H.M.'s 32nd. The treasure was very gallantly saved by Lieutenant Loughnan, assisted by the Seiks of the regiment.

While Major Bruère was thus performing his public duty, his wife and children were exposed to extreme danger. Mrs. Bruère had returned to cantonments against orders, and was in her bungalow when the mutiny took place. Some faithful sepoys of her husband's regiment, saved her by putting her through a hole in the wall, which they made while the mutineers were calling for her. She and her little ones fled into the open country, and after passing the night in an open ditch, succeeded next morning in safely reaching the Residency.

The 48th N.I. likewise assembled on their parade, under Colonel Palmer, who proposed to march to the European camp; but this the men would not do; and when several of the officers proposed going thither themselves to ascertain the state of affairs, the sepoys withheld them, saying that they were sure to be killed. It is stated by Mr. Gubbins, but without any explanation of so strange a fact, that after it had become evident that the 48th would not act against the mutineers, the magazine was opened, and ammunition served out to them. He adds, that while engaged in this duty, Lieutenant Ousely was struck down by one of his men with a bludgeon, and they then helped themselves. Finding that numbers were deserting, and that the corps would not face the mutineers, Colonel Palmer proposed to march to the Residency in the city; but by the time he reached the iron bridge, only fifty-seven men remained around the colours.

The lines of the 7th light cavalry were at Moodkeepoor, about three miles from the cantonments. Not above 150 troopers were there when the mutiny broke out. These were immediately called out by their officers; when some twenty-five† of them, before line could be formed, dashed off at full speed towards the cantonments; the rest patrolled during the night, and drew up, after daybreak, on the right of the 32nd regiment.

While these movements were going on, the bungalows in cantonments presented a scene of general uproar and devastation. Lieutenant Hardinge, with his irregular cavalry, patrolled along the main street of the cantonments, and was wounded in his unavailing efforts to stop the general plunder, which extended to the native bazaars. The Residency bungalow, and a few others, were the only ones in cantonments not fired.

After daybreak, the 7th cavalry were directed to move towards Moodkeepoor, where the officers' houses and the troopers' lines had been seized and fired by the mutineers. They found the post occupied by the enemy in force. A horseman rode from the rebel ranks and waved his sword before the yet loyal cavalry, on which forty of them, as if moved by an irresistible impulse, spurring their horses, galloped across, and ranged themselves on the side of the enemy. The rest appear to have remained firm until Sir Henry Lawrence arrived at Moodkeepoor, about 4 A.M., with four guns and two companies of H.M.'s 32nd. The mutineers amounted to about 1,000 men, chiefly infantry, assembled in disorderly masses. The guns opened upon them at the distance of a mile with round shot, and, after a few

* *Mutiny of Bengal Army;* by one who served under Sir Charles Napier; p. 77.

† Gubbins says forty (p. 105); Sir Henry Lawrence twenty-five, in his first telegraphic despatch of May 30th, 1857.—Appendix to Parl. Papers, p. 348.

discharges, they broke up and fled precipitately. The guns followed slowly with the infantry: the troopers might have overtaken the fugitive crowds; but they had evidently no desire to do so, notwithstanding the promise of 100 rupees for every mutineer captured or slain; and, after proceeding a few miles further, the pursuit was abandoned. Thirty prisoners were taken. The Europeans were at first surprised by seeing numbers of men and women running in all directions, with bundles on their heads; but they soon discovered that these were villagers and camp-followers making off with booty obtained in the cantonments during the preceding night. Some of the plunderers were seized by Commissioner Gubbins, who, with his own orderly and three of Fisher's horse, got detached from the rest of the cavalry; but what to do with his prisoners the commissioner knew not; for, he adds, "we had not yet learnt to kill in cold blood." Neither had the sepoys learned to expect it: they would have been more daring had they been more desperate. Gubbins and his four native followers came suddenly on six of the fugitives, and captured them in the following singular manner. "Coming up with them, they threw down their loaded muskets and drew their swords, of which several had two. Threatening them with our fire-arms, we called upon them to throw down their arms, which presently they did. One of them declared himself to be a havildar; and I made him pinion tightly his five comrades, using their turbans and waistbands for the purpose. One of the troopers then dismounted and tied the havildar's arms. Three of the men belonged to the 48th N.I., three to the 13th N.I., and one man was a Seik. One of the prisoners wore three English shirts over his native dress. The arms were collected and laden on a couple of peasants summoned from the village, and the six prisoners were sent back in charge of a single horseman." Mr. Gubbins rode on, and, in his own words, "gave chase" to two or three more fugitives, and had nearly overtaken them, when his orderly perceived a number of sepoy heads behind a low wall, at the entrance of a village they were about to enter. This changed the aspect of affairs; and, amid a shower of bullets, the commissioner turned his horse's head, and, with his three followers, rode back with all speed to the Residency bungalow in cantonments, where he arrived about eleven o'clock, Sir Henry Lawrence and the artillery having returned an hour before.

The trooper entrusted with the prisoners brought them duly in, and he and his three companions received the promised reward of 600 rupees. While waiting for their money in the house of Mr. Gubbins, they talked with the servants on the state of affairs. The three who belonged to Fisher's horse, said, "We like our colonel [Fisher], and will not allow him to be harmed; but if the whole army turns, we must turn too!" The events of a few days showed the significance of these words: the authority of the "Fouj ki Bheera," or general will of the army, was to individuals, and even to regiments, almost irresistible.*

In the afternoon of the 31st, an insurrection took place in a quarter of the city called Hoseynabad, near the Dowlutkhana. An Indian "budmash" is little less turbulent than an Italian "bravo;" and the class may well be supposed to have abounded in a city where every man engaged in the ordinary business of life, wore his tulwar, or short bent sword, and the poorest idler in the streets swaggered along with his shield of buffalo-hide and his matchlock or pistols. It appeared that the city budmashes, to the number of 6,000 men, had crossed the river in the morning with the intention of joining the mutineers in the cantonments; but their plans had been disconcerted by the promptitude with which Sir Henry Lawrence had pursued and dispersed their intended allies. Finding the mutineers gone, the budmashes returned to the city, and commenced a disturbance, but were put down by the efforts of the police, assisted by a few faithful companies of irregular infantry. Many of the insurgents were killed, and several prisoners taken, and, together with those previously captured, were lodged in the Muchee Bhawn, to the number of forty. A court-martial was assembled for their trial, and the majority were executed by hanging, including the six sepoys seized by Commissioner Gubbins, the traitor who betrayed Lieutenant Grant's hiding-place, and the subahdar, who had a month before been raised to that rank, and presented with a dress of honour and a thousand rupees, as a reward for his fidelity. The sentences passed by the court were not, however, all confirmed by Sir Henry Lawrence, for "he inclined much to clemency."† The

* Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 111. † *Ibid.*, p. 115.

executions took place near the upper gate of the Muchee Bhawn, at the crossing of the four roads, one of which led directly to the stone bridge. The gallows once erected, became in Lucknow, as in so many other British stations, a standing institution: the surrounding space was commanded by the guns of the fort; and more effectually to awe the people, an 18-pounder gun was removed to the road outside, kept constantly loaded with grape, and pointed down the principal thoroughfare.

The advisability of disarming the remainder of the Native troops, was warmly discussed at Lucknow. On the night of the 30th of May, less than 500 men had proved actively faithful; but in the course of a short time, about 1,200 had gathered round their colours, some of whom had crept quietly back to their lines; but the greater number consisted of the detached guards stationed at the Residency, and at different parts of the city: and these, although they had not taken part with the mutineers, were believed to have been withheld from doing so, rather by the fear of the European infantry and guns, than by any feeling of duty or attachment. But Sir Henry Lawrence persisted in considering the question as he had already done that of the holding of Lucknow itself, primarily as regarded the maintenance of British supremacy in Northern India. Every disbanded regiment helped to swell the tide of mutiny, to fill the ranks of the Delhi garrison, or, as might reasonably have been expected, to form an army, such as that which Sevajee and his successors had formed, and led against the Mogul emperors. The want of leaders—a deficiency which might at any moment have been supplied—saved us from this imminent danger until we had become strong enough to grapple with it. There was another reason against disarmament. It was a measure which could be taken only in stations which possessed a certain proportion of British troops and artillery. No such resource was available at the numerous outposts, where a few British officers were at the mercy of exclusively Native corps: and such a manifestation of distrust could scarcely fail to aggravate their disaffection, and tempt them to commit the very crime to which they were believed to be inclined. The position of the officers was everywhere exceedingly trying; for, according to a regulation which appears to have been general, they were directed to sleep in the Native lines. The object was, of course, to prevent or check conspiracy, and show confidence in the sepoys; but it may be doubted whether this end was answered in a degree at all commensurate with the anxiety occasioned, and actual hazard incurred by the measure. An officer (Lieutenant Farquhar) of the 7th light cavalry, writing to his mother, gives a description of the state of feeling at the Lucknow camp, which is probably applicable to the majority of European officers under similar circumstances. "The officers of each regiment had to sleep together, armed to the teeth; and two of each regiment had to remain awake, taking two hours at a time to watch their own men. We kept these watches strictly; and, I believe, by these means saved our throats. Every officer here has slept in his clothes since the mutiny began."* At the gaol, also, Captain Adolphe Orr, and three other Europeans, slept nightly among the Native police.†

On the 9th of June, Sir Henry Lawrence became alarmingly ill, from sheer exhaustion, aggravated by the depressing effect of the rapid progress of mutiny throughout the province. Dr. Fayrer, the Residency surgeon, declared that at least forty-eight hours of complete rest were required to preserve his life; and a provisional council was formed, composed of Messrs. Gubbins and Ommaney, Major Banks, Colonel Inglis, and Major Anderson, the chief engineer. By their decree the Native troops were paraded, disarmed, and dispatched to their homes, on leave of absence, until November. The men demurred, and their commanders likewise opposed the measure; but the council persevered, and all the sepoys were sent away except 350, who had given recent evidence of fidelity, and many of whom were Seiks. All the 7th light cavalry were sent away, except the Native officers. The horses were brought up, and picketed near the Residency; and the arms were brought in by hundreds, and stored in some of the Residency buildings.

The first ten days of June had sufficed to disorganise the whole of Oude. After that time, the British authority was confined to Lucknow and its immediate neighbourhood. The people had everywhere continued orderly until the troops rose; and when the successive mutinies had occurred, the

* Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 442.
† Rees' *Siege of Lucknow*, p. 54.

"refugees had, with few exceptions, experienced at their hands kindness and good treatment."*

At *Seetapoor*, the head-quarters of the Khyrabad division, of which Mr. G. J. Christian was commissioner, the troops rose on the 3rd of June. They consisted of the 41st N.I. (1,067 men, with sixteen European officers), and a wing of irregular cavalry (250 Natives, with a single European officer). There were also the 9th and 10th regiments of Oude irregular infantry, and the 2nd regiment of military police. The commissioner distrusted the troops; and, anticipating an outbreak, collected the civilians and their families at his house, which he proposed to defend by the aid of a strong guard of the regiment of military police, then believed to be stanch. He advised his military friends to send their wives to him for safety. Only one of these came. This lady, Mrs. Stewart, with rare prudence, looked around her, and perceived that the small river Sureyan flowed on two sides of Mr. Christian's compound, and that there was no means of reaching the high road but through the military cantonment; whereupon she pronounced the position unsafe, returned to her home, and was one of the first party of refugees.

The officers generally did not distrust their men. Colonel Birch had such entire confidence in the 41st N.I., that when a cry arose in their lines that the 10th irregulars were plundering the treasury, he called out the two most suspected companies, and led them to the scene of the alleged disturbance. All there was found to be quiet, and the order was given to return, when a sepoy of the guard stepped out of the ranks, and took deliberate aim at the colonel, who fell from his horse dead. Lieutenant Smalley and the sergeant-major were then killed. The adjutant, Lieutenant Graves, escaped wounded. The irregulars were not long in following the example of mutiny; and in the massacre which ensued, Captain Gowan and his wife, Captain Dorin, Lieutenants Greene and Bax,† Surgeon Hill, and Lieutenant Snell, with his wife and child, perished. Mrs. Greene escaped, as did also Mrs. Dorin. The latter, after witnessing the murder of her husband, fled in the dress of a native, in the company of Mr. Dudman (a clerk) and his family, with several other East Indians. The party were protected by a neighbouring zemindar for more than a fortnight, and then sent on in a native cart to Lucknow, escorted by a few villagers. Mrs. Dorin was received into the house of Commissioner Gubbins; where, on the 20th of July, she was shot through the head by a matchlock ball, which, entering by a window, traversed two sets of apartments before it reached that in which she was standing. The fate of the Seetapoor civilians is thus described by Mr. Gubbins, whose information was derived from the lips of the survivors.

"At the commencement of the outbreak, Mr. Christian proceeded outside his bungalow, to put in readiness the guard of military police, in whom he confided. The wretches immediately turned and fired upon him. Flying back into the house, he alarmed the assembled inmates, and the men, ladies, and children, fled out of the bungalow on the side which faced the river, pursued and fired upon by the miscreants of the military police, and of other regiments which now joined them. Some were shot down before they reached the stream: others were killed in it. A few perished on the opposite bank. Two or three only escaped—viz., Sir Mountstuart Jackson and his two sisters, and little Sophy Christian [a child three years of age], who was saved by Sergeant-major Morton. There fell Mr. and Mrs. Christian and child, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Thornhill and their children, and several others. Those who escaped broke into two parties. Lieutenant Burns, Sir Mountstuart and Miss Madeline Jackson, Sergeant-major Morton, and little Sophy Christian, found refuge, though an unwilling one, with Rajah Lonee Sing, at his fort of Mithowlee. Mrs. Greene, Miss Jackson, and Captain John Hearsey [of the military police, who had been saved by them], fled northward, and, after being joined by other refugees, found shelter at Mutheearee, with the rajah of Dhoreyrah."‡

Mr. Gubbins gives no enumeration of those who perished, nor of those (happily far more numerous) who escaped;§ neither is any such list included in the returns published in the *Gazette*.

The main body of the Seetapoor fugitives, consisting of twelve officers, six ladies, and as many children, with a number of the families of civilians (about fifty in all),‖ escorted by thirty faithful sepoys of the 41st, managed to send news of their position to Lucknow on the morning of the 4th; and a party of volunteer and Seik cavalry, with every carriage,

* Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 143.

† Rees' *Siege of Lucknow*, p. 46.

‡ Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 122.

§ Mr. Gubbins mentions receiving Mrs. Abthorp and three children, and Mrs. and Miss Birch, into his house, where they remained throughout the siege—(p. 119).

‖ See account given in the *Times*, August 29th. 1857, on the authority of one of the party, an officer of the 41st N.I.

buggy, and available conveyance, was immediately sent out to bring them in. The sepoys were cordially received; yet within one fortnight, even these men could no longer be trusted. A Christian drummer overheard some mutinous discourse, and it was thought best to tender them the option of retiring to their homes. When this offer was made, it was accepted by all without exception; and not a man remained with Major Abthorp and the officers whose lives they had before saved.

Mohumdee, the second station in the Khyrabad division, was guarded by a company of the 9th Oude infantry. The arrival of the Shahjehanpoor refugees, on Monday, June 1st, caused great excitement among the sepoys; and when Captain Patrick Orr questioned them separately regarding their intentions, "each one said he could not answer for what some of the bad characters might do." The reply appeared so unsatisfactory, that the officer immediately sent off his wife to Rajah Lonee Sing, at Mithowlee. Still no outbreak took place until the Thursday morning, when a detachment of fifty men came in from Seetapoor, sent by Mr. Christian, as an escort for the Shahjehanpoor refugees. These men declared that a company of their regiment had been destroyed by the Europeans at Lucknow, and that they were resolved on taking vengeance. Captain Orr, seeing the state of things, assembled the Native officers, and desired to know what they intended doing. After some discussion, they decided on marching to Seetapoor, and proceeded to release the prisoners from the gaol and to plunder the treasury, in which they found about 110,000 rupees; but they took a solemn oath to spare the lives of the Europeans. In the course of the afternoon, Mr. Thomason and Captain Orr, with the Shahjehanpoor party, quitted Mohumdee in company with the mutineers. The names of the unfortunate Europeans were—

Captains Sneyd, Lysaght, and Salmon; Lieutenants Key, Robertson, Scott, Pitt, and Rutherford; Ensigns Spens, Johnston, and Scott; Quartermaster-sergeant Grant; band-master and one drummer; Lieutenant Sheils, veteran establishment; and Mr. Jenkins, of the civil service. *Ladies*—Mrs. Scott, Miss Scott, Mrs. Lysaght, Mrs. Key, Mrs. Bowling, Mrs. Sheils, Mrs. Grant, Mrs. Pereira, and her four children.

A buggy and some baggage carts were procured: the ladies were placed thereon; and, after five hours' travelling, they reached Burwar, and there spent the night. Next morning they marched towards Aurungabad; but after proceeding in that direction for about four miles, a halt was sounded, and a trooper told the Europeans to go ahead wherever they pleased. They went on for some distance with all possible expedition, but were at length overtaken by a most bloodthirsty party of mutineers. Captain Orr writes—"When within a mile of Aurungabad, a sepoy rushed forward and snatched Key's gun from him, and shot down poor old Sheils, who was riding my horse. Then the most infernal carnage ever witnessed by man began. We all collected under a tree close by, and took the ladies down from the buggy. Shots were fired from various directions, amid the most hideous yells. The poor ladies all joined in prayer, coolly and undauntedly awaiting their fate. [The fourteen gentlemen were murdered one by one; the gentlewomen—they were truly such—assembled together in one body, and were shot down while kneeling and singing a hymn].* I stopped for about three minutes among them; but, thinking of my wife and child here, I endeavoured to save my life for their sakes. I rushed out towards the insurgents; and one of my men, Goordhun, of the 6th company, called out to me to throw down my pistol, and he would save me. I did so; when he put himself between me and the men, and several others followed his example. In about ten minutes more they completed their hellish work. I was 300 yards off at the utmost. Poor Lysaght was kneeling out in the open ground, with his arms folded across his chest; and though not using his fire-arms, the cowardly wretches would not go to the spot until they shot him; and then rushing up, they killed the wounded and children, butchering them in a most cruel way. With the exception of the drummer-boy, every one was killed of the above list; and, besides, poor good Thomason and one or two clerks."

Captain Orr was sent, under a guard, to Mithowlee, from whence he dispatched to Lucknow the letter from which the above particulars are extracted.† In a postscript dated the 9th of June, he mentions having

* Mr. Rees quotes this touching particular from the letter of Capt. Patrick to his brother Capt. Adolphe Orr, which was shown him by the latter officer.

† Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 123.

heard of the vicinity of Sir M. Jackson and his companions; and Captain Orr and his wife appear to have joined them, and, with them, to have fallen into the hands of the mutineers, who detained them in protracted captivity, the issue of which belongs to a later period of the narrative.

At *Mullaon*, a party of the 41st N.I., and the 4th Oude irregular infantry, became so turbulent, that the deputy-commissioner (Mr. Capper), perceiving mutiny impending, rode away, and reached Lucknow in safety.

At *Secrora*—a military station in the Bahraetch division of Oude, of which Mr. Wingfield was commissioner—a mutiny broke out, and the treasury was rifled; but all the Europeans escaped safely to Lucknow, from whence a strong party of volunteer and Seik cavalry, with elephants and dhoolies, were sent to bring in the ladies and children, which was safely accomplished on the 9th of June.

At *Gondah*, where the milder course of mutiny and plunder without massacre was adopted, the commandant (Captain Miles), and other officers of the 3rd Oude irregulars stationed there, were obliged to fly, and were, with Mr. Wingfield, protected for several days by the rajah of Bulrampoor, and then escorted by his troops across the Oude frontier into the Goruckpoor district, where they were kindly received by the rajah of Bansie, and enabled to reach Goruckpoor.

At *Bahraetch* itself, two civil servants were stationed—Mr. Cunliffe, deputy-commissioner, and his assistant, Mr. Jordan, with two companies of the 3rd irregular infantry, under Lieutenant Longueville Clarke. When mutiny appeared, the three Europeans rode off to Nanpara, intending to rest there, and proceed thence to the hills; but, on reaching that place, they were refused admittance. The reason given was connected with the *be-duk-ilee*, or dispossession grievance, which had produced so much disaffection throughout Oude. According to the British view of the question as stated by Mr. Gubbins, the rajah of Nanpara, being a minor, had fallen under the tutelage of a kinsman who had mismanaged the estate and dissipated the property. He had accordingly been removed by the authorities, and a new agent appointed; but when the insurrection commenced, the old administrator killed the government nominee, and resumed his former position. No injury was done to the fugitives at Nanpara. They retraced their steps to Bahraetch, and disguising themselves as natives, strove to reach Lucknow, where Mr. Cunliffe expected to meet his affianced bride. Unfortunately they rode to the chief ferry, that of Byram Ghaut, which was guarded by the Secrora mutineers, by whom the disguised Europeans were discovered and put to death. Such, at least, was the statement made by several native witnesses, and which, Mr. Gubbins affirms, was believed at Lucknow by all except the betrothed girl, who hoped against hope, throughout the weary siege, that her lover yet survived. She might well do so; for during that terrible time, many persons were asserted to be dead, and details of the most revolting description related regarding their sufferings, who afterwards were discovered to be alive and wholly uninjured, save by fear, fatigue, and exposure to the weather.

Mr. Rees, who was connected by marriage with poor Clarke, mentions three different statements of the fate of the Bahraetch fugitives. One was, that they were "tried by the rebels for the murder of Fuzil Ali, and shot." A military author, who is a very graphic describer, but who gives few and scanty references to his sources of information, narrates the catastrophe with much precision. Lieutenant Clarke had been especially active in the apprehension of Fuzil Ali, a rebel chief and notorious outlaw, well-known in the annals of Oude. The irregular infantry had assisted in the capture of the bandit, who was tried and executed for the murder of a Bengal civilian: but when they mutinied, they sent word to the 17th N.I. (which regiment was in their immediate vicinity), to know what should be done with the murderer of the chieftain? "Behead him," was the reply; and the unfortunate officer, and another European with him, were immediately executed.*

Mr. Rees states, that the sword and pistols of Lieutenant Clarke were taken to his father, a well-known barrister of the same name, at Calcutta, by an old native dependent, who transmitted them in obedience to the order of his late master.

At *Mullapoor*, the last station of the Bahraetch division, there were no troops to mutiny; but the complete disorganisation of the district, compelled the officers there, Mr. Gonne, of the civil service, and Captain Hastings, to leave the place, and take

* *Mutiny of Bengal Army;* by one who served under Sir Charles Napier; p. 82.

refuge in a fort called Mutheearee, belonging to the rajah of Dhoreyrah, a minor. Three fugitives from Seetapoor (Captain John Hearsey, Mrs. Greene, and Miss Jackson), with two gentlemen (Messrs. Brand and Carew), who had escaped at the time of the destruction of the large sugar factory at Rosa, near Shahjehanpoor, accompanied the Mullapoor officers; but the disaffection of the rajah's people, soon compelled the Europeans to quit Mutheearee. Mrs. Greene, Miss Jackson, and Mr. Carew, fell into the hands of the enemy, and no certain information was obtained of their fate;* the others escaped to Puddaha, in the Nepaul hills, where Koolraj Sing received them kindly, but could not shield them from the deadly climate of the Terai, under which all but Captain Hearsey sank; and he eventually joined Jung Bahadur's camp at Goruckpoor.

The Fyzabad division comprised the station of that name, and two others—Sultanpoor and Salone.

At *Fyzabad*, so much anxiety had been felt, that the commissioner, Colonel Goldney, whose head-quarters and family were at Sultanpoor, removed thence to the former place on account of the importance of that position, and the danger by which it was menaced. The troops consisted of the 22nd N.I., under Colonel Lennox; the 6th Oude irregular infantry, under Colonel O'Brien; and a Native light field battery, under Major Mill.

The cantonments were, as usual, at some distance from the town, which had been the seat of government for the nawabs of Oude previous to the accession of Asuf ad Dowlah, in 1775; who removed to Lucknow, then but a small village—the reason assigned by Sleeman being, that the new sovereign "disliked living near his mother."† About three miles distant are the ruins of Ayodha, or Oude, the capital of the ancient Hindoo kingdom—a spot still resorted to as a place of pilgrimage from all parts of India.

Shahgunje, a town twelve miles from Fyzabad, with no fallen majesty or legendary fame to boast of, is, however, a name far more familiar to English ears. It was the chief place in the territories of Rajah Maun Sing, and was surrounded by a mud wall thirty feet high and forty feet thick, and a ditch three miles round, containing some six or seven feet of water. The wall, built of the mud taken from the ditch, had twenty-four bastions for guns. Horrible tales were told of atrocities committed within the fortress. Sleeman records the current rumour regarding a disgraced court favourite, named Gholab Sing, in the time of Nuseer-oo-Deen; who, having displeased the wayward drunken monarch, was flogged, and made to suffer severe torments by hunger and thirst. The females of his family were likewise cruelly ill-treated; and the British resident was compelled, in common humanity, to interfere; whereupon the king, to rid himself of unwelcome importunities, and yet wreak his malice on his victim, gave the latter into the custody of his foe and rival, Rajah Dursun Sing, the father of Maun Sing, who took him in an iron cage to Shahgunje, and kept him there, with snakes and scorpions for his companions.

For the relief of the reader, it may be well to add, that the wretched captive survived his confinement despite all its aggravations, and, at the death of Nuseer-oo-Deen, was released on the payment of four lacs of rupees, and a promise of three lacs more if restored to office; which actually occurred. Gholab Sing was, in 1831, again appointed to a place of trust at court, and died peaceably at Lucknow in 1851, at eighty years of age.‡

This episode may be excused as an illustration of life in Oude, shortly before the British government took upon itself the task of total reformation. The parentage and personal antecedents of Maun Sing, have a direct bearing on the present state of Oude. In the introductory chapter, a description has been given of the two opposite classes included under the general name of talookdars: first, the ancient Rajpoot chiefs, the representatives of clans which had existed before Mohammed was born; and who had been forced, or intrigued, or persuaded into an acknowledgment of the Oude nawabs as their suzerains: secondly, the new men, who, as government officials, had contrived, generally by fraud and oppression, to become farmers of the revenue, and large landed proprietors.

The family of Maun Sing had risen to consequence by the latter process. Bukhtawar Sing, the founder of his family, was a trooper in the service of the East India Company in the beginning of the present

* Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 132.
† Sleeman's *Journey through Oude*, p. 137.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 155 to 162.

century. While still a very young man, remarkably tall and handsome, he came home on furlough, and attracted the attention of the nawab of Oude, Sadut Ali, whom he attended on a sporting excursion. He became one of the nawab's favourite orderlies; and having saved his sovereign's life from the sword of an assassin, was promoted to the command of a squadron. He sent for his three brothers to court, and they became orderlies one after the other, and rose to high civil and military rank. Being childless, he adopted Maun Sing, the son of his brother Dursun Sing, who, next to himself, was the most powerful subject in Oude, and by far the wealthier, having steadily followed the opportunities of adding field to field and lac to lac, at the command of a very clever revenue contractor; with powerful friends at court, and quite unfettered by any notions of honour or humanity. Sleeman, in his diary (December, 1849), describes Maun Sing as a small, slight man; but shrewd, active, energetic, and as unscrupulous as a man could be. "Indeed," he adds, "old Bukhtawar Sing himself is the only member of the family that was ever troubled with scruples of any kind whatever. All his brothers and nephews were bred up in the camp of an Oude revenue collector—a school specially adapted for training thoroughbred ruffians." He proceeds to adduce the most startling instances of treacherous rapacity, of murder committed, and torture applied, to wrest money or estates from the rightful proprietors. The worst of these outrages were committed in the name of the Oude government; for whenever the court found the barons in any district grow refractory under weak governors, they gave the contract of it to Dursun Sing, as the only officer who could reduce them to order; and thus he was enabled to carry out his private ends in the king's name. In 1842, under pretence of compelling the payment of arrears of revenue in the districts of Gondah and Bahraetch, he proceeded to seize and plunder the lands of the great proprietors one after the other, and put their estates under the management of his own officers.

The territory of the young rajah of Bulrampoor was seized in this manner during his absence, the garrison of his little stronghold being taken by surprise. The rajah fled to Nepaul, where the minister, his personal friend, gave him a small garden for an asylum, near the village of Maharaj Gunje, in the Nepaulese dominions. Knowing the unscrupulous and enterprising character of his foe, the rajah took advantage of the rainy season to surround his abode with a deep ditch; and thus, when Dursun Sing marched against it, the rajah was enabled to make his escape; whereupon Dursun Sing's party took all the property they could find, and plundered Maharaj Gunje. The rajah (one of our few stanch friends in Oude in the late disasters) was a dashing sportsman, and in this capacity had won the liking of one of his new neighbours, a sturdy landholder, who, rallying his armed followers, sorely harassed the retreat of the invaders. The court of Nepaul took up the matter, and demanded the dismissal of Dursun Sing from office, and the payment of compensation in money. The governor-general (Lord Ellenborough) seconded the latter requisition, which was fulfilled; and the numerous enemies of the powerful chief had nearly succeeded in inducing the king to comply with the former also, the three queens especially advocating a measure which would involve the confiscation of the estates of the offender, and, consequently, much profit and patronage to themselves. Bukhtawar Sing pleaded for his brother; and the minister, Monowur ood Dowlah,* advised levying a heavy fine on Dursun Sing, and reinstating him in his former position; as, if he were crushed altogether, no means would remain for controlling the refractory and turbulent barons; the rest would all become unmanageable, and pay no revenue whatever to the exchequer. The British resident admitted the truth of the king's assertion, that Dursun Sing "was a notorious and terrible tyrant;" but supported the counsel of the minister. Dursun Sing was banished, and took refuge in the British district of Goruckpoor; but, before two months had expired, his recall was rendered necessary, by the refusal of the tenants and cultivators of his confiscated estates, to pay any other person but him; and the Oude government were too weak to coerce them.

Dursun Sing was recalled, presented to the king (May 30th, 1844), and made inspector-general of all Oude, with most comprehensive orders "to make a settlement of the land revenue at an increased rate; to

* The nobleman of whose loyalty and bravery Mr. Gubbins speaks so highly at the time of the investment of Lucknow.—*Oudh*, pp. vi., and 40.

cut down all the jungles, and bring all the waste lands into tillage; to seize all refractory barons, destroy all their forts, and seize and send into store all the cannon mounted upon them." Such duties, and others scarcely less onerous, could of course only be performed by a person entrusted with unlimited powers. Armed with these, Dursun Sing went heartily to work; but he soon fell ill, and retired to Fyzabad, where he died, August 20th, leaving the barons of Oude in possession of their forts, their cannon, and their jungles, and bequeathing to his three sons—Rama Deen, Rugbur Sing, and Maun Sing—an immense accumulation of lands and money to fight for. The determination which his dependents exhibited of standing by him during his exile, cannot be exclusively attributed to the fear he inspired. Sleeman states, that "Dursun Sing systematically plundered and kept down the great landholders throughout the districts under his charge, but protected the cultivators, and even the smaller landed proprietors, whose estates could not be conveniently added to his own."* In traversing the lands in the vicinity of Shahgunje, in 1850, the resident was particularly struck by the "richness of the cultivation, and the contented and prosperous appearance of the peasantry, who came out to him from numerous villages, in crowds, and expressed their satisfaction at the security and comfort they enjoyed under their present rulers." "Of the fraud and violence, abuse of power, and collusion with local authorities, by which Maun Sing and his father seized upon the lands of so many hundreds of old proprietors, there can be no doubt; but to attempt to make the family restore them now, under such a government [Wajid Ali was then king], would create great disorder, drive off all the better classes of cultivators, and desolate the face of the country which they have rendered so beautiful by an efficient system of administration."†

Such testimony as this ought to have had great weight with the gentlemen entrusted with the settlement of Oude after its forcible occupation by the British government. It appears, on the contrary, that the notoriously unfit and inexperienced revenue officers, nominated hap-hazard in the multiplication of civil appointments consequent on Lord Dalhousie's series of annexations, treated Maun Sing and his relatives simply as usurping adventurers, without any regard to their position under the late dynasty, to the acknowledgment of that position by the British authorities, or to their characters as efficient administrators of territories, in the possession of which they had been legally, though not righteously confirmed. It was, indeed, easy to denounce Maun Sing as the oppressor of the Lady Sogura, the impoverished and imprisoned heiress of Munneapoor; and as the murderer of his fellow-usurper, Hurpaul Sing, whom he caused to be dispatched at an interview to which he had enticed him, by swearing by the holy Ganges, and the head of Mahadeo, that he should suffer no harm.‡ These and other such histories (more or less exaggerated, but, unfortunately, all possible and probable) might have been taken in proof of Maun Sing's unworthiness to retain the possessions he and his father had seized. Still, had these allegations been susceptible of proof, even-handed justice required that considerable allowance should be made by the new rulers for deeds of oppression and extortion which had been condoned, if not sanctioned, by the government under which they were committed. In the disorganised state of Oude, where strife and bloodshed seemed essential conditions of the life of the chieftains, there were few whose tenure of property was not complicated by the incidents and consequences of internecine hostility. There is no evidence to show that the newly-appointed revenue officials attempted to lay down any satisfactory principle on which to ground their decisions; on the contrary, they appear to have set about their work piece-meal, discussing such small points of detail as the native "omlah" chose to bewilder them with, and being far too ignorant of the history and customs of the new province, or of its actual condition, to be able to form a clear opinion on the cases before them. The "utter inversion of the rights of property," which is alleged to have been involved in the settlement of the North-West Provinces, in 1844,§ could scarcely fail to recur in Oude, where the settlement was made under the most unpropitious circumstances. The cry for revision and reconsideration became so urgent, and the injustice of the proceedings so flagrant, that, as we have seen, Sir Henry Lawrence was stopped on his way to England on sick leave, when

* Sleeman's *Journey through Oude*, vol. i., p 58.
† *Ibid.*, pp. 150, and 186.
‡ Sleeman's *Journey through Oude*, vol. i., p. 145.
§ See p. 84, *ante*.

suffering under "a dozen different complaints," and sent to Oude. Unhappily, the opportunity for pacification there, had been worse than lost. The landed proprietary had been driven, by our revenue and judicial system, into union on the single point of hostility towards the British. Among the talookdars, there were many chiefs entirely opposed in character to Maun Sing; but few had suffered such spoliation as he had, inasmuch as few had so much to lose. The dealings of government with him have never been succinctly stated. Mr. Russell (whose authorities in India are, from the quite peculiar position in which his talents and honesty have placed him, of the very highest class) asserts that, in 1856, Maun Sing was chased out of his estates by a regiment of cavalry, for non-payment of head-rent, or assessment to government. When he fled, many original proprietors came forward to claim portions of his estates (comprising, in all, 761 villages), and received them from the British administrators.* From a passage in a despatch written by Commissioner Wingfield, it appears that Maun Sing was absolutely in distress for money, and unable to borrow any, having "lost every village at the summary settlement."†

A man so situated was not unlikely to turn rebel. The Supreme government and the Lucknow authorities received intelligence which they deemed conclusive; and in accordance with a telegram from Calcutta, Maun Sing was arrested at Fyzabad in May, and remained in confinement till the beginning of June, when he sent for Colonel Goldney, warned him that the troops would rise, and offered, if released, to give the Europeans shelter at Shahgunje. Colonel Goldney appears to have rightly appreciated the motives of his interlocutor, which were simply a desire to be on the stronger side—that of the British; to obtain from them the best possible terms; and, at the same time, not to render himself unnecessarily obnoxious to his countrymen. Maun Sing was neither the fiery Rajpoot of Rajast'han (so well and so truly portrayed by Todd), nor the mild Hindoo of Bengal; nor, happily for us, was he a vengeful Mahratta like Nana Sahib: he was a shrewd, wary man, "wise in his generation," and made himself "master of the situation," in a very wriggling, serpent-like fashion. He had no particular temptation to join either party. The ancient barons of Oude detested him and his family, as adventurers and *parvenus* of the most unprincipled description, who had grown wealthy on their spoils; and Maun Sing, in accordance with the proverb, that "the injurer never forgives," probably entertained a deeper aversion and distrust towards them than towards the English, by whom he had himself been despoiled. The event justified the policy adopted by Colonel Goldney in releasing the chief, with permission to strengthen his fort (which was greatly out of repair), and raise levies: but these measures he had little time to adopt; for before many days had elapsed, the expected mutiny took place, and was conducted in a manner which proved that, in the present instance, the sepoys were acting on a settled plan. On the morning of the 8th of June, intelligence was received that a rebel force (the 17th N.I., with a body of irregular cavalry and two guns from Azimghur) were encamped at Begum Gunje, ten miles from Fyzabad, and intended marching into the station on the following morning. The Europeans now prepared for the worst. The civilians and the non-commissioned officers sent their families to Shahgunje; to which place, Captain J. Reid, Captain Alexander Orr, and Mr. Bradford, followed them. Colonel Goldney, though also filling a civil appointment, remained behind. He had every confidence in the 22nd N.I., which he had formerly commanded; and he maintained a most gallant bearing to the moment of his death. Mrs. Lennox and her daughter (Mrs. Morgan), with the wife and children of Major Mill, remained in cantonments, in reliance on the solemn oath of the Native officers of the 22nd, that no injury should be done them. The European officers went to their respective posts; but soon found themselves prisoners, not being allowed to move twelve paces without being followed by a guard with fixed bayonets.

A risaldar of cavalry took command of the mutineers, and proceeded to release a moolvee, who had been confined in the quarter-guard, and in whose honour they fired a salute. This man was a Mohammedan of good family, who had traversed a considerable part of Upper India, preaching sedition. He had been expelled from Agra

* *Times*, 17th January, 1859.

† Despatch to secretary to government, dated July 14th, 1857.—Parl. Papers on Mutinies (regarding Maun Sing), March 18th, 1858; p. 3.

—a measure which only helped to give him the notoriety he sought. In April, he appeared with several followers at Fyzabad, where he circulated seditious papers, and openly advocated a religious war. The police were ordered to arrest him; but he and his followers resisted with arms: the military were called in, and several lives were lost on the side of the moolvee, before his capture was effected. He was tried, and sentence of death would have been pronounced and executed upon him, but for some informality which delayed the proceedings.

Colonel Lennox remained in his bungalow all night with his wife and daughter, under a strong sepoy guard. Two officers strove to escape, but were fired at by the cavalry patrols, and brought back into the lines unhurt, where they were desired to remain quietly until daybreak, when they would be sent off, under an escort, to the place of embarkation, placed in boats, and dispatched down the Gogra river.*

The account, thus far, rests on official information. Private letters state that the mutineers held a council of war during the night, and that the irregular cavalry, who were nearly all Mussulmans, proposed to kill the officers; but the 22nd N.I. objected; and it was ultimately decided that the officers should be allowed to leave unharmed, and to carry away all their private arms and property, but no treasure, as that belonged to the King of Oude.

An officer who escaped, gives a different account of the language held to him by a subahdar of his own regiment: but both statements may possibly be true, as the sepoys may have been disposed in favour of the Delhi or of the Oude family, according to their birth and prejudices. The speech of the subahdar was very remarkable. Seeing his late superior about to depart, he said—"As you are going away for ever, I will tell you all about our plans. We halt at Fyzabad five days, and march through Duriabad upon Lucknow, where we expect to be joined by the people of the city." Proclamations, he added, had been received from the King of Delhi, announcing that he was again seated on the throne of his fathers, and desired the whole army to join his standard. The subahdar declared that Rajah Maun Sing had been appointed commander-in-chief in Oude: and he concluded his communications by remarking—"You English have been a long time in India, but you know little of us. We have nothing to do with Wajid Ali, or any of his relations; the kings of Lucknow were made by you: the only ruler in India empowered to give sunnuds, is the King of Delhi; he never made a King of Oude: and it is from him only that we shall receive our orders."†

The officers were allowed to depart at daybreak on the morning of the 9th, and were escorted to the river side, and directed to enter four boats which had been provided by the insurgents, and proceed down the river. Whilst still at the ghaut, or landing-place, intelligence was brought to the escort, that their comrades in cantonments were plundering the treasure; whereupon the whole party immediately hurried off thither. The Europeans then entered the boats; and, there being no boatmen, proceeded to man them themselves. According to the testimony of a survivor, the four boats were filled in the following manner:—

First Boat.—Colonel Goldney; Lieutenants Currie, Cautley, Ritchie, Parsons; Sergeants Matthews, Edwards, Busher.

Second Boat.—Major Mill; Sergeant-major Hulme and his wife; Quartermaster-sergeant Russel; and Bugler Williamson.

Third Boat.—Colonel O'Brien; Captain Gordon; Lieutenants Anderson and Percivall; and Surgeon Collison.

Fourth Boat.—Lieutenants Thomas, Lindsay, and English.

While dropping down the river, the Europeans perceived a canoe following them. It contained a sepoy of the 22nd N.I., named Teg Ali Khan, who requested to be suffered to accompany his officers. He was taken in by Colonel Goldney; and, on approaching a village, he procured rowers for two of the boats, and proved himself, in the words of the credentials subsequently given him by Colonel Lennox, a "loyal and true man."‡

Boats one and two distanced the others, and passed Ayodha, where the third boat was seen to put in. After proceeding

* Despatch of Colonel Lennox, July 1st, 1857.—Further Parliamentary Papers on Mutinies (No. 4), p. 46. See also letter dated August 1st: published in *Times*, September 29th, 1857.

† Letter from an officer of one of the Fyzabad regiments. Quoted by Bombay Correspondent of *Daily News*, August 17th, 1857.

‡ Long roll and certificate of character, dated July 1st, 1857.—Further Parl. Papers on the Mutinies (No. 4), p. 53.

about three miles further, Colonel Goldney and Major Mill waited, in hopes of being rejoined by their comrades; but spending two hours in vain, they resumed their voyage down stream, and at length reached a spot which they approached without any idea of danger, apparently not knowing that it was Begum Gunje, the place where the 17th N.I. were encamped, and beneath which the current of the Gogra swept past.* Here the fugitives observed natives running along the bank, and evidently giving notice of their approach. From the various accounts of the whole sad business, it seems that some of the more sanguinary and desperate of the Fyzabad mutineers, thwarted in their purpose of themselves slaying and plundering the Europeans by the determined opposition of the 22nd N.I., gave notice to the rebels at Begum Gunje to intercept the officers. Accordingly, just at the narrowest part of the stream, a body of infantry and cavalry were drawn up in readiness; and, as the boats approached, they were fired into, and Matthews, who was rowing, was killed. Colonel Goldney desired the officers to lay aside their arms, and try to come to terms with the mutineers, who entered some boats which lay along the shore, and pushing off into the middle of the stream, recommenced firing. Seeing this, Colonel Goldney urged all around him to jump into the water, and try to gain the opposite bank; he was, he said, "too old to run," and there was no other prospect of escape. His advice was followed. The gallant veteran and the dead sergeant remained alone; the other passengers, together with all those in the second boat, strove to swim to shore. Major Mill, Lieutenants Currie and Parsons, were drowned in the attempt.

The fortunes of the party in the first boat are described in a report by Sergeant Busher, who succeeded in effecting his escape, as did also Teg Ali Khan. In the course of Busher's wanderings, he met with the officers who had embarked in the fourth boat; but they escaped the rebel force only to perish by the hands of insurgent villagers.† Lieutenants Cautley, Ritchie, and Bright, are thought to have met a similar fate.‡ The remainder of the Fyzabad fugitives, whose fate has not been mentioned, escaped, excepting Colonel Goldney, who was, it is alleged, brought to land, and led to the mutineer camp. "I am an old man," he said; "will you disgrace yourselves by my murder?" They shot him down.§

The gentlemen in the third boat put in shore, and obtained a large boat and some rowers. The natives were, however, so terrified, that they would have run away, had they not been compelled to embark "at the point of the sword." The Europeans exhausted with fatigue, fell asleep, and when they awoke the boatmen had disappeared. They had, however, by this time reached a village called Gola, near which a native prince and French indigo planter resided. The planter, "seeing the whole country up around him," started with the officers on the following morning for Dinapoor, whither the whole party arrived safely, under the escort of thirty armed men, sent with them by the rajah. Mr. Collison, on whose authority the above details are given, says, that the ladies from Fyzabad arrived at Dinapoor on June 29th, in a pitiful condition. They had been robbed of everything at Goruckpoor, whither they had been safely sent by Maun Sing, and only escaped with their lives. They had been imprisoned in a fort on the river for a week, and almost starved to death.‖ In the official notice of the Fyzabad mutiny, it is expressly stated, that no acts of violence were committed by the troops on the occasion; on the contrary, the majority, it is said, conducted themselves respectfully towards their officers to the last; and even those requiring money for travelling expenses, were supplied with it by the mutineers.¶

The adventures of Colonel Lennox remain to be told. After the officers had left, the moulvee sent the native apothecary of the dispensary to say, that he was sorry that the colonel should be obliged to fly, as, through his kindness, he had been well cared-for while confined for three months in the quarter-guard, and had been allowed

* Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 135.

† Further Parl. Papers (No. 4), p. 48.

‡ *London Gazette* (second supplement), May 6th, 1858.

§ Mr. Gubbins, from whom the above statement regarding the fate of Col. Goldney is derived (p. 135), does not give his authority. The government *Gazette* mentions the colonel's name among the list of the missing, whose fate had not been ascertained.

‖ Letter from Assistant-surgeon Collison, dated "Dinapoor, June 30th."—*Times*, August 29th, 1857.

¶ Despatch from Major-general Lloyd, dated "Dinapoor, June 19, 1857."—Further Parl. Papers (not numbered), p. 35.

his hookah; and that if the colonel and his family would remain in cantonments for a few days, he would take care of them. The subahdar, Dhuleep Sing, on the contrary, advised their immediate flight before the arrival of the 17th N.I.; and as the sepoys on guard at the bungalow were becoming insolent and riotous, Colonel Lennox judged it best to quit Fyzabad immediately, which he did with his wife and daughter, starting during the intense heat of the afternoon. Two faithful sepoys accompanied them, and were happily on their guard against the danger to be expected at Begum Gunje. At Ayodha, however, they encountered an unexpected difficulty, the place being held by a rebel picket. They were twice compelled to stop, under threats of being fired upon; but after being questioned, were suffered to proceed. At half-past ten they passed the enemy's camp unseen; but on rounding a sand-bank, they came upon another picket. By the advice of the sepoys and boatmen, they went on shore, and crept along the side of the bank for two hours: at the expiration of that time they re-entered the boat, which the native boatmen had risked their lives to bring round. Colonel Lennox and the ladies crossed the river at midnight, and landed in the Goruckpoor district. At sunrise on the following morning, they started on foot for Goruckpoor, with their khitmutgar (steward or table attendant) and ayah (lady's maid), and had walked about six miles, when they reached a village, where, having procured a draught of milk, they prepared to rest during the mid-day heat; but were soon disturbed by a horseman, armed to the teeth, with a huge horse-pistol in his hand, which he cocked and held to the head of Colonel Lennox, desiring him to proceed with his wife and daughter to the camp of the 17th N.I., as he expected to get a reward of 500 rupees for each of their heads. The fugitives wearily retraced their steps; but had not gone above a mile when a lad met them, whom the horseman recognised, and whose appearance made him strive to compel the ladies to quicken their pace. The lad, however, prevailed on him to let them drink some water and rest awhile, near a village; and during the interval he contrived to send a boy to call friends to their assistance. It appeared that a nazim, named Meer Mohammed Hussein Khan, and his nephew, Meer Mehndee, had a small fort less than a mile distant (in the Amorah district), from whence, on receiving intelligence of the danger of the Europeans, eight or ten men were dispatched to the rescue. The horseman was disarmed, and obliged to accompany his late captives to the residence of the nazim; but one of the party sent to save them, seemed by no means pleased with the task. He abused Colonel Lennox; and, "looking to his pistol and priming, swore he would shoot those Englishmen who had come to take away the caste of the natives and make them Christians."* Meer Mohammed was holding a council when the fugitives arrived. They were ushered into his presence, and he bade them rest and take some sherbet. One of his retainers hinted, that a stable close by would be a suitable abode for the dogs, who would be killed ere long. The nazim rebuked him, and told the Europeans not to fear, as they should be protected in the fort until the road to Goruckpoor was again open, so that the station could be reached in safety.

On the day after their arrival, their host, fearing that scouts of the 17th N.I. would obtain news of the locality of the refugees, desired them to assume native clothing; and dressing three of his own people in the discarded European garments, he sent them out at nine o'clock in the evening, under an escort, to deceive his outposts and the villagers. The disguised persons returned at midnight, in their own dresses; and all, except those in the secret, believed that the Europeans had been sent away, instead of being allowed to remain in a reed hut in rear of the zenana, treated very kindly and considerately, having plenty of food, and a daily visit from the nazim. Clothing for the ladies was supplied by the begum. On the 18th of June, an alarm was given that an enemy was approaching to attack the fort. The ladies were immediately concealed in the zenana, and Colonel Lennox hidden in a dark-wood "godown," or caravan for the transport of goods. The troopers proved to be a party sent by the collector of Goruckpoor for the refugees, who gratefully

* The adventures of Colonel Lennox and his family, are given, as nearly as possible, in the words of the interesting official statement, drawn up by the colonel himself, and dated July 1st, 1857.—Further Parl. Papers (No. 4), pp. 46—48. See also the somewhat fuller account, also written by him, and published in the London *Times*, of September 29th, 1857.

took leave of "the considerate and noble nazim." They reached Goruckpoor in safety; and, on their way, met Sergeant Busher, who had been also saved by Meer Mehndee's adherents.

The nazim afterwards visited the mutineers at Fyzabad, to learn their plan, which was to march to the attack of Lucknow, and then proceed to Delhi. They enquired very minutely concerning certain Europeans he had harboured. The nazim declared he had only fed and rested three Europeans, and then sent them on. To this the mutineers replied—"It is well; we are glad you took care of the colonel and his family."

Colonel Lennox concludes his narrative by earnestly recommending the nazim and his nephew to the favour of the British government. He had refrained from any description of his own sufferings, or those of his companions; but he evidently could not acknowledge the gratitude due to a fellow-creature, without making reverent mention of the merciful Providence which had supported, and eventually carried him through, perils under which the majority of his fellow-officers had sunk, though they were mostly young, strong, and unencumbered by the care of weak and defenceless women. His party escaped without a hair of their heads being injured. There is something very impressive in the quiet dignity with which Colonel Lennox declares—"Throughout this severe trial, I have found the promise fulfilled to me and to my family, 'And as thy day, so shall thy strength be.'"*

The last Europeans left at Fyzabad, were the wife and children of Major Mill. For some unexplained cause, Mrs. Mill had neither accompanied the civilians to Shahgunje, nor her husband to the boats. She is alleged to have lost the opportunity of leaving the station with Colonel Lennox, from unwillingness to expose her three young children to the sun; but she subsequently made her way alone with them, wandering about for a fortnight, from village to village, till she reached Goruckpoor, where one of her little ones died of fatigue; and where, after passing through an agony of doubt, she learned at length the certainty of her widowhood.†

Sultanpoor.—This station was under the command of Colonel Fisher, an officer whose genial nature and keen enjoyment of field sports, had rendered him popular alike with Europeans and Natives. His own regiment (the 15th irregular horse) was posted at Sultanpoor, together with the 8th Oude infantry, under Captain W. Smith, and the 1st regiment of military police, under Captain Bunbury. Individual popularity could not, however, counteract general disaffection; and, even to its possessor, it brought dangers as well as advantages; for while the sepoys of each regiment were solicitous for, and did actually preserve, the lives of many favourite officers at the risk of their own, the worst disposed of other corps were specially anxious to remove such commanders as might influence the more moderate to repentance, and, at the same time, to compromise the entire Bengal army by implication in the commission of crimes which the majority had in all probability never contemplated. Colonel Fisher was not taken by surprise. He anticipated the coming outbreak, and sent off the ladies and children, on the night of the 7th of June, towards Allahabad, under care of Dr. Corbyn and Lieutenant Jenkyns. Three of the ladies (Mrs. Goldney, Mrs. Block, and Mrs. Stroyan) became separated from the rest, and were taken to the neighbouring fort of Amethie, where they were protected by Rajah Bainie Madhoo Sing; by whom, the Oude commissioner states, "they were very kindly treated. Madhoo," he adds, "sent us in their letters to Lucknow; furnished them with such comforts as he could procure himself; took charge of the articles which we wished to send; and, after sheltering the ladies for some days, forwarded them in safety to Allahabad. The rest of the party, joined by Lieutenant Grant, assistant-commissioner, found refuge for some days with a neighbouring zemindar, and were by him escorted in safety to Allahabad."‡ This testimony is very strongly in favour of a rajah, whose fort, after being the sanctuary of Englishwomen in their deepest need, was soon to be besieged by the British commander-in-chief in person, and its master driven into exile and outlawry. The cause of this change is alleged to have been one which those who have watched the working of the centralisation system in India, will find little difficulty in understanding. It is not only that the left hand does not know what the right hand is doing, but that the head,

* Further Parl. Papers (No. 4), p. 47.
† Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 136.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

called by courtesy the Supreme government, is generally ignorant of the movements of either, until its own initiative and veto, exercised in an equally despotic and vacillating manner by successive orders and counter-orders, have issued in the hopeless bewilderment of its own functionaries, and the rebellion of its unfortunate subjects. The history of Bainie Madhoo's hostility is thus given by Mr. Russell. "The rajah," he writes (in November, 1858, from the British camp then advancing against Amethie), "is a Rajpoot of ancient family and large possessions. At the annexation, or rather after it, when that most fatal and pernicious resettlement of Oude took place, in which our officers played with estates and titles as if they were footballs, we took from the rajah a very large portion of territory, and gave it to rival claimants. The rajah, no doubt, was incensed against us; but still, when the mutiny and revolt broke out, he received the English refugees from Salone, and sheltered and forwarded them, men, women, and children, in safety to Allahabad. While he was doing this, the government was busy confiscating his property.* If I am rightly informed, the authorities, without any proof, took it for granted that the rajah was a rebel, and seized upon several lacs of rupees which he had at Benares; and, to his applications for redress, he received, in reply, a summons to come in and surrender himself."†

Other causes were not wanting to aggravate the natural aversion of the chief towards the government by which he had been so ill-treated; and these will be mentioned in their due order. Meanwhile, many intermediate events require to be narrated. The troops at Sultanpoor rose on the morning of the 9th of June, when Colonel Fisher, in returning from the lines of the military police, whom he had harangued and endeavoured to reduce to order, was shot in the back by one of that regiment, and died in the arms of Lieutenant C. Tucker. Captain Gibbings, the second in command, was attacked and killed by the troopers while on horseback beside the dhooly in which Fisher had been placed. The men then shouted to Lieutenant Tucker to go; and he rode off, crossed the river, and found shelter in the fort of Roostum Sah, at Deyrah, on the banks of the Goomtee. Here he was joined by the remainder of the Sultanpoor officers, and was, with them, safely escorted to Benares, by a party of natives sent from that city by the commissioner, Henry Carre Tucker.

Mr. Gubbins observes—"Roostum Sah is a fine specimen of the best kind of talooqdars in Oudh. Of old family, and long settled at Deyrah, he resides there in a fort very strongly situated in the ravines of the Goomtee, and surrounded by a thick jungle of large extent. It had never been taken by the troops of the native government, which had more than once been repulsed from before it. Roostum Sah deserves the more credit for his kind treatment of the refugees, as he had suffered unduly at the settlement, and had lost many villages which he should have been permitted to retain. I had seen him at Fyzabad in January, 1857; and, after discussing his case with the deputy-commissioner, Mr. W. A. Forbes, it had been settled that fresh inquiries should be made into the title of the villages which he had lost; and orders had been issued accordingly."‡

Whatever were the orders issued in January, they appear to have afforded no immediate relief to the ill-used talookdar; for, in the following June, when he received and sheltered the European fugitives, he was found to be supporting his family by the sale of the jewels of his female relatives.

Two young civilians§ were killed in endeavouring to escape. They took refuge with Yaseen Khan, zemindar of the town of Sultanpoor. He is alleged to have received them into his house, and then turned them out and caused them to be shot down, thereby perpetrating the only instance of treachery attributed to a petty zemindar of Oude.‖

Salone.—The mutiny here was conducted without tumult or bloodshed. There were no Europeans at this station, but only six companies of the 1st Oude infantry, under Captain Thompson. The cantonments were

* Out of 223 villages, 119 were taken from him on the second revision after annexation. (Russell). —*Times*, Jan. 17th, 1858.

† *Times*, December 21st, 1858.

‡ Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 139.

§ Mr. A. Block, C.S., and Mr. S. Stroyan, who had been recently married to a girl of seventeen.

‖ *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 140. Mr. Gubbins does not give his authority for this statement regarding the conduct of Yaseen Khan.

at Pershadipoor. The conduct of the regiment is described by its commanding officer as continuing "most exemplary" up to June 9th, notwithstanding the trials to which the men had been subjected, by the false accounts of their friends and relatives in different disbanded and mutinous regiments. On the afternoon of that day, a sowar (trooper), who pretended to have escaped from a body of mutineers, galloped into the cantonments. In the night, he represented to the sepoys, that in the event of their remaining faithful, they would be overpowered by the revolted regiments; and his arguments, added to the impression already produced by the assertions of the 37th, 45th, and 57th N.I., that they had been first disarmed and then fired on by the Europeans, so wrought upon the minds of the Pershadipoor troops, that they resolved on throwing off their allegiance.*

The large sum known to be in the treasury, had probably its share in inciting them to mutiny, which they did on the morning of the 10th, by refusing to obey their officers, and warning them to depart. The Europeans knew that resistance was hopeless, and rode off, a few sepoys accompanying Captain Thompson, and remaining steadily with him; while some native subordinates attended the commissioner, Captain Barrow. As the party passed through the lines, several of the sepoys saluted them, but none uttered any threat. Outside the station, Lall Hunwunt Sing, talookdar of Dharoopoor, was found drawn up with his troopers, in accordance with a promise which he had given to be ready with aid in case of emergency. The whole of the refugees were received into his fort, and remained there nearly a fortnight, treated all the while with the greatest kindness. They were then conducted by their host and 500 of his followers to the ferry over the Ganges, opposite to Allahabad, and they reached the fort in safety. The refugees desired to give Hunwunt Sing some token of their gratitude; "but he would receive no present for his hospitality." The financial commissioner remarks—"The conduct of this man is the more deserving, as he had lost an undue number of villages; and his case, as well as that of Roostum Sah of Deyrah, was one that called for reconsideration."†

* Despatch of Captain Thompson to secretary of government, June 25th, 1857.—Further Parl. Papers, p. 70.

† Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 141.

At *Duriabad*, a station and district of the Lucknow division, the 5th Oude infantry were quartered, under Captain Hawes. There was a considerable amount of treasure here (about three lacs), the removal of which had been attempted in May, but resisted by some of the sepoys. On the 9th of June, Captain Hawes renewed the attempt. The treasure was placed in carts, and the men marched off cheering; but before they had proceeded half a mile, a disturbance took place. The disaffected men refused to convey the treasure any further, fired on those who opposed them, and succeeded in taking back the loaded carts in triumph to the station. The European residents fled immediately. Captain Hawes, though repeatedly fired on, escaped unhurt, galloped off across the country, was kindly received by Ram Sing, zemindar of Suhee, and from thence escaped to Lucknow. Lieutenants Grant and Fullerton placed their wives and children in a covered cart, and were walking by the side of it, when they were overtaken by a party of mutineers, and obliged to turn back. On their way towards Duriabad, messengers from cantonments met them, with leave to go where they pleased, as the regiment had no wish to do them harm. A double rifle, which had been taken from Lieutenant Grant, was restored to him; and the party reached the hospitable abode of Ram Sing, and proceeded thence to Lucknow without further molestation. Mr. Benson (the deputy-commissioner) and his wife took refuge with the talookdar of Huraha; were hospitably treated, and enabled to reach Lucknow.

The mutiny of all the Oude stations has now been told, except those of Cawnpoor and Futtehghur: they have a distinctive character; the massacre which followed them by far surpassing any outbreak of sepoy panic, ferocity, or fanaticism; and being, in fact, an episode formed by the ruthless, reckless vengeance of the wretch whose name is hateful to everybody possessed of common humanity, whether Christian, Mohammedan, or Hindoo.

Lucknow.—On the 11th of June, 1857, the capital of Oude, and Cawnpoor, were the only stations in the province still held by the British.

On the following day, Sir Henry Lawrence resumed his functions, and became as indefatigable as ever. He "seemed almost never to sleep. Often would he sally out in

disguise, and visit the most frequented parts of the native town, and make personal observations, and see how his orders were carried out. He several times had a thin bedding spread out near the guns at the Baillie Guard gate, and retired there among the artillerists; not to sleep, but to plan and meditate undisturbed. He appeared to be ubiquitous, and to be seen everywhere."*

The 12th of June was further marked by the mutiny of the 3rd regiment of military police, which furnished the mail guard, and took most of the civil duties. The sepoys abandoned their several posts, and marched off on the road to Sultanpoor, plundering several houses belonging to Europeans in their way. They were pursued by a force under Colonel Inglis. The police superintendent (Captain Weston) outstripped the other Europeans, and endeavoured to bring the natives back to obedience. They treated him civilly, but refused to listen to his arguments, unless permitted to do so by the chief they had elected. The permission was refused, and one of the mutineers levelled his musket at Captain Weston. A dozen arms were thrust forward to strike down the weapon. "Who," said they, "would kill such a brave man as this?" The English officer rode back unharmed.† When the Europeans came up with the mutineers, they turned and fought, killing two of the Seik troopers, and wounding several other persons. Two Europeans died of apoplexy. The loss, on the side of the mutineers, was fifteen killed and fifteen captured. On the return of the pursuers, the deputy-commissioner, Mr. Martin, who had formed one of the volunteer cavalry, urged the execution of the prisoners; but the tacit pledge given by some of the captors, who had held out their open hand in token of quarter, was nobly redeemed by Sir Henry Lawrence, and the prisoners were released. Levies of horse, foot, artillery, and police, were now raised. About eighty pensioned sepoys were called in by Sir Henry from the surrounding districts, and no suspicion ever attached to any of them during the siege. One, named Ungud, a native of Oude, performed some remarkable feats as a messenger. The mingled justice and conciliation of Sir Henry Lawrence's policy was markedly instrumental in obtaining the native auxiliaries, but for whom, Lucknow might have been as Cawnpoor. A striking illustration of this fact, is afforded by the circumstance of some hundreds of Native artillerymen, formerly in the service of the King of Oude (who had refused to enter the service of the British government on the annexation of the country), now coming forward under their chief, Meer Furzund Ali, as volunteers. A number of them were enlisted; and Mr. Gubbins, who had sixteen of them in his own fortified house, says they worked the guns, under European supervision, during the whole siege, in which several of them were killed. He adds, that "the mutineers no sooner learnt that Furzund Ali was on our side, than they gutted his house, plundering it of a large amount of valuable property. Unless, therefore, some special compensation has been granted to him, Furzund Ali will not have gained much by his loyalty."‡ It seems strange that the "financial commissioner for Oude," writing in June, 1858, should not have been able to speak with somewhat greater certainty on the subject.

Ramadeen, an old Brahmin, also a native of Oude, was another helpful auxiliary. He had been employed as an overseer of roads; and when the disturbed state of the districts interrupted his labours, he came in to Lucknow with six of his brethren: they worked as foot soldiers; and no men ever behaved better. By night they assisted in constructing batteries; by day they fought whenever the enemy attacked. Ramadeen and two of his men were killed; the others survived, and were pensioned by government. There was a native architect named Pirana, of whom Mr. Gubbins says—"He was an excellent workman; and, but for his aid and that of Ramadeen, we could never have completed the works which we put up. Pirana used to work steadily under fire; and I have seen a brick, which he was about to lay, knocked out of his hand by a bullet."§ Before the siege began, there was an excellent native smith, named Golab, working in the engineering department. Captain Fulton gave him his option to go or stay. He chose the latter; and manifested strong personal attachment to his chief, following him everywhere in the face of great danger, and rendering invaluable service. On the very day on which the relieving force entered the Residency, he was killed by a round shot.

Such are a few among a crowd of

* Rees' *Siege of Lucknow*, p. 39.
† *Ibid.*, p. 61.
‡ Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 166.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

instances of fidelity even unto death; individual attachment being usually the actuating motive.

Strenuous efforts were now made to strengthen the Residency position, and to throw up defences capable of resisting the assault of artillery. The Residency itself occupied the highest point of an elevated and irregular plateau, sloping down sharply towards the river. On the north side, a strong battery for heavy guns, afterwards called the Redan, was commenced on the 18th of June, by Captain Fulton. The Cawnpoor battery—so called from its position commanding the high road from that station—had been begun some days earlier by Lieutenant Anderson.

Among other precautions taken at this period, was the arrest of certain Mohammedans of high family, who it was supposed might be compelled or persuaded to join the rebel cause. One was Mustapha Ali Khan, the elder brother of the ex-king, who had been a state prisoner at the time of our occupation of Oude, and whose claims to the succession had been set aside on the plea of weak intellect. The other captives were two princes connected with the Delhi family—Nawab Rookun-ood-Dowlah, one of the surviving sons of the good old sovereign, Sadut Ali Khan; and the young rajah of Toolseepoor (in the Terai), a very turbulent character, who had previously been under surveillance, and was suspected of having caused the murder of his father.

On the 28th of June, Ali Reza Khan, who had formerly been kotwal of Lucknow under native rule, and had taken service under the British government, reported the existence of a large quantity of jewels in the late king's treasury, in the palace called the Kaiser Bagh; which, if not removed, would probably fall into the hands of the mutineers, or be plundered by some party or other. Major Banks was immediately dispatched with a military force to secure and bring in the treasure, which consisted of a richly ornamented throne, crowns thickly studded with gems, gold pieces from Venice and Spain, and a variety of necklaces, armlets, rings, and native ornaments, enclosed in cases so decayed with age, that they fell to pieces when touched; and the place was literally strewed with pearls and gold. The display was unfortunate; and during the subsequent siege, the receptacle in which these gewgaws were placed was more than once broken into, and "looted."

The men of the 32nd regiment were supposed to be the offenders. "Certainly they got hold of a large quantity of the jewels, and sold them freely to the natives of the garrison."* Deprat, a French merchant, who possessed some stores of wine, received offers of valuable gems in exchange for a dozen of brandy; and Mr. Gubbins writes —"I have myself seen diamonds and pearls which had been so bought." There were twenty-three lacs (£230,000) in the government treasury; and this sum was, in the middle of June, buried in front of the Residency, as the safest place of deposit.

The circulating medium had always been miserably insufficient for the wants of a teeming population; and the neglect of proper provision in that respect had been one of the leading defects of the Company's government. In Oude, early in the month of June, public securities fell to so low an ebb, that government promissory notes for a hundred rupees were offered for sale at half that sum. Confidence was partially restored by the authorities volunteering to buy as much as two lacs of paper at any rate under sixty per cent. The owners hesitated and wavered; and the only purchase actually made was effected by the financial commissioner, on Sir Henry Lawrence's private account, at seventy-five per cent. But during the last half of the month, the demand for gold increased rapidly. The mutinous sepoys at the out-stations had possessed themselves of large amounts of government treasure in silver, which was very bulky to carry about, and they exchanged it for gold at high rates, wherever the latter could be procured. At Lucknow all credit rapidly vanished. Not a native merchant could negotiate a "hoondie," or bill; the government treasury was vainly appealed to for aid; and as there was no longer any prospect of receiving money from the out-stations, it was ordered that the salaries of the government officials should cease to be paid in full, and that they should receive only such small present allowance as might suffice for necessary expenditure.

By this time the heat had become intense, and the rains were anxiously looked for. There had been several deaths from cholera in the Muchee Bhawn, and both cholera and small-pox had appeared in the Residency, where Sir Henry himself lived, in the midst of above a hundred ladies and

* Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 178.

children. The Residency also contained the sick, and women and children, of H.M.'s 32nd. "There are," Mrs. Harris states, "as many as eight and nine ladies, with a dozen children, in one room; and the heat is awful."* A heavy fall of rain on the 28th of June was hailed as a great relief; but the comfort thus afforded was counterbalanced by tidings from Cawnpoor.

At the time of the capitulation of General Wheeler to the Nana Sahib, a large body of mutineers were known to be assembled at Nawabgunje, twenty miles from Lucknow, which city they immediately marched towards. On the 29th of June, an advance guard of 500 infantry and 100 horse, was reported to Sir Henry Lawrence as having arrived at Chinhut (a town on the Fyzabad road, within eight miles of the Residency), to collect supplies for the force which was expected there on the following day. A body of cavalry was sent out to reconnoitre the position and numbers of the enemy, but returned without having accomplished this object, hostile pickets having been posted at a considerable distance from the town. Our intelligence was, perhaps unavoidably, as defective as that of the enemy was accurate. On the night of the 29th of June (and not on the 30th, as the spies employed by Mr. Gubbins, who had charge of the intelligence department, had declared would be the case), the rebel army reached Chinhut. In utter ignorance of this fact, Sir Henry Lawrence planned the expedition which proved so disastrous.

Such, at least, is the statement made by Mr. Rees, whose authority carries weight, because he had access to, and permission to use, the journal kept by the wife of Brigadier Inglis, the second in command; and probably gained his information from the brigadier himself, as well as from other officers engaged in the undertaking. Mr. Gubbins' account is less circumstantial, and is naturally not unprejudiced, because, owing to the unfortunate differences which existed between him and the other leading authorities, he was not even aware of the expedition until its disastrous issue became apparent.

* Mrs. Harris's *Siege of Lucknow*, pp. 23; 54.

† Raikes' *Siege of Lucknow*, p. 67. Mr. Gubbins states, that upon his death-bed, Sir Henry referred to the disaster at Chinhut; and said, that he had acted against his own judgment from the fear of man, but did not mention the name of any individual adviser.—*Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 199.

The force moved out at 6 A.M. on the morning of the 30th, and consisted of about 350 Europeans, including a troop of volunteer cavalry, and about the same number of natives, with ten guns and an 8-inch howitzer. Brigadier Inglis, in his despatch, says that several reports had reached Sir Henry Lawrence, on the previous evening, that the rebel army, in no very considerable numbers, intended marching on Lucknow on the following morning; and Sir Henry therefore determined to make a strong *reconnaissance* in that direction, with a view, if possible, of meeting the enemy at a disadvantage, either at their entrance into the suburbs of the city, or at the bridge across the Kookrail—a small stream intersecting the Fyzabad road, about half-way between Lucknow and Chinhut. Thus far the road was metalled; but beyond it was a newly raised embankment, constructed of loose and sandy soil, in which, every now and then, gaps occurred, indicating the position of projected bridges. The troops halted at the bridge, and Sir Henry, it is said, proposed to draw up his little army in this position, and await the coming of the enemy; but he "unfortunately listened to the advisers who wished him to advance."† Raikes adds, there were rum-and-water and biscuits with the baggage; but no refreshment was served out to the soldiers, although the Europeans were suffering severely from the sun, which was shining right in their faces; and many of them had been drinking freely overnight.

Brigadier Inglis does not enter into particulars; but only states that the troops, misled by the reports of wayfarers (who asserted that there were few or no men between Lucknow and Chinhut),‡ proceeded somewhat further than had been intended, and suddenly fell in with the enemy, who had up to that time eluded the vigilance of the advanced guard by concealing themselves behind a long line of mango groves, in overwhelming numbers. Chinhut itself was a large village, situated in a plain, on the banks of a very extensive jheel, or lake, close to which stands a castle, formerly a favourite resort of the kings of Oude in their sporting excursions. The camp of the enemy lay to the left of Chinhut. The

‡ Another of the annalists of the siege, observes, that "Sir Henry was on the point of returning to the city; but, unfortunately, he was persuaded to advance, as it was said the enemy could not be in great number."—*Day by Day at Lucknow;* by the widow of Colonel Case, of H.M.'s 32nd; p. 49. London: Bentley, 1858.

village of Ishmaelpoor, where the action was really fought, lay to the left of the road by which the British were advancing, and was occupied by the enemy's sharpshooters. The howitzer was placed in the middle of the road, and fired with much effect; but the rebels, instead of retreating, only changed their tactics, and were soon seen advancing in two distinct masses of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, evidently intending to outflank the British on both sides. "The European force and the howitzer, with the Native infantry, held the foe in check for some time: and had the six guns of the Oude artillery been faithful, and the Seik cavalry shown a better front, the day would have been won in spite of an immense disparity in numbers. But the Oude artillerymen and drivers were traitors."* They overturned the guns into ditches, cut the traces of their horses, and abandoned them, regardless of the remonstrances and exertions of their own officers, and of those of Sir Henry Lawrence's staff, headed by the brigadier-general in person, who himself drew his sword upon these rebels. The cavalry were now ordered to charge. The European volunteers, few of whom had ever seen a shot fired, instantly obeyed the order; but the Seiks (numbering eighty sabres) behaved shamefully. Only two of them charged with the Europeans; the rest turned their horses' heads and galloped back to Lucknow. From behind the loopholed walls of Ishmaelpoor, a deadly fire was poured forth on the British. The 300 men of H.M.'s 32nd were ordered to clear the village. They advanced boldly under their gallant leader, Colonel Case; but he was struck to the ground by a bullet; whereupon the men suddenly laid themselves down under the shelter of a small undulation in the field, but continued firing at the enemy as fast as they could load their pieces.

The order for retreat was now given. The European artillery limbered up and went to the rear, and Sir Henry Lawrence ordered Lieutenant Bonham to retire with the howitzer. But the elephant which was to have carried it was half maddened by the fire; and while the gunners were striving to attach the trail of the howitzer to its carriage, the mutineers were pressing on. A bullet struck Lieutenant Bonham, who was carried off by his men, and put upon a limber. The howitzer was abandoned; the rebels seized it, and, in the course of some forty-eight hours, fired from it the shot that killed Sir Henry Lawrence. The retreat had become general, when Captain Bassano, of the 32nd foot, who had been searching for Colonel Case, discovered that officer lying wounded, and offered to bring some of the men back to carry him away. "Leave me to die here," was the reply; "I have no need of assistance. Your place is at the head of your company."† The enemy were at this time in rapid pursuit; the Europeans and the sepoy infantry kept up a brisk fire as they retreated, and many fell on both sides. Colonel Case was last seen lying on the roadside with his eyes wide open, and his sword firmly grasped, in the midst of the corpses of his brave companions in arms.‡ Lieutenant Brackenbury was shot next; and Thompson, the adjutant, was mortally wounded. Captain Bassano was hit in the foot, but succeeded in safely reaching the Residency, by the aid of a sepoy of the 13th N.I., who carried the wounded officer for a considerable distance on his back. Major Bruère, also hurt, was saved in a similar manner. There were no dhoolies (litters) for the wounded. At the very beginning of the action, several bearers had been killed; whereupon all the others fled in dismay, leaving the dhoolies in the hands of the enemy. The water-carriers also had run away; and the European infantry were so exhausted from thirst and fatigue, that they could scarcely drag themselves along; and only did so by the aid of the cavalry volunteers, each one of whom was encumbered with two, three, and even four foot soldiers, holding on by the hand of the officer, or by his stirrup, or by the crupper or tail of his horse. The infantry laboured, moreover, under another disadvantage. Their muskets had been kept long loaded, and had become so foul, that it was not possible to discharge them. During the retreat, one of their officers called upon a private by name, and desired him to turn round and fire upon the enemy. "I will do so, sir, if you wish," said the man; "but its no use. I have already snapped six caps, and the piece won't go off."§ Happily, the Native infantry were better able to endure the heat, and

* Despatch of Brigadier Inglis. The Oude artillerymen here mentioned, are not those recently levied (see p. 236), but an old corps, the loyalty of which, according to Rees, there had been previous ground for suspecting.—*Siege of Lucknow*, p. 53.

† Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 187.

‡ Rees' *Siege*, p. 72. § Gubbins' *Mutinies*, p. 180

their weapons were in good order. They are described as having "behaved, for the most part, in the kindest manner to the wounded Europeans; taking up great numbers of them, and leaving their own wounded uncared-for on the battle-field. They had been suspected of being also tainted with the general disaffection, and were, therefore, anxious to regain the esteem and confidence of their European officers. They gave, indeed, the most striking proofs of their fidelity and loyalty on that day, showering volleys of musketry and (native like) of abuse on their assailants."*

On nearing the Kookrail bridge, a new danger presented itself. The road in front was seen to be occupied by a body of the rebel cavalry.† The guns were unlimbered, with the intention of pouring in a few rounds of grape on the enemy; but it was ascertained that not a single round of ammunition remained. The preparatory movement, however, produced the desired effect; the enemy hesitated, and, when charged by Captain Rattray and the handful of volunteers under his command, abandoned their position, and, ceasing to obstruct the road, contented themselves with harassing the rear of the retreating troops, whom they pursued even to the iron bridge near the Residency. Sir Henry Lawrence was seen in the most exposed parts of the field, riding about, giving directions, or speaking words of encouragement amidst a terrific fire of grape, round shot, and musketry, which struck down men at every step. While riding by his side, Captain James was shot through the thigh. Sir Henry remained untouched; but he must have suffered as only so good a man could, in witnessing the scene around him. Forgetful of himself, conscious only of the danger and distress of the troops, at the moment of the crisis near the Kookrail bridge, when his little force appeared about to be overwhelmed by the dead weight of opposing numbers, he wrung his hands in agony, and exclaimed, "My God, my God! and I brought them to this!"

Perhaps that bitter cry was heard and answered, uttered as it was by the lips of one whose character for Christian excellence stood unequalled among public men in India. At least, the retreat of the exhausted force from the Kookrail bridge to Lucknow, under all the circumstances of the case, is one of the most marvellous incidents in the insurrection. On approaching the suburbs, the natives, men, women, and children, rich and poor, crowded round the weary and wounded fugitives, bringing water in cool porous vessels, which was thankfully accepted, and greedily swallowed.

The news of the disaster had reached the city as early as 9 A.M.; a number of the recreant Seik cavalry, and artillery drivers, having crossed the iron bridge at that hour, their horses covered with foam, and they themselves terrified, but not one of them wounded. The commissioner asked them reproachfully why they had fled. They replied only, that the enemy had surrounded them. Half-an-hour later, a messenger who had been sent to gain information, returned to Lucknow, bearing Sir Henry Lawrence's sword scabbard, and a message that he was unhurt. Shortly after the troops arrived; and then, as the wounded men lay faint and bleeding in the porch of the Residency, the horrors of war burst at once on the view of the British at Lucknow. The banqueting-hall was converted into an hospital; and instead of music and merriment, the wail of the widow, shrieks wrung from brave strong men by excruciating physical suffering, and the dull death-rattle, were heard on every side. The total loss, on the side of the British, consisted of—Europeans, 112 killed, and 44 wounded; Natives—nearly 200 killed and missing: only eleven wounded returned to the city. Besides the howitzer, we lost three field-pieces, with almost all the ammunition waggons of our native guns. No estimate could be formed of the loss of the enemy; but the total number engaged was calculated at 5,550 infantry, 800 cavalry, and 160 artillery.‡ These were the regiments which had mutinied at Fyzabad, Seetapoor, Sultanpoor, Secrora, Gondah,

* Rees' *Siege of Lucknow*, p. 78.

† According to Mr. Rees, the masses of rebel cavalry by which the British were outflanked near the Kookrail bridge, were "apparently commanded by some European, who was seen waving his sword, and attempting to make his men follow him and dash at ours. He was a handsome-looking man, well built, fair, about twenty-five years of age, with light mustachios, wearing the undress uniform of a European cavalry officer, with a blue and gold-laced cap on his head." Mr. Rees suggests the possibility of this personage being "a Russian: one suspected to be such had been seized by the authorities, confined, and then released;"—or "a renegade Christian."—*Siege of Lucknow*, p. 76.

‡ Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 189.

Salone, and Duriabad. The odds were fearful; and the cause for wonder is, not that half the British band should have perished, but that any portion of it should have escaped.

It is probable that Sir Henry Lawrence felt that the expedition had been a mistake, even independently of the fatal miscalculation of the strength of the enemy, which led him to advance to Chinhut. It had been undertaken without due preparation, without any settled plan of action; neither had any reserve been provided in the event of disaster. The European garrison, consisting of little above 900 men, was materially weakened by the result of the contest; and the easy victory gained by the rebels, emboldened them, and accelerated the besiegement of Lucknow.

The first effect of the return of the survivors was to produce a death-like silence throughout the city; but the stillness was of brief duration. The foe followed close on their heels, and the terrified ladies had scarcely time to welcome back their relatives, or, like poor Mrs. Case, to discover their bereavement, before the whistling of round shot was heard in the air. Mr. Gubbins went to search for Sir Henry Lawrence, and found him laying a howitzer at the Water gate (so called from its vicinity to the river Goomtee), to command the entrance to the Residency.

The siege of Lucknow had, in fact, commenced. The Europeans went on the terraces of their houses, and could see, through their telescopes, masses of the enemy crossing the Goomtee, at a considerable distance below the city (the guns on the Redan commanding the iron bridge); while troopers of the rebel cavalry were already galloping about the streets. The gaol, nearly opposite the Baillie Guard gate of the Residency, was left unwatched. The prisoners, some of whom on the previous day, and even on that very morning, had been working at the batteries, carrying beams and baskets of mud, were soon seen making their escape, holding-on by ropes (which they fastened on the barred windows), and swinging themselves down the high walls. In the course of the afternoon, Sir Henry Lawrence dispatched a messenger to Allahabad, with a brief notice of what had occurred. "We have been besieged," he states, "for four hours. Shall likely be surrounded to-night. Enemy very bold, and our Europeans very low. * * * We shall be obliged to concentrate if we are able. We shall have to abandon much supplies, and blow up much powder; unless we are relieved in fifteen or twenty days, we shall hardly be able to maintain our ground."*

At the opening of the siege, there was, besides the two main posts at the Residency and the Muchee Bhawn, a third at the Dowlutkhana, a spacious mausoleum built in honour of a former King of Oude. The 4th and 7th regiments of irregular infantry, and four companies of the 1st irregular infantry, had not accompanied the force to Chinhut, but had remained at their post, under Brigadier Gray. No reliance had been placed on the fidelity of these men, and the guns had been previously removed from their charge. No surprise was therefore expressed when, on witnessing the return of the defeated troops, the sepoys at the Dowlutkhana broke out into mutiny with loud shouts, and commenced plundering the property of their officers, whom, however, they did not attempt to injure, but suffered to retire quietly to the Muchee Bhawn.

The Imaumbara—a building appropriated by Mohammedans of the Sheiah sect to the yearly celebration of the Mohurrum, a series of services commemorative of the sufferings of the Imaum Hussein—was at this time filled with native police, who soon followed the example set them by the irregulars in joining the mutiny. The kotwal fled, and hid himself; but being discovered by the enemy, was seized, and eventually put to death.

The investment at once prevented the continuance of communication by letter between the Residency and the Muchee Bhawn; at least the commissioner could find no means of conveying despatches from Sir Henry Lawrence to Colonel Palmer, the commanding officer at the latter position; but Colonel Palmer managed to send intelligence to the Residency, that he was ill supplied with food, and even gun ammunition, shot, and shell. The total force available for defence had, moreover, been so reduced by the Chinhut affair, that there was barely sufficient to garrison the extended Residency position, in which it was now resolved to concentrate the troops. Telegraphic communication had been previously established,

* Telegraphic despatch from commanding officer at Allahabad, to governor-general, July 10th, 1857—Further Parl. Papers, 1857; p. 110.

by Sir Henry Lawrence, between the two posts; and, on the evening of the 1st of July, he took this means of ordering the evacuation of the Muchee Bhawn. Captain Fulton (of the engineers), another officer, and a civilian, Mr. G. H. Lawrence (nephew of Sir Henry), ascended to the roof to perform this hazardous service. The machine was out of order, and had to be taken down and repaired—the three Europeans being all the time a mark for the bullets of the enemy; and having no other shield than the ornamental balustrade, in the Italian style, which surrounded the roof. But they accomplished their work surely and safely, each letter of the telegram being signalled in return by Colonel Palmer. The words were few, but weighty. "Spike the guns well, blow up the fort, and retire at midnight."

Much anxiety was felt about the success of the movement by those who knew what was intended; and those who did not, were for the most part panic-struck by the suddenness of the calamity which had befallen them. The "omlah," or writers, who resided in the city; the chuprassies,* or civil orderlies, and the workpeople engaged in the yet unfinished batteries, took to flight; and everything outside the intrenchments fell into the hands of the enemy. On the first day of the siege, musketry alone was fired by the rebel army; but, on the second, they had succeeded in placing their cannon in position, and took aim with precision and effect.

The Residency was the chief point of attack, both from its high position and as the head-quarters of Sir Henry Lawrence. Events proved that the rebels were perfectly acquainted with all the different apartments, their occupants, and uses, and directed their fire accordingly. The building was very extensive, and solidly built, with lofty rooms, fine verandahs, and spacious porticoes. The tyekhana, or underground rooms, designed to shelter the families of British residents at Lucknow from the heat of the sun, now served to shield a helpless crowd of women and children from a more deadly fire. Skylights and cellar windows, contrived with all care, made these chambers the most commodious in the Residency, as well as the only safe ones. Indeed, in every other part, no building could have been less calculated for purposes of defence. The numberless lofty windows in its two upper stories offered unopposed entrance to the missiles of the foe. Colonel Palmer's daughter, a girl of about seventeen, engaged in marriage to a young officer, was sitting in one of the higher rooms on the afternoon of the 1st, when a round shot struck her, and nearly carried off her leg. Amputation was immediately had recourse to; but, on the following day, the poor girl died, as did every other patient on whom a similar operation was performed during the entire siege.† Sir Henry Lawrence had a narrow escape at nearly the same time. He occupied a room on the first story of the most exposed angle of the Residency. While engaged writing with his secretary, Mr. Couper, an 8-inch shell fell and burst close to both gentlemen, but injured neither. The whole of the staff entreated Sir Henry to leave the Residency, or at least to choose a different chamber; but he refused, observing that another shell would certainly never be pitched into that small room. He then resumed his anxious round of duty, visiting every post, however exposed its position, however hot the fire directed against it;‡ and taking precautions to facilitate the evacuation of the Muchee Bhawn, on which fortress the enemy had already opened a cannonade. Towards night, however, the firing ceased; and the enemy, believing the ancient stronghold to be well-nigh impregnable, had no idea of the necessity of blockading its garrison. The *ruse* of Sir Henry, in directing the batteries of the Residency to open fire shortly after midnight, was therefore completely successful. The guns of the Redan cleared the iron bridge of all intruders. The arrangements for the march had been admirably made by Colonel Palmer, and were as ably carried through by the subordinate officers, who were furnished with written orders. The force, comprising (according to Mr. Gubbins) 225 Europeans,§ moved out noiselessly at midnight, carrying their treasure and two or more 9-pounder guns with them, and, in fifteen minutes, traversed the three-quarters of a mile which separated the Muchee Bhawn from the Residency, without

* *Chuprassies*—so called from the chuprass or badge on their breasts, generally consisting of a broad plate of brass hanging from a handsome shoulder-belt. They are employed in carrying messages, and in general out-door work.—(Russell).

† *Memoir* of Rev. H. S. Polehampton; p 337.

‡ Rees' *Siege of Lucknow*, p. 115.

§ Further Parl. Papers, p. 75.

having had a shot fired at them.* The train for the destruction of the fort had been laid by Lieutenant Thomas, of the Madras artillery: by his calculations the explosion was to take place half-an-hour after the departure of the garrison. Sir Henry Lawrence and the officers stood waiting the event. At the appointed time a blaze of fire shot up to the sky, followed by a loud report, which announced the destruction of 240 barrels of gunpowder, and 6,000,000 ball cartridges, together with the complete dismantlement of the fortress.† Many lacs of percussion-caps, and 250 boxes of small-arm ammunition, were sacrificed at the same time, together with a considerable amount of public stores, and much private property.

Still the measure was, beyond all question, a wise one; and the spirits of the garrison rose immediately at the accession of strength gained by the safe arrival of their countrymen. Very different to this easy entrance to the Residency, was the "Strait of Fire" through which the next British reinforcement had to run the gauntlet. Meanwhile a heavy trial was at hand. After welcoming the troops from the Muchee Bhawn, Sir Henry retired to rest in the same small chamber he had been vainly entreated to leave. The next morning, at half-past eight, he was sitting on his bed, listening to some papers read aloud by Captain Wilson, the deputy assistant-commissary-general, when another 8-inch shell entered by the window, and, bursting in the room, a large piece slightly injured Captain Wilson, but struck Sir Henry with such force as nearly to separate his left leg from the thigh. He was immediately brought over to the house of Dr. Fayrer, the Residency surgeon;‡ which was less exposed to the enemy's fire: but the removal appeared to be speedily discovered by the lynx-eyed rebels, and Fayrer's house became the target for their marksmen. The nature of the wound, and the attenuated condition of the sufferer, forbade any attempt at amputation; but it was necessary to stay the bleeding by applying the tourniquet; and the agony thus occasioned was fearful to behold. The chief persons of the garrison, civil and military, stood round their gallant chief. Heedless of the sound of the bullets striking against the verandah, and of their own imminent danger, they thought only of the scene before them; and, in the words of one of them, found it "impossible to avoid sobbing like a child."§

Notwithstanding his extreme pain, Sir Henry was perfectly sensible, and characteristically unselfish. He appointed Brigadier Inglis to succeed him in command of the troops, and Major Banks in the office of chief commissioner. He specially enjoined those around him to be careful of the ammunition; and often repeated, "Save the ladies." He earnestly entreated that the aid of government should be solicited for the Hill Asylums, established by him for the education of the children of soldiers, and to the support of which, he had, by the most systematic self-denial, contributed at least £1,000 a-year from his official income: he had no other. He bade farewell to the gentlemen round him, pointed out the worthlessness of human distinctions, and recommended all to fix their thoughts upon a better world. Then turning to his nephew, who, he said, had been as a son to him,‖ he sent messages to his children, and to each of his brothers and sisters, and tenderly alluded to the beloved wife,¶ dead some four years before, who had so cordially seconded all his schemes of public and private usefulness. He lingered till eight o'clock in the morning of the 4th, and then his paroxysms of anguish terminated in a peaceful, painless death. His last request was, that the inscription upon his tomb should be simply this—"Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to

* One man, however, was left behind, dead drunk. He remained during the explosion—was thrown into the air—fell asleep again, and, on awaking next morning, found himself amid a heap of deserted ruins; whereupon he proceeded quietly to the Residency, taking with him a cart of ammunition, drawn by two bullocks, and astonished the soldiers by calling out, "Arrah! open your gates." Rees, who narrates this anecdote, quotes the French proverb, "Il y'a un Dieu pour les ivrognes;" and suggests, that the serious injury to the adjacent houses, and probable destruction of many of the rebels stationed near the Muchee Bhawn, may account for so extraordinary an escape.—*Siege of Lucknow*, p. 121.

† Brigadier Inglis's despatch, Sept. 26th, 1857. It is asserted, that the destruction thus occasioned was much overrated.

‡ Brother to the volunteer of the same name, killed with Captain Fletcher Hayes. See p. 193.

§ Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 199.

‖ Mrs. Harris's *Siege of Lucknow*, p. 77.

¶ "The late Lady Lawrence shared all his benevolence and all his genius. His article in the *Calcutta Review*, on 'Woman in India,' is descriptive of her character; and the large subscription that was raised for the Lawrence Asylum after her death, was the best tribute to her worth."—*Friend of India*, July, 1857.

do his duty. May the Lord have mercy on his soul!"*

The words are very touching, when considered as the utterance of the man who will go down to posterity as the pacificator of the Punjab,† and to whose prudence, energy, and foresight, despite the disaster at Chinhut, the gallant survivors of the Lucknow garrison consider their success mainly attributable.‡ Indeed (in the emphatic words of Brigadier Inglis), but for the foresight and precautions of Henry Lawrence, every European in Lucknow might have slept in a bloody shroud.

Half-an-hour before Sir Henry's death, his nephew was shot through the shoulder, in the verandah. Mrs. Harris, the wife of the Residency chaplain, writes in her diary—"I have been nursing him to-day, poor fellow! It was so sad to see him lying there in the room with his uncle's body; looking so pale, and suffering." In the course of a few hours it became necessary to remove the corpse; and one of the soldiers called in for the purpose, lifting the sheet from the face, bent over and kissed it reverently. No military honours marked the funeral. A hurried prayer was read amidst the booming of cannon and the fire of musketry; and the remains of the good and great man were lowered into a pit, with several other lowlier companions in arms.

The death of Sir Henry Lawrence was kept secret for many days: he was even reported to be recovering; but, at last, the truth could no longer be concealed; and the tidings were "received throughout the garrison with feelings of consternation only second to the grief which was inspired in the hearts of all, by the loss of a public benefactor and a warm personal friend."§

A well-known Indian journal (the *Friend of India*) writes—"The commissioner of Oude died, not before he had breathed into his little garrison somewhat of his own heroic spirit. Great actions are contagious, and gladly would they have died for him; but it was not so to be; *henceforth they will live only for vengeance.*" The English at Lucknow happily understood the spirit of their beloved chief much better. They had recognised in him a Christian, not an Homeric hero; and the pursuit of vengeance, "the real divinity of the *Iliad*," was, they well knew, utterly incompatible with the forgiving spirit which Sir Henry uniformly advocated as the very essence of vital Christianity. In fact, his true vocation was that of a lawgiver and an administrator, not a subjugator; his talent lay in preventing revolt, rather than in crushing it with the iron heel of the destroyer. Lord Canning‖ showed considerable appreciation of Sir Henry Lawrence, when he dwelt on his loss as one which equally affected the Europeans and natives. This was true when it was written, in the very height of the struggle; but became still more so afterwards

* See descriptive letterpress, by Mr. Couper (Sir Henry Lawrence's secretary), to Lieutenant Clifford H. Mecham's charming *Sketches of Lucknow*.

† "What the memory of Tod is in Rajast'han—what Macpherson was to the Khonds, Outram to the Bheels, Napier to the Beloochees—that, and more, was Henry Lawrence to the fierce and haughty Seiks."—*Westminster Review*, October, 1858.

‡ See Gubbins, Rees, Polehampton, Case, &c.

§ Brigadier Inglis's despatch, Sept. 26th, 1857.

‖ There is not, I am sure, an Englishman in India who does not regard the loss of Sir Henry Lawrence, in the present circumstances of the country, as one of the heaviest of public calamities. There is not, I believe, a native of the provinces where he has held authority, who will not remember his name as that of a friend and generous benefactor to the races of India."—[Lord Canning to the Court of Directors, Sept. 8th, 1857]. Lord Stanley, too, has borne high testimony to the rare merits of Sir Henry Lawrence. At a meeting held to promote the endowment of the schools founded by him for the education of soldiers' children at Kussowlie and Mount Aboo—the "two elder daughters," whose permanent establishment had been one main reason for his prolonged abode in India—Lord Stanley said—"Sir Henry Lawrence rose to eminence step by step, not by favour of any man, certainly not by subserviency either to ruling authorities or to popular ideas, but simply by the operation of that natural law which in troubled times brings the strongest mind, be it where it may, to the post of highest command. I knew Sir H. Lawrence six years ago. Travelling in the Punjab, I passed a month in his camp, and it then seemed to me, as it does now, that his personal character was far above his career, eminent as that career has been. If he had died a private and undistinguished person, the impress of his mind would still have been left on all those who came personally into contact with him. I thought him, as far as I could judge, sagacious and far-seeing in matters of policy; and I had daily opportunity of witnessing, even under all the disadvantages of a long and rapid journey, his constant assiduity in the dispatch of business. But it was not the intellectual qualities of the man which made upon me the deepest impression. There was in him a rare union of determined purpose, of moral as well as physical courage, with a singular frankness and a courtesy of demeanour which was something more than we call courtesy; for it belonged not to manners, but to mind—a courtesy shown equally to Europeans and natives. Once know him, and you could not imagine him giving utterance to any sentiment which was harsh, or petty, or self-seeking."—*Times*, Feb. 8th, 1858.

when every one capable of looking below the surface, felt that the worst effect of the mutiny was the breach which it had so fearfully widened between the two races. Avengers and subjugators had done their work; we wanted peace-makers, and it was felt, and truly, that to none could we look to supply the loss of Henry Lawrence.

CHAPTER XI.

CAWNPOOR.—MAY 16TH TO JUNE 27TH, 1857.

CAWNPOOR was selected by the East India Company, in 1775, as the station of the subsidiary troops, to be maintained for the use of the government of Oude. In 1801, the district and city of the same name, with other territory, amounting to half the kingdom, was ceded to the Company, under the circumstances already narrated.*

Cawnpoor is not a place of ancient historic interest. The district had formerly an ill name, as the abode of Thugs and Phansigars, especially the western portion of it, where great numbers of murderous bands were said to have resided, ostensibly engaged in cultivating small spots of land, though, in fact, supported by the more lucrative profession of Thuggee.† These gangs had, however, been completely broken up, and the district freed from their hateful operations. The city appears to be of modern origin: there is no mention of it in the *Ayeen Akbery* (drawn up by Abul Fazil, towards the close of the 16th century); and its name—half Mohammedan, half Hindoo (*Cawn*, or *Khan*, lord; and *poor*, town),‡ speaks its mixed character. The native town contained, before the mutiny, about 59,000 inhabitants; and the population of the cantonments, exclusive of the military, is stated by Thornton at 49,975, giving a total of 108,975. The cantonments extend, in a semicircle, for nearly five miles along the right bank of the Ganges; the bungalows of the officers and residents being situated in richly-planted compounds or inclosures, and having the most productive gardens in India; grapes, peaches, mangoes, shaddocks, plantains, melons, oranges, limes, guavas, and custard apples, growing there in perfection, together with most European vegetables. Assembly-rooms, a theatre, and a race-course were early erected by the Europeans; and, about eighteen years ago, a church was raised by the joint means of a private subscription and a government grant of money and land.

The most attractive feature in Cawnpoor is its ghaut, or landing-place, the traffic being very great. The Ganges, here a mile broad, is navigable down to the sea a distance of above 1,000 miles, and upwards to Sukertal, a distance of 300 miles. Numerous and strange descriptions of vessels are to be seen collected along the banks; and the craft, fastened to the shore, are so closely packed that they appear like one mass, and, from their thatched roofs and low entrances, might easily pass for a floating village.

Many an English lady, during the last half century, has stood at the ghaut, with her ayah and young children by her side, watching the ferry-boat plying across the stream, with its motley collection of passengers—travellers, merchants, and fakirs, camels, bullocks, and horses all crowded together; and may have turned away from the stately Ganges with a sigh, perhaps, for far-distant England, but still without so much as a passing doubt of personal safety in the luxurious abodes, where crowds of natives waited in readiness to minister to the comfort of the privileged "governing race." The evidences of disaffection at Barrackpoor and elsewhere, appear to have had little or no effect in awakening a sense of danger; and at the time when the Meerut catastrophe became known at Cawnpoor, the latter station was unusually thronged with ladies, who had come thither for the

* See Introductory Chapter, page 60.

† Sherwood on Phansigars.—*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xiii., p. 290.

‡ Hamilton's *Gazetteer*. Thornton, however, states, on the authority of Tod, that Cawn is a corruption of Kanh, a name of Crishna.

purpose of being present at the balls given by the officers during the preceding month.

Tidings of the Meerut massacre were circulated at Cawnpoor on the 16th of May, and created a great sensation in the cantonments, where the greased cartridge question had already been discussed. The officer in command, Sir Hugh Massey Wheeler, was one of the most experienced and popular generals in the Company's service. He had spent nearly fifty-four years in India as a sepoy commander, and he had married an Indian lady. He had led Bengal troops, under Lord Lake, against their own countrymen; and they had followed him to Afghanistan, to oppose foreigners. In both the Seik campaigns, Wheeler and his sepoys had been conspicuous: in the second, he held a separate command. Lord Gough had esteemed him highly as an active and energetic officer, singularly fertile in resources. His despatches prove that he was fully alive to the probability of mutiny among the troops, and took his precautions accordingly; but he had not calculated on insurrection among the people, or on the defalcation, much less the treachery, of a neighbouring chief, in reliance on whose good faith he prepared to meet, and hoped to weather, the approaching storm. It has been affirmed, and not without cause, with respect to the proceedings at Cawnpoor, that "if the dispossessed princes and people of the land, farmers, villagers, and ryots, had not made common cause with the sepoys, there is every reason to believe that but a portion of the force would have revolted: the certainty exists, that not a single officer would have been injured."*

The troops at Cawnpoor, at the time of the outbreak at Meerut, consisted of—

The 1st, 53rd, and 56th N.I.—*Europeans*, 46; *Natives*, 2,924. The second light cavalry regiment —*Europeans*, 21; *Natives*, 526. Three companies of artillery—*Europeans*, 88; *Natives*, 152. A detachment of H.M. 84th foot (100 men), including those in hospital.†

On the 16th of May, an incendiary fire occurred in the lines of the 1st N.I., and the artillery were moved up to the European barracks. On the 18th, Sir Hugh Wheeler telegraphed to Calcutta that considerable excitement was visible at Cawnpoor.‡ The next day he was desired, by the Supreme government, to begin immediately to make all preparations for the accommodation of a European force, and to let it be known that he was doing so.§ This message led General Wheeler to believe that considerable detachments were on their road from Calcutta; and finding the agitation around him rapidly increasing, he dispatched a requisition to Lucknow, for a company of H.M. 32nd to be stationed at Cawnpoor, pending the arrival of the promised reinforcement.

On the night of the 20th, the cavalry sent emissaries to the infantry lines, asking the three regiments to stand by them, and asserting that the Europeans were about to take away their horses and accoutrements; in fact, to disarm and disband them—a course which the Europeans had no immediate opportunity of adopting, being few in number, and heavily encumbered with women and children. A struggle seemed inevitable: uproar and confusion prevailed throughout the 21st of May; and General Wheeler placed the guns in position, and prepared for the worst. The men were addressed and reasoned with, through the medium of the Native officers. They listened, seemed convinced, and retired quietly to their lines at about half-past seven. A few hours later, fifty-five of H.M. 32nd, and 240 Oude troopers, arrived from Lucknow. General Wheeler, after acquainting the Supreme government with the above particulars, adds—"This morning (22nd) two guns, and about 300 men of all arms, were brought in by the Maharajah of Bithoor. Being Mahrattas, they are not likely to coalesce with the others. Once the Europeans from Calcutta arrived, I should hope that all would be beyond danger. I have the most cordial co-operation from Mr. Hillersdon, the magistrate. At present things appear quiet; but it is impossible to say what a moment may bring forth."‖

The temper of the reinforcement of Oude irregulars was not deemed satisfactory; and after they had been some days at Cawnpoor, they were dispatched on the expedition which issued in their mutinying and murdering Captain Hayes and two other Europeans.¶ Lieutenant Ashe was sent by Sir Hugh Wheeler, a day or two

* *Mutiny of the Bengal Army*; by One who has served under Sir Charles Napier; p. 126.

† Parliamentary Return, February 9th, 1858; p. 3.

‡ Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny (1857), p. 199.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

‖ Telegram, May 22nd.—Appendix, p. 310.

¶ Captain Hayes had a wife and five children at Lucknow. Mrs. Barbor, who had been three months married, was also there.—Polehampton's *Letters*, p. 274.

after the departure of the Oude irregulars, to join them with a half-battery of Oude horse artillery. A few marches from the station he met some Seiks of the irregulars, who had abandoned their mutinous comrades; and they marched to Cawnpoor with Lieutenant Ashe and the guns.*

The presence of the Mahrattas did not exercise any beneficial effect. Rumours were circulated that the polluting cartridges were to be served out on the 23rd, and that the artillery were to act against all who refused them. Much excitement was manifested; and, on the 24th of May (the Queen's birthday), it was deemed advisable to omit the usual salute.

On the 27th, General Wheeler writes—"All quiet; but I feel by no means confident it will continue so. The civil and military depending entirely upon me for advice and assistance just now, I regret I cannot find time at present to compile a detailed account of late occurrences in my division."†

On the 1st of June, he mentions that Enfield rifle ammunition had been detained in the Cawnpoor magazine, and would just do for the Madras Fusiliers.‡ This circumstance would not escape the distrustful and observant sepoys.

On the following day, two companies of H.M. 84th arrived from Allahabad; but, on the morning of the 3rd, General Wheeler, having heard of the uneasiness which prevailed at Lucknow, gave orders for one company of the 84th, made up to its full strength, together with the company of the 32nd, to march thither, retaining, for the defence of Cawnpoor, 204 Europeans—consisting of 60 men of the 84th regiment, 15 of the 1st Madras Fusiliers (armed with the Enfield rifle), 70 H.M. 32nd, invalids and sick, and 59 artillerymen, with six guns.§

The position now taken by Sir Hugh Wheeler can only be accounted for in one way. It is believed, that no officer of his known ability would have made the selection he did, except under the conviction that the Native troops, though they might desert, would not attack him.‖

In this view of the case, it followed, that in looking round the overgrown cantonments for a place of shelter for the residents, convenient quarters for a temporary refuge were desired, rather than such as would best stand a siege. Had the latter necessity been contemplated, the magazine would, in the absence of a fort, have been best qualified for defence, being a very large building, surrounded by a high masonry wall, and well supplied with every muniment of war. But then it was situated seven miles from the new native lines, close to the gaol, and on the Delhi road. To have concentrated the Europeans there, would have been to abandon all prospect of peaceable disarmament, which Sir Hugh Wheeler might have reasonably expected to accomplish by the aid of the European troops, whose arrival he anxiously expected, part of whom were stopped on the way by the mutiny at Allahabad, and the remainder are alleged to have been needlessly delayed at Calcutta by the tardy, shiftless proceedings of the Supreme government. He therefore fixed on two long barracks, standing in the centre of an extensive plain at the eastern end of the station; and, unhappily, commanded on all sides. The depôt of the 32nd, consisting of the sick, invalids, women and children of the regiment, was already located in these two buildings, which were single-storied, and intended each for the accommodation of one hundred men. One of them was thatched, and both were surrounded by a flat-roofed arcade or verandah; the walls were of brick, an inch and a-half in thickness; a well and the usual out-offices were attached to the barracks.

The only defence attempted, or even practicable, in the time and under the circumstances of the stiffness of the soil from drought and the scarcity of labour, was to dig a trench, and throw up the earth on the outside so as to form a parapet, which might have been five feet high, but was not even bullet-proof at the crest. Open spaces were likewise left for the guns, which were thus entirely unprotected. It will be easily understood what slight cover an intrenchment of this kind would furnish either for the barracks or for men in the trenches; and there was plenty of cover both for musketry and guns within a short distance of the barracks, of which the mutineers soon availed themselves.

* These Seiks were immediately dismissed by General Wheeler.—Further Parl. Papers (No. 7), p. 130.

† Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, 1857; p. 325.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

§ *Narrative of the Mutiny at Cawnpoor;* forwarded by governor-general to Court of Directors, apparently as an official statement.—Further Parl. Papers (No. 7), 1857; p. 129.

‖ Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 177.

It is evident that the aid by which Sir Hugh and the English hoped to be enabled to tide over the expected crisis, was looked for from the chief, styled, in a foregoing despatch, the Maharajah of Bithoor. It is no small compliment to the native character, that, however little it may have been praised in words; in deeds, great reliance has been placed on allies, whose fidelity has been subjected to severe trials. In the present instance, implicit trust was evinced in the co-operation of one who notoriously considered himself an ill-used and aggrieved person, and who had lavished large sums of money in endeavouring to obtain, in England, the reversal of what he, and probably a large body of his countrymen, considered to be the unjust decision of the Indian government.

Dhoondia Rao Punt, commonly called the Nana Sahib (the son of a Brahmin), was adopted by the ex-Peishwa, Bajee Rao, in 1827, being then between two and three years of age. Bajee Rao died in January, 1851; and Nana Rao claimed from the British government the continuance of the pension of £80,000 a-year, granted as the condition of his adopted father's abdication of the sovereignty of Poona in 1818. The question here is not one of adoption; for had the Peishwa left issue of his own body, male and legitimate, the terms of the treaty of 1818 would not have warranted a demand, as of right, for the continuance of the stipend, of which a singular combination of circumstances had necessitated the concession. The treaty, framed by Sir John Malcolm, stipulated for the surrender of the person of Bajee Rao within twenty-four hours, and for the formal surrender of all political power to the British.

"The fourth article declares, that Bajee Rao shall, on his voluntarily agreeing to this arrangement, receive a liberal pension from the Company's government, for the support *of himself and his family*. The amount of this pension will be fixed by the governor-general; but Brigadier-general Malcolm takes upon himself to engage that it shall not be less than eight lacs of rupees per annum."*

Malcolm was much blamed for having named so large a sum as the minimum, and the Company most reluctantly redeemed the pledge he had given on their behalf: but he maintained, that the stipend, "though princely for the support of Bajee Rao, his family, and numerous adherents, was nothing for purposes of ambition;" and that if "he had been reduced to a condition in point of allowances, respectability, and liberty, that degraded him in his own mind and that of others, he might have asked himself, 'Where can I be worse?'"†

Again, Malcolm asserts, that the Peishwa was neither destitute of the means of protracting the contest, nor disposed to throw himself unconditionally on the British government; and, after detailing his position and resources, he adds—"The article I purchased was worth the price I paid; I could not get it cheaper."‡ On various grounds he vindicates the policy of liberal dealing with the dethroned prince—namely, on account of "our own dignity, considerations for the feelings of Bajee Rao's adherents, and for the prejudices of the natives of India. We exist on impression; and, on occasions like this, where all are anxious spectators, we must play our part well, or we should be hissed."

In all the discussions regarding the stipend, it is evident that it was regarded simply as a life pension, and that the question of its continuance to the family was never entertained. But, nevertheless, the Indian authorities of that day—Lord Hastings, Adam, Elphinstone, and, most of all, Malcolm—would have been painfully surprised, could they have supposed that, on the death of the man known to them as the "first Hindoo prince in India," a governor-general would be found to declare that "the Peishwa's family have no claim upon the government, and that he would by no means consent to any portion of the public money being conferred on it." Yet this decision Lord Dalhousie pronounced without reference to the Court of Directors, who had, some years before, in answer to an application from the Peishwa on the subject of his family, simply deferred the consideration of the claim.

It is true that Bajee Rao had enjoyed his princely stipend much longer than could have been reasonably anticipated, considering that he was a man of feeble constitution and dissolute habits, far advanced in years at the time of his surrender. He made considerable savings, and actually assisted the government with the loan of six lacs, at the time of the

* Kaye's *Life of Malcolm*, vol. ii., p. 254.
† Letter to Mr. Adam—*Ibid.*, p. 258.
‡ Letter to Sir Thomas Munro—*Ibid.*, p. 257.

siege of Bhurtpoor, when the Cawnpoor treasury was totally devoid of assets, and the march of the troops was delayed in consequence. During his life he supported a multitude of adherents; and, at one time, had no less than 8,000 armed followers at Bithoor. Yet their conduct was so orderly, that the magistrate of Cawnpoor reported, that their presence had occasioned no perceptible increase of crime or disorder in his district. At the Peishwa's death, property said to amount to £160,000,* went to his adopted heir, and his wives and daughters were left in extreme distress; the Peishwa having confidently expected that some provision, more or less satisfactory, would be made for them, if only in deference to popular feeling. It was not, however, poverty only to which these ladies were reduced. The jaghire, or estate, granted to the Peishwa, was specially conceded to preserve the ex-royal family from coming under British jurisdiction: its sequestration at once rendered them liable to be dragged before our law courts—an indignity which natives of high rank have committed suicide to escape. "There was," it is alleged, "proof positive that their alarm on this head was no idle fear, as notices had already been served upon some of them to appear before the Supreme Court at Calcutta."† These grievances had not been borne in silence. The wealth of the Nana secured him plenty of counsellors and advocates. Among the best known of these was one Azim Oollah, who came to London; made himself extremely conspicuous in the parks and Belgravian drawing-rooms, and extremely troublesome at the public offices; lavished some thousands of his employer's money in presents, with a view to gain a favourable hearing in high quarters; and eventually returned to Bithoor, to pour into the Nana's ear his own exaggerated and malicious version of his costly failure in England.

Every guest who visited Bithoor heard the Nana's grievances; and if of any rank, was urged, on his or her return to England, to make an effort for their redress. Who could refuse so munificent a host as the Nana is represented to have been? and how many may have been tempted to overrate the very small influence they possessed, and the efforts they were disposed to make in his behalf? The visitors' book bore the names of hundreds who had been sumptuously entertained at Bithoor for days, and even weeks. Since the tidings of the fearful crime with which his name has become inseparably associated, many descriptions of his person and abode have been published in the public journals. As to character, all who knew him at Cawnpoor agree in describing him as a person of decidedly second-rate ability, only remarkable for the consequence which his position as the representative of an honoured though fallen dynasty gave him with the natives, and his wealth and convivial disposition procured with the Europeans.

A writer in the *Illustrated Times*, who manifests considerable acquaintance with Indian politics and society, says—

"I knew Nana Sahib intimately, and always regarded him as one of the best and most hospitable natives in the Upper Provinces, and certainly one of the last men to have been guilty of the atrocities laid to his charge. As in the case with many natives of India, it may have been that Nana Sahib cultivated the acquaintance and friendship of the sahibs solely in the hope, that through their influence, direct and indirect, his grievances would be redressed. But the last time I saw Nana Sahib—it was in the cold weather of 1851; and he called upon me twice during my stay in Cawnpoor—he never once alluded to his grievances. His conversation at that time was directed to the Oude affair. The following questions, amongst others, I can remember he put to me:—'Why will not Lord Dalhousie pay a visit to the King of Oude? Lord Hardinge did so.' 'Do you think Colonel Sleeman will persuade Lord Dalhousie to seize the kingdom (of Oude)? He (Colonel Sleeman) has gone to the camp to do his best.'

"So far as I could glean, Nana Sahib *wished* for the annexation of Oude—albeit he expressed a very decided opinion that, in the event of that measure being resorted to, there would be a disturbance, and perhaps a war."

Another visitor, an English officer, gives an anecdote which is very characteristic of the barrier that obstructs the social intercourse of Europeans and natives. On the way to Bithoor, the visitor praised the equipage of his host, who rejoined—

"'Not long ago, I had a carriage and horses very superior to these. They cost me 25,000 rupees; but I had to burn the carriage and kill the horses.' —'Why so?'—'The child of a certain sahib in Cawnpoor was very sick, and the sahib and the mem-sahib were bringing the child to Bithoor for a change of air. I sent my big carriage for them.

* *Homeward Mail*, November 30th, 1857.

† *Ibid.* The Nana had been involved in several unsuccessful law-suits; for the younger adopted son of the Peishwa (the Nana's nephew being a minor, the English law courts had stepped in as trustees for his interests. And at the time it was felt that a full and authentic statement of the case of the Peishwa's family ought to have been published by government.

On the road the child died; and, of course, as a dead body had been in the carriage, and as the horses had drawn that dead body in that carriage, I could never use them again.' (The reader must understand that a native of any rank considers it a disgrace to sell property).—'But could you not have given the horses to some friend—a Christian or a Mussulman?'—'No; had I done so, it might have come to the knowledge of the sahib, and his feelings would have been hurt at having occasioned me such a loss.' Such was the maharajah, commonly known as Nana Sahib. He appeared to be not a man of ability, nor a fool."

In person, the Nana was well described by one of his attendants as a *tring admee* (tight man). Corpulent, and of the middle height, with a complexion scarcely darker than the olive-coloured Spaniard; with bright bead-like eyes, a round face, a straight, well-cut nose, and sensual mouth and chin; his appearance would probably have been attractive to an ordinary observer, but for the effect of the caste-mark on his forehead. He spoke little English; neither is there any reason to suppose the British government had ever made any effort to influence Bajee Rao in the education of his adopted son, though brought up under their auspices. The Nana knew but very little English: but Azim Oollah was fluent in that language; and could speak, it is said, some French and German.

In April, 1857, the Nana visited Lucknow, "on pretence of seeing the sights there," accompanied by a numerous retinue, of course including the notorious Azim Oollah. Sir Henry Lawrence received him kindly, and ordered the authorities of the city to show him every attention. The Nana departed very suddenly; and this circumstance, together with his arrogant and presuming demeanour, excited the suspicions of Mr. Gubbins, who, after consulting with Sir Henry Lawrence, wrote, with his sanction, to convey to Sir Hugh Wheeler their joint impressions of the Mahratta chief. But the warning appears to have been totally unheeded. It was then believed that the Nana had a large portion of his inherited wealth, amounting to £500,000, vested in government securities; and it was not known till his treachery was consummated, that ever since the annexation of Oude, he had been secretly and gradually changing the disposition of his property, till only £30,000 remained to be sacrificed when he should think fit to throw off his allegiance. Being wholly unsuspected, his arrangements were never noticed; and despite his loudly trumpeted wrongs, he had so much to lose, that no one ever dreamt of his joining in revolt, even at the instigation of the Mephistopheles at his elbow. He continued to live at his castellated palace at Bithoor, a few miles N.W. of Cawnpoor; to keep six mounted guns, and as many followers as he chose. He gave sumptuous entertainments; made hunting parties for strangers of distinction; and was always ready to lend his elephants, and, as we have seen, his equipages also, for the use of the neighbouring "sahibs and mem-sahibs." In return, he was treated with much distinction, and styled the Maharajah—a title to which he had no rightful claim, and which he ought never to have been suffered to assume. Even that of the Nana Sahib* is a term too closely allied to Mahratta sovereignty, to have been a judicious designation for an avowed pretender to the inheritance of the last of the Peishwas. Nana is the Mahratta term for "maternal grandfather;" but recurs constantly in the annals of Maharashta, in a similar sense to that in which the designations of "Uncles of York," and "Cousins of Lancaster," are applied in our history.† To names and traditions the English have never been inclined to attach much importance; and the present generation have far surpassed their predecessors in contemptuous indifference to the influence which these things exercise on the minds of the natives of India.

Among those who were most completely deceived by the Nana's professions, was Mr. Hillersdon, the magistrate and collector; who, both in his public and private capacity, had many opportunities of knowing him. In one of the painfully interesting letters which describe the crisis at Cawnpoor (published, in deference to public feeling, by the parties to whom they were addressed), Mrs. Hillersdon writes:—

"There does not seem to be any immediate danger here; but should they mutiny, we should either go into cantonments, or to a place called Bithoor, about six miles from Cawnpoor, where the Peishwa's successor resides. He is a great friend of Charles's, and is a man of enormous wealth and influence; and

* He is asserted to have been addressed, in correspondence, as Maharajah Sree Nath Bahadur, and to have been called Nena Sahib, in accordance with the pet name given to him in the seraglio, being the first sound he distinctly articulated. The point has been already more discussed than it deserves. See *Daily News*, September 25th, 1857.

† See Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas.*

he has assured Charles that we shall all be quite safe there. I myself would much prefer going to the cantonments, to be with the other ladies, but Charles thinks it would be better for me and our precious children to be at Bithoor."*

A proposition was also entertained, of sending other ladies there for safety;† but some reason, not specified, prevented its being carried into execution. On the 21st of May, a report was circulated that the Native troops would rise that night; whereupon Mr. and Mrs. Hillersdon, with their two children, abandoned their own compound, which was four miles from cantonments, and took refuge with Colonel Ewart, of the 1st N.I. The colonel went at night (as all the officers were subsequently directed to do) to sleep in the midst of his men, with the view of reassuring them by trusting his life with them, and also of aiding the well-disposed to hold the turbulent in check. At the same time, he declared that if his regiment mutinied, it might walk over his body, but he would never leave it.‡ Mr. Hillersdon was soon afterwards called away; and his wife and Mrs. Ewart, with their children and nurses, drove to the barracks, which had been assigned as a rendezvous in case of alarm.

For several days no change took place. In the morning the ladies went to their own houses; in the evening they returned to the "melancholy night quarters," graphically described by Mrs. Ewart, in the letters from whence the following passages are extracted:—

"Oh! such a scene! Men, officers, women and children, beds and chairs, all mingled together, inside and outside the barracks. Some talking, or even laughing; some frightened, some defiant, others despairing; three guns in front of our position, and three behind, and a trench in course of formation all round. * * * The general is busy now, and he has spiked the guns he could not use yesterday (26th May), and laid a train for blowing up the magazine, should any outbreak occur."

After alluding to the reported advance of the rebel force, Mrs. Ewart adds:—

"No outbreak is at present apprehended from any of the troops here; our danger lies now in what may come from outside. The appearance of successful insurgents amongst the regiments, would be the signal to rise; and all we could really depend upon for defence, is our position behind our guns, and the help of about 150 European soldiers, forty railway people and merchants, and a few stragglers. There are two regiments of Oude irregulars; but I am not inclined to put faith in them. There are also some Mahrattas, with the rajah of Bithoor, who have come to our assistance; but I can scarcely feel a comfort at their presence either.

"For ourselves, I need only say, that even should our position be strong enough to hold out, there is the dreadful exposure to the heat of May and June, together with the privations and confinement of besieged sufferers, to render it very unlikely that we can survive the disasters which may fall upon us any day, any hour. My dear little child is looking very delicate; my prayer is that she may be spared much suffering. The bitterness of death has been tasted by us many, many times, during the last fortnight; and should the reality come, I hope we may find strength to meet it with a truly Christian courage. It is not hard to die oneself; but to see a dear child suffer and perish—that is the hard, the bitter trial, and the cup which I must drink, should God not deem it fit that it should pass from me. My companion, Mrs. Hillersdon, is delightful: poor young thing, she has such a gentle spirit, so unmurmuring, so desirous to meet the trial rightly, so unselfish and sweet in every way. Her husband is an excellent man, and of course very much exposed to danger, almost as much as mine. She has two children, and we feel that our duty to our little ones demands that we should exert ourselves to keep up health and spirits as much as possible. There is a reverse to this sad picture. Delhi may be retaken in a short time. Aid may come to us, and all may subside into tranquillity once more. * * * But it is useless to speculate upon what may happen. We can only take the present as it comes, and do its duties and meet its trials in the best spirit we can maintain. We are more cheerful, in spite of the great anxiety and suspense; our family party is really a charming one, and we feel better able to meet difficulties and dangers for being thus associated; at the worst we know that we are in God's hands, and He does not for an instant forsake us. He will be with us in the valley of the shadow of death also, and we need fear no evil. God bless you!"

The tone of Colonel Ewart is very similar to that of his admirable wife. He believed, that unless Delhi were speedily recaptured, little short of a miracle could keep the Native troops at Cawnpoor quiet, or prevent mutiny at other stations. General Wheeler he describes as "an excellent officer; very determined; self-possessed in the midst of danger; fearless of responsibility." He mentions that an attempt was to be made to bring the treasure, amounting to ten or twelve lacs of rupees (£100,000 or £120,000), into the intrenched camp on the following day (June 1st).

In concluding his last letter, Colonel Ewart specially recommends his wife and infant to the protection of his sister, who already had a boy of his under her care. "If the troops," he writes, "should break out here, it is not probable that I shall

* *Times*, October, 1857.

† Letter to the *Times*, written by Captain Mowbray Thomson: dated September 8th, 1858.

‡ Letter by Mrs. Ewart, dated May 27th, 1857.

survive it. My post, and that of my officers, being with the colours of the regiment, in the last extremity some or all of us must needs be killed. If that should be my fate, you and all my friends will know, I trust, that I die in the execution of my duty. But I do not think they will venture to attack the intrenched position, which is held by the European troops. So I hope in God that my wife and child may be saved."

It appears from the narrative of Lieutenant Delafosse, that the Nana did not proffer, but was asked for assistance; whereupon "he sent some 200 cavalry, 400 infantry, and two guns, which force had the guarding of the treasury."* The Nana either accompanied or followed his troops to Cawnpoor, and took up his residence in a house not far from that abandoned by the collector. Lieutenant Thomson remarks—"His visit was made at the request of the resident magistrate; and such was the confidence placed in this infernal traitor, that the whole of the treasure (upwards of £100,000) was placed under his protection."† It appears, however, that General Wheeler did make the attempt, mentioned by Colonel Ewart as intended, for the removal of the treasure, and that he failed on this and previous occasions, from the determined resolve of the troops not to submit to what they chose to call a mark of distrust.‡ A lac of rupees was, however, obtained and carried away to the intrenchments, under the plea of meeting the salaries of the troops and other current expenses.§

On the morning of the 4th of June, Sir Hugh Wheeler received information regarding the 2nd cavalry and 1st and 56th N.I., which induced him to order the European officers thereof to discontinue sleeping in the lines; but the 53rd N.I. being considered loyal, the officers were to remain at night with that corps. By this time the trenches were finished, the guns in position, and provisions for 1,000 persons, for twenty-five days, were declared to be in store.

It appears, however, owing to carelessness or knavery, that the quantity actually supplied fell far short of the indents. At 2 A.M. on the 6th of June,‖ the 2nd cavalry rose together with a great shout, mounted their horses, and set fire to the bungalow of their quartermaster. The main body then proceeded towards the commissariat cattle-yard, and took possession of the government elephants, thirty-six in number; at the same time setting fire to the cattle-sergeant's dwelling. A few of the ringleaders went to the lines of the 1st N.I., and persuaded the men—who, it is said, "were mostly young recruits, the old hands being away on leave or on command"¶—to join in the mutiny. Either Colonel Ewart

* *Times*, October 15th, 1857.

† Letter to the *Times*, dated September 8th, 1858.

‡ See Account of Nerput, opium gomashta, or broker.—Further Parl. Papers, p. 51.

§ Accounts of Nerput and of Mr. Shepherd.

‖ See Further Parl. Papers (No. 7), p. 130. The various accounts of the Cawnpoor mutiny and massacre differ considerably, sometimes in material points. The weightiest authorities are of course the telegrams and despatches written by Sir Hugh Wheeler, and the officers serving under him, to the Calcutta and Lucknow governments. The next in value are the testimonies of Lieutenants (now Captains) Thomson and Delafosse, published in letters of various dates in the *Times*. Mrs. Murray, another survivor (the widow of the band-sergeant of the 56th N.I., who perished at Cawnpoor, as did also her brother and two sons), has given a very circumstantial version (see *Times*, September 3rd, 1858) of what she saw and heard, which was "put into shape" for her by a literary gentleman; and is, Mr. Russell declares, "fiction founded on fact." That it is not Mrs. Murray's own inditing, is evident from the stilted and highly coloured style. A sergeant's wife would hardly talk of "Tartaric barbarity," or remark that, on "the arrival of General Havelock, the cowardly miscreants of Cawnpoor disappeared like stars at dawn of day, and the Nana Sour [Nana the pig] disappeared like a comet." In this case, as in most others of mingled fact and fiction, the latter predominates so largely as to neutralise the former: and even independently of the internal evidence of the account, the contradiction given by Lieutenant Thomson to several of Mrs. Murray's most positive assertions regarding matters which she speaks of in the character of an eye-witness, quite invalidates her authority. Then there is the clear and connected account of Mr. Shepherd, an uncovenanted servant of the Company, and probably an Eurasian. His testimony is of considerable value as regards what he actually witnessed; but the value of his statements is diminished by his failing to separate information which he has acquired from personal observation, from that which he has accepted on hearsay. (Further Parl. Papers, No. 4; pp. 174 to 185). The same remark applies to the story of Nerput, an opium gomashta, in the service of the E. I. Company, whose deposition was received by Colonel Neill, and forwarded by him to the Supreme government. (See Further Parl. Papers (not numbered), pp. 51 to 53). The diary of the "Nunna" nawab (a native of rank residing in Cawnpoor), is another document transmitted by the governor-general for the perusal of the home authorities (Further Parl. Papers, No. 7; pp. 133 to 138); together with a "Narrative of the Mutiny at Cawnpoor," drawn up apparently as an official summary, and already largely quoted. (*Ibid.*, pp. 129 to 133). An Eurasian girl, supposed at first to have perished, and one or two others, have likewise furnished some additional particulars.

¶ Mr. Shepherd's *Account of the Outbreak*.

and the other officers had persisted in sleeping in their lines, or else they had proceeded thither on the first sound of disturbance; for they were on the spot, and were earnest in their endeavours to preserve the allegiance of the regiment; but to no purpose: the men begged them to withdraw, and finally forced them into the intrenchment as the sole means of escape.*

The insurgents marched to the treasury and magazine, which the Nana's guards never even made a pretence of defending. They next entered the gaol, set the prisoners at liberty, and burnt all the adjacent public offices and records. Then they marched out to Kullianpoor, the first halting-place on the road to Delhi, where they were joined before noon by the men of the 53rd and 56th N.I.; but their own officers remained behind.

Mr. Shepherd says—

"The Native commissioned officers were then told to take their position in the artillery hospital barrack, opposite to us, on the east side, and to make an intrenchment for themselves there, and endeavour to draw back those of the sepoys and Native non-commissioned officers, who, they said, were not inclined to go, but were reluctantly compelled to join. These officers went away, with one or two exceptions, and we never heard any more about them; but I learnt afterwards that, fearing the resentment of the sepoys, they took the straight way to their homes, and never joined in the rebellion.

"Carts were sent at noon to bring in from the sepoy lines the muskets, &c., of the men on leave, and the baggage, &c., of the Christian drummers, who, with their families, had all come to seek protection in the intrenchment. The sick in hospital were also brought in, and the two barracks were very much crowded; so much so, that the drummers and their families, and native servants, had to remain in the open air at night, and under cover of the cook-house and other buildings during the heat of the day. At five o'clock in the evening, all the uncovenanted (myself and my brother included) were mustered, and directed to arm themselves with muskets, of which there was a great heap. This they did; and after receiving a sufficient quantity of ammunition, were told-off in different sections, under the command of several officers, who instructed us as to what we should have to do when occasion required it."

The Europeans breathed again; it seemed as if the crisis were over. Probably they considered that, in suffering the treasury to be robbed, the Mahratta guards had submitted to an overpowering force. Lieutenant Delafosse states only, that "next morning, the 7th of June, a letter was received from the rajah of Bithoor, who was supposed to be on our side, saying he meant to attack us."

This was the first intimation of the hostility of the arch-traitor, who, it afterwards appeared, had taken advantage of the revolt to secure the lion's share of the government treasure, and had sent emissaries (probably the practised intriguer, Azim Oollah) to the camp of the rebels, urging them to return to Cawnpoor, destroy the garrison there, and thus perform a necessary act for their own security, and one which would procure them honour and reward from the King of Delhi. These arguments prevailed; the mutineers were lured back to the dastardly and murderous work of attacking their officers and families, with their veteran commander and his wife and children hemmed in, as they knew them to be, within that miserable earth-bank. These men were fitting followers for the shameless traitor who, on their return to Cawnpoor, placed himself at their head, saying—"I came in appearance to help the English; but am at heart their mortal enemy."†

Directions had been given by General Wheeler for the destruction of the magazine in the event of an outbreak, and a train had actually been laid for the purpose; but Nana Sahib's Mahrattas appear to have prevented the execution of this plan at the time of the mutiny; and after the troops had left the station, it is probable that its preservation was deemed advantageous. The Nana appreciated its value, and told the mutineers that the magazine was "well furnished with guns of all calibre, and ammunition enough to last a twelvemonth."‡

At ten o'clock A.M., June 7th, the siege commenced; the Nana having, with great speed, brought into position two of his own guns, and two heavy guns which he had procured from the magazine. Before many hours had elapsed, fourteen guns (three 24-pounders, two 18-pounders, seven 9-pounders, and two 6-pounders) were opened in a cannonade, which lasted twenty-two days; and the equal to which, Mowbray Thomson truly remarks, is hardly known in history.

At first the besieged replied briskly to the fire of the rebels, but without any signal success; for there were only eight 9-pounders in the intrenchments; and the dastardly foe did not approach within a thousand yards of the barracks. On the second day of the siege, the green flag was raised in the city (a proceeding in which Azim

* Mr. Shepherd's *Account of the Outbreak*, p. 175.
† Diary of Nerput, opium gomashta.
‡ Statement of Lieutenant Thomson.

Oollah's handiwork is sufficiently evident), and all true Mussulmans were directed to rally round it; and those who hesitated were threatened, insulted, or fined. The Nana's force augmented daily. With ammunition and ordnance in abundance, a full treasury, and the city bazaar in his hands, he soon rendered the position of the Europeans next to hopeless. An incessant fire of musketry was poured into the intrenchment from the nearest cover; guns of large calibre, drawing gradually nearer and nearer, sent their shot and shell, without intermission, against the brick walls of the buildings. On the evening of June 9th, the enemy succeeded, by means of heated shells, in setting fire to the thatched building, in which numbers of sick women and wounded men were huddled together. Many of these were burned alive; and the remainder sought such shelter as could be afforded in the other previously crowded barrack. The hospital stores were almost totally destroyed; the sick and wounded perished in cruel agony; and, to crown the whole, the ammunition was found to be running low, and the besieged were compelled to slacken their fire before the attack had lasted four days. There was a nullah or ditch some distance in front of the intrenchment, from which the enemy pushed on a sap towards the barracks, and by this means poured in a near and deadly fire. On the west of the besieged, an entirely new range of barracks had been in the course of construction; and behind the unfinished walls the rebels posted their matchlockmen, who, however, were dislodged by repeated sallies; and at length two of the barracks were held by pickets from the garrison. But the strength of the besieged was insufficient to prevent the rebels from placing their sharpshooters on other sides. Communication between the barracks became difficult; no one could move out of cover for an instant without becoming a mark for a score of muskets. There was only one well in the intrenchments, which was at first protected by a parapet; but this was easily knocked down; and the enemy kept up such an incessant fire upon the spot, both day and night, that "soon, not a drop of water could be obtained save at the risk of almost certain destruction."* This terrible difficulty diminished after the third day, as the rebels made it a practice to cease firing at dusk for about two hours; and at that time the crowd round the well was very great. There was no place to shelter the live cattle. Horses of private gentlemen, as also those of the 3rd Oude battery, were obliged to be let loose. A few sheep and goats, as well as the bullocks kept for commissariat purposes, were shot off, and in the course of five or six days no meat was procurable for the Europeans. They, however, occasionally managed to get hold of a stray bullock or cow near the intrenchment at night, which served for a change; otherwise, dholl and chupatties were the common food of all. Several hogsheads of rum and malt liquor were broken open by the enemy's cannon; but of these there was a large quantity, and the loss was not felt.†

The half-destroyed walls of the barracks, or a barricade formed by piling up tents and casks, was the precarious but only shelter that could be obtained; food could not be carried from post to post by day; and the dead were removed at night, and thrown into a dry well outside the intrenchment, near the new unfinished barracks. There was no time to think of coffins or winding-sheets, let the age, sex, or rank of the departed have been what it might. The present agony of the wounded and the dying, the imminent danger and utter wretchedness of all, absorbed every minor consideration. The dead bodies of young and old—of brave men, fair women, delicate children—were laid outside the verandah in the ruins, there to remain until the fatigue party came round at nightfall to collect the corpses. A corner comparatively safe from gunshot was too precious to the living to be spared for the senseless remains of those who, we humbly hope, had passed away to a better life, escaping immediate misery, and the yet more terrible evil to come, which was to crown the sufferings of that fearful siege. Relief, under Colonel Neill, was expected on the 14th of June, but none arrived; and, on the evening of that day, General Wheeler wrote to Lucknow, describing his position. "The whole Christian population is with us in a temporary intrenchment, and our defence has been noble and wonderful; our loss, heavy and cruel. We want aid, aid, aid! If we had 200 men, we could punish the scoundrels, and aid you."‡

It would have been most hazardous at

* Statement sent by Supreme government to Court of Directors.—Further Parl. Papers (No. 7), p. 131.

† Mr. Shepherd's *Account of the Outbreak.*

‡ Gubbins *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 443.

that time to have spared 200 Europeans from Lucknow; but Sir Henry Lawrence, writing to Mr. Tucker at Benares (June 16th), says—"I would risk the absence of so large a portion of our small force, could I see the smallest prospect of its being able to succour Sir Hugh Wheeler. But no individual here cognizant of facts, except Mr. Gubbins, thinks that we could carry a single man across the river, as the enemy holds all the boats, and completely commands the river. May God Almighty defend Cawnpoor, for no help can we afford. * * * I have sent the pith of this to Colonel Neill, to urge him to relieve Cawnpoor, if in any way possible."*

On first learning news of the mutiny, Sir Henry had directed Captain Evans, the officer stationed at Onao (twelve miles from Cawnpoor), to secure all the boats he could. But the mutineers had forestalled us by breaking up the bridge at Cawnpoor, and securing the boats which had composed it, as well as those at other ferries on the further side of the stream. Captain Evans, with the aid of a Native officer, named Munsub Ali, and a party of mounted police, maintained his position till near the end of June, and patrolled the high road with unceasing energy, heedless of personal risk, as he well might be; for his wife and two children were within that shot-riddled earth-bank, hemmed in by thousands of pitiless foes.

On the 18th of June, Captain Moore, of H.M. 32nd foot, the officer second in command, dispatched to Lucknow the following official acknowledgment of the refusal of the entreaty for reinforcements:—

"Sir Hugh Wheeler regrets you cannot send him the 200 men, as he believes, with their assistance, we could drive the insurgents from Cawnpoor, and capture their guns.

"Our troops, officers, and volunteers, have acted most nobly; and on several occasions, a handful of men have driven hundreds before them. Our loss has been chiefly from the sun and their heavy guns. Our rations will last a fortnight, and we are still well supplied with ammunition. Our guns are serviceable. Report says that troops are advancing from Allahabad; and any assistance might save the garrison. We, of course, are prepared to hold out to the last. It is needless to mention the names of those who have been killed or died. We trust in God; and if our exertions here assist your safety, it will be a consolation to know that our friends appreciate our devotion. Any news of relief will cheer us."

There can be little doubt of the self-possession of an officer who could write so calmly under the circumstances in which he was placed. Captain Moore, young and energetic, was Sir Hugh's right hand. It was greatly owing to the determined attitude assumed by him, that the mutineers never ventured to attempt carrying by storm the frail barrier which interposed between them and their victims. Though himself severely wounded, he opposed the encroachment of the enemy with unceasing vigilance. Wherever the danger was the greatest, there was he, with his arm in a sling and a revolver in his belt, directing and heading the defence. Scouts, with eye-glasses, were stationed to watch every hostile movement, and, by their reports, the besieged directed an effective fire. The rebels had possession of the first of the three unfinished barracks; and from thence they often attempted to advance and overpower the British picket in the buildings nearest the intrenchment. On these occasions, Captain Moore, who was ever on the watch, would collect a number of volunteers from the intrenchment, and send them out, one at a time, to reinforce their comrades; the space which each man had to traverse being partly protected by carriages, bullock-trains, and such like, arranged as halting-places, between which Moore and his followers ran, exposed to a shower of bullets. Twice this gallant officer, under cover of night, led a party of Europeans, and spiked the guns of the enemy. These, however, were easily repaired or replaced by others from the arsenal.

On the 21st of June, a very great mob, including a number of Oude budmashes, was seen collecting round the intrenchment. The regular infantry corps are described as never coming out to fight in full uniform. This day, some few had on their jackets and caps; but the majority were dressed like recruits. For once, a systematic attack was made, under a recognised leader. The enemy brought forward huge bales of cotton, and attempted to push these on, and thus approach in two parties, under cover from the church compound on the one side, and the unfinished barracks on the other. But the indefatigable Captain Moore had witnessed the preparations, and was enabled to counteract them by a very able distribution of his small force. The rebel leader, "a well-made, powerful man," fell at the onset; and the enemy dispersed, with 200 or 300 killed and wounded.

* Further Parl. Papers, p. 66.

The loss sustained by the British was not recorded. Several men had fallen from sun-stroke—a calamity of daily occurrence; and all were nearly prostrated by fatigue. At mid-day, when the action was over, one of the ammunition waggons exploded; and the rebels perceiving their advantage, directed a heavy fire against the spot, to hinder the Europeans from approaching to prevent the flames from spreading to the other waggons. In the midst of the cannonading, Lieutenant Delafosse approached the burning mass, laid himself down beneath it, pulled away the loose splinters, and flung earth on the flames. Two soldiers brought him buckets of water, which he threw around him; and, while the vessels were being refilled from the drinking-water of the men close by, he continued to throw earth on the burning waggon, with six cannon directed on the spot. The brave officer and his men accomplished their object, and escaped unhurt.*

The prisoners in the trenches were not the only sufferers. Besides several Europeans captured in the city, and the majority of the Christians (whether Eurasians or natives), many Hindoos and Mohammedans suspected of aiding or serving the British force, were put to death. A list was made of all the bankers, who were mulct of their wealth, and property of every description was plundered or wantonly destroyed.† Any attempt to carry intelligence or supplies to the besieged, was punished with death or mutilation; and, indeed, since the reoccupation of Cawnpoor, about twelve natives have proved, to the satisfaction of government, their claim to a pension, on the ground of having suffered mutilation of the hand or nose (and, in some instances, of both), by order of the Nana or his diabolical lieutenant, Azim Oollah, for bringing supplies to the British camp.‡ Sir Hugh Wheeler, in a letter previously quoted, speaks of all the Christian population taking refuge in the intrenchment; but this could not have been possible, on account of the extremely limited space. The official, or semi-official, account§ states, that "there was a large number of Europeans resident in cantonments, many of whom were individuals connected with the civil, railway, canal, and other departments. There were, also, nearly the whole of the soldiers' families of H.M. 32nd, which was stationed at Lucknow. The whole number of the European population, therefore, in Cawnpoor—men, women, and children—could not have amounted to less than 750 lives." The number of Eurasians, of pensioners and natives attached to the British, within the camp, is nowhere officially stated;‖ those who resided in the city, or were excluded from the intrenchment for want of space, were among the earliest of the Nana's victims.

Lieutenant Delafosse has recorded some terrible scenes, to which he was an eye-witness during the siege; his only consolation under such distressing circumstances being, that he had no relatives, especially no female relatives, to grieve or tremble for. He describes one poor woman, named White, as walking in the trenches beside her husband, carrying her twin infants. The party was fired on, the father killed, and the mother's arms were both broken. The children fell to the ground, one of them wounded; and the mother flung herself on the ground beside them. Again—an ayah, who had remained with her mistress, was sitting, as she thought, safely under the walls of the barrack, when suddenly she was knocked over by a round shot, and both her legs carried away. The child, though hurled from her arms, was taken up uninjured.

One poor lady was hit by a ball, which entered the face near the nostril, and passed through the palate and jaw. Her daughter, also severely injured in the shoulder, forgetting her own suffering, was seen striving to alleviate the greater agony endured by her mother. They both died from their wounds.¶ Notwithstanding all this misery, we are assured "there was not one

* Mr. Shepherd's *Account*. Lieutenant Delafosse, in his narrative (*Times*, October 15th, 1857), omits all mention of this heroic and effective service.

† Statement forwarded by Supreme government of India to Court of Directors.

‡ Russell.—*Times*, February 24th, 1859.

§ Statement forwarded by Supreme government to Court of Directors.

‖ Mr. Shepherd, writing from memory, gives the following classification of the besieged, whose total number he places at 900. The European troops (already enumerated) he estimates at 210; officers of the three Native infantry, cavalry, and others, with the staff, 100; merchants, writers, and others, about 100; drummers, about 40; women and children of soldiers, about 160; women of writers, merchants, and drummers, 120; ladies and children of officers, 50; servants, cooks, and others, after a great number had absconded on hearing the enemy's guns firing, 100; sick sepoys and Native officers who remained with us, 20.

¶ Statement of Lieutenant Thomson.

instance of dejection through cowardice. The very children seemed inspired with heroic patience, and our women behaved with a fortitude that only Englishwomen could have shown."* The pangs of hunger even were not wanting to complete the misery of the besieged. "One poor woman, who was in a wretched state, bordering on starvation, was seen to go out of the protection of the trenches, with a child in each hand, and stand where the fire was heaviest, hoping that some bullet might relieve her and her little ones from the troubles they were enduring. But she was brought back, poor thing! to die a more tedious death than she had intended."†

The sufferings of the soldiers' wives and children must have been fearful. After the burning of the thatched barracks, many of them had to remain in the trenches night and day.

Up to the very last the besieged kept up some communication with Lucknow, through the fidelity and courage of native messengers. Major Vibart, in a letter dated "Sunday night, 12 P.M., 21st June," writes—

"This evening, in three hours, upwards of thirty shells were thrown into the intrenchment. This has occurred daily for the last eight days: an idea may be formed of our casualties, and how little protection the barracks afford to women. Any aid, to be effective, must be immediate. In the event of rain falling, our position would be untenable. According to telegraphic despatches received previous to the outbreak, 1,000 Europeans were to have been here on the 14th. This force may be on its way up. Any assistance you can send might co-operate with it. Nine-pounder ammunition, chiefly cartridges, is required. Should the above force arrive, we can, in return, insure the safety of Lucknow. * * * We have lost about a third of our original number. The enemy are strongest in artillery. They appear not to have more than 400 or 500 infantry. They move their guns with great difficulty on account of the unbroken bullocks. The infantry are great cowards, and easily repulsed."‡

This appears to have been the last official letter received from Cawnpoor. It was conveyed by means of messengers retained by Mr. Gubbins, before the blockade of Lucknow. The men, thirty in number, were all "Passees"—a numerous class in Oude, armed with bows and arrows. They hire themselves out, sometimes singly, sometimes in parties, and have the character of being very faithful servants to their employers, but otherwise arrant thieves.§ The Passees contrived to cross the Ganges at Cawnpoor, though the ferry was strictly guarded by the enemy; and conveyed Sir Henry Lawrence's despatches into Sir Hugh Wheeler's camp, and returned with his replies.‖ Mr. Gubbins states, that it was understood that a private messenger from Sir Hugh, had delivered to Sir Henry, a day or two after the arrival of Major Vibart's letter, a packet containing a memorandum of Sir Hugh's last wishes, written when escape seemed hopeless.¶ Still later, a private letter from Lieut.-colonel Wiggins to Colonel Halford, dated "Cawnpoor, 24th June, 1857," after acknowledging the receipt of the colonel's "most welcome letter of the 21st," and the cleverness of the bearer, proceeds to describe Nana Sahib's attack as having "continued now for eighteen days and nights." The condition of misery experienced by the besieged, is declared to be "utterly beyond description. Death and mutilation, in all their forms of horror, have been daily before us. The numerical amount of casualties has been frightful. Among our casualties from sickness," the writer adds, "my poor dear wife and infant have been numbered. The former sank on the 12th, and the latter on the 19th. I am writing this on the floor, and in the midst of the greatest dirt, noise, and confusion." In conclusion, he urges the immediate dispatch of "*deux cents soldats Britanniques.*"**

It is probable that the unvarying confidence expressed by the beleaguered Europeans at Cawnpoor, that 200 British soldiers would suffice to raise the siege, and enable them to disperse thrice as many thousand well-armed and well-supplied foes by whom they were hemmed in, had some effect in inducing Sir Henry Lawrence to proceed on the disastrous Chinhut expedition. Early on the 28th of June, Colonel Master (7th light cavalry) received a scrap of paper from his son, Lieutenant Master, 53rd N.I., conveyed through some private (native) channel. The few lines it contained were these:—

"Cawnpoor, June 25th, 8½ P.M.

"We have held out now for twenty-one days, under a tremendous fire. The rajah of Bithoor has offered to forward us in safety to Allahabad, and the general has accepted his terms. I am all right, though twice wounded. Charlotte Newnham and Bella Blair are dead. I'll write from Allahabad. God bless you!

"Your affectionate son,

"G. A. MASTER."

* Statement of Lieutenant Thomson.
† Statement of Lieutenant Delafosse.
‡ Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 444.
§ Sleeman's *Journey through Oude*, vol. i., p. 25.
‖ Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 150.
¶ *Ibid.*, p. 174.
** *Ibid.*, p. 445.

It was too true. Sir Hugh Wheeler, with his brave and gentle companions, had indeed given themselves over into the hand of their deadly foe. Sir Henry Lawrence at once anticipated treachery; and, judging by the event, it would have been better to have held out to the last extremity, and to have starved within the trenches, or been shot down or cut in pieces there, than to have capitulated to such pitiless wretches as the besiegers subsequently proved themselves to be. At that time, however, no one had any adequate conception of the ruthlessness of the monster with whom they had to do.

Mr. Shepherd mentions some interesting particulars regarding the crisis of the siege, in the *Account* already quoted.

"Many persons [he states] were exceedingly anxious to get out of the intrenchment and go into the city, thinking, from want of better information, that they would be very secure there: in fact, several went out quietly in the night under this impression, and, as I afterwards learnt, were murdered by the rebels.

"Among others, my own family (consisting of wife and a daughter, my infant daughter having died from a musket-shot in the head on the 18th), two nieces, Misses Frost and Batavia, both of seventeen years of age, a sister, and her infant son, a brother twenty-two years old, and two old ladies, wished very much to leave, but could not do so on account of our large number. It was therefore considered expedient that one should go and ascertain how matters stood in the city.

"With this view I applied to the general, on the 24th of June, for permission to go, at the same time offering to bring him all the current information that I might collect in the city, asking, as a condition, that on my return, if I should wish it, my family might be allowed to leave the intrenchment. This my request was granted, as the general wished very much to get such information, and for which purpose he had previously sent out two or three natives at different times, under promises of high rewards, but who never returned. He at the same time instructed me to try and negotiate with certain influential parties in the city, so as to bring about a rupture among the rebels, and cause them to leave off annoying us, authorising me to offer a lac of rupees as a reward, with handsome pensions for life, to any person who would bring about such a thing. This, I have every reason to think, could have been carried out successfully, had it pleased God to take me out unmolested; but it was not so ordained (it was merely a means, under God's providence, to save me from sharing the fate of the rest); for as I came out of the intrenchment disguised as a native cook, and, passing through the new unfinished barracks, had not gone very far when I was taken a prisoner, and under custody of four sepoys and a couple of sowars, all well armed, was escorted to the camp of the Nana, and was ordered to be placed under a guard: here several questions were put to me concerning our intrenchment (not by the Nana himself, but by some of his people), to all of which I replied as I was previously instructed by our general; for I had taken the precaution of asking him what I should say in case I was taken. My answers were not considered satisfactory, and I was confronted with two women-servants who three days previously had been caught in making their escape from the intrenchment, and who gave a version of their own, making it appear that the English were starving and not able to hold out much longer, as their number was greatly reduced. I, however, stood firm to what I had first mentioned, and they did not know which party to believe. However, they let us alone. I was kept under custody up to the 12th of July, on which date my trial took place, and I was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in irons, with hard labour, from which I was released by the European troops on the morning of the 17th idem."*

It is not surprising that the unfortunate besieged should have been anxious to escape from their filthy prison at almost any hazard. The effect of the intense heat was aggravated by the stench arising from the dead bodies of horses and other animals, which could not be removed; and the influx of flies added to the loathsomeness of the scene. Five or six men fell daily beneath sunstroke; but women and children sickened and died faster still in an atmosphere saturated with pestilential vapours.

Shepherd says that, on the 24th of July, "there were provisions yet left to keep the people alive, on half rations, for the next fifteen or twenty days. Of gram† we had a large quantity, and it formed the principal food of all the natives with us, which they preferred to otta and dholl, as it gave them no trouble as regards cooking; for a little soaking in water was sufficient to make it fit to eat; and many scrupulous Hindoos lived the whole period entirely upon it."

James Stewart, a pensioner, formerly a Christian drummer in the 56th N.I., says, that he and the other drummers of the three regiments were charged with the removal of the dead, and received for their subsistence gram and a glass of brandy daily. "The only article of food was gram, which was steeped in four buckets, and placed in such a position that all could help themselves." He also bears witness to the "hourly encouragement" given to the besieged by General Wheeler.‡

Natives might exist where Europeans would perish of inanition. This was the

* Shepherd's *Brief Account of the Outbreak at Cawnpoor.*—Further Parl. Papers (No. 4, 1857), pp. 173 to 185.

† Gram is a coarse kind of grain, commonly used for feeding horses. The word is given in the Blue Book (Further Papers, No. 4, p. 181), as "grain;" a blunder which involves a material mis-statement as regards the position of the besieged.

‡ Deposition of James Stewart.—*Friend of India*, August 27th, 1857.

case here. Lieutenant Thomson asserts, of his own knowledge, that "two persons died of starvation; a horse was greedily devoured, and some of my men were glad to feed upon a dog. Our daily supply of provisions, for twenty-two days, consisted of half a pint of pea-soup and two or three chupatties (or cakes made of flour); these last being, together, about the size of an Abernethy biscuit. Upon this diet, which was served to all without distinction—officers and privates, civilians or soldiers—the garrison was reduced to a company of spectres long before the period of capitulation; and when this took place there were only four days' rations, at the above rate of supply, in stock."

Lieutenant Delafosse asserts, that the besieged had been on half-rations some days before the close of the siege.*

Thus, the morning of the 25th of June found the besieged hopeless of timely relief, enduring the most complicated and aggravated sufferings in a building the walls of which were honey-combed with shot and shell, the doors knocked down or widely breached, and the angles of the walls shattered by incessant cannonading; while a few splintered rafters alone remained to show where verandahs had once been. Such was the state of affairs when Nana Sahib sent a letter to General Wheeler, some accounts say by an Eurasian prisoner named Jacobi, the wife of a watchmaker; others, by an aged widow named Greenaway, formerly the proprietress of the *Cawnpoor Press;* who, with her sons (merchants), had been seized at their zemindaree at Nujuffghur, sixteen miles from Cawnpoor.† The proposal for surrender was thus worded:—

"All soldiers and others unconnected with the acts of Lord Dalhousie, who will lay down their arms and give themselves up, shall be spared and sent to Allahabad."‡

General Wheeler consulted with his officers how to act. He was himself decidedly unwilling to surrender, and the younger soldiers advocated resistance to the last; but Captain Moore,§ whose fortitude (for it was a higher quality than courage) was unquestioned, and who was the very life-sinews of the beleaguered band, represented strongly the state of the ladies and others maddened by suffering; reminded the general, that at least half their small force had fallen in the intrenchment; and that out of fifty-nine artillerymen, all but four or five had been killed at their guns.‖ These arguments were irresistible; Sir Hugh reluctantly gave way, and empowered Captain Moore to consent to the proffered arrangement. The next steps are not clear. According to one account, Mrs. Greenaway appears to have returned to the Nana, and reported the success of her mission; whereupon she was again sent to the intrenchment, accompanied by Azim Oollah and another ringleader, styled Jowlah Persaud. Colonel Ewart subsequently came to the camp of the Nana, accompanied by other Europeans.¶

It is probable, however, that the meeting was not held within the intrenchment, but in the unfinished barracks outside. Azim Oollah, it is alleged, attempted to open the conversation in English, but was prevented from doing so by some of the Mussulman troopers of the 2nd light cavalry, who accompanied him.**

The treaty, signed on the evening of the 26th, stipulated, "That the garrison should give up their guns, ammunition, and treasure; should be allowed to carry their muskets and sixty rounds of cartridges with them; that the Nana should provide carriage for the sick, wounded, women and children, to the river's bank, where boats should be in readiness to convey all to Allahabad." A committee of officers and gentlemen went to the ghaut to see whether the necessary preparations were being made, and found everything in readiness.†† The besieged were eager to breathe purer air than that of a prison which had become almost a charnel-house. It appears that, after the capitulation, they were allowed to walk freely out of the intrenchment, and that they strolled about the neighbourhood that evening.‡‡ The thought of their approaching deliverance must have been embittered

* *Times*, October 15th, 1857.

† Shepherd's *Account;* Diary of the Nunna Nawab; and summary of events published in *Times*, October 15th, 1857.

‡ Statement sent by Supreme government to Court of Directors.

§ The wife of Captain Moore was with him in the intrenchment.

‖ These and other important facts are enumerated in Captain (formerly Lieutenant) Mowbray Thomson's letter to the *Times*, dated Sept. 8th, 1858; written in contradiction of the mis-statements put forward in the name of Sergeant Murray's widow.

¶ Statement of the Nunna Nawab.

** Shepherd's *Account.*—Further Parl. Papers (No. 4), p. 181.

†† Statement of Lieutenant Thomson.

‡‡ Russell mentions this circumstance as having been told him "by Sir John Inglis, on the authority of the excellent chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Moore."

by grief for those whom they expected to leave behind in that terrible burying-place the dry well. They little thought how soon their own bleeding bodies would find a similar destination.

Of those whose names have been mentioned in the course of the narrative, few, if any, but must have lost some dear friend or relative. The son of the general (Lieutenant Godfrey Richard Wheeler, of the 1st N.I.) had been killed by a round shot, while lying wounded by his mother's side;* Mrs. Ewart had seen her husband badly wounded, and her friend (Mrs. Hillersdon) sink, with her child, of fever and exhaustion; Brigadier Jack had died of fever, and Sir George Parker, Bart. (magistrate), of sunstroke. The total number of those who had perished is not recorded; but Lieutenant Thomson states positively, "we lost 250 men in the intrenchment, principally by shells;" and women and children fell by this means, as well as by disease. Probably, therefore, not half the number of Europeans (750) who had entered the intrenchment, left it on the fatal morning of the 27th of June; and of the number of half-castes and natives who perished with and for the Europeans, no estimate has been formed.† It was about 8 A.M. when the British reached the landing-place, situated a mile and a-half from the station. Breakfast was laid out as had been arranged, and the embarkation was carried on without hindrance or hesitation. The Europeans laid down their muskets, and took off their coats. Some of the boats (thirty in all) pushed off from the shore; and the others were striving to get free from the sand in which they had been purposely imbedded, when, at a prearranged signal, the boatmen sprang into the water, leaving fire in the thatches of the boats; and two guns, before hidden, were run out and opened on the Europeans. The men, says Lieutenant Delafosse, jumped out of the boats; and, instead of trying to free them from their moorings, swam to the first boat they saw loose. A remark in Lieutenant Thomson's narrative shows that the attempt was unsuccessfully made. He states—"When the boat I first took shelter in was fired, I jumped out, with the rest, into the water, and tried to drag her off the sand-bank, but to no purpose; so I deserted her, and made across the river to the Oude side, where I saw two of our boats." A third boat got safe over to the opposite side of the river; but all three were met there by two field-pieces, guarded by a number of cavalry and infantry. One of these boats was early swamped, and a round shot went through the second of them before it had proceeded a mile down the stream. The passengers were then taken on board the third boat, which, with a freight of fifty persons, continued its way for five or six miles, followed, on the Oude side, by about 2,000 mutineers (infantry and cavalry), with two guns. Captains Moore and Ashe (the leaders of the defence), Lieutenant-colonel Wiggins, and Lieutenants Burney, Glanville, Satchwell, and Bassilico, were killed; Major Vibart, Captain Turner, Lieutenants Thomson, Fagan, Mainwaring, and a youth named Henderson, were wounded. The boat grounded about nightfall; but the Europeans managed to get once more afloat, and to distance their pursuers, who followed along shore with torches and lighted arrows, trying to set the boat on fire; and so nearly succeeding, that the Europeans were compelled to throw overboard the thatched covering which had shielded them from the sun and rain. On the following day the boat again grounded on a sand-bank at Nujuffghur; and here Captain Whiting, Lieutenant Harrison, and several privates were killed. Captain Turner was hit a second time. Captain Seppings was wounded, as was also his wife (the only female mentioned as having accompanied this party), and Lieutenants Daniel and Quin. A storm came on, and drove the boat down stream, until it again stuck at Soorajpoor, where, at daylight on the Monday morning, the fugitives were discovered and attacked by the retainers of a hostile zemindar. Lieutenants Thomson and Delafosse, with twelve men, went on shore to drive back their assailants, and thus enable their companions to get off the boat. This they did most effectually; but, proceeding too far inland, they were surrounded, and, being hotly pressed, lost sight of the boat, and were forced to take refuge in a small temple on the river-bank. At the door of the temple one of the party was killed: the remaining thirteen, after vainly attempting a parley, had recourse to their firelocks, and several of the enemy were soon killed or put *hors de*

* *Memoir* of Rev. H. S. Polehampton, p. 315.

† "It is reported that the persons who came out that morning from the intrenchment, amounted to 450."—Shepherd's *Account*. How many Eurasians or natives may have been included in the capitulation, is matter of conjecture.

combat. The rebels then brought a gun to bear on the little stronghold; but finding that it made no impression, they had recourse to heaping up firewood before the doorway. Unfortunately the temple was round, so that the party within could not prevent their pushing the wood round to the front. The fire, however, did not have the desired effect; handfuls of powder were therefore thrown upon it; and the smoke thereby produced nearly stifled the Europeans, who determined to sally forth and make for the river. On their charging out of the temple, the enemy fled in all directions. Six of the party (it is supposed because they could not swim) ran into the crowd, and sold their lives as dearly as they could; the remaining seven threw themselves into the Ganges. Two of these were shot ere long; a third, resting himself by swimming on his back, unwittingly approached too close to the bank, and was cut up; and the other four swam six miles down the river, three of them being wounded, till at last the weary Europeans were hailed by two or three sepoys belonging to a friendly chief, who proved to be Maharajah Deeg Beejah Sing, of Byswarrah in Oude. Exhausted by a three days' fast, and conceiving, from the freedom from pursuit that they had experienced during the last half mile of their flight that they were safe, the fugitives at once went to the rajah, who protected and fed them from the 29th of June to the 28th of July, and ultimately provided for their escort to the camp of a detachment of Europeans proceeding from Allahabad to Cawnpoor, to join the force under the command of Brigadier-general Havelock.* Lieutenant Thomson speaks of the avidity with which he and his companions devoured the "capital meal of dholl and chupatties," given them by the friendly rajah; and he remarks, that "to swim six miles is a great feat to accomplish at any time; but, after a three days' fast, it really must sound very like an impossibility. Nevertheless it is true!"

It appears that all the boats were brought back to Cawnpoor: and of the passengers, "many were killed at once; others, the wives and children of the European officers and soldiers, were placed as prisoners in a house in the cantonments: some of these were released from their sufferings by death; others were suffered to remain alive until the arrival of the force under General Havelock sealed their death-warrant."† Among the persons who escaped from the boats were James Stewart, pensioner, 56th N.I., whose deposition has been already quoted, and who, with his wife and a Mrs. Lett, scrambled to shore from a foundering boat, and contrived to find their way to Allahabad. Mrs. Murray, a sergeant's wife, also escaped.‡

Concerning the actual massacre, much interesting information has been supplied by Myoor Tewarree, a sepoy of the 1st N.I., a man of considerable intelligence and proved fidelity. When the mutiny broke out at Cawnpoor, Myoor Tewarree was with three companies of his regiment at Banda. He had been instructed in the English language by Mr. Duncan, a writer; and, on the outbreak there, he concealed Mr. Duncan and his wife in his hut, and thus saved their lives. This act brought on him the suspicion of his comrades; and when he marched with them into Cawnpoor, he was seized by the Nana, robbed of all he possessed, and imprisoned, with four other suspected sepoys, in the same house with the Europeans.

He declares, that when the Nana's treachery became apparent, the boat with General Wheeler and his family on board, cut its cable, and dropped down the river, followed by two companies of infantry and two guns. At some little distance from Cawnpoor the boat grounded, was overtaken, and fired on. The traitors "could not manage the large gun, not knowing how to work the elevating screw;" but, with the small gun, they fired grape tied up in bags, and the infantry discharged their muskets. The Europeans responded with their rifles so effectually that they drove off the sepoys, and the storm which came on that night floated them off the sand-bank. They had, however, proceeded only a few miles before they were overtaken by several boatsful of Oude infantry, surrounded, and taken back captives to Cawnpoor. Fifty gentlemen, twenty-five ladies, a boy and three girls, were brought on shore. The Nana ordered the "memsahibs" to be separated from the sahibs, and shot by the 1st N.I. But the "Gillies Pultun,"§ the oldest regiment in the service, hardened as it had become in mutiny, refused to take part in the savage butchery. The men said, "We will not shoot Wheeler

* Statement sent by Supreme government. † *Ibid.*

‡ A Lieutenant Brown escaped from another boat, but perished from exhaustion.

§ Galliez' regiment. Introductory Chapter, p. 99.

Sahib, who has made the name of our Pultun great, and whose son is our quarter-master; neither will we shoot the other gentlemen [sahib-logue]: put them in prison." But the Oude sepoys said, "Put them in prison? No; we will kill them all." The male Europeans were then made to sit on the ground, and two companies of sepoys prepared to fire on them, when one of the ladies (the wife of either the superintending surgeon or medical storekeeper) rushed to her husband, and sitting down beside him, placed her arm round his waist, declaring, that if he must die, she would die with him. The other ladies followed her example; and all sat down close to their husbands, who said, "Go, go;" and vainly strove to drive their wives away. The Nana then directed the sepoys to part them by force, which was done; "but they could not pull away the doctor's wife, who there remained. Then, just as the sepoys were going to fire, the padre [Moncrieff was dead] called out to the Nana, and requested leave to read prayers before they died. The Nana granted it, and the padre's bonds were loosed so far as to allow him to take a small book from his pocket, from which he read; but at this time one of the sahibs, who was shot in the arm and leg, kept crying out to the sepoys, 'If you mean to kill us, why don't you set about it; be quick, and get the work done at once; why delay?' After the padre read a few prayers, he shut the book, and the sahibs shook hands all round. Then the sepoys fired. One sahib rolled one way, and one another; but they were not dead, only wounded. Then they went and finished them with their swords." After this, the whole of the women and children, including those taken out of the other boats, to the number of 122, were taken away to the house formerly used by the Europeans as an hospital, and afterwards inhabited by the Nana.

Myoor Tewarree was asked, "Were any of the women dishonoured?" He replied, "No, none that I am aware of, except in the case of General Wheeler's younger daughter; and about her I am not certain. When the rebels were taking the mem-sahibs out of the boat, a sowar (cavalry man) took her away with him to his house. She went quietly; but at night she rose and got hold of the sowar's sword. He was asleep; his wife, his son, and his mother-in-law were sleeping in the house with him. She killed them all with the sword, and then she went and threw herself down the well behind the house. In the morning, when people came and found the dead in the house, the cry was, 'Who has done this?' Then a neighbour said, that in the night he had seen some one go and throw himself into the well. They went and looked, and there was Missee Baba, dead and swollen."*

That a young girl should kill two men and two women with a sword, is so glaringly improbable, that the wide circulation of this story, and its repeated assertion as a fact,† only proves the credulity with which all rumours, however wild and improbable, are received when they fall in with the prevailing tone of the public mind. But the evidence of another survivor and eye-witness of the Cawnpoor massacre, corroborates the first part of the story, as regards the seizure of Miss Wheeler by a trooper. Towards the end of the year 1858, a half-caste Christian, named Fitchett, or Fitchrelt, presented himself to the local authorities at Meerut, as a candidate for admission into the police levy. The usual inquiries into his antecedents, led to the discovery that, when the mutiny broke out at Cawnpoor, he had been a musician in the band of one of the native regiments, and his life had been spared in consequence of his proclaiming his willingness to embrace Mohammedanism, which he did by an easy process, almost on the spot. He was enrolled in the rebel force, and witnessed the second massacre—that of the women and children—on the 16th of July; which cannot be narrated until the events which precipitated, if they did not cause it, have been told, and likewise the arrival of the Futtehghur fugitives, to swell the list of the Nana's victims. When the Nana fled to Futtehghur, Fitchett accompanied him thither; and he declares that he frequently saw Miss Wheeler; that she travelled with a trooper who had taken her from Cawnpoor; and that he was shown into the room where she was, and ordered to read extracts from the English newspapers, which the rebels received from

* Evidence taken at the Cawnpoor camp, August 15th, 1857.—*Friend of India*, September 3rd, 1857.

† Shepherd states, that a young lady, "reported to be General Wheeler's daughter," had been seized by a sowar, and killed four persons and herself: but his giving this as a matter of fact, detracts from the value of his general evidence, except regarding matters which he actually witnessed; and he was a prisoner at the time of both the first and second Cawnpoor massacres.

Calcutta; he being employed by them for the purpose of translating the news, in which, particularly that relating to the progress of the war in China, they evinced much interest. She had a horse with an English side-saddle, which the trooper had procured for her, and she rode close beside him, with her face veiled, along the line of march. When the British approached Futtehghur, orders were sent to the sowar to give Miss Wheeler up; but he escaped with her at night, and it is supposed she went with him to Calpee. Mr. Russell, writing in October, 1858, remarks—"It is not at all improbable that the unfortunate young lady may be still alive, moving about with Tantia Topee, and may yet be rescued."*

Two other girls, British or Eurasian, survived the Cawnpoor massacre. Georgiana Anderson, aged thirteen, received a sword-cut on the shoulder, but was rescued by a native doctor. All her relatives at the station were murdered. She lived among the natives, kindly nursed and cared for, during several weeks; at the expiration of which time she was sent safely into Cawnpoor, then reoccupied by the British, and is now living with her grandmother at Monghyr. The other girl, aged sixteen, was less fortunate; and her name is withheld by Mr. Russell, who instituted inquiries into the truth of her story, as published in the *Times;* the results of which partly corroborated and partly confuted her statements. "She is," he writes, "the daughter of a clerk; and is, I believe, an Eurasian, or has some Eurasian blood in her veins. It would be cruel to give her name, though the shame is not her's. She was obliged to travel about with a sowar; and, to escape persecution, became a Mohammedan."†

This is apparently the person whose narrative was published by Dr. Knighton, of the College, Ewell, Surrey. Her account of her escape is, that after seeing Kirkpatrick (an Eurasian merchant of Cawnpoor) and two little girls murdered in the boat, on the deck of which she was standing, and being herself rudely searched and robbed of the money and jewels she had brought from the barracks, she grew dizzy and fell down. The mutineers flung her into the river; she scrambled on shore, and crept along on her hands and knees till she reached a tree about half a mile inland. Soon, stealthy steps approached the spot. They were those of Miss Wheeler, who had also been thrown into the river, the murderous sepoys thinking that, being insensible, she would sink to the bottom. In about an hour the fugitives were surprised by a party of the mutineers, and dragged off in different directions. What became of Miss Wheeler does not appear from this narrative, but the other unfortunate was dragged along till her clothes were almost entirely torn off; and her appeal for mercy to the troopers, was answered by a declaration that she had not long to live; but before being put to death, she would be made to feel some portion of the degradation their brethren felt at Meerut, when ironed and disgraced before the troops. After four hours' walking, she arrived at a place very near Bithoor, where some of the enemy were encamped. Here she sank on the ground, overcome with shame and exhaustion, while the heartless sepoys gathered round with mockery and reviling. An African eunuch, who had just brought some despatches from Ahmed-Oollah, the Moolvee of Fyzabad, to Nana Sahib, interfered for her protection; and, throwing a chuddur, or large native veil over her, had her conducted to a tent. She saw no more of him till she went to Lucknow, and was compelled to accompany the rebels in their progress through the North-West Provinces. She was at length released, and found her way to Calcutta, where she is now living with her friends.

And here we may close the record of the first Cawnpoor massacre, and turn to the scarcely less painful examination of the causes which delayed the arrival of forces from Calcutta, to a period when the brave defenders of Cawnpoor, heart-sick with hope deferred, had surrendered to their treacherous foe, with the bitter pang added to their sufferings, that when (as they concurred in declaring) 200 Europeans might have saved them, government had made no effort to send troops with the speed befitting an errand of life or death, but had treated the agonising appeal for "aid, aid, aid!" much in the same tone as that in which Mr. Colvin had been reproved for enacting, on his own responsibility, a measure which he thought might arrest, in its early stage, the avalanche of mutiny and massacre; but which the governor-general in council, taking a serenely distant view of the matter, blamed as manifesting "unnecessary haste."‡

* *Times*, Dec. 8th, 1858. † *Ibid.*, Feb. 24th, 1859.

‡ See page 188, *ante*.

In vain the leading men in the North-Western Provinces had combined in reiterating in successive telegrams—"*Time is everything.*" "*Spare no expense in sending reinforcements to Allahabad and Cawnpoor.*" The Supreme government moved with the utmost deliberation, maintaining, to the last possible moment, the position of dignified incredulity with which they had received the information of mutiny at Barrackpoor in the early spring of 1857; treating the most reasonable alarm as "a groundless panic," and being beaten inch by inch off the field of indolent security; even the capture and retention of Delhi by the rebels, being insufficient to rouse them to the conviction of the imminent danger of the Europeans at other stations, especially those most richly stored and weakly defended. The wretched incapacity manifested at Meerut, was at length appreciated at Calcutta, and General Hewitt was superseded. Now, it is pretty generally admitted, that had either of the Lawrences, Montgomery or Colvin, Herbert, Edwardes, or Nicholson —anybody acquainted with the native character, whether pro-native or anti-native in their tone—been in authority at Meerut, that cruel court-martial sentence would never have been ratified; and the presiding officer would not have written to a friend that night—"The court is over, and those fellows have got ten years a-piece. You will hear of no more mutinies."* These flippant words stand out in terrible contrast to the cries for mercy uttered by Englishmen and Englishwomen, and refused on the plea of the tyrannical sentence, the felon's irons; adjudged as the penalty of what they deemed devotion to religious duty and maintenance of social rights, for both are united in that much misapplied word—caste.

The Calcutta despatches prove that the authorities there were not blind to the infatuation which produced the Meerut outbreak, or the incapacity which prevented its suppression. The "thirty troopers who revolutionised India," became a bye-word; and the Meerut authorities were severely censured for not instantly sending off a portion of the European troops, if not to maintain Delhi, at least to rescue their countrywomen and the children. Yet the Indian journals assert, that the blame attached to the Meerut authorities for having been so panic-struck by the effect of their own act, that they folded their hands quietly, while, as they had every reason to anticipate, a most unequal struggle was taking place within a three hours' ride of them—is equally attributable to the Supreme government, not only for leaving Delhi without so much as a European company to close its gates, but for not sending speedy reinforcements to Cawnpoor, when, by a vigorous effort, 2,000 men might have been dispatched there in time to raise the siege and to deliver the whole beleaguered band, instead of being the immediate cause of a massacre more terrible than that already related.

From the facts enumerated in the following chapter, the reader will judge how far the Supreme government can be justly reprobated for culpable delay.

CHAPTER XII.

CALCUTTA AND BARRACKPOOR.—MAY AND JUNE, 1857.

At Calcutta, the government on the one side, and the European population and press almost unanimously on the other, took an opposite view of affairs. The governor and council disbelieved in the existence of any general disaffection either among the troops or the people, which was a natural opinion for the party responsible for having caused, or at least not striven to remove, the alleged discontent, to abide by

* See a history of the Bengal Mutinies, dated "Umballah, August, 1857," and introduced in the *Times*, as the production of "a gentleman whose acquirements, experience, and position, admirably qualify him for the work of observation and review."—*Times*, October 24th, 1857. This authority remarks, that the Native officers who composed the court-martial were as obedient as usual, but that every one of them was said to have been murdered during the outbreak.

as long as possible: the European citizens, on the contrary, accepted General Hearsey's conclusions to their fullest extent, and went far beyond them, believing that an organised conspiracy had been concocted by the Mohammedans, and assented to by the Hindoos, civil and military (or rather military and civil), for the extermination of the British. The one party exposed the fallacies of the other; while both misinterpreted the signs of the times, being far too prejudiced regarding the cause of the outbreak, to adopt vigorous measures for its suppression at the earliest possible moment, and with the smallest possible waste of gold and silver and of human life.

The public journals advocated the formation of volunteer corps; and the Trades' Association offered their services to government, either as special constables, or in any other manner that might seem desirable for "the preservation of order, and the protection of the Christian community of Calcutta." The Masonic fraternity, the Americans, and French inhabitants of Calcutta, the British Indian Association, with all the leading Mohammedans and Hindoos, followed the example; but the proffered co-operation was refused by government on the ground of its being unnecessary, no general disaffection having been evinced by the Bengal sepoys. Writing on the 25th of May, the governor-general in council avers, that "the mischief caused by a passing and groundless panic has been arrested; and there is every reason to hope that, in the course of a few days, tranquillity and confidence will be restored."*

Another body, the native Christians of Krishnaghur, proffered their services, and begged to be employed, themselves, their carts and bullocks, in carrying stores to the seat of war. Only those acquainted with the miserable deficiencies of the Indian commissariat, can understand the value or full meaning of the offer; yet the volunteers were refused any public acknowledgment of their loyalty by the governor-general, on the ground that they had volunteered as Christians, not as subjects.† With strange perversity, the Supreme government trampled on caste with one foot, and on Christianity with the other. For the needless, heedless offence given to caste, concessions were made by the governor-general as by the commander-in-chief, long after the eleventh hour, by a proclamation which, in each case, "fell to the ground a blunted weapon." On the 29th of May, the military secretary, Colonel Birch, issued his first and only proclamation to the army on the subject of the greased cartridges. An officer, then at Calcutta, who certainly cannot be accused of advocating undue regard to native feelings or prejudices, says, had this statement been published in January, it would in all probability have been effective; but Colonel Birch and the government were dumb at that time. Yet at the close of May, "when every word falling from government was liable to be misconstrued, a full and complete explanation was offered regarding the substitution of the Enfield rifle for Brown Bess, and the whole question of the greased cartridges!‡ Alas, for that terrible 'Too late!' which attaches itself as the motto of statesmen without prescience or genius, of little men in great positions!"§

Lord Canning certainly deserves credit for the promptitude with which he acted on the suggestions of Sir Henry Lawrence, and all the leading functionaries in the North-West, of gathering together European troops with all speed from every possible quarter. Bombay, Madras, and Ceylon were sent to for troops, and a steamer was dispatched to the Straits of Sunda, to intercept the Chinese expedition. In the latter end of May, and the beginning of June, reinforcements entered Calcutta in rapid succession. The well-known 1st Fusiliers hastened from Madras, the 64th and 78th Highlanders from Persia, the 35th from Moulmein; a wing of the 37th, and a company of royal artillery, from Ceylon. By the 10th of June, 3,400 men were at the orders of the governor-general, independent of H.M. 53rd in Fort William, 800 strong; from 1,500 to 2,000 sailors, and all the European inhabitants who had tendered their services.

The conduct of the authorities was altogether unaccountable. Instead of being glad to notify the arrival of these reinforcements, and to strengthen the hands of the well-disposed, confirm the allegiance of the waverers, and overawe incipient mutiny, the European troops were, it is alleged by

* Parl. Papers on the Mutinies, 1857 (No. 2).

† Asserted by Lord Shaftesbury at Exeter Hall, January 5th, 1858.

‡ For government circular, see Appendix, p. 340.

§ *Mutiny of the Bengal Army:* by One who has served under Sir Charles Napier; p. 73.

the writer recently quoted, smuggled in like contraband goods. "For instance," he adds, "if it were known that the *Auckland*, or some other war steamer, was bringing troops, and the public were in consequence naturally on the tiptoe of excitement respecting her, orders would be transmitted, that on the arrival of the *Auckland*, the telegraph should announce the *Sarah Sands*, or a similar *nom-de-guerre*. The ship thus came up unnoticed; the troops generally landed in the dark, and were smuggled into the fort."*

On the 24th of May, the governor-general informed Sir Henry Lawrence, in reply to his urgent solicitations on behalf of Cawnpoor, that it was impossible to place a wing of Europeans there in less time than twenty-five days.† Sir Henry was far from being convinced of the impossibility of the measure: moreover, he was not silenced by Lord Canning's explicit statement of what could and could not be done; and, on receiving it, he instantly sent off another telegram in the following words:—

"I strongly advise that as many ekka dâks be laid as possible from Raneegunje to Cawnpoor, to bring up European troops. Spare no expense."‡

The director-general of post-offices at Raneegunje, having probably been informed of Sir Henry Lawrence's opinion, sent a telegram to Calcutta on the same day (May 26th), in which he remarks—"Ekkas are not, I think, adapted for Europeans, nor do I think that time would be gained."§

On the 27th of May, the secretary to government sent off two telegrams, each dated 8.30 P.M. One of these conveyed the thanks of the governor-general in council to Sir Hugh Wheeler, for "his very effective exertions," and assured him "that no measures had been neglected to give him aid." The other curtly informed Sir Henry Lawrence—"Every horse and carriage, bullock and cart, which could be brought upon the road, has been collected, and no means of increasing the number will be neglected."‖

The special point of the previous telegram—namely, the ekkas—is slurred over; and it appears as if the Calcutta authorities were not a little annoyed by the perpetual jogs on the elbow of their subordinates in the North-West, and were more inclined to accept the dictum of the "post-master-general," which accorded with their own ideas of "possibility," than by strenuous efforts to comply with the earnest appeals of Sir Henry Lawrence and Sir Hugh Wheeler. Yet Lord Canning, in his instructions to the army then only advancing against Delhi, does not fail to enforce the point so vainly pressed on him. "Time is everything," he writes to the commander-in-chief, "and I beg you to make short work of Delhi." The commander-in-chief might, with good reason, have retaliated by entreating the governor-general to strengthen his hands by making "short work" of Cawnpoor.

A considerable portion of the public and press of Calcutta were extremely dissatisfied at the proceedings of the government, and severely censured the supineness to which they deemed the fate of Cawnpoor attributable, notwithstanding the unexpected detention of the Fusiliers at Allahabad.

The then acting editor of the *Friend of India*, has written a small volume on the mutiny, in which he thus states what was probably the popular view of the question:—

"A thousand English volunteer infantry, 400 cavalry, and 1,500 sailors, were at the disposal of government a week after the revolt became known. * * * The waters of the Ganges do not rise until the latter end of June; and it would have been scarcely advisable to push troops up by that route so long as there was a prospect that the vessels might get aground.

"The railway and the road offered the greatest facilities for the transit of men, guns and stores; and both were in the best condition. The line was opened to Raneegunje, 120 miles from Calcutta; and, up to that point, there was no difficulty in sending a couple of regiments by a single train. Whilst the volunteers were learning how to load and fire, and the merchant seamen were being instructed in the use of artillery, government might have placed on the road, from the terminus to Cawnpoor, a line of stations for horses and bullocks, at intervals of five miles, guarded, if necessary, by posts of armed men; the streets and the course of Calcutta could

* "One who has served under Sir Charles Napier," gives as his authority, "personal observation, the telegraphic reports, and the notice of the circumstance by the local press."—(p. 99).

† Telegram, May 24th, 1857.—Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 315.

‡ Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 322.

This telegram is twice printed in the course of three pages. The first time (p. 322), the word "ekas" (country cart) is given incorrectly; the second, it is printed as "extra"—of course entirely altering the meaning. The value of the Papers printed for Parliament is seriously diminished by the frequency of these blunders.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 329. ‖ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

have supplied any number of horses. There were 1,600 siege bullocks at Allahabad, and 600 at Cawnpoor; carriages and commissariat stores of all kinds might have been collected, for the use of a division, with seven days' hard work; and had government only consented to do, just a fortnight beforehand, what they were coerced to do on the 14th of June, they might have had, on the first day of that month, a force of 2,000 Europeans at Raneegunje, fully equipped with guns and stores, the infantry capable of being pushed on at the rate of 120 miles a-day, and the artillery, drawn by horses, elephants, and bullocks, in turns, following at a speed of two miles an hour, day and night."*

The *Friend of India* said that a column of 500 men might safely have left Calcutta, and reached Cawnpoor, by the 8th of June at latest; and the guns, escorted by half a wing of a European regiment, might have joined them seven days afterwards.

The news from the North-West Provinces at length convinced the Calcutta government, that if they desired to have territory left to rule over, it was necessary to adopt measures for its defence. The Calcutta volunteers were given to understand that their services would now be accepted; but, according to their own testimony, the majority suffered a feeling of pique, at the previous refusal, to outweigh their sense of public duty; and, "in consequence of the discouragement offered by the government, only 800 were enrolled in the Volunteer Guard, horse and foot; whereas, had their first proposition been accepted, the number would have amounted to between three and four thousand."†

On the following day, the unpopularity of Lord Canning was brought to its climax by the enactment of a law involving the re-institution of the licensing system, and a rigid censorship of the press (English and native), for the ensuing twelve months. The reasons for this measure have been already stated,‡ and need not be recapitulated here. Great excitement was occasioned; and the infraction of the liberty of the press—that is, the European portion of it—was loudly denounced. The English journalists were, of course, quite convinced of the necessity of arresting the torrent of sedition poured forth by the native papers; but they could not see the slightest necessity, notwithstanding the imminent danger with which they professed to believe Calcutta menaced, for placing any check upon the abuse which was daily poured forth on the government, collectively and individually, nor on the fierce invectives against the natives of India generally, which the government foresaw might goad the entire population into rebellion. The angry journalists expected to find great sympathy in England; but, on the contrary, the necessity of the measure was generally appreciated by both parliament and the press.

The Arms Act, passed at the same time, was another and equally unreasonable cause of dissatisfaction. The extreme anti-native party in Calcutta had pressed for the establishment of martial law, which the government had wisely refused. It was then urged that there had been an unusual importation of arms into Calcutta, and that purchases of these had been largely made by natives. An act was therefore passed, empowering the government to demand from the inhabitants of any district a list of the arms each man possessed, with a view to the granting of a licence for the retention of any reasonable amount. Lord Grey, in vindicating the "impartial policy of the Arms Act," intimated that "it had been resorted to from sheer necessity, and to prevent a trade which might, and there was no doubt would, have been carried on between the natives and some bad Europeans, had the latter been allowed to possess arms to any extent." Lord Granville stated, that a suggestion had been made to Lord Canning that Christians should be exempted from the Act; but he had most properly felt that, since many of the native rajahs, zemindars, and their retainers, had exposed their lives and property in order to stand by the cause of the government, any act subjecting them to a disarmament from which all Europeans and Christians were expressly exempted, would have been a most unwise and impolitic measure. In the course of the same debate, Lord Ellenborough likened "our position in India to that of the Normans in Saxon England," and declared that the Anglo-Indians must, for a time at least, "assume the appearance of an armed militia." The comparison and phraseology were altogether unfortunate. The cases are totally dissimilar: and even passing over the anomaly of a so-called armed militia maintaining a military despotism over 180 millions of disaffected subjects, the prospect thus opened is hardly a pleasant one for the British merchants and traders, who look to India for an increased

* Mead's *Sepoy Revolt*, p. 84.

† Calcutta petition to the Queen, for the recall of Lord Canning.

‡ Introductory Chapter, p. 22.

outlet for their commerce, and hope to find their hands strengthened by receiving the valuable products which she could so cheaply and so plentifully supply, provided only her rulers can manage to govern her peacefully, and employ her revenues in developing her resources, and irrigating her fertile plains with the fair water of her noble rivers, instead of deluging the land with blood and tears. An important admission was, however, made by Lord Ellenborough in speaking of a provision of the Press Act, regarding the suppression of any passage in a public journal calculated "to weaken the friendship of native princes towards us." After bearing testimony to the important results which had attended the fidelity of the rajahs of Rewah and Gwalior, the ex-governor-general added, that if the Indian newspapers, "in the spirit which too much animates persons in that country, had expressed a hope that, when our rule was re-established, there would be further and further annexations, I assure you that every part of Central India, chiefs as well as subjects, would have been in arms against us."*

The tone thus denounced had, however, been taken by many journals, and it was most necessary that Lord Canning should possess some counteracting power. The Anglo-Indian papers did not always originate incendiary articles: they occasionally copied articles issued by the London press, written hastily on a very partial and prejudiced view of the subject, and without regard to the effect likely to result from their reproduction in India. It is a fact that the Indian princes study European politics with avidity, and watch their bearing on England. Much more do they examine, through the medium of their interpreters, the language held regarding them in the English papers, and the comments made thereon by the local press.

The first despatches which conveyed to England tidings of the Meerut and Delhi catastrophe, narrated also the admirable conduct of Sindia and Holcar, of the rajahs of Bhurtpoor, Jheend, and Putteeala. An Anglo-Indian correspondent of the *Times*, mentioned the death of the ill-used Nizam,† and the accession to the musnud of his son, Afzool-ood-Dowla, a prince of thirty years of age, "born to the purple of Hyderabad, and proportionately dull, ignorant, and sensual."

The *Times*, commenting on this information, in evident ignorance of the vital importance to the British government of the policy which might be adopted by the Hyderabad durbar, remarked—"The fact seems to be, that we have arrived at that point in our Indian career, when the total subjection of the native element, and the organisation of all that we have conquered, becomes a matter of necessity. We have gone so far in the conquest of the country, that it is now necessary to complete the task. * * * We would even hope that the death of the Nizam may be the occasion of the Deccan being brought more completely under British sovereignty. We cannot now refuse our part or change our destiny. To retain power in India, we must sweep away every political establishment and every social usage which may prevent our influence from being universal and complete."‡

In the course of another mail or two, when the extent of the danger became better understood, a different tone was adopted, as it was soon seen that the native durbar—that is to say, the Nizam, under the guidance of his able minister, Salar Jung, and his venerable uncle, Shums-ool-Omrah,§ had remained faithful to the British government, in opposition to the desire of the great mass of his fanatical Mussulman subjects.

From this and many similar circumstances, it seems evident that an imperative sense of duty was Lord Canning's motive in placing a temporary restriction on the press. The censorship was enacted only for a year, and expired then without the slightest effort being made for its renewal. Lords Elphinstone and Harris earnestly seconded its imposition; the Calcutta council were unanimous regarding its necessity: yet the great weight of censure was poured out on the governor-general, who, from being, "personally, extremely popular," and praised as "a conscientious, hard-working man, and no jobber (a wonderful merit in that country),"‖ became the object of the most sweeping and unqualified animadversion. Lord Canning conducted himself with much dignity, exercising the censorship he had felt it necessary to

* Indian debate, as reported in *Times*, December 8th, 1857.

† See Introductory Chapter, p. 55.

‡ *Times*, June 29th, 1857.

§ *Ibid.*

‖ Speech of the Earl of Ellenborough.—*Times*, December 8th, 1857.

assume, without anger and without fear, although aware that a petition was being framed in Calcutta, addressed to the Queen, soliciting his recall, which petition was eventually sent to England by the hand of Mr. Mead, the ex-editor of the *Friend of India*—removed from that office on the ground of his infractions of the conditions of the Press Act.

Among the difficulties which beset the Indian government, not the least pressing was that of finance. This was ever a weak point. In the palmiest days of peace, the revenue could never be made, by British rulers, to meet the expenditure: in war, no better expedient had presented itself than to inflict on the helpless people of India a debt similar to that with which England is burdened. One of the ablest and most eloquent of living statesmen, has repeatedly drawn attention to the unjust expedient to which successive governors-general have resorted, to supply an ever-recurring deficit at the expense of those who are not allowed to have any voice in the levying or expenditure of money which they and their children are heavily taxed to supply.

Mr. Gladstone denounced the Indian debt as being "charged upon a country whose revenues we are drawing in this country by virtue of the power of the sword." But (he added) "apart from that, I say it is most unjust that the executive government should have, for any purpose of its own, or for any purpose of the people of England, the power of entailing these tremendous charges upon the people of India."*

On a subsequent occasion, he adverted indignantly to the twelve or fifteen millions sterling imposed as a permanent burden on the people of India by the Afghan war.†

The manner of effecting loans in India does not appear to have been calculated to lesson the dissatisfaction which the wealthier natives could not but feel at being denied any voice in their appropriation. An important step taken by Lord Dalhousie, is thus described in his famous farewell minute. After stating several facts which seemed "to promise well for the financial prosperity of the country," his lordship adds—

"A measure which was carried into effect in 1853-'54, was calculated to contribute further to that end. During those years the five per cent. debt of India was entirely extinguished. Excepting the payment of a comparatively small sum in cash, the whole of the five per cent. debt was either converted into a four per cent. debt, or replaced in the open four per cent. loan. The saving of interest which was effected by this operation, amounted to upwards of £300,000 per annum.

"At a later period, by a combination of many unfavourable circumstances, which could not have been anticipated, and which were not foreseen in England any more than by us in India, the government has again been obliged to borrow at the high rate of five per cent. But the operation of 1853-'54 was not the less politic or less successful in itself; while the financial relief it afforded was timely and effectual."

The Calcutta Chamber of Commerce took a different view of the matter,‡ and maintained that the lenders were ill-used. The government, instead of having a large surplus available for the operation, were, they asserted, obliged, not from any unforeseen causes, but in the natural course of things

* *Times*, April 27th, 1858.

† Report of Indian debate.—*Times*, July 7th, 1858.

‡ A London journal, the *Press*, November 28th, 1857, has the following remarks:—"Lord Dalhousie's measure sent down the whole public funds of India from ninety-seven, at which they stood at the time, to eighty at a stroke. Every existing fundholder was therefore irretrievably compromised; and no one was thereafter able to realise except at a sacrifice of from seventeen to twenty per cent. It was not, be it observed, the conversion of the five per cents. into fours that the fundholders complained of; for that, by raising the value of the four per cents. to par, was a benefit to the old holders, while those who accepted the conversion had no reason to complain, as they might, if they liked, have taken cash. To the moneyed class in particular, the conversion itself was a thing almost immaterial; for, as mere temporary holders, they cared comparatively little about the rate of interest except in so far as it affected the market price of their stock. It was because the conversion—followed almost immediately by the opening of a new five per cent. loan at par—made this stock absolutely unsaleable, that they with cause complained. It made it unsaleable, at least, except at a rate of discount that was ruin to them; and the consequence has been to close the pocket of the Indian capitalist to the government ever since. The remedy which the Indian government has endeavoured to apply—namely, that of raising the amount of interest without providing for the redemption of the stock that is thus depreciated—only aggravates the evil which it is meant to cure. Because, although the rate now offered be sufficient in itself, it but the more assures the lender of the fact, that his capital, if so invested, will be invested beyond recall; for if the Company can see no way to relief but by constantly raising its interest, a five per cent. loan must very soon be followed by a six per cent., and a six per cent. by a seven per cent., as its wants increase. And with each rise in the rate of interest the stock of the old holders will fall in market value, and be utterly unsaleable except at a price far below the sum which the owner lent."

(financial difficulty being the chronic condition of the Anglo-Indian government), immediately to open a new loan at five per cent. Money to the amount of four millions was borrowed by government, between the conversion of the five per cent. into a four per cent. debt in 1854, and the close of 1856, chiefly at five per cent., but partly at four-and-a-half per cent.

The four-and-a-half per cent. loan was suppressed, and a five per cent. loan opened in January, 1857—a measure which gave rise to much distrust, and seriously impeded the operations of the executive, when the sudden emergency occasioned by the revolt had to be met.

An officer, describing to a friend in England the state of affairs in Calcutta, 12th of June, 1857, says—"The Company's paper is down very low; the new five per cent. loan few subscribe to, and the four per cents. were yesterday at twenty discount; and I see, by the newspaper, that at Benares it was at forty-two discount. We must have a new loan, and you must give us the money, I expect. Out of the treasuries alone that have been robbed, I should think nearly two millions of money have been taken; and then fancy the expense of the transport of all these Europeans."*

On the evening of the day on which the Arms and Press Acts had been passed, a message from Major-general Hearsey reached Calcutta, desiring the aid of European troops to disarm the Native troops at Barrackpoor, as he believed their fidelity could not be relied on. The request was immediately complied with; and, on the afternoon of Sunday, the 14th, the sepoys at Barrackpoor, and also all except the body-guard of the governor-general in Fort William, Calcutta, and the neighbourhood, were quietly disarmed. The necessity for this measure must have greatly increased Lord Canning's perplexities. Although "Pandyism" had originated at Barrackpoor, it was thought to have been trodden out there, and the government actually intended to dispatch troops from thence to join the force against Delhi, heedless of the opinion expressed by Lieutenant-governor Colvin at Agra, and his policy of "preserving the peace by not permitting Native troops to meet and directly fight their brethren."† It would have been objectionable on the lowest ground of expediency, as a most dangerous experiment, to send men to fight against their countrymen, co-religionists, and, in many cases, their own relations. Even supposing them to have started for Delhi in all good faith, it was not in human nature to resist such combined temptations as those which would have met them on the road, or on reaching their destination. Sooner or later they would, rather than have fired on, have fraternised with their mutinous comrades. There were excellent British officers at Barrackpoor; and they were, perhaps, disposed to overrate their own influence with the men. The accounts sent to England by the Indian government, do not clearly show what intimations were made to the troops to induce them to volunteer to march against Delhi, and to use the new rifle; but it would appear that they were given to understand that, by so doing, they would gain great credit, and place themselves beyond suspicion. For the offer to march against Delhi, the 70th N.I. were thanked by the governor-general in person; and it was subsequent to this that they professed their readiness to use the new cartridges. In an address to government, dated June 5th, and forwarded by the colonel (Kennedy) commanding the 70th N.I., the petitioners aver—

"We have thought over the subject; and as we are now going up country, we beg that the new rifles, about which there has been so much said in the army and all over the country, may be served out to us. By using them in its service, we hope to prove beyond a doubt our fidelity to government; and we will explain to all we meet, that there is nothing objectionable in them."‡

The petition of the 70th N.I. to join the force before Delhi, was read aloud, by Lord Canning's order, at the head of various Native corps, and the effect it produced was apparently beneficial. For instance, the 63rd N.I., at Berhampoor, expressed themselves (in very English phraseology, but with very un-English feeling) "prepared and ready, with heart and hand, to go wherever, and against whomsoever you may please to send us, should it even be against our own kinsmen."§ The governor-general in council desired Major-general Hearsey to thank the 63rd N.I. publicly, "for this soldier-like expression of their

* Diary of officer in Calcutta.—*Times*, Aug. 3, 1857.
† Appendix to Papers on Mutiny, p. 188.
‡ Further Parl. Papers, 1857 (not numbered), p. 46.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

loyalty and attachment to the government."*

The offer may have been honestly made; for the natives are the veriest children of impulse; but few who knew them would doubt that the reaction would be sudden and strong, and that mercenary troops so peculiarly situated, would, when brought face to face—father with son, brother with brother—lose all notion of being "true to their salt" in the natural feelings of humanity. The very expression of being ready to oppose their own kinsmen, suggests that the possibility of being placed in such a cruel position had already occurred to them.

On the 9th of June, a Mussulman of the 70th N.I. came to Captain Greene, and the following very remarkable conversation ensued regarding the intended march from Barrackpoor to Delhi:—

"'Whatever you do,' said the sepoy, 'do not take your lady with you.' I asked him, 'Why?' He said, 'Because the mind of the natives, kala admi (black men), was now in a state of inquietude, and it would be better to let the lady remain here till everything was settled in the country, as there was no knowing what might happen.' On my asking him if he had any reason to doubt the loyalty of the regiment, he replied, 'Who can tell the hearts of a thousand men?' He said that he believed the greater portion of the men of the regiment were sound, and in favour of our rule; but that a few evil men might persuade a number of good men to do an evil deed.

"I then asked him the meaning of all this about the cartridges. He said, 'That when first the report was spread about, it was generally believed by the men; but that subsequently it had been a well understood thing that the cartridge question was merely raised for the sake of exciting the men, with a view of getting the whole army to mutiny, and thereby upset the English government; that they argued, that as we were turned out of Cabool, and had never returned to that place, so, if once we were entirely turned out of India, our rule would cease, and we should never return.' Such is the opinion of a great bulk of the people. A Native officer also warned me that it would be better not to take up Mr. ——. He said that if I went he would sleep by my bed, and protect me with his own life."

Captain Greene adds, that a Hindoo had told him that the Mussulmans generally, in all regiments, were in the habit of talking to the effect that their "'raj' was coming round again."†

It is evident, from the foregoing statement, that a dangerous degree of excitement existed among the Barrackpoor troops. Matters were brought to an issue by a report being made to Colonel Kennedy, that a man of the 70th N.I. had been heard to say, "Let us go beyond Pultah, and then you will hear what we will do." General Hearsey made inquiries, and convinced himself that "some villains in the corps were trying to incite the good men and true to mutiny." He endeavoured to persuade the men to find out and deliver over the offenders: they would not do this; and he resolved on disarming the entire brigade of four regiments.‡ The officers of the 70th strenuously opposed the measure, declaring that "the reported speech must have been made by some budmash, and that Colonel Kennedy, being new to the regiment, did not and could not know the real and devoted sentiments of the Native officers and men with respect to their fealty."§

The brigadier wisely persisted in a step which must have been most painful to him; and he adds, what will readily be believed, that he spoke "very, very kindly" to the men at the time of the disarming. The officers of the 70th were deeply affected by the grief evinced by their men. They went to the lines on the following day, and tried to comfort them, and induce them to take food. They found that the banyans (native dealers) had, in some instances, refused to give further credit, under the impression that the regiment would soon be paid up, and discharged altogether; while a large number were preparing to desert, in consequence of a bazaar report that handcuffs and manacles had been sent for. Captain Greene pleaded earnestly with Major-general Hearsey in favour of the regiment, which "had been for nigh twenty-five years his pride and his home;" declaring, "all of us, black and white, would be so thankful to you if you could get us back our arms, and send us away from this at once."‖

Of course the petition could not be granted. The safety of such officers as these was far too valuable to be thus risked. Probably their noble confidence, and that evinced by many others similarly

* Further Parl. Papers, 1857 (not numbered), p. 71.

† *Ibid.*, p. 8.

‡ Letter from Major-general Hearsey to his sister; dated, "Barrackpoor, June 16th, 1857."—*Daily News*, August 6th, 1857

§ Major-general Hearsey to secretary to government, June 15th, 1857.—Further Parl. Papers (not numbered), p. 6.

‖ Letters of Captain Greene to Major-general Hearsey, June 14th and 15th, 1857.—*Ibid*, pp. 6., 7.

circumstanced, will be called sheer infatuation, and no allowance made for circumstances under which zeal might easily outrun discretion. But let it be remembered it was their own lives, nothing more, nothing less, that they were so willing to hazard losing; and the cause, which rendered them heedless of personal danger, was an absorbing desire for the honour of their corps, the welfare of their men, and the service of their country.

And most effective had their devotion been. No mere human wisdom, under whatever specious name it may be disguised —discretion, policy, expediency—could have done what the fearless faith of these gallant sepoy leaders did to break the first shock of the mutiny, to stop a simultaneous rising, to buy, when "time was everything," a few weeks', days', hours' respite, at the cost of their life-blood. It was extreme coercion that lit the fires at Meerut and Delhi; it was extreme conciliation that saved Simla and Lucknow. If some officers carried their confidence too far, and did not see that the time for conciliatory measures had for the moment passed, it must be recollected that they could not know the full extent of the secret influences brought to bear on the minds of their men; far less could they counteract the effect of panic caused, in repeated instances, by the cruel blundering of the highest local authorities, where these happened to be incapacitated for the exercise of sound judgment, by infirmity of mind and body (as has been shown at Meerut), or by the indiscriminating rashness of a hasty spirit (as is alleged to have been the case at Benares).

The panic in the lines of the Barrackpoor sepoys, on the evening of Sunday, the 14th, was far outdone by that which seized on the minds of the Calcutta population, in anticipation of the possible consequences of the measure which, after all, was so peaceably accomplished. The fact of the sepoys having allowed themselves to be disarmed without resistance, could not be denied; but the newsmongers and alarmists made amends for having no struggle to narrate, by enlarging on the imminent danger which had been averted. An order had been given by the governor-general to search the lines, after the disarming should have been accomplished,* for tulwars (native swords), or other weapons. Brigadier Hearsey did so, and acquainted the governor-general with the fact of the order having been obeyed. He makes no mention of any weapons having been found; but only adds—"All quiet."† The description of the condition of the troops on the following day, has been shown; as also the entreaty of the officers of the 70th N.I., for the re-arming of their regiment. Yet Dr. Duff, writing to England, says, that "when, after disarming, the sepoys' huts were searched, they were found to be filled with instruments of the most murderous description—huge knives of various shapes, two-handed swords, poniards, and battle-axes; many of the swords being serrated, and evidently intended for the perpetration of torturing cruelties on their European victims—cruelties over which, in their anticipation, these ruthless savages, while fed and nurtured by the government, had doubtless fondly gloated!"‡ Of course, the official statements since laid before parliament, prove all this to be idle rumour; but it is quoted here as showing what fables were accepted as facts, and indorsed as such by men of note in Calcutta. The Europeans, moreover, believed themselves to have escaped, by a peculiar providence, a plot laid for their destruction by some undetected Mussulman Guy Fawkes. The maharajah of Gwalior had been visiting Calcutta shortly before the mutiny, and had invited the whole European community to an exhibition of fireworks, across the river, at the Botanic Gardens. The entertainment was postponed on account of a violent storm; and it was afterwards alleged that a scheme had been thereby thwarted, of seizing that night on Fort William, and massacring the Christian community.§ New rumours of a similar character were spread abroad in every direction. As at Simla, so at Calcutta, nothing was too palpably absurd to be related and received as possible and probable. True, the year 1857 will go down to posterity as one of previously unparalleled crime and disaster. But it will also take its place as a year of "canards."

The native tendency to exaggeration and

* Further Parl. Papers, 1857 (not numbered), p. 52.

† *Ibid.*, p. 59.

‡ See Dr. Duff's *Letters on India*, p. 37.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 2. Dr. Duff speaks very decidedly on the subject. He states that some of the conspirators underwent the penalty of death. It is strange that other writers have not mentioned so remarkable and important event, if anything of the kind really occurred.

high colouring was well known. Every Englishman in India, every educated European, must have learned in childhood to appreciate the story-telling propensities of the Asiatics. The *Arabian Nights* are a standing memorial of their powers of imagination. In composition or in conversation, they adopt a florid, fervid style, natural to them, but bewildering to Europeans in general, and peculiarly distasteful to the Anglo-Saxon mind. In the limited intercourse between superior and inferior, master and servant, the "sahibs" would cut short the Oriental jargon very quickly; but when, in the fever of excitement, domestic servants, khitmutgars or ayahs, a favourite syce (groom) or some personal attendant, came full of a bazaar report of horrors perpetrated at stations hundreds of miles off, they were listened to as if every syllable had been Gospel truth; and, through similar channels, the newspaper columns were filled with the most circumstantial details of often imaginary, always exaggerated, atrocities.

Strange that the experience of a hundred years had had so little effect in giving the rulers of India an insight into native character, and in enabling them to view the real dangers and difficulties of their position, unclouded by imaginary evils. But no! the tales of mutilation and violation publicly told, and the still fouler horrors privately whispered, though now for the most part denounced and disowned, then made many a brave man pale with alarm, as he looked on his wife and children. Fear is even more credulous than hope; and the majority, while under the bewildering influence of excitement, probably believed in the alleged abominations. It seems likely, however, that some of the retailers of these things must have had sufficient experience of the untrustworthiness of the hearsay evidence on which they rested, to understand their true character. If so, and if, indeed, they promulgated lies, knowing or suspecting them to be such, they committed a deadly sin; and on their heads rests, in measure, the blood of every man who, wild with terror, rushed from the presence of his fellow-creatures to the tribunal of his God, or proved, in the presence of assembled heathens, his disbelief in the existence of an ever-present Saviour, by destroying his wife or child. Several instances of suicide occurred during the mutiny.* Of wife or child-murder there are few, if any, attested instances; but it is sufficiently terrible to know, that the thought of escaping the endurance of suffering by the commission of sin, was deliberately sanctioned, as will be shown by a subsequent chapter, even by ministers, or at least by a minister, of the Christian religion.

It was well for England and for India, that the governor-general was a man of rare moral and physical courage. No amount of energy could have compensated for a want of self-reliance, which might have placed him at the mercy of rash advisers, and induced the adoption of coercive measures likely to turn possible rebels into real ones, instead of such as were calculated to reassure the timid and decide the wavering, by the attitude of calm dignity so important in a strong foreign government. General Mansfield, then in Calcutta, wrote home, that "the one calm head in Calcutta was that upon Lord Canning's shoulders."† The assertion seems, however, too sweeping. Certainly there was another exception. The viceroy's wife was as little susceptible of panic as her lord, and continued to reside in a palace guarded by natives, and to drive about, attended by a sepoy escort, with a gentle, fearless bearing, which well befitted her position.

Lord Canning was much blamed for not immediately exchanging his sepoy for a European guard: but Earl Granville defended him very happily, on grounds on which the sepoy officers may equally base their justification. "I think," said Lord Granville, "that at a moment when great panic existed in Calcutta, Lord Canning was rash in intrusting himself to troops whose fidelity might be suspected; but it was at a time when he felt, that as our dominion in India depended upon the belief in our self-confidence and courage, it was of the greatest importance that the head of

* Mrs. Coopland, in the narrative of her *Escape from Gwalior*, remarks—"We heard of the shocking suicides of the commodore of the *Mary* and of General Stalker. The reason we heard assigned for this, both in the papers and by people who ought to know, is that the climate so upsets people's nerves, as to render them unfit for any great excitement or responsibility."—(p. 76.) The climate can hardly deserve the sole blame: suicide is usually the termination of the lives of persons who have habitually disregarded the revealed will of God, by sensual indulgence, or what is commonly termed the laws of nature—by long-continued mental effort, to the neglect of their physical requirements.

† Stated by Earl Granville in India debate.—*Times*, December 8th, 1857.

the Europeans in that country should not be thought to be deficient in those qualities. And I am quite sure, that among Englishmen even, too great an indifference to personal danger is not likely very long to tell against Lord Canning."*

It is probable that the governor-general hoped, by retaining his sepoy guard, to counteract in some degree the dangerous tendency of the alarm manifested by his countrymen. An officer "who witnessed the living panorama of Calcutta on the 14th of June,"† has drawn a lively sketch of the prevailing disorder and dismay.

He declares—

"It was all but universally credited that the Barrackpoor brigade was in full march against Calcutta; that the people in the suburbs had already risen; that the King of Oude, with his followers, were plundering Garden-reach. Those highest in office were the first to give the alarm. There were secretaries to government running over to members of council, loading their pistols, barricading the doors, sleeping on sofas; members of council abandoning their houses with their families, and taking refuge on board ship: crowds of lesser celebrities, impelled by these examples, having hastily collected their valuables, were rushing to the fort, only too happy to be permitted to sleep under the fort guns. Horses, carriages, palanquins, vehicles of every sort and kind, were put into requisition to convey panic-stricken fugitives out of the reach of imaginary cut-throats. In the suburbs, almost every house belonging to the Christian population was abandoned. Half-a-dozen determined fanatics could have burned down three parts of the town. A score of London thieves would have made their fortunes by plundering the houses in the neighbourhood of Chowringhee (the patrician quarter of the city), which had been abandoned by their inmates."‡

The writer adds—"It must in fairness be admitted, that whilst his advisers—the patricians of Leadenhall-street—were hiding under sofas, and secreting themselves in the holds of the vessels in port, Lord Canning himself maintained a dignified attitude." The admission is worth noting. It is only to be regretted that other exceptions were not made; for it is scarcely possible but that there were such. Only, to have singled them out would have been to stigmatise the unnamed.

At daybreak on the 15th of June, the King of Oude, with Ali Nukki Khan, and other leading adherents, were arrested, and lodged as prisoners in Fort William. The official intimation simply relates the fact, without stating the reason of the arrest, or the manner in which it was performed. Private authorities state that it was accomplished as a surprise. The force employed consisted of 500 men of H.M. 37th foot (which had arrived a few days before from Ceylon, and had been present at the disarming at Barrackpoor),§ and a company of the royal artillery. Mr. Edmonstone, the foreign secretary, then went forward to the residence of the ex-minister. He seemed startled by the sight of the soldiers, but surrendered himself to their custody without a word of remonstrance. His house was searched, and his papers secured. The party then proceeded to arrest the king, telling him that the governor-general had reason to believe him connected with the mutiny. Wajid Ali behaved on this occasion, as on that of his deposition, with much dignity. Taking off his jewelled turban, and placing it before the foreign secretary, he said—"If I have, by word, by deed, or in any way whatever encouraged the mutineers, I am worthy of any punishment that can be devised: I am ready to go wherever the governor-general thinks fit." The apartments were then searched; and, in the words of one of the officers engaged, "the king, his prime minister, and the whole batch, papers and all, were seized."‖

The Calcutta population viewed this measure, which was simply a precautionary one, as undoubted evidence of a discovered conspiracy. Dr. Duff, writing from Calcutta, and deeply imbued with the fever of the time (as from the nature of his rare gift of popular eloquence he would be likely to be), enters very fully into the subject.¶

* Stated by Earl Granville in India debate.—*Times*, December 8th, 1857.

† See also similar statements published in Indian correspondence of *Times*, *Daily News*, and other papers of August, 1857. Dr. Duff says—"The panic throughout Sunday night rose to an inconceivable height. With the exception of another couple, Mrs. Duff and myself were the only British subjects in Cornwallis-square on that night."—*Letters*, p. 24.

‡ *Mutiny of the Bengal Army:* by One who has served under Sir Charles Napier; p. 105.

§ An officer employed on the expedition, remarks, that the 37th wore "the small forage-cap, fit only for the barrack-square in England, affording no protection whatever from the sun. They had white jackets on, I was glad to see; but even then, the heat was so great that the cross-belt was wet through from perspiration. Stocks of course."—*Times*, August 3rd, 1857.

‖ *Times*—*Ibid.*

¶ These letters, addressed to Dr. Tweedie, Convener of the Free Church of Scotland's Foreign Mission Committee, were published in 1858, under the title of *The Indian Rebellion: its Causes and Results:* and "the views and opinions which they embody," are described in the preface as "the ripe result of

"On Monday morning," he writes, "the ex-King of Oude and his treasonable crew were arrested, and safely quartered in Fort William. Since then various parties connected with the Oude family, and other influential Mohammedans, have been arrested; and on them have been found several important documents, tending to throw light on the desperate plans of treason which have been seriously projected. Among others has been found a map of Calcutta, so sketched out as to divide the whole of the town into sections. A general rise was planned to take place on the 3rd instant, the anniversary of the battle of Plassey. The city was to be taken, and the Feringhi Kaffirs [foreign infidels], or British and other Christian inhabitants, to be all massacred. Hereafter, parties who swore on the Koran, and proved that they had taken an active share in the butchery and pillage of the Europeans, were to have certain sections of the town allotted to them for their own special benefit!" All this, and much more of a similar sort, Dr. Duff declares to have been "timeously and providentially revealed." That is to say, all this was firmly believed during the panic; but very little, if any, has been established by subsequent examination, or is now on record.

Time, the revealer of secrets, has brought nothing to light to the disparagement of the King of Oude. On the contrary, many of the accusations brought against him have been disproved. Impartial observers assert, that "there is not a shadow of a shade of evidence to connect him with the rebellion."* Whether from his own convictions, or by the advice of the queen-mother (a woman of unquestioned ability), he appears to have steadily adhered to the policy which alone admitted a prospect of redress—that of submission under protest.

Mr. Russell, writing from Lucknow in February, 1859, remarks—"It is now universally admitted, that it was owing to his influence no outbreak took place at the time of the annexation."† Up to the period of the mutiny, and, indeed, to the present moment, he has firmly refused to accept any allowance from the British government. He may be our prisoner; he will not be our pensioner: but has continued, by the sale of his jewels, to support himself and the royal family. The anomalous position of the deposed king certainly did not strengthen the British government during the mutiny; and when Wajid Ali heard of the fall of Cawnpoor, and the precarious tenure of Lucknow, the magnificent capital of his dynasty (held by a slender garrison of the usurping race, against their own revolted mercenaries), he might well feel that the seizure of his misgoverned kingdom had been followed by a speedy retribution. In the hands of a native government, Oude would have been, as in every previous war, a source of strength to the British government; now it threatened to be like the "Spanish ulcer" of Napoleon Buonaparte. If Wajid Ali yearned for vengeance, he had it in no stinted measure, though a prisoner. Vengeful, however, none of his house appear to have been: their vices were altogether of another order. Perhaps he had himself benefited by the sharp lessons of adversity; and while becoming sensible of the folly of his past career of sensuality and indolence, might hope that the English would profit by the same stern teaching, and learn the expediency of being just.

On the 17th of June, Sir Patrick Grant, the newly-appointed commander-in-chief, arrived at Calcutta from Madras, and with him Colonel Havelock, who had just returned from Persia. Both were experienced Indian officers. Sir Patrick Grant commenced his career in the Bengal army, and had early distinguished himself by raising the Hurrianah light infantry—a local battalion, which he commanded for many years: he subsequently married a daughter of Lord Gough; became adjutant-general; and was from thence raised to the command of the Madras army, being the first officer in the Company's service who had ever attained that position.

Colonel (afterwards Sir Henry) Havelock was a Queen's officer, who had seen service in Burmah and Afghanistan, in the

thirty years' observation." It is added, that the most fastidious critic will hardly require any apology for the want of the author's revision; because the letters are "tense with the emotions, and all aflame with the tidings of that terrible season." It is not, however, a question of style, but of fact. Misstatements like the one regarding the Barrackpoor sepoys and the King of Oude, with many other stories calculated to set the British mind "aflame" against the natives, ought in justice to have been recanted. Dr. Duff is a well-known and respected minister, of unquestioned ability; and his errors cannot, in justice to the cause of truth, be passed unnoticed, even though under the pressure of an important avocation: they may have escaped his memory.

* Russell.—*Times*, March 28th, 1859. † *Ibid.*

Gwalior campaign of 1843, and the Sutlej campaigns of 1845-'6; after which he became quartermaster-general, and, subsequently, adjutant-general of her Majesty's forces in India. In 1829 he married the third daughter of Dr. Marshman, the companion of the apostolic Carey in founding the Baptist Mission at Serampoor; and, in the following year, he openly joined that denomination of Christians, receiving public baptism in the manner deemed by them most scriptural. The step drew on him much ridicule from those who, having never had any deep religious convictions, could not understand their paramount influence on a loftier spirit. It was not, however, a measure likely to hinder his advancement in his profession; although, if it had been, Havelock was a brave and honest man, and much too strongly convinced of the paramount importance of things eternal, to have hazarded them for any worldly advantage. At the same time, it is certain he made no sacrifice of things temporal by allying himself with the once despised but afterwards powerful party, which exercised remarkable influence through the *Friend of India*, of which paper Dr. Marshman was the proprietor. As a boy, he is said to have been called "old Phlos" by his playfellows at the Charter-house, on account of his grave, philosophic demeanour. In after years, he delighted in expounding the Scriptures to his men, and in warning them against the besetting sins of a soldier's daily life, drunkenness and its attendant vice. His efforts were crowned with success. At a critical moment during the campaign in Burmah, Sir Archibald Campbell gave an order to a particular corps, which could not be carried out, owing to the number of men unfitted for duty by intoxication. The general was informed of the fact. "Then," said he, "call out Havelock's saints; they are never drunk, and he is always ready."*

Again—when, in 1835, Havelock sought the appointment of adjutant to the 13th light infantry, opposition was made from various quarters, on the ground that he was a fanatic and an enthusiast. Lord William Bentinck examined the punishment roll of the regiment; and finding that the men of Havelock's company, and those who joined them in their religious exercises, were the most sober and the best-behaved in the regiment, he gave Havelock the solicited appointment; remarking, that he "only wished the whole regiment was Baptist."†

Colonel Havelock's personal habits were simple, even to austerity; and to these, but still more to his habitual trust in an overruling Providence, may be attributed the spring of energy which enabled him to declare, on the morning of his sixty-second birthday—"Nearly every hair on my head and face is as grey as my first charger; but my soul and mind are young and fresh."‡ Military honours he coveted to a degree which appears to have rendered him comparatively insensible to the horrors of war; and it is strange to contrast the irrepressible disgust with which Sir Charles Napier chronicles the scenes of slaughter through which he had cut his way to fame and fortune, with the almost unalloyed satisfaction which Havelock seems to have found in a similar career.

These two veterans (each of whom attained eminence after toiling up-hill, past the mile-stones of threescore years) have left on record widely different opinions. Napier uniformly denounced war as "hellish work."§ Havelock, "having no scruples about the compatibility of war with Christianity,"‖ prayed constantly, from his school-days to advanced age, "to live to command in a successful action."¶ This single sentence, which conveys the cherished desire of a lifetime, is one of those utterances that reveal, beyond all possibility of error, the character, even the inner being, of the writer. Lord Hardinge is said to have pronounced Havelock, "every inch a soldier, and every inch a Christian."** And this praise was true in its degree; for Lord Hardinge†† measured Havelock by his own standard of Christianity; and Havelock himself steadily pursued what he believed

* Rev. William Brock's *Biographical Sketch of Sir Henry Havelock*, p. 37.

† *Ibid.*, p. 45. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

§ *Life of Sir Charles Napier;* by Sir William Napier.—Vol. iii., p. 410.

‖ Rev. W. Brock's *Biographical Sketch of Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B.*—p. 18.

¶ Letter to Mrs. Havelock; July 13th, 1857.—*Ibid.*, p. 163.

** Brock's *Havelock.*—Preface.

†† Napier writes—"Hardinge is very religious; he had prayers on the field of battle! Thou shalt not kill, is the order; and it seems strange, in the heat of disobedience, to pray and make parade."—*Life*, vol. iii., p. 368. It must, however, be remembered, that to pray to be protected in battle, and to be led into it, are totally different petitions.

to be the path of duty. Still, that a Christian far advanced in years, should, after long experience of offensive warfare (the Afghan campaign for instance), continue to pray to be at the head of a battle, is startling, and would be incomprehensible, had we not daily evidence how apt men are (in Archbishop Whateley's words) to let their opinions or practices bend the rule by which they measure them.

These comments would be superfluous but for the extreme interest excited by the closing passages of Havelock's life, on which we are now entering, and which, from their peculiar character, have thrown an interest round the chief actor, scarcely warranted by the relative importance of his proceedings as compared with those of other Indian leaders, several of whom have been strangely underrated.* It is frequently asserted that Havelock resembled the Puritans of English history: his spare small figure, and worn and thoughtful face, helps the comparison; and it is asserted, in words of more discriminating praise than those previously quoted, that "a more simple-minded, upright, God-fearing soldier, was not among Cromwell's Ironsides."† But it must be remembered that the Puritans fought for civil and religious liberty, for themselves and for their children; and Havelock, employed in repeated foreign wars of conquest and subjugation, might as well be compared to the gallant Baptist missionaries, Knibb and his coadjutors (who struggled so efficiently, amid poverty, calumny, and cruel persecution, for the anti-slavery cause in the West Indies), as to an English Roundhead.

The arrival of Sir Patrick Grant may be supposed to have removed from the governor-general the chief responsibility of the military measures now urgently required. Tidings from Neil at Allahabad, told that the course of mutiny, instead of being arrested, was growing daily stronger; and Sir Henry Lawrence continued to urge on the governor-general the extreme peril of the Cawnpoor garrison. When Grant and Havelock reached Calcutta on the 17th of June, there was yet time, by efforts such as Warren Hastings or Marquis Wellesley would have made, to have sent a force which might have forestalled the capitulation. The regular rate of dawk travelling is eight miles an hour, night and day; and there was no good reason why the 508 miles between the railway terminus at Raneegunje and Cawnpoor, should have been such a stumblingblock. Had Sir Henry Lawrence's suggestion of the *ekkas* been adopted by Sir P. Grant immediately on his arrival at Calcutta, Cawnpoor might still have been saved, the troops might have slept under cover the whole day, with their arms and ammunition by their side, and arrived fresh and strong at the scene of action. It was no fear of their being cut off in detail that prevented the attempt being made; for they went up the country all through June, July, and August, in parties of fourteen, twelve, and, on one occasion, of eight men;‡ yet not a single detachment was ever cut off. Far different was the energy displayed in Northern India, where, as we have seen, the Guides marched 750 miles, at the rate of twenty-seven miles a-day, and went into action immediately afterwards.

The supineness of the Supreme government regarding Cawnpoor, is by far the most serious charge brought against them by the press. The refusal of the co-operation of the Goorkas is a branch of the same subject; but it is not difficult to conjecture the motive of the Supreme government for desiring to dispense with such dangerous auxiliaries. The well-known Jung Bahadoor, the first minister and virtual ruler of Nepaul, had, at the beginning of the mutiny, offered to send a force to the assistance of the English. The proposal was accepted; and three thousand troops, with Jung himself at their head, came down from the hills in forced marches, in the highest possible spirits at the thought of paying off old scores on the sepoys, and sharing the grog and loot of the English soldiers. Second thoughts, or circumstances which have not been made public,§ induced the Supreme government to alter their determination with regard to the Goorkas; and the force, after passing through the Terai (the deadly jungle which lies at the foot of their hills), were arrested by a message of recall. They had expected

* One of Havelock's biographers declares, that he set forth to command "the avenging column," having "received his commission from the Lord of Hosts. He had by long training been prepared for the 'strange work' of judgment against the murderous hosts of India."—Owen's *Havelock*, p. 195.

† *Westminster Review*, October, 1858.

‡ Appendix to Parl. Papers, 1857; p. 350.

§ The original offer is said to have been accepted by an unauthorised functionary.

to reach Oude by the 15th of June; but on learning that their services could be dispensed with, they started back to Khatmandoo, the capital of Nepaul; which they reached, after suffering greatly from sickness and fatigue. Scarcely had they returned, before another summons arrived from Calcutta, requesting that they should be again sent to Oude, and the march was recommenced on the 29th of June. When they at length reached British territory, much reduced by death and disease, Lawrence and Wheeler had been dead a fortnight.

Jung Bahadoor is said to have expressed his indignation very decidedly; and in writing to his friend Mr. Hodgson, late of the Bengal civil service, he concluded his narrative of the affair by exclaiming—"You see how I am treated. How do you expect to keep India with such rulers as these?"*

Still, as has been stated, Lord Canning may have had good reason for desiring the recall of the Goorkas; and the very fact of being subsequently compelled to avail himself of their services, would account for his silence regarding the apparent incertitude of his previous policy. The fact, pointed out by Lord Dalhousie, that the Nepaulese government always armed and made hostile preparations when war broke out in Europe, and the strong suspicions entertained of an intimate understanding existing between the courts of Russia and Nepaul, were arguments calculated to increase the repugnance any civilised government must have felt in accepting the aid of a horde of half-civilised mountaineers, whose fidelity in the case of a reverse would be extremely doubtful, and who, in the event of success, would unquestionably prove a scourge to the unoffending agriculturists, whom the British government was bound to protect. The consideration of this point, therefore, only strengthens the conclusion, that want of energy in relieving Cawnpoor, is by far the most important of the errors attributed to the Supreme government during the crisis. The measures recommended by the Lawrences† for the rapid collection of troops at Calcutta, had been taken; but the good to be derived therefrom was neutralised by their apparently unjustifiable detention in Bengal. It is further asserted by Mr. Mead (who, at the time of which he writes, edited the *Friend of India*), that a question of military etiquette was another impediment to the dispatch of relief for the protracted agony then being endured in the Cawnpoor trenches. "The fiery Neil," it is asserted, "having quelled mutiny at Benares, and punished it at Allahabad, chafed impatiently till a force of men, properly equipped, could be got together for the relief of Cawnpoor; but he was not allowed, in this instance, to follow the impulse of his daring nature. Colonel Havelock had arrived in Calcutta; and the rules of the service would not allow a junior officer to be at the head of an enterprise, however fit he might be to carry it to a successful conclusion. Time was lost to enable Colonel Havelock to join at Allahabad."‡ There is nothing in Havelock's published letters to show, that on arriving at Calcutta, he himself, or indeed any one round him, felt the intense anxiety which the telegrams of Lawrence and Wheeler were calculated to excite. He writes under date, "Calcutta, Sunday, June 21st," to Mrs. Havelock (then, happily for all parties, far from the scene of strife, educating her younger children "under the shadow of the Drachenfels"), that he had been reappointed brigadier-general, and had been recommended by Sir P. Grant for an "important command; the object for which is to relieve Cawnpoor, where Sir Hugh Wheeler is threatened; and support Lucknow, where Sir Henry Lawrence is somewhat pressed."§

An officer of great promise, Captain Stuart Beatson, came to Calcutta about the same time as Sir Patrick Grant. Beatson had been sent to Persia, on the outbreak of the war, to raise a regiment of Arab horse; but on the conclusion of peace he returned to India, and found that his own regiment, the 1st cavalry, had mutinied. Being thus at liberty, he made inquiry, and saw reason to believe that a corps of Eurasian horse might be raised on the spot; and he accordingly framed a scheme, by which each man was to receive forty rupees (£4) per mensem, nett pay; horse, arms, and accoutrements being furnished by government. The scheme was rejected, and Captain Beatson was informed that "the government had no need of his services." One month later, when the want of cavalry was

* Mead's *Sepoy Revolt*, p. 89.

† Sir Henry begged Lord Canning, on the 24th of May, to get "all the Goorkas from the hills;" but probably he referred to those under our own rule, not to the Nepaulese.—Appendix to Parl. Papers, p. 315.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

§ Brock's *Havelock*, p. 141.

an acknowledged grievance, and the price of horses had risen enormously, the authorities were compelled to raise a corps on the basis of one hundred rupees per mensem for each trooper, who was not the less supplied with horse, arms, accoutrements, and camp equipage.*

That Captain Beatson was an officer of ability and character, is proved by his being selected by Brigadier-general Havelock for the highest position in his gift, that of adjutant-general. The government having at length issued their tardy orders, Havelock and Beatson quitted Calcutta on the 23rd of June, leaving the entire population in a relapse of panic—that day being the centenary of Plassy; and there being a prophecy which the Mohammedans were asserted to have resolved on verifying—that the raj of the East India Company would then expire. As on a previous occasion, the day passed quietly; and both Europeans and natives having mutually anticipated violence, were, the *Friend of India* states, equally "rejoiced at finding their necks sound on the following morning."

CHAPTER XIII.

AZIMGHUR, BENARES, JAUNPOOR, AND ALLAHABAD.—MAY AND JUNE, 1857.

It is necessary to return to the northward, and follow the course of mutiny in what General Havelock, in the letter lately quoted, terms the "disturbed provinces"—a very gentle phrase, inasmuch as the whole country to which he refers was at that time in a state of total disorganisation, the officers of government holding out in hourly peril of their lives, or hiding, with their wives and babes, among the villagers or in the jungle; the native farmers and peasantry themselves pillaged and harassed by mutineers and dacoits; strife and oppression characterising the present state of things, with famine and pestilence brooding over the future.

Azimghur is the chief place of a district in the province of Allahabad, about fifty-six miles north-east of Benares. The headquarters and eight companies of the 17th N.I. were stationed here. There were no European soldiers. The commandant, Major Burroughs, was an experienced officer, proud of his regiment, but quite aware of the trial to which its fidelity would be exposed, and sedulously watchful to remove every temptation. Up to the 18th of May, the most favourable opinion was entertained of the 17th N.I.; and the judge of Azimghur, Mr. Astell, writing to its commanding officer, congratulated him on the great love and respect entertained for him personally.† Many sepoys, of various regiments, were in the Azimghur district. The 17th N.I. had been quartered with the 19th and 34th at Lucknow, in 1855; and when the latter regiments were disbanded (at Berhampoor and Barrackpoor), Major Burroughs, fearing the consequence of the renewal of intercourse between them and his own men, issued an order forbidding strangers to visit the lines without special permission. But as communication outside the cantonment could not be prevented, the major addressed his regiment, on the 20th of May, in forcible language. He spoke of his thirty years' connection with that corps; reminded the men that many of them had been enlisted by him during the twelve years he had filled the position of adjutant; and declared that they knew he had never misled or refused to listen to them. Unfortunately (considering the critical position of affairs), he concluded his address by requiring them to be ready to use the new cartridge—by tearing it, however, with their hands, not biting it with their teeth.

Previous to this parade, and, indeed, immediately after the reception of the Meerut intelligence, such measures as were practicable had been taken for the defence of the treasury (which contained £70,000), and for the protection of the ladies and

* *Mutiny of the Bengal Army;* by One who has served under Sir Charles Napier; p. 109.

† Report of Major Burroughs' Return of regiments which have mutinied.—Parl. Papers (Commons), 15th March, 1859; p. 25.

children. The Cutcherry and public offices had been partially enclosed by a breast-work, and "the post guns, under a select guard, had been placed at the treasury for its defence." On the 1st of June, two warnings were secretly and separately given, by a sepoy and a pay havildar, that the grenadiers were arming with the intent of attacking the treasury. The adjutant rode down to the lines, found all quiet, and the report was disbelieved. At sunset on the 3rd, the treasure was marched off towards Benares, by two companies of the 17th, and eighty of the 13th irregular cavalry, under Lieutenant Palliser, sent to Azimghur for that purpose.* It does not seem to have occurred to the officers that the measure was likely to produce excitement or dissatisfaction. According to the statement of one of these (Lieutenant Constable, 17th N.I.), they were all at mess, and had the ladies with them, when nine o'clock struck, and two muskets were fired on parade, evidently as a signal; then, "whirr went the drums—all knew that the regiment was in revolt." The Europeans rushed from the mess-room to the Cutcherry, placed the ladies on the top of it, and directed the gunners to prepare for service. The reply was an unqualified refusal to fire themselves, or let any one fire on their countrymen. The mutineers approached with deafening shouts. The officers went to meet them. There was an interval of intense anxiety; but it was soon over. The men "behaved with romantic courtesy. They formed a square round their officers, and said they not only would not touch, but would protect them, only that there were some of the mutineers who had sworn the death of particular officers; therefore they begged the whole party to take to their carriages, and be off at once. 'But how are we to get to our carriages,' said the Europeans, 'seeing that they are scattered all through the station?' 'Ah! we will fetch them,' replied the sepoys. And so they did; and gave the party an escort for ten miles out of the station, on the road to Ghazipoor,"† which place (forty miles from Azimghur) the fugitives reached quite unmolested. The only blood shed was that of Quartermaster Hutchinson, who was deliberately shot down by a sepoy.

The doors of the gaol were opened, and about 800 prisoners let loose to plunder the deserted European dwellings, and then to band themselves together as dacoits, and infest the country districts. The gaol and treasury guards, and the Native artillerymen with the two guns, went off with the 17th N.I., in pursuit of the treasure escort, which was soon overtaken. The two companies of the 17th immediately fraternised with the mutineers, who seized the treasure. The Irregulars would not act against their countrymen, neither would they join them, despite the temptation of sharing the plunder: on the contrary, they rallied round their officers, and brought them safely to Benares. There were in Azimghur, as in almost every other scene of mutiny, Eurasians and native Christians who were left at the mercy of the mutineers; while the Europeans, especially of the higher class, having carriages and horses, money and influence, with a numerous retinue of servants, were able to effect their escape. No English missionary was stationed here; but there was a flourishing school under the charge of Timothy Luther, a native Christian of experience, ability, and piety. Mr. Tucker took great interest both in the school and schoolmaster; and it is said that, after the mutiny, he and his family were brought away from Azimghur, where they had lain concealed, "by an escort kindly dispatched from Benares."‡ A temporarily successful attempt was made, by a private person, for the reoccupation and maintenance of the station. Mr. Venables, a wealthy indigo-planter (one of the European "interlopers" for whom the East India Company had small respect), possessed a large estate at Doorie Ghaut, twenty-two miles on the Goruckpoor side of Azimghur. He had, from the nature of his occupation, great influence with the respectable and industrious portion of the agricultural community, who had all to lose, and nothing to gain, from an irruption of revolted mercenaries and escaped convicts. The natives cheerfully rallied round him: he procured arms for their use, marched at their head, and reoccupied Azimghur, which the mutineers had already deserted. A detachment of one hundred men of the 65th N.I., and fifty of the 12th irregular cavalry, were sent to support him; and with these he held his position for some weeks, as a flood-gate against the waves of

* Report of Brigadier J. Christie.—Parl. Papers (Commons), 15th March, 1859; p. 25.

† Statement of Lieutenant Constable.—*Times*, August 6th, 1857.

‡ Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Indian Church during the Great Rebellion*, p. 283.

mutiny; collecting the revenue, and maintaining a certain degree of order.

Benares—the famous seat of Brahminical lore, the holy city of the Hindoos, dear to them as Mecca to the Moslem—occupies an elevated position on a curve of the Ganges, 460 miles from Calcutta, and eighty-three from Allahabad. Its ancient name was Casi, or "the splendid," which it still retains. It was also called Varanashi, from two streams, Vara and Nashi; so termed in Sanscrit: the Mohammedans pronounced the word "Benares," a corruption followed by the English. Benares is full of structures, which are as finger-posts, marking the various phases of Indian history. They stand peculiarly secure; for the Hindoos assert that no earthquake is ever felt within the limits of the hallowed city. The temple to Siva tells of the palmy days of Brahminism; the ruins of a once world-famous observatory, attest the devotion to science of Rajah Jey Sing, of Jeypoor; and the mosque built by Aurungzebe, on the spot where a Hindoo temple had been razed to the ground by his orders, remains in evidence of the only persecutor of his dynasty, and the ruler whose united ambition and bigotry increased the superstructure of his empire, but irreparably injured its foundation.

A few miles distant stands a more interesting, and probably more ancient, monument than even Siva's temple. It is the Sara Nath—a solid mass of masonry, from forty to fifty feet in diameter, originally shaped like a bee-hive, and supposed to be a Buddhistic structure. Then there is the public college for Hindoo literature, instituted during the residency of the easy, kind-hearted scholar, Jonathan Duncan (the "Brahminised Englishman," as Mackintosh called him), afterwards governor of Bombay. Teachers of Hindoo and Mohammedan law and literature abound. The former trust habitually for their support to the voluntary contributions of pilgrims of rank, and to stipends allowed them by different Hindoo and Mahratta princes. They do not impart religious instruction for money, owing to the prevailing idea that the Vedas, their sacred books, would be profaned by being used for the obtainment of pecuniary advantage.

The population of Benares was estimated at about 300,000, of whom four-fifths were Hindoos. It included a considerable number of ex-royal families and disinherited jaghiredars. Altogether, the city seemed as well calculated to be a hotbed of disaffection for the Hindoos, as Delhi had proved for the Mohammedans. If a fear of conversion to Christianity had been a deep-rooted, popular feeling, it would surely have found expression here. The commissioner, Henry Carre Tucker, was a man who desired the promulgation of the Gospel above every other object in life. The Benares citizens knew this well; but they also knew that his views were incompatible with the furtherance of any project for the forcible or fraudulent violation of caste. He was one of those whose daily life bore witness to a pure and self-denying creed; and refuted, better than volumes of proclamations could have done, the assertions of Nana Sahib and his followers, that the so-called Christians were cow-killing, pig-eating infidels, without religion themselves, and with no respect for that of others. In his public capacity, Mr. Tucker had been singularly just, patient, and painstaking; and his private character, in its peacefulness, its unimpeachable morality, and its abounding charity, peculiarly fitted him for authority in a city the sanctity of which was jealously watched by the Hindoos. When the mutiny broke out, he found his reward in the power of usefulness, insured to him by his hold on the respect and affections of the people: and it is worthy of remark, that while so many civilians perished revolver in hand, the very man who "had never fired a shot in his life, and had not a weapon of any kind in the house,"* escaped with his female relatives and young children uninjured.

In May, 1857, there were at Benares the 37th N.I., an irregular cavalry regiment of Seiks from Loodiana, and about thirty European artillerymen. Some excitement was manifested in the lines of the 37th, on learning what had occurred at Meerut and Delhi; but this apparently subsided. Mr. Tucker, however, urged on the government the necessity of having "a nucleus of Europeans" at Benares, and 150 of H.M. 10th foot were sent thither from Dinapoor. On the 23rd of May, the commissioner reported to the Supreme government—"Every thing perfectly quiet, both in the lines and city of Benares, and in the whole Benares division; and likely, with God's blessing, to continue so. I am quite easy and confident."† The position of affairs continued

* *Times*, August 18th, 1857.

† Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 314.

equally satisfactory until the 3rd of June, when Colonel Neil arrived with a detachment of the 1st Madras Fusiliers. Sixty men of that regiment, with three officers, had reached Benares on the previous day, and four companies were on the road. Colonel Neil was a man of extraordinary energy and determination; but these predominant qualities naturally inclined him to act on general conclusions, with little regard for the peculiarities of the case in point, or for any opinion that differed from his own. Such, at least, is the impression which a review of the public documents regarding his brief career in North-Western India, is calculated to produce; and if the evidence of his coadjutors may be trusted, "the fiery Neil," despite his courage, his honesty, and, above all, his anxiety for the besieged at Cawnpoor, was instrumental in lighting flames which he was compelled to stay and extinguish at the cost of leaving Sir Hugh Wheeler and his companions to perish. The charge is a very serious one. It is brought by Major-general Lloyd, not as a personal attack, but indirectly against "the military authorities at Benares;" for proceedings which "caused the instant revolt of the 6th regiment at Allahabad, on the 6th of June, and at Fyzabad on the 8th of June."* The responsibility of that policy is declared by Colonel Neil himself to have been his own, he having taken his measures not only without consulting the civil authorities, but by overruling the judgment of the officer commanding at the station, Brigadier Ponsonby.† In fact, from the very outset, Colonel Neil (a Madras officer) manifested a defiant distrust of every regiment of the Bengal army, and evinced very little desire to protect the unoffending agricultural population of the districts through which he passed, from the aggressions of his soldiers and camp-followers. In former wars, it had been the proudest boast of our generals, that the villagers never fled from British troops, but were eager to bring them supplies, being assured of protection and liberal payment. Colonel Wilks, in contrasting the campaigns conducted by Mohammedan conquerors, with those of Cornwallis, Lake, and Wellesley, dwells forcibly on the misery inflicted by the former, and revealed by the existence of the well-known phrase *Wulsa*, which signified the departure of the entire population of a village, or even of a district; children, the aged and the sick, being borne off to take shelter in the nearest woods or jungles, braving hunger and wild beasts sooner than the presence of an armed force. Great loss of life invariably attended these migrations, which were especially frequent in Mysoor in the days of Hyder Ali. The Indian despatches of General Wellesley testify, in almost every dozen pages, to the unceasing forethought with which he strove to maintain a good understanding with the population: and any one who will compare the manner in which his troops were fed and sheltered, with the suffering endured in the campaign of 1857, before the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell, will understand that the indiscriminate burning of villages, and the pillaging of "niggers," was the most costly amusement Europeans in India could indulge in.

Colonel Neil commenced the expedition with what the newspapers called an "example of *zubberdustee*—the phrase for small tyrannies." The term, however, is not fairly applicable to an act which was, in the best sense of the word, expedient, though it seems to have been accompanied with needless discourtesy. While he was preparing to enter the railway with a detachment of Madras Fusiliers, intending to proceed from Calcutta to Raneegunge, one of the officials said that the train was already behind time, and if the men could not be got into the carriages in two or three minutes, they would be left behind. Colonel Neil, without making any reply, ordered a file of men to take his informant into custody. "The man shouted for assistance; and the stokers, guards, and station-master crowded round to see what was the matter, and were each in turn stuck up against the wall, with a couple of bearded red-coats standing sentry over them. The colonel next took possession of the engine; and by this series of strong measures, delayed the departure of the train until the whole of his men were safely stowed away in the carriages." The *Friend of India* related this instance of martial law with warm approbation; adding—"We would back that servant of the Company as being equal to an emergency."‡ Of the details of Neil's march little has been related. He has been frequently compared to "an avenging

* Letter from Major-general Lloyd to his brother, the Rev. A. J. Lloyd, Sept. 3rd, 1857.—*Daily News*, October 30th, 1857

† Colonel Neil to Adjutant-general.—Parl. Papers, p. 57.

‡ Mead's *Sepoy Revolt*, p. 125.

angel;" and his track was marked by desolation; for Havelock's force, in its subsequent advance, found the line of road almost deserted by the villagers, who had dismantled their dwellings,* and fled with their little property. Colonel Neil reached Benares, as has been stated, on the 3rd of June. He had intended starting with a detachment for Cawnpoor on the following afternoon; but shortly before the appointed time, intelligence was received from Lieutenant Palliser, of the outbreak which had taken place at Azimghur; and, as usual, the affair was greatly exaggerated, four officers being described as killed.† Brigadier Ponsonby consulted with Colonel Neil regarding the state of the Native troops at Benares. The Seiks, and the 13th Native cavalry, were believed to be stanch, but doubts were entertained of the 37th N.I.; and the brigadier proposed that, on the following morning, their muskets should be taken away, leaving them their side-arms. The colonel urged immediate disarmament: the brigadier gave way; and the two officers parted to make the necessary arrangements. At 5 P.M., Neil was on the ground with 150 of H.M. 10th, and three officers; sixty of the Madras Fusiliers, and three officers; three guns and thirty men. At this time no intimation had been received by any officer, of the corps being disposed to mutiny: on the contrary, Lieutenant-colonel Spottiswoode, the commanding officer of the 13th, declares that his European non-commissioned staff, "observed nothing doubtful in the conduct of the men;" but that, "up to the very last moment, every man was most obedient and civil to all authorities."‡ The brigadier came on parade at the appointed hour; but Neil observed, that "he appeared far from well, and perfectly unable to act with energy, or the vigour required on the emergency."§ The account given by the colonel of the ensuing proceedings is too long for quotation, and too general and confused to afford materials for a summary of facts. With regard to his assuming the lead, he says he did so after the firing commenced, by desire of the brigadier, who "was on his back on the ground, seemingly struck by a stroke of the sun, and declared himself quite unfit for anything."‖ Between the incapacity of one commander, and the vigour of the other, the sepoys were driven wild with panic, and the European officers nearly killed by the hands of their own countrymen. Brigadier Ponsonby's private letter recounting the affair, was published by his friends in the *Times*, in vindication of that officer's "foresight and judgment." He does not mention having consulted with Neil at all; but speaks of "Colonel Gordon, my second in command," as having advised the immediate disarmament of the 37th foot; to which the brigadier adds—"After some discussion, I agreed. We had no time (it being between 4 and 5 P.M.) to lose, and but little arrangement could be made (fortunately)." There is no explanation given why the haste and disorder which characterised the proceedings should be termed fortunate. The personal feelings of the military authorities towards one another could not be so called. Ponsonby expressly asserts that he conducted the entire disarmament; and takes credit for the panic inspired "by the suddenness of our attack." "Something very like a *coup de soleil*" obliged him, he says, "to make over the command to the next senior officer, but not until everything was quiet."¶ This statement is, of course, in direct opposition to Neil's assertion, that, during the crisis, the brigadier was "on his back," utterly prostrate in mind and body. A perusal of the official reports of the various subordinate officers, and of the private Indian correspondence of the time, concerning this single case, would well repay any reader desirous of obtaining an insight into the actual working of our military system in India in 1857. Incidental revelations are unwittingly made, which, though of no interest to the general reader, are invaluable to those whose duty it is to provide, as far as may be, against the recurrence of so awful a calamity as the mutiny of the Bengal army. There are other accounts of the affair—a private and circumstantial, but clear one, by Ensign Tweedie, who was dangerously wounded on the occasion; and an official one by Lieutenant-colonel Spottiswoode. Young Tweedie has no leaning to the sepoys; but as the

* *Journal of an English Officer in India:* by Major North, 60th Rifles; p. 13.

† Appendix to Parl. Papers, 1857; p. 372.

‡ Parliamentary Return of regiments which have mutinied (15th March, 1859); p. 28.

§ Lieutenant-colonel Neil to Adjutant-general, June 6th, 1857.—Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 57.

‖ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¶ Letter from Brigadier Ponsonby; Benares, June 13th, 1857.—*Times*, August 18th, 1857.

Meerut authorities considered that their blunder had been the salvation of India, so he thought that, "although the sepoys might have been quietly disbanded, the mistake that provoked the row was a most fortunate one." The disarming, he believes, "might have been effected in perfect peace and quietness, had it been gone about in a less abrupt and threatening manner." The 37th were drawn up in front of their lines, with the cannon pointed at them. The Europeans were posted within musket range, and the Seiks and irregular cavalry within sight. The 37th, seeing themselves hemmed in with musketry and artillery, naturally suspected that they were to be blown to pieces; and all the assurances of their officers proved insufficient to keep them composed. They were ordered to put their muskets into the little stone buildings called kotes, or bells. The majority of their number obeyed at once, and European soldiers were then marched towards the bells of arms, with the view of securing them from any attempt which the sepoys might make to recover them. This movement accelerated the crisis. Ensign Tweedie states—

"The sepoys were beforehand with the Europeans, and, making a sudden rush at the bells of arms, recovered their muskets, and fired at once upon their own officers and upon the advancing Europeans, retiring at the same time within their lines, and thence keeping up a brisk fire upon the Europeans. Up to this time, however, no officer had been hit. The sepoys of the 37th ensconced themselves for the most part behind their huts, some of them behind the bells of arms. The majority of their officers had fallen back at once upon the European column. Major Barrett, however, indignant at the way in which what he believed to be good sepoys had been dealt with, resolved, as he told them, to share their fate, and, along with the European sergeant-major, remained exposed to the fire opened from the half-battery, as also from the European musketry upon the huts. But the sepoys' worst blood was up, and several of their number fired upon him, others attacking him with their fixed bayonets. He was compelled to flee for his life, and a guard of faithful sepoys (principally of the grenadier company) having formed round his person, conducted him in safety to his bungalow in the cantonments. The sergeant-major also was saved by the same faithful escort. In the meantime, Captain Guise, of the 13th Irregulars, was only leaving his bungalow, and rashly attempted to reach the parade-ground, where his troop was drawn up, by riding through the lines of the 37th N.I. His chest was positively riddled with bullets in the attempt. Of course, his death was instantaneous.

"The sepoys still kept up a smart fire upon the scanty Europeans, who were labouring under the great disadvantage of having to deal with an enemy effectually secured behind their huts from observation. The officers of the 37th were posted with the European musketry, and were exposed, of course, to a smart fire. Several privates were knocked over within five yards of me, and yet not a single officer got touched. For about twenty minutes we remained under this fire. But our brave fellows began to drop off rather fast, and accordingly it was resolved to charge the huts. As a preliminary to this, a party was dispatched to set them on fire; and in the meantime, we officers of the 37th retired, and took our place beside the Seiks, who, we understood, were to take part in the charge. They form an irregular corps, and have only two officers attached to them—viz., a commandant (Colonel Gordon) and an adjutant. As both of these were mounted, there was need of our services in the ranks.

"Here I remained for about ten minutes, in the momentary expectation of the charge being ordered. The brigade-major, Captain Dodgson, then galloped across the parade-gronnd, and, placing himself at the head of the irregular cavalry, informed them that their commandant, Captain Guise, had been killed, and that he had been sent by Brigadier Ponsonby to supply his place. They flashed their swords in reply, giving vent, at the same time, to a low murmur, which struck me as somewhat equivocal. Captain Dodgson had scarce ceased addressing them when one of their number fired upon him with a pistol. The bullet only grazed the elbow of his sword arm, just at that point where the ulnar nerve passing over a process of bone is so easily irritated as to have gained for that piece of bone the common name of 'funny-bone.' The consequence was complete paralysis of the hand and arm; his sword dropped powerless across his saddle, and the rascal who had fired the shot rushed upon him to cut him down, but another of the troop interfered to rescue him, and, being well mounted, he succeeded in escaping from the *mêlée*."*

These particulars are very striking, narrated as they are by a youth evidently possessed of unusual powers of observation, and on whose mind a scene so novel and exciting would naturally make a lively impression. One point, however, he has possibly mistaken; for an officer of the 13th, writing to inform the widow of Captain Guise of her bereavement, says—"Your dear husband was at his post, as he ever was; and, at the head of his regiment, he entered vigorously on the work of cutting up the rebels. His horse being fleeter than those of his men, he got in advance, and was only followed by Mix Bund Khan, an Afghan. Your husband followed a 37th rebel closely, and came up with him in the Sudder Bazaar, where the miscreant turned round, and fired his musket." The writer proceeds to say that the horse was wounded, and fell; that Captain Guise vainly strove to reach the sepoy with his sword, being

* Ensign Tweedie's Letter.—*Times*, August 25th, 1857.

entangled with the trappings of the fallen horse; that his follower "did his best to get at the man, but, owing to the narrow position they were in, he could not manage it;" and the mutineer found time to reload his musket, and shoot the officer through the heart. The Afghan trooper attempted to follow the perpetrators of the foul deed; but, owing to the intricacies of the place, they quickly escaped. "More than one sepoy came up before the deed of death was completed, and they are also implicated, perhaps, in the murder."* The statement of the unfortunate officer's having got in advance of his men in attacking the 37th, rests on the authority of a brother officer, and would be received without hesitation, but for strong contradictory evidence. The remaining portion of the narrative is highly improbable. Captain Guise would hardly have been so rash as to follow a single rebel into the Sudder Bazaar, leaving the regiment which he commanded to mutiny in his absence. Besides, Ensign Tweedie's assertion of the captain's chest being riddled with bullets, is confirmed by the official record of casualties, which describes the body as bearing the marks of "gunshot wounds in head, chest, abdomen, and both arms; and two very deep sabre-cuts on left side of the head."

Colonel Neil's statement is most positive. He asserts that Captain Guise "was killed before reaching parade, by the men of the 37th N.I."† The circumstance is of some importance, because the death or absence of their leader had evident influence with the irregular cavalry: moreover, the relatives of Captain Guise have publicly repudiated a statement which they consider calculated to injure his reputation.

When Guise fell, Brigadier Ponsonby directed Captain Dodgson to assume command of the 13th.‡ He was, as has been shown, immediately fired on by a trooper, and the others then broke into revolt. At the same moment, the Seiks, who had been watching the Europeans as they knelt and fired into the 37th, suddenly dashed forward, and rushed madly on the guns. A corporal of H.M. 10th writes home—"The Seik regiment turned on the artillery; but you never saw such a sight in your life: they were mowed down, and got several rounds of grapeshot into them when out of our range."§ In a very short space of time, the whole body of the mutineers, 37th foot, 13th cavalry, and Loodiana Seiks, were dispersed with great slaughter.

A civilian (Mr. Spencer) who was present, says—"The sum total was, that the 37th were utterly smashed, and the Seiks and cavalry frightened out of their wits." He adds—"Many of the officers are furious, and say we have been shedding innocent blood; and the whole thing was a blunder."‖

Major-general Lloyd asserts, in the most unqualified terms, "that though the men of the 37th had lodged their arms in their bells of arms, they were fired on with grape and musketry; the Seiks present, and most of the 13th irregular cavalry, joined them in resisting the attack, and it was everywhere stigmatised as 'Feringhee ka Daghah.'"¶

Colonel Spottiswoode offers evidence to the same effect, in his narrative of his own proceedings during the *émeute*. Writing on the 11th of March, 1858, he states—

"Up to this moment I am still not convinced that the 414 sepoys that stood on parade, and near 400 on detached duty on the afternoon of the 4th June, 1857, were all mutinous, or were not well-disposed towards government; and from what I have since heard from the men that are with the regiment now, that the evil-disposed did not amount to 150; for when I called on the men to lodge their arms in their bells of arms, I commenced with the grenadiers; and so readily were my orders attended to, that in a very short time I had got down as far as No. 6 company, and was talking to one man who appeared to be in a very mutinous mood; so much so, that I was just debating in my own mind whether I should shoot him, as I was quite close, and had my pistol in my pocket: I was disturbed by some of the men, for there were two or three voices calling out, 'Our officers are deceiving us; they want us to give up our arms, that the Europeans who are coming up may shoot us down.' I called out, 'It is false;' and I appealed to the Native officers, who have known me for upwards of thirty-three years, whether I ever deceived any man in the regiment; when many a voice replied, 'Never; you have always been a good father to us.' However, I saw the men were getting very excited at the approach of the Europeans, when I told them to keep quiet, and I would stop their advance; I galloped forward, and made signs to the party not to advance, calling out, 'Don't come on.' Fancying they had halted, I went

* Extract of letter published in the *Times*, September 3rd, 1857; by Mr. W. V. Guise, brother to the deceased officer.

† Colonel Neil's despatch, June 6th, 1857. ‡ *Ibid.*

§ Letter published in the *Times*, Sept. 11th, 1857.

‖ *Ibid.*, August 10th, 1857.

¶ Extract of a letter from Major-general Lloyd.—*Daily News*, Oct. 30th, 1857.

back to the lines, and had only just got among my men, when I heard one solitary shot, followed immediately by two others in succession; those three were fired from the 37th lines, and from No. 2 company, and, as I afterwards heard, were fired by the pay havildar of 2nd company: immediately a rush was made at the bells of arms, which were opened by this man; a general fire commenced; while I and all my officers were in the lines among our men, without receiving any insult or molestation; indeed, many of the officers were surrounded and protected by the men of their respective companies, among whom the grenadiers were conspicuous."

Colonel Spottiswoode proceeds to state that, after the firing commenced, he succeeded in joining the guns and European detachment; and seeing there was no chance of clearing the lines by the present proceedings, he offered to fire them, which duty he performed by order of Brigadier Ponsonby, who, on his return, he found incapacitated by a sun-stroke. Spottiswoode then proceeded, with a party of Europeans, to scour the cantonments, and to bring in all the women and children to the Old Mint, a large building previously chosen for the purpose. No sign of mutiny was made by the Seiks on guard at the treasury. While Colonel Spottiswoode was gathering in the civilians and ladies, he had occasion to pass the regimental paymaster's office, where fourteen of his own men were on duty. They immediately rushed to him, and begged that he would enable them to protect the treasure committed to their charge. The colonel spoke a few words of encouragement, and proceeded on his immediate duty, which, having satisfactorily accomplished, he returned to the paymaster's compound, and there found the men in a state of extreme alarm and confusion; for they had been joined in the interim by a party of fugitives belonging to the 37th N.I., who had been burnt out of their lines, "and who seemed to think that our object was to destroy indiscriminately every sepoy we could come across." The result of a long conversation with these men, convinced the colonel that the majority of the men were entirely ignorant of the intentions of the turbulent characters, who were only a very small minority; and he declares, that even those who contrived to join Colonel Neil and the guns, expressed the same opinion as his own fugitive men, of surprise at the fire being opened on men who had surrendered their arms; saying—"You drove away all the good men who were anxious to join their officers, but could not in consequence of the very heavy fire that was opened, and they only ran away for shelter." A further circumstance adduced by Colonel Spottiswoode is, that a company of the 37th, then on duty at the fort of Chunar, fifteen miles distant, remained there perfectly stanch for six months, at the expiration of which time they returned to headquarters.* After the Benares affair, a party of the men who remained with their officers were sent, under their tried friend Major Barrett, to join their comrades at Chunar.

The Europeans resident at Benares, of course, spent the night in great alarm, as there seemed every probability that the sepoys might return and blockade them. One of the party at the Mint says—

"We slept on the roof—ladies, children, ayas, and punkah coolies; officers lying down dressed, and their wives sitting up by them fanning them gentlemen in the most fearless *dishabille*, sleeping surrounded by ladies. In the compound or enclosure below there is a little handful of Europeans—perhaps 150 altogether; others are at the barracks half a mile off. There is a large collection of carriages and horses; little bedsteads all over the place; and two circular quick-hedges, with flower-gardens inside, are falling victims to the sheep and goats which have been brought in to provision the place; add to this a heap of more beer-boxes than your English imagination can take in, and throw over all the strong black and white of a full moonlight, and you have the Mint as it looked when the English of Benares had sought refuge in it."†

This writer adds, that there was "a picnicky, gipsified look about the whole affair," which rendered it difficult to realise the fact, that "the lives of the small congregation were upon the toss-up of the next events." Another witness says—"The choice of a sleeping-place lay between an awfully heated room and the roof. The commissioner slept with his family in a room, on shakedowns, with other families sleeping round them; and there, from night to night, they continued to sleep."‡ The terrible characteristics of war were, however, not long wanting, for the wounded and dying were soon brought in; and, from the window, the sight that greeted the eye was "a row of gallowses, on which the energetic colonel was hanging mutineer after

* Parliamentary Return regarding regiments which have mutinied: March 15th, 1859; p. 30.

† *Times*, August 10th, 1857.

‡ Letter of the Rev. James Kennedy.—*Times*, August 8th, 1857.

mutineer, as they were brought in."* Besides the casualties already noted, the assistant-surgeon and two men of H.M. 10th had been killed, and two ensigns and nine privates wounded. Young Tweedie was fetched from his bungalow in cantonments at two in the morning. He had dragged himself thither after being severely wounded, a bullet having gone clear through his shoulder and back; two others passing harmlessly through his forage-cap, and three through his trowsers, of which one only inflicted any injury, and that but slightly grazing the thigh.†

Towards daybreak on the morning of the 5th, when the wearied crowd huddled together at the Mint were falling asleep from sheer exhaustion, they were aroused by the news, "The magistrate has just been sent for—the city is rising." The kotwal had sent to ask aid: but the answer was, "Do your best; we cannot spare a man:"‡ and he appears to have succeeded marvellously well in subduing the riots. The nominal rajah of Benares was the representative of the family reduced by Warren Hastings to the condition of stipendiaries, when, after taking possession of the city, the governor-general found himself in such imminent danger, that he was glad to fly by night to the fortress of Chunar.§ The present rajah, on leaving Benares, took refuge in Ramnagur—the fort and palace where Cheyte Sing, the last prince *de facto*, had been assaulted and slain in 1781. The Europeans at the Missionary College,‖ being afraid to attempt reaching the Mint, fled to Ramnagur, where they were kindly received and sent on, under the escort of the rajah's sepoy guard, to Chunar.¶ All the natives of rank then in Benares appear to have been true to us; but one of them is mentioned by the judge (Mr. Frederick Gubbins) as having rendered essential service. Rajah Soorut Sing, a Seik chieftain, under "a slight surveillance" at the time of the outbreak, went to the Seik guard stationed at the Mint, and, by his example and influence, prevented the men from rising against the civilians and ladies collected there, and seizing the treasure—amounting to about £60,000. A writer who enters very fully into the conduct of Mr. Gubbins at this crisis, and appears to possess private and direct information thereon, says, that the rajah's interference was most opportune; for "already the Seiks began to feel that they at least were capable of avenging their comrades; when Soorut Sing, going amongst them, pointed out to them that the attack must at all events have been unpremeditated, or the civilians would not have placed themselves and their families in their power."** The same authority pays a high and deserved tribute to the fidelity of the rajah of Benares; and likewise to that of another Hindoo, Rao Deo Narrain Sing, who, in addition to "great wealth and immense influence," possessed "strong sense and ability of no common order." "After the mutiny, the Rao and the Seik sirdar, Soorut Sing, actually lived in the same house with Mr. Gubbins. The former procured for us excellent spies, first-rate information, and placed all his resources (and they were great) at the service of our government." The rajah, "although not so personally active as the Rao, was equally liberal with his resources, which were even greater; and never, in our darkest hour, did he hang back from assisting us." The name of Mr. Gubbins was, it is said, a proverb for "swift stern justice:"†† and if that phrase is intended to bear the signification commonly attached to it by Europeans in India in the year of grace 1857, it seems certainly fortunate that there were some natives of influence to reason with their countrymen against the panic which a

* Letter from a clergyman, dated "Bangalore, July 4th."—*Times*, August 25th, 1857 The reverend gentleman, in another part of his communication, reverts to the "scores and scores of prisoners" whom the "indefatigable Colonel Neil" was hanging; and is anxious about the state of feeling in England, "lest there should be any squeamishness about the punishment in store for the brutal and diabolical mutineers."

† Ensign Tweedie's Letter (*Times*, August 25th, 1857); and Rev. James Kennedy's Letter.—*Times*, August 8th, 1857.

‡ Kennedy's Letter.—*Ibid.*

§ See *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 361.

‖ There were eleven European missionary families in Benares—six attached to the Church of England Mission, two to the London Mission, and three to the Baptist Mission. The aggregate property of these establishments amounted to upwards of £20,000.—Sherring's *Indian Church*, p. 251.

¶ Letter from the chief missionary in charge of the Benares College.—*Times*, August 6th, 1857.

** *Mutiny of the Bengal Army*; by One who has served under Sir C. Napier; p. 90. The Europeans afterwards subscribed £100 to present Soorut Sing with a set of fire-arms.—Statements of Mr. John Gubbins, on the authority of his brother at Benares. —*Times*, September 2nd, 1857.

†† Rev. James Kennedy.—*Times*, August 21st, 1857.

newly erected row of gibbets (three separate gibbets, with three ropes to each)* was calculated to produce. The people of Benares are described, in the correspondence of the period, as "petrified with fear of our soldiers being let loose on them." Martial law was speedily proclaimed; and on the 29th of June, the Rev. James Kennedy writes—"Scarcely a day passed without some poor wretches being hurled into eternity. Such is the state of things here, that even fine delicate ladies may be heard expressing their joy at the vigour with which the miscreants are dealt with."† The number of sepoys killed on the night of the 4th has not been estimated,‡ neither is there any record of the number of natives executed on the scaffold, or destroyed by the far more barbarous process of burning down villages, in which the sick and aged must often have fallen victims, or escaped to perish, in utter destitution, by more lingering pangs. The dread of the European soldiers, which seized on the people in consequence of the occurrences of the 4th of June, was viewed as most salutary; and the writer last quoted (a clergyman), remarks, that the natives "think them, the European soldiers, demons in human form; and to this opinion our safety is in a degree traceable."

The Europeans at Benares were reinforced by detachments of the 78th Highlanders, a regiment which, from the strangeness of its costume, created great excitement among the natives.

On the 22nd of June, a report was received that a body of mutineers were encamped about thirty miles from the city. On the evening of the 26th, a force consisting of 200 of the 78th Highlanders, the Loodiana regiment, and thirty troopers of the 13th, were sent from Benares in search of them. One of the party, in narrating the expedition, writes—"The rascals, of course, fled for life on the approach of the gallant Highlanders. You will, however, be gratified to learn, that twenty-four of the rebels were cut up by the cavalry and infantry, twenty-three caught and hung on the spot, twenty villages razed to the ground, and from forty to fifty villagers flogged, in order to cool their thieving propensities. A few days before the detachment left, the magistrate offered a reward of 1,000 rupees for the head or person of the leader of the rebels, who is well known to the natives."

The villagers did not betray the rebel leader. Indeed, it is remarkable how rarely, in the case of either Europeans or natives, they ever earned "blood-money," even though habitually wretchedly poor, and now almost starving, in consequence of the desolation wrought by the government and insurgent forces. The leader was, nevertheless, captured by the troops, and "hung up on a tree, to keep nine others company that had been hung there the same morning." The Europeans returned to camp "in high spirits."§ The newly arrived soldiers, however, who had not been accustomed to such warfare, had not had their houses burned, and were accustomed to view their lives as held on a precarious tenure, did not set about the task of destruction with quite such unalloyed satisfaction as is displayed in the correspondence of the civil amateurs. There is a lengthy, but most graphic, account of the early experience of a Highlander, which will not bear condensing or abstracting. Perhaps with the exception of Mowbray Thomson's *Story of Cawnpoor*, nothing more touching in its simplicity has been written regarding any scene of the mutiny.

Few can read the Highlander's narrative without remembering that he and his detachment ought (if all concerned had done their duty) to have been already at Cawnpoor, instead of starting, on the very evening of that fatal 27th of June, on such an expedition as he describes.

The hanging and the flogging, the blood-money and the burning villages; the old man "trying to trail out a bed" from his cottage, at the risk of perishing in the flames; the group of young children standing in the midst of a little courtyard, the decrepit man and aged woman, the young mother in a hot fever, with a babe "five or six hours old," wrapped in her bosom; all waiting together till the fire should consume them, and end their hopeless, helpless misery—these and other cases (of which there must have been hundreds unrecorded), are surely enough to quench the thirst for vengeance in any human breast, or at least to prove the necessity of striving to mitigate, not increase, the miseries of intestine strife;

* *Times*, August 21st, 1857. † *Ibid.*

‡ The clergyman, whose letter, dated "Bangalore, July 4th," has been recently quoted, states, on the authority of an officer engaged in the Benares affair, that 100 of the Madras Fusiliers, under Colonel Neil, killed 650 of the mutineers.—*Times*, August 25th, 1857.

§ Letter dated "Benares, June 29th, 1857."

remembering ever, that even without the cruel aggravation of village-burning, every outcast sepoy was punished many times over in his starving family.

"We arrived at Benares on the 25th of June, a distance of 421 miles, in eight days and nine nights. On the evening of the 27th of June, there were 240 of the 78th (I was one of them), 100 of the Seiks, and 30 of the sowars—that is, Native cavalry—went out of Benares in carts, except the horsemen. At 3 o'clock P.M., next day, we were divided in three lots to scour the country. The division I was in went to a village, which was deserted. We set fire to it and burned it to the ground. We were coming back, when a gentleman came to us, and said, that a village over about two miles was full of them, and they were drawn up to give us battle. We marched, or rather ran to them; we got within 300 yards of them, when they ran. We fired after them, and shot eight of them. We were going to the village, when a man came running out to us, and up with his hand and saluted our officer. We shouted, that he was a sepoy, and to seize him. He was taken, and about twelve more. We came back to the carts on the road, and an old man came to us, and wanted to be paid for the village we had burned. We had a magistrate with us, who found he had been harbouring the villains and giving them arms and food. Five minutes settled it; the sepoy and the man that wanted money were taken to the roadside, and hanged to a branch of a tree. We lay on the road all night beside the two men hanging. Next morning, we got up and marched some miles through the fields, the rain pouring down in torrents. We came to another village, set fire to it, and came back to the road. During this time the other divisions were not idle. They had done as much as us. When we came back, the water was running in at our necks, and coming out at our heels. There were about eighty prisoners; six were hung that day, and about sixty of them flogged. After that, the magistrate said that there was a Holdar that he would give 2,000 rupees to get, dead or alive. We slept on the road that night, and the six men hanging beside us. At 5 o'clock P.M. the bugle sounded 'fall-in.' The rain came down in torrents. We fell-in, and off we marched, up to the knees in clay and water. We came to a village and set it on fire. The sun came out, and we got dry; but we soon got wet again with sweat. We came to a large village, and it was full of people. We took about 200 of them out, and set fire to it. I went in, and it was all in flames. I saw an old man trying to trail out a bed. He was not able to walk, far less to carry out the cot. I ordered him out of the village, and pointed to the flames, and told him, as well as I could, that if he did not he would be burned. I took the cot, and dragged him out. I came round a corner of a street or lane, and could see nothing but smoke and flames. I stood for a moment to think which way I should go. Just as I was looking round, I saw the flames bursting out of the walls of a house, and, to my surprise, observed a little boy, about four years old, looking out at the door. I pointed the way out to the old man, and told him if he did not go I would shoot him. I then rushed to the house I saw the little boy at. The door was by that time in flames. I thought not of myself, but of the poor helpless child. I rushed in; and after I got in, there was a sort of square, and all round this were houses, and they were all in flames; and instead of seeing the helpless child, I beheld six children from eight to two years old, an old dotal woman, an old man, not able to walk without help, and a young woman, about twenty years old, with a child wrapped up in her bosom. I am sure the child was not above five or six hours old. The mother was in a hot fever. I stood and looked; but looking at that time would not do. I tried to get the little boys to go away, but they would not. I took the infant; the mother would have it; so I gave it back. I then took the woman and her infant in my arms to carry her and her babe out. The children led the old woman and old man. I took the lead, knowing they would follow. I came to a place that it was impossible to see whereabouts I was, for the flames. I dashed through, and called on the others to follow. After a hard struggle, I got them all safe out, but that was all. Even coming through the fire, part of their clothes, that did not cover half of their body, was burned. I set them down in the field, and went in at another place. I saw nothing but flames all round. A little further I saw a poor old woman trying to come out. She could not walk; she only could creep on her hands and feet. I went up to her, and told her I would carry her out; but no, she would not allow me to do it; but, when I saw it was no use to trifle with her, I took her up in my arms and carried her out. I went in at the other end, and came across a woman about twenty-two years old. She was sitting over a man that, to all appearance, would not see the day out. She was wetting his lips with some *siste*. The fire was coming fast, and the others all round were in flames. Not far from this I saw four women. I ran up to them, and asked them to come and help the sick man and woman out; but they thought they had enough to do; and so they had, poor things; but, to save the woman and the dying man, I drew my bayonet, and told them if they did not I would kill them. They came, carried them out, and laid them under a tree. I left them. To look on, any one would have said that the flames were in the clouds. When I went to the other side of the village, there were about 140 women and about sixty children, all crying and lamenting what had been done. The old woman of that small family I took out, came to me, and I thought she would have kissed the ground I stood on. I offered them some biscuit I had for my day's rations; but they would not take it; it would break their caste, they said. The assembly sounded, and back I went with as many blessings as they could pour out on anything nearest their heart. Out of the prisoners that were taken, the man for whom the 2,000 rupees were offered was taken by us for nothing. We hanged ten of them on the spot, and flogged a great many—about sixty. We burned another village that night. Oh, if you had seen the ten march round the grove, and seen them looking the same as if nothing was going to happen to them! There was one of them fell; the rope broke, and down he came. He rose up, and looked all around; he was hung up again. After they were hanged, all the others were taken round to see them. Then we came marching back to the carts. Left Benares on the 6th of July, or rather the night of the 5th. We had to turn out and lie with our belts on. On the 6th we, numbering 180, went out against 2,000. We came up close to them; they were drawn up in three lines; it looked too many

for us; but on we dashed, and in a short time they began to run. We set fire to a large village that was full of them; we surrounded it, and as they came rushing out of the flames, shot them. We took eighteen of them prisoners; they were all tied together, and we fired a volley at them and shot them on the spot. We came home that night, after marching twenty miles, and fighting nearly thirty to one. In this country, we are told that we had killed 500 of them: our loss was one man and one horse killed, and one man and one horse wounded."

The news of the disarmed 37th having been fired into by the European artillery, told as it probably was with exaggeration, and without mention of the mutinous conduct of a portion of the regiment, spread rapidly among the Native troops at the neighbouring stations, and placed a new weapon in the hands of the plotting and discontented, by rendering it more easy for them to persuade their well-disposed but credulous comrades, that the breach between them and the English could never be healed, and that their disbandment and probable destruction was only a question of time and opportunity. At Allahabad the effect was sudden and terrible, and likewise at the intermediate post of Jaunpoor.

Jaunpoor is the chief place of a district of the same name, acquired by the East India Company in 1775. It stands on the banks of the river Goomtee, 35 miles north-west from Benares, and 55 miles north-east from Allahabad. There is a large stone fort here, which has been used for a prison. The cantonment, situated at the east of the town, was on the 5th of June, 1857, held by a detachment of the Loodiana Seiks from Allahabad, 169 in number, with a single European officer, Lieutenant Mara.

As Brigadier Gordon declared of the regiment at Benares, so with the detachment at Jaunpoor; the loyalty of the men had "never been suspected by any one, civil or military."* The officer in command at Benares (Glasse), declares that the European guns were turned on the Loodiana corps, without its having given one token of mutiny; that the lives of several officers were in the power of the men, and nothing would have been easier than to shoot them, had the regiment been actuated by a mutinous spirit; but that with the exception of one man, who fired at Colonel Gordon, and whose shot was received in the arm by a faithful havildar (Chur Sing, who risked his life in the defence of his officer), no such attempt was made. It will be evident, he adds, that after grape had once been poured into the regiment, it would be almost excusable if some men, though conscious of the innocence and rectitude of their own intentions, should be hurried into the belief that the government, conceiving the whole native race actuated by the same spirit of treachery, had resolved to deal the same punishment to all.†

There is reason to believe, that the sole and simple motive of the *émeute* at Jaunpoor, was a conviction that the British had betrayed, at Benares, their resolve to exterminate the entire Bengal army at the first convenient opportunity, without distinction of race or creed—regular or irregular, Hindoo or Mohammedan, Seik or Poorbeah. A similar report had nearly occasioned a Goorka mutiny at Simla, and was counteracted with extreme difficulty. It is possible, that had a true and timely account of what had taken place at Benares been received at Jaunpoor, Lieutenant Mara would have been enabled to explain away, at least to some extent, the exaggerated accounts which were sure to find circulation in the native lines. No such warning was given. A bazaar report reached the residents, on the 4th of June, that the troops at Azimghur had mutinied on the previous evening. On the following morning there was no post from Benares; and about eight o'clock, three Europeans rode in from the Bubcha factory, two miles and a-half from Jaunpoor, stating that the factory had been attacked by a party of the 37th mutineers, and that they had made their escape through a shower of bullets. Mr. Cæsar, the head-master of the Mission school,‡ said to Lieutenant Mara, "The 37th are upon us." The officer replied, "What have we to fear from the 37th; our own men will keep them off."§ The Europeans and Eurasians assembled together in the Cutcherry, and the Seiks were placed under arms, awaiting the arrival of the mutineers; until, about noon, news arrived, that after plundering and burning

* Return of regiments which have mutinied, p. 33.

† *Ibid.*, p. 32.

‡ The Church Missionary Society had a station at Jaunpoor, under the superintendence of the Rev. C. Reuther. They supported a church and five schools, with about 600 scholars in all. The majority of the people of Jaunpoor were Mohammedans; and the conversions are always more rare among them than among the Hindoos, notwithstanding the barrier of caste.

§ Letter from a gentleman in charge of the Missionary College at Benares.—*Times*, Aug. 6th, 1857.

the Bubcha factory, they had gone along the Lucknow road. The Europeans did not quit the Cutcherry; but being relieved from immediate apprehension, they ordered dinner, and made other arrangements. "About half-past two," Mr. Cæsar writes, "Lieutenant Mara, myself, and some others, were in the verandah, when, as I was giving orders to a servant, a shot was fired, and on looking round, I saw that poor Mara had been shot through the chest." There is no European testimony on the subject, but the deed is assumed to have been done by one of Mara's own men. Mr. Cæsar continues —"We ran inside the building; and just within the doorway, Mara fell on the ground. Other shots being fired into the rooms, we retired into the joint magistrate's Cutcherry, and barricaded the doors: we did this with little hopes of escaping from the mutineers. They were about 140 in number; while the gentlemen in the room (for some were absent) were only nine or ten. We fully expected a rush to be made into the apartment, and all of us to be killed. The hour of death seemed to have arrived. The greater part of us were kneeling or crouching down, and some few were engaged in prayer."

The mutineers were not, however, bloodthirsty. They soon ceased firing, and began plundering the treasury, which contained £26,000; and when the Europeans ventured to fetch the lieutenant from the outer room, and to look forth, they saw the plunderers walking off with bags of money on their shoulders. Two of the planters saddled their own horses and fled. The rest of the party prepared to depart together. Lieutenant Mara was still living, and was carried some distance on a charpoy. Mr. Cæsar, who gives a circumstantial account of their flight, does not mention when the unfortunate officer was abandoned to his fate; but it appears that, being considered mortally wounded, they left him on the road; for Mr. Spencer, a civilian, writing from Benares a few days later, says—"They left poor O'Mara* dying, and got into their carriages and drove away."† This is not, however, quite correct; for the party (or at least most of them) left the Cutcherry on foot; Mrs. Mara, the wife of the fallen officer, having difficulty in moving on with any rapidity on account of her stoutness. The corpse of Mr. Cuppage, the joint magistrate, lay at the gate. The fugitives hurried on, and were passing the doctor's house, when his carriage was brought out, apparently without orders, by faithful native servants. Five ladies, eight children, an ayah, the coachman, with Messrs. Reuther and Cæsar (the latter, revolver in hand), found room therein, and proceeded towards Ghazipoor. There were also three gentlemen on horseback, and two on foot; but while stopping to drink water by the road-side, Mrs. Mara's carriage overtook the party, the native coachman having brought it unbidden; and all the fugitives were thus enabled to proceed with ease. They crossed the Goomtee at the ferry, with their horses and carriages, observed, but not molested, by a crowd of natives, one of whom asked a European for his watch, saying that he might as well give it him, as he would soon lose it. But this seems to have been a vulgar jest, such as all mobs delight in, and no insult was offered to the women or children. It would be superfluous to narrate in detail the adventures of the fugitives. Mrs. Mara died of apoplexy; the others safely reached Karrakut, a large town on the left bank of the Goomtee. Here Hingun Lall, a Hindoo of some rank and influence, and of most noble nature, invited them to his house. "He stated," says Mr. Cæsar, "that he had a few armed men, and that the enemy should cut his throat first, before they reached us." His hospitality was gratefully accepted, and a "sumptuous repast" was in preparation for the weary guests, when the clashing of weapons was heard, and "the Lalla," as he is termed, placed the ladies and children in an inner room, and bade the men prepare for defence. But although the town was three times plundered by distinct bodies of the enemy, the Lalla's house was not attacked. The mutineers knew that to attempt to drag the refugees from so time-honoured a sanctuary as the dwelling of a Rajpoot, would have been to draw on themselves the vengeance of the majority of the Oude chiefs, who were as yet neutral. The Europeans, therefore, remained unharmed. On the evening of the 8th, a letter was brought them, addressed to "Any Europeans hiding at Karrakut." It came from Mr. Tucker, the Benares commissioner, who was as remarkable for his efforts to preserve the lives of his countrymen, as some of his coadjutors were to avenge their deaths. He offered rewards for the heads of living

* The name is variously spelt, but is given in the *East India Register* as "Patrick Mara."

† Letter published in *Times*, August 10th, 1857.

friends rather than for those of dead foes; and his policy was decidedly the more successful of the two; for the villagers generally proved willing to hazard the vengeance of the hostile forces by saving life, but could rarely, if ever, be induced by threats or promises to earn blood-money.

An escort of twelve volunteers, and as many of the 13th irregular cavalry, arrived on the following day; and, before night, the rescued party joined the Benares community in the Mint. Four persons (either Europeans or East Indians), left behind at Jaunpoor, are said to have perished. These were Mr. and Mrs. Thriepland, the deputy-magistrate and his wife, who, after hiding themselves during the night of the outbreak in the house of one of the native police, were discovered and slaughtered by the irregular cavalry; a pensioned sergeant named Bignold; and a Mr. Davis, formerly an indigo-planter's assistant, supposed to have been put to death by the villagers.*

"A life pension of 100 rupees (£10) per mensem," was granted by government to Hingun Lall, with the honorary title of deputy-magistrate; with permission, as the Lalla was an old man, to commute the pension to a life jaghire, to be extended to a second life on easy terms.†

Allahabad is built on a spot which possesses rare natural advantages for the purposes of commerce and defence, and has been, from a very early period, the site of a strongly fortified city. The ancient Palibothra is said to have formerly stood here; and the Brahmins still attach importance to the place, on account of the Prayaga, or sacred confluence of three most holy streams, which unite at Allahabad—namely, the Ganges, Jumna, and Sreeswati. By bathing at one favoured spot, the pilgrim is supposed to receive the same benefit that he would have derived from separate immersion in each stream; and this is no mere saving of trouble, inasmuch as the Sreeswati is elsewhere inaccessible to mortal touch, and everywhere invisible to mortal sight: but the Hindoos assert that it joins the other rivers by a subterranean channel. Devotees come here and wait, in boats, the precise period of the moon when, according to their creed, ablutions, duly performed, will wash from their souls the defilement of sin; and the hopelessly sick, or extremely aged, come hither also, and, fastening three vessels of water round their bodies, calmly step into the water and quit this life, passing by what they believe to be a divinely appointed road, into the world beyond the grave. The emperor Akber, who patronised all religions, and practised none, was popular with both Mohammedans and Hindoos. He built the modern Allahabad (the city of God), intending it as a stronghold to overawe the surrounding countries. The lofty and extensive fort stands on a tongue of land washed on one side by the Ganges, on the other by the Jumna, and completely commands the navigation of both rivers. As a British station, it occupies a position of peculiar importance. It is the first in the Upper Provinces, all to the eastward being called down-country. It is situated on the Grand Trunk road, 498 miles from Calcutta, 1,151 from Madras, 831 from Bombay, and 74 from Benares. Add to these advantages a richly stored arsenal, and a treasury containing £190,000;‡ and it may be easily understood that its security ought to have been a primary consideration: yet, at the time of the Meerut outbreak, there was not a European soldier in Allahabad. The fort, and extensive cantonments some four miles distant, were occupied by the 6th N.I., a battery of Native artillery, and five companies of the Seik regiment of Ferozpoor, under Lieutenant Brasyer, an officer of remarkable nerve and tact.

Sir Henry Lawrence early pressed on the government the importance of strengthening Allahabad with Europeans;§ and seventy-four invalid artillerymen were consequently detached from Chunar, and arrived at Allahabad in the latter part of May. Two troops of the 3rd Oude irregular cavalry were sent by Sir H. Lawrence for the further protection of the fort.‖ Several detachments of H.M. 84th marched through Allahabad between the time of the arrival of the Chunar artillerymen and the outbreak of the mutiny; and the officer in command of the station had discretionary orders to detain them if he deemed their presence needful; but there was nothing in the manner of the Native troops to occasion any doubt of their fidelity, or justify the detention of the Europeans. On the

* Mr. Cæsar's Narrative. *Vide* Sherring's *Indian Church*, pp. 267 to 276.

† Parl. Papers on Mutiny, 1857 (No. 7), p. 118.

‡ Lieutenant-colonel Simpson's account of the Mutiny at Allahabad.—See *Times*, August 26th, 1857.

§ Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 187.

‖ *Ibid.*

contrary, remarkable tranquillity prevailed; and there is no record of incendiary fires or midnight meetings, such as usually preceded mutiny. Two men, who attempted to tamper with the 6th N.I., were delivered up to the authorities, and the entire regiment volunteered to march against Delhi. The governor-general in council issued a general order, thanking the 6th for their loyalty, and directed that "the tender of their services should be placed on the records of government, and read at the head of every regiment and company of the Bengal army, at a parade ordered for the purpose."* The order reached Allahabad, by telegraph, on the afternoon of the 4th of June. It was received with enthusiasm both by officers and men, and a parade was ordered, and carried through apparently to the satisfaction of all parties. But this state of things was of brief duration. On the 5th of June, ominous messages came to Colonel Simpson (the commandant at the fort), of external dangers. Sir Henry Lawrence desired that the civilians should retire within the fort for the present; and Sir Hugh Wheeler likewise sent word from Cawnpoor, "to man the fort with every available European, and make a good stand." Then came the tidings of what had occurred at Benares; the Europeans learning that the sepoys, instead of quietly surrendering their arms, had resisted and fled, and were reported to be marching against Allahabad; while the native version of the story was —that the 37th, after being disarmed, had been faithlessly massacred by the Europeans. There was a certain foundation of fact for both these statements. The well-disposed sepoys, who were the majority, had (as is stated by the best authority) quietly obeyed the order for disarmament: the turbulent minority had resisted; and their revolt, precipitated, if not caused, by what the European officers call the mistake of one commander, and the incapacity of another (disabled by a sun-stroke), involved many loyal sepoys in the mutiny. It does not appear that the officers and men at Allahabad had any explanation, or arrived at any mutual understanding, with regard to the proceedings at Benares; only it was taken for granted by the former, that the latter would be ready to fight, as foes, the countrymen whom they had, until then, regarded as comrades in arms, identified with them in feeling and in interest.

* Appendix to Parl. Papers on the Mutiny, p. 361.

On the night of the 5th (Friday), nearly all the Europeans slept in the fort; and the civilians, covenanted and uncovenanted, formed themselves into a volunteer company about a hundred strong. Two guns, and two companies of the 6th N.I., were ordered down to the bridge of boats, which crosses the Jumna beneath the fort, in order to be ready to play upon the Benares insurgents; the guns of the fort were at the same time pointed on to the Benares road. Captain Alexander, with two squadrons of Oude cavalry, was posted in the Alopee Bagh—a large encamping-ground, under the walls of the fort, which commanded all the roads to the station. The main body of the 6th remained in their lines, in readiness to move anywhere at the shortest notice.

Saturday evening came, and the Europeans were relieved by the non-arrival of the mutineers. Colonel Simpson and the chief part of the officers sat together at mess at nine o'clock; and the volunteers who were to keep watch during the night were lying down to rest, and wait their summons. The volunteers were all safe in the fort; but there were two officers, less prudent or less fortunate, outside the gates. Captain Birch, the fort-adjutant (a married man with a family), had preferred remaining in his own bungalow; and Lieutenant Innes, the executive engineer, lay sick in his, having resigned his appointment on the previous day from ill-health. There were, besides, some Europeans and many Eurasians, merchants' clerks, and such like, in their own dwellings. None of them seem to have entertained any suspicion of what was going on in the lines of the 6th N.I., to which several Benares mutineers had found their way, and succeeded in inducing the 6th to join the mutiny. A Mohammedan, who acted, or affected to act, as an agent of the king of Delhi, was very active in heightening the panic and excitement. He is generally supposed to have been a Moolvee, or Moslem teacher; but some said he was a Native officer; others, that he was a weaver by trade. As the "Moolvee of Allahabad" he subsequently contrived to obtain notoriety.

The discussions in the lines of the 6th N.I. were brought to an issue by a bugler rushing on parade, and sounding an alarm. Colonel Simpson had just quitted the mess, and was walking to the fort, when he heard the signal. Ordering his horse, he mounted, and galloped to the parade, where he

"found the officers trying to fall-in their men." The colonel had previously ordered the two guns to be brought from the bridge of boats to the fort, under the charge of an artillery officer (Lieutenant Harward) and a Native guard. Instead of obeying the order, the men had insisted on taking them to cantonments. Harward sought the assistance of Lieutenant Alexander, who sprang on his horse, and, hastily ordering his men to follow him, rode up to the mutineers, "and, rushing on the guns, was killed on the spot."* Harward was likewise fired on; and, seeing that resistance was hopeless, he galloped into the fort, where he found the civilians assembled on the ramparts, listening to what they believed to be the attack of the Benares mutineers. One of the civilians writes—"The firing grew heavier, and we all thought that the insurgents had entered the station, and were being beaten off by the regiment, so steady was the musketry—regular file firing. On, on it continued, volley after volley. 'Oh!' we all said, 'those gallant sepoys are beating off the rebels;' for the firing grew fainter in the distance, as if they were driving a force out of the station. But before long the sad truth was known."†

First, Lieutenant Harward rode in, and told what he witnessed. Colonel Simpson arrived shortly after, and narrated the open mutiny of the regiment and the firing on the officers, of whom Captain Plunkett, Lieutenants Stewart and Haines, Ensigns Pringle and Munro, and two sergeants, were slaughtered on parade. The colonel himself had had a narrow escape. A havildar and some sepoys surrounded and hurried him off the field. He rode to the treasury, with the view of saving its contents, but was at once fired on by the sentry, and afterwards "received a regular volley from the guard of thirty men on one side, with another volley from a night picket of thirty men on the other. A guard of poor Alexander's Irregulars stood passive." The colonel adds—"I galloped past the mess-house, where the guard was drawn out at the gate and fired at me. Here my horse got seriously wounded, and nearly fell; but I managed to spur him to the fort (two miles) without further impediment. There the horse died shortly after of three musket-shot wounds. On reaching the fort I immediately disarmed the guards of the 6th regiment on duty and turned them out, leaving the Seik regiment to hold it, the only European troops being seventy-four invalid artillery, got from Chunar. The Madras European regiment began to pour in a few days after, and the command devolved on the lieutenant-colonel [Neil] of that corps."‡

No mention is made by Colonel Simpson of the horrible scene which is alleged to have taken place in the mess-room, after he and the senior officers had left it. Eight unposted ensigns,§ mere boys fresh from England, and doing duty with the 6th N.I., were bayoneted there; and three of the officers who escaped heard their cries as they passed.‖

When the poor youths were left for dead, one of them, said to be Ensign Cheek (a son of the town-clerk of Evesham in Worcestershire), although severely injured, contrived to escape in the darkness to a neighbouring ravine, where he concealed himself for several days and nights, taking refuge from the heat of the sun by day, and wild beasts by night, amid the branches of a tree, and supporting life solely by the water of a neighbouring stream. On the night of the mutiny, no Europeans dared stir out of the fort to rescue those outside, or bring in the wounded. Their own position was extremely critical; the personal influence of Lieutenant Brasyer with the Seiks, being chiefly instrumental in preserving their fidelity.¶ The temptation of plunder was very great, and the work of destruction was carried on with temporary impunity. The treasury was looted, the gaol thrown open, and reckless bands of convicts were poured forth on the cantonments and city. Captain Birch and Lieutenant Innes, who had intended passing the night in the same bungalow, fled together towards the Ganges, and are supposed to have been murdered by the mutineers or insurgents. Lieutenant Hicks

* Lieutenant-colonel Simpson's account.—*Times*, August 26th, 1857.

† Letter of Allahabad civilian.—*Times*, August 25th, 1857.

‡ Lieutenant-colonel Simpson's account.

§ The "Allahabad civilian" speaks of nine; but the official returns name eight—Ensigns Cheek, Codd, Way, Beaumont, Bailiff, Scott, and two Smiths.—Supplement to the *London Gazette*, May 6th, 1858.

‖ Letter of Allahabad civilian.—*Times*, August 25th, 1857.

¶ Mr. Hay, an American missionary, in Allahabad at the time of the mutiny, and who was personally acquainted with Lieutenant Brasyer, says that he "rose from the ranks."—*Times*, September, 1857.

and two young ensigns, left with the guns when Lieutenant Harward went to seek the aid of Captain Alexander, were not injured by the sepoys. They did not venture to take the direct road to the fort; but plunged into the Ganges, and, after some time, presented themselves at the gate in safety, having first blackened their bodies with mud, in default of any other covering. Eleven European men (uncovenanted servants, railway inspectors, and others), three women, and four children, are mentioned in the *Gazette* as having perished. No list of the Eurasians or natives murdered is given; but six drummers (Christians) of the 6th N.I. are stated as having been killed, it was supposed on the night of the mutiny, "whilst attempting to bury the murdered officers."* The 6th N.I. quitted the city on the morning after the *émeute;* but the Moolvee had still a considerable host around his standard; and the European garrison, though reinforced by successive detachments of the Madras Fusiliers, had, during the first days after the mutiny, quite enough to do to hold their own within the fort, against the internal dangers of drunkenness and insubordination. Consequently, no efforts seem to have been made, and no rewards offered, for the missing Europeans; and the brave young ensign remained in his tree, with his undressed wounds, sinking with hunger and exhaustion, and listening anxiously, through four live-long days and nights, for the sound of friendly voices. On the fifth day he was discovered by the rebels, and taken to a serai, or sleeping-place for travellers, where he found Conductor Coleman and his family in confinement, and also a well-known native preacher named Gopinath, who had escaped with his wife and family from Futtehpore. When the poor youth was brought in, he nearly fainted. Gopinath gave him some gruel, and afterwards water, to allay his burning thirst. The agony of his wounds being increased by lying on the hard boards, Gopinath prevailed on the daroga who had charge of the prisoners, to give Ensign Cheek a charpoy to lie on. This was done, and the sufferer related to his native friend all he had undergone, and bade him, if he escaped, write to his mother in England, and to his aunt at Bancoorah. At length the daroga, jealous of the intercourse between the captives, placed Gopinath in the stocks, separating him from the others, and even from his own family. A body of armed Mohammedans came in and tried to tempt or terrify him into a recantation. His wife clung to him, and was dragged away by the hair of her head, receiving a severe blow on the forehead during the struggle. The ensign, who lay watching the scene, heard the offer of immediate release made to the native, on condition of apostasy, and, mastering his anguish and his weakness, called out, in a loud voice, "Padre, padre, be firm; do not give way." The prisoners remained some days longer in hourly expectation of death. At length the Moolvee himself visited them. But they all held their faith; and at length, the approach of Lieutenant Brasyer, with a detachment of Seiks, put the fanatics to flight. The conductor and the catechist, with their families, were brought safely into the fort. The ensign survived just long enough to be restored to his countrymen. Before sunset on the same day (17th June), the spirit that had not yet spent seventeen summers on earth, entered into rest with something of the halo of martyrdom upon it.†

It was well that Colonel Neil had arrived at Allahabad; for martial law had been proclaimed there immediately after the mutiny; and the system adopted by individual Europeans, of treating disturbed districts with the license of a conquering army in an enemy's country, had fostered evils which were totally subversive of all discipline.

Among the documents sent to England by the governor-general in council, in proof of the spirit of turbulent and indiscriminate vengeance which it had been found necessary to check, is an extract from a letter, communicating the strange and humiliating fact, that it was needful to restrain British functionaries from the indiscriminate destruction, not only of innocent men, but even of "aged women and children;" and this before the occurrence of the second, or the publication of the first, massacre at Cawnpoor. The name of the

* Supplement to *London Gazette*, May 6th, 1858.

† The authority relied on regarding Ensign Cheek, is the Narrative of Gopinath Nundy, and of the Rev. J. Owen, of the American Board of Missions, a society which has expended a considerable sum of money in Allahabad. Another account, more graphic, but less authentic, was published—as an extract of a letter from an officer in the service of the Company—in the *Times*, of September 7th, 1857.

writer of the letter, and of the persons therein mentioned, were all withheld by government; and the quotation begins abruptly.

"—— has adopted a policy of burning villages, which is, in my opinion, the most suicidal and mischievous that can be devised; it prevents the possibility of order being restored; the aged, women and children, are sacrificed, as well as those guilty of rebellion. Cultivation is impossible; a famine is consequently almost certain. The sternest measures are doubtless necessary, and every possible endeavour should be made to apprehend and punish those actually engaged in plunder or rebellion; but here there seems to be no discrimination. A railway officer, whose report you will probably see, did excellent service, and seems to have behaved very gallantly when sent with a small guard to restore the railway where it might have been injured; but, in accordance with the custom, as he met with opposition from some plunderers and mutineers, he burnt ten villages, which he found deserted. The Trunk road now passes through a desert; the inhabitants have fled to a distance of four or five miles; and it seems to me to be obviously the proper policy to encourage all peaceable persons to return, not to destroy the villages and render the return of the people impossible. Some five persons have been invested with the powers of life and death in the station of Allahabad; each sits separately, and there are also courts-martial in the fort.

"You will do the state service if you can check the indiscriminate burning of villages, and secure the hanging of the influential offenders, instead of those who cannot pay the police for their safety."*

In a subsequent letter, written probably by the same person, but evidently by a civilian of rank, the following passage occurs:—"You have no conception of the dangers and difficulties created by lawless and reckless Europeans here. One of them cocked his pistol at Lieutenant Brasyer in the fort. The ruffian was as likely as not to have pulled the trigger; and, in that case, as Lieutenant Brasyer himself observed to me, his Seiks would have slain every European in the fort. This was before Colonel Neil took the command: if it had happened in his time, the probability is that the offender would have been tried and hanged."†

An Allahabad "civil servant"—one of the five persons already mentioned as invested with powers of life and death, and who speaks of himself as having been subsequently appointed by the commissioner, Mr. Chester, as "the political agent with the force," which, from the date of his letter (June 28th) must have been Neil's—gives the following account of the proceedings after the arrival of the Fusiliers, before, and after, the arrival of their colonel. He writes—

"We dared not leave the fort; for who knows what the Seiks would have done if it had been left empty? However, let us not breathe one word of suspicion against them, for they behaved splendidly, though they are regular devils. We lived on in this way till the Madras Fusiliers came up, and then our fun began. We 'volunteers' were parted off into divisions, three in number; and your humble servant was promoted to the command of one, the 'flagstaff division,' with thirty railroad men under his command, right good stout fellows, every one of whom had been plundered, and were consequently as bloodthirsty as any demons need be. We sallied forth several times with the Seiks into the city, and had several skirmishes in the streets, when we spared no one. We had several volleys poured into us; but their firing was so wild that their bullets passed over and around us harmlessly. The 'flagstaff' was always to the front; and they were so daring and reckless, that 'the flagstaff boys' became a byword in the fort. Every rascality that was performed was put down to them; and, in the end, the volunteers got a bad name for plundering. The Seiks were great hands at it, and, in spite of all precaution, brought a great amount of property into the fort. Such scenes of drunkenness I never beheld. Seiks were to be seen drunk on duty on the ramparts, unable to hold their muskets. No one could blame them, for they are such jolly, jovial fellows, so different from other sepoys.

"When we could once get out of the fort we were all over the place, cutting down all natives who showed any signs of opposition; we enjoyed these trips very much, so pleasant it was to get out of that horrid fort for a few hours. One trip I enjoyed amazingly: we got on board a steamer with a gun, while the Seiks and Fusiliers marched to the city; we steamed up, throwing shot right and left, till we got up to the bad places, when we went on shore and peppered away with our guns, my old double-barrel that I brought out bringing down several niggers, so thirsty for vengeance was I. We fired the places right and left, and the flames shot up to the heavens as they spread, fanned by the breeze, showing that the day of vengeance had fallen on the treacherous villains."‡

The luckless British residents (not to speak of the native shopkeepers) were most shamefully treated by their defenders. What the city thieves and sepoys left, was looted by the Europeans and Seiks, who apparently could recognise no difference

* Letter, dated July 6th, 1857.—Parl. Papers (Commons), February 4th, 1857. Moved for by Henry D. Seymour. Showing the proceedings "taken for the punishment of those who have been guilty of mutiny, desertion, and rebellion" in India; and the reason why the country generally was not put under martial law "after the mutinies"—a measure, the non-adoption of which is stated by the governor-general in council, to have "been made a matter of complaint against the Indian government."—p. 2.

† Letter dated "Allahabad, July 22nd, 1857."—*Ibid.*, p. 23.

‡ Letter of Allahabad civilian, dated, June 28th, 1857.—*Times*, August 25th, 1857.

between friend and foe in this respect. The work of destruction was carried on with impunity under the very walls of the fort. Costly furniture, of no value to the plunderers, was smashed to pieces for the mere love of mischief. These did for private, what the enemy had done for public, property. Drunkenness was all but universal, and riot reigned supreme.

The Rev. J. Owen, a clergyman who had resided many years in Allahabad, and had been the founder of the establishment supported in that city by the American Board of Missions—writes in his journal on the 10th of June—

"Our affairs in the fort are just now in a very bad way. A day or two since, some Europeans went out with a body of Seiks to the godowns, near the steamer ghaut, where large quantities of stores are lying. The Europeans began to plunder. The Seiks, ever ready for anything of the kind, seeing this, instantly followed the example. The thing has gone on from bad to worse, until it is now quite impossible to restrain the Seiks, untamed savages as they are.

"The day before yesterday, a poor man came to me, saying that he had had nothing to eat that day, and had been working hard as a volunteer in the militia. The colonel (Simpson) happened to be passing at the time. I took the man to him, telling him that the poor fellow was working hard, and willing to work, in defence of the fort; but that he and his wife were starving. The colonel went with me at once to the commissariat; and there, notwithstanding many objections on the ground of formality, assisted me in getting for him a loaf of bread. * * * One of the commissariat officers told me yesterday morning, that he did not know how those widows and children who came in on Monday night, could be supplied with rations, for they were not fighting-men! Everything is as badly managed as can be; indeed, there seems to be no management at all."*

The arrival of Colonel Neil changed the aspect of affairs. He had rapidly, though with much difficulty, made his way from Benares, which he left on the evening of the 9th, reaching Allahabad on the afternoon of the 11th, with an officer and forty-three of the Madras Fusiliers. The line of road was deserted; the terrified villagers had departed in the old "Wulsa" style; scarcely any horses could be procured; and coolies, to assist in dragging the dawk carriages, were with difficulty obtained. Colonel Neil (always ready to give praise where he deemed it due) says—"Had it not been for the assistance rendered by the magistrate at Mirzapoor (Mr. S. G. Tucker), we should have been obliged to have marched on and left our baggage. We found the country between this [Allahabad] and Mirzapoor infested with bands of plunderers, the villages deserted, and none of the authorities remaining. Major Stephenson, who left Benares the same evening with a hundred Fusiliers by bullock-van, experienced the same difficulties. Many of the soldiers have been laid up in consequence of the exposure and fatigue; four have died suddenly."† The officer who accompanied Colonel Neil, says they accomplished "upwards of seventy miles in two nights, by the aid of a lot of natives pushing our men along in light four-wheeled carriages."‡

Colonel Neil had probably received no adequate information of the state of Allahabad. The telegraphic communication between that place and Benares had been completely cut off. The "lightning dawk" had been speedily destroyed by the mutineers; and at a later stage they had an additional incentive to its destruction, some of the more ingenious among them having discovered that the hollow iron posts which supported the wires, would make a good substitute for guns,§ and the wire, cut up in pieces, could be fired instead of lead. In fact, the whole of the proceedings which followed the Allahabad mutiny, were by far the most systematic of any until then taken by the rebels. Colonel Neil found the fort itself nearly blockaded; and the bridge of boats over the Ganges was in the hands of the mob in the village of Daragunje, and partly broken. "I was fortunate," he states, "to bribe some natives to bring a boat over to the left bank of the Ganges, in which I embarked part of my men: the people of the fort having by this time seen us, sent over boats some way down. By these means we all got into the fort, almost completely exhausted from over-long nights' march‖ and the intense heat." The men might rest; but for the colonel, it would seem, there was important work to do, which admitted not of an hour's delay. Assuming the command (superseding Colonel Simpson), he assembled his staff and held a council of war, at which he determined to

* Sherer's *Indian Church*, p. 214.

† Despatch from Colonel Neil to government, June 14th, 1857.—Further Parl. Papers relative to the Mutinies, 1857 (not numbered), p. 60.

‡ Letter dated "Allahabad, June 23rd."—*Times*, August 26th, 1857.

§ Colonel Neil's despatch, June 17th, 1857.—Further Parl. Papers, p. 57.

‖ *Sic in orig.*

attack Daragunje next morning. He then paraded the volunteers, addressed them in very plain language regarding their "recent disgraceful acts of robbery and drinking," and threatened to turn the next transgressor out of the fort. On the following morning, sixty Fusiliers, three hundred Seiks, and thirty cavalry, marched out under his own command. "I opened fire," Colonel Neil writes, "with several round shots, on those parts of Daragunje occupied by the worst description of natives; attacked the place with detachments of Fusiliers and Seiks, drove the enemy out with considerable loss, burnt part of the village, and took possession of a repaired bridge, placing a company of Seiks at its head for its protection."* Thus he reopened the communication across the Ganges.

On the 12th, Major Stephenson's detachment arrived. On the 13th, Colonel Neil attacked the insurgents in the village of Kydgunge, on the left bank of the Jumna, and drove them out with loss. A few days later he sent a steamer with a howitzer to clear the river, some distance up the country—an expedition which, he says, "did much execution." Before, however, he could act with any efficiency against the mutineers, he had found it necessary to reorganise the Allahabad garrison. On the 14th, he writes—"I have now 270 Fusiliers in high health and spirits, but suffering from the intense heat." Yet on that day, he adds, "I could do little or nothing." He accomplished, however, important work within the fort, by checking, with an energy like that of Clive, the prevailing debauchery and insubordination. From his first arrival he had "observed great drinking among the Seiks, and the Europeans of all classes;" and he soon learned the lawlessness which had proceeded even to the extent of the open plunder of the godowns belonging to the Steam Navigation Company, and of the stores of private merchants; the Seiks bringing quantities of fermented liquor, spirit, and wine into the fort, and selling their "loot" at four annas, or sixpence the bottle all round, beer or brandy, sherry or champagne. Colonel Neil did not share the previously quoted opinion of one of the civilians of the hanging committee, regarding the "jolly Seiks;" on the contrary, he thought their devilry dangerous to friends as well as to foes; and was extremely anxious at the idea of their continuing in the same range of barracks with the Fusiliers. They had been, he said, "coaxed into loyalty; they had become overbearing, and knew their power;" and he felt obliged to temporise with them, by directing the commissariat to purchase all the liquor they had to sell. He further sent down the only two carts he had, to empty what remained in the godowns into the commissariat stores, and to destroy all that could be otherwise obtained. The next move was a more difficult one—namely, to get the Seiks out of the fort. They were very unwilling to go; and, at one time, it seemed likely to be a question of forcible ejection—"it was a very near thing indeed." The influence of Captain Brasyer (who, Colonel Neil says, "alone has kept the regiment together and all right here") again prevailed, and the Seiks took up their position outside the fort, and were consoled for being forbidden to loot European property, by constant employment on forays against suspected villages, the prospect of plunder being their spring of action.† Even after their ejection, it was no easy matter to keep them from the fort, and prevent the re-establishment of the boon companionship, which was so manifestly deteriorating the morality and discipline of both parties. The colonel declared that the Seiks had been running in and out like cats; he had blocked up some of their ways, but there were still too many sallyports: and, in writing to government, he states—"There is no engineer officer here; there ought to be; and one should be sent sharp."‡

Colonel Neil now resolved on forwarding the majority of the women and children to Calcutta. The fort was still crowded, notwithstanding the expulsion of the Seiks; and in a state of extreme filth, the native low-caste servants having fled. On the 15th and 17th of June, he sent down, by two steamers, fifty women and forty-six children, "all the wives, children, widows, or orphans of persons (several ladies and gentlemen) who have been plundered of all they had, and barely escaped with their lives." Seventeen men accompanied the

* Despatch from Colonel Neil to government, June 17th, 1857.—Further Parl. Papers, p. 46.

† Despatches of Colonel Neil, Allahabad, June 14th, 17th, and 19th, 1857.—Further Papers for 1857 (not numbered), pp. 46, 48, and 60.

‡ Colonel Neil's despatch, June 17th, 1857; p. 61.

party, the crews of the steamers (Mohammedans) being suspected. The voyage was safely accomplished, and was attended by an interesting circumstance. One of the persons selected to take charge of the Englishwomen and their children, and who performed the office with great ability and tenderness, was a Hindoo convert, named Shamacharum Mukerjea, by birth a Brahmin of high-caste. He had been baptized in early youth by Scotch missionaries, and had from that time pursued, with rare determination of purpose, a most difficult course. He worked his passage to England on board a sailing ship; landed with a single letter of introduction from Dr. Duff, got into an engineering establishment, for the sake of learning that business; bore up, amid all the discouragements that await an alien with a dark skin and an empty purse; endured the chilling winds and dense fogs of an uncongenial climate, rising at six, and going regularly to his work, till, his object being accomplished, he was enabled to return to India, where he was fortunate in procuring an appointment.*

To return to Allahabad. On the 17th of June, Neil writes—"The Moolvee has fled, and two of his men of rank were slain on the 15th." One of the insurgent leaders was captured, and brought before Captain Brasyer. He was a young man, magnificently dressed, and said to be a nephew to the Moolvee. Some questions were put to him, and he was ordered into confinement. The Seiks were about to take him away, when, suddenly, by a violent effort, he freed his hands, which had been fastened at his back, seized a sword, and made a thrust at one of his captors. Captain Brasyer sprang forward, wrested the weapon from his hand, and flung him on the ground; and "the enraged Seiks, while the chief was prostrate, placed their heels on his head, and literally crushed out his brains, and the body was thrown outside the gates."† Colonel Neil mentions, that "some Christian children" had been "sent in" at this date; but he does not say by whom.

On the 19th of June, he states—"Two hundred bullocks, with drivers, were brought in here yesterday: this is all our public carriage at present. Our commissariat officer is away; and that department is, in consequence, inefficient." There was an utter absence of ordinary stores: the commonest articles of food could with difficulty be obtained, and great scarcity of medicine was felt here and at Benares. No information is given regarding the 1,600 siege-train bullocks, which, on the 28th of the previous month, the commissariat officer at Allahabad was ready, "if allowed, to give for the immediate conveyance of Europeans from the river Sone to Cawnpoor."‡ In fact, the state of things at Allahabad, as incidentally described in the public despatches and private correspondence of the period, is most discreditable to those responsible for it. From the middle of May to the 6th of June, the local authorities were totally unmolested. At least, they might have laid in supplies to the fort, and prepared in every possible way for the speedy and easy conveyance of a few hundred British troops, the short distance of 120 miles. Cawnpoor was only thus far off; and this fact makes it more terrible to think of the three weeks' maintenance of the intrenchments, from the 6th to the 27th of June, and the yet more exhausting agony endured by the bereaved women and children, from the 27th of June to the 16th of July. Their condition could not have been known to their countrymen without some immediate effort being made for their relief; and it could scarcely have remained unknown had our system of intelligence been less generally defective. There were some marked exceptions; but at Allahabad they had no system at all. Setting apart Colonel Neil, Captain Brasyer, the magistrate (Mr. Court), and a few others, whose influence may be traced, the majority of the Europeans seem to have concentrated their energies on indiscriminate slaughter. The preservation of their countrymen in scattered stations, and even of British dominion in India; the conciliation and protection of the agricultural classes, as a means of facilitating the advance of the relieving force; the inducing the villagers and itinerant traders of all sorts, especially grain merchants, to come forward fearlessly to our aid, certain of payment and reward for the various services they had it in their power to render, and, above all, of being shielded from the exactions of Seiks and Goorkas, or even lawless Europeans;—these, it is to be feared, were

* *Missionary Sketches in Northern India*; by Mrs. Weitbrecht; p. 97.

† Rev. Mr. Hay's account of Allahabad Mutiny. *Times*, September, 1857.

‡ Telegram from Allahabad to Calcutta.—Appendix to Parl. Papers, p. 327

considerations quite beyond the ordinary class of volunteers. An able military leader anywhere, but specially in India, must needs be also a statesman and financier. Neil's occupation of a separate command was too brief to show to what extent he might have possessed these qualities; and his eager panegyrists have praised his "vigour," and boasted of the panic it inspired among the natives, in a manner which is calculated to detract undeservedly from his fame, when, the thirst for vengeance being assuaged, posterity shall learn to look calmly on the Indian mutiny of 1857, and weigh the deeds of the chief actors with a steadier hand than contemporary judges are likely to possess. Then it may, perhaps, be deemed that Neil's best services were not those which earned him temporary popularity; and that his admirers may be glad to palliate the "village-burning" and "unlimited hanging" system pursued by him before the capitulation of Cawnpoor, as having been, perhaps, a mistaken policy, adopted in the hope of terrifying the wavering into submission, and so bringing the war to a speedy close. The very reverse was the case. The worst massacres occurred after the firing into the disarmed troops at Benares; and, strange to say, a similar cruel blunder is declared by Captain Thomson, in his *Story of Cawnpoor*, to have driven the 53rd N.I. into rebellion. He declares, most positively, that the men were quietly cooking their food in their lines, when General Wheeler (of whom he speaks as a once admirable, but worn-out, commander), under the influence of some extraordinary misconception, gave the fatal order to Lieutenant Ashe, of the artillery, which caused the 53rd to be dispersed and driven from the station with 9-pounders.* These facts must be borne in mind; because the "esprit de corps," evinced by the mutineers, is to some extent explained by the fact, that several of the revolted regiments asserted, at different periods, each one its own special grievance, and urged it, too, upon the consideration of their own officers, when, as will be seen in subsequent chapters, the fortune of war brought them into communication. The difficulties with which Colonel Neil had to contend at Allahabad, have been very insufficiently appreciated. Disease, drunkenness, and insubordination among the Europeans and Seiks, were more dangerous foes than the Moolvee and his rabble host, though stated to amount to three or four thousand. Cholera appeared among the Fusiliers on the evening of the 18th, when several men came into hospital with the disease in its worst form. Before midnight eight men were buried, and twenty more died during the following day.† All the cholera patients were carried to the Masonic lodge, a short distance from the fort, which had been converted into an hospital; but the want of comforts for the sick was painfully felt. "The barracks,"

* Since the publication of the chapter containing the account of the siege and first massacre of Cawnpoor, Captain Thomson has issued a most interesting work on the subject, reiterating his previous statements, with important additional particulars. The 2nd cavalry were, he says, the first to rise. The old subahdar-major of the regiment defended the colours and treasure in the quarter-guard as long as he could, and was found, in the morning, lying beside the empty regimental chest, weltering in his blood. He recovered, however, but was killed by a shell while defending the intrenchment. "An hour or two after the flight of the cavalry, the 1st N.I. also bolted, leaving their officers untouched upon the parade-ground. The 56th N.I. followed the next morning. The 53rd remained, till, by some error of the general, they were fired into. I am at an utter loss to account for this proceeding. The men were peacefully occupied in their lines, cooking; no signs of mutiny had appeared amongst their ranks; they had refused all the solicitations of the deserters to accompany them, and seemed quite steadfast, when Ashe's battery opened upon them by Sir Hugh Wheeler's command, and they were literally driven from us by 9-pounders. The only signal that had preceded this step was the calling into the intrenchments of the Native officers of the regiment. The whole of them cast in their lot with us, besides 150 privates, most of them belonging to the grenadier company. The detachment of the 53rd, posted at the treasury, held their ground against the rebels about four hours. We could hear their musketry in the distance, but were not allowed to attempt their relief. The faithful little band that had joined our desperate fortunes was ordered to occupy the military hospital, about 600 yards to the east of our position, and they held it for nine days; when, in consequence of its being set on fire, they were compelled to evacuate. They applied for admission to the intrenchments, but were told that we had not food sufficient to allow of an increase to our number." They were, consequently, dismissed to care for their own safety as they best could; Major Hillersden giving each man a few rupees, and a certificate of fidelity.—*Story of Cawnpoor:* by Captain Mowbray Thomson; pp. 39, 40.

† The American missionary, Owen, notes in his diary, June 19th, the deaths of three ladies on that day—named Hodgson, Purser, and Williams—of cholera; adding, "I predicted that the filth allowed to accumulate about the doors and in the drains, would breed disease of some kind. The authorities have now commenced the work of cleansing and sprinkling them with lime."—Sherer's *Indian Church*, p. 226.

the colonel writes, "are in bad order, followers of any description being almost unprocurable; there are but few punkahs, and no tatties;* the men have, therefore, not the proper advantages of barrack accommodation for this hot season. I regret to add, that the supply of medicines here has failed; there appears to have been little or none kept in Allahabad; and our detachments only brought up sufficient for the march."† On the 19th, he writes—"I hope no time will be lost in sending up here an efficient commissariat department; such should be here. We are most badly off in that respect; and the want of bread, &c., for the Europeans, may no doubt increase the disease."‡ On the 22nd, he announces, by telegram, the decrease of cholera, and the arrival of the head-quarters of H.M. 84th, and 240 more of the Fusiliers; adding—"Davidson, of commissariat, arrived; now hope to get something done. Endeavouring to equip, with carriage and provisions, 400 Europeans, with two guns, to push on towards Cawnpoor."§ Two days later, it was discovered that there were but sixteen dhoolies, or litters, available (although a considerable number of these was a primary requisite for the projected expedition), and that all materials for making others were wanting, as well as workmen: a supply was therefore telegraphed for, and ordered by government, the order being given at Calcutta, on the day of the capitulation of Cawnpoor.

An officer of the Fusiliers writes to England on the 23rd—"He (the colonel) is now hard at work getting his force together to move on to the assistance of Cawnpoor and Lucknow, both places being in the greatest danger, for all the sepoys that have run away are now gathering around Lucknow. Our reports concerning that city and Cawnpoor are most gloomy; but reports in this country and at this time are always against us. You can have no idea of the awful weather, and of our sufferings from the heat; we sit with wet clothes over our heads, but the deaths from sun-stroke continue large: that dreadful scourge cholera has also broken out, and we have lost already seventy fighting-men. We buried twenty, three nights ago, at one funeral; and the shrieks of the dying were something awful: two poor ladies who were living over the hospital died, I believe, from fright. We have now got about 400 men outside the fort, and the disease is certainly on the decline. Up to to-day we have had little to eat; indeed, I would not have fed a dog with my yesterday's breakfast; but our mess and the head-quarters arrived yesterday, and our fare was much better to-day. All the village people ran away; and any one who had worked for the Europeans, these murderers killed; so if the population was to a man against us, we should stand but a bad chance. A poor baker was found with both his hands cut off, and his nose slit, because he had sent in bread to us."‖

The extreme hatred evinced for the English, must have been aggravated by the policy planned by Neil, and carried through by his subordinates without the slightest discrimination. This was to "completely destroy all the villages close to, and forming the suburbs of, the city;" and to make a severe example by "laying the city under the heaviest possible contribution, to save it from destruction also." He expected great service from the gentlemen of the railway engineers, who formed the volunteer corps already alluded to; as these, with the faithful Native troopers, would enable him to strike a few blows against the zemindars and parties of insurgents he could not otherwise reach.¶ The leader of the volunteers, the "civilian" already quoted, undertook the mission with vengeful zest. He writes—"Every day we have had expeditions to burn and destroy disaffected villages, and we have taken our revenge. I have been appointed chief of a commission for the trial of all natives charged with offences against government and persons; day by day we have strung up eight and ten men. We have the power of life and death in our hands, and I assure you we spare not. A very summary trial is all that takes place; the condemned culprit is placed under a tree with a rope round his neck, on the top of a carriage; and, when it is pulled away, off he swings."**

One of the "rank and file" volunteers, a railway official, has also furnished an account of the proceedings of the corps; which entirely agrees with that of its leader.

* *Tatties*, thatched screens wetted to cool the air.

† Further Parl. Papers relative to the Mutinies, 1857 (not numbered), p. 48.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

‖ Letter published in the *Times*, August 26th, 1857.

¶ Colonel Neil's despatch, June 17th, 1857.

** Letter of Allahabad civilian, June 28th, 1857.

After relating the outbreak of cholera, he proceeds to state—

"Colonel Neil immediately ordered all us civilians out of the fort. Stern and harsh as the order appeared, I verily believe that it was our salvation. The night we were turned out we slept on the ground on the glacis of the fort, under the shelter of the guns, all the males taking their turn as sentries to guard the women and children. Every native that appeared in sight was shot down without question, and in the morning Colonel Neil sent out parties of his regiment, although the poor fellows could hardly walk from fatigue and exhaustion, and burned all the villages near where the ruins of our bungalows stood, and hung every native they could catch, on the trees that lined the road. Another party of soldiers penetrated into the native city and set fire to it, whilst volley after volley of grape and canister was poured into the fugitives as they fled from their burning houses. In a few hours, such was the terror inspired, that it was deemed safe for us to go up to the station. Of course we never go out unarmed; and all men (natives) we employ are provided with a pass. Any man found without one, is strung up by the neck to the nearest tree."*

The civilians were, perhaps, naturally more inveterate and indiscriminating in their vengeance than the military; having suffered greater destruction of property; but both combined to scourge the wretched peasantry. The official and private letters of the time have been largely and literally quoted in evidence of facts which would hardly be believed on other authority than that of the chief actors. The reinforcements of Fusiliers marked their way, from Benares to Allahabad, in blood and flame, not following the regular track, for that was almost deserted; but making *dours*, or forays, in the direction of suspected villages. Captain Fraser's detachment was joined by two civilians—Mr. Chapman and Mr. Moore, the magistrate of Mirzapoor. The troops were out some four or five days; leaving Benares on the 13th, and reaching Allahabad on the 19th of June. The account is too long for insertion; but it begins and ends with "burning villages"—a process to which civilians in general (being almost all of them, in some way or other, connected with the collection of the revenue) would probably not have been so partial, had they been fundholders instead of stipendiaries. Two villages near Gopeegunje were first visited with destruction. Their inhabitants were accused of having plundered grain. Captain Fraser and a party of Fusiliers proceeded thither, called on the principal persons to appear, and, finding they had escaped, set fire to the houses. Next came the turn of three zemindars, accused of having proclaimed themselves rajahs, and of plundering. Lieutenant Palliser, who, with eighty of the 13th irregular cavalry, had joined Fraser near Gopeegunje, went, with fifty of his men and Messrs. Chapman and Moore, to a village three miles off. They captured the zemindars, brought them into camp, tried them by court-martial, and hanged them before eight o'clock the same evening. At daybreak on the 16th, Fraser, with a hundred Fusiliers and the eighty Irregulars, marched in pursuit of "a man named Belour Sing, who, with 1,200 followers, was reported to be in a village five miles from the Grand Trunk road." For the leader of 180 men to endeavour to apprehend the leader of 1,200 men, would seem somewhat rash; but Belour Sing did not abide the struggle; he fled, leaving his house and village, named Dobaar, to be burned by the Europeans. Everything was found to have been carried off except some grain and a small quantity of gunpowder. A reward of 200 rupees was offered by Mr. Chapman for the capture of the chief.

There was one gratifying incident in this expedition. A zemindar came to the camp one evening with a Native officer. The latter, who was in command of twelve sepoys, said that he and his companions had succeeded in preserving some government treasure, amounting to 12,000 rupees, although they had been attacked by dacoits, and the village burned. Captain Fraser proceeded to the spot, about a mile off the road between Baroad and Sydabad, and there found the faithful sepoys at their post.

There were a few more court-martial sentences, a village burned by the Fusiliers, and two by the irregular cavalry, before the series of murderous raids were brought to a conclusion by the arrival of the party, all unharmed, at Allahabad.† This sort of service may be spirited work for amateurs; but it is doubtful whether it does not materially injure the discipline, which is the soul of efficiency in a regular army. Shortly afterwards, as will be shown, Palliser's Irregulars, to his rage and disgust, refused to follow him in fair fight.

On the 30th of June, Neil states (in a private letter), that, for want of food and

* Letter of railway official, Allahabad, June 23rd.—*Daily News*, August 25th, 1857.

† Captain Fraser's despatch, Allahabad, June 19th, 1857.—Further Papers, 1857 (not numbered), p. 47.

carriage, he had been unable to send a single man to relieve Cawnpoor; for the awful heat rendered it certain death to have moved troops without, or with only a few, tents. Besides, he adds—"I could not leave this, the most important fortress in India, insecure. To cover all, cholera has attacked us with fearful virulence. Within three days there were 121 cases in the Fusiliers alone, and fifty-seven deaths. I was so exhausted for a few days, I was obliged to lie down constantly, and only able to get up when the attacks were going on, and then I was obliged to sit down on the batteries to give my orders and directions."

On the afternoon of the same day, a column marched for Cawnpoor, under the direction of Major Renaud, "a gallant and most intelligent officer,"* "brave even to rashness."† It consisted of 400 Europeans, 300 Seiks, 100 irregular cavalry, under Palliser, and two guns, under Lieutenant Harwood.

The first day's march was extremely trying, for the troops had to encounter a hot wind, "like the breath of a furnace." They had, besides, hot work to do, for "some villages were fired; and any native found in arms, who could not prove his asserted innocence, was summarily hanged, such being the instructions under which we acted."‡ On the 4th of July, the march was arrested by a brief message from Sir Henry Lawrence—"Halt where you now stand; or, if necessary, fall back."§ The reason was, that Cawnpoor had capitulated, and all the besieged were supposed to have perished.

CHAPTER XIV.

JHANSI, NOWGONG, CHUTTERPOOR, LOGASSEE, CHIRKAREE, KUBRAI, ADJYGHUR, BANDA, FUTTEHPOOR, HUMEERPOOR, JALOUN, OORAI, AND SUMPTER.—MAY AND JUNE, 1857.

ANOTHER district in the Cawnpoor (military) division was destined to take the second rank, amid the dreary scenes of mutiny, in connection with a treacherous, pitiless massacre, perpetrated at the instigation of an angry and ambitious woman, upon all the Europeans placed by the flood of revolt within her reach.

The annexation of Jhansi, and the contempt with which the lately reigning family were treated, have been shown in the introductory chapter. The independence of the little principality was gone beyond redemption, if English supremacy continued; and when the Ranee heard that the vast mercenary army of the Feringhees had revolted, she resolved to cast in her lot with them in a war of extermination. In the prime of life (some years under thirty), exceedingly beautiful, vigorous in mind and body, Lakshmi Bye had all the pride of the famous Rajpoot prince,‖ who—

> "rather than be less,
> Cared not to be at all."

She was a heathen: the forgiveness of injuries was no article in her creed; and believing herself deeply injured by the infraction of the Hindoo laws of adoption and inheritance, she threw aside every consideration of tenderness for sex or age, and committed herself to a deadly struggle with the Supreme government, by an act, for which, as she must have well known, her own life would, in all human probability, pay the forfeit. Her relatives (that is, her father and sister) fought for and with her; but there is no proof that she had any able counsellor, but rather that she was herself the originator of the entire proceedings which made Jhansi an important episode in the war, from the time when the Ranee flung down the gauntlet by a reckless, ruthless massacre of men, women, and children of the hated usurping race, till the moment when she fell lifeless from her white war-horse, by the side of her dead sister.

Nowhere was the overweening confidence

* *Mutiny of the Bengal Army:* by One who has served under Sir Charles Napier; p. 122.

† Journal of Major North, 60th Rifles; p. 26.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

‖ The Rana Umra, the opponent of the Emperor Jehangeer.—Tod's *Rajast'han*, vol. i., p. 367.

of the English more remarkable than at Jhansi, which, as the residence of a Native court, had attained some importance for its trade and manufactures. The former rajah had paid great attention to the regulation of its streets and bazaars, which were remarkably clean and orderly.* Sleeman estimated its population at 60,000† —a very large number in proportion to the size of the place, and the state of which it was the capital. Jhansi town is situated among tanks and groves of fine timber trees, and is surrounded by a good wall. The palace was itself a fortress, built on a rock overlooking the town; and the imposing appearance of this lofty mass of stone, surmounted by a huge round tower, was justified by the number of cannon it possessed, said to amount to some thirty or forty pieces. The government had had repeated warning of the bitter discontent which the annexation of any state, however small, caused in the capital, by drying up the main source of income of the citizens, who depended for a livelihood on the expenditure of the court; yet Jhansi was left, fort and all, without a single European soldier.

Jhansi lies on the route from Agra to Saugor, 142 miles south of the former, 130 north of the latter, and 245 west of Allahabad. The troops in the station consisted of—

Detail of Foot Artillery—*Europeans*, none; *Natives*, 27. Wing of the 12th N.I.—*Europeans*, 6; *Natives*, 522. Head-quarters and wing of 14th Irregular Cavalry—*Europeans*, 5; *Natives*, 332.

In all—11 Europeans to 881 Natives.

In the spring of the year the cartridge question had been the pretext, or the cause, of excitement and disaffection; but the infantry at Jhansi and at Nowgong (the nearest military station), are asserted "to have become ashamed at the mention of it;" and the burning of empty bungalows had ceased some time before the outbreak of the mutiny.‡ Captain Dunlop, the officer in command of the station, had no distrust of the troops; and the commissioner, Captain Skene, and the deputy-commissioner, Captain Gordon, concurred, up to the last, in ridiculing the precautions taken at Nowgong. Such, at least, is the statement of the case by Captain Scot, of the 12th N.I., then on duty at the latter station.§ Unfortunately, he writes from memory only; for the documents which would have shown, beyond the possibility of doubt, the state of affairs at Jhansi and Nowgong, were destroyed, with the other records, in the conflagration which took place at both places; and the accounts sent to Cawnpoor met a similar fate.

Captain Scot, however, states from his own knowledge, that some days before the mutiny occurred, Captain Dunlop sent over to Major Kirke, the officer in command at Nowgong, letters from Skene and Gordon, declaring that they had learned, from separate sources, that one Luckmun Rao (the servant of the Ranee of Jhansi) was doing his best to induce the 12th N.I. to mutiny; but whether with or without the authority of the Ranee, had not been ascertained. Subsequent letters spoke of spies, or agents of sedition, finding their way to the Native lines, and being strongly opposed by some of the more loyal and zealous sepoys. Of the fidelity of the Irregulars no suspicion appears to have been entertained; and, indeed, both at Jhansi and Nowgong, the infantry revolted first, though "the cavalry were the most bloodthirsty" afterwards.

The only European testimony on record regarding the mutiny, is a brief and scarcely legible note from Captain Dunlop. Concerning the massacre which ensued, there is none; for no European witness survived to tell the tale. The note runs thus:—

"*To the Officer commanding at Nowgong.*

"Jhansi, June 4th, 1857; 4 P.M.

"Sir,—The artillery and infantry have broken into mutiny, and have entered the Star Fort. No one has been hurt as yet. Look out for stragglers.

"Yours, &c.,

"J. DUNLOP."

This communication reached Major Kirke, by express, at eleven o'clock on the following day.

On the 10th, a letter in English came from Tewarry Hossein, the tehsildar of Mowraneepoor (thirty miles from Nowgong), stating that he had heard of the murder of every European at Jhansi, and had received a perwannah, to the effect that the Ranee was seated on the gadi (Hindoo

* Thornton's *Gazetteer*.

† Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections*, vol. i., p. 282.

‡ Captain Scot, 12th N.I., to deputy-adjutant-general.—Parl. Papers on Mutinies (No. 4), p. 121.

§ See despatch last quoted; and a long letter published in the *Times*, September 11th, 1857; not signed, but evidently written by Captain Scot, to the wife of Lieutenant Ryves, acquainting her with that officer's escape to Gwalior and Agra.

throne), and that he was to carry on business as hitherto. He added, that he meant to leave the place at once; and he did so. The same afternoon, the mails that had been sent towards Jhansi on the 5th and subsequent days, were brought back in one bag, the runners having feared to enter the station.*

Many weeks elapsed before any authentic statements could be obtained of the proceedings at Jhansi, after the transmission of Captain Dunlop's note. At length Captain Scot ascertained and communicated to government the following account, which he obtained from three natives, one of whom was with the Europeans during the whole of the outbreak. The evidence was given by the three witnesses separately at Nowgong, Mahoba, and Banda; and agreed so nearly as to be received as trustworthy.

Only one company (7th) of the 12th N.I. mutinied on the 4th of June. Headed by a havildar, named Goor Bux, the men marched into the Star fort. This was a small building, where the guns and treasure were kept, close to the infantry guns.

Captain Dunlop paraded the rest of the 12th N.I., with the cavalry; and they all said they would stand by him. Disarming them, of course, was out of the question. Captain Dunlop was an energetic officer, and had been reported, by General Wheeler, a few days before, as "a man for the present crisis." Seeing that all continued quiet, he employed himself, on the 6th of June, in preparing shells at the quarter-guard of the 12th N.I. He then posted some letters; and in returning from the office, with Ensign Taylor, crossed or approached the parade. Here he and his compānion were shot dead by some of the 12th. The poor ensign had only arrived at Jhansi a few days before, having made great haste to rejoin his regiment, when the mutiny began. Lieutenant Campbell, 15th N.I., serving with the 14th Irregulars, escaped to the palace-fort, where Lieutenant Burgess, of the revenue survey department, with several English and Eurasian subordinates, had been for some time residing. On the evening of the 4th of June, they were joined by Captain Skene, his wife and two children; Lieutenant Gordon, Dr. M'Egan, his wife and sister; Lieutenant Powys, his wife and child; Mrs. G. Browne, her sister and child; and the English and Eurasian *employés* in the Civil and Canal departments, and Salt excise. Lieutenant G. Browne, the deputy-commissioner, fled to Oorai, with Ensign Browne and Lieutenant Lamb.† Lieutenant Ryves‡ and another European, named McKellar, escaped to Gwalior. Lieutenant Turnbull took refuge in a tree, but was discovered and shot down. Whether the Europeans in the fort held any communication with the Ranee is not known; but they are stated to have remained unmolested till the 7th of June, and to have been employed, during the interval, in endeavouring to get provisions and ammunition into the fort (though with very partial success), and in piling stones against the gates to prevent their being opened. Unhappily there were traitors within, as well as rebels without. Lieutenant Powys was found by Captain Burgess, lying bleeding from a wound in the neck. He survived just long enough to point out the four assassins who had attacked him. These were Mussulmans employed in the revenue survey; they were immediately put to death.§ When attacked, the Europeans are said to have made great havoc among the besiegers with rifles and guns; but to have themselves lost only one of their number, Captain Gordon, who was shot through the head while leaning over the parapet, pulling up a bucket which a syce in the lower enclosure had filled with wheat. The little garrison appears to have been totally unprovisioned for a siege. The letters written by Dunlop to Kirke, before the partial mutiny on the 4th, prove this; and afterwards, it was probably as much as the officers could do to obtain supplies for the party within the walls. Attempts were vainly made to send word to Nagode and

* Further Parl. Papers, 1857 (No. 4), p. 125.

† Statement of Commissioner Erskine.—*London Gazette*, May 6th, 1857; p. 2248.

‡ In the *East India Army List* for 1858, Lieutenant Ryves is mentioned as having been killed on the 6th at Jhansi; but this must be an error. He quitted Jhansi, with a detachment, two or three days before the mutiny; and although he may have returned there, he certainly reached both Gwalior and Agra some time later.—Officer's Letters, in *Times*, September 3rd and 11th, 1857.

§ This is the account given by the native with the Europeans in the fort; but according to the statement of another native in the city at the time, the immediate incentive to the murder of Lieutenant Powys was, that that officer seeing Captain Burgess' khitmutgar (table-attendant) attempting to pull down the stones that secured the gates, shot him; whereupon, the brother of the fallen man cut down the officer with his tulwar, and was instantly put to death by Lieutenant Burgess.—Further Parl. Papers, 1857 (No. 4), p. 132.

to Gwalior for help: some of the clerks tried to escape in native clothes, letting themselves down by ropes; but they were caught and killed.

Kala Khan, risaldar of the 14th cavalry, was active in the assault. Ahmed Hossein, the tehsildar of Jhansi, likewise took a leading part, in connection with the adherents of the Ranee. The men employed in the Salt excise joined in the attack. The Europeans felt that the struggle was hopeless, and the Hindoos and Mohammedans are alleged to have induced them to surrender, by swearing that their lives should be spared. Captain Skene opened the gates, and marched out.* The traitors instantly threw their vows to the wind; and, separating the men from the women, tied the former in a row by ropes, took the whole party into a garden in or near the city, and there beheaded them all except John Newton, the quartermaster of the 12th N.I. (a very dark half-caste), his wife, and four little children. This family was spared by the rebels, and carried off by them when they were driven from Jhansi. Lieutenant Powys is thought to have died in the fort. He could not walk out with the rest of the party. His wife was torn from him, and fell in the general massacre. "The men died first," writes Captain Scot; "Burgess taking the lead, his elbows tied behind his back, and a prayer-book in his hands. What a sad end for so kind-hearted and unselfish a man! But to die confessing the faith is a noble death. The rest died in the same way. They tried hard to get the women and children saved." But it was in vain. The Ranee does not appear to have been appealed to; but it is too probable that it was by the orders of this ambitious and childless widow—disinherited herself, and prohibited from exercising the right of adoption—that the ruthless deed was consummated. The women, we are told, "stood with their babes in their arms, and the older children holding their gowns. They had to see the men killed;" but there was every reason to believe "they were spared any violence save death."†

The care bestowed by Captain Scot, in his official capacity, in sifting and collecting evidence from every available source, would, under any circumstances, be very commendable; but is specially satisfactory, as refuting the painful story which went the round of the English and Indian journals at the time, with regard to the fate of Captain Skene and his young wife. Their friends may be sure they joined with their fellow-Christians in "confessing the faith;" and were probably better prepared to meet death by the sword, than many of their countrymen might be to struggle with the great adversary on their beds in England. But the long interval which elapsed before the particulars above related were ascertained, gave room for the wildest rumours. Captain Scot's account was not published until August. In the meantime, the following extract from a letter, said to have been written from India to a relative of the maligned officer, was published far and wide:—

"Frank Gordon, Alic Skene, his wife, and a few peons, managed to get into a small round tower when the disturbance began; the children and all the rest were in other parts of the fort—altogether, sixty. Gordon had a regular battery of guns, also revolvers; and he and Skene picked off the rebels as fast as they could fire, Mrs. Skene loading for them. The peons say they never missed once; and before it was all over they killed thirty-seven, besides many wounded. The rebels, after butchering all in the fort, brought ladders against the tower, and commenced swarming up. Frank Gordon was shot through the forehead, and killed at once. Skene then saw it was no use going on any more, so he kissed his wife, shot her, and then himself."

Information subsequently obtained, regarding the massacre, tended to confirm the evidence adduced against the Ranee. Mr. Thornton, the deputy-collector, writing on the 18th of August, states it as the general impression, that the mutineers, after killing their own officers and plundering the treasury (which contained about £45,000), were going off; and it was wholly at the instigation of the Jhansi princess, with a view to her obtaining possession of the district, that they, together with other armed men furnished by the Ranee, attacked the fort. He adds, that they induced the Europeans to surrender, by solemnly swearing to allow them to depart unmolested; notwithstanding which, "they allowed them to be massacred by the Ranee's people in their presence, in a most cruel and brutal manner, having no regard to sex or age. For this act, the mutineers are said to have received from her 35,000 rupees in cash, two elephants, and five horses. The Ranee has now raised a body of about 14,000 men, and has twenty guns, which had been kept concealed by the former Jhansi chief, by being buried within

* The day on which the surrender was made, appears to have been the 8th of June.

† Captain Scot's Letter.—*Times*, Sept. 11th, 1857.

the fort, and of which nothing was known to our officers. I am not certain whether she intends to make any resistance in case our troops come to this quarter; but none of the other native chiefs in Bundelcund have as yet turned against our government."*

Leaving the Ranee to possess, for a brief space, the blood-stained gadi of Jhansi, we follow the stream of revolt in the sister-station of

Nowgong.—The troops stationed here were almost the counterpart of those at Jhansi; but happily there was no vindictive princess at Nowgong to urge them on to imbrue their hands in the blood of their officers, or their helpless families. The troops consisted of—

A company of Artillery—*Europeans*, 2; *Natives*, 105. Head-quarters and right wing of 12th N. I.—*Europeans*, 6; *Natives*, 604. Left wing of the 14th Irregular Cavalry—*Europeans*, 1; *Natives*, 273.†

In all—nine Europeans to 982 Natives.

The first symptoms of disaffection were manifested by the burning of empty bungalows, which commenced on the 23rd of April, and was evidently the work of incendiaries, though the guilty persons could not be discovered. The excitement subsided, and matters went on quietly until the 23rd of May, up to which time the Europeans were very imperfectly informed of the fatal events which had occurred in other stations. On that day, the risaldar in command of the cavalry, informed Major Kirke that his corps had learned, by letter from Delhi, the murder of every Christian in that city. He appeared to wonder at the little the Europeans knew of the proceedings in Delhi, while he and his companions were so well-informed on the subject. On the same day, Major Kirke's orderly, a sepoy of the 12th N.I., rushed into the major's house, and told him that he had just got away from a party of twenty or so Poorbeahs and Boondelas, who had asked him to point out the officers' mess-house. They seemed to be disappointed in the non-appearance of an accomplice to guide them. The orderly said he had made an excuse and got away from them. Major Kirke, with his adjutant, his son, and one or two armed sepoys, went to the spot indicated, after having caused it to be surrounded by sowars (under the command of the risaldar before mentioned), that no person might escape. Only three men were captured: one ran off; and rather than stop, or make a reply, beyond saying he was a sepoy, let himself be fired at three times: the two others found a hiding-place in a hollow tree, till the party had passed, and then darted off towards the artillery lines, which were afterwards vainly searched for the fugitives. The risaldar was believed to have connived at their escape; and he endeavoured to persuade the Europeans that the orderly's story was altogether a fabrication; but Major Kirke considered that the sepoy had made up a story to put the officers on their guard, not choosing to reveal the actual circumstances. From that night the Irregulars, both officers and men, behaved in a most unsatisfactory manner; the former with the "freezing politeness which Mohammedans well know how to assume;" the latter doing duty in a gay, careless fashion, as much as to say, "It will soon be at an end—we are merely amusing ourselves obeying orders;" while even the sick in the hospital were insolent to the doctors, until a few days before the mutiny, when the ill-feeling either subsided or was disguised. The 12th N.I. were most suspected; but the officers slept nightly in their lines; and in the first few days of June, mutual confidence appeared restored. The Europeans, relieved by the altered tone of the sowars, considered that the news of the massacre of the Christians at Delhi, had possibly roused a fanatical feeling, which had subsequently given place to a conviction "that their pay and earthly prospects were not to be despised."‡ This was deemed the case with the risaldar, who had been specially distrusted. He was a grey-headed man, of delicate constitution, and his rank and pay were important considerations; and he evinced much distress on hearing the state of affairs at Jhansi, as communicated in Captain Dunlop's letter, received at 11 A.M. on the 5th of June. The Europeans reminded him that no word had come of the Irregulars mutinying; but he said he much feared they would do so, as they had very few officers, European or Native, and most of the men were very young. Before the Jhansi news reached Nowgong, four out of five companies of the wing of the 12th N.I. (following the example of the 70th N.I.) had volunteered

* Further Parl. Papers (No. 4), p. 169.

† Parl. Return, 9th February, 1858; p. 3.

‡ Report of Captain Scot.—Further Papers, 1857 (No. 4), p. 122.

to serve against the mutineers. Major Kirke, on the reception of Captain Dunlop's letter, ordered a parade; and after addressing the 12th on the subject of their offer, and promising to communicate this evidence of their loyalty to government, he proceeded to announce to the troops the news of partial mutiny just received. "The right wing, 12th N.I., when asked if they would stand by the colours, rushed forward to them as one man, and were enthusiastic in their expressions of fidelity. The artillery company embraced their guns with expressions of devotion. The men of the 14th said at once they would be true to the government. They expressed no enthusiasm."*

The officers were much gratified by the conduct of the men, especially of the artillery. Some few days previously, four of their company had been seized on an accusation of mutiny, and sent off as prisoners to Chutterpoor. On the same evening (June 1st), Major Kirke had the whole of the guns of the battery brought in front of the quarter-guard of the 12th N.I., and the same precaution was continued every night. The artillery company had "been cheerful and well-disposed" until then; but they are described as feeling "affronted and humiliated by this measure."

Early on the 5th, before the parade, forty of the 14th Irregulars, under a Native officer, had been dispatched to Lullutpoor, and a similar party to Jhansi. The latter marched to within ten miles of that place; and then, on learning the mutiny of the infantry, turned back. The first tidings regarding the fate of Captain Dunlop and Ensign Taylor, were brought by the shepherd of the left wing mess. "The 12th men, at Nowgong, seemed horrified at the news:" most certainly (Captain Scot adds) "they were sincerely so;" but the bazaar people were very anxious to send away their women and children, which Major Kirke would not allow them to do. For some time the Europeans had been looking round them for the means of escape; and the government camels, only eight in number, had been called for and examined. Murmurs immediately arose that the camels had been sent for to remove the treasure, and that it was actually being drawn out in small sums, with the intention of placing the whole under the charge of "the Gurowlee rajah."† The treasure was felt to be "the danger all along." The 12th continued to manifest good-will, attachment, and respect to their officers; and the senior survivor of these (Captain Scot) gives the greater number credit for sincerity, considering that they mutinied under intimidation, and from an infatuated feeling that mutiny was a matter of destiny, Benares Brahmins having predicted it.

All continued quiet till sunset on the 10th of June. The officers had for some time dined at 4 o'clock, with the view of going early to the lines to prevent mischief. On the evening in question, some had left the mess-room; but others remained discussing the engrossing topic of public and private interest. Dr. Mawe (assistant-surgeon) urged on Captain Scot the advisability of abandoning the station, because it "was impossible that the men at Nowgong would stand fast after their brothers at Jhansi had rebelled, and were still so near."

As if in confirmation of this opinion, several musket-shots were heard. Lieutenant Townsend, of the artillery, and Lieutenant Ewart, mounted their horses, and galloped straight to the lines, arriving just in time to see the guns in the hands of the mutineers. Mrs. Mawe, Lieutenant Franks, Mr. Smalley, and other Europeans, had witnessed the outbreak. It occurred at the moment when the six artillery guns were as usual brought to the 12th N.I. brigade, and preparations were being made for relieving guard. "A tall, dare-devil Seik" walked forward, followed by two others. Loading his piece, he took deliberate aim at the havildar-major, a brave and faithful officer, and shot him dead. The three Seiks then rushed on the guns. The artillery sergeant made some attempt to defend them, but none of the gunners stood by him; and when the European officers tried to rally their men, and induce them to follow them in making a dash at the guns, no one would move: all were panic-stricken or mutinous. Major Kirke, finding that about 100 men had assembled at the mess-house, strove to induce them to march with him against the mutineers; and when compelled to relinquish this idea, he insisted on holding the mess-house. The arguments of the officers on the utter hopelessness of such a proceeding, were effectively seconded by the appearance of a 9-pounder, brought by

* Report of Captain Scot.—Further Parl. Papers, 1857 (No. 4), p. 124.

† *Ibid.*, p. 125.

the rebels to expedite the retreat of the Feringhees, not one of whom were injured. The sepoys with Major Kirke showed strong attachment to his person; and several Native officers, with eighty-seven non-commissioned officers and men of the 12th, one artilleryman, and about twenty bandmen and their families, accompanied the Europeans in their flight. Besides these, there were others who would gladly have shared the perils of the fugitives, had they been able to escape with them. One "noble old man," an invalided subahdar of fifty years' service, had willingly remained with his company, and had done everything that lay in his power to avert a mutiny. When the news arrived of the outbreak at Jhansi, he stood beside the guns with spikes and a hammer, ready to render them useless in the event of immediate revolt. Sirdar Khan, a pay havildar, and a private, Seeta Ram (steward of the stores), excited the wrath of the mutineers by their determined loyalty, and would have been killed but that the guns could not be worked without them. Sirdar Khan was taken from Nowgong, tied on a charpoy, by the rebels; and as those guns were subsequently captured at Futtehpoor, it is probable that he perished on that occasion—one of the many innocent victims during this fatal epoch.

None of the English officers* at Nowgong had any female relatives to protect—whether from being unmarried, or from having sent their wives away, does not appear; but the sergeants, bandmaster, clerks, and others, had their families with them; so that, altogether, there were forty women and children to be cared for. The number of the male Europeans is not stated by Captain Scot, but it was probably considerably less than that of their helpless companions. At daybreak on the following morning, by means of a scanty supply of horse and camel conveyances, the party reached *Chutterpoor*, the capital of a small Hindoo state of the same name, happily not included in our recent annexations. The experience of the Nowgong officials, contrasts forcibly with that of their ill-fated neighbours at Jhansi. Chutterpoor was governed by the mother of the young heir; and although the mutineers sent threatening messages to the regent, forbidding her to shelter the Europeans, yet the "Ranee, ruling for her son, did not mind them," but showed the fugitives much kindness, and allotted for their use the handsome serai built by the late rajah for the accommodation of travellers. Before the mutiny, she had sent word to Major Kirke, that her guns and treasury were at his service whenever he might require them; and he now borrowed a thousand rupees from her, there being very little money among the party.† Some of her chief officers being Mohammedans, were displeased at this, and said that the troops had risen for "deen" (the faith), and that the Ranee did wrong in taking part with the Feringhees; but she was firm: and when, during the night, some sepoys coming to join their officers, caused an alarm that the rebels were approaching, a large force turned out to oppose them. Captain Scot remarks—"I mention this to show that the Ranee was determined to defend us." On the 12th of June, Major Kirke sent two officers back to Nowgong, to obtain some mess-stores. The mutineers were gone, the government treasury had been plundered of 1,21,494 rupees, the artillery magazine was quite empty, and the magazine of the 12th N.I. had been blown up.‡ All the thatched bungalows had been burned, but the artillery and cavalry lines were uninjured; and although an attempt had been made to fire the lines of the 12th N.I., little harm had been done, the huts being tiled. Hundreds of villagers were busy stripping the roofs of the public buildings, and carrying off the timber; and although a guard from Chutterpoor had been sent to protect the station, the men contented themselves with watching over some grain in the Sudder bazaar, and did not seem to think it worth while to prevent the plunder of the wood-work, which Captain Scot says they might easily have done; "for Lieutenant Townsend and myself cleared the station by firing a few shots so as not to hurt any one." He adds, however, that "the official in charge thought our rule was over, and the station his Ranee's for the future; and my orders were listened to, but not carried out." Before leaving Nowgong,

* Major Kirke and his son, Scot, Townsend, Jackson, Remington, Ewart, Franks, and Barber.

† Letter written by Mrs. Mawe.—*Star*, Oct. 29, 1857.

‡ The 12th N.I. obtained in the magazines at Nowgong and Jhansi, 1,225 lbs. of gunpowder for musketry, besides some barrels of coarse powder for cannon; 360,000 percussion-caps; 130,000 balled-cartridges, 20,000 blank cartridges, and about 10,000 carbine balled-cartridges; left by the 6th light cavalry.—Parl. Papers (No. 4), p. 131.

the two officers made provision for the necessities of a dying sepoy, whom they found in one of the hospitals; and for an old bedridden woman, the grandmother of a sepoy musician, who had gone off with the rebels. They then proceeded to "the Logassee rajah's, nine miles off;" and there found Major Kirke. He had started with the other Europeans from Chutterpoor; but suddenly losing his senses,* had imagined the sepoys wanted to murder him; quitted the party without giving any warning, and fled alone by night to *Logassee*—the chief place of another small Bundelcund state, on the route from Calpee to Jubbulpoor. In 1808, the then rajah, a chief of ancient Boondela lineage, had been confirmed in possession of his little fort and territory of twenty-nine square miles in extent, on condition of obedience to the British government. The present rajah treated the fugitives "most kindly," and they passed the night under his protection; yet the major could not be soothed, but persisted in imagining all sorts of horrible deeds were being meditated by his host. The three officers left Logassee on the following morning, under a guard furnished by another Bundelcund chieftainess, the Ranee of Nyagong.

Meantime, the Europeans and sepoys had marched on to Mahoba, where they arrived on the 15th, expecting to overtake Major Kirke. The sepoys expressed great dissatisfaction at his prolonged absence, murmuring that all their officers intended leaving them gradually, and declaring that they would not proceed till they had found their major. A pressing letter was addressed to him on the subject;† and it appears to have reached him; for he and his two companions joined the party at Mahoba on the 16th, bringing with them a cartload of wine, tea, and other supplies from Nowgong. The sepoys welcomed their officers most joyfully. They had been distressed by a report of their having been murdered; and "were actually weeping" with suspense and sorrow when the major arrived. The original destination of the party had been Allahabad; but news of the disturbances at Banda and Humeerpoor induced a change of route; and, on the evening of the 17th, they proceeded towards Kallinger and Mirzapoor. Mr. Carne, the deputy-collector of Mahoba, accompanied the fugitives, making arrangements with the rajah of *Chirkaree* (another Bundelcund dependent state, under the rule of a Rajpoot family) for the charge of the Mahoba district, and obtaining from the rajah a sum of money for the expenses of the journey. A heavy demand was soon made on this fund. At mid-day on the 18th, during a halt under some trees, at a little distance from a pass between two hills, through which the road lay, a message was received from a man called Pran Sing, the leader of a party of dacoits, demanding 1,000 rupees as the price of escorting the fugitives in safety to Kallinger. At first, a refusal was resolved on; but the Native officers and men urged the payment of the money; and, as they had been most obedient and anxious to please, the Europeans let them have their own way in the matter. "The men accordingly paid down 300 rupees to the head of the party, and applied to the officers for 400 rupees, to make up the advance agreed on. It was given them, and the whole paid to Pran Sing," to whom 300 more were promised on reaching Kallinger.

The next morning, before daybreak, as the Europeans were preparing to move on without Pran Sing (who had not appeared), the camp was fired into from a tree between it and the pass. The sepoys began to fire wildly in return; and the treacherous dacoits commenced in earnest. "The major now came to his senses, and was himself, from being a child who spoke of a mango, or something to eat and drink, as if it were his life." He went among the sepoys, striving to induce them to force the pass; but they were utterly disheartened, and complained that their guns could not carry so far; while the matchlockmen were picking them off from the hills. Lieutenant Townsend fell, shot through the heart; and the party retreated towards Mahoba, leaving their buggies and carts in the hands of the robbers. Some of the Europeans fled on horseback; others on foot. Dr. Mawe and Mr. Smalley, the band-sergeant, walked from daylight till past noon, keeping up with the main body. The sepoys remained close to Major Kirke, who, as soon as the excitement of the skirmish had subsided, relapsed into imbecility; and, on reaching the outskirts of a village three miles from Mahoba, fell from his horse, and expired

* Captain Scot says, Major Kirke's "health had been failing; and now, from want of tea, and wine, and beer, he was quite gone."—*Times*, September 11th, 1857.

† Statement of Sergeant Kirchoff.—Further Parl. Papers on Mutiny, 1857 (not numbered), p. 77.

shortly after. Several others perished, but the major only was buried; the sepoys, true to the last, digging his grave with their bayonets, under a tree near the spot where he fell. A sergeant (Raite), overcome with the effects of previous drunkenness, would proceed no further, but went into a deserted toll-house on the road-side to sleep, and was left behind. Sergeant-major Lucas, a very large, heavy man, was suddenly struck by the sun. He fell; then rose; staggered a few paces—fell again, and never stirred more. Mrs. Langdale, the wife of a writer, was lost on the road; she had great difficulty in walking, being extremely stout: at last, Captain Scot says, "her husband left her, and she died or was killed." Captain Scot himself was at one time in the rear, and lost sight of the main body. He sent on Lieutenant Ewart, who was with him, to the front; but Ewart became delirious from the sun, and told the corps that the captain was close to them, when he was, in reality, miles behind. The column, therefore, pushed on, leaving Scot, hampered with women and children, to follow as best he could. He had brought away Lieutenant Townsend's horse, as well as his own; and by this means he was enabled to convey his helpless companions. In his official report, he scarcely refers to his own doings; but, writing privately to England, he says—"My work that day was terrible. I had to try to lug along two fat old women, while I carried three children on my horse, and tried to keep back the sepoys who were with me. The senior havildar got more and more savage, and wanted me to leave the children and the women; but I would not; and, thank God, they did not leave us. I came at last to Mr. Smalley, sitting beside his wife. She seemed dead, but it was doubtful; so I took her up before me, and gave a boy (one of the three children before mentioned) to my writer, who had got hold of my horse. It was a most arduous task to keep the utterly inert body on the horse, as I placed her as women ride; but after a while she seemed dead. I held a consultation about it, and we left the body. I then got on foot. I was lame from an awful kick of a horse, and had only a strip of cloth on one foot; but poor Smalley was worse off, and he got on my horse, and Mrs. Tierney behind; her two children each got a seat on the two horses; and thus I reached the main body."*

The sepoys had halted at a well, waiting for the arrival of Captain Scot, now their senior officer. At three o'clock the party entered *Kubrai* (a small town in Jaloun), twenty-four miles from Banda, where a "Nana Sahib" had usurped authority; this being supposed to be a title assumed by an agent of the Nana of Bithoor. The tacit ill-will shown in several villages through which the fugitives had passed, led the sepoys to request their officers to deliver up their arms, and to suffer themselves to be escorted as prisoners. This they did; and the sepoys described themselves as rebels, and bade the townspeople bring food for the captives, and forage for the horses, on pain of incurring the displeasure of the King of Delhi, by whose order the Europeans were being taken to the nawab of Banda. The townspeople assented, and brought chupatties and sweetmeats for the Europeans, who sat on the ground surrounded by hundreds of natives. "Not one said an uncivil word. Some," Captain Scot writes, "said our rule had been very just; some expressed sorrow; some, it struck me, did their utmost to get a few of us killed for the amusement of the city." When it grew dark the crowd dispersed; and the sepoys, being alone with the Europeans, told them that the trick of their pretended hostility had been discovered; that the Christian drummers had been seized and taken into the town by a rebel moonshee and a Mohammedan officer; and that, as the whole country was against the Europeans, it would be better for them to separate and shift for themselves. They spoke "sadly and respectfully." Their plan was adopted; certificates of loyalty were given to the whole of the eighty-seven sepoys, and they all made their way to Allahabad, thirty-five of them meeting Mr. Corregan (superintendent of roads) with a party escaping from Futtehpoor, and escorting them to Allahabad.†

The original Nowgong fugitives had considerably diminished before reaching Kubrai. Mr. Carne had quitted them, and sought and found refuge with the rajah of Chirkaree. A writer, named Johnson, preferred remaining to take his chance at Kubrai; and the Mrs. Tierney, before mentioned, was also left behind with

* Letter dated June 24th.—*Times*, September 11th, 1857.

† Letter from commissioner of Allahabad, July 4th.—Further Parl. Papers on Mutiny, 1857 (not numbered), p. 130.

her two children. "She was," Captain Scot remarks, "the wife of some sergeant that she had deserted for our sergeant-major:" "she had no chance of her life with us; and I had good hopes she would not be injured at Kubrai." Mrs. Tierney made her way to Mutoun, a large place between Kubrai and Banda. Sergeant Raite did the same. Mr. Langdale and another writer, named Johnson, also proceeded thither, and were protected, and most kindly treated, by an influential zemindar.

The other Europeans resumed their flight, in accordance with the advice of the sepoys. There were eleven adults and two children, and only nine horses. A Sergeant Kirchoff, who had been employed in the Canal department, under Lieutenant Powys, had joined them at Mahoba, with his wife, on foot; and their arrival increased the difficulties of the journey. On the following morning, while moving along the Banda road, the villagers came out, armed with long bamboos, and attacked the fugitives. Captain Scot was bringing up the rear, with Lieutenant Ewart; and they turned, and fired their pistols at the yelling mob, but without effect. At last two troopers and some armed foot joined the rabble, and Mrs. Kirchoff fell from the horse on which she had been placed. Her husband "seemed quite unable to put her on again;" and Captain Scot, feeling that they could not desert her, strove to dismount and fight on foot, being unable to do anything on horseback, hampered as he was with Mr. Smalley behind him, and "little Lottie," a girl of two years old, in his arms. He had just taken the poor child from her parents, Dr. and Mrs. Mawe, who were riding together on one horse, and scarcely able to support themselves. His intention of dismounting was frustrated. His horse, a runaway by habit, being pierced by a spear flung by one of the assailants, galloped off at full speed, with the weapon sticking in its right hock, and stopped only on reaching a watercourse it could not leap. Lieutenant Franks soon came up: a loose horse had attacked him and his mare, and, after chasing him round the combatants, had compelled him to gallop off. Lieutenant Remington had followed. The four took counsel, and, believing that their late companions had perished or escaped in another direction, they went sadly on their way. Little Lottie was safe; her preserver had thrown away his pistol in order to hold her fast.

As they proceeded, they continued to find "the villagers in the British territory most hostile," with one exception—that of a very poor man, named Ferukh Khan, who sheltered and fed them. At noon on Sunday, the 21st, while lying under some trees, they became aware of the vicinity of a concourse of armed men. Captain Scot snatched up the child, but, knowing that his horse was worn out, made no attempt at escape. The other Europeans had mounted, and got off a few yards: he entreated them to ride away, but they returned to share his fate. They were all taken to a village, where, Captain Scot says, "one old rascal looked at me maliciously, and made a hacking movement with his hand against his throat, as a suggestion of what we deserved, and what we should get." On reaching Banda, they fully expected to be put to death, having "only a very faint hope that God might spare them." They went through thousands of zealous Mohammedans to the nawab's palace; and then, to their inexpressible relief, were "pulled inside the gate," and assured they were safe.

The rest of the party were at first more fortunate than had been anticipated, for they succeeded in driving off the villagers, and escaping uninjured. Lieutenant Jackson shot the man who speared Captain Scot's horse; and Mrs. Kirchoff's horse having run off, he took her up behind him, and rode away, followed by the other Europeans; she sitting astride, and being tied to him, from the 20th to the 24th, when they reached Adjyghur. The fatigue must have been excessive, for they went forty miles one day.* By the 21st they had crossed the river Cane, five miles below Banda, and were resting near a nullah in that neighbourhood, when, being threatened by some villagers, they remounted and resumed their flight. Dr. and Mrs. Mawe were left behind: they fell together from their horse; and Sergeant Kirchoff, who had been previously holding it while they mounted, let the bridle go, having to attend to his own wife. Lieutenant Barber soon afterwards fell from his horse as if shot, and was left by the way, dead or dying. Lieutenant Ewart was struck by the sun on the 22nd, and lay senseless on the ground. He was "the most fearless of men;"† and even in their extreme peril and exhaustion, his companions made an effort to save him.

* Captain Scot.—*Times*, September 11th, 1857.
† *Ibid.*

Harvey Kirke (the son of the late major) went to a village for some water, but came back with a hooting rabble at his heels, and the Europeans were compelled to leave their brave comrade to breathe his last among foes. Shortly after this they alighted at a village to rest; but Lieutenant Jackson having observed something suspicious in the manner of the natives, passed the word to mount and ride off. Kirchoff, after helping his wife to her seat behind Lieutenant Jackson, and lifting a little child of Mr. Smalley's into the arms of Harvey Kirke (who had taken charge of it), went to loose his own horse; but before he was well in his saddle, several blows from lattees, or long sticks, caused him to fall to the ground. The other three adults escaped, and entered a village in the Adjyghur territory; but the child died on the road.

Adjyghur,—is a dependent native state, with an area of 340 square miles; bounded on the north by the native state of Chirkaree and the British district of Banda; on the south and east by the native state of Punnah; and on the west by Chutterpoor. The inauguration of British supremacy, about half a century before, had been attended by one of the terrible tragedies characteristic of the proud Rajpoot race. The fort of Adjyghur was surrendered in February, 1809, by Luchmun Sing Dowa, to the British, on condition of receiving an equivalent in lands in the plain. In the following June, Luchmun Sing proceeded to Calcutta, without giving notice of his intention to the British authorities at Adjyghur: they distrusted him, and resolved on imprisoning in the fort his female relatives, whom he had left at Tirowni, in the immediate vicinity. The father-in-law of the chief, being directed to make arrangements for removing the ladies, entered their dwelling, and fastened the door after him. A considerable time elapsed, yet he did not return. At length, no sound of life being heard, an entrance was effected by the roof, and all the inmates of the house—women, children, and the old man himself, were found with their throats cut. Not a cry or groan had been heard by the listeners outside, who were keeping watch to prevent the possibility of escape. The members of the heroic household, misled by an erroneous creed, had sacrificed themselves with one acccord to preserve inviolate the honour of their house and their personal purity. After this catastrophe, Luchmun Sing was pronounced a usurper, and Adjyghur, after being overrun by British troops, was made over to a chief named Bukht Khan (who claimed to be its legitimate rajah), on condition of the payment to the E. I. Company of an annual tribute of 7,750 rupees.*

Probably the three Nowgong fugitives had little acquaintance with the antecedents of their nation in Adjyghur. At all events they were kindly received there; and after resting some days, were sent on to Nagode, which they reached on the 29th of June. At this place they found Kirchoff, who, after being plundered by the villagers, had been suffered to depart, and had reached another village in Adjyghur, where he had been well treated, and sent on immediately.

It remains only to notice the fate of Dr. and Mrs. Mawe. Their horse having galloped off, they sat down on the ground, expecting to be killed. Dr. Mawe was quite prepared for death, having previously taken leave of his wife, and communicated to her his last wishes respecting their "four little girls in Ireland." Some natives came up and plundered them; and shortly after this, Dr. Mawe died. He had lost his hat, and had suffered fearfully in the head in consequence, until his wife found a sepoy's cap on the ground, and gave it him (being herself bareheaded all the time): but he retained his senses; and his last words were, "Poor Lottie! I am glad to know she is safe with Scot." The new-made widow, scarcely knowing what she did, bound his head and face in her dress—"for there was no earth to bury him;" and then went to the nullah, and sat down in the water on a stone, to cool her burning feet. Some more natives came up, and searched her for money. She got away from them (with her wedding-ring hidden in her hair), and walked barefooted three miles to a village, where she remained that night, and was sent to the nawab of Banda on the following morning, there to be greeted by the child who had been almost miraculously preserved.† Captain Scot remarks, regarding the baby-heroine of his tale—"How that child, two years old, lived, I know not; angels must have had their wings over it. On the 19th and 20th, its head was for hours bare to the sun. On the 22nd, I made a rag into a sort of turban. She,

* Thornton's *Gazetteer;* and *Asiatic Annual Register*, for 1809.

† Narrative of Mrs. Mawe.

aged three years in mind, during her ride, was as healthy as any child in England. She felt more horrified than Leonora after her ride with William, and could not endure my approach after her mother came."*

The begum of Banda had sent for the child immediately on her arrival, and provided English clothes and other necessaries for her use; making her a present of twenty rupees. She extended her kindness to Mrs. Mawe, who remained a fortnight at Banda, and to whom the begum gave, at their parting interview, a pair of earrings, on a little silver plate. Mrs. Mawe and her child went to Calcutta, and thence to England.

Thus ends the history of the escape from Nowgong, in the course of which many Europeans perished; but not one of them by the hands of the sepoys. The only blood shed by the Nowgong mutineers, was that of a Christian drummer named George Dick, an African.

Banda,—is a British district in Bundelcund, bounded by Futtehpoor on the north, and Humeerpoor on the west. The nawab, who protected the Nowgong fugitives, was a merely nominal prince, residing at Banda (the chief place of the district), in a handsome and strong palace, with an income of £40,000 a-year, guaranteed to the family by the East India Company in 1812; and maintaining a force of between four and five hundred men, comprising infantry, cavalry, and artillery, dressed and equipped in imitation of the British troops. The cantonments of the latter were situated on the east bank of the river Cane, or Keyn, and were occupied in June, 1857, by about 250 of the 1st N.I.†

The information published regarding the outbreak here, is very defective. The notices scattered through the Blue Books, are few and conflicting; and the Banda officials do not appear to have, either in their public or private capacity, furnished evidence regarding the reason of their sudden evacuation of the station. The summary of events dispatched to England by the Supreme government, states, that "the civilians and officers were forced to quit the station on the 14th, the two companies of the 1st N.I. having taken possession of the treasury. All had arrived at Nagode. By the latest accounts, the party of the 1st N.I. appear to be still in charge of the treasure."‡

On the 16th, the fugitives—civilians, officers, and ladies—reached Nagode in safety; and the nawab of Banda was written to by Major Ellis, the Nagode commissioner, and urged to exert himself to the utmost in recovering all plundered property belonging to either government or private persons.§ On the 22nd of June, Major Ellis writes to the secretary of government at Calcutta, declaring that he "cannot get any intelligence from Banda;" but that, according to bazaar reports, only two bungalows had been burnt there, and that the treasure was still all safe; "the two companies of the 1st regiment of N.I. standing sentry over it in the lines." On the strength of this "bazaar report," he urges that the nawab of Banda "should be warned that he will be held responsible for it [the treasure], as well as for his conduct in having ordered the Banda officers out of his house, though they do all speak well of him."‖

It appears, however, that the nawab needed every encouragement that could be held out to induce him to continue in the loyal course he had hitherto held, considering that no European troops could be sent to his assistance, and that the feelings of the Banda population and of the Boondelas in general, were fiercely hostile to the British. The story of the sepoys guarding the treasure, seems doubtful: so also is the fate of the joint magistrate, Mr. Cockerell, who is declared, in one official document, to have been killed at a place called Kirlace;¶ and in another, to have come into Banda the morning after the other residents had left, and to have been murdered by the troopers

* Letter of Captain Scot.—*Times*, September 11th, 1857.

† Letter of Major Ellis, from Nagode. The Nagpoor commissioner, in separate despatches (June and September), asserts that it was two companies of the 50th, at Banda, who "mutinied, and plundered the treasure;" but this seems altogether a mistake.—Further Parl. Papers (not numbered), p. 11; and Further Parl. Papers (No. 4), p. 272. The Parliamentary Return (House of Commons, February 9th, 1858), which gives the number and description of troops at each station at the time of the mutiny at Meerut, does not specify the regiments to which they belonged.

‡ Further Parl. Papers on the Mutiny, 1857 (not numbered), p. 2.

§ Letter of Major Ellis, June 16th, 1857.—*Ibid.*, p. 10.

‖ Further Parl. Papers relative to the Mutinies, 1857 (not numbered), p. 54.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 106. Kirlace is evidently a Blue-Book blunder: possibly the same town is intended as the "Kirwee" of the *London Gazette*, May 6th, 1858, where Mr. Cockerell is said to have been stationed.

and armed followers of the nawab, Ali Bahadur, at the gateway of the palace, where the corpse, stripped of its clothing, was exposed in the most ignominious manner, and then dragged away by the sweepers, and thrown into a ditch on the nawab's parade-ground. Several Europeans in the nawab's service—namely, Captain St. George Benjamin and his wife; a Mr. Bruce, with his mother; and a Mr. Lloyd, with two or three of his children—are alleged to have been "killed on the nawab's parade-ground, by his followers and other rebels."*

It is very strange that Captain Scot and his companions, who were taken to the nawab's palace on the 21st of June, and remained there several weeks, most kindly treated,† should not have heard, or having heard, should not have communicated to government the fate of Cockerell and the other Europeans. Thus much, however, is certain—that the nawab preserved the lives of the Nowgong fugitives, in opposition to the feelings of the Banda population, and to that of his own retainers, who had probably viewed with jealousy the English persons employed by him. The experiences of a member of an Oriental household, as given in the *Life of an Eastern King*, illustrate the jealous feelings with which the natives regard such interlopers; and in times of tumult, these foreign favourites would naturally be the first victims of popular vengeance. Yet Captain Scot, writing to government from Nagode on the 28th of July, and from Rewah on the 16th of August, mentions the request he had made to the nawab of Banda, to send parties to Mutoun in search of Sergeant Raite, Mrs. Tierney and her two children, and the writers Langdale and Johnson, with some native Christians, who had been protected by a friendly zemindar, and to bring them thence to Banda and advance them money.‡ This arrangement he would hardly have made, had he not considered the nawab both able and willing to protect the fugitives. Be this as it may, a long interval elapsed from the time Captain Scot and the other Europeans quitted the nawab, before any certain intelligence was heard from Banda; and the government reports ceased to give any information under that head.

Futtehpoor,—a British district, named from its chief place, is divided from the Banda district by the Jumna, and is bounded on the east by Allahabad, and on the north-west by Cawnpoor. It was taken by the East India Company from the nawab of Oude, by the treaty of 1801. At the time of the outbreak, Futtehpoor was a large and thriving town, with a population of between 15,000 and 16,000 persons. A considerable proportion of these were Mussulmans, and the district furnished many cavalry recruits. The residents consisted of the judge, the magistrate, and collector; the assistant-magistrate, the opium agent, salt agent, the doctor, and three or four gentlemen connected with the railway. The deputy-magistrate was a Mohammedan, named Hikmut Oollah Khan; and there were the usual number of ill-paid native underlings. There was a flourishing mission here; the number of converts was on the increase in the villages; but, according to Gopinath Nundy (the fellow-captive of Ensign Cheek), "the townspeople, especially the Mohammedans, often raised objections as at other places." Hikmut evinced a special animosity towards the mission, and instigated several attempts to retard its progress. One of these was the circulation of a report, that the Christians had resolved upon the destruction of caste throughout the town, by polluting the wells with cartloads of the pulverised bones of pigs and cows. Some of the officials told the magistrate of the report; but he laughed at them, and told them that the Christian religion did not allow of compulsory conversion, and that its teachers could not be guilty of such an act.§

This incident tends to account for the excitement manifested by the Futtehpoor population, and the excessive alarm evinced by the Europeans, on hearing of the Meerut catastrophe. The troops at the station were a detachment of fifty men of the 6th, under Native officers: the head-quarters of the regiment was, as will be remembered, at Allahabad; and considerable reliance was placed in its loyalty. It was a popular

* Report furnished by F. O. Mayne, deputy-collector of Banda.—*London Gazette*, May 6th, 1857; p. 2231.

† "Captain Scot and party were all well at Banda on 29th ultimo; he writes in terms of great praise of the nawab's kindness to them."—Political assistant of Nagode to government: "Nagode, July 8th, 1857."—Further Parl. Papers, p. 111.

‡ Further Parl. Papers on the Mutiny, 1857 (No. 4), pp. 131; 156.

§ Narrative of Gopinath Nundy.—Sherer's *Indian Church*, p. 187.

outbreak that was dreaded; and for this reason, the European ladies and children were sent to Allahabad, and the native Christians were advised, as early as the 24th of May, to send their families to some safer place. Futtehpoor lies on the high road between Allahabad and Cawnpoor, and is only forty miles from the latter. The heavy firing heard in that direction on the 5th of June, confirmed the fears of the residents; and in expectation of an attack from a body of mutineers (2nd cavalry and 56th N.I.), said to be on their way to Cawnpoor, the Europeans assembled on the roof of the magistrate's house, as the most defensible position at their command. The rebels arrived, and made an attempt on the treasury; but being repulsed by the 6th N.I. detachment, went on to Cawnpoor. On Sunday, the 7th, news arrived of the mutiny at Allahabad, upon which the Futtehpoor detachment marched off to Cawnpoor in the most orderly manner. The Europeans, who were ten in number, hearing a rumour of the approach of a body of rebels and released convicts from Allahabad, resolved on quitting the station; and on the evening of the 9th of June, nine of them mounted their horses, and rode off, accompanied by four faithful sowars. The tenth remained behind. This was the judge, Robert Tucker, the brother of the Benares commissioner, and of "Charlie Tucker," of the irregular cavalry —the young soldier who, when bullets were falling round him at Sultanpoor, had held the wounded Fisher in his arms, cut out the fatal ball, and only complied with the entreaties of his men to ride off, when, after the lapse of half-an-hour, he saw his brave colonel past the reach of human sympathy or cruelty. Charlie lived to return to his young wife;* the Futtehpoor judge died at his post. After the other Europeans were gone, he rode fearlessly about the streets, endeavouring to stem the tide of insurrection, by promising rewards to such natives as should render good service and be true to the government. The circumstances of his death are only known from native report. One of his last remarks is said to have been, "I am going to put myself at the head of my brave legionaries;" meaning the police guard, on which he relied to keep off the enemy. According to one account, he sent for Hikmut, who, accompanied by the police guard, and bearing the green flag (the emblem of Mohammedanism), entered the Cutcherry compound, and called upon the judge to abjure Christianity and become a Mussulman. This Mr. Tucker, of course, refused; and when they advanced towards him, he fired on them with such deadly precision, that fourteen or sixteen fell before he was overpowered and slain.†

Another account (an official one, but resting equally on native report) says, that the gaol was broken open, and the treasury plundered, at about 9 A.M. on the 10th, and an attack was made on Mr. Tucker in the afternoon, by a number of fanatical Mohammedans, headed by one Seyed Mohammed Hossein. Mr. Tucker took refuge on the roof of his Cutcherry, and was able for some time to keep off his assailants: they, however, eventually set fire to the building, and, under cover of the smoke, succeeded in mounting the roof and dispatching their victim.‡

The *Times*, in commenting on "the chivalrous sense of duty" which actuated Mr. Tucker, spoke of him as one of the most generous and high-minded of the Company's servants; adding, that "it had been his custom, for years, personally to administer to the wants of the poor natives —the sick, the blind, and the leper; and many of those who were fed by his bounty, will have cause to mourn him who has died the death of a hero, animated by the firm courage of a Christian."§

The other Europeans reached Banda in safety; whence, after much fatigue and many hair-breadth escapes, they proceeded to Kallinger, thence to Nagode, thence to Mirzapoor, and thence to Allahabad, which they reached in twenty-two days; having traversed a distance of upwards of three hundred miles.

Humeerpoor,—is the chief place of a British district of the same name, divided from Etawa, Cawnpoor, and Futtehpoor, by the river Jumna, and bounded on the east by Banda, on the south by the native states of Chirkaree and Chutterpoor, and on the west by the British districts of Jhansi and Jaloun. The town of Humeerpoor lies on the route from Banda to Cawnpoor; thirty-six miles from the former, and thirty-nine from the latter. The only troops at the station were a detachment of the 56th N.I., under Native officers. Mr. Loyd, the

* Mrs. Tucker's Letter.—*Times*, August 18th, 1857.
† Sherer's *Indian Church*, p. 183.
‡ Report of officiating magistrate of Futtehpoor (W. J. Probyn).—*London Gazette*, May 6th, 1858.
§ *Times*, August 18th, 1857.

magistrate, distrusted the fidelity of the sepoys of the treasure-guard; and "entertained a numerous additional police; carefully guarded the ghauts; impounded the boats on the Jumna; gave strict orders for the apprehension of fugitive rebel sepoys; and got assistance in men and guns from the neighbouring Bundelcund chiefs." After the outbreak at Cawnpoor and Jhansi, the position of affairs at Humeerpoor became very critical; but the magistrate continued to rely on the 330 Boondela auxiliaries, as affording the means of "overcoming the sepoys and all disaffected men."*

On the 14th of June, Lieutenant Raikes and Ensign Browne sought shelter here. They had been sent from Cawnpoor by General Wheeler, with two companies of the 56th N.I., to reinforce Oorai, a place about eighty miles distant. On the fourth day of their march, the troops hearing that their regiment had mutinied, did the same, and the officers rode off towards Calpee. Before reaching this place they had been robbed by villagers of their weapons and rings. At Humeerpoor they had little time to rest; for, within three hours of their arrival, the sepoys and the Boondelas fraternised; plundered the treasury, broke open the gaol, and were seen approaching the bungalow where the two officers, with Mr. Loyd and his assistant, Duncan Grant, had assembled. The four Europeans entered a boat moored under the house, and succeeded in crossing the Jumna in safety, though under a heavy fire of musketry and matchlocks. On reaching the opposite shore they fell in with some natives, who plundered them of 300 rupees: after this, they feared to approach the villages, and remained in the jungle, supporting life on a few chupatties they had with them. Ensign Browne, in a private letter to England, states, that for an entire day and night they failed in procuring a drop of water. He adds—"Towards evening, poor Raikes began to lose his senses; and, to cut the sad tale short, we had, when all hope was gone, to leave the poor fellow, and he must have died a pitiable death. After much exertion, we succeeded in getting to the river, and I cannot describe our joy and thankfulness in getting water. Next day, I left Loyd and Grant, and swam down the river three or four miles; and from the time I parted with them, on the 15th of June, until I joined the English army at Futtehpoor on the 13th of July, I wandered about from village to village in native clothes, and for several days without shoes and stockings.† I am thankful to say that I did not forget my God, but prayed fervently for you all and myself."‡

Messrs. Loyd and Grant are believed to have fallen into the hands of the sepoys, and been murdered by them. Several other Europeans who were unable to escape from Humeerpoor, perished there, including Mr. Murray, a landholder or zemindar; two clerks, Messrs. Crawford and Banter, with the wife of the latter; and a pensioner, named Anderson, with his wife and four children. The same feature which had distinguished the conduct of the mutineers at Delhi, was conspicuous here. They did not divide the government treasure among themselves, and depart each man to his home, or seek safety in obscurity; but they kept guard over the money, until, on the 20th of June, a troop of rebel cavalry and a company of infantry were sent by the Nana to assist in its removal. They considered themselves bound to abide by the general will of the army, as expressed by just any one who might be enabled by circumstances, whether of position or ability, to become its exponent. The cause to which they had devoted themselves was vague and intangible in the extreme; but their very devotion, together with the power of combination, which was a marked portion of the sepoy character, rendered them dangerous, even though generally without artillery, with few and second-rate gunners, separated from their European officers, and with no native leaders possessing the *prestige* which follows success.

Oorai,—is a small town in Jaloun, on the route from Calpee to Jhansi. *Jaloun* itself is one of our comparatively recent annexations. In 1806, a treaty was made with its Mahratta ruler, Nana Govind Rao, independently of the authority of the Peishwa, and territory was received by the British

* Further Parl. Papers (No. 7), p. 208.

† A subahdar of the 2nd N.I. (Bombay) was mainly instrumental in saving Ensign Browne.

‡ Letter dated "Cawnpoor, July 24th."—*Times*, September 21st, 1857. This officer is evidently the same person as the one who was at first supposed to have escaped from the Nana. (See Note to p. 261). Mowbray Thomson says, that Ensign Browne joined the volunteers on the arrival of Havelock; shared all the battles of the first advance to Lucknow, came back to Cawnpoor, and there died of cholera.—*Story of Cawnpoor*, p. 227.

government from Jaloun. In 1817, a new treaty was made with the Nana, acknowledging him the hereditary ruler of the lands then in his actual possession.* In 1832, adoption by the widow of the chief was sanctioned, "because it was agreeable to the people."† In 1838, the British government thought fit to take the management of affairs into their own hands. The army of the state was disbanded, and a "legion" formed, with two European officers as commanding officer and adjutant. It appears that the British authorities never seriously contemplated surrendering the sceptre to the heir whom they had acknowledged; but any difficulty on this score was removed by his death. "The infant chief did not live to the period when the propriety of committing the administration of the country to his charge could become a subject of discussion."‡ In 1840, Jaloun was declared to have "lapsed, as a matter of course, to the East India Company as paramount lord;"§ the feelings of the population at the extinction of their small remains of nationality being quite disregarded. As soon as the news of the revolt at Jhansi reached Jaloun, the example was followed; and the towns of Jaloun, Calpee, and Oorai, rose against the Europeans—not, however, imitating the ruthless extermination perpetrated at Jhansi, but quietly expelling the obnoxious rulers.

At the end of May, 1857, there were in Oorai two companies of the 53rd N.I., under Captain Alexander: these were to be relieved, in due course, by two companies of the 56th N.I., which left Cawnpoor for the purpose on the 2nd of June. The deputy-commissioner of Jaloun, Lieutenant G. Browne, had previously received a private letter from Cawnpoor, warning him that the loyalty of the 56th was considered doubtful, and that the men ought not to be trusted with the care of the treasury if it could possibly be avoided. He immediately addressed a remonstrance to General Wheeler regarding the dispatch of suspected troops to guard a large treasury; but, receiving no answer, he sent off every rupee he could spare, amounting to £52,000, to Gwalior on the 4th of June, under the escort of Lieutenant Tomkinson and a company of the 53rd N.I. The mission was faithfully performed, and the money delivered over to a guard sent from Gwalior to receive it. Lieutenant Tomkinson, hearing of the mutiny at Cawnpoor, wished to proceed to Gwalior with his men; but this the Gwalior authorities would not permit. He commenced retracing his steps; his company became mutinous, and demanded to be led to Cawnpoor. This he, of course, would not consent to; and the sepoys then told him he must not stay with them, as they could not answer for his life. Lieutenant Tomkinson rode off and left them. His fate was long uncertain; but his name does not appear in the list of casualties in the *Army List* or *Gazette;* and he probably, like many other fugitives supposed to be killed, was found, when tranquillity was partially restored, to be alive in concealment.‖

On the 6th of June, news of a partial mutiny among the Jhansi troops reached Oorai, and Lieutenant Browne sent to ask assistance from Captain Cosserat, who was in command of two companies of the grenadier regiment belonging to the Gwalior contingent, stationed at Orya, in the Etawa district.

Captain Cosserat arrived next morning by means of forced marches. The men were suffering from heat and fatigue; it was therefore resolved that they should rest until the following evening, and then proceed to Jhansi, where the Europeans were supposed to be still holding out with a portion of the Native troops. On the 8th of June, a force arrived from the Sumpter rajah, to whom Lieutenant Browne states that he had written (in his own words), "to send me in all his guns, some infantry and cavalry, to go with me to the relief of Jhansi."¶

Sumpter,—is a small native state in Bundelcund, placed under British protection by a treaty made in 1817. It is 175 square miles

* *Treaties with Native Powers*, p. 405.

† Note by J. P. Grant.—*Vide* Parl. Papers on Jhansi, July 27th, 1855.

‡ Thornton's *Gazetteer:* article "Jaloun."

§ *Ibid.*

‖ Lieutenant Browne, writing from Jaloun, September 21st, 1857, says—"Lieutenant Tomkinson's fate is unknown."—Further Parl. Papers (No. 7), p. 154. Captain Thomson, writing in June, 1859, states, on the authority of a Gwalior artilleryman who had been taken prisoner, that Lieutenant Tomkinson, when his men mutinied, "put spurs to his horse and rode as far as Jaloun, where he was kept in safety by a Thakoor, from June to November." In the latter month he was seized and put to death by the mutinous Gwalior contingent.—*Story of Cawnpoor*, p. 119.

¶ Despatch from deputy-commissioner of Jaloun, September 21st, 1857.—Parl. Papers relative to the Mutinies, 1858 (No. 7), p. 154.

in extent, with a population of 28,000. The entire revenue, in 1837, was estimated at £45,000; and its ruler cannot, therefore, have been supposed to maintain a very large force; nevertheless he obeyed the commissioner's bidding, by at once placing a field gun, 150 infantry, and sixty or seventy horse, at his disposal. On the afternoon of the 8th, Captain Cosserat started for Jhansi, with his own and the Sumpter troops, leaving Lieutenant Browne to follow at night. It was not deemed safe either to take the 53rd men to Jhansi, or to leave them at Oorai; and Captain Alexander offered to lead them to Calpee, where the deputy-collector, Sheo Pershaud, was striving, with very inefficient means, to keep down insurrection. Captain Alexander had not left the Oorai gate before the 53rd threw off their allegiance, but did not offer to harm the Europeans or plunder the treasury. The official account* is not explicit; but it appears that the men escorted Captain Alexander and his wife to Calpee, and then marched off to join the mutineers at Cawnpoor, and assist in blockading the wretched mud wall, inside which the mother and sisters of Mrs. Alexander (Mrs. Browne and her daughters) were cooped up with their fellow-sufferers. Captain and Mrs. Alexander remained at Calpee until the 13th, and rejoined Captain Cosserat's party on the 15th. They had some difficulty in effecting their escape; for the fort guard, and the whole of the police at Calpee, mutinied on the 12th. Sheo Pershaud held his ground some days longer. Writing to Lieutenant Browne, he declares —"Under your instructions, I had kept my post till the danger pressed very hard. On the night of the 18th of June, when I heard that the jaghiredar and the mutinous troops would arrive early in the morning, I was obliged to leave Calpee, leaving all my property, which, I am sorry to say, has all been plundered; my tables, chairs, almyrahs (?), and all English furniture, were broken to pieces; my buggy and palkee gharry taken away; my valuable library, which you had seen, was destroyed; in fact, nothing was left beyond a suit of clothes, with which I escaped. The chief, the sepoys, the townspeople, and my own police, plundered me, and did all the mischief they could; the rebels had offered a reward of 500 rupees for my apprehension, but the Great God saved me."†

The jaghiredar mentioned by Sheo Pershaud, is styled by Lieutenant Browne, the chief of Goorserai—a town between Humeerpoor and Jhansi. The news of the massacre at the latter place did not reach Oorai until after the departure of Captain Cosserat; and an express was immediately sent off to request that officer to return forthwith; but this he could not do, having in the interim received peremptory orders to proceed to Etawa. Lieutenant Browne resolved on quitting Oorai. He therefore wrote to the Goorserai chief (who held high testimonials from various civil and military officers), to come over to Oorai, and assist in keeping order there, and also in Calpee, Koonch, and other places in the Jaloun district and neighbourhood, till British reinforcements should arrive. Authority for this purpose was delegated in a paper dictated by Browne to a native official; but the clerk is said to have wilfully misrepresented the extent of power to be conveyed; and the deputy-commissioner, being ignorant of the language, signed a letter constituting the Goorserai chief ruler of the Jaloun district. On discovering the trick or error, Lieutenant Browne at once repudiated the sanction he had unwittingly given, but had no means of coercing the chief.‡ All the police and custom-house chuprassees had risen on hearing of the Jhansi massacre; and Lieutenants Browne and Lamb quitted Oorai on the 10th of June, intending to proceed to Gwalior. On the way they received news of the mutiny at that place, and turned their steps towards Etawa; but, before arriving there, tidings met them of the mutiny of the grenadiers, and the abandonment of the station by the Europeans. They therefore started off towards Agra, where they arrived in safety on the 20th, overtaking the Etawa fugitives, together with an equestrian company

* Mowbray Thomson says, the Native officers declared that they had assumed the entire command; but it was not their intention to injure their old friends. "They provided Alexander and his wife with a camel, and advised them to make their way to Agra, which they did."—*Story of Cawnpoor.* Captain Thomson, as an officer of the 53rd, would be interested in acquiring accurate information regarding the mutiny of the different companies, and the fate of their officers. His account of the Oorai outbreak resembles that of the deputy-commissioner's in its general features, but differs widely in particulars.

† Letter from Moonshee Sheo Pershaud, August 26th, 1857.—Parl. Papers (No. 7), p. 151.

‡ Letter from deputy-commissioner Browne.—*Ibid.*, p. 155.

belonging to a Monsieur Jourdain, and other stragglers.

On the 14th, a body of mutineers from Jhansi came over to pillage Oorai, and murdered two Europeans who fell into their hands—Mr. Hemming, an assistant-surgeon; and Mr. Double, Lieutenant Browne's clerk. The former is said to have been trying to escape in native clothes, and was killed by a sepoy of the 12th N.I., while drinking at a well near the cutcherry. Messrs. Passano and Griffiths, deputy-collectors, fell into the hands of the rebels, but saved their lives by becoming Mohammedans; after which, they were allowed to depart. A female relative of Passano's (either his mother or sister) was killed; but whether she nobly chose martyrdom rather than apostasy, or, like the majority of the victims, had no alternative offered, is not stated.*

Mrs. Hemming and her family appear to have escaped to Calpee, from which place they were sent on to Cawnpoor, after its recapture by the English, escorted by 500 of the Sumpter troops. The rajah was himself faithful to us; and his troops being a feudal militia, not a subsidiary force, were under his control, and proved perfectly trustworthy.

CHAPTER XV.

FUTTEHGHUR AND FURRUCKABAD.—MAY AND JUNE, 1857.

FUTTEHGHUR is a military station on the Ganges, in the Furruckabad district; three miles from the city from which the district takes its name. Mohammed Khan Bangash, a Patan noble, founded this city, which he named in honour of the reigning emperor, Feroksheer. *Ferok*, or *Faruck*, signifies happy; and *abad*, town. "The happy" was an epithet not in any sense applicable to the ill-fated patron of Mr. Hamilton and the E. I. Company;† but the town merited the appellation, being handsome, healthy, and cleanly; well supplied with provisions by reason of its position in the midst of a fertile and well-cultivated country, and possessing great commercial advantages from its situation within two or three miles of the Ganges, which is navigable thence upwards for 200 miles, and downwards to the sea. Its nawabs are accused of having thought more of war than trade; yet Furruckabad became the emporium, for this part of India, of all commodities from Delhi, Cashmere, Bengal, and Surat;‡ and as late as 1824, it had a mint, and the Furruckabad rupees circulated extensively through the North-West Provinces.

In 1802, according to Mr. Thornton, "the Company assumed actual possession of Furruckabad, liquidating the claims of the tributary Patan nawab by a fixed monthly stipend of 9,000 rupees; in addition to which, an annual sum of nearly 180,000 rupees was bestowed, in pensions and charitable allowances to his dependents." The fact was, that under the Wellesley administration, native princes were so liberally provided for, and so courteously treated, that neither they nor their dependents felt the sting of poverty, much less the deep humiliation which has been their lot since the new system of annexation came into fashion, with its curt official notifications, its confiscation of personal property, and its exposure to sale of "the dresses and wardrobes" of disinherited princesses, "like a bankrupt's stock in the haberdashers' shops of Calcutta—a thing likely to incense and horrify the people of India who witnessed it."§ Under the old system, the nawabs of Furruckabad (although Patan turbulence was proverbial) seem to have submitted quietly to their foreign rulers, and to have found consolation for the loss of

* Letters from commissioner of Saugor; deputy-commissioner of Jaloun; and Sheo Pershaud.—Further Parl. Papers (No. 7), pp. 150—156.

† See *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 239.

‡ Tieffenthaler's *Beschreibung von Hindustan*, vol. i., p. 139. Quoted in Thornton's *Gazetteer:* article, "Furruckabad."

§ Speech of Mr. Bright—House of Commons' debate on second reading of the India Bill, June 24th, 1858.

power in the enjoyment of titular rank and great wealth. Of their recent proceedings little is on record, the Supreme government having become profoundly indifferent to the character and condition of dependent princes, unless, as in the case of Oude, their shortcomings could be construed as affording a reason for the appropriation of their kingdoms. A native prince might be, if it pleased Providence to work a miracle in his behalf, a paragon of sense and discretion; or he might be, as there was every reason to expect, a besotted sensualist. In the latter case, it was usually deemed expedient to reduce him, with his family and dependents, to obscure poverty: in the former, virtue was left to be its own reward; for the ancient policy, of "India for the E. I. Company," like the modern graft of "India for the English oligarchy," was one which rendered natives of rank liable to many degrees of punishment, but debarred them from all hope of honours or rewards, civil or military. When the mutiny broke out, the position of the nawab of Furruckabad was, to the Europeans at Futtehghur, somewhat like that of Nana Sahib, of Bithoor, to the unfortunate people at Cawnpoor. It does not, however, seem that the nawab was viewed as a person likely to become of importance, either as a friend or an enemy. Of his proceedings prior to, and during the meeting at Futtehghur, we know very little: indeed, the only circumstantial account published by government regarding the events at that station, is given in the form of an anonymous and rather lengthy paper drawn up by one of the surviving Europeans. The writer, from internal evidence, must have been Mr. Jones, the younger of two brothers, engaged as planters and merchants. His interesting narrative, after being widely circulated by the London and Indian journals, was published in a Blue Book for 1857; and republished in another Blue Book for 1858, with a little variety in the form of type, and in the names of persons and places. The latter circumstance will not surprise any one accustomed to examine parliamentary papers; for, whereas editors and compilers in general, endeavour to attain, even on Indian subjects, some degree of uniformity and correctness; our public documents, instead of being an authority on these points, abound in glaring blunders. Were the Indian Blue Books to be indexed, the process, besides its direct advantages, would probably induce some improvement in the arrangement of their contents. If important papers must needs be withheld or garbled, at least unimportant ones, and duplicates, might be weeded out, and the public spared the expense of needless repetition. The nation is greatly indebted to private individuals, for the frank fearlessness with which they have published the letters of their relatives and friends. Without this aid, the chronicles of the mutiny would have been wearisome and painful in the extreme; with it, they are deeply interesting and full of variety. Besides, these private letters bear a stamp of authority which cannot be conceded to anonymous compositions. They are not such; for though unsigned, there are few of any importance which cannot, with a little care and the aid of the *East India Directory*, be traced to their true source. Perhaps some apology is due for the manner in which the names, both of the writers and the persons alluded to, have been sought for and applied, instead of being left in blank, as in the newspapers. But this identification seems to the author indispensable to a correct appreciation of the evidence thus afforded. It is not enough that he should understand the position of the witness: it appears to him needful that the reader should possess a similar advantage, and be able to make due allowance for the bias of the commander of European or of Native troops; the covenanted or uncovenanted civilian; the planter or the railway *employé*; and for that of the wives and daughters of these various persons; for, in many instances, a lady's pen, as at Meerut, has given the first and best account of an eventful epoch.

To return to Futtehghur. The troops stationed there consisted of—

The 10th N.I.—*Europeans*, 16; *Natives*, 1,169. Detail of Native Artillery—no *Europeans*; *Natives*, 28.

There were, therefore, sixteen European officers to 1,197 Natives.

The news of the Meerut mutiny arrived on the 16th of May; and from that time alarm and excitement prevailed. The wife of Lieutenant Monckton, of the Bengal engineers, wrote to England, on that day, a letter intended to prepare her friends for the worst, and which could hardly fail to reconcile them to the mysterious dispensation of Providence, in ordaining the perfection, through suffering, of one already so exemplary. Anticipating

calmly (like Mrs. Ewart of Cawnpoor) the speedy and violent death which awaited her, her husband and child, Mrs. Monckton writes—

"We cannot say, 'Pray for us.' Ere you get this, we shall be delivered one way or another. Should we be cut to pieces, you have, my precious parents, the knowledge that we go to Jesus, and can picture us happier and holier than in this distant land; therefore, why should you grieve for us? You know not what may befall us here; but there you know all is joy and peace, and we shall not be lost, but be gone before you; and should our lives be spared, I trust we may live more as the children of the Most High, and think less about hedging ourselves in with the comforts which may vanish in a moment. * * * Good-bye, my own dear parents, sisters, and friends. The Lord reigns! He sitteth above the water-flood. We are in the hollow of His hand, and nothing can harm us. The body may become a prey, but the souls that He has redeemed never can."

A few days later, she describes the terror excited by the report of the breaking open of another gaol besides that of Meerut, and the enlargement of many murderers.

"We went to church; very few people were there, and fear seemed written on every face—it was most noticeable; everybody felt that death was staring them in the face, and every countenance was pale. Mr. Fisher [the Company's chaplain] preached on the text, 'What time I am afraid, I will trust in thee. * * * We are quite prepared for the worst; and feel that to depart and be with Christ, is far better. The flesh a little revolts from cold-blooded assassination; but God can make it bear up."

On the 1st of June, she wrote home some last words, which well deserve a place in the history of a great national epoch, as illustrating the spirit of grateful, loving trust in which our Christian countrywomen awaited death, even though the inventions and gross exaggerations current at the time, must have led them to anticipate that their passage through "the dark valley" would be attended by every possible aggravation which could render it terrible to feminine purity, as well as to the tenderest feelings of a wife and a mother.

"I often wish our dear Mary was now in England; but God can take care of her too, or He will save her from troubles to come by removing her to Himself. * * * I am so thankful I came out to India, to be a comfort to my beloved John, and a companion to one who has so given his heart to the Lord."

On the 3rd of June, information was received that the Native troops at Shahjehanpoor and Bareilly had mutinied, and that a body of the Oude mutineers, consisting of an infantry and cavalry corps, were marching to Futtehghur. Mr. Probyn, the collector, states, that Colonel Smith and the officers had disregarded his advice to provision the fort, and garrison it with pensioners, and others to be depended on.* Ishuree Dass, a native preacher, connected with the American Mission, likewise remarks, that it was believed, that "had the majority of the old Native officers, who retired on pension only a few weeks before, been there, half the regiment at least would have gone into the fort with the Europeans. The recruits were the ones who were constantly on the point of breaking out, and were only kept down by the elder sepoys. So sure was the commanding officer of the fidelity of these men, that only two or three days before the regiment mutinied, he told us there was no occasion for fear, and that we might make our minds at ease."† This is quite contrary to the testimony of Mr. Jones, who asserts, that "the 10th were known to be mutinously disposed; for they had given out, that as soon as another corps arrived, they would rise and murder all the Europeans, only sparing their own officers." Mrs. Freeman, the wife of one of the four missionaries stationed by the zealous and munificent American Presbyterians at Futtehghur,‡ writes home, that "no one placed the least confidence in the 10th; for the men had told Colonel Smith that they would not fight against their 'bhai logue' (brethren) if they came, but they would not turn against their own officers." This lady adds—"Some of our catechists were once Mussulmans; and whenever they have gone to the city for the last two or three weeks, they have been treated with taunting and insolence. The native Christians think, that should they, the insurgents, come here, and our regiment join them,

* Edwards' *Rebellion in Rohilcund, Futtehghur, and Oude*, p. 67.

† Sherer's *Indian Rebellion*, p. 138.

‡ The American Board of Missions had a very important station at Futtehghur. The self-supporting Orphan Asylum, established at the time of the famine in 1837, had a tent and carpet factory, and also a weaving department, in which cloth was woven in European looms. A church had been erected in 1856, at the cost of £1,000. The Mission high-school had 250 pupils; there were also two orphan schools (for boys and girls), and seven bazaar schools, in connection with the Mission. Ten village schools, supported by Dhuleep Sing, were likewise under the management of the missionaries.

our little church and ourselves will be the first attacked; but we are in God's hand, and we know that He reigns. * * * He may suffer our bodies to be slain; and if He does, we know He has wise reasons for it. I sometimes think our deaths would do more good than we would do in all our lives; if so, His will be done."*

On the night of the 4th of June, the whole of the European population, excepting the officers of the 10th, with the women and children (in all, 166 persons), resolved on leaving Futtehghur. By land they were surrounded by mutinous stations; but the Ganges was still open, and they hoped to escape to Cawnpoor. They started in boats at 1 A.M., and were unmolested during that day and the following night. The next morning they were joined by four officers of the 10th, who reported that the regiment had mutinied, seized the treasure, abused the colonel, and fired on one or two of their officers; and that there was little chance of any of those who had remained behind having escaped.†

This intelligence was untrue. The fact was, that an attempt had been made by the convicts to break out of the gaol: some of them had succeeded, had fired a portion of the station, and advanced towards the cantonment. The four officers, hearing the tumult, and trusting to report for the cause, fled by the river. Had they remained, they would have seen their own men turning out willingly, and beating back the newly escaped criminals, killing several, and securing the others.‡ Soon after being joined by the officers, the fugitives were fired on by some villagers, and one of the party was slightly wounded. The next day they were told that a body of Oude mutineers was crossing one of the ghauts, a few miles below. The man at the ferry denied this. A consultation was held as to what should be done; and, as the party was very large, it was agreed that it would be safer to separate. Hurdeo Buksh, an old Rajpoot zemindar of influence and remarkable intelligence, had previously offered to receive and protect Mr. Probyn (the collector), and any of his friends, in his fort of Dhurumpoor, about ten miles from Futtehghur. Mr. Probyn, with his wife and children; two out of the four officers; Mr. Thornhill, the judge; Mr. Fisher, Mr. Jones and his brother, and other Europeans, with their wives and families, to the number of forty, resolved on seeking shelter with Hurdeo Buksh; the remaining 126 persons went on downwards towards Cawnpoor, where they arrived on the 12th of June. Their fate will be told on resuming the narrative of events at that station.

Mr. Probyn and his companions proceeded towards Dhurumpoor; but learning, on the way, that the 10th N.I., far from having mutinied, had quelled a riot, the collector and the two officers rode to Futtehghur, leaving the rest of the party to finish the journey to Dhurumpoor.

On the morning of the 9th of June, the Budaon§ fugitives, Mr. Edwards, and the Messrs. Donald, reached Furruckabad. There they were told all was as yet quiet, the regiment still standing; but that the station had been deserted by the civilians, with the exception of Probyn, who was still at his post. Thither Edwards and his companions proceeded, and found the collector, who told them that he himself placed no dependence on the 10th; but that Colonel Smith was very sanguine regarding the fidelity of the regiment; and Major Vibart‖ (of the 2nd light cavalry), who had commanded the party employed in quelling the gaol outbreak, was of the same opinion. Edwards and his companions were most desirous of

* Sherer's *Indian Rebellion*, p. 126.

† Statement of Mr. Jones.—Further Parl. Papers on Mutiny, 1858 (No. 7), p. 138.

‡ *Mutiny of the Bengal Army*; by One who has served under Sir Charles Napier; p. 155. This writer speaks of three officers having fled from Futtehghur, deceived by a false report. Jones says there were four; but the names of the officers are not given by either authority.

§ See p. 216.

‖ There would appear to have been two officers of the name of Vibart in the 2nd Cavalry. The *East India Register*, and the *London Gazette* (p. 2216), state that Captain and Brevet-major Edward Vibart was killed at Cawnpoor on the 27th of June; but, at another page (2235), the *Gazette* gives Captain Vibart, 2nd Cavalry, as murdered at Cawnpoor on the 15th of July. Mowbray Thomson asserts, that Major Vibart was the last officer in the Cawnpoor intrenchment; and that some of the 2nd Cavalry mutineers "insisted on carrying out the property which belonged to him. They loaded a bullock-cart with boxes, and escorted the major's wife and family down to the boats with the most profuse demonstrations of respect."—*Story of Cawnpoor*, p. 165. Mr. Edwards speaks of Major Vibart, of the 2nd Cavalry, as having called upon him at Futtehghur on the 9th of June; adding, that this officer, "when on his way to join his own regiment at Cawnpoor, had volunteered to remain with Colonel Smith, who gladly availed himself of the offer." Jones names Capt. Vibart as one of the Futtehghur garrison.

proceeding down to Cawnpoor by boat; but the news of the mutiny at that station, reached them just in time to save them from flinging themselves into the power of Nana Sahib and Azim Oollah. On the 10th of June they crossed the Ganges with Mr. Probyn, and joined the refugees at Dhurumpoor. All these persons, including the judge, were extremely dissatisfied with their position. The crowded fort was scarcely tolerable during the intense heat; and the defences were so dilapidated, as to render it hopeless to expect to hold them against any organised attack of the mutineers. The conduct of the 10th N.I., in the matter of the gaol outbreak, determined the Europeans on returning in a body to Futtehghur, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Mr. Probyn, who, with his wife and four children, resolved upon remaining under the protection of Hurdeo Buksh—a decision which the party leaving considered one of extreme foolhardiness. Edwards hesitated, but eventually resolved on remaining at Dhurumpoor.

For some days after the return of the Europeans to Futtehghur, all went well. The 10th N.I. gave a fresh instance of fidelity by handing to Colonel Smith a letter written by the subahdar of the 41st N.I., announcing the march of that mutinous corps from Seetapoor, to a position a few miles on the opposite side of the river, and requesting the 10th N.I. to rise, murder their officers, and seize the treasure. The answer asserted to have been given was, that the 10th had resolved on being true to their salt, and would certainly oppose the mutineers if they persisted in advancing. The 10th cheerfully obeyed their officers in breaking up the bridge of boats, and sinking all other boats at the different ghauts, to prevent the mutineers from crossing to Futtehghur.* They succeeded, nevertheless, in effecting a passage at dawn of day on the 18th of June, and entered the city walls unopposed. A company of the 10th, and the artillerymen with the two guns, stationed on the parade guarding the treasure, are said to have marched to the nawab, placed him on the "gadi" (cushion of sovereignty), laid the colours at his feet, and fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns.† Their next proceedings are not known. It is uncertain what reply the nawab made them; but apparently not a satisfactory one; for the sepoys returned to the parade-ground, saluted their colours, shared the treasure among themselves, divided into two parties, and left Futtehghur, after breaking open the gaol, and releasing the prisoners. All this time the Europeans remained unmolested in the fort, where they always slept from the first period of alarm. The few sepoys on guard there, remained obedient to orders until the seizure of the treasure, and then departed quietly, one or two returning at intervals to fetch their lotahs and other articles left behind in the fort. A European officer quitted Futtehghur with the mutineers, trusting to them for safe-conduct to some distant station: at least this seems the meaning of the statement made by Mr. Jones, and published by government without explanation or comment. After mentioning the breaking-up of the regiment, he adds, that "the Poorbeahs crossed over at once to Oude, with intention to make for their homes, accompanied by Captain Bignell. We afterwards learnt that this body had been plundered by the villagers, and Captain Bignell killed: others went off by twos and threes to their homes; and those who remained were killed by the 41st, because they were not allowed a share in the public money. Thus this regiment was completely disorganised and destroyed."‡

The Europeans knew not how to act: some suggested entering the boats; but the river was very low; and it was decided to hold the fort, and prepare for attack. They numbered, in all, upwards of a hundred; but of these only thirty-three were able-bodied men. A 6-pounder, loaded with grape, was mounted over the gateway; and, in the course of the next few days, they succeeded in bringing six more guns into position. The godowns were searched for ammunition for the guns and muskets, and a few (muster) round shot and shells were found, together with six boxes of ball cartridge, and an equal quantity of blank. The latter was broken up and used for the guns; while nuts, screws, hammer-heads, and such like, were collected, to serve as grape and round. The ladies, women and children, were placed in the house of Major Robertson (the head of the gun-carriage agency), inside the walls, where they were comparatively safe. On the 28th of June, the 41st N.I. opened two guns on the fort; and, taking up a position behind trees, bushes, and any cover

* Account by Mr. Jones.—Parl. Papers (No. 7), p. 138.

† *Ibid.*, p. 139.

‡ *Ibid.*

available, commenced a heavy fire of musketry.

For four days the enemy's guns and muskets played on in this manner, doing little direct injury to the defences or persons of the besieged, but exhausting their strength and ammunition. Colonel Smith, who was an unerring marksman, killed numbers of the mutineers, with a pea rifle, from his post on the wall, which he never left. Major Vibart was described as being the real commandant of the fort, going about, amid the thickest of the fire, directing and encouraging all.* On the fifth day the assailants changed their mode of attack: a company of riflemen posted themselves on the tops of the houses in an adjacent village; and others found shelter in a small outhouse, about seventy or eighty yards from the fort. They loop-holed the walls, and kept up a harassing fire from them, which rendered the garrison guns useless, as the men dared not lift their heads to fire. Mr. Jones (the elder) was shot while covering Conductor Ahern (the best gunner in the garrison) with his rifle. Colonel Thomas Tudor Tucker (8th light cavalry, then employed in the clothing agency) was killed on the same spot a day later; and Ahern himself was shot through the head while laying a gun.† Mr. Thornhill had been incapacitated for military action from the beginning of the siege, having been severely wounded in the hand and arm by the discharge of his musket, in the act of loading it. While the garrison had been weakened by casualties and fatigue, the rebel ranks had been strengthened by an influx of Patans from Mhow and elsewhere. Among these was Mooltan Khan, the preserver of Mr. Edwards in his flight from Budaon.‡ The assailants succeeded in springing a mine, and considerably injuring one of the bastions. Two attempts were made to enter by the breach. The second storming party was led by Mooltan Khan. He was shot dead on the top of the breach, by Mr. Fisher; and his followers fell back. The enemy commenced another mine, and brought a gun to bear upon the bungalow containing the women and children.

The besieged felt further defence to be hopeless. The river had risen considerably by the rains, and they had three boats in readiness. Therefore, about 2 A.M., July 4th, they evacuated the fort, having first spiked the guns and destroyed their remaining ammunition. No sooner had they passed the walls than the sepoys caught sight of them, and shouting that the Feringhees were running away, followed them for about a mile along the banks, firing at random and without effect. The fugitives had not proceeded far before they found one of the boats too large and heavy for their management. It was therefore abandoned, and the passengers distributed between the other two. The delay thus occasioned enabled the sepoys to come up with them; but they escaped again, and proceeded as far as a place called Singhee Rampore. Here they were fired on by the villagers: one boat, with Colonel Smith on board, passed on safely; but the other grounded on a sand-bank, and could not be moved. About half-an-hour was spent in fruitless efforts: at the expiration of that time, two boats, apparently empty, were seen coming down the stream. They proved to be filled with sepoys, who opened a heavy fire on the Europeans. Mr. Churcher, senior, was shot through the chest; Major Robertson, Mr. Fisher, and Mr. Jones were wounded. The sepoys came alongside, and strove to board the stranded boat; some of them succeeded. "Major Robertson, seeing no hope, begged the ladies to come into the water, rather than to fall into their hands." Mr. Jones swam on after the other boat, giving a parting look to his late companions. Lieutenant Fitzgerald sat still in the boat—a loaded musket, with the bayonet fixed, in his hand; his wife and child by his side. Mr. Churcher, senior, lay near them weltering in his blood. The others had all got into the water. Major and Mrs. Robertson, with their child and Miss Thompson, were standing close to each other beside the boat; Lieutenant Simpson and Mr. Churcher, junior, at a little distance; Mr. Fisher, who had been shot through the thigh, held his son (a beautiful boy of eight or nine years old) in one arm, and with the other was striving to support his wife, who could not stand against the current, her dress acting like a sail and

* Edwards' *Personal Adventures*, p. 81.

† A native messenger, dispatched by Mr. Edwards to Futtehghur, who succeeded in communicating with Mr. Thornhill, said that Mrs. Ahern had avenged her husband's death, by killing many of the mutineers with a rifle from the bastion where she stood, until she was herself shot down.—Edwards' *Personal Adventures*, p. 81.

‡ See p. 216.

throwing her down. Major Phillot, Ensign Eckford, and a few others, Mr. Jones did not see, but supposes them to have been killed. After about an hour's swimming he reached the other boat, which had also been fired on, and Colonel Goldie's youngest daughter, a Mr. Rohan, and a native boatman, had been killed, and several others wounded. The voyage was continued that night, without further molestation. Early the next morning a European voice was heard from the shore, hailing the boat. It was Mr. Fisher, who was lifted on board, delirious with mental and bodily suffering; raving about his wife and child, who had been drowned in his arms. In the evening the party reached a village in the territories of Hurdeo Buksh—opposite Koosoomkhore, in Oude. The inhabitants came out, with offers of assistance and protection. After some hesitation, from fear of treachery, the hungry and weary passengers came on shore, and fed thankfully on the chupatties and buffaloes' milk brought them by the herdsmen. A poor Brahmin took Jones with him to his home, and gave him food and a charpoy, or native bed, to rest on. In the course of two or three hours, a message came from Colonel Smith, saying the boat was about to start. The wounded man was, however, unequal to any further exertion, and he persisted in staying with the friendly thakoor native. The Europeans were unwilling to leave their countryman behind, and sent again and again to beg him to join them. At last they started, and nothing more was heard of the boat for several days, till the manjee, or head man, who took her down, returned, and gave out that Nana Sahib had fired upon them at Cawnpoor, and all on board had perished.

The herdsmen, in their dread of the probable consequence of harbouring a European, hid the fugitive so closely, that Hurdeo Buksh was himself many days in ignorance of the fact that Jones was in his territory; but as soon as he became acquainted with it, he took care to provide him with food and clothing. In the meantime the poor young man had suffered terribly from his wound, which threatened to mortify. In his extremity, he thought of the parable of Lazarus. A little puppy came frequently to the shed when he was at his meals, to pick up any crumbs that might fall: he induced it to lick the wound night and morning; the inflammation diminished immediately, and the hurt was nearly healed before the fugitive ventured forth to join his countrymen.* He thought himself the sole survivor from the boats; but this was not the case; Major Robertson, after having had his wife washed out of his arms, swam away with his boy on his shoulder. The child appears to have perished, but the father found refuge in a village, about four miles from that in which Jones lay hidden. Mr. Churcher, junior, had likewise escaped, and was concealed in an "aheer," or herdsmen's village, at a considerable distance from the places in which his countrymen were. Mrs. Jones (the widow of the gentleman killed during the siege) and her daughter, Mrs. Fitzgerald, and a single lady, whose name is not given, had been taken from the boat, and given over to the nawab, who held them in captivity. None of the Europeans sheltered by friendly natives, were permitted to see, or communicate with, each other, except the Probyn family and Mr. Edwards, who refused to separate, even though urged to do so, as a means of increasing their small chance of escape. The record of their adventures affords much insight into the condition of Oude and the feeling of the people. The loyalty of Hurdeo Buksh was greatly strengthened by his personal attachment to Probyn, who, he said, had invariably treated him as a gentleman. Of Mr. Christian (of Seetapoor), he also spoke in terms of respect; but the ill-paid, needy, grasping "omlahs," who were introduced in such shoals in Oude immediately after the annexation, had proved the curse of the country, and, in his plain-spoken phrase, had made the British rule "to stink in the nostrils of the people." The person of the chief accorded well with the manly independence of his character. Mr. Russell has since described him as a very tall, well-built man, about thirty years of age; standing upwards of six feet high, with square broad shoulders; regular features, very resolute in their expression; and dignified and graceful manners.

A body of the 10th N.I., 250 in number, actually crossed the Ganges during the time their comrades were besieging the Futtehghur fort; and it was said that a large number of mutineers would follow, to attack Dhurumpoor, put the Europeans to death, and seize some lacs of government treasure, which, according to a false, but

* Edwards' *Personal Adventures*, p. 138.

very generally believed report, had been placed there for safety. The defensive preparation made by Hurdeo Buksh, initiated his guests into some of the secrets of Rajpoot diplomacy. While sitting in an inner room, anxious to avoid notice (their unpopularity being at its height, as they were viewed as the cause of the expected attack), they heard a knocking and digging at one of the outer walls in their immediate vicinity, which continued for many hours. The noise suddenly ceased; and when suffered to leave their chamber in the evening, they were surprised to see that a fine 18-pounder gun had been dug from the place where it had lain concealed since the proclamation issued in the preceding year by the Lucknow authorities, requiring the talookdars of Oude to surrender all their ordnance. A 24-pounder was simultaneously produced from a field; and the wheels and other portions of the carriages were fished up from wells. Four other guns, of different sizes, were brought in from the chief villages in the neighbourhood; and all six were mounted and in position in the courtyard, ready for service, by nightfall. It was said that more could be produced if need were. Messengers were dispatched in all haste, in different directions, to summon the chief's adherents; and in an incredibly short space of time, nearly 1,000 people, all armed with some weapon or another, had assembled at the fort, for its defence. Hurdeo Buksh now told the Europeans that they must leave him and proceed to a small village across the Ramgunga, three miles off, where some connections of his own would receive and conceal them. Then, if the mutineers really came, they might be shown the interior of the fort, in proof that there were no Europeans there. Edwards, in reply, went up to him, and seizing his right hand, said they would go, if he would pledge his honour as a Rajpoot for their safety. He did so heartily; saying, "My blood shall be shed before a hair of your heads is touched. After I am gone, of course my power is at an end; I can help you no longer." In well-founded reliance on this assurance, the party started. A few weeks before, no European official went on a journey without a numerous body-guard of attendant natives to precede and follow him. Now, fortunate indeed were those whose gentleness in prosperity had attached to them so much as one tried follower in adversity. Towards midnight, the fugitives quitted Dhurumpoor, Probyn carrying three guns and ammunition, his wife one child, his servant another, Edwards the baby, and the faithful Wuzeer Sing the fourth child, and a gun. They reached the village of Kussowrah, and were very civilly received by "the Thakoors," who were uncles of Hurdeo Buksh, but of inferior rank, as their mother had never been married to their father.

The Thakoors had been great sufferers from the revenue arrangements consequent on annexation. One of them, named Kussuree, declared, that "he had paid a thousand rupees in petitions alone, not one of which ever reached Christian [the commissioner]; notwithstanding which, he had lost the villages farmed by him and his ancestors for many generations, and had been assessed so highly for those he had left, that he had only been able to pay his rent the preceding year by the sale of some of his family jewels, and a mare he highly valued; and this year, he said, he would no doubt have been a defaulter, and been sold up, had not the rebellion fortunately occurred."*

The hiding-place of the Europeans was a cattle-pen. The first intelligence they received was cheering. The sepoys who had threatened Dhurumpoor, had turned off, when within a short distance of that place, towards Lucknow. They had with them three lacs of treasure, which they had contrived to remove from Futtehghur without the knowledge of their comrades, who were deceived by their story that they were only going to Dhurumpoor, and would return the next day. Hurdeo's adherents desired to attack and plunder this party; but he wisely forbade them, because, as he subsequently told the Europeans, he "feared that if once his people got the taste of plunder, he would never after be able to restrain them." The sepoys accordingly passed through his estate without molestation; but as soon as they crossed his border, they were attacked by the villagers of the next talooka, plundered, and destroyed. Edwards, who makes this statement, throws further light on the fate of Captain Bignell, by remarking, that "they were accompanied by an officer of the 10th N.I., whom they had promised to convey safely into Lucknow; and, on being attacked by the villagers, they desired this officer to leave them, as they said it was on his account they were attacked. This he was forced to

* Edwards' *Personal Adventures*, p. 167.

do; and, after wandering about for some time, as we afterwards learned, he received a sun-stroke while crossing a stream, and was carried in a dying state into a village, where he shortly after expired." The wretchedness of the fugitives at Kussowrah was increased by intense anxiety regarding Futtehghur. While sitting, one afternoon, listening to the firing, a note was brought them from the judge (R. Thornhill), written in haste and depression, describing the worn-out state of the garrison, and imploring Probyn to induce Hurdeo Buksh to go to their aid. The messenger who brought the note had eluded the besiegers by dropping from the wall of the fort into the Ganges, and swimming across. The retainers of the rajah, although willing to peril their lives in defence of the refugees under the protection of their chief, or in repelling any attack on Dhurumpoor, were determined not to cross the Ganges, or provoke a contest with the mutineers; and the messenger returned to Futtehghur with this sad reply. At the same time, Probyn advised Thornhill to endeavour to get the assistance of a body of men in Furruckabad, called "Sadhs"—a fighting class of religionists, who were supposed to be very hostile to the sepoys. After the evacuation of Futtehghur, the two subahdars in command of the 41st, appear to have made a mere puppet of the nawab of Furruckabad, and to have compelled him to issue what orders they pleased. A message was sent, in the name of the nawab, to Hurdeo Buksh, informing him that the English rule was at an end, and demanding from him an advance of a lac of rupees, as his contribution towards the expenses of the new raj, or, in lieu of it, the heads of the two collectors, Probyn and Edwards. Several days elapsed, during which the fugitives were kept in constant alarm, by rumours of detachments being on the march to Kussowrah, for their apprehension. At length Hurdeo came to them by night; and, though quite resolved on opposing to the death any attempt which might be made to seize them, he said he had been obliged to treat with the nawab, in the hope of gaining time; as, so soon as the rains should fall, the Ramgunga and Ganges would rise in flood, and the whole country be inundated, so that "Dhurumpoor and Kussowrah would become islands surrounded with water for miles; he might then defy the sepoys, as it would be impossible for them to bring guns against him, and they would not dare to move without artillery." In the meantime his own position was extremely critical, and fully justified his anxiety about his family; for the mutineers threatened, if he did not immediately surrender the Europeans, to take very complete revenge both on himself and his people. Speedy succour could not be expected; the most important stations looked for it in vain. The hearts of the fugitives sank within them, as, pent up in the cow-house, they heard from Hurdeo Buksh, "that Nana Sahib had assumed command of the mutineers at Cawnpoor, where the English had been so completely destroyed, that not a dog remained in the cantonment; that Agra was besieged; that the troops at Delhi had been beaten back, and were in a state of siege on the top of a hill near there; that the troops in Oude had also mutinied, and Lucknow was closely invested."

It was highly probable that the rebels, and especially some of the escaped convicts, to whom Probyn and Edwards had been obnoxious in their capacity of magistrates, would immediately come and search Kussowrah. Near the village there was a tract of jungle, many miles in extent, in the midst of which was a hamlet of some four or five houses, inhabited by a few herdsmen,* and called by the fitting name of *Runjpoora*, the place of affliction. This village, during the rainy season, became a complete island of about a hundred yards square. The only pasturage, on sufficiently high land to escape being submerged, was about three miles distant, and both cattle and aheers proceeded to-and-fro by swimming—a mode of progression which habit appeared to have made as natural to them as walking on dry land to ordinary herds and herdsmen. To Runjpoora the party proceeded, after some discussion regarding the advisability of separating, as a means of escaping observation. The Thakoors offered to take charge of the children, promising to do their utmost for them; and urged that, by parting, the lives of all might be saved; but that if, unhappily, "the children did perish, their loss might be repaired—their parents might have a second family; but they could never get second lives, if they

* Edwards mentions a singular fact with regard to this little community. On Sundays, the aheers would on no account part with the milk of their cattle, but always used it themselves.—(p. 116.)

once lost those they had." This argument failed to induce the mother to leave her children; and Probyn would not part from her. Edwards endeavoured to persuade his follower, Wuzeer Sing, to provide for his own safety; but he persisted in his fidelity; and Edwards himself would not desert the Probyns, especially his "poor little friend the baby," who sank, day by day, for want of proper nourishment, until one night its protector missing the accustomed sound of the heavy breathing, started up, and found it dead by the side of its mother, who had fallen into the deep sleep of exhaustion; believing that her efforts had procured the infant an interval of relief. Edwards and Wuzeer Sing went out, and with difficulty found a dry spot under some trees, in which to dig a grave; and there the bereaved parents came and laid the little body, feeling, even in the first freshness of their grief, "grateful that their infant's death had been natural, and not by the hands of assassins." Another of their children, a beautiful and healthy girl, drooped rapidly under the privations endured at Runjpoora, and died in consequence, after the fugitives, at the end of a fortnight, quitted that place, and returned to Kussowrah. During their stay at Runjpoora, Edwards induced a native, named Rohna, to take a letter from him to his wife at Nynee Tal. By means of a little bit of loose lead, left in the stump of a pencil, he contrived to write a few words on a piece of paper about an inch square, which he steeped in milk, and left to dry in the sun. A crow pounced on it, and carried it off. Edwards was in despair, for he had no more paper, and no means of getting any; but the watchful Wuzeer Sing had followed the bird, and after a chase of about an hour, saw the note drop, and picked it up uninjured. The messenger carried it safely, reached Nynee Tal on the 27th of July, and brought back an answer. The lady and the child, Rohna said, were both well; but when he reached the house, the "Mem Sahib" was dressed in black. On receiving the letter, she went away and put on a white dress. During the interval of Rohna's absence, the fugitives passed through many phases of hope and fear. One day they distinctly heard a military band playing English airs in Futtehghur; the wind carrying the sound across the water, and reminding them of the near proximity of foes who were thirsting for their blood. Another morning (Edwards thought the 23rd of July, but had by that time become confused in his reckoning), they were startled by the firing of heavy guns in Furruckabad. The sound continued at irregular intervals for about an hour, when it entirely ceased. The Europeans listened with joy, for they had heard from a poor Brahmin (who had shown great compassion for their sufferings, depriving his own family of milk, to give it to Probyn's children), that the victorious advance of the British troops, and the terrible vengeance taken by them, had excited the greatest alarm at Furruckabad; they therefore believed that the firing was that of their countrymen, and that deliverance was at hand. Seeta Ram, the Brahmin, went for them to the city, and returned with the sad tidings that the sounds they had listened to so cheerfully, "had been caused by the blowing away from guns, and the shooting down with grape, under the orders of the nawab, of the poor ladies already mentioned as having been saved from the boat, and brought back to Futtehghur; and of many native Christians." The number was at first stated at sixty-five or seventy persons; but afterwards at twenty-two. The Nana's soldiers, infuriated by their defeat, had been the chief instigators of this atrocity, Mrs. Jones's little daughter, of about nine years old, had, Seeta Ram said, remained untouched after several discharges of grape, and a sepoy rushed up and cut her in pieces with his sword.

On the 2nd of August, the Europeans, while concealed in the cattle-pen at Kussowrah—which they looked upon as a palace compared with Runjpoora—saw a tall, emaciated looking figure approach them, dripping with water, and naked, except a piece of cloth wrapped round his waist. This was Mr. Jones, who, in consequence of the improved prospects of the British, had been at length permitted by his protectors to join his countrymen. He was very weak, and burst into tears at hearing the sound of his own language. The danger was, however, far from being past. The first shock of the mutiny was, indeed, over by this time; but the insurrection in Oude was only commencing. On the 22nd of August, Hurdeo Buksh, who usually visited the fugitives in the dead of night, came to tell them that he had received a copy of a proclamation, issued by the subahdars in command of the mutineers at Delhi and

Lucknow, to all the chief landowners in Oude. In this document, they expressed their surprise and sorrow that, although the army had risen in defence of their religion and for the common good, the landowners had not co-operated with the soldiers, or given them the aid they counted on when they rose. In consequence of this backwardness, the army now found themselves unable to contend successfully against the British. The subahdars, therefore, thought it right to warn all the chief men of influence and rank in Oude, that it was the intention of the British, as soon as they had destroyed the army, to collect all the high-caste men and sweepers in the province at one enormous feast, and make them all eat together. The subahdars, consequently, deemed it their duty to give the chiefs fair warning of the intentions of the British government, and to entreat them, for the sake of their common faith, to aid the army with their forces, and to rise and exterminate the infidels, and avoid so fearful a catastrophe as the loss of their caste.

Hurdeo Buksh remarked to Edwards—"You and I know that this is all nonsense and folly, but the proclamation is a highly dangerous and inflammable document; for its contents are implicitly believed by the common people, who are, consequently, much exasperated against the English." His own people were, he added, particularly excited by orders issued by the nawab and subahdar in Futtehghur, to prevent their crossing the Ganges, or getting any supplies from Furruckabad, of salt, sugar, or other necessaries usually procured from thence. Besides this, the inundation was daily diminishing; and when the waters subsided, the power of the Rao to protect the fugitives would be at an end. They had sent repeated letters by Seeta Ram to General Havelock (who was an old friend of Edwards'), without obtaining any reply: at length they received one, advising them to stay where they were, and watch events, as the rebels infested all the roads, and rendered travelling highly dangerous—almost impossible. The fugitives believed the hazard of remaining where they were, greater than that of attempting to join the British camp, since Hurdeo Buksh could with difficulty restrain his subjects. He had already offered to send the Europeans by land, "Teehun teehun;" that is, from friend's house to friend's house—all pledged to secrecy. One of the chiefs who had promised safe-conduct through his territory, was Jussah Sing, one of the most notorious insurrectionary leaders. Hurdeo Buksh admitted that Nana Sahib had taken refuge with him; but said that there need be no fear of treachery, for a Rajpoot was never known to break his word to a fellow-chief. The refugees, however, preferred the Ganges route, and started on Sunday, August 30th, under an escort of eleven matchlockmen, with eight rowers—the party being commanded by the brother-in-law of Hurdeo Buksh, Thakoor Pirthee Pal Sing; the chief known in the subsequent Oude campaign, as "Pretty Poll Sing." Hurdeo Buksh himself, with the Thakoors and other leading men of the village, came down to the boat, which was ostensibly intended to convey the female relatives of Pirthee Pal, on a visit to a different branch of the family at Tirrowah Pulleah, a lonely place on the Oude side of the Ganges, belonging to a talookdar named Dhunna Sing. After remaining two hours waiting for Major Robertson and Mr. Churcher, who at length resolved on remaining in their hiding-places—Edwards, Probyn, his wife, and the two surviving children, started on their perilous enterprise. Hurdeo Buksh had taken every possible precaution, at considerable risk to himself. All the boats at the ferries, both on the Ganges and Ramgunga, within the limits of his domain, had been seized the night before, for the sake of cutting off communication with Furruckabad; and, to secure the fidelity of the boatmen, he had taken their families into custody, with the intention of retaining them until the Europeans should have safely reached their destination. There were 150 miles of river-way to be accomplished. For the first twenty down the Ramgunga the risk was small, the influence of Hurdeo Buksh predominating thus far. For the last thirty, until the river joins the Ganges, the danger was great. Messengers, however, were waiting at stated places along the bank, to give information to the voyagers. At one point they were nearly wrecked, coming on a rapid, with an abrupt fall of almost four feet. The stream, notwithstanding the swiftness of its current, was so shallow, that the boat stuck in the middle, and, for ten minutes, remained as it were on an inclined plane, the water roaring and surging

round; while the fugitives, closely packed in the small covered space allotted to them, dared not make any effort for fear of discovery.

At length this difficulty was surmounted, and, at sunset, they floated out into the Ganges, there about a mile broad. The majestic river was still in flood, and carried the boat swiftly along to a ferry near a large village, where the stream narrowed considerably.

For a long series of years before the mutiny, fleets had been passing up and down the Ganges without intermission; but not a single boat (except those at the ferries) had been seen by the villagers since the arrival of the ill-fated crew from Futtehghur. The sight of the present vessel, with the armed men on the roof and deck, attracted the attention of the people collected with the intention of crossing the river; and the guards, as they approached, got their cartridge-boxes and powder-horns ready for action.

In reply to a challenge from shore, Pirthee Pal stated that he was taking his family down to Tirrowah Pulleah, and could not stop. A voice cried, "You have Feringhees concealed in that boat; come ashore at once." "Feringhees on board!" said the Thakoor; "I wish we had, and we should soon dispose of them and get their plunder." "Stop, and come ashore," was repeated; but, by this, the boat had floated past, and at nightfall anchored safely at a desolate place, from which the stronghold of Dhunna Sing lay about a mile and a-half distant inland. After an anxious interval of two or three hours, Dhunna Sing (in accordance with the arrangement made with his sworn friend Hurdeo Buksh) came on board with a few followers. The hearts of the weary fugitives rose at his appearance. They knew him to be possessed of considerable influence on both sides of the river as far as Cawnpoor; and when they saw the white-headed old chief, and noticed his wiry and athletic frame, his frank and self-possessed manner, they felt him to be "the right sort of man" for the work in hand. His men, in answer to repeated challenges from either bank, replied that the boat belonged to Dhunna Sing, who was taking his family to bathe at a celebrated ghaut near Cawnpoor. When this explanation failed to satisfy the inquirers, and a peremptory summons was given to stop and pull ashore, the chief himself came forward, and the very sound of his powerful and peculiarly harsh voice stopped further questioning. The Mehndee ghaut, the principal ferry between Oude and the Futtehghur side of the river, was a great place of resort for the rebels. As the fugitives approached the dreaded spot, the moon became overclouded, the rowers shipped their oars, and the boat glided rapidly past unnoticed in the timely darkness. Again and again they grounded: once they remained an hour on a sand-bank, at a crisis when moments were precious, it being most important to pass certain dangerous localities before morning. This they failed to accomplish; and at broad daylight they found themselves approaching a place where a body of the enemy were said to be posted, and which they had calculated on passing during the night. To their great relief, they found the place deserted. After proceeding some miles further, the current carried them close on shore, and brought them in contact with a considerable body of people, some bathing, some sitting on the bank. Dhunna Sing was immediately recognised; and the natives earnestly warned him not to proceed much further down the river, as he would in that case inevitably fall into the hands of the "gora logue," who were in force at Bithoor, and would kill all in the boat. The chief, whose tact had been previously evinced in escaping the solicitations of his personal friends to come on shore or receive them into his boat, affected great alarm at the intelligence. Probyn and Edwards caught up the children, placed their hands over their mouths, to prevent the utterance of a word which might yet be fatal, and listened in breathless anxiety while Dhunna Sing, coolly giving a side-glance at them as they lay crouched inside the covering, inquired of the natives where the British were posted; and, on being told, remarked that he could avoid that point by crossing to the Oude side of the stream; and called to the rowers to give way. The order was instantly obeyed; the boat shot rapidly on till it reached Bithoor, which the fugitives believed to be occupied by the British troops. They were happily undeceived in time. A native hailed them from the bank, and, in reply to the questions of Dhunna Sing, stated that he was a sepoy in the service of the son and successor of Jussah Sing, who had died about a fortnight previously of wounds received in action. When Bithoor was occupied by

the Feringhees, the Nana had fled in all haste. That place being now evacuated by its captors, he had sent a party (including the speaker) to search for the property he had left behind, and bring it to him at Futtehpoor Chowrassee, where he was in hiding, a few miles off. Several hundred armed men were seen congregated in and around the buildings; yet the sole boat which had appeared for nearly two months on the river, did not seem to attract the attention of the rebels; at least, they made no effort to question the passengers. The three Europeans were accustomed to look to a special providence for succour during their prolonged trial; and they considered this instance of preservation as "truly miraculous." About three hours later (that is, at 2 P.M., 31st August) they stepped on shore at the Cawnpoor ghaut, where a picket of H.M. 84th was stationed. With eager joy the soldiers welcomed Probyn and Edwards—insisted on carrying the children, and tenderly waited on their almost exhausted countrywoman, leading her to the tent of the magistrate (Sherer), past the slaughter-house where every other Englishwoman who had escaped from Futtehghur and reached Cawnpoor alive, had perished horribly.

In following this remarkable series of adventures during three months spent in the jungles of Oude, the course of the narrative has been anticipated.

CHAPTER XVI.

GWALIOR AND INDORE.—MAY, JUNE, AND JULY, 1857.

THE origin and progress of the Mahratta States of Gwalior and Indore have been already related; their history being closely interwoven with that of British India. In past times, Sindia and Holcar were honoured as brave foes; but the present representatives of these warriors have earned for themselves the nobler distinction of stanch friends, bold and true in the darkest hour of peril and temptation.

Before the outbreak, Sindia had given indications of inheriting something of the warlike spirit of his ancestors;* and all the Europeans conversant with the affairs of the principality, spoke of the prime minister, Dinkur Rao, as a man of rare ability and integrity. To him we certainly, in great measure, owe the prompt and unwavering fealty displayed by the Gwalior durbar. On the first evil tidings from Meerut, the maharajah hastened to place his body-guard at the service of Lieutenant-governor Colvin. The Gwalior contingent was, of course, entirely under British control; for the reader will remember, that this force was in reality part and parcel of the Bengal army. The young rajah had not the slightest control over the troops enlisted in his name, and paid out of his coffers. The men had not even the usual ties of mercenary troops; but, while they received the money of one master, they obeyed the orders of another. They had been employed by Lord Ellenborough to coerce the native government in 1843—a proceeding not calculated to increase their respect for either of the parties at variance, or to elevate their own principles of action. Sindia had never placed the slightest reliance on their loyalty; but had plainly told the British resident at his court (Major Macpherson), that these troops would follow the example of their brethren at Meerut and Delhi. Aware of the danger, the maharajah exerted himself strenuously to avert it. The name he bore would have been a rallying-cry for the Hindoos, far more exciting than that of the Nana of Bithoor; and the mutineers waited anxiously for some turn of affairs which might enlist Sindia and Holcar on the side of revolt. It was the bond of nationality, of creed and caste, which, at the commencement of the mutiny, gave them influence with the Bengal army. This lasted until it became evident

* "On one occasion, when his then newly raised artillery hesitated to fire upon a body of the old levies who had refused to disband, Sindia jumped off his horse, seized a lighted portfire from the hand of a gunner, and himself discharged the first gun." —Bombay correspondent: *Times*, August 1st, 1857.

that, for good or for evil, the chiefs had cast in their lot with the British government: then the troops set them at defiance, and fraternised with the great mass of their fellows. But the stanchness of the young Mahratta princes, and the energy, tact, and vigilance of their native advisers, kept back many thousand men from joining the revolt during the first epoch of panic and massacre, when their co-operation might have involved the loss of the North-Western Provinces, and of the mass of Europeans stationed there. Sindia's contingent numbered about 8,400—artillery, cavalry, and infantry. The men were of great stature, and admirably disciplined; the cavalry were well mounted, the artillery thoroughly trained. In fact, the Native contingents (and especially that of Gwalior) were the most inflammatory of the numerous combustibles which the Supreme government had laid ready for ignition, within easy communication of each other, throughout India. Gwalior and Indore had not yet been annexed: their reigning princes were both adopted heirs—the ancient law having been suffered to remain in force, though somewhat under protest; and these, with a few other surviving states, acted as boundaries to revolt and insurrection. But the current was too strong to be turned backwards by such obstacles: for the time, at least, it had strength to surmount what it could not destroy, and both Sindia and Holcar shared the perils which they had vainly striven to avert.

Detached portions of the contingent had mutinied at Hattrass, Neemuch, and Nusseerabad, at the end of May and beginning of June;* but the main body, at Gwalior, continued apparently firm up to a later period. Several of the English officers expressed strong confidence in their men. The native government understood them better; and felt that, unless Delhi were speedily recaptured, the spread of the mutiny was only a question of time. Dinkur Rao appreciated aright the feeling of the contingent, and likewise that of the small force maintained by the state on its own account. Both, he knew, sympathised with the sepoys, and differed from each other only in the superior attachment of the latter to the person of their sovereign. The troops on whom the maharajah could alone rely, were the Mahrattas and the Gwalior Hindoos. The complicated circumstances of his position were well set forth by the *Friend of India*, an authority which has never been accused of favouring native courts, or making undue allowance for their difficulties. The chief danger which menaced Sindia, arose, according to this journal, from the current of public opinion, which became almost irresistible under the excitement of the period, and which "pointed distinctly to the downfall of the British empire, and the necessity of adopting measures in time for the aggrandisement of Gwalior." The position of affairs was understood by very few of even the European residents; and "the first view in India, we believe, and certainly the view in England, was, that Sindia had only to declare for or against us," and "either hunt down or aid the mutineers."† As it was, he took so decided and uncompromising a position on the British side, that his life was in jeopardy, and he was actually driven from his capital by troops in his own pay; but, before this happened, he had succeeded in gaining a long interval of quiet, and had saved Agra by protracting the inevitable struggle until the Supreme government were fully forewarned and forearmed. The *Friend of India* admits, that the native court displayed "striking ability" and "really keen sense," "acting on a definite policy, and not on the vague, half childish impulses we are sometimes apt to ascribe to all ruling Asiatics;" adding, that the proceedings of the Mahratta durbar augur well for "the success of that policy of confidence which must be the key to any successful policy of the future." British functionaries, competent judges both from position and ability, have expressed themselves in yet stronger language regarding the important service rendered by the maharajah and his minister. Of the latter, Colonel Somerset Grove, who served in the Gwalior contingent for several years, speaks most highly; declaring, "I look upon Dinkur Rao as a gentleman, an honest and faithful man, and my friend."‡ It is remarkable how generally the most experienced servants, both of the Crown and of the E. I. Company, have concurred in bearing testimony to the ability and integrity which they had witnessed in native

* See pages 193 and 195.

† Overland *Friend of India*, November 22nd, 1858.

‡ Letter dated November 15th, 1858; written by Colonel Somerset Grove, to whom the author gratefully acknowledges himself indebted for much valuable information regarding Gwalior.

courts. General Lowe, the "anti-annexation" member of the Supreme Council, holds the same language in the present epoch, when, in Mr. Disraeli's words, the rule is "to destroy nationality;"* as, of old, General Wellesley held, under the wiser and more honourable system of respecting it. The latter authority was little given to enthusiasm in feeling, or warmth of expression; yet his despatches afford declarations of esteem and friendship for Purneah, the dewan of Mysoor, such as few European ministers elicited from his iron pen; and in describing to Sir John Malcolm the character of the wiliest of the continental diplomatists with whom his wonderful career had brought him in connection, he compared the famous Frenchman to their old Mahratta acquaintance, Sindia's ambassador at the famous conferences which preceded the treaty of Surjee Anjengaum, in 1803; remarking, that Talleyrand was "like Eitel Punt—only not so clever."

The present maharajah, the representative and heir, by adoption, of the Sindia of half a century ago, is more fortunate than his predecessor; for Dinkur Rao appears to unite the tact of Eitel Punt with the judgment and integrity of Purneah.

The officer in command at Gwalior, in May, 1857, was Brigadier Ramsay. On the 30th of that month, he reported to government the circumstances which had occurred during the four previous days. On the 26th instant, the men of the contingent had insulted Dinkur Rao on his entry into cantonments, and had given him so much reason to apprehend personal violence at their hands, that he returned to the Lushkur (the part of the town in which Sindia resided) on horseback, instead of the carriage in which he had come, and by a bye-road, to avoid observation. The reason of this strong feeling against the dewan was, the searching inquiries instituted by him to discover the originators or propagators of a report current in Gwalior, as in most other stations at that period, of the arrival at the bazaar of a large quantity of otta, which was being sold at a very low price, with the view of destroying the caste of the purchasers by means of the bone-dust secretly mixed with the flour. The exposure of the false and malicious character of this rumour, had rendered Dinkur Rao extremely unpopular. On the morning of the 27th, the maharajah urged that all the ladies in the station should be sent to the Residency for protection, as he had reason to believe that the contingent was altogether wrong and mutinous, and that the men had sworn on the Ganges-water and the Koran to stand by each other. In the event of the outbreak which he considered imminent, he advised the officers at once to mount their horses and ride off. The political agent, Major Macpherson, entirely concurred with Sindia, and moved that evening from cantonments into the Residency, taking the ladies with him; from thence they were sent on, at the earnest request of Sindia, into the palace, for greater security. The party consisted of thirteen ladies, four sergeants' wives (almost all with one or two children), the political agent, and the chaplain, Mr. Coopland. A telegraphic message was immediately dispatched by Major Macpherson, informing Lieutenant-governor Colvin of what had occurred, and requesting the immediate return of the maharajah's body-guard, to assist in escorting the ladies to Agra. A copy of this message was sent by the political agent to the brigadier, whereupon the latter neutralised its effect by dispatching another; in which he states—"I took on myself to report to Mr. Colvin, that we [the European officers] had slept in the lines the previous night, that all was quiet, and confidence increasing; and that I considered Sindia was disposed to enhance his own services at the expense of the contingent."†

The immediate effect of the brigadier's message was a telegram from Agra, desiring that the ladies should not be sent thither till the mutiny really broke out at Gwalior. The result was, that when the crisis came, the unmarried officers rode off and escaped; the married ones stayed to protect their wives, and were massacred.‡ In the evening of the 28th, Mrs. Meade and Mrs. Murray, "in opposition to the most urgent solicitations of Major Macpherson, returned to cantonments;"§ and the other ladies followed their example on the 30th, at the brigadier's express desire. There were about £6,000 in the treasury; and the brigadier, instead of sending this sum to the Residency or

* India debate.—*Times*, July 28th, 1857.

† Brigadier Ramsay's despatch, dated "Gwalior, May 30th, 1857."—Further Parl. Papers on the Mutinies, 1858 (No. 6), p. 152.

‡ Mrs. Coopland's *Escape from Gwalior*, p. 107.

§ Brigadier Ramsay's despatch.—P. Papers, p. 153.

the palace for security, and thus removing one incitement to revolt, contented himself by increasing the guard of the 4th regiment over it, with a view, he says, to lead the men to think that he feared danger from without, and not from within. Although thus thwarted, the native government and the political agent continued to exert themselves strenuously to keep down mutiny, bearing quietly the odium unjustly raised against them, and hoping for nothing more than that their anticipations of evil might prove unfounded. The news of the mutiny of the detachments, in concert with the other troops at various stations, increased the difficulty of retaining the main body in allegiance; the bearing of the native population expressed ill-will; and even the servants became insolent in their demeanour. This last circumstance, however, rests on the testimony of Mrs. Coopland, the wife of the chaplain of the station; a witness whose strong prejudice against the natives, evinced in her observations on them before the mutiny, tends to invalidate the credit due to her otherwise keen perceptions. The maharajah, the lady admits, "in some way prevented the women from being killed at Gwalior"—a service which, if it did not inspire gratitude, might have prevented the publication of an uncourteous comment upon his "limp, cold hand, just like all natives;"* and apostrophes in connection with the name of the man who had saved the writer's life, regarding the impossibility of finding out the motives of a "doubly-dyed traitorous Mahratta." The unreasoning antipathy to all natives, entertained by both Mr. and Mrs. Coopland,† rendered their position infinitely worse than that of the Europeans in general, either at Gwalior or elsewhere; for while these latter trusted implicitly (and were justified by events in so trusting), that their own household would, if they could not serve, certainly not injure them; the Cooplands believed every Indian their sworn foe, and anticipated treachery even from their ayah and punkah coolies. The chaplain, Mrs. Coopland writes, "seldom undressed at night; and I had a dress always ready to escape in. My husband's rifle was kept loaded (I learnt to load and fire it), as we were determined not to die without a struggle."‡

According to this authority, rifle-shooting was, even before the mutiny, a favourite accomplishment among a portion of the European ladies in India. Scarce as tigers are becoming in the more populous parts of the country, Mrs. Coopland "knew some ladies who had shot them;" and she makes disdainful mention of women who "faint at the sight of blood, and are terrified at a harmless cow." There may be some exaggeration in this; but if the ladies at Gwalior were really preparing to defend themselves, as early as the middle of May, with loaded pistols,§ the measure was sure to be reported, by the native servants, to

* Mrs. Coopland's *Escape from Gwalior*, p. 83.

† Mrs. Coopland speaks of Calcutta as "the capital of a country called the Queen's penal settlement for paupers" (p. 14); and of India as "Scotland's grave-yard." Then she relates the efforts of herself and her husband at scolding their attendants in Hindustani; and how, not being sufficiently fluent in that language, they had recourse to English, which, they "had been told, natives disliked more, as they did not know what it meant." Lest any of her readers should find themselves at a similar disadvantage, Mrs. Coopland adds, that "the most opprobrious epithets in Hindustani, are 'khala sour,' 'hurrumzadu,' and 'mourgeu' (black pig, infidel, and fowl").—(p. 19). To Sindia she took a strong dislike, on first arriving at his capital, for the following reason:—"Unfortunately, the rajah was a Hindoo, therefore the cow being sacred in his eyes, we were not allowed any beef except it was brought occasionally from Agra. * * * I wish the rajah had known what a grudge I owed him for this troublesome prejudice." (p. 48). Mr. Coopland's letters to England suggest sanguinary and impracticable measures for the suppression of the mutiny. They afford evidence of the conflicting opinions of the Europeans at Gwalior, and the manner in which, while one party endeavoured to conciliate the sepoys, another, including the Agra press, adopted a tone calculated to alarm and infuriate them. Writing from Gwalior, May 16th, Mr. Coopland declares the Meerut and Delhi outbreak to be a divine "punishment upon all the weak tampering with idolatry, and flattering vile superstition [not killing beef in a Hindoo state, for instance]. Of course we are alarmed here. There are only about twenty English officers, with their wives and children, in the station, and about 5,000 Native troops; so that we are entirely at their mercy. * * * Instead of remaining to have our throats cut, we ought to have gone to Agra long ago, or towards Bombay: all the European regiments should have been drawn together; *and every Native regiment that showed the least sign of disaffection, at once destroyed*, or at least driven away: for, as a leading article in the Agra paper of this morning observes, what Native regiment can now be trusted? I would leave for Bombay at once, but it would be death to be exposed even for an hour to the sun." Sooner, therefore, than encounter the heat of the journey, the chaplain remained at Gwalior to meet the death he anticipated at the hands of those whom he had prejudged as "the brutal, treacherous, Native soldiers."—(p. 85.)

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 111

§ Captain Campbell, we are told, before starting with the reinforcement to Agra, "gave his wife a brace of loaded pistols."—*Ibid.*, p. 88.

the troops, and was not calculated to increase the chance of escape for the women in the event of a mutiny.

Lullutpoor.—The mutiny in the contingent, which immediately preceded that at Gwalior, occurred at Lullutpoor, a military post, where the head-quarters and right wing of the 6th infantry were stationed, the left wing being at the fort of Aseerghur. On the morning of the 12th of June, forty-five troopers arrived from Nowgong. They belonged to the 12th irregular cavalry, the regiment which had been conspicuous at Jhansi for its ferocity. The detachment had been sent for, for the reinforcement of Lullutpoor, by order of Captain Skene, immediately before the outbreak at Jhansi; but the news of the massacre at that place, and the conduct of the 12th, had reached Lullutpoor, where, however, all remained quiet until the very moment of revolt. Dr. O'Brien, the regimental surgeon, remarks, regarding the mutiny of the 6th, on the night of the 12th of June—

"It was rather a sudden affair, and unexpected by me. Captain Sale, who commanded, and I and the sepoys, parted good friends. They told us they were the servants of the king [of Delhi], and that we might go: we saluted each other, and parted. The native sergeant-major, Ungud Sookool, was a man of vast influence in the regiment—in fact, he commanded it; and, had he been loyal, the regiment would not have mutinied. On the march of the right wing from Lullutpoor, the Boondelas thought they would catch them crossing the bridge, pour a volley into them, and get hold of the treasure; but Ungud Sookool was too wide awake: he threw out skirmishers on each side of the bridge, and swept the nullah. The mutineers had to fight their way from Lullutpoor to the Betwa river, which they did in good style, inflicting severe loss on the Boondelas. The wing was not more than 300 strong, as a portion of the men were on leave; the Boondelas were in thousands. After they crossed the Betwa they were in the Jhansi territory, and the firing ceased. On their march from Jhansi towards Oorai and Calpee, they fell in with a lot of Christian prisoners, whom they liberated and caused to be escorted to some place of safety. So that, on the whole, they behaved well to the Christians. Had one Native officer remained firm, three-fourths of the corps would have remained with him."*

Dr. O'Brien states, that but for the presence of the cavalry detachment, he should have remained at Lullutpoor until the morning; as it was, he prevailed on Captain Sale to join him in seeking the protection of the rajah of Banpore, a neighbouring chief whom he had known for years. The two Europeans, accompanied by several faithful sepoys, proceeded to Mussoorah (a small fort, four miles from Lullutpoor), and there found the rajah, who, at their request, sent off a party of horsemen to bring away from the station Deputy-commissioner Gordon, Lieutenant Gordon (6th infantry), his wife and children; the quartermaster-sergeant and his wife, and a Salt patrol. The rescue was quietly effected, and the fugitives were kindly received at Banpore. Yet it was subsequently discovered that the rajah had been tampering with the men for some time before they mutinied. He was deceived in the amount of money in the treasury, believing that it contained three lacs, instead of only 20,000 rupees. Buksh Bullie, the rajah of Shahghur, like the rajah of Banpore and many other chiefs, protected fugitives, but still joined in the revolt. Of the former, Dr. O'Brien, who was first sheltered and afterwards imprisoned by him, says, "I know the rajah of Shahghur was a long time wavering:" he was "a weak, vacillating man, easily led astray;" but, "had he or the rajah of Banpore had such a man as Dinkur Rao to advise them, they would not have rebelled; neither would they have done so, had Sleeman been at Saugor."†

At *Aseerghur*, great fears were entertained that the left wing of the 6th would follow the example set at Lullutpoor, and, seizing on the fortress entrusted to their charge, give dangerous assistance to the rebel cause, by the *prestige* attached to the possession of the famous old fortress. Happily, the inhabitants of Aseerghur, and of the neighbouring country, were well affected towards the British government; and the commandant, Colonel le Mesurier, considered, that by embodying for temporary service 100 to 150 active men, the safety of the fortress might be secured until reinforcements of Bombay troops should arrive. At the same time, he exerted every effort to prevent the men from hearing of the various mutinies taking place among the scattered portions of the contingent. The sepoys remained obedient and orderly throughout June; but early in July, the determined attitude assumed by the mutinous contingent, seriously alarmed the colonel, who felt that his men could not be expected to fight against, and would probably fraternise with, their own kindred.

* Letter from Dr. O'Brien, 28th October, 1858. Communicated by Colonel Somerset Grove.

† *Ibid.*

He therefore induced the entire left wing to evacuate the fort, on the plea of being encamped in readiness to join the field force then daily expected at Aseerghur. The men murmured, but obeyed; and at sunrise on the 6th of July, the regiment paraded and marched out in a quiet and orderly manner; immediately after which, a party of eighty-five men, who had been quietly got together a day or two previously, and warned to be in readiness, were marched into the fortress; and in another hour, the regimental guards were relieved, and joined their comrades at the encamping-ground.

To return to Gwalior, where the British continued to manifest an implicit confidence in the contingent, which Sindia declared to be "incomprehensible." The time, he said, for reasoning with, or professing confidence in, the sepoys was past, and any attempt to do either would be ascribed to false motives. Again and again he reiterated a formal warning, that the contingent troops had ceased entirely to be servants to the British government. The treasure from Oorai* was brought in by a party of the 2nd (contingent) infantry on the 12th of June, and Major Macpherson sent it at once to the treasury of the maharajah, as the sole chance for its preservation.

On the 13th, a wing of the 2nd infantry was ordered to proceed to the Persa and Seekurwaree districts, near the Chumbul. The commanding officer (Major Blake) was compelled to report that the men had refused to march; but he hoped they would yet obey. The 14th fell on a Sunday; and several of the Europeans, who were never to see another sunrise, left their homes early, to witness the funeral of an officer's child, the little son of Captain Murray. Major Blake and his lady, Major Sherriff, and Captain Hawkins, were among those who, after the funeral, attended church and partook of the Lord's Supper.

It must have been a solemn and deeply affecting service to all who took part in it; but to none more so than to Captain Hawkins, an excellent and very popular officer of twenty-five years' standing, then in command of the artillery of the Gwalior contingent. He was one of those who had upheld the trustworthiness of the contingent, or at least of his own men, in opposition to the maharajah, the resident, and Dinkur Rao; but he had other causes of anxiety. His wife had joined him from Seepree (the nearest station), in the middle of the preceding week, with her four children: a fifth had been born an hour after her arrival; and from the effects of hurry and excitement, the life of the mother was almost despaired of on that Sunday morning. Mrs. Blake, in a painfully interesting account of what she witnessed,† remarks —"The sepoys were, as usual, most respectful as we passed, both in going and returning to the burial-ground." In the afternoon, an unoccupied bungalow, in the very centre of the cantonments (the property of a native), was discovered to be on fire. A few minutes later flames burst forth from the mess-house, which was about eighty or ninety yards from the former building; and both were soon totally destroyed. The mess bath-house also caught fire, and was burned; and Captain Stewart's bungalow was only saved by the exertions of the sepoys. These fires caused alarm and mistrust among some of the ladies and officers; but others, again, so entirely rejected the idea of danger or treachery, that fears were allayed, and no plans made for the escape of either women or officers in case of an outbreak.‡ In the evening, shortly before nine o'clock, a report was brought up from the lines, that the Native artillery had turned out and loaded their guns. Captains Hawkins and Stewart hastened to the lines, and found their men preparing for action. When asked the meaning of their conduct, they replied they had been told they were about to be attacked, and had heard "that the Europeans were upon them." It was no time for discussion; and the officers were glad to do what they could to quiet the men, and induce them to disperse; after which, Captains Hawkins and Stewart proceeded to the brigadier's to report the circumstance.§ While sitting with him, some sepoys rushed in, exclaiming that the troops were in actual revolt. The alarm was sounded; and the officers, leaving the brigadier, returned to their lines. Most of the

* See *ante*, p. 318.

† Mrs. Blake's *Escape from Gwalior*. Printed for private circulation.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ "Notes of events at Gwalior, from the 11th of May;" published in the *Mofussilite* newspaper, August 19th. These notes are evidently extracted from a journal kept by one of the Gwalior community; but the name and position of the writer are carefully withheld.

Europeans had retired to rest, and were awakened by their servants. Bugles were heard sounding an alarm; voices cried, "To arms! to arms! the Feringhees are come." Major Blake rose immediately, dressed, took a hasty leave of his wife, and galloped to the lines. On arriving at the quarter-guard of his regiment, he was shot through the chest, and fell with his charger. Lieutenant Pierson, the adjutant of the 2nd infantry, was the next officer on the ground. He had been roused by the intelligence that the whole of the troops had mutinied, and were lining the main roads of the cantonments, with the intention of shooting down all the Europeans who should approach them. It must have been a hard trial to leave a young wife alone to meet death or worse, and to go, as it were, in search of danger in another quarter; and the young officer rode gloomily away, to join the mutinous body he had till now proudly called his regiment. "I knew what I had to expect," he writes; "and yet it was my duty to go and do my best; so I went away from my home, which I never saw again." He had not proceeded far on the road before he met Dr. Mackellar and Lieutenant Ryves, who had just escaped from Jhansi; and the three Europeans "were regularly hustled down to parade by crowds of sepoys." Four volleys of musketry were fired at them; and a ball, during the last one, shot Pierson's horse through the heart. The animal fell; the rider extricated himself with difficulty, expecting a bayonet in his back every moment. Wrenching his leg from beneath the dead horse, and leaving his boot behind, he went on parade, and there saw Major Blake lying mortally wounded. He knelt beside the dying man, unfastened his coat, placed his head on his shoulder, and tried to make him speak. Mackellar and Ryves stood by; and though the Europeans were surrounded by hundreds of mutineers during their attendance on the major, no attempt was made to injure them: indeed, the men of the 2nd Foot professed great sorrow for what had occurred, declared vehemently that the 4th Foot had done the deed, and seemed anxious to save their commander, if it were yet possible. But it was too late: the brave, kind heart that could not harbour suspicion or distrust, had nearly ceased to beat; consciousness was quite over; and his poor widow, when she learnt the manner of her bereavement, comforted herself by reflecting, that since her husband had lived "to fear the grave as little as his bed," "she might look upon his end as more of a translation than death, so rapid must have been the exchange from earth to heaven."

Some of the sepoys made an attempt to carry away the body of the dead or dying officer to the hospital; and, by their advice, the other three Europeans endeavoured to make their escape. The Jhansi fugitives rode off towards Agra; but Pierson, being on foot, could not accompany them. Three sepoys saw his position, and, catching hold of him, said they would try and save him. They threw off his hat, tore off his trowsers and remaining boot, rolled him in a horsecloth, and, while two carried the mummy-like burden, the third walked in front, and by dint of energy and resolution, by knocking up one rebel's musket, and declaring it was one of their wives they were carrying, they bore their burden safely past all the sentries, and crossed the river. Then they wished him to start for Agra, assuring him that the chances were ten to one that his wife had been killed by that time; but he was firm in refusing to attempt to escape without her; and, after much persuasion, the sepoys were induced to take him down the banks of the river (the opposite side of which was lined with guards to arrest fugitives), until they arrived opposite the house Pierson had so lately left. Then one of the sepoys said, "Now I will go and bring your wife, if she is alive." He did go, and, in twenty minutes, husband and wife met again. The house had been robbed by the sepoy guard: the money left with a faithful native servant for her use, had been taken from him, and the watch and chain snatched from her hand; but she was personally uninjured, though terrified and unable to walk. The three sepoys "behaved splendidly." The horsecloth, in which they had before swathed the lieutenant, was now tied "bag-fashion on to a musket," with the lady in it; and placing the but and muzzle on their shoulders, they carried her thus seven miles to the Residency, her husband walking barefoot by their side all the way. Three other European fugitives had reached the same place just before Lieutenant and Mrs. Pierson; and having procured an elephant, they all mounted on it, and started afresh, with the intention of seeking protection with the maharajah in the Lushkur, which was about five or six miles from the Mora, or British

cantonments. They had not proceeded above half a mile, before they met nearly a dozen carriages, the horses at full gallop, attended by an escort of Sindia's body-guard. The party consisted of Major Macpherson and his sister, Mrs. Innes (whose husband was at Lucknow), Brigadier Ramsay, Captain and Mrs. Meade and child, Captain and Mrs. Murray and two children, the Piersons, and seventeen other persons, of whom the majority were women and children. Some of them had escaped with great difficulty from the cantonments. Brigadier Ramsay and Captains Meade and Murray, finding it useless to attempt going to the lines, fled directly to Sindia with their families, under the escort of a havildar and some faithful sepoys.

On hearing of the outbreak, Major Macpherson had hastened to join the maharajah, and found him at his palace, the Phoolbagh, surrounded by his troops under arms. The brigadier and officers, with several ladies and children, had already arrived; and they believed that all left behind in cantonments must have perished. Patrols of picked men of Sindia's troops were, however, sent to search for fugitives. The maharajah and the dewan considered it perfectly clear, from the attitude of the rebels and the feeling of the durbar troops, that the Europeans could not be protected in Gwalior. Carriages, palanquins, and an escort of the body-guard, had therefore been prepared to convey them to the Chumbul, or, if necessary, to Agra.

Then followed an anxious discussion on the policy to be adopted by Sindia. The rebels were known to expect, that in the event of his refusing to enrol and lead them against the rich and weakly garrisoned fort of Agra, he would gladly purchase their departure with a large sum of money. Failing this, they threatened to bombard Gwalior, in which case it was probable that the maharajah's troops would coalesce with them; and, with their artillery and magazine, the nominal sovereign would be entirely at their mercy. It was evident that, under these complicated difficulties, the simplest course for the Gwalior court was to get rid of the mutinous contingent at once, and at any rate; but the arguments of Major Macpherson were successfully directed to inducing Sindia to act for the benefit of the Supreme government, and rely on its strength and generosity to uphold and reward him for any temporary sacrifice or peril to his more immediate interests. The part which he was to play was difficult and dangerous, as double-dealing always is, however good the object in view. It was to hold the contingent in check until Agra could be reinforced, or Delhi should fall. To this end it was deemed indispensable that Sindia should give no decided answer to the rebel deputations, by which (as was foreseen) he was subsequently besieged, but should lead them to believe that he was at heart one with them, and only waited a good opportunity of throwing off his allegiance to the British.

Sindia and Dinkur Rao were assured, that whatever the outer Anglo-Indian world might think of their conduct, the governor-general, understanding its true bearing, would approve any concessions that might be necessary for the all-important object—the detention of the contingent. This question being decided, the Europeans quitted Gwalior. On reaching Hingonah, a village twelve miles from the Chumbul, they found a band of 200 Ghazis, drawn up under a Mohammedan named Jehangeer Khan, who had once been a havildar in the contingent. Leaving the British service, he entered that of Sindia, and became one of his favourite captains; but the mutiny suddenly transformed him into a Ghazi leader of the highest pretensions to sanctity. The word must have sounded ominous of evil to such of the Europeans as had any acquaintance with the history of the Mohammedan conquest of India. The present "holy warriors," chiefly rebels from the British and Sindia's ranks, being novices, seem to have been irresolute as to their plan of action. The leader, after some preliminary discussion, approached Major Macpherson, arrayed in green; and, while fingering his beads, mingled his prayers with protestations of the absence of any intention on his part of injuring the Europeans. But the listeners were incredulous; for the captain of the body-guard pointed out to them a body of plunderers in evident concert with the Ghazis assembled in the ravines on the way to the river. Happily, Dinkur Rao, knowing the road, had foreseen that some difficulty might occur at this point; and in obedience to his summons, Thakoor Buldeo Sing, chief of the Dundowteeah Brahmins—a robust and warlike tribe—arrived at midnight, with a strong body of followers, just as the resident was preparing to abandon the carriages, and start the ladies and children on horseback,

by a bridle-path, towards Rajghaut, lower down the Chumbul. Buldeo Sing reminded the resident of a visit he had once paid them, and of his intercession with the dewan, regarding some tanks and wells for the people. "We have not forgotten this," he said, "and will defend you with our lives." He set one-half of his men to watch Jehangeer Khan, and, with the other, escorted the Europeans to the river, avoiding a band of mutineers stationed in one of the roads, by turning out of the usual path. It was well for the fugitives they had so stanch an escort; for the body-guard and the Paegah (or household) horse, alarmed at the prospect of being brought in contact with their mutinous brethren, refused to enter the ravines, and, deaf to all remonstrance, turned back to Gwalior The Europeans crossed the Chumbul by the aid of Buldeo Sing; and, on the opposite shore, the elephants and escort of the rana of Dholpoor were in readiness, in compliance with a requisition sent by Major Macpherson in the course of the previous day's march.

Dholpoor,—is the capital of a small subsidiary state of the same name, 1,626 square miles in extent, with a population of about 550,000 persons, chiefly Jats. The prince (also a Jat) is the representative of that rana of Gohud, the breach of faith with whom, in 1805, excited the indignation of Lord Lake.*

The reigning prince showed the fugitives every kindness; and, guarded by his troops, the remainder of the journey, although through a very disturbed country, was safely performed, and Agra reached on the 17th. Major Macpherson had received a slight sun-stroke in crossing the Chumbul; which, together with the anxieties of the time, occasioned a severe illness: owing to this, his early reports were very brief. He nevertheless maintained an active correspondence with Gwalior, through various channels, including an almost daily missive to and from Dinkur Rao, written in Persian cipher. The Dholpoor durbar also regularly communicated to Major Macpherson the news sent by their vakeel at Gwalior; and thus the Agra community, during their protracted season of anxiety, had the consolation of uninterrupted and reliable information regarding the chief danger by which they were menaced.

On Friday, the 19th of June, a party of women and children (all of whom were supposed to have been massacred) arrived from Gwalior, consisting of Mistresses Blake, Campbell, Raikes, Proctor, Kirk, Coopland, some sergeants' wives, and other European women, with their little ones.

The journey had been disastrous and wearisome in the extreme: several had even been widowed by the way. At the outbreak, Dr. and Mrs. Kirk, Mr. and Mrs. Coopland, and Mrs. Raikes, had taken refuge with Mrs. Blake. They listened in terror to the firing, which lasted about three-quarters of an hour; and, when it ended, were told by the sepoys on duty to go and hide themselves in the garden. They did so, and spent many hours sitting on the ground, under some citron trees, amid the glare of burning bungalows, the flames and smoke sweeping over them in clouds. The worst of the rebels, joined by the budmashes of the town, and maddened by bhang and excitement, smashed the windows and the china, burst through doors, forced open boxes, smashed scores of bottles of beer, brandy, and wine; and, by drinking the contents, stimulated themselves afresh to the deadly work of pillage and destruction. Mirza, the kitmutgar of Mrs. Blake, took his post beside his unhappy mistress. The sentry, who was also faithful, came to tell her that "the sahib was shot;" and she would fain have remained to meet her fate where she was, for "the bitterness of death seemed past;" but the two natives dragged her away to Mirza's hut, which was with those of the other servants at the end of the compound. Dr. and Mrs. Kirk, with Mrs. Raikes, her nurse and baby, had taken refuge elsewhere; but Mr. Coopland and his wife accompanied Mrs. Blake. They remained in a little inner room, while the rabble brought carts into the garden, and filled them with plunder. The greater number then went off; but a few came down to rob the servants of the kitchen utensils and other property, and to search for Feringhees. Mirza induced them to leave the place, under pretence of pointing out the hiding-place of some Europeans; and, upon returning to the refugees, he hurried them away, before the insurgents could return, to the mud hut of another of Mrs. Blake's faithful servants. Here they were joined by Mrs. Raikes, who had been previously concealed in the stable, with her ayah and infant; and they all lay crouched on the ground till about six in the morning, when a party of sepoys came back to search for

* See vol. i., p. 404.

officers. Hearing the wailing of the baby, they called to the ayah, who was near the door of the hut, to hand them any property that was inside, and show them the child. She was compelled to obey; and a general shout arose—"Feringhee ke baba" (it is the child of the foreigner); followed by a piercing shriek from the mother. The sepoys did not rush in, for they expected to find the missing officers in the hut, armed with the dreaded "revolver," carried by most Europeans; but they began to untile the roof, and fire on the wretched group crouched down in a dark corner. Mrs. Coopland had snatched up a log of wood "as some means of defence,"* but dropped it at the first shot; and her husband exclaimed, "Let us rush out, and not die like rats in a hole."† The terrified women threw themselves upon the mercy of the sepoys, exclaiming with clasped hands, "Mut maro, mut maro" (do not kill us). "No," was the reply; "we will not kill the mem-sahibs, only the sahib." The ladies surrounded the chaplain, and begged for his life; but in vain: they were dragged away; and he fled, pursued by the sepoys, who slaughtered him near the cantonments; but not before he had killed two of them with his rifle.‡ A young sepoy of the 4th Foot approached the terrified ladies, and told them to give up any jewels they had. The lives of women, he said, were not wanted; but they must obey orders; for the rule of the Feringhee was over, and the rajah would soon be in cantonments. Then he thrust them into a sweeper's hut, and left them. They lay down; and the stillness of their grief and terror was such, that Mrs. Coopland says, a little mouse crept out and looked at them with its bright eyes, and was not afraid. Presently Mrs. Campbell rushed in with her hair dishevelled, and in a native dress. She had been alone in her compound all night, and was half distracted with fear. Next came Mrs. Kirk, the widow of the superintending surgeon of the Gwalior contingent, who had just been killed in her presence. The wretches had torn off her bracelets so roughly, that her wrists were bruised and swollen—even her wedding-ring was gone; but her child, a boy of four years old, was safe in her arms. He had been spared by the sepoys, who, deceived by his long curls, had exclaimed one to another—"Don't kill the little one; it is a 'missie baba'" (a girl). A crowd of natives gradually gathered round the hut, and made their comments on the poor women. The beauty of Mrs. Campbell, once known as the "Rose of Gibraltar," was conspicuous even at this moment; and the gazers observed how well her feet looked in Indian slippers. Mrs. Blake, they remarked, was dying already. At length some of the 2nd infantry came in, and carried the miserable party to their lines. On arriving there, several of the men said to Mrs. Blake, in a faltering voice, "We will take you to the sahib." A dead charger lay on the road near the quarter-guard; the poor lady sickened at the sight. The sepoys placed her on a charpoy, and gave her some water. When she recovered, a subahdar of her late husband's regiment bent on one knee before her, saying the colours were gone. All sense of danger was lost in grief; and she exclaimed—"It is your own faults; where is he? and why did you kill him?" The subahdar replied, that the major had fallen by the hands of the 4th Foot, and that his own men had buried him: the latter statement was certainly true. At this moment, Mrs. Gilbert and her child arrived, with Mrs. Proctor: Lieutenant Proctor had been killed almost in their sight.§ They were followed by some of the grenadiers, and carried off to their lines. The men of the 2nd told Mrs. Blake they would order her carriage to take her where she pleased. It was a landau, calculated to hold only two persons; and the horses had been harnessed since the previous night, ready for flight. The five ladies, a nurse, two sergeants' wives, and some children got in, with Mirza as driver. The sepoys put beer, camphor-water, and plain water into the carriage; and two of them escorted Mrs. Blake half-way to the Lushkur, protesting their regret for the loss of the sahib, and offering her money, which, however, she did not need, having her purse and rings of value with her. On reaching the palace of the maharajah, the party were desired to hurry on at once to

* Mrs. Coopland's *Escape from Gwalior*, p. 125.

† Mrs. Blake's *Narrative*, p. 4.

‡ So, at least, Mrs. Coopland was afterwards assured by several natives.—*Escape, &c.*, p. 120.

§ Mrs. Gilbert, the wife of an absent contingent officer, had been staying with Lieutenant Proctor: her state of health rendered flight almost impossible. Her host and hostess (although they had planned to escape on horseback) would not abandon her; and the party lay concealed through the night; but being discovered in the morning, the lieutenant was taken away and murdered.

Agra, and were provided with bullock-carts for the purpose. The journey lasted three days, and the disaffection of the villagers rendered it perilous. Mrs. Gilbert, Mrs. Proctor, and Mrs. Quick, a sergeant's wife, joined them on the road; and their number was further increased by a European belonging to the Telegraph Company, with his wife (an Eurasian) and her baby. This man, instead of a support, was an additional burden, on account of his excessive cowardice. But for the vigilance and tact of the native, who even Mrs. Coopland calls "the ever-faithful Mirza," the journey could scarcely have been accomplished; but he proclaimed everywhere that the ladies were under the protection of Sindia, who would punish any injury done to them. They halted for the night at a large village near the Chumbul river: the natives gathered round them, and, looking at the ladies in succession, remarked that they were not worth a pice (a farthing) each, except Mrs. Campbell, who was declared to be "burra kubsoorut" (very handsome), and worth an anna (about three half-pence). Mirza had procured for his helpless charges, chudders, or large white veils, such as the natives use to wrap round their heads and the upper part of their persons. Mrs. Campbell strove to conceal her face in the one she wore; but the villagers drew it aside, saying, "We will look at you." At another time the party were pursued by some troopers, and Mirza almost despaired of escape. He made the women quit the carts and sit on the ground, bidding them pretend to sleep. They did so, and five sowars soon overtook them, and, on seeing the carts drawn up, stopped and dismounted. Mirza met the troopers; and Mrs. Blake and Mrs. Campbell, who were well acquainted with Hindustani, heard him pleading piteously for mercy. "See how tired they are," he said; "they have had no rest. Let them sleep to-night; you can kill them to-morrow: only let them sleep now." The men went away a little distance; but as it grew darker (for it was evening), they crept nearer again, and began loading their matchlocks, and unsheathing their tulwars. Mirza asked the ladies for any ornaments or money they had about them, with which to propitiate the sowars. Mrs. Campbell and Mrs. Kirk had been already robbed. Mrs. Coopland had left her purse and jewels in Gwalior; but she drew her wedding-ring from her finger, and tied it round her waist. Mrs. Blake took off all her rings and other ornaments, and gave them, with her money, to Mirza, who handed them to the troopers. The small amount of booty was a disappointment, and they pointed a loaded pistol at his breast, and made him swear that there was nothing withheld. Mrs. Campbell came forward, and offered them £40 to take a note from her to Captain Campbell at Agra. They hesitated; but at last refused, saying it was a plot to be rid of them, and to betray them into the hands of the authorities: they did not, however, further molest the fugitives, who proceeded safely to Dholpoor, the chief town on the route between Agra and Gwalior, thirty-four miles south of the former, and thirty-seven miles north of the latter town.

Although the rana himself proved a most valuable ally, the feeling of his subjects was strongly hostile to the British; and the party of European women, in passing through the town of Dholpoor, which extends on either side of the river Chumbul, could not but observe the angry manner in which they were regarded. They crossed the river in a rude boat, scarcely better than a raft, and were compelled to leave the carts behind; but soon after reaching the further bank, a trooper on a camel rode up, and gave Mrs. Campbell a note. It was addressed to Sindia; and had been written by Captain Campbell in the greatest distress of mind, under the belief that all in Gwalior, not of Major Macpherson's party, had perished. He begged that the slain in Gwalior might be decently interred, especially his own wife. This she herself read. The trooper offered to take her to Captain Campbell, who had come a few miles out of Agra, and was at the dâk bungalow at Munnia, resolved, at any hazard, to learn his wife's fate. Mrs. Campbell would not, however, leave her companions, who depended much on her, from her knowledge of the native language, and her helpful, hopeful spirit, happily not bowed by recent bereavement like that of Mrs. Blake. Taking a pin, she pricked on the back of her husband's note—"We are here, more than a dozen women and children; send us help:" and the trooper returned to Captain Campbell with the welcome missive. Encouraged by the prospect of speedy aid, the poor women resumed their journey on foot: some of them had neither shoes nor stockings, and a birth and a death were hourly expected. Mrs. Quick, the sergeant's wife, was excessively corpulent, as Europeans are apt to become in India. One

cart, a small frail one, had broken down under her before reaching the river, and she had toiled along slowly on foot, until room had been made for her in another. The intense heat of the walk on the sands of the Chumbul accelerated her end; she fell down in a fit of apoplexy, amid a group of natives, who crowded round, laughing at her immense size, and mocking her. She died in about a quarter of an hour, and her companions were compelled to leave the body, entreating the natives to bury her.* It was a sad death for one of "the most gentle and kind-hearted creatures that ever existed."† The rest of the party reached Munnia in safety, where they found Captain Campbell; and halted for a few hours, on account of Mrs. Gilbert, who gave birth to a child. She and the infant were placed on a charpoy, and carried to Agra, which city the weary band reached at six o'clock on the Friday morning, when they separated to take up their abode with different friends, or in the house appointed for the reception of the Gwalior refugees, where Major Macpherson and Mrs. Innes resided. Mirza continued in faithful attendance on his mistress until her departure for England. For his reward, "government gave him only £25, though he had lost more than that at Gwalior.‡

The artillery officers and their families were supposed to have perished; but, happily, some even of these had escaped. Captain Stewart had been wounded on the night of the outbreak by the infantry mutineers, but had been carried away, concealed, and attended to till morning, by a faithful servant, his bearer. Captain Hawkins might have escaped with his four elder children; but he could neither leave nor remove his wife and her infant, of three days old. The artillerymen offered to conceal them in the battery; and Captain Hawkins sent a message desiring his wife and Mrs. Stewart to come to the lines. Mrs. Hawkins was carried thither on a bed by some men of the artillery, accompanied by her nurse with the infant; and a large party of servants followed with the four other children. Mrs. Stewart set off in her carriage with her children, and was in much grief; for her husband's horse had just dashed into the compound without a rider, and she had learned that his master was lying concealed, and badly wounded. The party remained in safety during the Sunday night; but, on the following morning, the infantry mutineers discovered that some Europeans were hidden in the battery; and rushing into the sort of yard where they were, fired a volley, and then laid about them with their tulwars. Captain Hawkins stood beside his wife, holding her hand, when he and Mrs. Stewart (who was clinging to his arm) were killed by the same bullet. The nurse was shot, and the infant in her arms is supposed to have been killed by the fall. Two boys, the children of Mrs. Stewart and Mrs. Hawkins, were slain by a tulwar; but Mrs. Hawkins, with her three other children and little Charlotte Stewart, a girl of six years old, were not injured.

The sepoys, from their furious onslaught, evidently expected to find several officers assembled; otherwise, they would have taken care to spare the women and children, according to the rule observed throughout the Gwalior mutiny; for although there were no less than six ladies and eight children in the cantonments at the time, without any male relatives to assist their flight (their husbands and fathers being on duty elsewhere), they all escaped. Mrs. Ferris was one of these. She, Mrs. Hennessy, and Mrs. Christison, heard the alarm bugle while undressing for the night, and fled to Sindia's palace without shoes or bonnets. Their only protector was young Hennessy, a brave lad of seventeen, who had several children (including his own sister) to care for. All the party joined the political agent safely; but Major Ferris, who was in command at one of the out-stations, in trying to come into Gwalior with another young officer, was stopped by the villagers, dragged from his gharry, and so severely flogged that he died in consequence. His companion was similarly treated; but he made his way to Agra, and, after a long illness, eventually recovered.§

It is beyond a doubt, that generally, throughout the insurrection, womanhood and infancy found in sex and weakness their best defence; the mass of widows and orphans who have escaped untouched by fire or the sword, or fouler wrong, affords strong proof of this: and the fact is the more remarkable, when it is remembered that the maddened multitude had little prospect for the future, save the alternatives

* Mrs. Coopland's *Escape from Gwalior*, p. 142.
† Testimony of Lieut.-colonel Somerset Grove.
‡ Mrs. Coopland's *Escape from Gwalior*, p. 247
§ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

of starvation or a halter, and that a leading class of the insurgents at most of the stations were released convicts, many of whom were actually under sentence of death.

Captain Stewart is said to have been shot by the mutineers on the Monday morning. After learning from his faithful servant the death of his wife, he said he no longer cared to live. The bearer concentrated his devotion on his master's orphan, and assisted her in escaping to Agra with Mrs. Hawkins and her three children. That this poor lady should have survived the frightful excitement and fatigue she underwent, is one of the marvels of the time. In her night attire, prostrate and helpless, she had witnessed the massacre of her kind and brave husband, her two children, her nurse, and friend, with the additional anguish of feeling herself the cause of hindering their flight on the previous evening. The danger of her surviving children compelled her to wrestle with both grief and weakness. She was acquainted with Colonel Filose, who lived with his brother in the Lushkur, and held the command of the rajah's personal troops; and to him she wrote, asking for assistance. These brothers were descended from the well-known French officer of the same name—one of the successful continental adventurers who trained the Mahratta troops of former times, and rendered them so dangerous to British power, until the ground was cut from under their feet by Marquis Wellesley's system of subsidiary alliances. Colonel Filose sent a bullock-cart for Mrs. Hawkins; and after staying two nights in the cavalry lines, the sepoys procured some clothes for her and her children, and they started for Agra, accompanied by little Charlotte Stewart and the faithful bearer. On the 22nd of June, the fugitives reached their destination, after encountering some perils and extreme fatigue.

Besides the females already named, a Mrs. Burrows was killed at Gwalior. She was the widow of a commissary of ordnance, who had risen from the ranks, and saved a great deal of money. He died a short time before the mutiny, and his widow buried his hoards. The sepoys, aware of this, commanded Mrs. Burrows to point out the hidden treasure, and shot her because she refused to reveal the secret.*

In all, twenty Europeans perished at Gwalior, including five sergeants, a corporal, and a drummer. The bodies (except that of Major Blake, which was immediately interred in the grave-yard by the men of his own corps) were buried by order of the maharajah. None of them had been stripped or mutilated.†

Indore and Mhow.—The city which gives its name to the state was built in 1767, by the good and gifted princess, Ahalya Bye, the widow of Mulhar Rao Holcar.‡ The palace of the maharajah, and the British Residency, are at Indore; but the principal British force for this part of India is cantoned thirteen miles to the south-west of Indore, and a mile and a-half from the town of Mhow. The troops in the Mhow cantonments, May, 1857, consisted of—

One company of Artillery—*Europeans*, 91; *Natives*, 98. Right wing of the 1st Light Cavalry—*Europeans*, 13; *Natives*, 282. The 23rd N.I.—*Europeans*, 16; *Natives*, 1,179.

Holcar's troops, the number and payment of which were regulated by treaty, consisted of about 642 artillerymen, 3,820 cavalry, and 3,145 infantry, including the contingent of horse, which he was bound to furnish to the Supreme government. He likewise contributed annually to the maintenance of the Malwa Bheel corps; and a further sum to the Malwa contingent, supported at the expense of the various dependent princes and chiefs of Malwa, but nevertheless a part of the Bengal army, with which all the contingent and subsidiary troops soon proved their identity of feeling. Of the troops on duty at Indore there is no official record;§ but, from private accounts, there were, on the 1st of July, a regiment of Bhopal contingent cavalry, three companies of Bhopal contingent infantry, with two guns; two companies of the Malwa Bheel corps, and a body of Holcar's troops, infantry and cavalry, with three guns.

Bhopal itself is a native dependent state of Malwa, bounded on the south-west by the territories of Holcar and Sindia. The reigning family are Patans, but the great

* Mrs. Coopland's *Escape from Gwalior*, p. 155.

† Report of Dr. Christison, Gwalior, 4th July, 1858.

‡ See *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 391.

§ The returns quoted regarding the mutinous regiments, give only those of the Bengal army, not the contingent and subsidiary troops. Neither is there any circumstantial account in the Blue Books regarding the revolt at Indore; though there are three separate ones, by Major Cooper, Captains Hungerford and Brooks, of that at Mhow.

mass of the population are Hindoos. The contingent, the principal station of which was at Sehore (twenty miles from the capital), consisted, in all, of about 800 men, including forty-eight artillerymen and four European officers.

Holcar, like Sindia, early recognised the little reliance which could be placed on the Bengal or contingent regiments either at Mhow or Indore, or even on the troops in his own service. Of his personal fidelity no apprehension was entertained by those who knew him thoroughly; but his youth and inexperience, his energy of mind and body, his popularity, the name he bore, and the traditions of his race, were temptations which sound judgment and high principle could alone resist. He had been from boyhood of an adventurous turn, and loved to spend whole days in the saddle, examining every part of his dominions; and to ramble about his capital at night, *incognito*, like Haroun ul Raschid; gaining information, without any intermediary, of the condition and temper of his subjects. The resident, Sir Robert Hamilton, had filled his arduous and delicate position with rare ability; and the strong affection which subsisted between him and the young prince, was no less honourable to them personally than conducive to the welfare of Indore. Unhappily, Sir Robert was in England at the time of the Meerut outbreak. Holcar wrote immediately, urging his return; and bestirred himself in every possible way to prevent revolt, taking his stand in the most unequivocal manner on the side of the British.

In the middle of May, incendiary fires* gave evidence of disaffection; but the excitement subsided; and the Europeans, both at Indore and Mhow, were hopeful that their isolated position, and the zeal and ability of the native government, might preserve the troops from the contagion of mutiny. Colonel Platt, of the 23rd N.I., had been upwards of thirty years in that regiment; and, in the previous year, when an opportunity occurred for his joining a European corps, the men had united in entreating him not to leave them. The news of the mutiny at Neemuch on the 3rd of June, again unsettled the troops at Mhow; but the colonel exerted himself strenuously to restore tranquillity, and with some success. On the 16th, the officers were ordered to sleep in turn in the lines, "more to reassure the men than from apprehension of their mutinying."† This measure, though generally adopted during the crisis, seems to have involved the exposure of the lives of the officers to a degree of danger not warranted by the amount of benefit likely to be obtained. In cases where they volunteered sleeping in the lines, the offer showed a degree of confidence in the men, which was in itself presumptive evidence of the influence they were capable of exercising: but where they did not volunteer, it was unreasonable to exact from them service certainly perilous, and probably unavailing.

It appears that about 200 of Holcar's infantry, and three guns, which had been for some time stationed at or near the Residency, in compliance with the express request of Colonel Durand,‡ suddenly broke into mutiny at eight o'clock on the morning of the 1st of July, and, attended by a rabble from the city, fired on the Residency. A messenger was immediately dispatched from thence to Mhow, with a request for aid. The majority of the troops were evidently as much taken by surprise as the Europeans themselves: an outbreak had no doubt been regarded by both parties as probable; but a few determined malcontents brought matters unexpectedly to an issue. A lady (probably Mrs. Durand) who was at the Residency, remarks, that on the first firing of the rebel guns, the various irregular troops seemed panic-stricken; and that "neither the Native officers nor the Europeans had any influence over these men; and (though on our side) they were wholly unmanageable for any defensive operations."§ The testimony of their officer in command (Major Travers) is to the same effect. The number of the mutineers was so insignificant, that he prepared to charge them with a few troopers, in the hope of capturing the guns and cutting up the infantry. "My only cavalry at the moment available, were," he writes, "a few always kept saddled

* Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, 1857; p. 321.

† Return of regiments which mutinied (Commons), March 15th, 1859; p. 6.

‡ Letter of Omeid Sing, a leading native functionary, dated "Indore Palace, July 8th, 1857," and evidently addressed to Sir Robert Hamilton, although his name is withheld.—*Times*, Aug. 25th, 1857.

§ Letter dated "Mhow, August 5th, 1857;" published in *Times*, September 26th, 1857, as written "by the worthy daughter and wife of soldiers."

in the square of the stable-yard: the others being in the Mahidpoor* cavalry lines, were in a measure cut off, and required time to saddle and come round. The Mahidpoor infantry were neutral, and our own (Bhopal) nearly in as bad a state."† Placing himself at the head of about twenty troopers, the major led the way, but found that only six or seven of these were following him. The rebels were quite undecided how to act; the gunners threw themselves behind the guns; but Major Travers felt that to persist in advancing would be madness: he therefore withdrew, escaping unhurt himself, though his horse was wounded in three places. The enemy then moved their guns to a more convenient position for attacking the Residency; but a subahdar, named Seo Lal, and the gunners attached to two of the British guns, behaved nobly, and repulsed the assailants, disabling one of their 9-pounders.

The rest of Major Travers' cavalry then came up, asking to be led to the charge; but he could find no bugler, neither could he get the men in proper order. "They seemed," he considered, "uncertain whom to trust; and to lead them on as they then were would have been destruction." The whole of the infantry, except the Bheels, who were posted inside the Residency and in the verandah, were tacitly, and, at last, openly mutinous, at first refusing to load, and finally threatening to shoot their officers. At the expiration of an hour and a-half from the commencement of the mutiny, the evacuation of the Residency was resolved upon. It might probably have been held for some hours; but the large proportion of women and children among the Europeans, was a strong argument for retreat, before the frenzy and numbers of the mob should increase and render flight impracticable. Besides, the cavalry were anxious to depart. The acting resident, therefore, gave the order; and he, with Mrs. Durand, Captain and Mrs. Shakspear and child, Mrs. Dutton, and nearly all the other Europeans (about thirty-two persons), quitted Indore—the ladies and children on the ammunition waggons; the gentlemen on an elephant, and some horses brought by their servants. The escort consisted of nearly 300 of the Bheel corps, a few of the Bhopal infantry, and about 200 of the cavalry, under Major Travers, bringing up the rear. The Europeans retreated slowly over the plain, looking back upon the smoke and flame of burning bungalows. They reached Bhopal in safety, and took refuge with the begum in the fort; but they did not make any long stay there, as she plainly told them that their presence was a source of weakness to her, and endangered the tranquillity of the state. The fugitives therefore recommenced their travels; but, before the close of the month, the advance of a British column, and the firmness and tact of the native government, enabled them to return to Indore.

A few Europeans, and the mass of Eurasians and native Christians connected with the post-office, telegraph, and various departments, fell victims to the first fury of the mob.

Mhow.—A pencil note from Colonel Durand reached Colonel Platt at half-past 10 A.M. (July 1st), with intelligence of the attack on the Indore Residency. No precautionary measures had (Captain Hungerford states in his official report‡) been taken until that very morning; when, at his earnest request, Colonel Platt allowed him to occupy, with his artillery, the fort at Mhow; the only place where Europeans could find refuge in the event of mutiny. In compliance with Colonel Durand's desire, the battery, under the command of Captain Hungerford, was at once sent off towards Indore; but after proceeding about halfway on the road thither, its advance was arrested by a sowar bearing a note from Major Travers, with tidings of the evacuation of Indore. Captain Hungerford marched back to Mhow. In the meantime, a troop of the 1st cavalry, under Captain Brooks and another officer, was directed to proceed on the Bombay road, and recover the guns belonging to Holcar, which had passed unheeded through the cantonment about two hours before, and which were now supposed to have been sent on by the mutineers to occupy the passes and obstruct the advance of a movable column of troops, daily expected for the reinforcement of the British in Malwa. Some few of the troopers

* Mahidpoor, or Mehidpore, the town from which the head-quarters of the Malwa contingent take their name, is situated in one of the outlying possessions of Indore, on the right bank of the river Seepra, fifty-three miles from the capital.

† Letter dated "Sehore, July 4th, 1857;" published in *Times*, October 5th, 1857. Not signed, though evidently written, by Major Travers.

‡ Dated "Mhow, July 4th."—Further Parl. Papers on Mutiny, 1857 (No. 4), p. 120.

demurred, and lagged behind; but afterwards followed well. On nearing the guns, the cavalry charged and captured them, but did not attempt to disarm the artillerymen (about twenty-five in number), until they were reinforced by two flank companies of the 23rd N.I., under Captain Trower and Lieutenant Westmacott; after which the gunners were disarmed, and the guns brought back to cantonments. There was no loss in either killed or wounded on the side of the British, nor does Captain Brooks state what he did with the disarmed troopers; but, from private accounts, it appears that some, at least, were slain. The result of the expedition was calculated to increase the confidence reposed in the Native troops; and it appears to have done so; for the officer who accompanied Captain Brooks, states, that after consultation among themselves,* it was agreed that the European officers should all sleep in their lines; and Brooks himself remarks, that the ladies had resorted to the fort wholly from an apprehension of an attack from the Indore mutineers; in expectation of which, the sepoys were bidden to hold themselves in readiness to turn out at a moment's notice, and were allowed to sleep each man with his arms beside him.† An officer of the 23rd‡ (probably Captain Trower) bears contrary evidence with regard to the infantry; declaring that, on the return of the men with the guns, he noticed their sulkiness. When proceeding to the lines, to see the ammunition lodged, the men told him they had an order to keep forty rounds in their pouch. This he resolutely overruled; and although he was obeyed, it was with evident dissatisfaction. While the officers were at dinner, a light was seen on the roof of the mess-house. It was put out at once by the cook. Soon afterwards, another roof was seen to be alight. The witness, whose account has been just quoted, went up and extinguished it with his cap, with the assistance of a sepoy of the guard attached to his own house. Then he returned to table; and the officers were about to separate, when one of them remarked, "The report is, the regiment will rise at ten." It then wanted but a few minutes of that hour; and, before the clock struck, shots were heard in the cavalry lines, and a voice exclaimed that the cantonment was attacked in the rear by the Bheels. The officers hurried to their companies, but soon discovered the true state of the case; and, being fired on, were glad to escape to the fort. Private letters throw light on the matter, which, in the public reports, seems purposely withheld. The companion of Captain Brooks in the morning's expedition of the 1st cavalry, says that he and Captain Brooks, on their triumphant return to cantonments, after seeing their horses in readiness for an emergency, had had their tent pitched two or three yards in front of the main-guard, and had lain down side by side in the same bed at half-past nine. Before they had time to fall asleep, they were roused by a small bungalow close by having caught fire. It was extinguished; but the troopers stood together, talking angrily about the men killed that morning. The witness last quoted, describes with much force the vengeful feeling by which the rebels were actuated, and the manner in which his appeal for help was responded to by some noble-hearted natives, who saved his life at the hazard of their own, and then fled from the Europeans, filled with either fear or aversion.

"The adjutant, Lieutenant Martin, was in the centre of all the men, talking to them. I joined him, and observed one man in my troop, a villain; he had his carbine, and began to cavil with Martin about some men Brooks and I had killed in the morning. I, feeling sleepy, said to Martin, 'I'll turn in;' but, good God! I had hardly turned my back and got to Brooks' side, when an awful shriek arose from the men, and the bullets whizzed around us in torrents. The man I had observed lifted his carbine first, and fired either at myself or Martin. I leaped out of my tent, and saw Martin rushing across the parade-ground, the wretches shrieking after him. I reached him, and Brooks followed. We felt our last moment was come, but we ran for it. I led, and only screamed 'To the fort!' a mile off. The men kept following us, and the bullets fell thick. Having got across the parade-ground, about 500 or 600 yards, we came to the hill with the church at the top, and, when at the top, Martin caught hold of me, exclaiming, 'For God's sake, stop!' I caught hold of his arm, and said, 'Only keep up, and follow;' but at this moment I felt I was done. We parted, as I thought, only to meet in death. But, thank God! I rushed on and reached a bungalow about a quarter of a mile from the fort. By this time the infantry had all risen; and, as I ran, the ground was torn up with bullets, and they fell thick around me. Their lines were in a direct line between the fort and ours, so that we, poor fellows, had to run the gauntlet of both fires. I felt, when I got to the bungalow, quite sick and done.

* Letter published in the *Times*, August 20th, 1857; by an officer of the 1st cavalry.

† Captain Brooks to the Deputy Adjutant-general, July 5th, 1857.—Further Parl. Papers on the Mutiny, 1857 (not numbered), p. 133.

‡ Letter published in the *Times*, Aug. 19th, 1857.

Wonderful Providence! I saw two natives, and rushed up to them, and simply took their hands, hardly able to speak, and said, 'Save me!' They did. To them I owe my life. At the moment the infantry were coming screaming around. They hid me in a small house. Oh, those moments! for I could not trust the man, and felt sure he would give me up. Some sepoys came, but did not find me. At last there was a lull. I opened the door and ran for the fort, my nigger friend having wrapped me in his own clothing to disguise me. Can I ever make you feel the deep thankfulness that was in my heart as I ran across the open plain, up the hill, to the fort? The artillerymen were manning the walls, and the sentry's call was never more thankfully received; and I cried 'Friend, friend!' and found myself safe, safe inside. My native friend had escorted me safely; but when I turned, as soon as I recovered, he was gone, and I have never seen him since."*

Major Harris was the only officer killed while endeavouring to escape. Colonel Platt was in the fort when the officers arrived one by one, breathless and exhausted. The men on duty at the fort gate were immediately disarmed and turned out by the artillery; and four guns of the horse battery were made ready to proceed to the lines. The colonel would not wait for them; but, desiring Captain Fagan to attend him, rode off to the lines. All night the return of the two officers was anxiously expected in the fort; but the next morning, their bodies, and those of their horses, were found on the parade-ground, riddled with bullets. It is supposed they were shot down by a volley while Colonel Platt was addressing the men, before the guns under Captain Hungerford could come up. Their death was speedily avenged. Grape and canister were poured into the lines: many rebels were killed; the rest fled in wild confusion to Indore. Dr. Thornton, of the 1st light cavalry, had hidden himself in a drain, from whence he emerged on the appearance of the artillery.

Strong proofs were given, at Mhow, of the fascination with which the cause of the mutineers was invested in sepoy eyes. For instance—two men of the 23rd N.I., who were out with Lieutenant Simpson on picket duty, escorted him safely to the fort on the morning after the outbreak; yet, although Major Cooper promised to reward their fidelity by promotion to the rank of havildar, they subsequently deserted and joined their comrades. The policy adopted at Mhow was not calculated to diminish the growing unpopularity of the British cause in Malwa.

Captain Hungerford, the commandant of the fort, hastily concluded that, because the Indore Residency had been attacked by Holcar's troops, the maharajah himself must needs be our enemy. Therefore, while the life of the prince and of his ministers were in extreme jeopardy, on account of their uncompromising adherence to the British cause, Captain Hungerford commenced the system so recklessly pursued at Allahabad, of punishing the innocent with the guilty, by proclaiming martial law, and sending for the guns, supported by flanking parties of officers, to destroy the villages surrounding Mhow,† without the slightest reference to the native government, whose revenues and authority were thus cruelly injured at the very moment when it was most important to strengthen both. But Holcar's straightforward and fearless policy placed his integrity beyond a doubt. After having made a noble stand at Indore, he sent a vakeel to Mhow, desiring to forward thither British treasure to the amount of £120,000, which he had partly saved from, and partly recovered after, the outbreak, together with notes of his own, to the value of about £245,000. Still, it was not until the Europeans learned the detention of the expected Bombay column by mutiny on the road, that they duly appreciated the value of Holcar's friendship, inasmuch as on him alone depended their preservation from being blockaded "in a weak fort, utterly untenable against an enemy with guns for any length of time, with only a handful of Europeans in the midst of a country risen all around."‡ Another officer of the 23rd, writing with the freedom of private correspondence, describes the fort as a mere "store-place for spare guns," dependent for water on a well outside. The state of the little garrison he speaks of as deplorable. The twenty-one officers released from regular duty by the mutiny of their men, formed themselves into a volunteer corps, and relieved the artillerymen of their night-watching, snatching sleep and food at intervals; the ladies, "huddled together" in the fort, found employment in sewing bags of powder for the guns; and showed themselves ready to do anything in their power to help the common cause, even to keeping watch on the bastions. The writer proceeds to describe the gallows erected outside the fort

* *Times*, August 20th, 1857.

† Report of Captain Hungerford; Mhow, July 4th, 1857.—Further Parl. Papers (No. 4), p. 121.

‡ Major Cooper's despatch; Mhow, July 9th, 1857.—*Ibid.*, p. 45.

gates; and gives expression to the general feeling of the Europeans, by declaring—"Mercy is a word we have scratched out of our memories; in fact, mercy to them is death to us." These words were written on the 6th of July, in a station where no woman or child, and only three males, had been injured by the hands of the mutineers, and where some remarkable evidence had been afforded of generosity and fidelity on the part of the sepoys.* The first Cawnpoor massacre was then not known; the second was perpetrated ten days later—long after the English had taken vengeance for their motto, and resolved on ignoring every suggestion of mercy as incompatible with their own safety. Women and children would have had a very different prospect of safety and good treatment at the hands of the rebels, had they been viewed as hostages, or any offer of amnesty held out in connexion with them: but in too many of the scattered stations, the first phase was blind security; the second, unreasoning panic; the third, martial law, or, in other words, indiscriminate slaughter.

The tone adopted at Mhow complicated the difficulties of Holcar, who found himself between two fires. Early on the morning of the 2nd of July, the mutineers from Mhow arrived at Indore, and fraternised with their brethren. For two days the utmost riot and disorder prevailed. The rebels strove to intimidate the maharajah, and demanded from him the heads of some Europeans, or Eurasians and native Christians, who had taken refuge in the palace, together with those of his advisers who were considered most in the interest of the Kafirs (infidels)—namely, Omeid Sing, Ram Chundra, Khooman, and Gunish. This he indignantly refused. On the 4th, the mutineers and the rabble growing bolder, commenced a general plunder of Indore. The maharajah seems, up to this time, to have remained quietly watching the progress of events, which he was powerless to control; but now, finding that no British reinforcement came to his aid, and that his peaceful subjects were being trampled on by armed ruffians, he mounted his horse, and, with a very few stanch followers, rode to the rebel camp. The scene which ensued reads like an extract from the graphic pages of the Mahratta historian, Grant Duff. The young chief addressed his eager listeners with force and dignity. With regard to the refugees in his palace, and his unpopular retainers, he declared that—alive, he would protect them; dead, he would not even surrender their bodies. The troops had previously set his orders at nought by attacking the British, on the ground that religion was the cause of the mutiny, and they would not act against their brethren. Holcar now bade them, in the name of religion, cease from plundering Indore, or he would take arms against them, and die discharging his duty as a ruler. The rebels changed their ground—reminded the young chief of his famous ancestor, Jeswunt Rao Holcar, and urged him to lay the spear on his shoulder, and lead them to Delhi; for the star of the British in the East had set, owing to their pride and faithlessness. As an irresistible motive, the spokesman added, that his highness must not prove himself a coward. Holcar was superior to the taunt, and brave enough to bear the imputation of cowardice from his own troops. He replied, with singular tact and courage, that he had not inherited the strength of his forefathers; moreover, he did not think rapine and the murder of women and children a part of any religion, and he was no fit companion for those who did. (In fact, the majority of his hearers knew that these crimes were utterly opposed to the spirit of the Brahminical creed; and Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire, had decreed that, even in war, cows, cultivators, and women were never to be molested).†

Holcar returned to his palace; the plundering of the city ceased; and the ringleaders, and the mass of the mutineers, with some guns and treasure, marched off to Delhi. The maharajah succeeded in rescuing a portion of the treasure, and, in accordance with his previous intimation, sent it, and all over which he had any control, with the Christian refugees, over to the fort at Mhow, under a strong escort. Omeid Sing, from whose graphic narrative, dated "Indore palace, July 8th, 1857," and evidently addressed to Sir R. Hamilton,‡ the particulars of Holcar's conduct are chiefly obtained—states that, on the previous evening, a letter had been received at the palace

* Letter of an officer of 1st cavalry; already quoted.—*Times*, August 20th, 1857.

† *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 148.

‡ *Times*, August 25th, 1857.

from Captain Elliot,* alleging that Lieutenant Hutchinson (the Bheel agent) and his wife (the daughter of Sir Robert Hamilton) had fled from Bhopawur in disguise, and were in captivity at Amjherra. A portion of Holcar's troops had remained with him; and although, of these, many were disaffected, and all more or less compromised, he immediately sent a considerable detachment of picked men, comprising 300 foot, 200 horse, and two guns, to attack Amjherra, and release the Europeans. In conclusion, Omeid Sing entreated Sir R. Hamilton to return with all speed; declaring that his presence would be equal to five regiments. "Pray do come out soon, or Malwa is gone. Should I survive this row, I will write again; but there remains very little hope: his highness's troops are completely disorganised and disaffected."†

Bhopawur,—is a town in Amjherra, a petty Rajpoot state in Malwa; the rajah of which maintained 1,000 infantry on his own behalf, and paid a subsidy to the Supreme government, in the form of an annual contribution, towards the maintenance of the Malwa Bheel corps, which, as has been said, was only a local name for a portion of the Bengal army, maintained at the expense of the princes and chiefs of Malwa, but wholly independent of their control. On the 2nd of July, tidings reached Bhopawur of the attack on the Indore Residency by Holcar's troops; and it was asserted, that the maharajah had himself joined in the revolt. The effect of the intelligence on the petty chiefs around was immediate; and the few Europeans located at Bhopawur and its vicinity, learned, with alarm, that the station was menaced by an attack from the Amjherra troops. The detachment of the Bheel corps stationed at Bhopawur, consisting of about 200 men, seemed firm; and Lieutenant Hutchinson and the medical officer (Dr. Chisholm), after consulting together, resolved to make a stand at the lines. In the middle of the night, an express arrived from Dhar (a Rajpoot principality adjoining Amjherra), with the news that some Mohammedan troops there had revolted, and were marching in force on Bhopawur. At this time only about thirty Bheels remained in the lines; the others had stolen away from fear; and those who had not deserted, were evidently little disposed to brave a struggle with the expected enemy. Had they been alone, the two Europeans might have been disposed to wait the event; but there were women and children to be protected. Therefore, after disguising themselves in native clothing, and directing their servants to speak of them as Parsee merchants and their families going to Baroda, they commenced their flight: Mrs. Stockley (the wife of the colonel of the Bheel regiment), her ayah, and her four children, in one cart; Lieutenant and Mrs. Hutchinson, their ayah and baby, in another; with Dr. Chisholm on horseback, started for Jabooah, attended by several servants.‡

Jabooah,—was a small subsidiary native state, between Indore and Amjherra. The reigning family claimed descent from the Rahtore princes of Joudpoor; but the population (returned at 132,104 persons) consisted chiefly of a civilised class of Bheels. The fugitives dispatched a horseman to the young rajah, asking for an escort to meet them; but had scarcely arrived within his territory, before they learned that a party of troops from Amjherra were at their heels. The timely arrival of a hundred Bheels from Jabooah changed the aspect of affairs. After halting for awhile at a village, where the head man gave up his own dinner to them, they started afresh, and proceeded some distance to the house of a liquor vendor, where they passed the night. Early in the morning, Lieutenant Hutchinson overheard the Bheels talking among

* The Captain Elliot referred to, is probably the person mentioned by Mr. Cumming, the brother of the Gordon Cumming of lion-hunting notoriety, as having been staying with him at Maunpoor (fourteen miles from Mhow, and twenty-eight from Indore) at the time of the mutiny. "Elliot, of the Thuggee department, and his wife, had," he writes, been staying with him for some time; "but they went to Indore on the morning of the 1st of July, intending to return in the evening;" and, of course, on learning what had occurred, took refuge with the other Europeans in the fort. Mr. Cumming, however, although the only European functionary at Maunpoor, resolved on making an effort to retain his position, and assembled round him a motley force of "road police, armed with carbines; Bheels, with bows; and Bundelcund men, with long matchlocks (some 200 men in all), and a few sowars." With these auxiliaries he held his ground.—*Times*, September 2nd, 1857.

† Letter of Omeid Sing.—*Times*, August 25th, 1857. The letter is evidently not a translation, but written in colloquial English, with a sufficient admixture of Indian turns of thought and expression to attest the extraction of the writer.

‡ Letter of Dr. Chisholm.—*Times*, Sept. 2nd, 1857.

themselves in a most murderous strain. He sprang up, and roused his companions, saying it was time to start. The journey was resumed, and terminated safely at Jabooah early on the 5th of July.*

The rajah, a good-looking youth of sixteen, received the Europeans very kindly. In consequence of his minority, the management of affairs rested in the hands of his grandmother; and she, in the true spirit of a Rajpootni, exerted herself in every possible way for the safety and comfort of her way-worn guests. "To protect us," Dr. Chisholm writes, "was as much as she could do; for there were a number of Arabs and men of that class in the employ of the chief; and these fanatics loudly demanded our surrender, that they might put us to death. The family themselves are Rajpoots, and had fortunately a number of Rajpoot retainers about them. To these they assigned our protection; and faithfully did they execute their trust. Not a Mussulman sepoy was allowed to approach our quarters in the palace."†

On the 8th of July, a messenger arrived with a communication from Holcar, who had dispatched an expedition against Jabooah, under the impression that the Europeans were forcibly detained there; but on discovering the true state of the case, the expedition was recalled, and an escort sent, which reached its destination on the 10th; and, on the 12th, the fugitives quitted their kind protectors. Lieutenant Hutchinson had received a letter from Holcar, entreating him to repair to Indore forthwith, that the kingdom might be preserved during the absence of Sir R. Hamilton. Hutchinson writes—"I had such implicit faith in Holcar's friendship, that I did not hesitate to place myself and family under the protection of his troops, for the purpose of proceeding to Indore, to assume charge of the agency during the absence of Colonel Durand; and, by my presence and advice, to assure and guide Holcar through the crisis." Repeated warnings from the Europeans at Mhow, induced Lieutenant Hutchinson to relinquish the idea of residing at Indore; and he wrote to the maharajah, explaining that the excited state of the Native troops, who had not yet absolutely revolted, rendered the presence of a European inadvisable, as it was the best policy to ward off, as far as possible, a second outbreak, until the arrival of British reinforcements. He, however, came to Mhow, and assumed charge of the agency, and the people appeared reassured by his presence.

On the 30th of July, the long-expected column reached Mhow; and Colonel Durand, who accompanied it, resumed his duties as acting resident (without, however, venturing to join Holcar at Indore), until Sir Robert Hamilton returned from England—to the joy of the maharajah, and the great advantage of the British commissariat.

Augur,—is a large town in the dominions of Sindia, about thirty-six miles from Oojein. The 5th infantry regiment, Gwalior contingent, commanded by Captain Carter, was stationed here, together with a field battery, and some of the Gwalior cavalry. Besides the officers on duty, three others, namely, Major Macpherson (not the Gwalior resident), Captain Ryall, and Dr. Sillifant, had taken refuge at Augur, when expelled from *Seepree* by the mutiny of the 3rd regiment of the Gwalior contingent on the 18th of June.

The outbreak at Augur was very sudden. Shortly before it took place, Captain Carter had obtained 1,353 rupees, and a promise of 500 more, to enable the men to rebuild their huts, which had been for the most part washed down by the first fall of rain (thirty-six hours in duration). He had been earnest in encouraging them to work hard, and restore their habitations before the next downpouring, and they had laboured with industry and cheerfulness. Up to 9 P.M., July 3rd, the men were reported "loyal and obedient as ever;" but, after that time, much excitement prevailed in the lines. It appears that Captain Carter had applied to the Gwalior authorities for pay for the men. The orderlies sent on this errand, on reaching Gwalior, were taunted by the mutineers with wearing the British uniform. The answer returned is not on record; but a mounted orderly from Gwalior arrived, with directions to withhold the pay of the 5th infantry. The news created great dissatisfaction, which was reported to Captain Carter on the evening of the 3rd; and, soon after daybreak on the following morning, his native orderlies brought word that the men were running to and fro, as if bewildered. Springing

* Letter of Lieutenant A. B. E. Hutchinson, Bheel agent, and political assistant at Bhopawur.—*Times*, September 10th, 1857.

† Letter of Dr. Chisholm; published in the *Times*, September 2nd, 1857.

from his bed, Captain Carter called to the adjutant, Lieutenant O'Dowda, to dress and accompany him to the parade. The horse of the adjutant stood ready saddled: he mounted it, and galloped alone to the lines, which he had scarcely entered before he was shot down; at the same time, the havildar-major and the pay havildar, both of whom were known to be thoroughly stanch to the British, were killed.

While the horse of Captain Carter was being saddled, a report was brought him that a large body of cavalry and infantry mutineers was advancing on the parade-ground. Believing this to be true, he mounted and rode over to the house of Captain le Marchand, the artillery officer, to request him to take charge of two guns of the Mahidpoor contingent, in position at the quarter-guard. Then he proceeded towards the lines; and, on the way, met a European sergeant, who said that the regiment was in open mutiny, and had warned him away. Still the captain pressed on till stopped by four sepoys, who with raised hands implored him to return, or he would be shot. Lieutenant Macdougal also came up: he had seen the men of the different companies loading their arms; they had not been insolent, but had quietly warned him away. It was evidently useless to persist further, and the officers turned back, and prepared for flight. Dr. and Mrs. James had already quitted the station. Their horses stood saddled for a morning ride, and they mounted and rode off. Their fate was long uncertain; but the most reliable account describes them as having been murdered at a village about eight miles from Augur. The other Europeans were more fortunate, at least those whose position gave them means of escape; but the sergeants, half-caste clerks, and others, were sacrificed, as was too commonly the case, to the fury of the rabble. The party who escaped comprised twenty persons, of whom the majority were women and children. The wives and infants of two absent officers —Captains Burlton and Harrison, of the 2nd cavalry—were among those who most required protection. Dr. Wilson, the medical officer in charge of the station, had a double-seated curricle with fast horses: in this he placed the two ladies, each of whom had a baby in her arms; one of these was just twelve days old. The servants threw in some blankets and bedding while the horses were being harnessed; but not a single native, either sepoy or servant, would accompany the fugitives. The departure was most hurried; for the sight of two burning bungalows, and the sounds of pillage and destruction, warned the Europeans of the necessity for instant flight. A bullock-cart was procured for the remainder of the ladies and children; the gentlemen mounted their horses; and the fugitives set forth on their journey, ignorant of the road, with nothing but the clothes they wore; and those of the scantiest description; for some persons were in night-dresses, bare-footed and bare-legged, as they had risen from their beds.* On the 14th, the whole party reached the British station of Hooshungabad in safety;† and Mrs. Harrison had the relief of meeting there her husband, the officer second in command of the 2nd cavalry, Gwalior contingent, who was supposed to have perished.

The journey had its remarkable incidents, not the least interesting of which was the kind reception given to the wayfarers at Echawur—a town in the Bhopal territory, twelve miles south of Sehore. The governor, John de Silva, commonly known as Jan Sahib, wore the dress of a Mussulman; but was a Portuguese by birth, and a Christian by creed. His grateful guests pronounced him a Christian by practice also, for he manifested every care for their wants, and treated them with a respectful sympathy, which was very soothing after the contemptuous indifference evinced by the natives, who had shown no pity for their distressing position, but had regarded them as "despicable Feringhees, whose reign was over." Dr. Wilson draws a pleasant picture of Jan Sahib, and the little community over which he presided, in a very patriarchal fashion. Several old Frenchmen (Bourbons) resided at Echawur, who had emigrated in the days of the revolution. Some of these had served under the British government, and were among its pensionaries; but all had adopted Mussulman names. There was an intelligent young man, named Nicholas Reilly, who called himself an Irishman, having been born of Irish parents at Cawnpoor. He, with a number of other Christians, had taken service under the begum, Doolan Sahib, the jaghiredar or ruler of the Echawur district, who was herself a Christian, but was absent at the time, having been summoned to Bhopal by the reigning

* Account by Dr. Wilson, dated July 16th, 1857.
† Further Parl. Papers (No. 4), 1857; p. 15.