W. J. SHEPHERD, alias BUDLOO.
1862.

A PERSONAL NARRATIVE

OF THE

OUTBREAK AND MASSACRE AT CAWNPORE, DURING THE SEPOY REVOLT OF 1857.

Fourth Edition—Revised and Enlarged.

BY J. W. SHEPHERD,

ONE OF THE SURVIVORS OF THE GARRISON UNDER

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HUGH MASSY WHEELER, K.C.B.,

LUCKNOW:

METHODIST PUBLISHING HOUSE.

1894.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

In compliance with the request contained in the letter noted below,* I prepared and submitted to the Officiating Commissary-General a "Brief Account of the Cawnpore Massacre," copies of which were at the same time furnished to other gentlemen at Cawnpore, and it was published in the papers at Calcutta, as also in the *Evening Mail*, London (6th to 9th November, 1857). [In this "Account" all details of the sufferings personally experienced by me were omitted, as I had intended that should form a distinct portion of my narrative for private circulation only.] However, when the manuscript was ready in August, 1858, it was considered desirable that it should be placed before the public for general information, and I accordingly proceeded to Calcutta, to consult with some of the publishing firms there, who strongly recommended my getting the book published in England. I was therefore induced to send a copy of the manuscript to Messrs. Longman, Brown, & Co., 36, Paternoster Row, who at first agreed to undertake the work, saying—

"We shall be happy to publish it on our usual terms of dividing profits, *i. e.*, that we take all the risk of the publication expenses, and share all the profits after our outlay is repaid."

In their subsequent letter, however, they proposed to rewrite the manuscript, and at the same time stated that the

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* No. 189.—To Mr. Shepherd, Head Assistant, Executive Commissariat Office, Cawnpore, dated Commissary-General's Office, Fort William, 29th July, 1857.

Sir,—I have the honor to request you will furnish me, as soon as possible, with a statement of the circumstances that occurred at Cawnpore connected with the Commissariat Department from the date of the outbreak at that place, and as far as your knowledge of the particulars extends.

2. You should, if you can, state as to what became of Conductor Berrell and Sergeant Ryan and cattle (particularly the elephants), the office writers, contractors, etc., and of the conduct of all parties. If you can give *any* further information of importance be good enough to do so, as it will doubtless be acceptable to Government.

I have, &c.,

(Sd.) T. J. NUTHALL,

Officiating Commissary-General.

announcement since made by another firm that they were about to publish the "Story of Cawnpore," by Captain Mowbray Thomson, would essentially interfere with the sale of my book, and would prevent their undertaking it at their own risk.

By this time I had returned to Agra, where some kind gentlemen, among them Mark Thornhill, Esq., judge of Agra, and F. W. Place, Esq., proprietor of the *Delhi Gazette*, had taken a lively interest in the matter, and strongly objected to having the book re-written in England, fearing that it would lose its simplicity and truthfulness when written by parties not well acquainted with India, as it would then read like a work of fiction.

Mr. Thornhill then kindly had a copy of the manuscript sent to another firm in England, but found some difficulty in getting it published. As, however, much time had already been lost, and the importunities of friends to see the book in print was great, I was induced, in January, 1862, to make over the original manuscript to the manager of the *Delhi Gazette* Press to be published in that paper. This was accordingly done, chapter by chapter; at the same time, some interesting paragraphs appeared under the editorial columns, such as the following:—

"The Narrative of Events at Cawnpore is written in a graphic style that does the utmost credit to Mr. Shepherd, who has shown powers of description not possessed by many who have had a great deal more practice in writing. The picture given in to-day's issue of old Baba Bhutt administering justice at Cawnpore, reminds us of Bunyan or De Foe. We can fancy we see the old sinner surrounded by the Cantonment Magistrate's amlahs, squatting on the billiard table and growling out his sentences on the unhappy prisoners. The condemnation of the drummer Mendes to six months' hard labour in irons, because he was short, and 'short men are always wicked,' is exquisite."—*Delhi Gazette*, 27*th May*, 1862.

"Mr. Shepherd's narrative deepens in interest as it proceeds. We have not for a long time read anything so painfully interesting as the portion published to-day. The details are, indeed, dreadful. Some think they should be forgotten. We do not. We think the danger lies in their being forgotten too soon. The eve of Lord Canning's departure is not an unfitting epoch for the appearance of this narrative. We hope he will take a copy of it home and present it to Mr. Layard."—*Delhi Gazette*, 1862.

It was, I confess, highly gratifying to me to see testimonies, such as the following, borne in the columns of some of the leading papers, to my having fully deserved the honor of being invested with the Victoria Cross; and although no such decoration has fallen to my lot, yet I feel that I have not been wanting in my exertions to be of help to my fellow-sufferers at that time of our greatest calamity:—

"The same journal mentions the probability of Majors Delafosse and Thomson being decorated with the Victoria Cross, a distinction they well merit. Our readers will recollect that those two officers survived the Cawnpore massacre. We have no hesitation in stating our conviction that Mr. Shepherd, whose narrative is now going through these columns, has done as much, if not more, to deserve the Cross than some who have obtained it."—*Delhi Gazette*, 1862.

"We are glad to see our contemporary upholds the view we expressed a short time since relating to the Victoria Cross for Mr. Shepherd. He says:—

"'There are few people who can forget the massacre of the Innocents at Cawnpore, the story of which has been lately re-told by Mr. Shepherd in the columns of the *Delhi Gazette*. At first it was supposed that Lieutenants Thomson and Delafosse, of the late 53rd N. I. were the only two who had effected their escape. This took place nearly five years ago, and the 'Victoria Cross,' for which they have each been recommended, has not yet been awarded to them. Surely the Governor-General of India, as the representative of Her Majesty, should be entrusted with a few of these decorations, which he could transmit through the Commander-in-Chief to any one whose gallantry merited the decoration. How much more valuable was a Legion of Honor to a Frenchman when unpinned from the breast of Napoleon and placed on that of a deserving soldier! In India, people die before they receive their distinctions. We think Mr. Shepherd deserves the Victoria Cross as a civil member of the order; if not, we know of no one who has earned it better. Thomson and Delafosse have received their brevets of Major; how long are they to wait for the coveted and promised V. C.?'"—*Delhi Gazette*, 5th *July*, 1862.

When the whole of the manuscript had in this manner been published, the public expressed a desire to have the work in a connected form, and the manager inserted the following:—

"We have at length brought *Shepherd's Narrative of the Mutiny at Cawnpore* to a close. We cannot omit the opportunity afforded us of saying a few words on the subject. Mr. Shepherd, so far as exciting the interest of his readers is concerned, is fortunate in having to describe events, connected with by far the most interesting episode of the many of the period to which it relates. Whether it be viewed as an illustration of the proverbial gallantry of Englishmen or as an example of calm heroic endurance, we are fully justified in pronouncing it unsurpassed, if not unequalled. The patient endurance of the little band, while surrounded by enemies yelling for their blood, the deep suffering, both bodily and mentally, of the inmates of that devoted garrison, have been described by each of the few survivors; but, in minuteness of detail, and in extent of information, Mr. Shepherd's work stands unrivalled. Hence the interest attaching to it, despite the lapse of time. In that respect it may be truthfully considered a valuable national record. We are aware of the fearful effect produced on the mind of the author, by the scenes he witnessed, and the anxiety he experienced throughout the truly trying period that elapsed between the fall of Cawnpore and its re-occupation by Havelock's force. Crushed by the enormous weight of his accumulative sorrows—and such sorrows!—for months his mind wandered between reality and romance. Reason almost succumbed—it fairly fluttered between light and darkness. It needed the incessant and untiring watchfulness of the few, who were spared at other stations, to claim the privilege of endeavouring to prevent the flame from expiring, that yet fitfully flickered. Gradually and cautiously the intellect was made to resume its throne, and the creature was

brought to submit without a murmur to the will of the Creator. Inquiries from many quarters, painful but necessary, rapidly followed recovery. Each event, and the fate of many, were recalled with a minuteness and obvious faithfulness that at once stamped the information with the impress of truth. He, who at the time was thought the sole survivor, was sought by all who had friends or relatives, in whose fate they were interested. The terrible tales had to be repeated time out of number, but they did not tire. Applications were innumerable for written details, to be transmitted to desolated hearths. Amidst all the great and mental anguish depicted around him, Mr. Shepherd was taught to recognize the object with which he, of the many pent up in that intrenchment at Cawnpore, was spared. From that only consolation amid all his trials, his mind recovered its tone. He became deeply impressed with the duty he was appointed to fulfil. It decided him upon producing the sad narrative that has passed through these columns.

"As a literary composition we have no desire to review the narrative. Criticism would be out of place. The author does not ask for the fame of a book-maker. He did not sit down and wearily search for beauty of language, in which to clothe each incident of the great drama in which he played a part. He did not pause in mute abstraction, to round each period so as to have his simple tale assume the gaudy attire of an invented romance. His effort has a much higher aim. Its charm is *simplicity*, its value, *truth*. It reads as if it emanated from a mind inspired to the purpose of revealing the inscrutable will of Providence, the teachings of a justly incensed God. None who have perused it with any care, but must have been struck by the moral it contains. For our part, we consider it should not be allowed to pass into oblivion in the columns of a newspaper. It deserves to be enshrined in a more permanent casket. It is for the public to say whether it concurs in our view. We have announced our intention of re-producing it in the shape of a volume. This intention was contingent on our obtaining sufficient support to justify the measure. Up to the present date we have registered only one hundred and eighty-two subscribers."—*Delhi Gazette, 27th May*, 1862.

Five hundred copies of the book were accordingly struck off and sold.

Years have since rolled on and no more copies are procurable. Calls have been made from time to time for them, and of late they have been rather frequent. On receipt of the last call,* it was deemed advisable that this record of facts should not be allowed to die out; and I have been persuaded to re-produce it in the form of a second edition, after a careful revision of the whole. It is satisfactory to find that the facts I have been able to glean at first, as contained in my manuscript, agree in almost every particular with the clear synopsis of evidence prepared by Government from the depositions of upwards of sixty witnesses examined at Cawnpore

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* Extract of a letter dated 24th July, 1878, from J. H. Prinsep, Esq., C.S., judge of Cawnpore.

"There are others in this station who would much like to read the book; but after my promise to you to return it, I could not let them do so without your permission. It is a pity that another edition is not published."

under the direction of Lieut.-Colonel G. W. Williams, Commissioner of Military Police, N.-W. P. (copy published at page 668 of "The Annals of the Indian Rebellion"), being in a connected and indisputably authentic form, from which further incidents, not formerly inserted, have now been added, to make the record as complete as possible, for the information of all who may feel interested in this most melancholy subject.

KAISAR BAGH, LUCKNOW,
20th December, 1878.

W. J. SHEPHERD.

CHAPTER I.

CAWNPORE.—A large cantonment and civil station, situated on the right bank of the Ganges. Population, about 112,000 exclusive of the military; elevation, about 550 feet.

The District of Cawnpore is bounded on the N.-E. by the Ganges; on the S.-W. by the Jumna; on the N.-W. by Etawah and Fatehgurh; and on the S.-E. by Fatehpur on the road to Allahabad. It lies between Lat. 25° 55″ and 27°; Long. 79° 34″ and 80° 37½′; is 74 miles in length from N. to S., and 66 in breadth, and has an area of 2,337 square miles. Population about 1,200,000. Distant about 685 miles by rail, 620 by the Grand Trunk road and 954 miles by water, from Calcutta.

At the time of the occurrence of the Mutiny at Cawnpore in June, 1857, I had been residing at that station with my family for four years, having been transferred from Agra and appointed head assistant of the Commissariat office there.

In March, 1857, my brother-in-law, Mr. F. Frost, who was also attached to the Commissariat, died at Calcutta, and it was arranged that my sister and the family should all come on to Cawnpore. I accordingly obtained a month's leave and proceeded to Calcutta. While there, no report regarding the disaffection of the sepoys at any of the stations in the North-Western Provinces reached us, otherwise it would have been safer for the family to have remained there. However, after completing all arrangements, we left Calcutta and proceeded by rail to Raneegunj on the 10th of May, whence we had to continue our journey by horse-carriage dâk, as the railway line had been opened then to the public only up to that station, about 120 miles.

It is not necessary to detail here the privations and troubles we experienced on our way; suffice it to say they were great, the distance being upwards of 600 miles, having to travel night and day, and that in the hot month of May. There were eight of us in two carriages, *i. e.*, Mr Frost's aged mother, his widow with infant son, a daughter named Emmelina, aged 17 years, my orphan niece Martha Batavia, of the same age, and my brother Daniel, who had just attained his 22nd year, and who had resigned his situation at Calcutta to accompany the

family; also a native Christian girl of five years, whom the girls were bringing up.

On arriving at Fatehpur, 48 miles from Cawnpore, we heard for the first time that a mutiny had broken out at Meerut and Delhi, and that the dâks were stopped. This information alarmed us not a little.

We reached Cawnpore on the 15th of May. The report we had heard at Fatehpur of the mutiny at Meerut and Delhi was found to be correct.

On the 17th I reported my return to the Commissariat officer, and at office heard many rumours of an alarming nature. Everybody in the station seemed to think that something dreadful was going to occur, but were unable to foresee what it was. The native troops at that time appeared to be placid and quiet as usual, but yet something indefinite and alarming overshadowed the minds of all. My first impulse was to send up to Agra the whole of my family by dâk, but the report that a very large body of Goojurs* was coming down from Delhi to Cawnpore, and had plundered a consignment of Commissariat stores on the way, deterred me from doing so, particularly as my wife would not consent to proceed unless accompanied by myself, which was quite impracticable, as I could not get a further extension of leave, having already taken all the leave I was entitled to. In this state of painful suspense three or four days passed by; some of the European merchants and others engaged boats, intending to leave the station for Allahabad the moment any danger should become apparent. Others made arrangements to start by dâk, leaving house and property to the care of servants. Every person, according to his means and ability, entertained more chowkedars (watchmen). Two or three of my friends actually left the station and managed to get away to Calcutta in safety.

About this time a large supply of *attah*, (wheaten flour) laden in boats, arrived from up-country and was sold at a cheap rate. This flour was old and musty, and had a bad flavor when baked into cakes. Certain evil-minded people gave it out that the British government, wishing to break the *caste* of the natives, had purposely sent down this flour mixed up with ground bones of cows and pigs. This report spread like wild

* Goojurs, a peculiar caste of natives, who in former years are said to have been a reckless, daring race of robbers.

fire all over the station and the native troops became alarmed. On inquiry, however, nothing could be discovered; some felt convinced that there was no deception in the flour, others did not.

Further cause of alarm was given by rumours having been circulated in the city that the new *greased* cartridges (believed to have hog's lard applied to the paper cover, which the sepoys would have to bite with their teeth when loading their muskets) were going to be served out immediately, and that the artillery was to act against all who refused them.

I must observe here that most of the officers and military residents had, a few months previous to this period, removed to the east of the Ganges Canal, since the site of the Native Infantry lines had been transferred to that quarter, and where the new lines were then under erection. These new lines were not quite completed, and the sepoys had to live in tents, and had been so living for six months. This was another source of annoyance to them, as their old lines were still standing, and they had to put up with the inconvenience of such comparatively slight shelter during the coldest months of the season. The hot winds had set in when the lines became partially habitable.

On the 19th of May, an indistinct, undefinable feeling of alarm spread among the European community. The reason of this alarm could not be correctly ascertained, and we did not know what to do. Some said the sepoys were on the point of breaking out; others, that the "Goojurs" from Delhi were close at hand and would plunder Cawnpore. I sent to inquire from the European non-commissioned officers of the native corps to know if there was any truth in the first report, and found that everything there was as quiet as could be wished, so that the second report appeared to be the more probable of the two. In the evening I consulted a few friends, and concluded from the unusually disturbed manner of the military authorities, that danger was apprehended, but from what quarter nobody could exactly tell. There was no fortified place for safety anywhere, save the magazine, which was on the banks of the river, having a high pucca wall all around, and a spacious compound with several large roomy buildings in it, and every way adapted for our purpose under existing circumstances. This was, however, a great distance from the new cantonments, being more than five miles from the lines of the 53rd and 56th Native Infantry to the north, and it was

understood that the military authorities did not consider it safe to leave the troops to themselves at so great a distance, particularly as at that time they did not show any open signs of rebellion.

As nearly all the military were on the east of the canal, the uncovenanted body and merchants found great difficulty in deciding how to manage for their own safety.

Many plans were proposed, but one was at last adopted, viz., to depute three or four persons to wait upon General Sir H. Wheeler, Commanding Cawnpore division, and solicit his orders as to how we should act. The following day the deputation waited on the General, headed by Mr. J. D. May, merchant, and as I was at office all day I did not hear its result till late in the evening. I then learned that the General was of the opinion that there was no immediate cause for apprehension, but in case of any sudden danger he directed every man of us (the non-military) to be provided with our own arms. He could not point out any place on the west side of the canal where we could assemble, but said the ladies and children of officers and Christian military followers were to be sheltered in the two long barracks, in which the depôt of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment (consisting of the sick, invalids, women and children of the regiment serving at Lucknow) was located. The General desired us and our families to repair to these bungalows if necessitated to do so.

This arrangement was not considered satisfactory, as we did not like the idea of remaining dispersed in our several quarters, knowing that at the moment of actual danger great confusion would ensue. However, there was no help for it, and we set about arming ourselves. It was proposed that in case of any sudden danger, should we not find time to make to the barracks, we were to assemble in Mr. Hay's shop and all proceed in a body to the other place.

The night, however, passed off without anything occurring, and next morning, the 21st of May, as usual after breakfast, I left home for my office a little before 10 A. M. On arrival there how great was my surprise to find the clerks (Bengalees) all in a state of panic, and ready to run back to their homes. On inquiry I learned that our officer's wife had only that moment very hastily left the bungalow, accompanied by her ayah (maid) and child, all on foot, and that Captain Williamson, (the Commissariat officer) had followed his wife, ordering his servants to have the carriage sent after them as fast as

possible towards the depôt of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment. This the office baboos well knew was the place appointed, where the European community were to assemble in case of danger. On hearing this I called the officer's bearer, and asked him if he could tell me why his mistress had gone off in that hasty manner. He said he could not; but that a letter was brought to her, and immediately on looking into it she gave a scream, and hastily rising, handed it to the officer, then going into her room she brought out the ayah and child, and left the house. I guessed there was danger at hand, and sent a note to Mr. Hay to know if he had heard anything. The bearer returned with a verbal message from him, to the effect that he was just going away to the barracks and desired me to come there also. The man also stated that he met a great many conveyances with ladies and children going at full speed in the direction of the barracks.

As Captain Williamson had left no instructions I was at a loss how to act, but felt myself justified, under the circumstances, to close the office and arrange for our safety. So leaving a note for him I returned home and found my family in a state of great anxiety. They had also seen several carriages pass in an unusually hurried manner, laden on top with boxes, etc., and could not make out the cause.

I had engaged two extra watchmen, who together with my old chowkedar, promised to guard my house and property. We packed up a couple of light boxes with clothes and other necessaries, and left the house in my own and Mrs. Osborne's (an elderly relative residing with us at the time) palkee-garries. On our way we met several of our acquaintances going in the same direction, who wished to know the cause of this sudden flight. I, of course, could not enlighten them in the least, as I did not know it myself.

However, we reached the barracks and found them crowded to excess. The European artillery with the guns had also been moved up to it. It was with difficulty I could get a place sufficiently retired for my family, when a kind friend made room for us in a part of the verandah. Being a very hot day, our infants, who had only half an hour before been enjoying the cool of the *khuss tatties* and punkhas, were exposed to the hot winds and almost smothered in the laps of their mothers.

On inquiring into the cause of this alarm, some said that

the sepoy guard placed over the Collector's treasury in Nawabgunge, about six miles to the north of the barracks we were then in, had that morning refused to allow the whole of the treasure to be removed, a great many elephants having been sent to the place for that purpose; that they were heard to say they did not see the necessity for such a course, since they were perfectly loyal and would guard the treasure to the last; that otherwise they would consider that the officers had lost all confidence in them, in which case it would be just as well for them to go away to their homes. During this dispute it appeared from the behaviour and speech of the guard sepoys that they were ready to break out in open mutiny. Others said, that a large body of Goojurs, who were previously reported to be coming from Delhi, were within a short distance of Cawnpore. Nothing correct, however, could be ascertained just then, and all waited in the utmost anxiety to learn the true cause.

About noon a great many persons suddenly rushed towards the west side of the barracks. I also joined them to know what it was. We saw a guard of troopers bringing in a prisoner; on inquiry it was found he was servant to a sepoy named Ján Mahomed, of the 56th Regiment Native Infantry, who had sent him an hour before to inform the 2nd Regiment Light Cavalry "to keep a lookout, as mischief was intended by the 'sáhib log,' (officers) and that the 1st Company 6th Battalion Artillery guns were made ready, the gunners being on the point of firing upon the Cavalry lines." The prisoner, after a little hesitation, confessed all this, and gave up the name of his master who was immediately apprehended, and a court sat to investigate the matter. The charge was fully proved against him, the servant was released, and Ján Mahomed had his hands and legs fettered and placed in our quarter-guard. He was to be hanged that evening, but the sentence could not be carried out for fear of exciting the sepoys.

Nothing further occurred that day. My servants brought our dinner from home which we ate in our palkee-garrie, and having sent for some bedding we slept in the verandah of the barrack. Early next morning (the 22nd of May), everything appearing to be tranquil, the report of the coming of the Goojurs was found to be incorrect, and the native troops remaining quiet as usual, a general dispersion took place, and all returned to their homes.

Owing to the great excitement prevailing, it was not con-

sidered advisable to fire the usual salute on the 24th of May, the Queen's birthday.*

About this time the Náná Sáhib, a resident of Bithoor, offered his services, and pretending to be a most faithful subject of Government, undertook, in conjunction with our own sepoy guard, to protect the Government treasury located at Nawabgunge. Very great confidence appears to have been placed in him, as his offer was accepted. He accordingly removed to a bungalow near the treasury, and with about 500 armed men of his own and two small guns, took charge of the place. In the meantime about a lac of rupees was withdrawn and placed in the intrenchment, under the plea of meeting the salaries of the troops, etc., leaving about eight lacs and a half (£85,000) of money in the treasury at Nawabgunge, which was situated about six miles to the northwest of our intrenchment and not very far from the magazine.

Before proceeding further it my be as well to mention here who this Náná Sáhib, Rájá of Bithoor, was, since he was destined to play so horrible, though unexpected a part in this sad tragedy.

He was the eldest son by adoption of the late Bájée Ráo, who was Paishwa of Poonah and Sattárah, and the last of the Marátta kings. Bájee Ráo had no children of his own. By the Hindoo *Shasters* or scriptures there is a fearful doom awarded to those who die childless, and in order to remedy this defect, the system of adoption "when natural issue fails," is permitted.

It was in accordance with this that Bájee Ráo, finding himself childless as to male issue, though he had two daughters, adopted two boys (sons of two different Brahmins of his own caste,) whose names were Dhoondoo Punth, (Náná Sáhib) and Sudda Shew Ráo, (Dádá Sahib.)

These he brought up as his own sons, but the latter, Dádá Sáhib, having died before reaching maturity and without leaving issue, Bájee Ráo replaced him by adopting the younger brother of Náná Dhoondoo Punth in his stead, named Bálá

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*On the 31st of May, Colonel Ewart wrote to friends in England:—"I do not wish to write gloomily, but there is no use disguising the fact that we are in the utmost danger, and as I have said, if the troops do mutiny, my life must almost certainly be sacrificed. 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 E ———and my child will be saved. The Hillersdens and their two children have been staying with us since the 21st, when the danger became imminent, as it was no longer safe

Sahib; at the same time remedying the defect or the part of the deceased Dádá Sáhib, by taking Ráo Sáhib (a cousin of the Náná) as adopted son of the said deceased, who in consequence became the grandson of Bájee Ráo and nephew to Náná and Bála Sáhib.

Bájee Ráo, as chief of the powerful Marátta nation, had been a great sovereign in his day. He had surrendered himself to the East India Company upon the provision of a pension to be settled upon himself and his family, of not less than eight lacs of rupees (£80,000) per annum. He exercised power on a limited scale at Bithoor, which is a sacred village on the banks of the Ganges twelve miles from Cawnpore, where he dwelt for 35 years. On the 28th of January, 1851, he died, declaring by his will Náná Dhoondoo Punth to be his eldest son, heir, and representative, who accordingly inherited all the landed property, houses and jewelery belonging to Bájee Ráo.

No sooner was Bájee Ráo's death made officially known than Lord Dalhousie ruled that the pension should not be continued to the latter. The Náná, Bájee Ráo's widows, and the other members of his family were naturally stricken with grief. Náná Dhoondoo Punth forwarded a memorial to the

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for them to remain in their own house, four miles from the cantonments. And now, dear A———, farewell. If under God's providence this be the last time I am to write to you, I entreat you to forgive all I have ever done to trouble you, and to think kindly of me. I know you will be everything a mother can be to my boy. I cannot write to him this time, dear little fellow; kiss him for me; kind love to M———and my brothers."

By the same mail, Mrs. Ewart dispatched some most affecting letters home; the following extracts convey a truthful representation of the state of things with us on the 1st of June:—

"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 disaster which may fall upon us any day, any hour. I am going to dispatch this to Calcutta, to be sent through our agents there, that you may know our situation. 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. H———, 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

Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces of India, on the subject. In reply he was told that the pension could not be continued, but that a certain tract of land would be his for life—with which he was not satisfied.

"After some further efforts in India, the Náná addressed the Court of Directors in England in December 1852; about a year afterwards it was decided that the Náná should not get the pension. An oriental, named Azimoollah Khán, was then sent to England in 1855 for the purpose of making a last appeal in behalf of his employer Náná Dhoondoo Punth. He resided in London for two years, formed respectable acquaintances, and was entertained in style and shewed himself a well-bred, and agreeable, gentlemanly person, and well informed on European affairs. Failing in his endeavours, he returned to India breathing revenge in his heart."

This Azimoollah Khan was a charity boy, having been picked up, together with his mother, during the famine of 1837-38. They were both in a dying state from starvation. The mother being a staunch Mahommedan, would not consent to her son (then quite a boy) being christened. He was educated in the Cawnpore free school under Mr. Paton, schoolmaster, and received a subsistence of Rs. 3 per month. His mother earned her own livelihood by serving as ayah or maidservant. After ten years' study, Azimoollah was raised to be a teacher in the same school, and two years after he was made over, as a moonshi, to Brigadier Scott, who in his turn made him over to his successor (when leaving the station), Brigadier the Hon'ble Ashburnham, when Azimoollah misbehaved himself and was.

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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. Let us hope for the best, do our duty, and trust in God above all things. Should I be spared I will write to you by the latest date. We must not give way to despondency, for 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!"

"Our weak position here, with a mere handful of Europeans, places us in very great danger; and daily and hourly we are looking for disasters It is supposed that the commandants here have shown wonderful tact and that their measure of boldly facing the danger by going out to slee amongst their men, has had a wonderful effect in restraining them. But everybody knows that this cannot last. Any accidental spark may set the whole of the regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, in a blaze of

turned out under an accusation of bribery and corruption. Subsequently he attached himself to the Náná. Thus these two low wretches, the one a mendicant Bráhmin's son, and the other a charity boy, got together, and plotted such fearful and sad deeds as will be seen hereafter! Such is the true history of the birth and parentage of this miscreant Náná and of his agent, Azimoollah Khan.

In appearance, the Náná at that time was in the prime of life, between 35 and 40 years age, of middle height, sallow complexion, full round face with light mustache, and rather corpulent body. He lived in comfortable circumstances at Bithoor in a large mansion not far from the Ganges, with stabling and elephant sheds, and large gardens surrounding, and a massive temple near at hand, which Bájee Ráo had built at a considerable expense. Here he was surrounded by a band of wily Maráttas, some relations and friends. There were his two brothers, Bálá Ráo, named above, and Bábá Bhat, who was older than the Náná and said to be the most influential man in the household; Ráo Sáhib, his nephew; Azimoollah his talented agent, and lastly, his faithful servant, Tantia Toopee.

The Náná was a man of no capacity and of debauched tastes, a fair specimen of the Indian prince badly brought up, with ample leisure and ample means, strong passions, and no principles to control them He was known to consider himself aggrieved by being denied Bájee Ráo's pension, but he maintained outward relations of civility with the Europeans,

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mutiny; and even if we keep our position where we are intrenched, with six guns, officers must be sacrificed; and I do not attempt to conceal from myself that my husband runs a greater risk than any one of the whole force. Europeans are almost daily arriving from Calcutta, but in small numbers, twenty to thirty at a time. Every day that we escape free of disturbance adds to our strength, and gives a better chance for our lives. Property is not to be thought of, as conflagration always accompany the outbreaks, and we may be quite sure of our bungalows being burnt down directly troubles commence. Such nights of anxiety I would never have believed possible, and the days are full of excitement. Every note and every message come pregnant with events and alarms. Another fortnight, we expect, will decide our fate, and whatever it may be I trust we shall be enabled to bear it. If these are my last words to you, you will remember them lovingly; and always bear in mind that the affection and love we have ever had for each other is an ingredient of comfort in these bitter times."

Such were the workings of many a mother's heart in our crowded enclosure; but terrible as the suspense and solicitude at this period were, they were but preliminary to horrors indescribably more acute.

NANA DHONDOO PUNTH OF BITHOOR.

THE REBEL GOVERNOR OF CAWNPORE.

and gave excellent entertainments to the officers and ladies of the station.

As matters grew doubtful and dark, the Náná put himself in frequent communication with the magistrate and collector, Mr Hillersden, whom he seemed to have inspired with such confidence that that gentleman decided on placing his own family, as well as some other families, under the Marátta's protection at his mansion in Bithoor, in the event of an outbreak; but the ladies would not agree, and preferred taking refuge in the intrenchment. It was in consequence of this great confidence in the Nárá, that he was appointed guardian, as stated before, of the government treasury in Nawabgunge, and permitted to have a retinue of 500 cavalry and infantry of his own caste under his entire control, by whose help he was enabled to secure the magazine when the sepoys broke out into open mutiny.

A battery of native Oude Horse artillery and a regiment of Oude Irregular cavalry had been obtained from Lucknow a few days previously by General Wheeler, and quartered in different parts of the station. The Oude Irregulars were, however, suspected, and shortly after were marched out towards Fatehgarh, to keep off the Goojurs reported to be advancing from the north-west. This order having been given unexpectedly, they left the station at a little after midnight, and as we had not heard anything of this movement, great was the alarm of my family when at dead of night the tramp of horses' hoofs, which sounded as if thousands of mounted men were on the move, roused us up out of our beds. My chowkedars believed that the 2nd Light cavalry had mutinied and were going off to Delhi. Our panic was great, but a short time after the truth was ascertained, and we were not a little thankful to learn that all was right up to that time, and we earnestly hoped and prayed that no outbreak might occur at Cawnpore. We could form some idea from this noise and confusion in our uneasy state, what would be the state of our minds when a general outbreak took place; so terrific did the sound of the horses' hoofs appear to us at that time of general alarm.

A day or two later, the Oude battery under Lieutenant Ashe, was also ordered out to join the above cavalry, but the latter had in the meantime mutinied on the way, and had succeeded in murdering all the officers who were with them, among whom were Captain Hayes, 42nd N. I., and Captain

Carey, 17th N. I. On receiving the above intelligence, Lieutenant Ashe had to return to Cawnpore with the Oude battery.

General Wheeler employed two head informers, one of whom was named Buddrinath, cattle gomashta of the commissariat department, a respectable and trustworthy Hindu. These informers, on their part, engaged half a dozen men each, dressed in different disguises of the commonest class of people, some pretending to be vendors of wood, sweetmeats, fruits and tobacco, others as labourers and artisans, by which means they could easily mix with the sepoys and troopers and could hear all their conversation and consultations. Each man reported whatever he could gather during the day or night to his respective head informer, who, in his turn, informed the General. Thus he was enabled to learn what the intentions of the troops were.

This man, Buddrinath, being a subordinate in my office, and having confidence in me, kept me duly informed, and a sign was passed between us that in case of any sudden determination of the native troops to break out, he would give me timely notice by sending a piece of stick, a span long, by which I was to know that the mutiny was begun, or was on the point of beginning.

In the meanwhile many consultations were held among the Christian non-military community to devise a plan for our safety, but we could not come to any decision. Mr. Hay again waited upon the General to propose that the best place of safety for all classes appeared to be the magazine, begging that the same should be secured. He was told that could not be for certain reasons of his (the General's) own and of the military authorities under him, but that it was arranged that the magazine should be blown up as soon as the mutiny broke out, and we should all take refuge in the intrenchment. This was about the 25th of May.

About this time my office was removed into a bungalow on the east side of the canal. I went often to see the progress made in the intrenchments, but it was very slow, and the position taken by our officers did not at all satisfy the European non-military community. Some of the merchants talked very bitterly of the way their property was to be exposed, while the officers, they said, solely to save their own bungalows and property, had selected this spot for their intrenchment, knowing that in case of an outbreak the insurgents

would be afraid to plunder the houses on the east side of the canal for fear of the guns of the European artillery.

I cannot say whether this was the real motive of the officers. Perhaps they did not like to abandon the native troops to themselves by removing to so great a distance before they had really resolved upon rebellion. This I know, however, that had the magazine been selected for our garrison, the enemy could never have got possession of a single gun, and the treasury might also have been saved, as it was within range of a 24-pound gun. Besides the advantages to be derived from the Ganges flowing under our feet, the river communication to Allahabad might have been preserved, as also the road across to Lucknow would have been open to us. Having high masonry walls all round, the enemy would never have dared to attack or annoy us merely with musketry.

Considering that little or no safety was to be expected from the intrenchment under preparation, my office people advised me not to go there with my family, but to hide ourselves in the city, as in the event of an attack from the native troops all others save those in the intrenchment would be overlooked. This advice seemed to me feasible, and I engaged two houses in the city at different localities, not in my own name, but in that of Buddrinath, who told the people he expected his friends from other stations. It was our intention to put on native clothes and go into one of the houses, where, of course, our servants and others would be able to trace us; but in a day or two, by removing into the other house by ourselves at night, we would be lost sight of. But in this arrangement a serious difficulty presented itself How was I to go to office daily? For I had to attend to my duties as long as everything went on quietly. However, the plan of having native dresses ready at hand was not abandoned, and my poor wife and nieces and sister in their anxiety to have a suit each, without delay set about it themselves. It was considered a great object not to let anybody know of it, so very coarse cloth, such as the native women of the lower classes wear, was purchased through our old woman servant (a Hindu) named Thakurani, whose clothes were taken for a pattern; and the poor creatures, putting aside everything else, set about preparing their suits, after shutting themselves up in a room. When one suit was finished, I was desired to give my opinion, and thought it would answer very well. It was pitiful to see the diligence and earnestness with which one and all engaged in the task. They

took scarcely any food in their anxiety, and, when all was finished it appeared as if a heavy load was removed from their minds. Alas! all this labour was in vain, for an opportunity to use the clothes never occurred. While these dresses were under preparation, many plans were arranged among themselves as to how each should conduct herself at the time of need. All appeared to think they could pass off very well, even if compelled to show their faces; but how was Ellen, my poor wife, and our two children to manage, she being of European parentage, and the children also fairer than native children? This was a source of much uneasiness.

A few Mohamedan sepoys from each native regiment had been recently deputed to the school of musketry at Umballa to learn the use of the Enfield rifle, and the "greased cartridge" which it was in contemplation to issue to the sepoys in supersession of the smooth-bore percussion muskets. These men returned duly instructed and competent to teach the rest, but their description of the mode of using these cartridges had the effect of filling the minds of the Hindus with dismay. They resolved they would have nothing to do with these cartridges, and gave out in strong terms their belief that this was being done simply to destroy their caste.

All this while alarming reports continued to fly about the station daily, and we lived in perpetual anxiety and dread. Our side of the station was nearly deserted, as almost all the European inhabitants had removed to the east side of the canal near the barracks. We did not go on account of the inconvenience, being assured of getting timely notice from Buddrinath, gomashta. This man appeared to think there was no fear of an outbreak, as nearly the whole of the infantry sepoys were disinclined to mutiny, though they seemed quite undecided after hearing the reports of the manner in which the troops at Barrackpore and Meerut had been dealt with. One thing they appeared to be determined on, *i. e.*, not to receive the new greased cartridges on any account. The 2nd cavalry was, however, quite prepared to leave Cawnpore and many troopers were heard to say among themselves that they were no longer the Company's servants—they owned no other master save the king of Delhi, who was their true and only sovereign, being a true believer and Moslem. This corps was negotiating with the three infantry regiments to join in their wicked design, and only appeared to wait an opportunity to break out into open rebellion

It was now clearly understood from the reports received from time to time through informers, that the native troops, whenever they might make up their minds to break out, had no intention to attack the English or molest the Christian community of Cawnpore. It was their intention to proceed at once to Delhi, after possessing themselves of all the government money in the treasury, which they intended as a present to their new king.

Under this supposition, the European merchants and non-military Christian residents of the station, though they had at first provided themselves with boats and other means of escape from Cawnpore, were induced to abandon the idea of deserting the place, as the General was of opinion that if all continued to remain as before, the troops in all probability would not mutiny, and permission was accorded to all of us to take shelter with our families in the intrenchments.

The General at the same time took the precaution to direct the commissariat to lay in within the intrenchment a supply of attah, dhal, ghi, salt, tea, sugar, rum, and malt liquor, etc., etc., calculated to last thirty days for about a thousand persons, which was accordingly done, although not *quite* in *full*.

As it was not considered safe to keep any public money under the sepoy guard, the Commissariat officer had removed, on the 3rd of June, into the intrenchment, the office treasure chest containing about Rs. 34,000, and a much larger amount in government promissory notes, which were security deposits of gomashtas and contractors attached to the division. I also removed from the office my most important books and papers, among which were all my testimonials, as also a note-book of commissariat regulations I had been engaged in compiling during my leisure hours for the last six or eight years, and had almost completed. All have since been lost!

A company of Her Majesty's 32nd European infantry had been sent to General Wheeler by Sir Henry Lawrence, from Lucknow, as we had but one company of European artillery, sixty in number, together with the depôt (*i. e.*, the families) and a few of the convalescent and disabled men belonging to the 32nd regiment, at that time attached to the station of Cawnpore, the rest of the troops being natives. The above addition, therefore, to our European force was very acceptable, and when, on the 1st of June, the joyful intelligence spread through the station that a small reinforcement of European troops (two

companies of Her Majesty's 84th and fifteen men of the Madras Fusiliers) from Allahabad had just arrived by bullock train, it cheered our spirits not a little. The knowledge that Lucknow needed a great many more Europeans than Cawnpore, induced General Wheeler to order one of the companies of the 84th, and a portion of the 32nd Foot to march to Lucknow, which they did on the morning of the 3rd of June. A further detachment of about fifty men was dispatched by bullock train on the night of that date, so that we were left almost as bad as before.

At this time the unwonted sight of the corpse of a lady and gentleman floating down the river created much excitement.

CHAPTER II.

On or about the 30th of May a report of an outbreak at, and destruction of, the cantonments of Lucknow having reached us and seeing a great many dâk carriages and other conveyances with fugitives coming into Cawnpore, we were not a little alarmed, and as our house was situated in a rather solitary spot, we removed into another, on the old grand parade opposite to Christ church. Here a strong detachment of the 2nd Light cavalry was picketed a short distance in front of our gate; and I directed my servants to have an eye upon their movements.

Everything passed on quietly until the 3rd of June. At 5 P. M. of that day, after my return from office, dinner was brought on the table, and we had just sat down to it when an old servant, in a state of alarm, walked in and desired me to come and see something. I was very hungry and I told him to wait till dinner was over. He stood a little while, and not wishing to alarm the family, advanced and whispered in my ear, "Something dreadful is about to take place immediately." This was overheard by my wife, who sat near to me. She got up at once in the greatest alarm, and we all joined her. On looking out we could see, at about the distance of half a mile, a great body of men coming from the west side in the direction of our house, with two guns and several gun-carriages drawn by horses, among them. The cavalry picket near our gate at the same time appeared in great commotion. The troopers were seen loading their pistols in a great hurry, and saddling their horses, waiting, apparently undecided whether to mount and bolt away or to stay.

Seeing these things, the girls as well as the rest, became exceedingly alarmed. I found it impossible to pacify them, not knowing what I was to do for their safety. Telling them to go and prepare for flight and trust in God for help, I went as far as the compound gate. A few of the troopers of the picket were already mounted. All appeared to be in a state of alarm and quite at a loss to account for this sudden arrival of the guns. On looking closely, I saw a European officer

riding alongside these guns, which re-assured me not a little, for I knew they could be none but friends. The battery in the meantime passed on in the direction of the intrenchment. It was the Oude battery under Lieutenant Ashe, which a week or six days before had been sent together with the Oude Irregular cavalry to Fatehgarh, returning to Cawnpore on finding that the latter had murdered its officers on the way and gone off to Delhi. After it had passed the cavalry picket, a great mob was collected on the parade-ground to know the cause of these guns coming in. I also walked up to them to make inquiries. I met two or three troopers mixed up with the mob, and by their talk it appeared that they felt as if a great load of anxiety was removed from their minds. They thought (guilty consciences made them think so) that these guns had been brought to blow them up, but now this fear having been removed they began to talk loudly about themselves. I took an opportunity to remark that the Oude Irregular cavalry, previous to its accompanying this battery, was considered quite loyal and was sent under that impression to Fatehgarh; what then had induced it to mutiny and kill its officers? This remark of mine was the cause of eliciting a great many others from the troopers, who just at that time were thrown off their guard and commenced mentioning all that was working upon their minds. One said that "It was quite clear there was treachery on the part of the officers, who," he said, "had attempted to disarm them and to take away their horses, and failing in this, had ordered them to go into the intrenchment to receive their pay *in undress*, and without arms. But the troopers," he assured me with a shake of the head, "were wideawake, and would not be taken in so easily." Another said, that "If there is no treachery meditated by the officers, why are they intrenching themselves? If the officers deal fairly with us as before, we will never do anything wrong. No, but they wish to take away our caste by many stratagems." Then turning round to his comrades, he said, "See what deep plots are being laid against us. They know that we will never receive the new cartridges, and therefore flour, mixed with cows' and pigs' bones, is sent from Roorkee, to make us *badhurrum*." * A third said, "I see it all quite clear: the officers have no faith in us. See how they attempted to remove the native guard and place Europeans over the magazine and treasury! The native troops

* Outcast.

have been so long considered trustworthy, and now all of a sudden they are to be mistrusted." By this time I was well surrounded on all sides by troopers, and I endeavoured to pacify them by saying that they were labouring under a mistake; that by taking their caste the government would gain nothing, since they could not serve for less pay, or give more work and so forth. But they became vehement and reminded me of what had occurred at Meerut, where "because some of the troopers had refused to bite the new cartridge they were severely punished and degraded in irons and sent to work on the roads with ten years' imprisonment." "Thus," he said, "we shall all be treated as soon as a European force is sent to Cawnpore, so we will not wait till then. As it is, we are degraded to the lowest degree: for the other night only, an officer fired upon a small picket of ours when going its rounds and the court passed it off by saying that the officer was mad. If we natives had fired upon a European we should have been hanged." (This was true, for a few nights before an officer was walking about on the plain when all this occurred, and the court decided that he was not in his right mind.) Seeing that the troopers were getting very excited on the subject, and would give no heed to my persuasions, I said, "You are all bent upon your own destruction, for where will you get so good and honourable a service as the British?" To this an immediate reply was given: "We are Mussulmen and we will serve a sovereign of our own caste, who will know how to treat us as we deserve." One man in particular, with ferocious whiskers and mustache, more vehement than the rest, said he and his comrades had made up their minds, and that their motto was "*suffun suffa*, *i. e.*, make a clearance." In his vehement and excited state he lifted both his hands above his head, and waving them in a significant manner, went on repeating the words "*suffun suffa*." He said, he would first begin with his own wife and children, and then all who came before him would be "*suffun suffa*." Finding that nothing would do, and that they kept me surrounded, I said, "If you are determined to do all these things, why should you hurt or molest those who are in no way connected with your affairs, such as the merchants, clerks and others and their families, for they have done you no harm." On hearing this the ferocious man said, "Oh, you are all one, all of the same breed. You are serpents, and not one of you shall be spared." This was going too far, and immediately

a man who appeared to be a havildar or naick, stepped up and said, "Do not listen to what this foolish fellow says. You go about your business, and don't come among us." By this time several joined him in urging me to go away. I was glad of this, for I wanted nothing better than to get away from among such ruffianly-looking fellows. As I was moving on, one fellow in a jesting manner called out, "Oh YOU have nothing to fear from us—just go and put on the garb of a Mussulman, take a short stout stick in your hand, and come out boldly. You have nothing to do but to twist your mustache and repeat the words *al-hamd ullah rubbil-allamin*—(a part of their prayers), and you will do well." Upon this all burst out laughing. I, however, appeared to take no notice of this speech, and kept moving towards my house, but I could hear the subadar giving them a sound scolding for being so open with me. He said, "Don't you know he is one of them, and will go and inform against us" I lost what more he said, for I left them and entered my gate.

On my return home, I found all in the utmost anxiety and quite impatient to leave the bungalow and go away anywhere rather than stay there. It was agreed that as no other place of safety could be thought of, we should go to the intrenchment. Both my own and Mrs. Osborne's* carriages were made ready, and the fright of the females was so great that they would not delay even to take a suit of extra clothes for themselves and children. A few pieces of baby linen merely were taken in a small wooden box, which also contained all our jewels, cash, etc. Mrs. Osborne had taken the precaution of putting her things into a pillow, which was a capital plan. We placed the wooden box into one of the carriages, and fortunately I thought of a suttringi (carpet), about 9 feet by 7, which was also taken, and proved to be of very great service to us during the whole time we were in the intrenchment.

* Mrs. Osborne, who was my aunt's sister, had just arranged with her husband to remove from Jounpur, where they had been residing for many years, and settle down at Agra near her sister. Accordingly, leaving her husband to adjust certain business matters, she proceeded to Agra with the property and their only son Dennis, a lad of about 14 years, but finding that Mr. Osborne would be delayed a little, she had returned to Cawnpore intending to go back to his assistance at Jounpur. This she was unable to do, owing to the then very unsettled state of the country, and ultimately had to go with us into Wheeler's intrenchment. Meanwhile poor Mr. Osborne had been able to come as far as Fatehpur (48 miles from Cawnpore), but was hemmed in there. The only account that could be obtained of his fate was that he died from exhaustion while making his escape in company with a number of Christian residents of the station.

Apprehending that the cavalry picket at the gate might molest us after what had occurred, we did not get into the carriages, but got out on foot, by the wicket at the back, instructing the grooms to come around with the empty garries at the next turn. Thus leaving every thing under the care of our watchmen, we proceeded toward the intrenchment, never again to return home. In our anxiety to get away, all walked as fast as possible, my wife and sister with their two babies, my daughter Polly holding me by the hand, followed by an Hindu woman servant, Thakurani, to whom the little five year old girl had been exceedingly attached from her birth. Our two nieces, Emmelina Frost, and Martha Batavia, wished very much to take their pet spaniel, a very pretty little English dog named Mischief, and so was I to take my pet "Jip," a small tan terrier. But these we were very reluctantly obliged to leave behind, hoping to send for them afterwards. Mrs. Osborne and Mrs. Frost, senior, (two elderly persons) held between them a little orphan native Christian girl named Mercy, whom the girls were bringing up, and behind them all was my poor brother Daniel, a young man 22 years of age: this made our number thirteen, including the servant woman.

We got to the carriages at the turn of the road, and speedily getting in we made all haste, but seeing at a distance on the mall near the assembly-rooms, a large body of horsemen going towards the old grand parade, we felt alarmed, and altered our course, going by the way of the orderly baazar and the post-office, which soon brought us to the canal bridge. It was a pretty sight to see the water running down to the Ganges river close by. We stopped a little to refresh ourselves, but on stooping over the bridge, my nieces beheld a number of sepoys dressed like recruits and armed with muskets, apparently lying in wait for something at the inner steps of the bridge—perhaps keeping a watch to see the movements of the Europeans. On seeing us, some pretended to be washing their hands and others drinking water, but all looked quite confused, and did not appear to like our intrusion. This sight frightened the poor girls very much, as the place looked very solitary, and it was almost dark. We therefore made all haste toward the intrenchments, though we were obliged to take a roundabout way to it. One of the horses having lately been sick, now began to fail us, and had to be led by the bridle, going at a slow pace. However, we succeeded at last

in reaching the intrenchments, and as no conveyances were admitted inside, we had to send ours back, after taking out the things. It being rather dark by this time we did not know how to proceed in search of a place to stay that night. A European sentry, seeing our perplexity, very kindly directed us to go to his wife, who would help us to the best of her power. He said his name was Mulray of H. M's 32nd regiment, and that we were to enquire for Mrs. Mulray in the thatched barrack where the depôt, *i. e.*, the families of that corps, were located. We found the place so full of people (the verandas being entirely taken up with beds, etc. on account of the heat) that poor Mrs. Mulray, though willing and desirous of helping us, could not find room enough so my large party could be together. At last Mr. Gill, the school-master, met us and very kindly accommodated us among the free school children, who had a good spot allotted to them at the east corner of the same barrack. Here we made ourselves as comfortable as we could for the night, the suttringi we had brought with us, being our only bedding to spread on the floor. I mentioned to several persons all that had happened to me that evening, but what was to be done! We had no European troops to send out to act as a check upon the native troops. Next morning, the 4th of June, we succeeded, through the kindness of our friends Mr. and Mrs MacLanders, in getting a place in one of the rooms at the south corner of the flat-roofed barrack.

I attended my office as usual, and happening to see two or three sepoys belonging to the guard attached to the commissariat, I entered into a little conversation with them on the present state of affairs. They seemed to think that the Hindus of the Native Infantry regiments at Cawnpore, were, on the whole, loyal to the "Company Bahadur," although there was, and had always been, a spirit of discontent prevailing among some, which had of late been growing to a considerable extent, "as there were instigators going about." Here they began to utter certain abusive expressions against the Mohamedans, which I understood to be applicable to the troopers of the 2nd Light cavalry, which was composed almost entirely of Mohamedans, but as they were guarded in their talk, I could not get much out of them.

Our servants brought us cooked food that day from home both morning and evening. At night we had our only "bed" on the floor as before, and laid ourselves down to sleep, feel-

ing very thankful that we had found a place of rest for all of us together in one spot.

We slept undisturbed, until about two hours after midnight, when a great bustle and collection of people in the part of the verandah we were in, roused me from my slumber, and starting up, I inquired "What is the matter?" A motion of the hand pointing towards the 2nd Light cavalry lines, accompanied with the word "Listen!" was all the explanation I could get. By this time my family were all up and had joined some other friends who had assembled on the spot, at a loss to know what was going to happen. In directing my attention towards the cavalry lines a suppressed noise could be heard as of a large body of troops making preparations for a march. We all guessed that the cavalry had broken out into open rebellion; and presently, there was a great sound of horses' hoofs and noise of men, some calling to one another and others shouting. At the same time a blaze of fire in that direction made us aware that the troopers had mounted their horses and left their lines, after setting fire to the bungalow of their riding-master. An alarm gun was immediately fired from our garrison, and the non-military Christian community, who were outside the intrenchments in tents, in the soldiers' church* and other buildings close by, all came in amidst great confusion.

On hearing the report of our gun, the troopers immediately altered their course, and instead of following up the road to the 1st Infantry lines, they took the one through the city, and coming to the commissariat cattle-yard they took possession of the government elephants, thirty six in number, and set fire to the cattle-sergeant's bungalow.

While passing through the city, the cavalry men were heard by the city people to express great joy at having got their liberty, telling the inhabitants not to be at all alarmed as they were not going to molest any one just then; but that after reaching Delhi and paying their respects to their lawful and mighty king, they would be back before the expiration of that month, invested with orders and headed by one of the royal princes, and then they would see if they could not keep Cawnpore for their great king.

The troopers of the cavalry were ripe for mutiny on the night of the 3rd of June, but their subadar-major managed to keep them down, and endeavoured his best to prevent the

* St John's chapel.

outbreak. The men wavered awhile and allowed the next day to pass in this state. At last they shook off the subadar-major's authority, and directed him to accompany them on pain of immediate death. He, however, steadily refused, and said he would neither go with them himself nor sanction their doing so. Some of the ring-leaders, therefore fell on him with their swords, and inflicting several deep cuts, left him for dead. Life was not quite extinct when his body was brought in the morning into our intrenchment by some of the officers, but he died after a few days.

While the main body proceeded towards Nawabgunge, a few of the ring-leaders went to the lines of the 1st regiment Native infantry, and used their persuasive powers so well as to succeed in getting the men (who were mostly young recruits, the old heads being away on leave or on command) to join them. It is to be said to the credit of the men of the 1st Native infantry that when they agreed to go away with the mutineers they first begged of their officers (who had been for some time in the habit of sleeping in the quarter-guard of the regiment to insure confidence) to leave them, and ultimately forced them to go away into the intrenchment without hurting them. Every bungalow that came in their way towards Nawabgunge was set on fire and destroyed.

After this corps had passed away we remained in anxious suspense to hear if the 53rd and 56th, on the south side of us, would also leave their lines and join the rest; but they remained in *statu quo*, probably undecided what to do. At about 7 o'clock A. M. three or four officers went on horseback to reconnoitre, and on their return the Oude Horse battery was ordered to pursue the rebels, accompanied by a company of European soldiers. They went as far as the canal, but were recalled owing to an apprehension that the 53rd and 56th Native infantry might attack us in the rear. These also showed signs at 9 o'clock of joining in the rebellion, and about half an hour after, nearly the whole of the native commissioned officers, about thirty or thirty-five in number, came to the General and reported that their remonstrances to the sepoys were of no avail, as they had also that morning been tampered with by the cavalry, and appeared determined to go away. While they were yet speaking, a bugle sounded, and shortly after we could see the two regiments drawn upon their parade-ground; but a shot or two from our guns immediately dispersed them, and sent them at a run around their lines on the Grand Trunk road. The native commissioned

officers were then told to take position in the artillery hospital, about 600 yards opposite to us on the east side, 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.

Carts were sent at noon to bring in from the sepoy lines the muskets, etc., of the men on leave, as also the baggage and property of the Christian drummers, who, with their families, had all come to seek protection in the intrenchment.

It is reported that when the mutineers reached Nawabgunge, the Náná came out to receive them, and taking them with him, proceeded to the treasury where he had all the government elephants well laden with the public money, and while this was being done, word was brought that the two other regiments (53rd and 56th N. I.) were also coming to join him. This so pleased the Náná that he gave up the remaining cash as a general plunder to the rebels, after which they set fire to the records and to the building, and destroyed the collector's kutchery (office). They then entered the jail and set all the prisoners at liberty.

This done, the whole mob moved on to the magazine, which unfortunately had not been permitted by the sepoy guard to be blown up, as was intended by General Wheeler, where they halted until carts and other carriage could be procured from the city and neighbouring villages. They then loaded their baggage, and took as many small arms and as much ammunition as they could, and marched off to Kullianpore, one stage or nine miles on the road towards Delhi, evidently with the full intention of going to that station. They left a small detachment of cavalry to complete the work of destruction—*i. e.*, firing the remaining bungalows that had been missed during the day, which work they continued to perform nearly the whole night.

About 2 o'clock in the afternoon of this day, the 5th of June, a stiffened corpse of a European was brought into the intrenchment in a cart by some natives, and it was recognized as that of Mr. Murphy of the E. I. Railway. The body was pierced with three bullet shots, two in the back and one in the head. This poor man had gone in the morning to his bungalow on the railway line and was engaged in conducting some business, when his servants seeing the 53rd and 56th Native Infantry

moving in a mass in that direction, (his bungalow being right on the way to the place they were going) gave the alarm. He ordered his horse to be brought, but before he could mount the mutineers were close upon him. He, however, galloped off in our direction, but the wretches fired a volley after him, and three shots took effect as above. His friends and companions gave his remains a burial in the soldiers' church compound, the minister performing the usual ceremony. The sight of this corpse roused the feelings of the men and officers in the intrenchment to a high degree, and at 5 o'clock all the non-military and uncovenanted body were mustered and arranged under several sections. Arms and ammunition were served out from a pile of weapons which had been brought away from the sepoy lines.

That same day the *golundazes* (native artillerymen) of the Oude Horse battery, which had been located to the north of Wheeler's intrenchment, shewed signs of disaffection, and were sent away after being disarmed. Had these not left, I was told the General would have sent two guns to Nawabgunge to prevent the mutineers returning, as due information of their movements was brought to our camp. But being well assured, according to the reports previously made by the informers, that the rebels did not contemplate attacking us, no further precaution appears to have been deemed necessary; otherwise this would have been a good opportunity to set fire to the large quantity of powder remaining in the magazine; and it was a pity the opportunity was lost.

At candle-light we of the militia were directed to take our posts in the trenches for the night, and to stand sentry by turns. How vivid is the recollection to me of this night, being the first time I was called to perform military duty! It reminded me of my worthy parent, and of the many little anecdotes of his military career, which he used to relate to us. My feelings were strongly blended with anxiety and hope, and when taking leave for the night I looked upon the faces of my poor wife and children and the dear creatures whom I had so lately brought away from Calcutta to meet a fearful death, what pain—what anguish of heart—I felt at the time! But hope in the mercy of God enabled me to place all my cares in His hands. Of one thing I was glad: I had followed the example of all who were considered to be sensible and wise, in taking up my lot among them, and not remaining away with so many of my family in the city or elsewhere.

Perhaps it would make our position clearer and the plans attached more comprehensible, if I give a short account of the unfortunate locality that had been selected by General Wheeler, and of the inadequate steps that had been taken to secure it. Cawnpore had always been one of the most important of the East India Company's garrisons, and always contained a full brigade of troops, composed of no less than one full European regiment of infantry, one of cavalry and a battalion and a half of artillery, and the rest of native infantry, required for the defence of the frontiers of Oude. Thus not unfrequently the station contained as many as six thousand troops. It is sad to think that in consequence of the recent annexation of the province of Oude by the British, it was considered no longer necessary to retain any European troops at all, except the one company of artillery, which left the station entirely at the mercy of the natives, consisting of the 1st, 53rd and 56th regiments of infantry, the 2nd Light cavalry and a company of golundazes (artillerymen.)

The cantonments are quite distinct from the city and the civil station, as will be seen from the two maps attached, and are spread over an area of about five miles in semi-circular form along the right bank of the river Ganges. The two barracks in which we were located, as I stated before, were in an extensive plain at the south end of the station, and had been used as an hospital for the sick of the European dragoon regiment when located at Cawnpore. These barracks were single-storied buildings, the longer of the two was thatched, and both were surrounded by very strong sloping verandas made of beams and solid masonry; the walls were of brick two feet thick, and several out-houses were attached to the buildings. There was only one pucca masonry well in the centre of the compound. Around these barracks a trench was being dug. It was commenced on or about the 20th of May. The loose earth was thrown up on the outside, intended to form a parapet, but scarcity of labour and the stiffness of the soil, which at that time of the year was almost as hard as rock, rendered the task a tedious one, and slow of progress. The earth thus thrown up had not been beaten down nor was water sprinkled over it to make it solid. Thus the parapet or rather mound, which was about four feet high, was not even bullet proof at the crest, over which in many places sand bags were placed, to admit of the sentries keeping watch both by day and night. Embrasures were likewise left for the guns which

were quite unprotected, and one can imagine the slight cover an intrenchment of this kind would furnish the men in the trenches. As for barracks, they had none at all, and were quite exposed. A covering of tiles was hastily thrown over the thatched barracks to prevent its easily catching fire, and just a little of one corner of it remained to be completed when the mutiny broke out, and the people all stopped work both in the trenches and in the barracks.

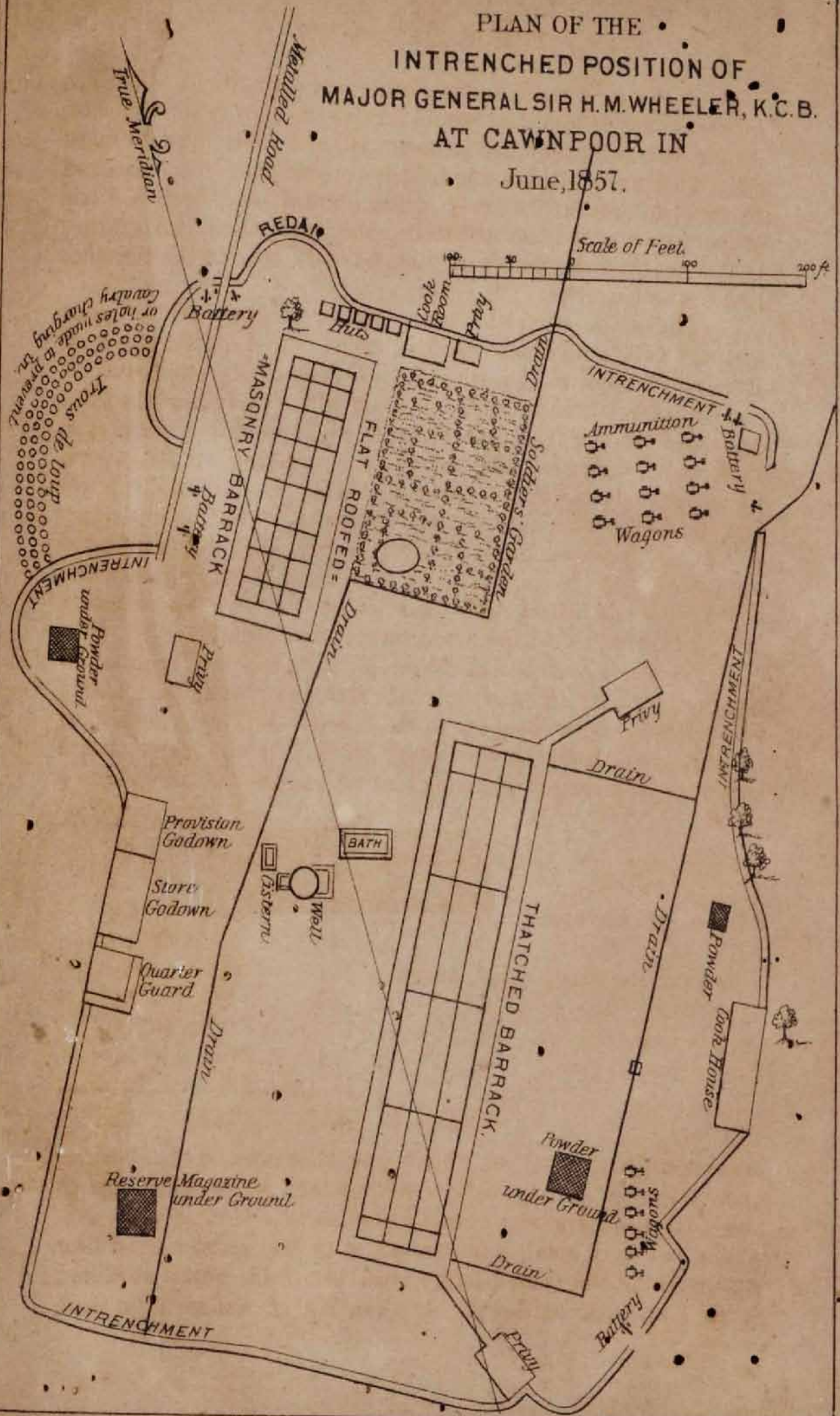
Besides the sixty-three men of the company of European artillery belonging to the station, some small detachments of European troops had joined us from Calcutta, as stated before, and a number of the invalided and convalescent men of the 23rd European infantry, together with the whole of the women and children belonging to that corps were staying at Cawnpore, while the regiment itself was stationed at Lucknow. Then we had the European and Eurasian residents of Cawnpore—merchants, shopkeepers, clerks, etc., together with the employees connected with the civil, railway, canal, and other departments, as well as some others who had joined us from surrounding districts, owing to the disturbed state of the country.

The exact number of the people in our intrenchment cannot be stated, except that of the European soldiers, which I subsequently ascertained from the indents held by the native commissariat agent in the city; but I feel confident that I cannot be far wrong in assuming that we had the following, *viz*:—

	Men.	Women.	Children.
1st company, 6th battalion artillery	63	16	20
Madras Fusiliers	15	...	...
32nd regt. European infantry ...	84	45	60
84th do. do. ...	48	...	...
Officers of the sepoy corps, about	100	55	40
Musicians do. do ...	44	27	50
Non-military	100	80	100
Free school	1	2	50
Total ...	455	225	320

Making a grand total of about one thousand souls, besides twenty-five or thirty native servants and a few loyal sepoys and native officers who were allowed to take shelter with us.

We had eight small guns in all with us, consisting of two 9-pounders of the Oude battery and six field guns attached to our European artillery. A quantity of ammunition had


PLAN OF THE
INTRENCHED POSITION OF
MAJOR GENERAL SIR H. M. WHEELER, K.C.B.
AT CAWNPOOR IN
June, 1857.
True Meridian
Metalled Road
REDAN
Scale of Feet.
100
200 ft
Battery
Hut
Cook Room
Privy
Road
INTRENCHMENT
Ammunition
Battery
Wagons
Soldiers' Garden
MASONRY BARRACK
FLAT ROOFED
Bauree
Bauree
Drain
INTRENCHMENT
Powder under Ground
Hut
Privy
Drain
INTRENCHMENT
Provision Godown
Store Godown
Quarter Guard
BATH
Cistern
Well
THATCHED BARRACK
Drain
Powder
Gun House
Drain
Reserve Magazine under Ground
Powder under Ground
Wagons
Drain
INTRENCHMENT
Battery
Privy

also previously been brought away from the magazine and buried underground. It was a matter of great regret when we were besieged, that no larger guns, or even a few mortars and howitzers, had been provided. Had such been the case, the enemy would not have dared to bring their batteries as close to our camp as they did and annoy us with impunity.

Our eight guns were disposed of (see plan) in the following manner:—East battery 3, north battery 2, north-west 2, and south-east 1. None of these batteries were masked or fortified in any way, and our poor gunners were in consequence always exposed to the enemy's murderous fire.

The Náná was well aware how we were situated with our artillery, as he had paid several visits to the intrenchment previous to the outbreak, and had walked through the entire camp in company with some of the officers; and even on the very eve of the mutiny he was seen walking about the intrenchment on terms of great intimacy with one of the civil servants and other gentlemen. Besides this traitor—this wolf in sheep's clothing—the golundazes of the Oude Horse battery had been allowed to encamp so near this spot as to give them every opportunity of seeing all our arrangements as they progressed from day to day, and they had marked every point before they were sent away.

"It is very clear that soon after the arrival of the Náná from Bithoor, after he had been placed in charge of the treasury at Nawabgunge, both he and his brother Bálá, with the help of some of their employees, began to tamper with the troops, and succeeded in effectually corrupting the fidelity of the 2nd Cavalry and the 1st Native infantry; but it was only when the mutiny broke out and the plunder of government treasure took place, that, prompted by Bálá and others, a deputation of some of the native officers waited on the Náná and invited him in the following words to take the command of the rebel army, and to lead them on to Delhi:—'Maharaj, a kingdom awaits you if you join our cause; but death if you side with our enemies;' to which he promptly replied, 'What have I to do with the British? I am altogether your's.' Then, laying his hands on the heads of the native officers, he swore to join them, and when quite satisfied, they departed with their respective corps to Kullianpore. Thus it is evident that up to this time there was no understanding come to in regard to attacking General Wheeler; or where would have been the necessity for marching away from the

station?" It was the golundazes of the Oudh battery, as stated before, who, when they received their discharge, proceeded to the Nána's quarters and represented to him the advantages likely to be derived from attacking the English in their intrenchments; since there was so large a quantity of powder and guns of different sizes, with other ammunition, quite at hand, besides the thirty-five or forty boat-loads of shot and shell lying in the canal. These boats, on account of the unsettled state of the country, were unable to proceed to Roorki, where they had originally been consigned from Cawnpore, and had only just returned. "A consultation was then held between the Náná and his advisers, in which Bálá Ráo and Azimoollah took the lead. The folly of going to Delhi, where every one of them was likely to lose his individual influence and power, was discussed; and it was unanimously agreed that the Náná was the proper person to assume the sovereignty in these Provinces, and that so good an opportunity of attacking the British should not be allowed to slip by, it being confidently assumed that within two hours the intrenchment would be conquered and the Europeans destroyed." Accordingly the Náná proceeded to Kullianpore, and told the mutineers he would double the amount of pay they received from the British Government if they would agree to stay and fight, as by doing so they would get great praise, and it would be a grand thing to gain a complete victory over the British at Cawnpore; that the king of Delhi would make much of them, and he himself (Náná) would reward each with a gold bracelet worth a hundred rupees. During the night the several corps were officered, Teeka Singh, Subadar of the 2nd Cavalry, being appointed Brigadier-General of the forces.

Early next morning, the 6th of June, the whole of the mutineers, headed by the Náná, and assisted by his brothers and Azimoollah, returned to Cawnpore, and securing all the magazine work-people, lascars and others, made them assist in putting a few heavy guns in serviceable order, and employing government bullocks, brought out about half a dozen guns (two of which were 18-pounders, and the others smaller), and proceeded to attack General Wheeler's garrison. On their way they fired upon the house of Azum Ali, said to be possessed of an immense sum of money acquired by him while in the King of Oude's service. The mutineers then surrounded his house and took the old man and his two sons prisoners. Shots were

likewise fired upon the house of the Nunneh Nawab, who was also taken prisoner and his property plundered. An old gentleman (European) with his wife and two children, of 14 and 16 years of age respectively, found secreted in a house, were brought out and shot in front of the dâk bungalow.

When the rebel force had passed the assembly-rooms and moved up to the canal, a council was held as to the best position for their battery for attacking the garrison. In the meantime, some five or six harmless old pensioners and others, who were hiding in Mogul Serai, on the banks of the canal close by, were brought out and murdered. The large guns were then placed in battle array against the English intrenchment, and exactly at half-past ten A.M. opened fire. All that day and night a murderous fire was kept up. The enemy fully expectel that a couple of hours' sharp firing with heavy guns would destroy the English garrison, and that entire possession of the intrenchment would be taken by the Nânâ, who had made a vow not to alight from his horse until the intrenchment of the Europeans fell, being fully persuaded that it could not withstand such bombardment very long. But when the evening arrived, and no sign appeared of our defeat or surrender, he was obliged to alight, and causing a carpet to be spread in a deep ditch near one of his batteries, there he passed the night. The following morning, finding little or no hope of success, he removed into Mr. Duncan's hotel.

While the mutineers were engaged in bringing guns, etc., from the magazine on the 6th of June, intimation was received by General Wheeler of the movements of the enemy, and every preparation was made accordingly for our defence. The first shot of the enemy was fired at half-past ten o'clock and immediately a bugle sounded in our camp "All hands to arms," and forthwith every individual, both civil and military, presented himself under the mounds of the intrenchment. Here we sat nearly all day, exposed to the hot winds and scorching rays of the sun of the month of June, every moment expecting an open-handed attack from the infantry and cavalry. This the enemy, however, never attempted, though at times large bodies of armed men could be seen collected in different places. Our artillery kept up a brisk fire and returned nearly every shot of the mutineers. In the meantime the latter commenced setting fire to the bungalows on the east, or our side of the canal, bringing round their guns closer to us behind the riding-school, and

the compound walls of buildings most suited to them. The distance, however, of the enemy's batteries was too great to admit of their taking good aim, and only a few shots took effect upon our barrack that day, though the firing was incessant. No musketry was fired upon us that day. It was pitiful to see those who had all their lifetime been accustomed to enjoy *khus tatties* and *punkhas* during the hot weather, and who never ventured out in the hot winds, except in a covered conveyance, thus pitilessly exposed a whole day to the powerful heat of the sun—some covering their heads with cloth dipped in water, others putting up a temporary shelter of empty boxes, sheets, etc.

This day we had no food from home, as our servants could not bring us any. Nobody was inclined to take any dinner because of the great anxiety and alarm felt during the whole of that terrible day. When Daniel, my brother, and myself got leave to go and see our family, at 7 P.M., oh! how melancholy and yet joyful was our meeting! It appeared as if we had been separated for a long period; and how glad were my wife and the girls to find we had escaped unhurt! After staying an hour with them and consoling them the best way we could, we took leave for the night, and returned to our post, which was at the west end of the trenches. Here we were directed to sleep with our arms near us, and to take our turns of the watch during the night. My turn for sentry in the trenches was fixed for one o'clock, but some of the volunteers having skulked away into the barracks, these arrangements were disturbed. I was aroused at midnight, and told to relieve the outside picket, which was behind the unfinished European barracks, about 250 yards distant from the intrenchment, and a guard was formed, consisting of two European soldiers, a corporal, myself and Daniel. On relieving the picket we were placed fifty yards distant from each other—two at the unfinished barracks and two on the plain—the corporal remaining in the centre. The night was gloomy, and we could not see clearly very far. After about half an hour a dark object appeared in the plain on my side, as of a man crawling on all fours on the ground. I looked, I listened: there was no mistake—the object was certainly a living one, and evidently coming in our direction. I called out to the corporal and asked permission to fire. He said, 'Wait a little.' On coming up, he was of my opinion. I then fired off my piece. It was only a cow or bullock which had come to graze in the cool of the night! the report of the gun caused it to start away fast enough. Shortly after, one of the European sentries reported

that something like a column of infantry appeared to be standing out near the enemy's battery on our north. The corporal went to him, and afterwards called us all together to see. There was certainly something like what the sentry had reported, and the glitter of bayonets was to be perceived occasionally, when the moon, which was enveloped in a dusty smoky mist, became brighter. The corporal said he would go and report, and taking two men (Daniel and one of the European soldiers) he went away. We had by this time stood more than our usual time of the watch, and the other sentry was very impatient to be relieved. Finding that no relief came for some time, he told me to keep a sharp look out, while he would go and call a relief. I was now left quite alone. The enemy's battery was as usual firing away its heavy pieces, without any regard as to whether it took effect or not: some shots fell short, others went over, and a few dropped with tremendous crash at different places in the intrenchment. The column we had seen before was no longer perceptible. I tried to keep a good look out all round; and being left in that solitary spot quite alone, did not at all like my position. Half an hour passed away in this manner and nobody came to my assistance. I called out at the top of my voice, but no notice was taken. I could not desert my post, so I fired off my musket, and again called out, at the same time re-loading my piece. This had the desired effect, and I was relieved.

The commissariat contractors all discontinued their supplies of rations to the European soldiers from the 6th of June or rather were unable to bring them in from the way the mutineers surrounded the intrenchment on all sides, permitting no ingress or egress at any time; and as a great many servants had absconded as soon as the first gun was fired by the enemy (the few who did remain were so panic-struck and confused as to be perfectly useless), the European community felt greatly inconvenienced. None of the native clerks, Bengalis and others in the government or merchants' employ, went into the intrenchment from want of room in it. They remained in the city, where they appear to have received much annoyance from the mutineers, and many had to desert into the villages to save their lives.

There was no place to shelter the live cattle. Horses of officers and others, as also those of the Oude battery, had to be let loose. A few sheep and goats as well as bullocks, kept for commissariat purposes, were shot off, and in the course of five

or six days no meat was to be had for the Europeans. They managed however, on one or two occasions to catch a stray bullock or cow near the intrenchment at night, which served as a change: otherwise a small quantity of dhâl (split pulse) and a couple or three chapatis (handcake) was the daily diet of all without distinction, except of such who got uncooked rations, and they had the utmost difficulty in getting them dressed. Several hogsheads of rum and malt liquor were also destroyed by the enemy's cannon.

On the second day of the firing, the 7th, at about 10 A M., the soldiers' church (called St. John's chapel) was set on fire by the mutineers, and as it blazed away, I could not help thinking how heavy the hand of God was upon us thus to bring this judgment. Not only did He suffer us to be besieged so fearfully on all sides without a hope of escape, but also permitted our persecutors to set fire to the house of our God before our eyes, the distance being not above three hundred yards. And that on the Sabbath day.

On the evening of this day it was my turn to keep watch through the sand bags over the parapet in the west corner of the intrenchment, and while I was looking out I had to bend my back to enable me to keep under cover. Suddenly I felt as if somebody had given me a tremendous blow with a club on my back. I turned round to see, but a darkness came over me; I reeled, and a strange sensation passed all over my body; then I swooned and fell down, face upwards. When I came to myself again, I saw my poor brother Daniel bathing my face and fanning me, quite at a loss to know the cause of my sudden indisposition. I tried to rise, but could not without assistance. I desired them to pull at my clothes at the back which I felt had stuck to the body. They did so, and a bullet fell out. It had cut through the several folds of my clothing, leaving a hole in them all, and penetrated an inch deep into the body. Fortunately it was a spent shot fired from the riding school, or somewhere in that direction. I was taken to the hospital in the thatched barrack, where the surgeons were busily engaged performing operations upon the wounded. One soldier in particular (an artilleryman) attracted my attention. His left arm was shot away a little above the elbow, the lacerated flesh hung down as he sat on a stool divested of his shirt, preparatory to undergoing amputation. The hands of all the surgeons were too full to attend to me, and I waited their convenience. Seated on a chair I was enabled to survey the

patients in that room, and seeing their sufferings, I thanked God that my own wound was but a trifle compared with some of theirs.

At last Mr. Toomey, the kind apothecary of the medical depôt, examined my wound, and looking at my face felt my pulse and said, "Well, you are a lucky man!" He then addressed one of the surgeons (Dr. Newenham of the 1st N. I.), who also came and examined me in the same manner, and smiling very kindly, said "Nobody ever lives after getting a bullet in the part where you have, and as you have escaped this, you will live very long." I was desired to keep the wound wet always, as that was the only remedy for it then, The place where I received the bullet is the lumbar region on the right ridge of the spine. I will not describe the scene which took place when I was taken to the other barrack where my family occupied a room.

We had, as I said before, but one well in the middle of the intrenchment and it was quite exposed to the shots of the enemy, who kept up an incessant fire upon it, so that it was as much as giving a man's life-blood to go and draw a bucket of water. So while there was any water remaining in the large jars usually kept in the veranda for the soldiers' use, nobody ventured to the well. But after the second day the demand became so great that a bhistie's bag of water was with difficulty had for five rupees, and a bucket for a rupee; and as most of the servants had deserted, it became a matter of necessity for every person to bring his own water, which was usually done during the night, when the enemy could not so well direct their shots. In fact, after the first three days' incessant firing, the rebels made it a practice, usually at about candle-light, to cease for about two hours, and at that time the crowd around the well was very great.

Several casualties occurred even within the first three or four days. Mr. Gee, a feeble old man, was killed by the fall of a round shot; Major Sir George Parker died from sunstroke, as also Colonel Williams of the 56th N. I. Mr. Gili, the schoolmaster, while leaning against the wall of the guard-room, had his skull fractured from a round shot hitting the wall outside of the building, and endured for several days intense pain; Mrs. (Bazaar Sergeant) Reid and Mrs. O'Brien (of the Cawnpore collector's office) both died from apoplexy. Many others died in a similar manner whose names I am unable to mention. Brigadier Jack and his brother were both prostrated at

the same time—one from sunstroke attended with fever, and the other from having a leg broken by a shot. Both died within a week of that time after much suffering

As I was kept off duty for nearly a week on account of my wound, I was enabled to remain with my dear family. I had been fortunate enough to secure an earthen vessel capable of holding ten seers of water, and we valued it almost as much as our lives. I would not have parted with it for its weight in gold at that time. It used to be filled once at night and early in the morning by poor Daniel, assisted by our only servant Thakurani; and more than once he was nearly deprived of the vessel in a forcible manner by the soldiers. We had, however, the good fortune of rescuing and preserving it throughout, or I know not what we should have done, for every person in that room, about twenty in number, depended upon that one chattie for a drink. We used the water very sparingly, and felt thankful even for this small quantity, considering how badly off were those who had nothing in which to keep a supply with them. Seeing the distress of the women and children in this respect, many officers and others would take the first opportunity of going to the well in the evening, and procuring water with their own hands for them. I remember seeing Mr. Mackillop, our worthy joint magistrate, labouring in this manner. On one occasion, seeing me in the veranda, he asked me to join him, which I would most willingly have done. I was sorry to see his disappointment when he found I was wounded and unable to comply with his request.

It is impossible to describe in words the effect the sudden bursting of large shells in our verandas had upon the tenderly reared ladies and children. The report was enough to break their hearts, and such was actually the case in same instances. I had no idea before of the very great noise a bursting shell makes. When so close that only a wall intervened it was dreadful. I cannot forget the frightful start it caused some. On the third day of the firing, seven servants took shelter in the veranda of the barrack occupied by myself and family. They were leaning against the wall near the door of our room, which was closed, when a shell, falling outside, bounded in their midst and burst with tremendous effect, causing instant death to five; one had an arm broken, and the other escaped unhurt. The sight of these corpses, which remained there till candle-light, was dreadful to inexperienced eyes.

Many ladies and children died in great distress, among whom was Mrs. 'Hillersden, wife of our civil magistrate and collector of Cawnpore. She died (I think) on the night of the 9th, and was buried very early on the following morning in the small garden attached to the pucca barrack, in a circular excavation which had previously been dug waist deep, for General Wheeler's use for cooking purposes, to prevent sparks flying about. It was a difficult matter to dig graves for the dead on account of the hardness of the earth and from want of time, and the danger of the shot and shell from the enemy's batteries, so that with few exceptions, the bodies had to be put in a well outside the intrenchment, as will be described hereafter.

"On 10th of June, Lieutenant Boulton of the 7th Cavalry contrived to enter our intrenchment, leaping his horse over the low mud wall. This officer was the only one who escaped when his squadron—which was encamped at Choubeypore, a few miles to the north-east of our camp—had mutinied and killed all their officers."

In the course of four or five days the enemy had us well surrounded with cannon. A deadly fire was kept up, as many more guns were fitted up at the magazine and added to the battery, which had also been shifted a good deal nearer to the English camp. The enemy took possession of all the bungalows, compound walls, and out-buildings of houses, under cover of which, morning and evening, they fired musketry upon us continuously, causing us much distress on account of their being so near to our camp. The burned church proved to be most annoying position against us, as also the range of European barracks which were in course of construction towards our south-west, and were at that time in an unfinished state. Their encroachment, however, in the latter quarter was usually checked by the vigilance of a very brave and energetic officer, Captain Moore of H. M.'s 32nd Foot, who, though severely hurt in one of his arms, never gave himself the least rest. Wherever there appeared most danger he was sure to be foremost, with his arm in a sling and a revolver in his belt, directing and leading the men. This officer placed scouts with spy-glasses on the top of the nearest of these barracks outside the intrenchment, whence every movement of the enemy could be seen, and they helped our artillery to direct their shots. The rebel sepoys usually had possession of the first three of these barracks, but whenever they annoyed us much or

attempted to approach nearer, Captain Moore would go out with about a dozen Europeans in the midst of the most brisk fire, and getting under cover of the other barracks, peppered the enemy so as to soon rout them out of their hiding-places. It was very amusing to see the way the captain used to make his men and himself pass from the intrenchment into the unfinished barracks. Whenever he found the enemy too strong for the small picket placed there to protect our scouts and keep possession of the three nearest barracks, *i. e.*, 4, 5, and 6, *vide* map, he would collect volunteers from the intrenchment, and send them out one at a time. As each man ventured out, some scores of bullets were fired at him, which made him run as fast as ever his legs would allow. However, the distance to run in one breath was not very great, for a lot of conveyances, bullock-trains, etc., were placed at short distances all the way to the new barracks.

This brave officer went out on two occasions, by permission of the General, under cover of the night with about twenty-five Europeans and spiked the nearest guns of the enemy. With what hearty cheers were these daring men welcomed on their return by the remainder of the garrison! It was really very affecting. The men went to work as coolly, and returned in the same order after spiking the larger guns, and unlimbering and spiking the smaller ones, as if they were engaged in the most ordinary duties. But for the paucity of our soldiers, it would have been an easy matter to drive away the rebels, who proved themselves to be a most cowardly set of men, particulary the cavalry. Very often attempts were made to charge upon us; but notwithstanding the immense number of people collected on the enemy's side, apparently with that intention, under cover of the compound walls, etc., they seldom dared courageously to come out: for whenever they advanced, a few charges of grape would soon disperse them and make them all run away as fast as possible.

Our artillery kept up a brisk fire for the first three or four days, but after that it was considered unadvisable to exhaust our magazine, for the enemy took good care to keep always well under cover, and we could not do much execution among them. However, our guns were always kept ready loaded and matches burning, with the gunners vigilantly on the look out.

The heat was very great, and that, with the fright, want of room, want of proper food and care, many women and children died in great distress, as also officers and soldiers from

exposure to the sun. Their bodies had to be put into a well outside the intrenchment, near one of the new unfinished barracks. And this work was generally done at the close of each day, as nobody could attempt to venture out for that purpose while it was light on account of the enemy's shot and shell flying in all directions like hail. The distress was so great that none could offer a word of consolation to his friend or attempt to administer to the wants of another. I have seen the bodies of officers and tenderly reared young ladies put outside in the veranda amid the ruins, to await the time when the fatigue party usually went round to carry the dead to the well, for there was scarcely room toshelter the living, and the buildings were so sadly riddled that every safe corner available was considered a great object.

CHAPTER III.

The enemy seeing no signs of our discomfiture began to feel discouraged, and when on the night of the 8th of June a small detachment of Europeans bravely came out of their intrenchment and spiked three small and one large gun of the enemy, the latter despaired of ever being able to take possession of the intrenchment.

The Nána considered himself quite insecure in Mr Duncan's hotel, which was not over 200 yards from the place where the large gun had been spiked, and therefore removed out of it next morning and formed his camp on the plain of *Sávádá*, two miles south-east of our intrenchment, where, under a mango tree a few tents were pitched for himself and his staff. From this encampment he occasionally came round, by a turn through the city to his battery on our north.

That same morning, the 9th, the first grand effort was made on the part of the mutineers to take the English intrenchment by storm, and, in order to give support and courage to the disciplined troops, the Mussulman inhabitants of Cawnpore were all called to assemble under the "*Mahumdee Jhunda*," (flag), and a proclamation was published far and wide to the following effect: "Whereas the British government, wishing to deprive us of our religion and caste by many stratagems, at last had recourse to open attempts, and thus drew upon themselves the displeasure of the Deity, who has given the rule into our hands to punish them: therefore it is incumbent on all true Mussulmans and the natives of all classes to join the good cause of exterminating the English people from India." The priest, seated by the flag absorbed in prayer and pious meditations, had to decide whether the day was propitious for an attack or not on the infidel garrison. Finding that the Mahomedans, collected on this occasion under the "green flag," were not quite sufficient, a Hindu flag was hoisted, called the "*Mahabiri Jhundá*," and the proclamation, while calling upon the Hindus to join, stated that "every Hindu who does not join this righteous cause is an outcast. May he eat the flesh of cows," etc, etc. This brought

together a great mob of people of all classes. The regular sepoys put the mob in front and wished to move to the charge under cover of them; whereas the 2nd Cavalry troopers, who were more cowardly than the rest, remained mounted in the rear, pretending to keep a watch over the advancing column to prevent their running away. But the moment our battery opened fire upon them, the sight of the grape shot bounding right in the midst of them, and knocking down several, was beyond endurance. All turned round, and made a tremendous bolt, the troopers of the cavalry taking the lead.

The inhabitants of Cawnpore describe the state of the station at the time of the outbreak as most dreadful. It appeared, they said, as if the day of judgment had come. The station was surrounded with fire; large mobs of people, mostly composed of the labouring classes and the budmashes of the place, crowded on all sides, like swarms of locusts, plundering English property and getting drunk upon English wines and liquors. When on the following day the mutineers returned, and proceeded to attack the English garrison, the state of things was terrible. The 2nd Cavalry men galloped about to and from the magazine at a tremendous rate, their swords jingling in their scabbards, their horses' feet resounding on all sides and throwing up clouds of dust; then followed guns of various sizes and ammunition wagons drawn by government bullocks, brought from the magazine to be used against the masters who had so long fed and kept them. Then, when the batteries opened fire and the cannonading was kept up so incessantly—several large guns firing together—it seemed as if the earth was turning upside down. Men, women and children, who had never heard such bombardment, except the artillery practice in peaceable times, trembled and crouched inside their houses in the city. Fear and trembling was to be seen on all sides except among the mutinous troops and the plunderers, who went about committing all kinds of atrocities and oppression.

In the meantime the work of cold-blooded murders upon Christians who had not gone into the intrenchment, but had hid themselves in places where they thought they would remain safe, was carried on with unremitting ferocity. Native boys, bazar people, and in many instances their own servants, pointed them out to the murderers. Mr. Mackintosh, a well-known old resident of Cawnpore, and one of his sons, dressed themselves like chowkidars, and remained amongst their servants for a day or two, but were soon recognized by other people, and

had to run away in the disguise of Brahmins. Old Mr. Mackintosh could speak the Hindustani language like a native. This disguise, however, was not considered quite secure, and not knowing what to do, they got under a bridge on the road near Greenway Brothers' gate, where some boys pointed them out. They were pulled out and hacked to pieces. Their bones lay exposed in the drain on the roadside bleaching for three or four months, until another son of the deceased old man picked them up and deposited them in the earth. Mrs. Mackintosh, the wife of the old gentleman, was hiding in her washerwoman's house, but was found out and taken to the Náná, who was at the time living in Mr. Duncan's hotel. The people who saw her in native clothes, fully expected that so old and helpless a woman would not be murdered, but even she was not spared. After beheading her, the trunk was laid in a ditch on its back, and the bleeding head placed on the breast, in which position it was left to decompose. Pensioner Green, superintendent of the bridge-of-boats, was living with a native woman. On finding that she could not hide him any longer, she desired him to escape, but only managed to lead him to the old Native infantry lines, whence he was brought out on the parade ground and killed. Thus, as many as remained away from the British intrenchment including women and little children, were traced out and murdered. Even a Chinaman shoemaker, Auchin, was not spared. When he was brought before the Náná he begged very hard for his life, saying he was a mere tradesman, a shoemaker, like the other natives, and not a European, or Christian; but no notice was taken of his pleading: his head was cut off.

The murderers met with no resistance anywhere except in one place near Generalgunj. A man named Cloony, a discharged drummer of the 2nd Grenadiers, native infantry, together with a few native Christians, took up their abode in a small but strongly-built flat-roofed house, the doors of which they barricaded with bricks, stones, etc., and taking a few matchlocks which they possessed upstairs, gave fight to the miserable hounds who came to take their lives. They succeeded in shooting and wounding about half a dozen of the miscreants, and made the others retire; but at night they returned and set fire to the thatched veranda on the sides of the house, which, being small, the heat of the flames soon scorched the poor fellows, and they all died.

The native inhabitants of Cawnpore state that the thirst for

the blood of Christians became so great that every house was searched. The insurgents even went into the villages in the districts of Cawnpore, to see if any were hid there. They even proceeded so far as Nujjubgurh, about sixteen miles to the east of Cawnpore, where Mr Edward Greenway (of the firm of Greenway Brothers) with his aged mother, his wife and children, together with another gentleman named Hollings, had sought refuge at their factory, thinking that the insurgents would not proceed so far away to molest them. Mr. Hollings, being a good sportsman, and having previously provided himself with some double-barrel guns, would not allow the inmates of the house to surrender themselves easily. On the approach of the insurgents he took them all on the terrace of the house by means of a ladder, which they drew up after them. So good was the aim of Mr. Hollings that he killed and wounded about sixteen of the *budmashes*. On the second day the Nana was informed of this. He immediately ordered a detachment of the mutinous troops to proceed there and bring the fugitives prisoners to Cawnpore. By this time Mr. Hollings' ammunition was all out; and when he found he could fight no more he came forward, and sitting on one of the balustrades of the building, fully exposed himself to view, and called out to the troops to shoot him. Several shots were fired, and at last one caught him in the chest, which brought him head foremost to the ground, and the fall from that height completed his death. After this the others gave themselves up, and would have been killed there and then, but a promise of high ransom on the part of Mrs. Greenway saved their lives. They were brought to the Nana on common bullock-carts. This heartless man had been all along before the mutiny on social terms with that firm, and was in the habit of frequently visiting the shop, and holding friendly intercourse with the brothers, whose hospitality he had often shared. He nevertheless treated the unoffending and good people as if they were his greatest enemies. Two lacs of rupees or £20,000 sterling was the amount of ransom fixed upon. The money not being forthcoming immediately, they were kept under a guard in the open plain, and I learned from the natives that those unfortunate people had to sit two hours exposed to the powerful heat of the sun; after that they were removed into a pucca building. This was a yellow-colored house, attached to the spot where the Nana had formed his camp in the Savada plain, which building goes by the name of Savada-ki-kothi.

A Portuguese merchant, named De Gama, who had hired the Assembly Rooms (a strong flat roofed house) for his shop, not considering General Wheeler's intrenchment sufficiently secure, had tried many ways to secure his safety. Some say he was hiding in a house in the city, whence he was taken out and brought before the Nana, with whom he used to have extensive dealings. As he knew him so well he thought his life would be spared on the score of his being but a merchant. He was conducted to the place where the Nana was at the time superintending some arrangements about the fight. A man went a little ahead and informed the chief that De Gama was being brought a prisoner and wished to speak to him. Upon this the Nana turned away his face in anger, with sufficient meaning in his gesticulations, and one of his followers immediately drew his sword and struck De Gama three or four times with it. The poor fellow fell as he got the last cut across his mouth, and rolled over in a fearful manner. A few more strokes finished him.

Several other murders followed in succession. Young Waterfield, old Maling and his eldest son, together with his son-in-law, young William Jacobie, all disguised in native clothes were hunted out and murdered.

Mr. Henry Jacobie (watch-maker) and family had arranged to remain concealed in the house of a native, living in Gwaltoli; but when the houses of the natives began to be searched Mr. and Mrs. Jacobie and their two children managed to go across the river at night, and remained under cover of some long grass on the banks of the river. Next day some zemindars got intimation of it, and had them caught and sent *via Permit Ghat* to the Nana. Mr. Jacobie got sunstroke. When quite unable to walk he was placed on a cot and conveyed, followed on foot by Mrs. Jacobie and children; but he soon died. His wife, I am told, became so desperate at the time she was made to stand before the Nana, that she spoke to him in a most daring manner: shamed him for the cold-blooded murders he committed or caused to be committed. Said that it was an act of cowardice to kill helpless women and children when they had fallen in his power; showed how the British in every case protected such, and always treated their prisoners with consideration, allowing them even handsome pensions for life; that she and her poor children had done nothing to offend him in any way, and if he thought that by killing her and others England would become empty of Europeans he was greatly

have been sent long ago? So many new countries the British have taken during the last few years, and have increased their European troops? No! This is then the true reason for it. I have been to all their little villages, and know it for a fact, that no more soldiers can be spared All that they can do is to send now and then, with great difficulty, a few recruits to complete and keep up the strength of the corps already in India. What fools, then, we natives have made of ourselves, so quietly to surrender our country to a handful of tyrannical foreigners, who are trying in many ways to deprive us of our religion and our privileges! It behooves us, therefore—and I call upon you all to join heart and hand—to extirpate our enemies, root and branch, from the face of all India. Let not a soul escape, let not the name of a Christian be ever named in Hindustan. We are strong and numerous to keep our own; but if further assistance is needed, nothing is easier. When I was in England I made friendship with all the plenipotentiaries of France, Russia and other States. These are all my friends and are willing and ready to do anything for me." After a long harangue of this nature, the audience dispersed. Many of the natives, who did not know better, were inclined to believe what they heard, especially as they all knew well that Azimullah had actually been to England and had remained there two years. Apprehension and doubt arose in their minds for the English in India. They calculated on the immense body of the mutinous troops, all well trained soldiers, with vast resources at their command. Thus many wavered in their allegiance to the British Government and joined the rebel cause.

Failing in their several attempts to take the English garrison by storm, the rebels had brought out more heavy guns from time to time from the magazine, and formed several most formidable batteries under cover of the night, as close to our intrenchment as was practicable. Thus their positions for cannonading amounted by this time to seven in number and stood as follows:—

1st Battery—1 gun, 24-pounder, range of shot 1,100 yards (by subsequent measurement,) to the N.-W. of our intrenchment.

2nd Battery—2 guns 24-pounder, range of shot 1,100 yards, from the lines of 1st Native infantry N.-N.-W. of us.

3rd Battery.—2 mortars, distance 700 yards, direct to the N. of us.

4th Battery—2 mortars, distance 600 yards, towards N.E., behind St. John's Church.

5th Battery—3 guns, *viz.*, two 24-pounder and one 18-pounder, distance 500 yards, from the high banks of a tank to our E.

6th Battery—2 guns, distance 700 yards from the artillery hospital, S. E. of us.

7th Battery—1 gun, 9-pounder, distance 350 yards south of our camp, from a position taken up in the half-built walls of the last "unfinished European barrack," which the sepoys loop-holed, and used also for musket practice.

Besides these there was a nullah, or ditch, a short distance in front (N.-W.) of the intrenchment, by which the enemy pushed on a sap towards us, whence they poured in a near and deadly fire.

Thus surrounding us, the enemy kept up their fire day and night, though the heaviest firing used to be done for about two hours in the morning, and the same in the evening, when each gun used to throw between twenty and thirty shots an hour. The mortar shells were well aimed, as they seldom overreached their mark, and invariably fell into the intrenchment. As for musket bullets, they used to be like hail-storms at times when some five or six thousand mutineers would surround us on all sides under cover of the compound walls and the buildings in the vicinity.

Battery No. 5, which was recently formed to our east owing to its proximity, caused us indescribable suffering. How the officers regretted they had not a single mortar in store, otherwise the wretches could never have dared to take up that position, nor could they have caused such fearful destruction to our buildings with their distant batteries. The round shot now began to take fearful effect on the side of the verandah of the pucca barrack in which we occupied a room. The entire range of this verandah was demolished in a couple of days, and the doorways horribly battered. Shots fell inside with tremendous force, penetrating into the brick wall, and splashing the fragments upon the occupants of the room so as to draw blood wherever they hit.

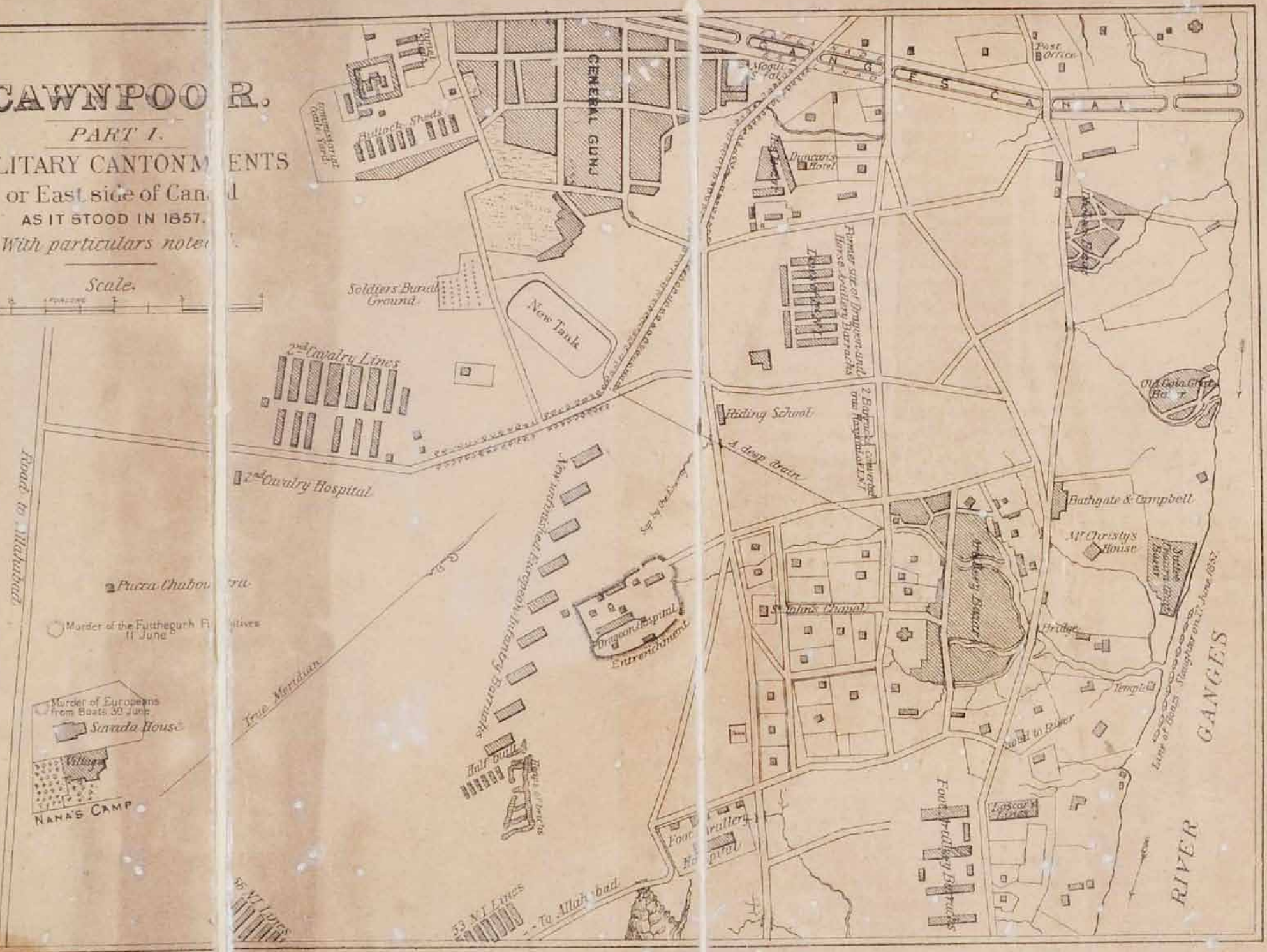
Our room was but a small one, and when the door gave way in this manner, and shots began to fall through it, we had only the two side corners which afforded a little cover, and it was a pitiful sight to see us, one and all, standing against the wall, closely sticking to it to avoid the shots, and

CAWNPOOR.

PART I.

MILITARY CANTONM ENTS
or East side of Can d
AS IT STOOD IN 1857.
With particulars note

Scale.



mistaken. Her harangue fortunately had the effect of shaming the Nana and all present, and she was ordered to be sent to the Savada kothi with her children, there to be kept prisoners along with old Mrs. Greenway and her son and family.

The wretches, not satisfied with confining these murders to the Christians only, even killed natives. About 25 cooks and bakers residing in the European bazaar were suspected of supplying bread to the intrenchment, though such suspicion was quite unfounded, and were accordingly taken and killed.

A cavalcade was appointed to proceed from street to street proclaiming by beat of tom-tom and other instruments the Nana's rule both at Cawnpore and at Bithur. Mark his extraordinary title—

"Sree Wunt, Maharaj Dheeraj, Dhoondoo Panth, Nana Sahib, Panth Puddan Paishwa Bahadoor"!

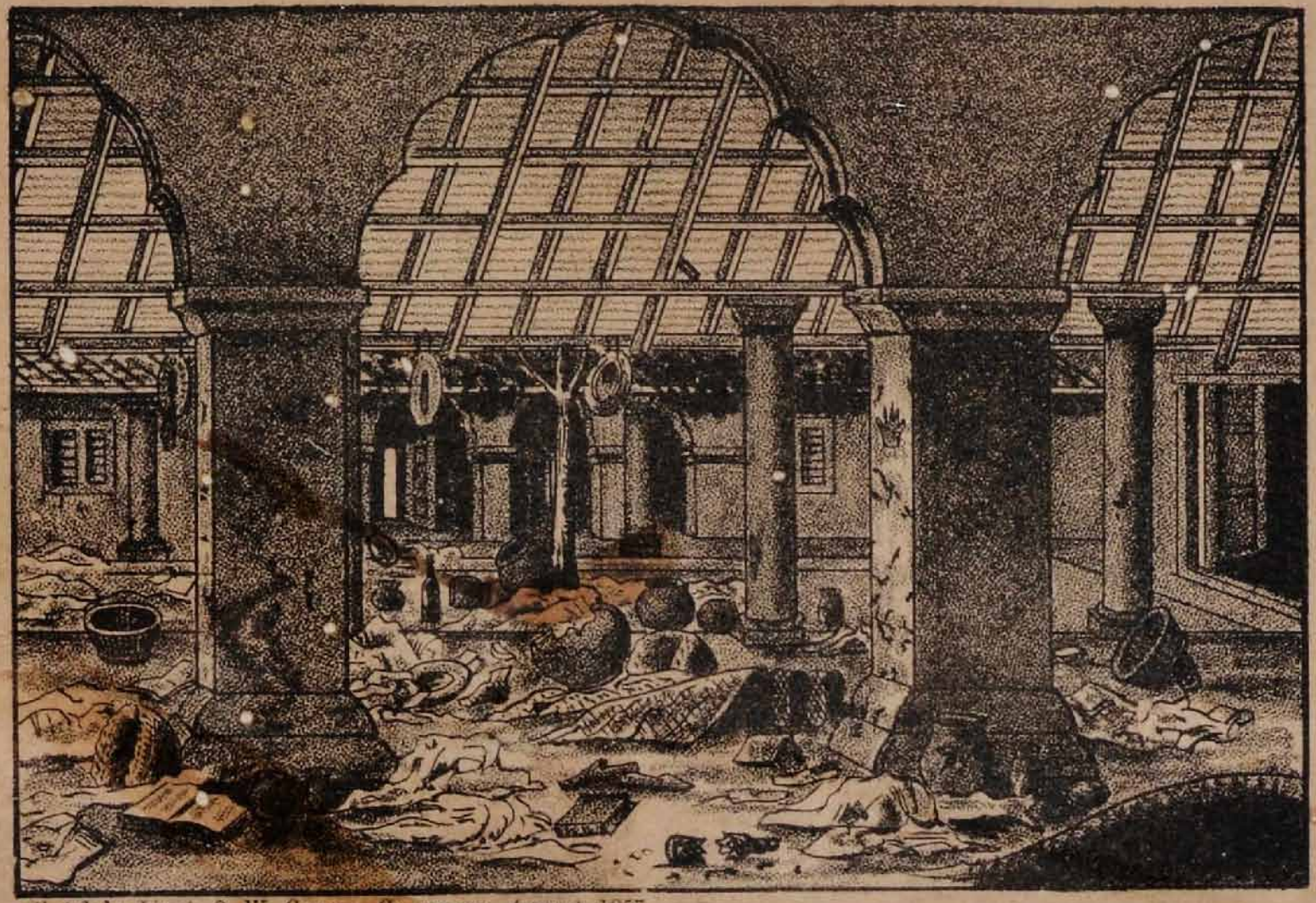
On the 11th June a grand preparation was being made by the rebels to storm our intrenchment, and the Nana proposed to lead the attack in person. This proposal was made to prove to the army that their commander was a man of undaunted courage. Private instructions, however, had previously been given by the wily knave to his confidential followers to persuade the army to beg that the Nana might not expose his sacred head in the battle, as, in the event of his fall, the army would have no one to look to. This succeeded very well, and the Nana preserved his character for bravery without being exposed to danger.

About noon on that day a sudden alarm prevailed among those in the flat-roofed barrack that the building was on fire, which caused so great a panic, especially among the ladies, that though no fire was seen, nearly all rushed out of the rooms with their little ones, and ran into the other building (the thatched barrack). The fear of the shots, which were as usual flying all round, was entirely overcome for the moment by this sudden and new alarm. The gentlemen were unable to restrain this flight, and were in a manner compelled to give support to the ladies.

One of the rooms on the north side, which contained a large quantity of clothes and furniture belonging to the families of the merchants, had caught fire by some means or other then not known, and its occupants were the first to rush out quite bewildered; the others, who were ignorant of the cause, seeing them in that state and merely hearing the words "house on fire," did not hesitate a moment to join in the flight.

I was reclining against the wall in my room, endeavouring to allay the pain of the wound in my back by pouring cold water on it. Before I could learn a word about this panic, all in the room with me started up and ran out. My poor wife too, with the infant in one arm and holding our child Polly's hand with the other, followed them, calling out to me at the same time to come. I got up the best way I could, and quite at a loss to guess what it all meant, went hobbling after them. On reaching the other barrack a fearful scene was presented to my sight. The side rooms were crowded to suffocation, and a great many removed unwillingly under the thatch in the middle. Something struck the tiles on top with a tremendous crash, and an immense iron ball, an 18-pounder, darted down, killing a handsome looking youngster, who was held by the hand by his mother, and wounding one or two besides. Oh! the anguish of that moment! For a while fearful silence prevailed, then the heart-rending shrieks of the mother (an officer's wife) burst upon us (it still sounds in my ears while I write this). It would be impossible to describe the horrible consternation and fright, or the wild alarm and dismay which was visible upon the features of those around. All moved from the spot, when another crash, more terrible than the first, startled everybody: down came an enormous ball evidently fired from the same gun, and fell harmlessly a little further up. Some took shelter under the archway of the doors, and some against the walls. I saw several familiar faces there, but the following occurrence is most vivid in my recollection. Captain Seppings, the officiating deputy paymaster of this station, was one of those under the door arches with his wife and children. He was quite calm and collected, endeavouring to encourage the ladies with him. He knelt down and offered up a very appropriate, short but earnest prayer to God, after which he wrote something on the wall with a pencil and appeared quite resigned. I have lately been to the place and have taken a copy of the writing, which is as follows:—"The following were in this barrack on the 11th June, 1857:—Captain Seppings, Mrs. ditto, 3 children, Mrs. Wainwright, ditto infant, Mr. Cripps, Mrs. Halliday."

Suddenly another piercing shriek of a female was heard and all turned round to know the cause. Two soldiers' wives were seen hastily moving out of a corner in the side room where there was a cot or bed, and pointing to something under it. Quick as lightning a sergeant or overseer of the roads,



tch by Lieut. C. W. Crump, Cawnpore, August, 1857.

"THE CHAMBER OF BLOOD"

having a pair of pistols in his belt, rushed forward and dragged out a most hideously loathsome figure of a man (native), blackened and scorched all over, as if burnt with fire, and pulling him away to the verandah, instantly shot him through the head. The sight was exceedingly repulsive. How this wretched man happened to come there I do not know; but all agreed that from his appearance he had something to do with setting fire to the other barrack, as on his person was found a box of matches, and it appeared he had come for the express purpose of setting fire to both the barracks since the shells of the enemy had hitherto not been successful in doing so. I remember this shocking scene as distinctly as if it all occurred only an hour ago.

It having been by this time ascertained that the fire in the other barrack had not spread, and was put out, we prepared to return to our several apartments; but the excitement being over, a difficult matter it was to do so now in the midst of showers of bullets outside. The greater number of us came back by running across with all our might and main, but in the hurry many forgot their own apartment and got in wherever they best could, and thus we had several additions to our own room.

A very respectable looking European lady, of pleasing appearance, with grey hair, of about fifty or fifty-five years of age, of middle height and rather full in the body, came in very quietly and laid herself down on a couch in our room. We thought she was asleep, but a little while after she was heard to moan pitifully. Some got up to see what was the matter with her. She turned a little on one side and brought up something that looked like the lungs of a goat, and died shortly after. They say she had burst her heart. The fright had been too great for her. We made many inquiries as to who were her friends and relatives, but none came to claim her. At last at sunset the fatigue party took the corpse and put it in the well outside the trenches.

About the same time with this poor old lady came in two young females, fair and delicate, mothers of two children each; one was more collected than the other, but the cries of the four children were distracting beyond description;—nothing could pacify them At last a young man who had been all over in search of them, found his way to our room, and in him I recognized Mr. DeRussett of the firm of Brandon and

&c. How glad he was to meet his wife, and Mrs. Kight (wife of the late editor of the Central Star Press). He embraced his children in the most tender manner, and they became somewhat quiet after their heads were washed and a wet handkerchief placed over them. But sad to say the fright and heat had done their work upon poor Mrs. DeRussett,—she was out of her mind. Her husband tried to do all he could to relieve her, but he was soon called away to his post in the trenches, as a body of the enemy was seen collecting, apparently desirous of making a charge.

The battle now began to wax very hot, and at about 5 P. M several desperate attempts at a charge were made by the rebel sepoys. I looked out and saw some thousands of armed men spread about under every cover available, their muskets and bayonets only perceptible, and they fired as fast as they could load. Their batteries also threw in shot, shell and grape, and bullets came pouring in upon our camp, tearing away tents and pillars of the barracks on every side. The din of this fearful cannonading and musketry was so incessant, lasting nearly a couple of hours, that it resembled continuous claps of thunder in a tremendous storm. It was an awful moment—a moment when death stared us on all sides, and gave a foretaste of what might have been our fate on that occasion. My feeble pen cannot pourtray our agonizing feelings at that hour of indescribable anguish. All in the room had fallen to the ground in fervent and earnest supplications to our Almighty Father. Such a moment as that will never be effaced from my memory as long as I live. It was then I wrote on the wall of that room with a pencil intending it for the public to see, in case of our death that day, which would have been inevitable had the enemy had sufficient courage to make a bold charge; rather, if the Lord our God had not prevented them—(their number was at least ten or twelve times ours, and they were fresh from their lines and camp, whereas we were not only half starved, but quite knocked up). A few well directed charges of canister from our batteries served to keep them in check, and our men did pretty good execution with their musketry, till the enemy's infantry left the field of battle and retired. The pencil memorandum on the wall, which I wrote on this occasion, was as follows:—"Should this meet the eyes of any who were acquainted with us, in case we are all destroyed, be it known to them that we occupied this room for eight days under

circumstances so distressing as have no precedent. The destruction of Jerusalem could not have been attended with distress so severe as we have experienced in so short a time.—W. J. Shepherd (wounded in the back), his wife and two children, Rebecca and her infant, Emmelina, Martha, old Mrs. Frost, Mrs. Osborne, Daniel, Thakurrani, Conductor Berrell, his wife and daughter, together with other friends.—11th June, 1857."

After the enemy had dispersed, Mr. DeRussett called to see his poor wife at about 7 o'clock; but alas! she was no more. Her spirit had taken its flight a little after sunset, to a place in which she will never hear the din of cannon, nor feel the persecution of the enemy. The poor disconsolate husband returned to his post, and after couple of hours came back and stood outside near the door, which was open. I was awake; he came in and whispering in my ear asked if he could bury the body, showing me at the same time a spade he carried in his hand. This was a task not easy to execute, for the earth was very hard and dry, and the rebel batteries still kept pouring their iron shower upon our camp. I could scarcely walk as the exertion during the day had made my wound very painful; but I took him the best way I could, and showed him the place where Mrs. Hillersden had been buried the previous morning. He thanked me and returned. I asked Ellen and our two nieces if they would bear a hand. They most cheerfully agreed to do so, and lifting up the body, assisted by Mr. DeRussett, conveyed it to the spot. It was a moonlight night,—an occasional mortar shell or two came riding in the air, like meteors, from the enemy's battery and fell here and there in the intrenchment, but none very near us. I pronounced a short prayer from our Burial Service. How solemn and impressive did the words sound at the time; "Man that is born of a woman hath but a short time to live, and is full of misery. He cometh up, and is cut down like a flower; he fleeth as it were a shadow, and never continueth in one stay. In the midst of life we are in death; of whom may we seek for succour but of Thee, O Lord, who for our sins art justly displeased." We committed the body to the earth, side by side, in the same excavation with Mrs. Hillersden.

The station of Cawnpore being one of the most important posts of our Government in the North-Western Provinces, the outbreak there was a signal for all the neighbouring stations to join.

"At Futtehgurh, the 10th Regiment Native infantry"

to all appearance seemed to be ready to mutiny, and the residents were much alarmed. On the evening of the 3rd June information having been received of the approach of a party of insurgents, it was believed that the 10th Regiment would immediately join them, and that the slaughter of the Europeans would commence. Nearly all the non-military residents therefore rushed to their boats which they had previously provided, and long before dawn the following morning the fleet had weighed ancher and was fairly on its way down to Cawnpore."

The military residents, officers of the 10th Native infantry, together with the civil servants, as also a few ladies, were the only ones left at Futtehgurh, and they did all in their power to prevent the troops from breaking out. After a while the sepoys became suspicious of being deserted by their officers, as some two or three had disappeared during the day. Every thing was done to re-assure them. The officers walked about and talked to the men, and never left them for a moment. Some of the ladies drove on to the parade to show that they were not gone with the fleet, and the sepoys became satisfied for a time.

In the meantime the civil residents proceeded by water towards Cawnpore, hoping that if they could but reach that place all would be right with them. Conceive, then, what must have been their horror and anguish of mind when, on approaching near, they found Cawnpore in the hands of the Nana and the English besieged! Nothing of their arrival and slaughter ever reached us in the intrenchment, and what I now detail has been gleaned subsequently

It is stated that on the night of the 9th June some three boats arrived from Futtehgurh, containing about thirty Europeans and about the same number of ladies, with about sixty children. They had managed to pass Bithur, though fired upon from thence and repeatedly ordered to stop. At last their progress was arrested about a mile from the magazine of Cawnpore by some sand-banks, and a party of the mutineers was sent to capture them. The guns suddenly opening upon the poor fugitives, caused them to take shelter in some high grass growing on the bank, but this being set on fire, two ladies and some children perished. Finding resistance useless, the fugitives surrendered. This was on the 10th June. A party of the 2nd Cavalry then bound the men with ropes and, getting them all together, drove them along like a herd

of sheep to the slaughter. In this manner they were brought to the Subadar's tank, where they were obliged to halt for the night, the children being exhausted, and the ladies unable to proceed without shoes and with cut and bleeding feet. The rebels, it is reported, treated these helpless and ill-fated people with needless cruelty,—no food whatever, and only a small quantity of water being supplied them. Next morning, the 11th June, carts were procured, and the fugitives taken to Savada to the Nana's camp, to whom they pointed out the folly of murdering them as he could not expect to exterminate all the Europeans in the country. He is said to have been inclined to mercy, and directed them to be kept as prisoners; but the troopers of the 2nd Cavalry and their General, Tika Singh, instigated by the Nana's brother Bala, would not consent. The latter made known in plain terms to the Nana, that if he did not direct their slaughter he would take it upon himself to give the order. In the meantime the poor fugitives were made to sit in a ditch, exposed to the rays of the mid-day sun, surrounded by the rebels on all sides. The little children were heard, in the most pitiful manner, asking their parents for a drink of water to quench their agonizing thirst; but all the notice that their hard-hearted tormentors took of these pitiful cries were horrible taunts and abuses and revilings of the grossest kind.

They were then taken to the plain west of the Savada-house, and, at about 3P M. the villain Bala proceeded and sat upon a pucca *chabutra* which was there, whence he gave the word to fire. After discharging two rounds of shot, the wretches fell upon their victims with swords and bayonets and completed the slaughter. It is said that whatever property was found upon the boats consisted chiefly of gold and silver, of which the Nana took immediate possession. After the work of murder was finished, the mangled bodies were ordered to be thrown into the river. The sweepers employed for this purpose stripped the clothes, which, together with whatever jewels and cash they found upon the bodies, they took for their own use, and several became very rich in consequence. After this the corpses were laden on common open carts and conveyed to the river.

A day after the bodies had thus been thrown into the river a European girl of about five or six years of age, I was informed, was found by some washermen lying on the bank still breathing though quite insensible from the great loss of blood

caused by the wounds she had received the previous day. Among other wounds a sword-cut on the collar-bone was said to be very deep and frightful. The washermen made over the child to a golundaz (artilleryman), who happened to be there at the time, and he brought her to the Nana, begging to be allowed to adopt the child as his own should she recover. This request was granted, but it afterwards caused much dispute among some of the mutineers. Tika Singh in particular, insisted on the child being deprived of life, but he was overruled. The poor girl is said to have survived, and was recovering of her wounds when the golundaz took her away with him on the occasion of the re-taking of Cawnpore by General Havelock and she has never since been heard of.

The following are the names of the fugitives composing this party from Futtehgurh, published by Mr. Jones, an old resident of that station, who remained there till the second party left in July and escaped :—

Alexander, Mr.

Brierley, J., Collector's office.
" Mrs. and two daughters.
" R., coach-builder.
" Mrs. and one child.
" 2 Misses, E. and F.

Billington, Mr., clerk.

Campbell, D. E., Revd.
" Mrs. and 2 children.

Carr, W., Inspector, Post Office.
" Mrs. and 1 child.

Cawood, C., Mr., clothing agency.

Cawood, R. Mrs., and 2 children.

Elliott, Mr., Dullip Singh's estate.
" Mrs. and 5 children.

Freeman, J. E., Revd.
" Mrs.

Finlay, Mr., Clothing agency.

Finlay, Mrs. and child.
" Miss.

Faulkner, Mr., pensioner.
" Mrs. and children.

Guise, Mr., merchant.
" Mrs.

Hammond, Sergt. gun-car agency.
" Mrs. and 4 children.

Ives, J., merchant.
" Mrs.
" Miss.

Johnson, A. O., Revd.
" Mrs.

Joyce, Mr., merchant.
" Mrs. and 4 children.

Kew, J. B., Mr., Postmaster.
" Mrs. and 2 children.
" Miss.

Kestall, Mr., clothing agency.
" Mrs. and 3 children.

Macdonald Mrs., and 3 children.

Macklin, Mr., Collector's Office.
" Mrs. and 8 children.

Maclean, Mr., merchant.
" Mrs.

Madden, Emelia, Miss.
Madden, Mr., clothing agency.
,, Mrs. and 2 children.
,, Eliza, Miss.
McMullin, J., Revd.
,, Miss.
Monckton, J., Lieut., Engineer.
,, Mrs. and 1 child.
Palmer, J., Deputy Collector.
,, Mrs. and 9 children.
Ray, R. Miss.
,, E., Miss.
Sheils, Mr., Schoolmaster.
,, Mrs. and 3 children.
Shepherd, Mrs. and 3 children.
,, Mary, Miss.
Wareham, R., Mr.

In order the more to excite and embitter the minds of the native population against the English, the following proclamation was concocted and widely circulated:—

"A traveller, just arrived in Cawnpore from Calcutta states that some months past a council was held to take into consideration the means to be adopted to do away with the religion of the Mahomedans and Hindús by the distribution of the cartridges. The council came to this resolution, that as the matter was one of religion the services of seven or eight thousand European soldiers would be necessary, as fifty thousand Hindustanís would have to be destroyed, and then the whole of the people of India would become Christians. A petition, with the substance of this resolution, was sent to Queen Victoria, and it was approved A council was then held a second time at Calcutta, in which all the English merchants took a part, and it was decided, in order that no evil should arise from the expected opposition, that large reinforcements should be sent for. When the dispatch was received and read in England, thousands of European soldiers were embarked on ships as speedily as possible, and sent off to Hindustan. The news of the dispatch of these troops being received at Calcutta, the English authorities then ordered the issue of the cartridges, for the real intention was to Christianise the army first, which, when effected, the conversion of the people would speedily follow. Pigs and cows' fat was mixed up with the cartridges.

"This became known through one of the Bengalis who was employed in the cartridge-making establishment. Of those through whose means this was divulged one was killed and the rest imprisoned. While in this country these councils were being adopted, in England the vakil of the Sultan of *Room* (Turkey) sent news to his master that thousands of European soldiers were being sent for the purpose of making Christians of all the people of Hindustan. Upon this the Sultan issued a firman (edict) to the king of Egypt to the effect, "You must

deceive Queen Victoria, for this is not a time for friendship, for my vakil writes that thousands of European soldiers have been dispatched for the purpose of Christianising the army and the people of Hindustan. If I should be remiss, then how can I show my face to God? and one day this may come upon me also; for if the English make Christians of all in Hindustan, they will then fix their designs upon my country. When the firman reached the king of Egypt, he prepared and arranged his troops before the arrival of the English at Alexandria, for this is the route to India. The instant the English army arrived, the king of Egypt opened guns upon them from all sides and destroyed and sunk their ships: not a single soldier escaped. The English in Calcutta, after the promulgation of the order for the issue of the cartridges and when the mutiny had become great, were in expectation of the arrival of the army from London But the Great God in his Omnipotence had beforehand put an end to this. When the news of the destruction of the army of London became known then the Governor-General was plunged in grief and sorrow, and beat his head."—(Printed by order of Paishwa Bahadur.")

About the 15th June the Bengalis of the station were all called together and kept at the city kotwalli under a guard, where they were severely reprimanded and threatened for not obeying the proclamation issued about four days previously, directing all Government servants to report themselves without delay to the Nana, and make a promise before him to the effect that they would send no intelligence to, or hold any kind of communication with, the British camp at Cawnpore. The Babus were thus detained all night, and in the morning a few of the headmen were selected and taken to the Nana, who enjoined them, on pain of death, to leave off writing English, and never to send any communication to the British intrenchment. After this the whole of the Bengalis were directed to be released, but at the same time to be carefully watched. Before letting them go, Azimullah held a grand audience of his own, and delivered a long speech to a great many inhabitants of the city, giving them to understand that the British reign was actually over in India; that he had himself been to England, and knew a great deal more about the English people than any one of them was supposed to know.

"It is a very small piece of an island," said he, "and very scantily populated. No more troops can be spared to send out to India. If it were not so, why would not more soldiers

even then the bricks and mortar wounded many of us. As a large round shot caught the masonry above, or on the sides of the doorway, throwing a portion of it into the room, it would become dark as night for a while. Mr. DeRussett managed to get a place in one of the inner rooms for his two children and Mrs. Kight and her little ones. Mr. Conductor Berrell and family preferred remaining out in the trenches, so we were left to ourselves, and managed to remain in it for two or three days longer.

Very early on the morning of the 13th a musket shot caught Mercy (the orphan native Christian child, whom Emmelina was bringing up) as she lay sleeping in the room; for through the heat she had rolled a little towards the middle and nobody had observed it. The shot hit her through the brains, and without a struggle she expired. The corpse was then placed outside behind a pillar which had escaped the shots, and in the course of the day the whole of that pillar fell over and covered it entirely; so that was her grave.

The enemy failing in their attempts to set fire to the thatched barrack, now began to fire heated shells, one of which, fired by a one-eyed invalid subadar of artillery (a pensioner of the British) took effect, for which he received a reward of Rs. 90 and a shawl from the Nána. The barrack caught fire at about 5 P. M. on the 13th June, and that evening was one of unspeakable distress and trial, for all the wounded and sick were in it, and also the families of the soldiers and drummers. The fire caught on the north corner of the building, and the breeze being very strong, the flames spread so rapidly that it was a hard matter to remove the women and children, who naturally got into great confusion, and were all frantic with terror so that the helpless, wounded, and sick could not be removed, and were all burnt, about forty in number. The entire store of medicines was destroyed, and all that the surgeons could save was a box or two of surgical instruments and a small chest of medicine. It was perfectly impracticable to save any of the wounded or the medicines in consequence of the rebels collecting in very large bodies on all sides, ready every moment to pounce down upon us, and our men were compelled to keep to their places in the trenches and could not bear a helping hand to those in the barracks.

The enemy on this occasion was very strong, as a reinforcement had arrived from the neighbouring stations, and it appears they had come with the full determination that day to

take us by storm, as they made several attempts, but were successively repulsed by our artillery. Had they come on, on such occasions, there is no doubt they would have overwhelmed us; but it is quite certain that we should have slaughtered more than half of their number, for every man of us was determined to sell his life dearly, and our arrangement was a good one, for each individual had five or six muskets ready charged at his command always standing against the wall, besides swords and bayonets.

Poor Mr. Gill, the Schoolmaster, was among those burnt on that occasion, as also Mrs. Gill, who, labouring in child-birth was unable to move;—their sweet little children, (four in number), were left orphans, and in the course of eight days you would not have been able to make them out, so reduced they were from starvation. The women and children were first placed in the trenches on the south corner, and during the night they were removed into the unfinished barrack outside, where our picket was, but the next day, apprehending a sudden charge from the enemy, they were brought back and put in the godowns adjoining the quarter-guard, which were crowded to excess. Many who had husbands or brothers got into the trenches, where holes were dug and sheltered over with boxes, cots, &c., and the poor creatures remained in them day and night, many dying daily from the heat.

About this time Mr. J. D. Hay, merchant, received a bullet in his temple and died without a struggle. It was singular that just as he had a view of his newly-born infant son (born under very distressing circumstances) the bullet hit him while coming out of the room and laid him a corpse.

CHAPTER IV.

We kept possession of our room as long as we possibly could, though to stay in it was fraught with danger, and under any other circumstances it would have been impossible for anybody to remain a moment in such a position; but there was no help for it. I looked everywhere for a safer place, but did not succeed. Our despair at the time cannot be described. We passed a whole day standing, clinging to the walls and crouching in the two corners to avoid the shots. At last, like rats smoked out of their holes, we were compelled to rush out, daring the shower of iron outside, and climbing up the heaps of ruins in the verandah, got into another apartment; but it was so full as not to admit of another addition. I had some acquaintances among them, but they were unable to receive us. We had therefore to run out again in the same manner, and succeeded in getting into one of the inner apartments. There were two rooms in it, one had been well barricaded with boxes, trunks, &c., and contained a number of officers and their families; the other was not so well secured, yet it afforded much shelter, and had more than sufficient unoccupied space to contain the whole of us. So we thanked God and took possession of it, but had not been in it above a minute when an old grey-headed officer, who had apparently been asleep, got up, and in the most rude manner ordered us to go out. We begged very hard to be permitted to remain there only an hour, until the fury of the enemy's battery had abated a little; but to no purpose. He insisted upon our going away that instant, and at last drove us out of it, threatening personal violence if we did not go. We got out and stood awhile amongst the ruins in the verandah, looking all around in utter despair. The shots were falling about thick and fast and we could not help but rush into the apartment adjoining the one we had so unceremoniously been ejected from. This one had been partially abandoned only a short time ago,

as the rebel battery, it appears, had been directed upon it previous to firing upon our own apartment, so that we got undisputed possession of it; but soon found that we had not gained much by the exchange, as it afforded but a little more protection than our old place, and we resolved to make other arrangements in the night.

The only article we were able to bring away with us was our earthen vessel containing a small quantity of water; and after a while I went over to see if the other things were safe, when, behold! a 24-pounder shot had struck the chest containing our valuables and smashed it to atoms. On examining it I found my watch flattened like a pancake, lying on one side and some of the gold chains and other jewellery ground down to powder, and taken along with the shot into the wall. I covered them over with the setrinji or carpet, placing rubbish over it, and by and by brought Emmelina and Martha to collect the fragments. These the girls picked up and tied in bundles; but I cannot forget the grief of poor Emmelina when the fragments of her deceased parents' likeness (taken in photograph) appeared to view. They were completely destroyed and it nearly broke the poor girl's heart.

Finding myself able to move about a little I joined Captain Kempland's (56th N. I.) section in the south corner of the intrenchment, which was very weak; and cleaning out a corner in the burnt barrack placed my family in it. The centre roofing only of this building had been destroyed, but the arcade on either side, which supported flat roofs, was but slightly injured and afforded some little protection. In fact the enemy discontinued firing round shot upon this barrack from the time it had taken fire, and thus for three or four days we remained in comparative security in it. Many others, following our example, removed there also, till we had the barrack rather full. However, even this slight security was not destined to last long, for one evening, at dusk, the whole of our prisoners, (there were some two or three under trial previous to the outbreak brought away into the intrenchment, amongst whom was also Jan Mahomed, sepoy of the 56th N. I., whom I have mentioned at the commencement of this narrative) managed to make their escape from the quarter guard, and went over to the Nana, when on the following day his batteries commenced playing, not only upon the burnt barrack, but also on the quarter-guard, which was also our hospital for the wounded and sick, and the godown buildings, containing the

women and children of the soldiers. Thus our state was as bad as ever. I have since learnt the Nana was greatly pleased with the prisoners when they joined him. Jan Mahomed, sepoy, was made a subadar, and the others received employment according to their merit, or the whim of the traitor chief.

Among the few sirdars and sepoys of the native corps who remained with us in the intrenchment was a most loyal sepoy, by name Gobind Singh, of the 56th N. I. He was wounded under the ear and the bullet came out from his mouth, scorching a portion of his tongue and knocking out two front teeth. I pitied this man very much, as he could not eat any thing for several days; a little sugar and water was all he could use at first, but by degrees he managed to munch a little soaked gram. He always preferred remaining near Captain Kempland of the same corps, who liked him much.

One morning, the 17th June, whilst the rebel sepoys were firing away from the new unfinished barracks, we were seated in a corner of the burnt barrack in the intrenchment. Ellen had our infant in her arms answering her innocent smiles, when a bullet hit the pillar outside, and rebounding through the arch struck the baby under the ear, and sliding between the skin and skull stuck over the head. It would no doubt have gone through, but the mother's arms, which was also severely hurt, stopped it. The child shook a little, and to all appearance was dead, but after a while, some signs of life appearing, I put a drop of water in her mouth, when she opened her eyes and began to writhe and struggle in great agony. In this state she lived for thirty-six hours. The bullet was cut out of the skin by one of the surgeons, who directed a wet cloth to be put over the head and cold water dropped on it. She expired at about 8 o'clock the following night, sinking away gradually until she resembled the faded bud of a delicate flower. I dug a grave with my Persian knife in the trenches, and placed the body in it wrapped in a few clothes. This, the seventh anniversary of my marriage, the 18th of June, which used to be generally a happy day with us, saw us on this occasion in the greatest distress and sorrow, without the slightest hope of returning happiness, every moment expecting to be either killed by a stray shot or taken by the enemy.

The enemy were now running short of percussion caps (as I afterwards learnt), and all the master smiths and native gun makers were seized to turn the percussion locks into flint ones

In the meantime a fleet of about twenty boats, laden with magazine stores and ammunition, &c., reached Cawnpore on the 16th June. This fresh supply was only destined to fall thus approtunity into the enemy's hands. The unfortunate Conductor (whose name I have not been able to find out) on duty was not aware of what was going on at Cawnpore till he came within four days' journey of that station, when the zemindars and others thereabouts seized the boats and sent them to the Nana. The two Europeans (conductor and Sergeant in charge) were murdered without delay by order of the Nana, and the stores taken into the magazine. The water route up-country is always very tedious, and the more so in the hot season when the river is generally very low. Thus it must have taken nearly a month for this fleet to come up from Allahabad to Cawnpore.

Almost daily attempts were made on the part of the rebels to take us by storm, but they could not stand our artillery; and therefore all their batteries were directed upon our guns with the intention of disabling them. In this they so far succeeded that out of eight guns but two sound ones remained when the intrenchment was vacated, as will be seen hereafter.

It will easily be imagined, that by this time both our barracks were so perfectly riddled as to afford little or no shelter; yet the greater part of the people preferred remaining in them and risking their lives rather than be exposed to the heat of the sun outside—although, as mentioned before, many dug themselves holes in the trenches for their families, where they were secure at least from the shot and shell of the enemy, though not so from the effects of the heat, the mortality from apoplexy being considerable. It is well known how severe the hot winds of May and June are, and this year they were excessively so. At times it used to be like the continuous blast of a heated furnance, and caused great suffering to those who were exposed to their influence. At night, however, every one had to sleep out and watch by turns, so that nearly the whole of the women and children slept in the trenches near their respective relatives. Here the mortar shell kept them in perpetual dread, for nearly all night they were seen coming in the air and bursting in different places, often doing misch ef. Thus those that remained alive were in perpetual dread and misery.

Mr. David Duncan was attached to my section, and while

he was in the trenches, one night his three elder children (two boys and a girl) were asleep in the burnt barrack. A shell dropped in the open space through the roof, bounded in amongst them and burst ; two of the three were instantly killed ; the other boy escaped uninjured.

I could relate numerous instances of narrow escapes which came under my own observation, though limited was the sphere in which any body could venture to move about, and often for days one could not learn what was passing on the opposite side of the intrenchment, from unwillingness to venture out and expose one's self to the shots.

It would be useless to attempt to give a detail of the innumerable troubles and distress to which all were subject in the intrenchment. Nothing could surpass the awful misery and the horrible privations experienced by the besieged garrison. The poor wounded and sick were objects of real commiseration, for their state was exceedingly wretched. The stench arising from the dead bodies of horses and other animals that had been shot in the compound at the commencement and could not be removed, and the unusually great influx of flies rendered the place extremely disagreeable.

The soldiers had their food prepared by the few remaining cooks ; but all the rest had to shift for themselves the best way they could ; and it was sometimes a difficult matter for many who had uncooked rations served to them, to provide a mouthful of victuals for themselves and children. The soldiers' cooks and the drummers occasionally lent a helping hand that way, but not without demanding and receiving high prices for their labour. Thus I have repeatedly paid a rupee and a half, and two rupees, for the cooking of one meal of coarse chuppatis and dhal, and that too often not properly done. The soldiers having always been accustomed to live upon flesh, began to get very weak and felt a great longing for meat. On one occasion they managed to catch a stray cow at night which came grazing near the intrenchment, and one evening at dusk they shot a stray horse, and regaled themselves upon its flesh. A piece of the roasted meat was brought by one of the officers in the burnt barrack, who distributed it to a number of ladies and children. Some approved of its flavour and humorously discussed the subject, whilst others would not be prevailed upon even to taste it.

At dusk, on the 20th June, a young man by name Farnon attached to my section under command of Captain Kemplan

disguised himself as a Mahomedan and got away from the intrenchment without anybody knowing it. He escaped, and I saw him after the arrival of General Havelock's force. He told me that after he had been a week in the city he was taken up on suspicion, but managed to get off by naming certain Mahomedans, whom he knew at Lucknow, as being his relations.

Early one morning, the 21st June, a very great mob was seen collecting all round our intrenchment, their dresses were of diverse patterns and descriptions, for the regular corps of infantry never came out to fight in their full dress. Some few had on their jackets and caps; others were without the former, and nearly the whole dressed like recruits. A number of the Oudh soldiery, or rather tag-rag-and-bob-tails, had joined the rebels at Cawnpore. At the lowest computation the enemy could not have been less than six thousand. They prepared for one last grand attack which they resolved should be crowned with success, their newly-created subadar-major of the 1st Native infantry having sworn upon the "Ganga Jal" (Ganges water) either to take us or die. The attack commenced with the enemy's batteries all together opening upon us a tremendous iron storm; shot and shell poured like hail in the intrenchment, women and children shrunk tremblingly into the barrack room, and in the holes in the trenches; in a word, this was one of the most terrific days we passed during our siege.

General Wheeler's son, Lieutenant G. R. Wheeler, of the 1st Native infantry, was shot in his room while dressing by one of the very first cannon balls fired this morning. The mark of his blood bespattered upon the walls of the room occupied by General Wheeler in the flat-roofed barrack had been noticed by many persons since the re-taking of Cawnpore. The enemy brought large bales of cotton, and putting them down, they lay under cover of the same, attempting to approach us in that manner by pushing the bales forward and firing away their muskets from under them.

While all this was going on from St. John's Chapel to our east, three of the new unfinished barracks to the west were filled with a great number of sepoys, endeavouring to drive away our picket and take possession of the remaining barrack. Here Captain Moore again appeared as usual, and previously arranging with our battery to send grape from the north corner, he took about twenty-five more volunteers from the intrenchment, and advancing under cover of No. 5 barrack,

managed to drive the enemy into Nos. 1 and 2, when a few rounds of canister from our north battery routed them out entirely.

In the meantime about a hundred of the wretches under the cotton bales from the church compound advanced in that manner to within 150 yards of the intrenchment. This was intended as an advance force, for shortly after the insurgents in their rare gave a fearful shout, and springing upon the walls made a charge, led on by the subadar-major, who was a powerful-looking man; but the very first shot from our musketry struck him, he took a bound and fell down dead. A few rounds of canister then properly directed amongst them did good execution, causing a general dispersion.

About the same time the enemy's intrenchment to our south caused us much annoyance. There a body of about 200 rebels kept up a dreadful firing of musketry and 9-pounder shot. I was attached to this corner as described before, and it took us about an hour and a half to silence them.

This day I saw a daring act done in our camp. About midday one of our ammunition wagons in the south-east corner was blown up by the enemy's shell, and whilst it was blazing, the rebel batteries from the artillery hospital and the tank directed all the guns towards it. Our Europeans being much exhausted with the morning's work, and almost every artilleryman being either killed or wounded, it was a difficult matter to put out the fire, which endangered other wagons near it. In the midst of all this cannonading, a young officer of the 53rd Native infantry, Lieutenant Delafosse, with the greatest courage went up, and, laying himself down under the burning wagon, pulled away from it whatever loose splinters, &c., he could get hold of, all the while throwing earth upon the flames. He was soon joined by two soldiers, who took with them a couple of buckets of water which were very dexterously thrown about by the Lieutenant, and while the buckets were taken to be replenished from the drinking-water of the men close by, the process of pitching earth was carried on amidst the fearful cannonading of two batteries, both firing incessantly upon the burning wagon. Thus at last the fire was put out, and the officer and men escaped unhurt.

Mr. O'Brien, of the Cawnpore Collector's office, had a miraculous escape. He was standing in the middle of one of the rooms in the burnt barracks speaking to some friends, when an 18-pounder cannon ball, fired from the artillery hos-

pital, passed through the window, took off his sola hat, the top part of which was reduced to shreds, and hitting the inner wall, bounded into the corner, and fell with tremendous force upon the legs of a native wet-nurse. She had an officer's baby in her lap, which was not hurt at all, but both the legs of the poor woman were broken below the knee, and she died within half an hour of the accident from loss of blood and pain.

One of the most heart-rending sights which I noticed was the helpless condition of the Rev. Mr. Haycock. The poor man lost his perception entirely. The heat and exposure had affected his head, and for three days and nights his poor aged mother watched over him unremittingly as over a child. Often would he in his insensible state struggle to get free and roam about, unconscious of the iron-storm around us ; but his mother, assisted by others, would manage to keep him in, until he at last expired in her arms. Poor old lady ! It was a pitiful sight to behold her solicitude and watchfulness over her son.

The noble behaviour under distress of some of the soldier's wives and daughters shall ever be remembered by me with admiration. I have seen them patiently attending upon their wounded and suffering husbands and fathers unremittingly night and day, exposed to all sorts of danger, themselves labouring under sickness, hunger and thirst, surrounded by young children, whose cries and wants at any other time would be enough to send the best of mothers mad. But these self-denying creatures never so much as uttered a murmur, and did all in their power to soothe the sufferings and dying moments of their loved ones. Such sights were sufficient to cause a heart of adamant to beat with emotions of pity and admiration.

My feeble pen cannot give expression to a hundredth part of all the sights of pity, horror and sorrow my eyes have seen in that intrenchment. In my own family circle the fortitude and self-denial of the females were beyond praise. But what made my heart bleed often to the core was the sight of my sweet child Polly, as she sat in the corner, the very picture of patience (5½ years old), struggling within herself in order not to cause her parents additional pain, to smother the emotions that arose from feelings of hunger, thirst, and other causes. I have often caught her eyes swollen with suppressed tears fixed sometimes upon her mother's features and sometimes upon mine with an expression so full of the different emotions that worked within her, yet the desire not to pain us by expressing in words

what she wished to say was so prominent, that I could not mistake her. She would sometimes whisper her desires to her servant Thakurrani, at the same time begging her in a most pitiful manner not to mention it to papa and mamma, as they would be grieved.

Thus old servant's fidelity and attachment to us cannot be sufficiently expressed in words. She was capable of sacrificing her own life over and over for our sakes, and more especially for that of her darling Polly Baba (as she called the sweet child). One very hot day our supply of water having run out, Polly whispered to Thakurrani that she was very thirsty. The old woman immediately got up, without mentioning a word to anybody, and braving the storm of shots which were flying as usual on all sides, proceeded to the well (stooping and crawling), and fetched a small brass vessel full of water, which, together with a thin long rope she always kept by her for her own use. Being a high caste Brahmin (Hindu), she could drink no water but what she herself drew, as there was no other person at hand of her own caste to help her.

The siege having now lasted so long without even a ray of hope of deliverance, many of our men began to get perfectly callous to danger. The sense of our desperate position and prolonged suffering gave such a fierceness to the countenance of our famished and sun-burnt garrison as it is impossible to describe. Latterly, when unable to bear the cries of helpless women and children for water, some of them would daringly go to the well during the day and fetch the precious renovating draught, though such were rare instances, except in the case of a very few desperate characters (European soldiers), who made a trade of it, since it paid very well. They sold the water at so much per bucket. Often would they force such of the Christian drummers as they could manage, to assist them, to whom they would give a trifle to prevent complaints. One of those desperate fellows on one occasion happened to see Daniel, my brother, returning from the cook-house, where he had gone to get our cakes baked, and seeing his youth and perceiving him to be of a very quiet disposition, commenced bullying him; and following him up to where we were in the west corner of the burnt barrack, he commanded in a most peremptory manner to come out to the well at once. The poor fellow did not know what to do (he had been ill, having only a short time before been bad with the sunstroke). He looked at me in a painful manner. I tried to persuade the soldier not to molest

my brother, but nothing would do for him. Drawing out his bayonet, and pointing it towards him, the soldier stamped his foot and swore in a most horrible manner. At last he pounced down upon Daniel as if about to thrust the bayonet through him, exclaiming at the same time that he would "make an example of him." Finding that no one would come to our assistance, though this scene was going on in the presence of about twenty persons, I myself being too weak to contend with so powerful a man, who was armed and looked like mad, I advised Daniel to go with him, and that I would bring him succour as soon as I could. The poor fellow agreed, and was about to follow the soldier when our good friend Mr. Twoomey (the apothecary), who happened to be at that time going his rounds, as was invariably his custom, to see if any needed medical aid, saw our predicament and immediately came forward. He demanded of the soldier, "how he dared to molest his patients?" Hearing this the man desisted and went away grumbling. That same evening he was obliged to be placed in the quarter-guard as he had drawn his bayonet upon some others and was pronounced to be not in his proper mind. He died, I believe, the following day from determination of blood to his head.

Another poor soldier, by name O'Dwyer, a gunner and a very nice well-made man, exposed himself very often going to the well (though he was not one of those who sold water). On one occasion about midday he poured out several buckets of water into the cistern attached to the well, and getting into it, lay down to cool himself. He had not been there above a few minutes, when a shell dropped right into the cistern and burst, breaking one of the legs of the poor man and inflicting several other severe wounds.

The destruction caused in our camp by the bursting of shells was terrible. Never a day passed but some one or other was killed by them. It was possible often to guard against the round shots and bullets, but the shell found its way everywhere and its bursting was most terrific.

The excitement of the day left no room for any thoughts save those of safety from the shot and shell and the falling in of the walls, etc.; but at night it was otherwise When standing alone at my post as sentry,—my comrades and officers, as well as my dear family and relations lying in deep slumber, overcome by exhaustion, fear, and hunger, with no other shelter over their heads save the dark heavens and the slight mound

of the intrenchment, the cannons of the enemy as well as a few musketry from the nearer batteries throwing in their iron and lead contents into the camp at certain intervals,—my reflections on such occasions were by no means enviable, especially when the bullets kept passing too near my head and often hitting the sand-bags over the parapet through which we had to keep the look-out. One cannot conceive what a dreadful whizzing noise a cannon shot makes while cutting through the air with tremendous velocity, particularly if one happens to be very near it; but we became accustomed to such sounds, and merely stooped down or bobbed the head. The monotonous sound of the words "all's well?" passing at dead of night from sentry to sentry all round our intrenchment at an interval of every quarter of an hour, was another cause of reflection to me; and during these meditations how I longed to be able to render some service as might ensure the safety of so many poor suffering women and children and the sick and wounded! I felt I could risk my life in the attempt to blow up the magazine, which was the sole cause of the enemy's placing us under such distress. I thought if I could only reach the city in disguise, I should easily manage to get admittance into the magazine as a labourer, and a single match would be sufficient to blow up all the powder. So sure did I feel of being able to do this, that I one day opened my mind to Captain Seppings of the 2nd Cavalry, but he thought me mad. I had also several conferences with Mr. Reilly, the Assistant Commissary of Ordnance, who was in charge of the magazine at the time of the outbreak. He told me his orders were to blow up the magazine as soon as the mutiny should commence, and his not having done so had brought on him the displeasure of the General and all the officers; but he said it was not his fault, for he had from time to time reported how carefully the sepoy guard in the magazine watched him, two of whom invariably followed him about wherever he went while in the magazine, so that he had no opportunity of taking the least step towards the blowing up of the powder. Besides, two days previous to the outbreak he was unable to enter the gate on account of the threats and menaces of the sepoys guard, of which also he told me he had made a report to the General. How deeply we regretted at the time, that we had not taken up our position in the magazine, from the first, or even taken possession of it when the rebel troops had gone off to Kullianpore on their way to Delhi, the first day of the outbreak, as so good an opportunity (as we then thought) had

not again occurred of either removing to the magazine or blowing it up. From subsequent information, however, it is clear that such a course, if even attempted, would not have been successful, for about 500 men of the Nana's own select band had been placed in charge of the magazine from the moment the mutiny commenced, and though the mutineers had marched away to Kullianpore, these were still guarding the magazine, and would have been more than a match for any small detachment we might have sent from the intrenchment. Besides the distance from our camp to that place was, as I have stated before, upwards of six miles, and full of danger in consequence of the bungalows and houses on the way, which would have enabled the cavalry picquet left behind to complete the work of burning the houses, to attack our men with great advantage of all this General Wheeler no doubt was well aware, and wisely refrained from exposing the lives of his brave soldiers.

Here follow some extracts taken from "The Story of Cawnpore, by Captain Mowbray Thomson, Bengal Army, one of the survivors of the massacre :—

"It will be seen in the plan that a number of barracks then under construction commanded our intrenchment. On this account a detachment of our limited force was placed in one of them, as soon as the mutiny broke out, which consisted chiefly of the civil engineers who had been connected with the railway works.

"The first shot fired by the mutineers came from a 9-pounder gun on the north-west. It struck the crest of the mud wall, or rather mound over the trench, and glided over into the pucca-roofed barrack. This was about 10 o'clock A. M. As the day advanced, the enemy's fire grew hotter and more dangerous. The first casualty occurred at the west battery; M'Guire, a gunner, being killed by a round shot; several of us saw the ball bounding towards us, and he also evidently saw it, but like many others whom I saw fall at different times, he seemed fascinated to the spot. All through this first weary day the shrieks of the women and children were terrific. As often as the balls struck the walls of the barracks their wailings were heartrending; but after the initiation of the first day they had learnt silence, and never uttered a sound except when actually wounded.

"But if the intrenched position was one of peril, that of the picket in the unfinished barracks was even more so. The

railway gentlemen held this post for three entire days, without any military superintendence whatever, and they distinguished themselves greatly by their skill and courage. I remember particularly Messrs. Heberden, Latouche, and Miller as prominent in the midst of the rest. Their sharp sight and accurate knowledge of distances acquired in surveying, had made these gentlemen invaluable as marksmen. The whole line of those barracks was in the course of erection when the siege began. They were built of red brick and about 200 feet in length; no floors had been laid in any of them, and the ground both within and without these skeleton works was thickly covered with piles of bricks and the various *debris* incidental to the progress of large works. Creeping up by hundreds under the cover of these walls, the sepoys pressed so heavily upon the occupants of the barracks nos. 5 and 6 that the General soon found it necessary to strengthen them with a military command. It was most harassing work to stand hour after hour, watching for the approach of the rebels. By day we did manage to get a little rest, as one or two were sufficient then to keep the look-out; as soon as night set in, all hands we required on the look-out.

"Then we seventeen men had to hold that barrack against a black swarm compassing us about like bees, and had it not been for their most surprising cowardice in attack, we could not have held the place for four and twenty days. In order to keep us as fully acquainted as possible with their movements I had a "crow's-nest" constructed twenty feet from the ground; it was made of some of the building materials laying about the place. By turns of an hour each, my men were posted up there and through a loop-hole could overlook the movements of our troublesome neighbours, and telegraph to us beneath.

"The principal work devolving upon these our out-pickets was that of clearing the adjacent barracks of our assailants. Our combined pickets always swept through these barracks once, and sometimes twice, a day in chase of the foe. They scarcely ever stood for a hand-to-hand fight, but heaps of them were left dead as the result of these sallies. In some of these charges we occasionally bagged a live prisoner or two. They expressed sorrow for their conduct, and attributed the mutiny to the *háwá*, meaning thereby an invisible influence exercised over them by the devil. These prisoners taken from the sepoys always gave utterance to profuse exclamations of wonder at our holding out from day to day as we

did, and looked upon the cause as something altogether supernatural. They had all felt sure that we must be overpowered by their number, or at least be utterly destroyed by the intense heat of the season. This last opinion will not be thought unreasonable when I say, that it was often impossible to touch the barrel of a gun, and once or twice muskets went off at midday, either from the sun exploding their caps, or from the fiery heat of the metal. It is truly surprising that, in consequence of the utter inadequacy of our food, we did not all perish from the effects of the trying atmosphere, indicated by a thermometer ranging from 120° to 130°.

"On one occasion we were warily closing together to eat our evening meal, when an unexpected and most unwelcome guest joined our party. We heard a mortar fired, and the hissing shell kindly announced its approach towards us. We thought at first it would clear the barrack, but such was not its destiny; it entered the chamber we were occupying, struck one of the walls, rebounded over our heads; and as it touched the ground and burst we cleared the room, and all reached the verandah in safety."

"My sixteen men consisted in the first instance of ensign Henderson, of the 56th Native infantry, five or six of the Madras Fusiliers, two platelayers from the railway works, and some men of the 84th Regiment. This first instalment was soon disabled. The Madras Fusiliers were armed with Enfield rifles, and consequently they had to bear the brunt of the attack. They were all shot off at their posts; several of the 84th also fell; but, in consequence of the importance of the position, as soon as a loss in my little corps was reported, Captain Moore sent me over a re-inforcement from the intrenchments. Sometimes a civilian, sometimes a soldier came. The orders given to us were not to surrender with our lives.

"There was one advantage in the out-picket station, in the fact that we were somewhat removed from the sickening spectacles continually occurring in the intrenchments. Sometimes when relieved by a brother officer for a few moments, I have run across to the main guard for a chat with some old chums, or to join in the task of attempting to cheer the spirits of the women; but the sight there was always of a character to make me return to my out post barrack, relieved by the comparative quiet of its seclusion. We certainly had no diminished share of the conflict in the (unfinished) barracks; but we had not the heaps

of wounded sufferers, nor the crowd o helpless ones whose agonies nothing could relieve."

The following are a few of the incidents that occurred in the intrenchment :—

"On one occasion a shell from the enemy's mortar battery fell into Whiting's battery, into the midst of a group of soldiers' wives, who were sitting together in the trench. Several of them were killed and wounded; Mr. Cox, formerly of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, lost both his legs and died.

"Mrs. White, a private's wife, was walking with her husband under cover, as they thought, of the wall, her twin children one in each arm, when a single bullet passed through her husband, killing him; it passed also through both her arms breaking them, and close beside the breathless husband and father fell the widow and her babes, one of the latter being also severely wounded. I saw her afterwards in the main guard lying upon her back, with the two children, twins, laid one at each breast, while the mother's bosom refused not what her arms had no power to administer. Assuredly no imagination or invention ever devised such pictures as this most horrible siege was constantly presenting to our view.

"Mrs Williams, the widow of Colonel Williams, after losing her husband early in the siege from apoplexy supervening upon a wound, was herself shot in the face. She lingered two days in frightful suffering and disfigurement, all the time attended by her intrepid daughter, who was herself suffering from a bullet wound right through the shoulder blade.

"An Ayah while nursing the infant child of Smith J. Harris, Bengal Engineers, lost both her legs by a round shot, and the little innocent was picked off the ground suffused in its nurse's blood, but completely free from injury. While we were at Cuttack the mother of this infant died, and Captain and Mr. Belson kindly undertook its charge. In what manner the poor little nursling's short but troubled life was terminated I know not.

"Miss Brightman, the sister of Mrs. Harris, died of fever, consequent upon the fatigue she had incurred in nursing Lieutenant Martin, who was wounded in the lungs. Martin was quite young; he reached Cawnpore only a day or two before the outbreak. He said to me one day soon after his arrival, 'I should like to see some practice with these things" pointing to a heap of shells. He soon saw far more of that practice than most soldiers three times his age."

"Mrs. Evans, the wife of Major Evans, Bombay Native infantry, was killed by falling bricks, displaced by round shot. My friend, Major Evans, had to endure the most intense solicitude for his beloved wife, while he was engaged in the defence of Lucknow.

"Mrs. Reynolds, the wife of Captain Reynolds, 53rd Native infantry, was wounded in the wrist by a musket-ball, and died of fever in consequence of there being no instruments or materials to alleviate her sufferings. Her husband had been previously killed by a round shot, which took off his arm. An Eurasian and her daughter, crouching behind an empty barrel, were both instantly killed by one shot.

"The children were a constant source of solicitude to the intrenched party. Sometimes the little things, not old enough to have the instinct for liberty crushed by the presence of death, would run away from their mothers and play about under the barrack walls, and even on these, the incarnate fiends would fire their muskets, and not a few were slain and wounded thus.

"One poor woman, a private's wife, ran out from the cover of the barracks with a child in each hand, courting relief from her prolonged anguish by death from the sepoy guns; but a private nobly went out and dragged her to a sheltered position.

"There were children born as well as dying in these terrible times, and three or four mothers had to undergo the sufferings of maternity in a crisis that left none of that hope and joy which compensate the hour of agony. One of the most painful of these cases was that of Mrs. Darby, wife of the Surgeon in the Company's service. Her husband had been ordered to Lucknow immediately before the mutiny, and was killed there. Mrs. Darby survived her accouchement, and was I believe one of those who perished in the boats.

"Beside, such constantly occurring and frightful spectacles as these, deaths from sunstroke and fever were frequently happening. Colonel Williams, 56th N. I., Major Praut, Sir George Parker, and several of the privates died thus. The fatal symptoms were headache and drowsiness, followed by vomiting and gradual insensibility which terminated in death.

"In the pucca-roofed barrack, Lieutenant G. R. Wheeler, son and aide-de-camp of the General, was sitting upon a sofa, fainting from a wound he had received in the trenches; his sister was fanning him, when a round shot entered the door-

way, and left him a headless trunk; one sister at his feet, and father, mother, and another sister in different parts of the same room, were witnesses of the appalling spectacle. Three officers belonging to the same regiment with Lieutenant Wheeler, the 1st N. I., *viz.*:—Lieutenants Smith and Redman and Ensign Supple, had their heads taken off by round shots in the redan."

"Lieutenant Dempster, who left a wife and four children, fell mortally wounded between Whiting's battery and the pucca-roofed barrack.

"Lieutenant Jervis, of the Engineers, fell in the same locality. He always scorned to run, and while calmly walking across the open, in the midst of a shower of bullets, some of us cried out to him, 'Run, Jervis, run' but he refused and was killed by a bullet through his heart.

"Mr. Jack, brother of the Brigadier, who was on a visit from Australia, was hit by a round shot, which carried away his left leg. As this occurred before the destruction of the instruments, he underwent amputation, but sank under the operation.

"Colonel Ewart, a brave and clever man, was severely wounded in the arm early in the proceedings, and was entirely disabled from any participation in the defence.

"Captain Kempland suffered so much from the heat, that although not wounded, he was also utterly prostrate and non-combatant. His European man-servant made an attempt to get down the river with his master's baggage, but was taken by the sepoys and murdered.

"Lieutenant R. Quin died of fever. His brother, C. Quin, survived the siege and was left severely wounded in the boat at Sóorajpore.

"Ensign Dowson suffered severely from sunstroke, and Ensign Foreman was wounded in the leg. Both of these youths perished at the boats.

"Major Lindsay was struck in the face by the splinters caused by a round shot; he lay for a few days in total blindness and extreme pain, when death came to his relief. His disconsolate widow followed him a day or two afterwards, slain by grief.

"Mr. Heberden, of the railway-service, was handing one of the ladies some water, when a charge of grape entered the barrack, and a shot passed through both his hips leaving an awful wound. He lay for a whole week upon his face and was carried upon a mattrass down to the boats where he died. The

fortitude he had shown in service did not forsake him during his extraordinary sufferings, for not a murmur escaped his lips.

"Lieutenant Eckford, while sitting in the verandah, was struck by a round shot in the heart, causing instant death. He was an excellent artillery officer, and could ill be spared. Besides his high military accomplishments, this gentleman was an admirable linguist, and his death was a great loss to his country. To our enfeebled community these bereavements were a deplorable calamity.

"Such are some specimens of the horrors endured, but by no means a summary of the long catalogue of lamentation and woe. Many casualties occurred of which I never heard, some probably which I have forgotten. Long and painful as this narrative of suffering may prove to the reader, he will not for et, that all this was but on the surface. The agony of mind, the tortures of despair, the memories of home, the yearning after the distant children or parents, the secret prayers, and all the hidden heart wounds contained in these barracks were and must remain, known only to God.

"Soon after the destruction of our thatched barrack in the intrenchment, a party of fifty headed by Captain Moore, sallied out at midnight towards the church compound, where they spiked two or three guns. Proceeding thence to the mess-house, they killed several of the native gunners asleep at their posts, blew up one of the 24-pounders, and spiked another or two; but although it was a most brilliant, daring, and successful exploit, it availed us little, as the next day they brought fresh guns into position, and this piece of service cost us one private killed, and four wounded.

"Day by day, while our numbers were more than decimated by the enemy's fire, and our supply of food was known to be running short, we were buoyed up by expectations of relief, for General Wheeler had telegraphed for reinforcements before communication with Calcutta was broken off, and it was reported that the Governor-General had promised to send them up promptly, and we indulged the hope that they must have been expedited for our relief. We administered all the comfort we could to the women, by the assurance that our desperate condition must be known at head-quarters, but so effectually had the sepoys closed the road all round us, that the tidings of our exact circumstances did not even reach Lucknow, which is only fifty miles distant, until the siege was nearly concluded.

The Southern road was entirely shut up, and not a native was allowed to travel in the direction of Allahabad.

"All the while that our numbers were rapidly diminishing, those of our antagonists were as constantly increasing. Revolters poured into the ranks from Delhi, Jhansi, Saugor, and Lucknow, and at last there were said to be not fewer than eight thousand of them in immediate proximity to us.

"Often we imagined that we heard the sounds of distant cannonading. At all hours of the day and night my men have asked me to listen. Their faces would gladden with the delusive hope of a relieving force close at hand, but only to sink back again presently into the old careworn aspect. Weariness and want had alike to be forgotten, and the energy of desperation thrown into our unequal conflict. Though occasionally moved, by such rumours as these into a momentary gleaming of hop, the countenances of the women, for the most part, assumed a stolid apathy, and a deadly stillness, that nothing could move Much excitement was caused in our midst at the expiration of the first fortnight, by the arrival of a native spy who came into the intrenchment in the garb of a bhistee (a water-carrier). This man declared himself favorable to our cause, and said that he had brought good news, for there were two companies of European soldiers on the other side of the river, with a couple of guns from Lucknow, that they were making arrangements to cross the Ganges, and might be expected in our midst on the morrow. He came in again the next day and told us that our countrymen were prevented crossing the stream by the rising of the waters, but that they were constructing rafts, and we might look for them in a day or two at the farthest The tidings spread from man to man, and lighted some flickering rays of hope even in the bosoms of those who had abandoned themselves to despair. But days rolled on and more terrified nights, and the delusion was dispelled like the mirage. Our pretended friend was in fact one of the Nana's spies, and the tidings which he conveyed back of our abject condition must have greatly gratified his sanguinary employer.

"Few families have suffered more severely from the disastrous events of 1857 than that of Mrs. Alexander. Her mother, Mrs. Blair, was a resident at Cawnpore with two of her daughters. This estimable lady was the daughter of General Kennedy of Benares, a well known Indian officer. Mrs. Blair had lost her husband, who was a calvary officer, in Kabul, at the memorable Khybar Pass; but as no precise

tidings of his death had ever been received, she cherished the forlorn hope that he was still living in captivity among the Afghans, and that some day it would be her happiness yet to be re-united with him, even on earth. It was a most bitter cup of sorrow that this unfortunate lady had to drink. Her sister, the wife of Dr. Newenham, died in the trenches; her oldest daughter was cut off by fever, and she and her surviving daughter embarked in the same boat with myself. I believe that they survived the storm of shot, and were amongst those who endured the unspeakable atrocities of that second captivity and its bloody termination. There is one happy circumstance still attaching to the memory of those sufferers: they were sustained by the consolations of religion throughout all the heavy trials they had to endure.

"About the middle of the siege much astonishment was caused by the arrival of an English officer, to whom even our desperate fortunes presented an asylum. This was Lieutenant Bolton, of the 7th Cavalry, who reached our intrenchment in a most distressed and exhausted condition. This officer had been sent out from Lucknow, with a detachment of the 48th Native infantry and some of his own regiment, under the command of Captain Burmester, to keep open the road from Futteyghur to Cawnpore; and while they were employed upon this service, the men mutinied and fired upon their officers. Major Staples and Lieutenant Bolton effected their escape, but were closely pursued: the former was shot down from his horse and cut to pieces; the latter though followed by two or three troopers, after a chase of sixteen miles, eluded them, though carrying a bullet hole in his cheek. Bolton contrived to pass through the Nana's camp unobserved, and being ignorant of our exact whereabouts, he slept out in the plain all night. At daybreak, spying our position, he rode for it and cleared our wall at a leap, though, as he had been mistaken for a sowar, he was fired at by our men, and his horse was wounded. He joined the out-picket under Captain Jenkins, and although a great sufferer from the wound in his cheek, he proved a valuable addition to our strength. He lived throughout the siege, and was one of the multitude who perished in the boats.

"The whole of the activities connected with the command devolved upon Captain Moore very soon after the commencement of the attack. He was a tall, fair man, with light blue eyes, and I believe Irish by birth. He was in command of the invalid depot of the 32nd Regiment when the

mutiny broke out. Throughout all the harassing duties that devolved upon him, he never lost determination or energy. Though the little band of men at his direction were daily lessened by death, he was cheerful and animated to the last, and inspired all round him with a share of his wonderful endurance and vivacity. In fact he was the life and soul of our defence. He visited every one of the pickets daily, and sometimes two or three times a day, speaking words of encouragement to every one of us. His never-say-die disposition nerved many a sinking heart to the conflict, and his affable, tender sympathy imparted fresh patience to the suffering women.

"The well in the trenches was one of the greatest points of danger, as the enemy invariably fired upon that spot as soon as a person made his appearance there to draw water. The constant riddling of shots soon tore away the wood and brickwork that surrounded the well, and the labour of drawing became much more prolonged and perilous. The water was between sixty and seventy feet from the surface of the ground, and with mere hand-over-hand labour it was wearisome work. Not even a pint of water was to be had for washing purposes from the commencement to the close of the siege; and those only who have lived in India can imagine the calamity of such a privation to delicate women who had been accustomed to the most frequent and copious ablutions as a necessary of existence. Strange indeed was the appearance presented by all of us after the first week or ten days of the siege. Very few of our number had secured a single change of raiment. Some, like myself, were only partially dressed, and now we were like a band of seafarers who had taken to a raft to escape the burning ship. Tattered in clothing, begrimed with dirt, emaciated in countenance, were all without exception. Faces that had been beautiful were now chiselled with deep furrows; haggered despair seated itself where there had been a month before only smiles. Some were sinking into the settled vacancy of look which marked insanity. And yet looking back upon the horrible straits to which the women were driven, the maintenance of modesty and delicate feeling by them to the last, is one of the greatest marvels of the heartrending memories of those twenty-one days.

"Besides the well to which reference has been made, there was another to the east of No. 5 unfinished barrack, upon which we looked, and to which we often repaired with sorrowing hearts. We drew no water there; it was our cemetery; and in three weeks we buried therein two hundred and fifty of our number."

CHAPTER V.

Major-General Sir Hugh Massy Wheeler, K.C.B., Commanding the Cawnpore Division, though one of the most distinguished Generals of the Company's army, was perfectly powerless at Cawnpore in 1857. His health, which had been bad for some time, was now quite broken down from over-exertion and anxiety of mind, and he was not able to move about much; his small force of Europeans, hampered as they were with so large a number of helpless women and children, could do nothing against such fearful odds of disciplined mutinous troops. Though everybody knows that even so small a band of British soldiers were not to be despised, had they been free from every incumbrance and at liberty to act for themselves.

Captain Moore of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment was second in command, and his untiring zeal and constant exertions cannot be too much praised. This officer's presence of mind never seemed to forsake him, and I never saw another officer expose himself so much on all occasions and yet escape the enemy's shot. The evening our prisoners made their escape, Captain Moore, accompanied by another officer and two soldiers, went about looking for them among the new barracks and even ventured so far as No. 8 unfinished barrack, adjoining which, in No. 9 barrack, the rebels had intrenched themselves among the spare bricks of the superstructure, which had only been raised about three feet high. The evening was dark, and he suddenly came upon a number of Sepoys who evidently were advancing from their own intrenchment to No. 8 barrack, either to have a nearer shot at us or to reconnoitre. Captain Moore and his companions might have all been taken without any chance of receiving timely assistance from us, for the sepoys were in a large body. But the Captain, with unusual presence of mind, called out in a commanding voice, as if addressing a force with him, "First section halt; second section, right about and turn to the left. Steady, my men, and fire at the

word of command." Hearing this, the mutineers got alarmed, thinking that the Europeans were going to charge them in a large body, and, making a precipitate retreat, got into their own intrenchment, whence they fired several volleys upon No. 8 barrack, under cover of which the two officers and soldiers were enabled to retire.

I must not omit to mention here that our people dreaded nothing so much as the setting in of the rains, which was expected daily, and which would have been a calamity exceedingly distressing; for, in the first place, the holes dug in the trenches for the protection of the women and children would have been filled up: secondly, the walls of the barracks, which though thoroughly riddled, still afforded some little shelter, were in danger of coming down, having been well shaken in many places by cannon shot so incessantly fired for twenty days: and, again, our muskets would have been rendered useless, for there were a great many of them, and the men were quite unable to clean them all. These muskets were always kept ready loaded standing against the breast-works, so that when occasion required it, each man could use upwards of half a dozen at a time. In a word, one good shower, such as generally takes place at the first fall, would have rendered the place perfectly uninhabitable and extremely insecure.

It is true there was provision yet left to keep the people alive on half rations for another week; and, as a large quantity of gram had been laid in for the use of horses and cattle, and had not been expended in consequence of our inability to shelter the animals, which had all been let loose at the commencement of the siege, we had a sufficiency of that commodity, and it formed the principal food of all the natives with us, they preferring it to atta and dhal, as it gave them no trouble in cooking, for a little soaking in water was sufficient to make it eatable, and many scrupulous Hindus lived the whole period entirely upon it. But taking into consideration all the distressing circumstances related above, it is not to be wondered that our brave men so eagerly wished to make a grand sally and dispossess the enemy of their guns, or, in case of failure, die an honourable death, than be thus tormented by a set of cowardly natives. Many officers also were of the same opinion; but from a false hope of receiving a reinforcement from Lucknow or Allahabad, and in consequence of the natural attachment of the females to their husbands, fathers, and brothers, such a course was put off from day to

day. If attempted it would without doubt have been attended with complete success, as I now learn that latterly the cannon used to be most entirely abandoned by the rebels during the night, merely a few golundazes being left to load and fire at intervals. The musketry fire also was kept up by a handful of sepoys placed here and there more for appearance sake than with any intention of doing us much injury,—though during the day it was not so; but, on the contrary, every exertion used to be made by the wretches to torment us; and I now find it was a matter of very great wonder and astonishment, not only to the rebels, but to every individual in and near Cawnpore, how it was possible for a mere handful of people, mostly women and children, to exist so long under such difficulties, without suing for peace or offering terms. However, such a course was in contemplation in the intrenchment when I left. But instead of a proposal of this nature coming from our camp, it was offered by the rebel chief, as will be seen hereafter.

Seeing the distress of my family and relations, we held many consultations among ourselves, being very anxious to get away by any means to the city, where we thought, from want of better information, we would be secure, as it was generally believed by all in the intrenchment that the rebels so resolutely besieged us only on account of the concentration of all the European military community of Cawnpore, and that the non-military would not be molested if they remained away in their several abodes. Little did we know then that the few poor fellows who did not come, had long before been butchered.

Under this impression several had actually gone away as opportunities occurred; but, as I learnt afterwards, were all killed. Among those who were thus left were Cattle-Sergeant Ryan and family, Mr. Apothecary Peters and family and one or two others —all of whom left together on or about the 10th June. They remained hid in a village for two days, but were found out at last and taken to the Nana, who had them put to the sword at once.

Had I not been wounded at the onset, I really believe I should also have gone out in a similar manner with all that belonged to me. But this was another means in the hands of God to preserve me, and save my family from being roughly treated and butchered; perhaps under my own eyes. My lips cannot utter my grateful thanks to God for his great mercy in protecting me from the innumerable dangers to which I was every moment exposed in the intrenchment. On one occasion some heavy bricks got detached from the roof and fell within a few inches

of me, any one of which might have broken my limbs, if not killed me. On another occasion, it was my turn to fetch out our ration of rum. We were supplied with a dram per man, both morning and evening, and with great anxiety we waited for it, especially in the evening. The two drams that fell to mine and poor Daniel's share we used to put in a bottle, and, filling it with water, every member of my family would take a little, and it used to refresh us very much. Well, as I was sitting in the guardroom, waiting the issue of the liquor, an 18-pounder shot hit against the archway, and bounding forward struck the wall three inches above my head. Had I been leaning against the wall or sitting a little more erect, I should have been a dead man. The distance from the guardroom to the corner of the burnt barrack, which we then occupied, was about sixty yards, and often when returning with the rations, I have been greeted with showers of bullets aimed expressly at me from Nos. 1 to 3 of the new barracks, making me run as fast as my weak state and wounded back would permit: the bullets flying around me, some to the right, some to the left, some over head, hitting the steps of the barrack in front, till I regained the rooms and was hid from view of the enemy.

After many consultations it was considered expedient that I should go and ascertain how matters stood in the city and early on the 24th June I made my wishes known to Captain Kempland, our commanding officer, who at first tried to dissuade me from undertaking so perilous a task; but on my showing him the advantages likely to accrue to us if I succeeded in bringing correct information of the enemy's proceedings, and seeing me speak with much assurance, he agreed and gave me a note to Captain Moore, recommending compliance with my request. I had much difficulty in finding the captain, and had to go in search of him in the outside new barracks where our picket was. A strange feeling came over me while I thus roamed in search of Captain Moore. I felt callous to every danger and only muttered to myself, "God's will be done." I at last found the officer in the north corner of the intrenchment, and gave him the note. He read it, and directed me to another officer, whose name I have forgotten, saying, that he was sick and had only an hour ago given up the command of the batteries. The fact was, as I learnt from one of the soldiers, that Captain Moore was quite disgusted with the prolonged siege, and in compliance with the repeated solicitations of our brave European soldiers to be permitted to make a bold

sally at night and take possession of all the enemy's guns, or die in the attempt, he had made a proposal to the General to that effect, which was not complied with as our force was not considered sufficiently strong to attempt so desperate an undertaking. The men were quite worn out and reduced to a company of spectres, so that they were not capable of standing their ground, though they themselves appeared quite resolute and willing. This refusal had displeased Captain Moore, and he therefore had given up his command that morning for a time.

His successor desired another officer near him to take me to the Brigade Major, who was no other than my Commissariat Officer, Captian Williamson, having assumed that post only a day or two before, consequent on the demise or indisposition of other officers qualified for it; for though so badly besieged, the form of military duty was carried on unremittingly. Station and Division orders were issued with great regularity daily, announcing demises, promotions, &c., &c., written on slips of paper with a lead pencil, for there was no ink or pens to be had for love or money.

Captain Williamson knew me well, and readily consented to my proposal. He addressed a note to the General, strongly recommending compliance with my request, and giving the note to the officer who accompanied me, desired me to follow him to the General's apartment. General Wheeler occupied a small square room in the centre of the flat-roofed barracks. We found him seated on a mattress in a corner on the floor. He looked very feeble and aged; his lady and two daughters were likewise seated on the floor in another corner. Mr. Roache, the Postmaster, was also there. He appeared to be attached to the General after the death of Lieutenant Wheeler. Mr. Roache had been four different times wounded in the intrenchment; but as they were all flesh wounds he was at that time doing well, though reduced very much in appearance.

I forgot to mention that four days previous to this I had, at the suggestion of Mrs. Carmody and Mrs J. L. O'Brian, who were both extremely anxious to get away from the intrenchment, taken upon myself to make a personal application to General Wheeler for permission to leave with my family; but as he was at the time very busy writing (I believe it was a dispatch, for he had written a great deal), he did not understand me properly, and ordered me out of his presence

in great anger, saying, "If all the men were to leave, who would man the intrenchment?"

When the officer who accompanied me explained my errand and delivered Captian Williamson's note, the General immediately recognized me, and said, "You are the same person who wanted to leave me the other day. I cannot trust you." I felt hurt at this and stated that "I would not desert the camp on any account, as I had a very large family with me of helpless women and children, who looked to me for every assistance, but that, if I was so disposed nothing could keep me; for nothing would be easier for me than to step over the wall at dead of night whilst on sentry duty." This speech convinced the General, and he at once entered into my views. He spoke very kindly to me, and said he would readily give his own life to spare the sufferings and distresses of his people, but that he was quite at a loss what to do. He offered to reward me highly if I managed to bring him correct information of the intentions and doings of the enemy, as also if there was any chance of our receiving a reinforcement either from Allahabad or Lucknow. The only condition I made was that, on my return if I should wish it, my family might be permitted to leave the intrenchment with me. This was agreed to. He then, after musing a while, instructed me to go to the Nuneh Nawab (*alias* Mahomed Ali Khan). "He is faithful to us," said the General, "and I can trust him. Tell him to endeavour to cause a rupture among the rebels, and if they will leave off annoying us, or go away from the station, I will do a great deal for him." He further directed me, in case I was unable to find the Nawab, to go to other influential mahajans, and others of the inhabitants of the city, and if they succeeded in assisting us in this respect to promise rewards. I was authorized to offer as far as a lack of rupees, with handsome pensions for life, to any person who would bring about so desirable an end. The officer who went with me happened to make some allusion to the death of Lieutenant Wheeler, and I could not help mentioning that the young officer's loss was felt very much by all in the intrenchment. Hearing this, the old man covered his face with both hands, and burst into a very severe paroxysm of grief: his whole body shook, as if his heart was bursting. He retired to the extreme corner of the room, and there gave vent to his overpowering emotion in a flood of tears. It was altogether a pitiful and heart-rending sight. When he recovered a little, I asked

him, "that in the event of my being taken a prisoner by the rebels, what was I to tell them about the intrenchment? The General answered: "You have to be careful of three things. Do not let the enemy know that we are discouraged, or that we are running short of provisions. Say that we are able to pull on very well for a month to come: and, above all, let them know that we expect a speedy help from Allahabad."

I returned to Captain Williamson, and while passing through the apartment he occupied, I heard a feeble voice calling my name, and turning round I beheld Mr. McKillop, our Joint Magistrate, lying on a cot on his back. I asked him if he had been ill. He said he was wounded and unable to move, pointing to his thigh, which was covered over with a sheet. He seemed to be in great pain, but endeavoured to make little of it. He was very glad to learn what I was going to do, and wished me success in my undertaking. Captain Williamson told me I would get a pass after I had appeared in disguise and was ready to start, by waiting upon Captain Moore's successor.

When I returned to the burnt barrack, a great many persons flocked around me to know the result. A few old women commissioned me to get some tobacco, and other necessaries for them. Mr. John Schorne, to whom I was greatly attached, offered to accompany me in disguise, but changed his mind in consequence of Mr. Christie's (of Bathgate, Campbell and Co.'s) family, who had been left to his care by the dying breath of Mr. Christie. He had died only two days before from exhaustion and heat. A few persons advised me not to go in the day time, but I had my own reasons for doing so. I was aware that the General had, in his anxiety to get information, sent out two or three natives previously, under promises of high reward. They all went during the night, but never returned, and were believed to have fallen into the hands of the enemy. I particularly watched their pickets at a great distance, keeping a vigilant look-out during the night, and felt convinced none could approach us or go out of the intrenchment without being taken by the pickets; whereas, in the day I had observed that between the hours of 11 and 1 not a sepoy remained in the direction of the new barracks; they evidently went to their meals and left that part entirely deserted, so that I felt sure of being able to get away from there in the day time.

It was already after 10 A. M., and I found great difficulty in procuring native clothes for my disguise. I asked many of

the servants to lend me theirs or to sell them to me for three or four times their real value, but none consented. I even offered to make an exchange of my own clothes, but this only caused laughter, as they were none of the best, never having been washed or taken off since the day we were besieged, for in our hurry we had not been able to bring away spare suits with us. Those persons who even had any to spare, had not the heart to put on clean clothes; not being able to take a wash on account of the scarcity of water.

After much trouble I was at last clad in a sepoy's *dhoti* and a cook's *ungurkha* or coat, which was well bedaubed with grease, and altogether very dirty. My hair was cropped short all round the head leaving a tuft of long hair in the centre over which a piece of cloth (also very dirty) was wrapped, to represent a cook's turban. Added to these was a small stick in my hand, which completed my disguise. I took two rupees and two four-anna pieces, and hid them separately in different parts of my clothes.

When I was about to start, Mr. Roache, the Postmaster came to me, and said he was sent by the General to repeat to me his injunctions about going to the Nunneh Nawab, or to the influential mahajuns in the city, and to endeavour my best to carry out the General's wishes, and that I was fully empowered to offer the reward of a lac of rupees, as directed by himself. I promised I would do my very best, if for no other consideration then for the sake of my dear family whom I was leaving behind.

Buoyed up with hopes, and trusting in God for success, I took leave of all whom I called mine. Alas! little did I think it was for the last time, never again to behold their loved faces! * * * *

My friends now shook hands with me and wished me success. Mr. John Schorne gave me the half of his morning's share of rum, which he had expressly preserved for me, saying that I should require a little stimulant in my weak state for my undertaking. I promised that I would return by the first favourable opportunity; but that if I did not come back by the end of forty hours, to consider me either killed or taken prisoner.

I proceeded to the north battery in the intrenchment to receive my pass, and whilst it was being written I had the pleasure of seeing Mr. DeRussett and Mrs. Kight. One of the children had died, but the other three were alive; they

were also in a hole in the trenches sheltered with a settringee and blanket.

Taking the pass in my hand, I proceeded towards the new barrack outside. Our provision godown was on my way, and seeing its door half-open, I peeped in and saw Conductor Berrell, his wife and daughter, with two or three others inside. They were seated behind a heap of bags containing flour, etc. The old man started to see such a strange figure so impudently peeping in, and his astonishment and anger were the more increased when I wished him "good morning," but my voice betrayed me. Mrs. Berrell and her daughter recognized me at once; and rising, they all came near me and had a most heartly laugh. They then wished me every success, and shaking hands, we parted.

On passing the guard-room the European sentry, who had not observed me at first, called out to know who I was; but, pretending not to hear him, I went on at a slow pace. This drew attention and several persons stood up to see. I could hear them saying to each other in astonishment—"Who is that? What is he?" and such like queries, till the sentry ordered me in a threatening voice to stop. I did so, but without saying a word, when two soldiers came out; their looks of astonishment amused me very much—they were half-inclined to be angry, and more to laugh. They stood looking at me, and asking me every now and then, in Hindustani, who I was? In the meantime young Bell, whom I had left with Conductor Berrell, joined them, and began laughing. I then shewed the passs and went on. The liquor I had taken on an empty stomach had made me facetious.

When I reached the unfinished barrack outside the intrenchment, wherein my picket was stationed, I went in very gently through one of the doors, and suddenly coming upon some five or six persons quietly reclining against the wall, stood in the midst of the room without saying a word. My funny appearance and impudent manner made them all start up. Some said, "He is a mad man;" others were at a loss what to think, and with one voice all called out, "Who are you?" I merely grinned a broad grin, and remained as quiet as ever, but the noise brought the officer on duty from the next room, accompanied by Mr. Sheridan, who recognized me. I then delivered over the pass to the officer, and was at liberty to leave.

Passing through one barrack into another I came to the first one without seeing anything, excepting two dead bodies of the mutineers—one was a mere skeleton, and the other just getting decomposed, which reminded me that my own body might probably be thus left to rot in a very short time.

It was my intention to stop and rest myself a little in the first barrack, but, on looking out on the north side of it, I observed two sepoys at a good distance evidently returning from their meals, making towards this very building; therefore not considering it safe for me to stay there longer I got out on the high road.

I had previously arranged in my mind to go to the tank on my way to the city, and sitting down, to pretend to wash my hands and feet, so that people might think I had come out of the city for that purpose, and accordingly made towards it. On arrival I found that it was perfectly dry, and turning round to see if I was observed me, I saw a cowherd with a heavy stick in his hand following me. This was more than I had expected, and it alarmed me a good deal. I attempted to move on, but he came down into the tank and inquired in the dialect of a villager:

"Who are you?"

I was bewildered, and pretending not to hear him, tried to move on; but he again repeated his question in a very loud voice. I felt I could not pass him without a reply, so, in a feeble voice, and imitating as much as possible the village language, answered:

"I am an unfortunate traveller in great distress going to the city of Cawnpore to beg for a morsel of bread." Hearing this the man, to my utter astonishment and dismay, exclaimed:

"No such thing!—You are one from the intrenchment—I saw you coming out! and upon this he described to me exactly the way I had proceeded from one barrack into another, until I came to the last one, and thence to the public road. I was quite confused at hearing this, but I did not know what to say; however, I thought it best to deny his charge, so responded:

"I do not know what you call the intrenchment; I am a stranger, and seeing the unfinished barrack right on the roadside, I stepped in to take a little rest, being overcome by the heat and fatigue; besides I am quite starved, not having had

a morsel of food for some time past." The cowherd finding me speak thus earnestly, seemed inclined to doubt his own senses, and in a half musing way said :

"As I was grazing my cows in that plain near the cavalry lines, I stood under a tree and kept looking at the round shot and shell falling in the intrenchment. Presently I saw something like a man move out of it towards this side, and my curiosity was so excited that I left my cattle and came up there to see—when I saw you pass into the tank." I felt that my only chance of escape was to make him believe that he was under a mistake, so I answered accordingly, which puzzled him a good deal. He was half inclined to believe me, and asked :

"Well, but when did you come there?" (meaning the first barrack). I replied

"Only an hour ago. Do tell me the road to the city, for I am dying through hunger."

The man now felt pity, for I looked very poorly. He was in the act of directing me where to go, when four sepoys in undress and armed with swords came up to us, and called out in a loud threatening voice, "Who are you both, and what are you doing here?" Before I could say a word the cowherd repeated the above conversation, and concluded by saying that it was his belief I had come out of the intrenchment. The sepoys looked at me well, and one of them vociferated

"It is true, he is surely one of them: just see his clothes how they are bedaubed with grease and dirt. He is surely a fugitive from the intrenchment."

Then drawing his sword from its sheath, and using a most disgustingly abusive epithet, he advanced towards me muttering, "I'll cut his head off." I thought all was up with me, and prepared to die; a second more and my unoffending head would have been laid quivering and writhing at the feet of my ruthless murderer. But the goodness of Providence preserved me. Another of the sepoys stepped up, and laying hold of his arm drew him back, saying, "Let the poor fellow alone; he looks very poor and harmless. Why should you take *hutea* (innocent) blood upon yourself? Let him go; you will gain nothing by killing him, and probably he will die of starvation in a short time, as he already looks half dead.

So leaving me, they all went their way:-probably they were going to take their meals, towards General gunj, and did not like to bother themselves much about me. I was very glad

and thanked God in my heart for this deliverance; and turning round, was about to take another direction, when behold, three more armed sepoys were coming behind me from the same place. I did not know what to do, and thinking it more safe to follow those who had spared me than to fall into new hands, I made towards the first, who were about twenty yards in advance. On coming up out of the tank (there was a by-path—a short cut through it), a man on horseback met the sepoys in front, and stopped to talk to them, meanwhile I moved out of the path, and was making towards another part of the city, but the sepoy who had drawn his sword at me, pointed me out to the horseman. This fellow was an orderly, a Mahomedan, and was coming from the Nana's camp from Sávada on some errand. He galloped up to me in a moment, and told me to confess the truth as to who I was or he would blow my brains out. I said to the man, "If you spare my life I will confess the truth." He promised, then I stated that, "it is true that I have made my escape from the intrenchment, through fear of the shot and shell flying on all sides; so now do not kill me, but let me go away." On hearing this he said, "You shall not be killed, but, come along with me; you must give all the information about the intrenchment to the Rájá Sáhib." He then felt about my waist and examined the rags on my head and found the two rupees and a half, which he took for himself. We then proceeded to a thannah (police station).

The inhabitants in the neighbourhood felt pity and brought me water to drink; some gave me parched gram and *suttoo* to eat, one man brought a thick puri (fried cake) quite hot from the pan, which I ate with relish; in the meantime a guard of four sepoys and two horsemen, was made ready to escort me to the Nana's camp, a distance of about three miles towards the south. When all was ready they placed me in the middle, and we proceeded. The mid-day sun was overpowering; having no shoes on, and not accustomed to walk bare-foot amongst the thorns, etc., with which the passage was strewn (as we did not go by any regular road, but through a plain), the wound in my back being still sore, and the exercise making it very painful, I thought I should never reach the camp. Some of the sepoys were kind and would not allow me to be harshly treated. At last we came to the camp, and I was brought to the Nana's tent, but so fatigued and harassed was I that I could not stand. I sat down on the bare ground and asked for a drink of water. It was given me, and I felt relieved. The

Nana was informed, and about fifteen minutes after a reply was received that, "the Mahárájá was (making pooja) at worship, and had ordered that the new prisoner (meaning me) was to be taken to the guard, where the other prisoners were kept in custody." I was conducted to a grove of a few large mango trees, where a sort of bamboo fence or fold was erected, within which about 25 natives, both male and female, were confined, and four armed men stood at the corners outside with drawn swords; a little apart a great many sepoys and others were picketed—some stretched out on the ground, and others sitting.

After a while I was desired to give my deposition, and was taken to an old man who held his office under one of the mango trees, a few paces away from the spot where the prisoners were kept. This old man was seated on a dirty settrinjee (carpet) spread on the floor, and around him were a few others seated on the same carpet seeming to be very anxious to learn what I had to say regarding the English intrenchment. As I approached all eyes were intently fixed on me, and as they, with gaping mouths, stared at me, I felt somewhat disconcerted. The questions about to be put to me were such as I was not prepared to answer without hesitation. However, my presence of mind did not forsake me, and my previous knowledge of matters of this nature (for I had often had occassion to take down depositions of natives connected with my office) enabled me to go through my answers tolerably. The first question gave me an idea, as quick as lightning what more would be forthcoming, and by the time the old man had wiped his spectacles and adjusted his writing materials, I decided in my mind what I should say. I thought to myself, if I pass for a Mussulman, the *kulma* (Mahomedan creed would be asked me; if for a Hindu, I knew nothing at all of the creed they held as the test of their religion; as for any other Indian religion I was almost as deficient in my knowledge of them as the above. However, since I knew I must pass for a native, it was immaterial to me whether I was to be one of high or low caste—I decided to pass for one of a very low caste who hold no particular creed as being the most feasible, and I accordingly prepared to give my answers.

I was desired to state my name.

I answered, "Budloo" (I had a servant of that name in my employ previous to the outbreak and just thought of this name.

Then I was asked my father's name. I hesitated a little, not knowing what to say when another of my servant's name occurred to me, and I answered :

"Jhundoo."

The next question was "What is your caste?"

I immediately named one of a low caste.

Then the old man asked me, "What is your occupation?"

I said, "A cook."

"Cook of officers or of soldiers?"

I answered "Of soldiers."

After this I was questioned as to my place of residence, I considered a little, for I thought if I mentioned Cawnpore they will wish to know my neighbours, and of course my inability to point out any would prove the whole of my statement false; so I answered, "I am an inhabitant of Allahabad."

This was not considered sufficient, and I was desired to name the locality or village. Now I was greatly puzzled, for I knew nothing of Allahabad except that I had lived in the cantonments when a child. I fortunately thought of a name which I used often to hear, though I did not exactly know what particular part of that station it was, so I replied Kheetganj, thinking that would suffice; but how great was my alarm when I was ordered to particularise the street in Kheetganj. I felt I was done for, and to gain time began to think, saying, "I had just forgotten it."

In this dilemma a thought came to my aid. I was aware that in all large cities almost every street has a wood-stall and I suddenly answered :

"Near the woodstall."

This, to my delight, was considered a satisfactory answer, and my examination proceeded. I was asked to state what I knew of the intrenchment from which I had just made my escape.

I answered, "I know nothing of the intrenchment. I was kept entirely in the kitchen, and watched by the soldiers very carefully for fear of my running away, as very few servants were left there, most of them having deserted at the commencement of the attack; therefore I am quite unable to tell you the state of affairs in it."

No sooner had I uttered this, than a number of voices were raised all round me, vociferating: "This is a falsehood—strike him—strike the ———" (using a most disgust-

ing epithet). "If he was so carefully watched, how did he then make his escape this morning?"

Hearing this I was perfectly dumfounded, and the fellows made towards me as if about to strike and make me confess the truth. Here again a happy thought quickly suggested itself. I said:

"Soldiers went out very early this morning to the new barrack, carrying their dead from the intrenchment to throw into a well there, and I bore a helping hand, but while their attention was engaged, I slipped away from the well, and remained hiding among the heaps of bricks lying there, until I got an opportunity to get away."

This completely satisfied the fellows, and they began to coax me, saying, "Surely you must know how much provision is left, and what is the number of fighting men still alive?"

I replied, "Well, I will tell you as far as I know. I I have often *heard* the soldiers say, while in the cook-house, that they can pull on with the provisions for a whole month." As soon as I said this, all the fellows with one voice uttered in great astonishment, "This is altogether false;—don't believe him;—we know full well the '*Feringees*' (using a most abusive expression) are starving; they have nothing but a little gram left, and this the two women prisoners will confirm." Upon this two ayahs (who had been taken by the rebels some three or four nights before in attempting to escape out of our intrenchment) were called and confronted with me. These women had given out that nearly all the provision was over in the intrenchment; that the people subsisted only on soaked gram or pulse; that most of the fighting men had been killed as well as the ladies and the children; that only a few were left alive and in great distress and likely to die away shortly. But I said:

"If you wish to believe these timid women, who never stirred out of their hiding-places for fear of the shots, and who certainly got gram to eat, as such was the case with all native servants, you are at liberty to do so, and therefore it is not necessary for me to give you any further information." I said this in so firm a tone that they were quite at a loss whichparty to believe. I added that about 20 or 25 soldiers had died from the stroke of the sun and very few from shot and shell; also a good many women and childdren were dead from fright and heat, but that there were sufficient fighting men still left to defend the intrenchment, and

all were determined to fight to the last. This displeased them much, and they gave utterance to sundry shocking abuses. I was then asked, if I knew whether the intrenchment was undermined all round, as was currently believed. It immediately occurred to me that this was the chief dread of the wretches, and prevented their coming too near the intrenchment,—and I afterwards learnt that such was really the case, or rather the cowardly miscreants made this their greatest plea for not taking us by storm,—so I answered that I did not exactly comprehend what they meant by that word, but I could most positively assert that powder was buried in several places in the intrenchment, though I could not properly point out the place to them.

This confirmed their worst fears, and my deposition was at once taken to the Nana, when I heard that a council of war immediately assembled to decide what should be done since the army was getting daily discouraged at our holding out so bravely, day after day, without suing for peace, and they had no chance of ever taking the intrenchment by storm. All this I gathered from the murmurings and suppressed whispers of the sepoys who were lolling under the trees, as mentioned before.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, a man having the air of one in authority, came to me and asked if I could tell whether the officers and Europeans were anxious to leave the station, and if, in the event of an offer being made to that effect it would be accepted. I replied that I could not exactly tell, but that the females were certainly anxious to get away by any means, and for their sakes no doubt such an offer would be accepted if made in a satisfactory manner. He then asked if I should have any objection to go back to the intrenchment with a letter to that effect. I assented, but the man seemed to doubt whether I would really do so, or merely wished to get out of their hands by making this promise. He then went away and I saw him no more.

After I had been a couple of hours a prisoner, we got an addition to our number, a short man about twenty-five years of age, dressed as a Mussulman, who was brought in by two sentries, his arms bound very tightly behind him. On reaching the post one of his captors gave him a push and he fell over. This was a Christian drummer of the 1st Native infantry, named Mendes, who had managed to get away from our intrenchment after five or six days' firing, and having

disguised himself as a Mahomedan, remained hid in a faqir's garden on the banks of the Ganges. Here, after some days, he met a sepoy of his own corps who recognized him, and pretending friendship, offered to put him in a better place of security. Mendes consented, and that very morning (24th June), accompanied the sepoy apparently to a village. The sepoy, however, had his own motives in this, for as soon he found the drummer properly in his power he laid hold of him, and, binding his arms tightly, took him before Nana's tent, expecting to get a reward for apprehending a Christian. One of the brothers of the Nana came out. To him the sepoy reported that he had brought a Christian who was in the habit of conveying loaves of bread at night to the Europeans in the intrenchment, and received as price sixteen rupees per loaf; that he had himself seen the prisoner do so several times. But the drummer stoutly denied the charge, saying that he was a Mahomedan, and was living peaceably on the banks of the river with a faqir; that the sepoy had brought him in that manner out of spite only; and that his accusation was false, or if he did see him so often take the loaves of bread to the intrenchment, why did he not seize him with the supply on his person? As Mendes was crying all the while he spoke and there was a doubt about his being a Christian, they directed he should be kept in the guard for trial hereafter.

Thus the drummer joined me, and was a sort of help-mate to me all the while I remained in that trying situation, as will be seen hereafter, though at that time we had not the remotest knowledge of each other. After a while his arms were released and his desposition taken. He gave out his name to be Yaqin Mahomed, but the prisoners afterwards used to call him Chirag Ali.

Towards evening a whispered rumour went around that an old lady from among the Christian prisoners (the name of old Mrs. Greenway was mentioned by all) was sent with a letter from the Nana to General Wheeler, offering terms, and that there would be no more fighting after that. Oh! how happy I felt at receiving this information, knowing the distress of all in the intrenchment! Now, thought I to myself, my poor wife and family will get away in safety to Allahabad, and no doubt I shall also be let go in a few hours, and then what a joyful meeting we shall have! Little did I suspect at that moment what was actually about to take place.

As hour after hour passed away, my anxiety to be released became greater till I was unable to bear it any longer; so I

asked one of the guardsmen, if he thought I would get my liberty soon. His reply was a burst of the most shocking abuse, accompanied by threats to beat me if I dared again utter a word to him.

A dust-storm now rose from the east, followed by a patch of cloud, which poured down its contents upon us; it was but a slight shower, yet quite sufficient to wet us. I was drenched to the skin, and the dirty clothes on me became very offensive, the wound also in my back and the sores swelled out and smarted dreadfully. I took the cook's dirty *ungurkha* off my back and sat in the breeze.

The subadar of the guard reported to the Nana the he did not consider it safe for the prisoners, whose number was increasing daily, to remain in that open place any longer, and proposed to remove them into the hospital of the 2nd Light cavalry. He was ordered to do so, and accordingly about sunset we were all conducted by the guard to that place. On the way the sepoys took care to place the prisoners towards the side of the English intrenchment, in order that any shots coming from that direction might be kept off from themselves, as they were on the opposite side and under cover of us. Many bullets passed over and on the sides, but none hit us, and we walked away as fast as we could.

What occurred after this to the English garrison was at first enveloped in mystery. I had heard various accounts of their sad end, both while incarcerated in the rebel jail, as well as after my release. Being deeply concerned for the fate of my lamented lost family and relatives, I left no stone unturned to arrive at the truth. I gleaned some reliable particulars from the few survivors, whose names will be found in the appendix, and the greater portion were collected from the statements of intelligent native residents connected with the British, who themselves were sufferers while the insurgents held sway at Cawnpore. The people at that time were apprehensive of giving any information on this mournful subject to the European authorities, for fear of being considered implicated in the doings of the rebels; but, knowing me well, they were unreserved in their communications to me. When recording the information I had thus gained I was resolved not to allow my mind to be biased in any way, but simply to relate facts to the best of my judgment; and it is satisfactory to find that what I had related in my first manuscript is in the main in accordance with the information

subsequently collected by Government under the direction of Colonel G. Williams, Commissioner of Military Police, N.-W. P., by whom upwards of sixty natives and other witnesses were examined on oath on the subject, about the latter end of 1859. In this edition I have had also the advantage of consulting the "Story of Cawnpore, by Captain Mowbray Thomson," having very recently become possessed of a copy of it.

The offer of terms, written in English, from theNana to General Wheeler, was brought on the evening of t he 24th June by Mrs. Henry Jacobie, who was a prisoner in the Savada house along with Mrs. Greenway and others, as stated at a page 41. The rebels had ceased firing a couple of hours previous to the despatch of this message, and the garrison were at a loss to know the cause of this unusual inactivity on their part. After a while Mrs. Jacobie was seen coming; she waved a handkerchief, and was allowed to approach the intrenchment. The document was taken from her hand and conveyed to General Wheeler. It had no address on it, nor was it attested by any signature, and ran thus:—

"All those who are in no way connected with the acts of Lord Dalhousie, and are willing to lay down their arms, shall receive a safe passage to Allahabad."

The General was therefore obliged to return the paper to Mrs. Jacobie, saying that he could not recognize any thing sent in this way. Next morning, the 25th June, about 9 o'clock, Mrs. Jacobie brought it again properly addressed, and the General appointed an hour that day for an interview with any person whom the Nana might send to arrange matters. Accordingly, about noon, Azimulla Khan with Brigadier Jwalla Pershad, and one or two others came to the garrison, and were received in one of the unfinished barracks outside the intrenchment, by Captains J. Moore, H. M.'s 23rd Regiment, and C. Whiting, Engineer, Canal Department, as well as by Mr. Roche, the Postmaster whom General Wheeler had invested with full powers to act in the juncture.

Azimulla, who could read and write English, attempted to open the conference in that language, but was prevented by the others. It was agreed that all money and the magazine stores, with the guns should be made over to the Nana and that he in return should provide carriage for the ladies and children, as well as the sick and wounded, to the river's bank; that covered boats with a supply of provision on board should be

supplied, and that every individual in the intrenchment should be allowed to proceed to Allahabad unmolested. It was stipulated that the English should march out under arms from the intrenchment with sixty rounds of ammunition to every man for their safety on the way. This agreement was drawn in writing, and signed by General Wheeler, then taken to the Nana at his camp, who returned it duly signed and ratified by a solemn oath.

"Twenty-four boats, lying at the Customs Ghat, were seized, and every exertion was made to prepare them for the reception of the British. Four hundered workmen were employed in expediting the work. The boats were then moved down to Suttee Chowra Ghat, and a committee of three officers went on elephants to inspect them, who direct certain necessary alterations to be make. The boats were about thirty feet long and twelve feet broad."

As the enemy had ceased firing from the afternoon of the 24th, and all hostile proceedings were now stopped on both sides the ladies and children in the intrenchment were enabled to wash and change their apparel which they had not been able to do since the 6th June. The 26th was occupied in preparing for the journey, though there was not much to do in that way. Joy and hope beamed in every countenance, all were glad and rejoiced at the prospect of a happy release from their troubles, except a few (among whom was my poor wife Ellen), whose hearts were bleeding from the heavy affliction they had met there and where the remains of all that was dear in life were being left. The well in which our dead had to be thrown, contained all the treasure they possessed—and oh ? with what feelings of anguish they must have parted from the spot !

The rebel troops were greatly concerned at the delay that occurred in the departure of the English. They said, "Now that the Europeans have washed and dressed and have had time to rest, they will not go away at all ; they have held out so long now they will be able to hold on longer." The cause of this delay attributed to the Nana's brother who, with Azimulla and the head men of the 2nd Light Cavalry was deliberating plans of treachery,—whether with or without the consent of the Nana, is not certain. To satisfy the rebels, it was proposed to bring away at once all the uninjured guns and the treasure from the intrenchment. Accordingly Brigadier Jwala Pershad and two others presented themselves before General Wheeler, and offered to remain in the intrenchment as hostages,

if their request to this effect were complied with. This was agreed to; and the guns, two of which only were somewhat serviceable, and the money amounting to Rs. 1,30,000 (£13,000), were made over to them that evening, the 26th June. All was quiet in the intrenchment, as Jwala Pershad had caused a strong guard of cavalry and infantry to be placed all around, with the plausible excuse of guarding the place, though in reality it was done to prevent the possibility of any one escaping during the night. At night a musket, accidentally discharged by a mutineer, caused a panic; the whole rebel force was alarmed, and immediately opened fire on the intrenchment; but Jwala Pershad sent messengers and set things aright.

Early in the morning, Saturday 27th June, a number of carts, palanquins, doolies, and elephants were sent to the intrenchment by the Nana for the transport of the Europeans to the river. The elephant generally used by General Wheeler with its howdah and driver, was brought and was occupied by Lady Wheeler and her two daughters while the General not feeling disposed to have himself self look conspicuous under existing circumstances, rode on a galloway.

The evacuation of the intrenchment commenced at about 6 A. M. A truly sad spectacle it must have been to see that noble little band, that had for twenty longs days, in the hottest season of the year, kept at bay their numerous blood-thirsty foes, defended simply by a low mud wall, barely four feet high with a shallow ditch not worthy the name of intrenchments, and yielding only at last from compassion to the weak and helpless innocents whose sole reliance was their brave hearts and sturdy arms with a vain hope of shortening their sufferings and securing their retreat—sturdy men, delicate women, that had never hitherto known an hour's privation—tenderly brought up children, whose every want had been anticipated, —sad indeed must it have been to see them now reduced by privation, soiled with unremitting labour, and the absence of even the common necessaries of life, scorched by an Indian sun and fierce simoon, tattered and torn weak and wounded hastening on with eager steps and beating hearts to the cruel fate awaiting them all unconscious of the base treachery planned by their foes for their destruction." *

* Extracts from Colonel Williams' report are thus entered under inverted commas.

The whole rebel band had assembled on the occasion to see the English depart, and now rushed into the garrison ; their number was so great that there was hardly any place to stand ; some eight thousand armed men were crowding the intrenchment, and occupying every inch of ground. The English were entirely in their power. The sepoys hastened them on, saying, "Come to the boats all is ready." The number of the sick and wounded at this time was rather large, as I had myself seen when leaving the intrenchment ; and in the confusion and hurry which ensued, and want of sufficient carriage some twelve helpless patients were left behind, not with the intention of being abandoned, but to be sent for as soon as the doolies could be spared.

"The able-bodied men loaded themselves with as much ammunition as they could carry, and walked down indiscriminately after the advance guard, consisting of some men of the 32nd Regiment led by Captain Moore, had gone on to the river. The women and children were put on the elephants and into bullock carts. While the sick and disabled were conveyed in the doolies and palanquins. Never, surely was there such an emaciated, ghostly party of human beings seen before."

It is said that the number of the English who came out that morning from the intrenchment, including women and children, could not have been less than 450 souls.

Immediately on leaving the ground a general scramble for plunder took place of all the property abandoned by the garrison.

The sick and wounded were than dragged out in the centre of the intrenchment, and after being abused and mocked, were cruelly butchered.

An aged Colonel, said to be Colonel Ewart of the 1st Native Infantry, having been wounded a few days before, was being carried on a bed by four coolies followed by his wife on foot. As they were about the last to leave the place, they were a little in the rear, and when passing St. John's Church, they were stopped by the sepoys of the Colonel's own regiment, who, it appears had some particular grudge against that officer. Two of them advanced, and pretending to feel very sorry for his sufferings offered to carry him in their arms. They made him put his arms over the shoulders of each and lifting him up by the legs, carried him to one side of the church where after mocking and repeating to him the angry expressions he sometimes had used towards them on parade they cut him to pieces with swords, and afterwards slew Mrs. Ewart also.

The British garrison in the meantime passed on their way in seeming confidence and trust, surrounded though they were by thousands of mutineers and insurgents, believing that those who had bound themselves to see them safely depart, would keep to their promise. "Not so, however with the traitors. Unmindful of the Nana's oath and promise on the previous evening a consultation had been held in the Nana's tent at which Bala, Azimulla, Teeka Singh, and others were present, when it was decided that the British should be massacred on the banks of the river. Orders were issued accordingly for the destruction of the doomed garrison, which were carried out as follows :— At an early hour in the morning some five hundred mutineers with two guns marched to the Suttee Chowra Ghat. One gun was placed with a party of sepoys in the ruins of the house lately occupieed by Mr. Christie, and which being built on a height, commanded the whole line of boats. A body of mutineers were placed in the Chore Ghat nalla, running betwen the above named house and the village of Suttee Chowra ; another party of twenty-five men were secreted behind some timber, whilst a party of sowars were drawn up south of Hurdeen's (or the fisherman's) temple at which the chief executors of the Nana's orders (the principal of whom was Tantia Topi) were seated, attended by an armed body of retainers. About a quarter of a mile below the first fisherman's temple, there is a second, named after its founder Bhugwan Dass, at which a gun with a company of mutineers was posted during the siege for protection of the ghat, but were withdrawn, whilst the officers inspected the boats that suspicions might not be excited. This gun with a large band of rebels and insurgents re-occupied its former position on this occasion. About eight hundred paces below this, again at Koila Ghat a third gun and its attendant party were placed. The two latter pieces commanded the river for some distance both above and below and could hence rake the boats as they lay at the Sutti Ghat as also any that might succeed in getting away and floating down the stream. Still further percautions were taken on the Oude bank of the river ; the 17th N. I., 13th Native Cavalry and two guns being concealed there behind a sandy ridge, the former to intercept any fugitives attempting to escape towards Lucknow, and the latter to fire upon any of their unhappy victims seeking shelter on the outer or river side of the boats ; a party of horse and foot were also told off to follow the garrison and on their reaching the wooden bridge which commanded the Sutti Chowra

Ghat to form up there in line as a firing party; thus every avenue of escape was guarded with fiendish acuteness, and the doomed band completely hemmed in by their blood-thirsty, yet cowardly foes. The arrangements were carried out by Tant ia Topi with the assistance of Teeka Singh, Brigadier Jwala Pershad and a Russaldar named Kukkee."

The garrison this time had reached the wooden bridge over the ravine which at this point runs into the Ganges after crossing the main road some 300 yards from the river bank; leaving the road here on the left hand they turned aside into the ravine which led to the Suttee Chowra Ghat or landing place, being a distance of about two miles from the intrenchment; here they found the boats waiting for them—but alas! with but few exceptions they had all been hauled into the shallow and made to rest on the sand, on purpose to cause delay. They were the ordinary country boats, 30 by 12 feet broad and were covered in by heavy roofs of straw. A vast multitude of spectators had assembled to see the English depart.

Meanwhile the embarkation was progessing with the utmost difficulty. The officers and men, standing in the water, helped the wounded and the ladies and children in the boats; all were busy and anxious when they should be able to start. It would appear that not many amongst that vast mulitude of spectators were aware of the dastardly treachery that was about to enacted, "A Government camel sowar from Agra who had brought and safely delivered a dispatch from that station for General Wheeler the previous evening, was told by the General to wait at the boat side for a reply. Both he and the elephant driver who had brought Lady Wheeler, remained till the firing commenced which they could scarcely have done to the peril of their lives had they suspected treachery."

Captain Mowbray Thomson writes:—"While the siege lasted, we were daily dreading the approach of the rains as the mud wall would have been entirely washed away, and grievous epidemic sickness must have been added to the long catalogue of our calamities. Now alas! we mourned the absence of the rains, for the Ganges was at its lowest. Captain Moore had told us that no attempt at anything like order of progress would be made in our departure, but when all were aboard, we were to push off as quickly as possible, and make for the other side of the river, where orders would be given for our further direction. As soon as Major Vibart (2nd Cavalry) had stepped into his boat, "off" was the word; but at a signal

from the shore, the native boatmen all jumped over and waded to the shore. We fired into them immediately, but the majority of them escaped, and are now plying their old trade at Cawnpore; but before they quitted it, these men had contrived to secrete burning charcoal in the thatch of most of the boats. Those of us who were not disabled by wounds, now jumped out of the boats, and endeavoured to push them afloat, but alas! most of them were utterly immoveable—now from ambush, in which they were concealed all along the banks, it seemed that thousands of men fired upon us, every bush was filled with sepoys."

"Suddenly, at about 9 A. M., a bugle (the signal for firing) was sounded by order of Bala and Azimulla; the first shots were discharged by some troopers of the 2nd Cavalry, and by the parties concealed in the ruins, on the heights, and behind the timber; followed simultaneously, as by magic, by the roar of cannon along the bank, instantaneously taken up by the guns and the 17th N. I. on the Oude side. Amidst this frightful scene and hideous din, the proverbial coolness and intrepidity of Englishmen did not fail them. The fire of their fell foes was at once returned from the fourth boat on the line, and every exertion made to get themselves clear, but most of the boats were grounded in shallow water, whilst few had boatmen provided, and even those who had were speedily deserted by their false crews—three of whom, moreover, named Ram Din, Chunia, and Guriba, procured from Bithur, and in the pay of the enemy, set fire, previously directed, to the thatch of several of the boats, whereby many of the wounded, unable to move, were burnt to death! The others leaped into the river, seeking shelter from the fierce storm of grape and musketry on the outer or river side of the boats, being unaware of the precautions taken, as already stated, to meet the contingency, on whom the guns and 17th N. I., placed for the purpose, now played with murderous effect. As the numbers decreased from being slain and drowned, the fire slackened, and the troopers posted near Hurdeen's temple, urged by Bala Rao and Tantia Topi, entering the river, massacred those still alive. The Protestant and Roman Catholic clergymen are said to have been thus cut down by a trooper of the 2nd Cavalry. Women and children were also mercilessly slain. One lady, spared by a sepoy, fell the next moment by the club of an insurgent villager, many of whom took an active part in the massacre."

Lieutenant Delafosse relates :—" No sooner were we in the boats, and had laid down our muskets, and taken off our coats, in order to work easier at the boats, the cavalry gave the order to fire; the two guns that had been hidden were run out and opened fire on us immediately, whilst the sepoys came from all directions and kept up a heavy fire ; our men jumped out of the boats and instead of trying to get the boats loose from their moorings, rushed to the first boat they saw loose. Only three boats got safe to the opposite side of the river, but were met there by two field pieces, guarded by numbers of the cavalry and sepoys of the 17th N. I. Before the boats had gone a mile down the stream, half of our small party were either killed or wounded, and two of the boats crippled and swamped. We had now only one boat, crowded with wounded and having on board more than she could carry."

Another witness relates :—" The order was given by the 2nd Cavalry to open fire on the English ; two guns they concealed were run out and opened upon the fugitives, whilst the sepoys, crowded from all directions, poured volley upon volley of musketry upon them. Those who escaped the shots and the burning of the thatch, jumped into the water and tried to swim across, but were picked off by the bullets of the sepoys, who followed them on shore. After a while the large guns ceased and the cavalry troopers entered the river on horseback and cut numbers down. The gentlemen and soldiers were hunted from one place to another and hacked to pieces. One young lady, recognized to be the youngest daughter of Colonel Williams, was seen by a sepoy behind a boat, who lifted his sword at her, when she said, " My father was your commanding officer and treated you all so kindly, why do you kill me ? The sepoy felt pity and left her ; but another fellow who had a club came forward and dashed her brains out. When the males had all been put to the sword, the order to cease firing was given by the cavalry, and the poor women and children that survived were brought out of the river and collected on the bank. Many of them were wounded with bullets and sword cuts ; their dresses were wet and full of mud and blood ; they were ordered to give up whatever valuables they might have hid upon their persons."

And now the most inhuman, most heart-rending and terrible of all cruelties took place. The barbarous savages forcibly snatched away the infants from the arms of their terror-stricken and helpless mothers, the girls were restored, but all

the males were cast upon the ground and trampled upon. The troopers placed their feet upon one leg of the innocent babes, and holding the other with the hand, tore their tiny bodies in two, and pitched them into the river amidst the fearful and agonising shrieks of their mothers. Children, somewhat grown up (males), were bayoneted, shot, and cut down with swords.

The rest of the females, some 120 or 130 poor sufferers, were then taken to the Nana's camp, a distance of more than four miles, walking under a July sun, many with bare feet, having lost their shoes in the river, suffering under their wounds, and stupefied by the fearful ordeal through which they had just passed. They were placed in the same pucca building, called Savada Kothi, in which Mrs. Greenway, her son Edward and family, and Mrs. Henry Jacobie and children were confined and who had not been permitted to join the garrison on its march to the river side. For the first three days no attention was paid to them beyond giving them a small quantity of parched gram for food and water to drink, leaving them to lie on the hard ground without any sort of bedding, mats, etc.

One poor woman, Eliza Bradshaw, of the 56th Native Infantry, tells her pitiful story in the following words:—"My two sons, who were the prop and stay of my old age, accompanied me and their wives and two children with the rest of the garrison, from the intrenchment to the river on that fatal day. When the rebels opened fire upon us, my sons escaped the shots, but some of their own corps rushed upon and were hacking them down with swords. I ran and fell up their bodies, endeavouring to save their lives. I entreated the hard-hearted murderers, in the most supplicating manner, to spare my sons, reminding them that they were of the same corps, and had always behaved kindly towards all in the regiment. No notice was taken of me beyond pushing me aside and completing the foul deed upon my poor innocent sons. Then came the time for murdering the male children; my little grand-daughter, two years old, was examined, and on finding her to be a girl, the man who held her was so disappointed that he in a rage cast her away into the river; her fall in the water saved the poor child's life. My two daughters-in-law and myself were not placed among the other females; we managed to get away to the city and passed off for beggars. My little grand-child would constantly urge me to go to the river side, and look for her

father, and on being told that he is dead and not there, would beg me with tears in her eyes to put my hands under the water and search well, that possibly he may be hid under the waves."

Another old woman, who also was saved on that occasion in a similar manner, named Elizabeth Letts, of the same corps, has a most heart-rending tale to relate. She also endeavoured to save the life of her son, John Letts, but without success. His poor wife being far advanced in pregnancy, received a bayonet thrust into her stomach from a sepoy, after which another brutal fellow struck her with the butt end of his musket. The poor woman did not die immediately, but her sufferings, as described by the old woman, were truly pitiful. For three days the unfortunate creature lingered in the utmost pain, and died in the city, where Elizabeth Letts had managed to bring her away together with her two grandchildren.

Mrs. Murray, wife of the pensioned drum-major of the 56th Native Infantry, is also one of the survivors of the massacre on the 27th June. She was wounded in several places, and left for dead on the bank of the river, and appears to have been tended by her only son, named Benjamin Murray, who had been hiding in the city from the beginning of the outbreak, disguised as a Mahomedan, and who took her away to Allahabad when General Havelock's force arrived at Cawnpore.

General Wheeler was not in the boats that had got off, as reported by some, who state from mere conjecture, taking it for granted that the General must have, as a matter of course, gone into the first boat. He was stepping into the boat when the firing commenced; and presently after one of the troopers made a cut at him with his sword; the head was severed and fell with the body into the river. Of this the two old women state themselves to have been eye-witnesses.

Here I continue from Chaptain M. Thomson's "Story":—"The scene which followed this manifestation of the infernal treachery of our assassins is one that beggars description. Some of the boats presented a broad-side to the guns, others were raked from stem to stern by the shot. Volumes of smoke from the thatch veiled the full extent of the horrors of that morning. All who could move, were speedily expelled from the boats by the heat of the flames. Alas! the wounded were burnt to death! Wretched multitudes of women and children crouched behind the boats, or waded out into deeper water and stood up to their chins in the river to lessen the probability of being shot.

"Meanwhile Major Vibart's boat, being of lighter draft than others, had got off and was drifting down the stream, her thatched roof unburnt. * * * * I struck out, swimming for the retreating boat. There were a dozen of us beating the water for life, till we reached the boat, which by this time had stranded on a bank close to the Oudh side of the river. We were terribly exhausted when Captain Whiting pulled us in; and had it not been for the sandbank we must have perished. While I was swimming, a second boat had got away from the ghat, and drifting, was struck by a round shot below the water-mark and was rapidly filling, when she came alongside and we took off the survivors of her party. Now the crowded state of our poor ark left little room for working her. Her rudder was shot away; we had no oars, and the only implements that could be brought into use, were a spar or two, and such pieces of wood as we could in safety tear away from the sides. Grape and round shot flew about us from either bank of the river, and shells burst constantly on the sandbank. Shortly after mid-day we got out of range of their great guns; the sandy bed of the river bank had disabled their artillery bullocks, but they chased us the whole day, firing in volleys of musketry incessantly.

"On that day, the 27th June, we lost, after the escape of Major Vibart's boat, Captain Moore, Lieutenants Ashe, Bolton, Burney, and Granville, besides others whose names I did not know, these were killed while attempting to push off the boat Mrs. Swinton who was a relative of Lieutenant Jervis of the Engineers, was standing up in the stern, and having been struck by a round shot, fell overboard and sank immediately. Her poor little boy, six years old, came up to me and said, 'Mamma has fallen overboard.' I endeavoured to comfort him. The little fellow cried out, 'Oh, why are they firing upon us? Did not they promise to leave off.'

"The horrors of the lingering hours of that day seemed as if they would never cease; we had no food in the boat, and had taken nothing to eat before starting. The water of the Ganges was all that passed our lips, save prayers and shrieks and groans. The wounded and the dead were often entangled together in the bottom of the boat.

"In the afternoon of that day I saw a sepoy from behind a tree deliberately take aim at me: the bullet struck the side of my head and I fell into the boat stunned by the wound. 'We were just going to throw you overboard,' was

the greeting I had when I revived. Six miles was the entire distance that we accomplished in the whole day; at 5 P. M. we stranded, and as all our efforts to move the keel were in vain, they now sent a burning boat down the stream, in the hope that she would fall foul of us. At night they discharged arrows with live coal fastened to them, to ignite, if possible, the thatched roof, and this protection we were in consequence obliged to throw overboard.

"When we did succeed in getting adrift, the work of pushing away from the sandbanks was incessant. There was no moon, however, and although they did not cease firing at us until after midnight, they could do us little harm.

"When the morning broke upon us we saw none of our pursuers, and began to indulge the hope that they had given up the chase. We had, however, only made four miles in the entire night, and our prospects of escape can scarcely be said to have improved. About 8 A. M. we saw some natives bathing, and persuaded a native drummer who was with us to go and talk with them, and try to induce them to get us some food. The drummer took with him five rupees, and procured from one of the bathers a promise to obtain food, and also, if possible, the assistance of some native boatmen. This man left his lotah (a cooking-pot, which the natives carry everywhere with them) as a guarantee for his fidelity; but we saw no more of him, and he informed our messenger that orders had been sent down to Nuzzuffghur, two miles further, to seize us, and that Baboo Ram Buksh, of Dowriakhera, a powerful Zamindar on the Oudh side, had engaged that he would not suffer one of us to escape his territory. Captain Whiting now wrote with his pencil a brief statement of our utter abandonment of all hope, put the scrap of paper into a bottle, and cast it into the river. At 2 P. M. we stranded off Nuzzuffghur, and they opened on us with musketry. Major Vibart had been shot through one arm on the previous day; nevertheless he got out, and while helping to push off the boat was shot through the other arm. Captain Turner had both his legs smashed. Captain Whiting was killed. Lieutenant Quin was shot through the arm. Captain Seppings through the arm; Mrs. Seppings through the thigh. Lieutenant Harrison was shot dead. I took off his rings and gave them to Mrs. Seppings, as I thought the women might perhaps excite some commiseration, and that if any of our party escaped, it would be some of them. Blenman, our bold spy, was shot

here in the groin, and implored some of us, to terminate his suffering with a bullet, but it could not be done. At this place they brought out a gun; but while they were pointing it at us the rain came down in such torrents that they were not able to discharge it more than once. At sunset fifty or sixty natives came down the stream in a boat from Cawnpore thoroughly armed, and deputed to board and destroy us. But they also grounded on a sandbank; and instead of waiting for them to attack us, eighteen or twenty of us charged them, and few of their number escaped to tell the story. Their boat was well supplied with ammunition, and we appropriated it to our own use; but there was no food, and death was now staring us in the face from that direction.

"That night we fell asleep faint and weary, and expecting never to see the morrow, but a hurricane came on in the night, and set us free again. Some of us woke in the mid-darkness, and finding the boat floating, some fresh hopes buoyed us up again; but daylight returned to reveal the painful fact that we had drifted out of the navigable channel into a siding of the river opposite Soorajpore. Our pursuers speedily discovered us, and again opened with musketry on the boat, which was once more settled down deep in a sandbank. At 9 A. M Major Vibart directed me, with Lieutenant Delafosse, Sergeant Grady, and eleven privates of the 84th and 32nd Regiments, to wade to the shore and drive off the sepoys, while they attempted to ease off the boat again. It was a forlorn enterprise that was consigned to us; but it mysteriously contributed, by God's goodness, to the escape of four of our number.

"Maddened by desperation, we charged the crowd of sepoys, and drove them back some distance, until we were thoroughly surrounded by a mingled party of natives, armed and unarmed. We cut our way through these, bearing more wounds, but without the loss of a man; and reached the spot at which we had landed, but the boat was gone. Our first thought was that they had got loose again, and were farther down the stream; and we followed in that direction, but never saw either the boat or our doomed companions any more."

Here I shall leave these poor fugitives for a while, and relate what happened to me after I had become a prisoner on that memorable day, the 24th June.

CHAPTER VI.

When we reached the cavalry hospital it was dark. A light was brought, and the prisoners classified into groups, according to their different caste ; the prisoners taken from the intrenchment, *viz.*, Mendes, Chedi Khan, and myself, were kept separate from the rest as also the two women, who were permitted to remain quite apart in a corner. These women were released in about eight days. A strong guard of 25 sepoys was placed outside the building, and eight sentries were made to stand inside, having their muskets with bayonets fixed. One-half of the building, which had no partitions, was taken up by the subadar, jemadar, and the non-commissioned officers, &c., of the guard, who spread the hospital cots for themselves, and were very comfortable. Such of the prisoners as had a spare sheet or so, spread the same on the dirty floor, but the rest lay down on the bare ground. I, of course, had nothing, so I divided the "dhooti" in two, and it was just sufficient to spread under me. I know not when I fell off to sleep that night, for I was very tired and exceedingly miserable on account of my thoughts for the dear ones I had left behind.

The whole of the following day I was very unhappy—every hour appeared an age—my forlorn state was unbearable. I spoke to nobody, but I was keenly alive to every fresh report about the intrenchment that reached the jail. "Arrangements were being made to let the English go away from Cawnpore." What was to become of me ? was the thought constantly before me. 'What must my wife and relations be thinking of me. They must think me dead ! I felt like a wild bird in a cage. How my heart fluttered within me as each moment of the forty hours I had proposed for my return to my family was passing away ! I was in a fever of anxiety. Night came and I was still a prisoner. What horrible dreams I dreamt ! Was I awake or was I asleep ?

Next day I found myself very ill both in mind and body. About 4 P. M (26th June) a number of sepoys from other corps.

came to visit the guard people, they spoke very exultingly, "that the (*dhoos*) intrenchment was to be vacated at last." By their conversation it did not at all appear that treachery was meditated by the rebels; the sepoys seemed to be delighted at the idea that there would be no more fighting. I was all attention, and gleaned quite enough to convince me that the English were to leave on boats the following morning. I could no longer control my feelings, and resolved to expose myself by asking the Subadar to have me released, for I argued within me, "if Europeans are to be permitted to go away, surely no objection can be made to my joining them too, especially if it is made known that I have left a large family in the intrenchment." Therefore, watching a opportunity, and seeing the Subadar—a benevolent-looking old man, a Hindoo—passing near me, I got up and said, "I have something very important to communicate." He stopped, and asked me what it was. I told him, "I am not what I have stated myself to be. I came out in this disguise merely to find out a place of safety in the city where to hide my family, as they were in great distress in the intrenchment." This disclosure astonished not only the subadar, but the whole of the prisoners with me, and on mentioning my name and occupation, one or two voices pronounced they knew me. Having been upwards of four years a resident of Cawnpore, I was well known, though none could make me out in that disguise. The subadar at once believed my statement, and when he learnt my respectability and the number of my family, he became favorably inclined towards me and pitied me very much. He promised to make a report about me, and have me released early on the morrow. He said it was too late that evening for him to go again to the "Raja Sahib," as he had only just returned from making his daily reports, could not think of troubling the "Maharaja Jee" again that day.

With what feverish anxieties, hopes, and fears I laid myself down to sleep that night! I felt quite sure I should be released on the morrow and be permitted to join my own. Oh! what joy thrilled my heart at the prospect of so happy a meeting. "Was it not arranged beyond a shadow of doubt that all the British subjects at Cawnpore were to be allowed to go? Was I not also attached to the English camp and entitled to the same privileges? Surely, then, I would—I *must*—be set at liberty the moment I was brought to notice!" Thus did I reason with myself, and fell off into a sound and refreshing sleep.

When I awoke it was sunrise, the subadar was dressing to go. I called out to him and reminded him of his promise. He very kindly gave me hopes and left for the Nana's camp. Hitherto I had not the remotest idea of treachery on the part of the rebels. I had but one all-engrossing thought that of the subadar's return and my own liberty—and, at about 7 o'clock A. M., I was taken out along with a few others for water to the well (for I had no vessel to take any, and had to use my hands for a cup), I perceived the plain all round, as well as the intrenchment, covered with an immense concourse of people—reminding me of some great fair— I was quite at a loss what to think of it.

About an hour after, while seated inside the hospital, anxiously looking out for the subadar's return, the report of three guns was suddenly heard. The people in the jail thought it was a salute for the evacuation of the intrenchment; but when no more guns were fired they could not make anything of it. Immediately after several other reports at some distance, and in the direction of the bank (*ghat*) of the river, where the Europeans were to embark, were heard. A deep silence ensued in the jail; all listened attentively, and the idea of treachery for the first time arose in my mind; yet I was disinclined to entertain it, and remained in the utmost state of anxiety for about two hours, when a number of sepoys, belonging to our guard, who, it appears, had gone to join in the plunder which took place that morning in the intrenchment, returned with their booty. One man had picked up a gold watch which he did not know what to do with—he proposed to pound and melt it, and convert the gold into ornaments for his wife. The fellows stated that they had only gone to plunder the property abandoned by the "*Surwas*" (meaning the English) in the intrenchment, and did not witness the occurrence on the banks of the river; but that they hoped not one of the "*Feringee Salas*" had been spared, as arrangements had been made to entrap and kill them.

When I heard this, my heart died away within me; and, seeing my grief, some of the prisoners pitied me, but many taunted with bitter words, casting in my teeth the comforts I had enjoyed. A Mahomedan khidmutgar, who had for some time been in the employ of the Commissariat Officer, and who was now a prisoner among the sowars of the new levy, was the foremost in his insults, and also a Mussalman tailor. These said, in a mocking way, "Where are your comforts now? No servants to come to your call? You folks always had the best times; you

never stirred out but a horse or a carriage was to take you; see how tables are turned now. Those of the Feringees, who are not killed, will be turned into slaves." Thus the wretches kept teasing me for some time, but became quiet when they found I took no heed of what they said. Very often I was taunted in this manner by the people in the jail, but I always took good care not to appear to take the least notice of them, so they ceased doing so after a few days.

The subadar returned at about 4 P. M., and seemed to avoid me very carefully, for he passed me at a great distance with his face averted. However, I was determined to know whe worst, and begged the sentry to permit me to speak to the subadar at the other end of the hospital. He gave me permission, and as I had not to go out of the room, he merely turned his face towards me, while I stepped up to the subadar. When he saw me coming he could hardly look me in the face. I asked him if he had succeeded in obtaining my release according to his promise. He said, "No, he had not been able to see the Maharaja at all, although he had been waiting till 4 P M., that the 'Raja Jee,' had his attention engaged with other matters, and had no time to attend to him." Then, seeing me so sad, he said, in a kind manner, "You had better keep quiet, and remain where you are; you do not know what has occurred." I desired him to explain himself, but he told me in an impatient manner not to tease him, "as he could not tell me anything more." I was obliged to return to my corner and remain quiet.

As yet nothing decided was known to us in the prison as to what had actually occurred, and I was fain to hope against hope that no treachery had taken place. All native accounts agree in stating that the Nana did not go to witness the slaughter on the banks of the river. He is said to have remained in his tent all the while, and even to have expressed compunctions of conscience at the treachery that was about to be enacted, saying that he had taken a most solemn oath to allow the English to leave in safety, and therefore would not accord his consent to their slaughter; but his younger brother, "Bala Sahib," a greater villain than the Nana, backed by Azimoollah Khan and the Mahomedans of the 2nd Cavalry, overruled his decision, and took it upon themselves to conduct the foul deed, saying that they had taken no solemn oath nor bound themselves by promises, and therefore were perfectly at liberty to do as they liked.

They accordingly arranged everything as has been related, and by their influence and example caused the whole of the troops, both Hindoos and Mahomedans, to join in the treacherous act. There is no doubt, however, that the Nana was but too glad to find that his fondest hopes were realized.

That evening (27th June) the Nana had a general review of all his troops, said to consist of corps, or portions of corps as follows, which had joined at Cawnpore from time to time since the 15th June, bringing with them what Government treasure fell into their hands and making it over to the Nana :—

2nd Regiment Light Cavalry 1st, 53rd, and 56th Regiments, Native Infantry, A Battalion of Golundazes,	of Cawnpore.
1st and 2nd Oudh Irregular Cavy., 2nd Regiment of Oudh Native Infantry,	from Lucknow.
A Horse Battery with 4 guns	from the East.
17th Regiment Native Infantry, 13th Irregular Cavalry,	from Azimgurh.
12th Regiment Native Infantry, 14th Irregular Cavalry, No. 18th Light Field Battery,	from Nowgong.
Detachment of 10th N. I.	from Futtehgurh.
Do. 6th Regiment N. I.,	from Allahabad.
Three Nawabee Corps,	from Lucknow.

Two half regiments of newly-raised Infantry at Cawnpore. Beside a great mob of zemindars, etc., of neighbouring districts who came well armed to assist the Nana.

These assembled on the plain of Savada on the south of our vacated intrenchment ; there three salutes were fired from the heavy guns, one of 21 guns for the Nana as Sovereign ; 19 guns for his brother Bala Sahib as Governor-General ; and 17 guns for Jwala Pershad (a Brahmin) as Commander-in-Chief, after which the so-called Governor-General made a short speech to the army, praising them for their great courage and bravery in obtaining a complete victory over the British at Cawnpore, and promising them a lac of rupees as a reward for their labours, which, however, was put off from day to day, and the army never saw a pice of it. The Nana and his staff then returned to their tents under the same salutes.

I will not trouble the reader by detailing my thoughts and suffering of every day and every hour; it will easily be imagined how I must have felt in that space of suspense and uncertainty, both as regarded my own self, and especially on account of the fate of the loved ones from whom I was separated. When the Havildar of the guard (a ruffianly-looking man) perceived that I was very restless and kept awake some parts of the night watching the sentries—for I had resolved to make my escape by the first opportunity, and would have done so had not my weakened state and wounded back kept me hesitating and prevented my attempting it—he caused my right arm to be tied with a rope and attached to his own cot, and appointed an extra sentry specially over me, remarking at the same time that I was a dangerous chap, "capable of slipping away even through the roof." "See how well he disguised himself," said he; "but" he added, speaking to me, "you will find your match in me; I have not lived to be 45 years of age for nothing! and mind you, if you attempt to run away, you will be shot on the spot, so be careful what you are about." I was kept tied up in this manner for two days, allowed only twice a day to accompany the other prisoners to the well to get a drink of water; after that, when the hospital began to be overcrowded with new prisoners (all natives), brought in by dozens daily from the villages, etc., I was removed to the center of the building, where all eyes could see me, and my arm was loosened. Mendes the drummer had greatly attached himself to me. He was of great help to me all the time we remained in confinement; he would do his best to keep my mind diverted from sad thoughts by keeping me engaged in talk, though I had not the heart to enter into conversation. The native prisoners were mostly villagers taken in the act of plundering and causing disturbances among themselves. Some were zemindars, who refused to recognize the Nana's claim to the revenue due by them to the British Government. Two very young men of high caste, said to be exceedingly rich, were among the latter and in heavy irons. Others were taken merely on suspicion of being favorably inclined to the British, though they strongly protested against such false accusations. There were also two or three unfortunate mendicants supposed to be spies; and to crown all, a poor maniac, found on the streets, was also taken and placed in the jail, his hands were tied carefully behind him, as his struggles were such as to require two or three men to keep him down. When rendered thus helpless, he

kept talking all sorts of foolish things, which often caused much laughter and amusement to the other prisoners.

I was unable to obtain correct information that day (27th June) of what had actually occurred; but on the following day a few cavalry men came over to talk with the guard sepoys of our prison, and what little I could gather from their conversation which was being carried on at the extreme end of the hospital buildings, was too horrible for my bewildered and astonished senses. I clearly understood that the male portion of the English garrison had been treacherously murdered on the river side. How the troopers exulted while relating this part of the terrible occurrence! How one had killed two officers with his sword, and how while one gentleman was hiding behind a boat, his friend put a pistol bullet in his head from behind. Every word they repeated was accompanied by an abusive opithet, such as "*surwa feringee*," and "*sussoor gorewa*," and other horrible expressions. I do not now remember all what these villains were repeating then, but my feelings were so shocked at the time, that I sat as it were spell-bound, the sense of hearing only remained acute, every other sense being suspended and wrapped up in horror and astonishment.

Oh! but it was torture to my breaking heart when they commenced to brag and boast about their conduct to the ladies. They said, "We have saved as many *bebee logue* as possible for ourselves; they are very handsome and fair and will easily be persuaded to become Mahomedans; they will be distributed to the most deserving of us in a few days; they are for the present kept in the Savada Kothee." "What do you think," they continued talking among themselves, "some of our fellows actually ran away with their selections *from the river side*; a row took place between two troopers about a handsome young lady, and was the cause of an order being issued to return all *Feringee* ladies to the Savada Kothee." Such was the conversation of these wretches on the occasion, and many more horrible things they uttered. Each man had his own story to tell of the fiend-like atrocities he had committed upon the males, or was meditating with regard to the females.

There is not the least doubt but the troopers would have successfully carried out the evil intentions for which they had spared the females, as they took the lead in everything (though they were the greatest dastards at heart), openly declared they did not care for the Nana. They even went to greater lengths in

this usurpation of authority by causing every proclamation issued by beat of tom-tom to be accompanied with the words "hookoom sipah bahadoor ka" (*i. e.*, by order of the brave soldiery). I am informed that the Nana had brought upon himself the contempt of the Mahomedan portion of the 2nd cavalry from the time he interfered with the butchers in the city. On or about the 18th June, two butchers, seized by the Hindoos in the act of slaughtering cows, were brought to the Nana, by whose order their hands were cut off, and they died from loss of blood; this caused a revolt on the part of the Mahomedans, who held a consultation amongst themselves and argued, 'Who has made this Nana a ruler over us? Is he not a creature of our own hands; and can we not appoint any one else we like? If he has already commenced interfering with our creed, and preventing cows being killed, which is not only lawful, but is necessary for our very existence, how much more will he not meddle with our other religious calling when he is firmly established in authority, and when our common enemy, the English, shall have been completely exterminated?" Thus arguing, they proceeded in a body to Náná to call him to account for causing the butcher's hands to be cut off. In the meantime the Náná was informed of what was going on, and immediately ran out with bare head and bare feet in the sun to meet the troopers, and with clasped hands begged their pardon for what he had done, promising never again to interfere in this respect, and that the Mahomedans were perfectly at liberty to kill as many cows as they liked, only that they were to do it in a retired spot. The troopers, I am told, used much abusive language on that occasion to the Náná, and threatened to displace him if he did not do as they desired. From that day the 2nd Cavalry Mahomedans held the Náná's authority in contempt. On the 20th June these lawless troopers arrested their Brigadier-General, Teeka Singh, for having sent to his own home two cart-loads of ghee and suger seized upon the roads belonging to some Mahajun; from which he was released after much begging entreaties both on his own part and that of the Náná. The fact is, the troopers became jealous of Teeka Singh, for he had been amassing a great deal of money derived from plunder and confiscation, and also on account of his having been presented by the Náná, as a mark of his favour, with an elephant and a pair of gold bangles, besides other *khilluts*.

All these facts were, of course, unknown to us in the intrenchment. It is clear that the rebel troops, as well as

their chiefs, were sick and tired of the prolonged siege of our garrison, and would no doubt have left us of their own accord in a few days; or if one bold sally had been attempted by our people about the period I am alluding to, a complete dispersion of the rebels would, in all probability, have taken place, or even had I been permitted to reach the city unmolested when I came out in disguise, something most assuredy might have been done, for I should certainly have gleaned sufficient to know the true state of things. A promise of pardon and reward to the Hindoo portion of the mutineers would have completely gained them back to us, for they appeared to be very sorry for what they had done, and were heard to say so to the city people. In this latter belief I am the more convinced from the fact, which I forget to mention before, of a Hindoo sepoy's having on the 21st June, after the fight I have described of that day, while we were besieged, crawled upon all-fours, by a narrow drain which runs from the barracks in the intrenchment, to the road bridge near St. John's chapel. He was unarmed, and came up to about ten paces of the trenches. As soon as he appeared to view, and before the officers could prevent it, two soldiers fired upon him, and he expired instantly. This caused much regret, as it was the belief of many in our camp that this sepoy was coming to seek pardon for himself and his comrades without reference to the rebel authorities, and would no doubt have assisted us in arranging for our departure in safety. He was no doubt sent by the Hindu portion of the sepoys on some favourable errand to us, and his death perhaps deterred others from approaching us, for he came in the day, and his comrades in all likelihood were watching him from the church compound and elsewhere to see if his attempt was attended with success.

Now to return to the thread of my narrative. The Mahomedan troopers would without doubt have carried out their wicked design upon the helpless creatures detained in the Savada House, but the circumstance of Miss Wheeler, having killed the sowar at night, as related below, had the effect of deterring the wretches from having any thing to say to the English women, and they gave up all idea of receiving them at the hand of the Náná, as had been arranged previously; thus, with the exception of a few, all were saved from dishonor, though the main object of sparing their lives was with that intent. The miscreant Náná, and his brother Bálá, however, had their own views on this subject, as will be seen hereafter.

A few, about ten in number, had been taken away to the city from the banks of the river by the Mahomedan troopers, but were restored to the Savada House, with the exception of one or two, on hearing the proclamation to that effect issued by the Náná. Some five or six drummers' wives and other young women of dark complexion escaped, and afterwards were converted to Mahomedanism and retained in the city by the rebels, and even permitted to go about at large, the "*authorities*" either not being cognizant of the same, or, if so, not caring much about it. Nearly the whole of these women were abandoned by the rebels on the occasion of their flight when General Havelock re-conquered Cawnpore and were taken up by our troops.

"The youngest daughter of General Wheeler, said to be about 18 years of age, was carried away from the river bank, by a young trooper of the 2nd Cavalry, named Ali Khan, and hid in his house, where she, at night, finding a favourable opportunity, secured the trooper's sword, and with it, after killing him, his wife, and three children, threw herself into a well and was killed." This was the report circulated at Cawnpore at the time, and met with ready credence everywhere, though "subsequent inquiries, made by our police, lead to a strong conviction this was a mere fabrication, and that the poor young lady was carried to some place of safety, and afterwards accompanied the flight of the rebels and remained with her captor under a Mahomedan name."

My anguish of mind, after I had overheard the conversation of the troopers on the 28th June, may be imagined, for it is impossible to express my feelings in words. I felt but one desire, and that was to die; yet I would fain hope against hope, and think that as so large a number of females was saved and kept alive in that building, possibly some, if not all, belonging to me might still be alive,—nay, I fancied that all mine were saved and brought away with the rest to the Savada Kothee. That building now became the centre of all my hopes and speculations, and this alone sustained me and prevented my sinking into despair, for I felt I should yet be enabled to see them.

A sharp-looking lad, of about six years of age, being the brother of one of the sentries in the jail, came somewhat near me on the 29th June, and began to converse very freely with some of the prisoners. He seemed to know a good deal about the English prisoners, and I engaged him in conversation

He told me that upwards of a hundred ladies and a few children were confined, and among them he had seen gentlemen also. He had probably seen Mr. Edward Greenway and his son, who, it will be remembered, had been all the time in that building, since old Mrs. Greenway had promised to give a ransom of two lacs of rupees for their release. This lad an her family, as well as Mrs. Jacobie and children, were not allowed to accompany the rest of the garrison to the boats. The lad spoke so surely of all the *country-born men* having also been spared with the women, that I readily believed him, and took the first opportunity of speaking to the subadar begging him to have me also removed from among the native prisoners and placed with my friends in the "yellow building." At first he would not agree, but on my pressing him much, he promised he would obtain permission on the following day. I was much pleased at this, for I had the prospect of knowing of a certainty which of my relatives were left alive.

When I found that the subadar had allowed the next day to pass away without having me removed among the English prisoners, I became very impatient, and cared not for my own life, moreover, the treatment I was receiving along with the native prisoners, made me quite callous for existence. Many of the prisoners, who pitied me, as well as Mendes the drummer, endeavoured to comfort me, but I was like one beside himself. I reminded the subadar every time I happened to see him, of his promise, until he became sick of it. He would say he was at a loss how to make a report about me to the authorities, as he did not get a favourable opportunity. The fact was, he knew perfectly well what would be done to me the moment it was known outside the jail who I really was, and he did not wish to take (*hutteah*) my blood upon his head, and for this purpose he tried to evade my entreaties as long as he possibly could. He was really a good man; and in justice to him I must say that it was entirely to his kindness I am indebted for not being exposed to the Náná. The Lord our God, who controls all events, and without whose will not even a sparrow can fall to the ground, placed me in the hands of a man who would not willingly have me killed. In my despair I asked the subadar to let me have a little paper, pen and ink, and I would write a note to the Náná which he would not have any difficulty in dilivering. I said, whatever might be the issue, I would take all the blame upon myself. Many people prevented me from taking such a peril-

ous step, but I was firm in my demand. The subadar, finding I would not give in to him, desired the jemadar of the guard, in whose custody alone were kept the records of the jail, to comply with my request. Ordering this, the subadar whispered something into the jemadar's ear and went away. Two hours passed away and the jemadar had not supplied me with the writing materials, and I was afraid to ask him, for he was a very foul-mouthed man, every word he uttered was accompanied by some shocking abuse. I resolved many times to ask him but shrunk back when I looked at his uninviting features. At about 2 P. M. the parched gram, on which alone we were made to subsist, was brought for issue, and each prisoner had to go and receive his allowance before the jemadar. When my turn came I took the opportunity of reminding him of the subadar's permission. Hearing this, he stared at me, and said, "You say you are a clerk of the Commissariat, and should know all the rules and regulations, how can you then, being a prisoner, ask me, who am attached to the guard of the prison, for writing materials? Do you want *me* to be punished on your account? Go away, you shall have no such thing from me," and he kept on muttering to himself, "How nice a thing it is to think of the prospect of bringing down upon my own head the wrath of the ruling powers, for the sake of a miserable prisoner," mixing up many flourishes of abuse at the same time with his speech. I felt quite disgusted and came away, resolving to find out some other plan to gain my views. After meditating a long while, an idea struck me as being the best, and in the evening when I saw the subadar, told him "I have been refused the writing materials you ordered and you do not seem to be inclined to bring me to notice. Will you do one thing, for I am very miserable here, getting only parched gram to eat, which does not agree with me: besides I cannot rest at peace without learning if any of my family are living among the English prisoners. All I ask of you is, to take me with you when you go next to make a report and say, "Hitherto this prisoner was in the disguise of a native, but now he has mentioned what he really is, and therefore he has been brought here for fresh orders." The subadar listened in astonishment and was about to refuse me, when I added, "You only take me there and leave me to speak for myself. No blame can be attached to you, and if any evil besides, it will rest only on my head." When he found I was so bent upon going, he promised to take me the following morning.

The subadar was in the habit of going to make his daily report to the Nana at 7 A. M. every day, and sometimes once in the evening also. As soon as I awoke from sleep next morning, the 2nd July, I look to see if the subadar was not gone, but it was very early yet, and wanted good one hour for his usual time to go. It was the practice in the jail to take prisoners out morning and evening in batches of 25 or 30 at a time, the sentries keeping watch all around. Every man in the jail was made to go in his turn, as there was no more going out during the day.

This morning I joined the very first batch in order to be back in time to accompany the subadar; but the fellow, it appears, was watching me, and as soon as I went out he dressed himself and came to the spot I used to occupy, and asked the other prisoners about me, saying he had come to take me with him according to promise. Had he been in earnest he would surely have waited a little; but he went away telling the people to inform me when I returned, that he had inquired after me. I will not say how sad I felt when I learnt this, and regretted my having gone at all that morning. Mendes and others, however, advised me very earnestly to remain quiet where I was, and not to seek to hasten my own destruction, so I thought better of it, and resolved no more to trouble the subadar. There is not the least doubt that I should have been killed had the subadar complied with my request; and when I reflect on it now, I cannot help thinking what madness had seized me to have gone on in the manner I did at the time.

I cannot describe in words one-half of my sufferings whilst I was in the hands of the rebels; but, thanks be to God, notwithstanding all those trials, His hand sustained me, and at last brought me out safely from every danger. When I compare in my mind my own trials with what the poor helpless women and children must have undergone—delicate ladies, tender children, brought up amidst every comfort and luxury never subjected to an unkind word or rough usage, now placed in the power of a horde of savages, brutes whose tongues emitted venom and abuse at every move—what must they have felt? Oh! the very thought is maddening.

A wild-looking, grey-headed sepoy, with sunken cheeks and round goggle eyes, long face, and tall, thin body, had lately joined the prison guard from a week's leave of absence. This fellow did not know me, and one evening while I was follow-

ing a batch of prisoners to the rear, I happened to be next to him; the breeze being strong at the time, the cloth over my head flew off, and before I could adjust it again, he had seen my features properly. Oh how astonished he looked! He hastily stepped back about ten paces, all the time keeping the muzzle of his musket to me, and his eyes, starting out of their sockets, fixed upon me;—for a time he lost his speech, and when he did regain it, he could only utter in a breathless and confused manner—"Gorewa"——"eh tu Gore-gore-gorewa hai!" I did not know what to make of this, and hastened to get between the other prisoners; but no sooner was my back turned upon the sepoy, then he ran up, and gave me such a severe blow with the butt-end of his musket, on the spine between the shoulder-blades, as to knock me over. He was just going to repeat the blow, when another sepoy who knew me stopped him. I got up with difficulty and joined the others, but the pain continued for several days. The sepoy was severely repremanded afterwards by the havildar of the guard for taking upon himself to strike a prisoner.

In the meantime the rebels on the opposite bank of the river had followed the three boats which had floated clear of the Cawnpore bank on the morning of the 27th, as related before, which contained a number of officers, soldiers, and families. Two of the three boats had been swamped; some who could swim joined the remaining boat which was going on ahead, under great difficulty, but the rest of the inmates of the two boats (number not known) were captured by the troopers and massacred at once, with the exception of 17 individuals.

"At 4 P. M. of 27th June, the sowars of the Irregular Cavalry brought in 17 Europeans who had escaped from the boats, and presented them to the Nana, who ordered them to be killed. They were shot by the sepoys and sowars on the plain west of *Savada*; those amongst them who were merely wounded by the musketry were cut to pieces by the executioners."

The remaining boat which had got into the full force of the stream proceeded along, as related by Captain M. Thomson, until after the fourteen men were told off from the boat when a host of insurgents attacked the helpless people in it and it was at last captured by a zemindar named "Baboo Ram of Dourea Kheyra," opposite Sheorajpore near Futtehpore; and the fugitives, about 90 in number, of whom about 50 were

males, were sent back on carts to the Nana They reached Cawnpore on the 3rd June, and that same day all the males were brought out to be shot. Among them were recognized Captain Seppings, 2nd Cavalry, Dr. and Mrs. Boys, Lieutenant Daniell, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Cooper of the E. I. Railway, and others. A few of the 2nd Cavalry troopers selected Captain Seppings, and begged, as a special favour, to save him, but were overruled by Teeka Singh and a lot of others.

On every occasion, when a request of this nature was made by any one, either to spare a child or man—and many persons were desirous of getting some young European children to adopt—no sooner did they make their wishes known than the Mahomedans would get around and repeat a Persian verse as follows :—

"A tush kooshatun wa ukhgur goozashtan
"Uffaiee kooshtun wa buch-aishra nekgah dashtun,
"Kar-i-kheerud-mundan naist."

That is to say, "to extinguish the fire and leave the spark, to kill a snake and preserve its young, is not the wisdom of men of sense." Besides this, whenever a Mohammedan found the *lifeless* body of a European or Christian lying anywhere, he immediately drew out his sword, "with a *bismillah*," and made a gash upon the corpse, repeating the words, or some such words as "Soonut-ool-huq-i-Kafar-un." This act is considered by them to be equivalent to *killing* an infidel, and adds to their claim for entering Paradise after death.

The ladies were directed to leave the gentlemen, and when compelled to do so, they shook hands all around and separated ; excepting one lady, supposed to be Mrs. Boys, the wife of the Surgeon of the 2nd Light Cavalry, who with her child clung to her husband and could not be parted—she begging to be killed first. Order was then given to the sepoys to fire upon the prisoners. Captain Seppings sued for a few minutes to pray ; this was allowed. They knelt down and prayed—the last prayer their mortal lips would ever utter ;—and now a volley of musketry opened upon them, killing a few and wounding many. The wretches then fell upon them with swords and completed the cold-blooded, cruel, slaughter. The bodies were dragged away and heaped up at the west corner of the compound of the "Savada House," after being stripped of all their clothes,

which the sweepers took as booty. In that spot the remains of the poor fellows were left to become the food of wild beast and birds of prey.

Captain Seppings' wife is said to have obtained a lock of her husband's hair after he was killed, by giving a gold ring to one of the sweepers who happened to be known to her.

The ladies who were brought away from the last boat, having been captured by the villagers and detachments of the infantry, were not subjected to the indignity of being so closely searched as those who were taken on the 27th June, so that they were enabled to save what little jewelry and valuables they had upon their persons.

After this the whole of the women and children, now amounting to about 160 or 170 in number, were allowed *dal* and handcakes once a day, and remained up to the 2nd July in the "Savada House."

Here I continue Lieutenant Delafosse's and Captain M. Thomson's story.

"Directly we got on shore the insurgents retired; but having followed them up too far, we got cut off from the river and had to retire ourselves, as we were being surrounded; we could not make for the river, but had to go down parallel with it, and came at the river again a mile lower down, where we saw a large number of men right in front waiting for us, and another lot on the other bank, should we try to get across the river. On this bank, just by the force in front, was a temple; we fired a volley, and made for the temple, in which we took shelter, losing one man killed and one wounded; from the door of the temple we fired on many of the insurgents that happened to show themselves. Finding they could do nothing against us while we remained inside, they heaped wood all around, and set it on fire. When we could no longer stay on account of the smoke and heat, we threw off what clothes we had, and each taking a musket, charged through the fire. Seven of us out of twelve got into the water, but before we had gone far two poor fellows were shot in the water. There were only five of us now left; we had to swim whilst the enemy followed us on both banks wading and firing as fast as they could. After we had gone about three miles down the stream, one of our party, an artillery man, to rest himself, began swimming on his back; and not seeing in which direction he was swimming floated to the shore and got killed. When we had gone six miles, firing on both sides ceased, and soon after we were hailed by some natives

from the Oudh side, who asked us to come on shore, and they would take us to their Raja, who was friendly to the English.

"Sahib! Sahib! why swim away? we are friends!" they shouted. I replied to them, "We have been deceived so often, that we are not inclined to trust any more." They said, if we wished it they would throw their arms into the river to convince us of their sincerity. Partly from the exhaustion which was now beginning to be utterly insupportable, and partly from the hope that they were faithful, we swam to the shore, and when we reached the shallow water, such was our complete prostration, that they were obliged to drag us out; we could not walk, our feet were burnt, and our frames famished. We had been swimming without a moment's intermission a distance of six miles since we left Sheurajpore. They extricated me first; and having laid me down upon the bank, covered me with one of their blankets. The others shortly followed, and being equally done up, were indulged for a few minutes in like manner. Our shoulders were so burnt by exposure to the sun that the skin was raised in huge blisters as if we had just escaped death by burning." The names of these four survivors are:—Lieutenants H. Delafosse, and M. Thomson, both of the 53rd Native Infantry; Private Murphy H. M.'s 84th Foot, and Gunner Sullivan, 1st Co., 6th Battalion Artillery.

"After we had rested a little, our captors proposed that we should go to the adjacent village; and supported by a native on each side of us, with his hands under our arm-pits, we partly walked and were partly carried a distance that seemed to us many miles, though not in reality more than three or four furlongs. We were so enfeebled, that in crossing a little current which had to be waded, they were obliged to use great strength to prevent our being washed away. As soon as we reached the village they took us to a hut of the zemindar, who received us most kindly, commiserated with us upon our horrible condition, and gave us a hearty meal of *dal*, *chapatees* and preserves. It was the evening of the 29th June when we reached Moorar Mhow, and since the night of the 26th we had not tasted food; the meal being finished, Delafosse and I lay down upon two *charpoys* (native beds) and the privates upon the floor on straw, and we were soon fast asleep. They woke us between five and six o'clock to say that a retainer of their rajah had come to conduct us to the fort of Moorar Mhow; we proceeded on foot, and about

half way guides met us, with an elephant and pony. The villagers came out with milk and sweetmeats, of which we thankfully partook. Buffalo's milk and native sweets were truly delicious fare."

"Night had set in when we reached the residence of Drigbijiy Singh, the rajah. The pony and elephant having been brought into the centre, we alighted and salaamed to the rajah. He had the whole tale of the siege narrated to him by us, asked our respective rank in the army, and having expressed great admiration at our doing, ordered us a supper with an abundance of native wine and assured us of our safety, promised hospitality, and then had us shown to our apartment. Oh that night's rest! amidst many thoughts, I remember one ludicrously vivid; it was this:—How excellent an investment that guinea had proved which I spent a year or two before at the baths in Holborn, learning to swim. And then the straw upon which we lay, though only fit for a pauper's bed in the vagrant ward of some English workhouse, it was to us welcome as the choicest down. In the morning a *hukeem* (native doctor) was sent to dress our wounds; and a native tailor to furnish us with native trousers and coats, and when Hindustani shoes were added to our toilet, we felt quite respectable again. "The food they gave us was good, consisting of *dal*, *chapatees*, rice, and milk; and twice, during the month we stayed at this hospitable residence, they gave us kid's meat, the only animal food they touch. But sweeter than these repasts was the sleep; day after day, and week after week we indulged in it, as if we had been fed upon opiates.

"Three times, during our stay at Moorar Mhow, the Nána sent down to our friendly protector, ordering him to surrender our persons, but our generous old host was deaf to all their persuasions and threats, and sent back word that he was a tributary to the king of Oudh, and knew nothing of the Nana's raj. We stayed with him about a month as he would not let us leave, saying the roads were unsafe. At last he sent us off, on the 29th July, to the right bank of the river to a zemindar of a village, who got us a hackery, and we took our departure on the 31st towards Allahabad, but meeting a detachment of the 84th on our way, we marched up with them to Cawnpore.

"Nothing that could contribute to our comfort escaped the kind and minute thoughtfulness of Raja Drigbijiy Singh while we remained under his protection. I wish he could read English and peruse my humble effort to express the gratitude

I owe to him. But I am enabled, with sincere gratification to add that his claims upon the Government of India have not been overlooked; and his loyalty to the Company at a time when almost the whole of Oudh was in rebellion, and his generosity to us poor, friendless refugees, have met with a well deserved reward.

CHAPTER VII.

HAVING thus disposed of his enemies, the usurper now found himself holding undisputed sway over Cawnpore and its districts. "The Nana took his seat on the throne as Paishwa; the sacred mark was affixed on his forehead, salutes were fired, and the city illuminated at night in honor of the occasion; orders issued from Baba Bhatt's office for tahsildars to send in revenue, and for arrangements to be made for distributing rewards with gold bangles to the mutineers."

The camp at Savada was ordered to break up, and the captive women and children to be removed to the west of the canal. They were laden upon common country carts, surrounded by an armed escort; and a mixed mob of natives followed on the sides and in the rear. Many of the helpless females covered up their faces as they sat huddled up with drooping heads. It is known how slow these bullock hackeries move, and what severe jerks they give. Many a poor woman and child was suffering from wounds received on the banks of the river, and the distress they must have undergone may easily be imagined. One of the ladies, I am told, got down to make room for others, intending to walk all the way, but a sepoy, having a rattan in his hand, gave her several cuts on the back, and loaded her with the most disgusting abuse.

In this manner they were brought across the land to a small flat-roofed house near the assembly rooms, an out-building of the Medical Depot lately occupied by Sir George Parker. Here they remained in close custody, receiving only a small quantity of dhal and chuppatees (pea-soup and hand cake) daily for food. It is clear the miscreant Nana had evil motives in this, for he appointed a wicked woman named Hoosainee Khanum, also styled the Begum, to have the superintendance of the ladies, and she was instructed to persuade the helpless creatures to yield to his wishes. This message, I learn, was conveyed to them with great subtlty, accompanied by threats and hope; but it was received with just indignation by all, and with a firm resolve to die, or to kill each other with

CAWNPOOR

PART II.

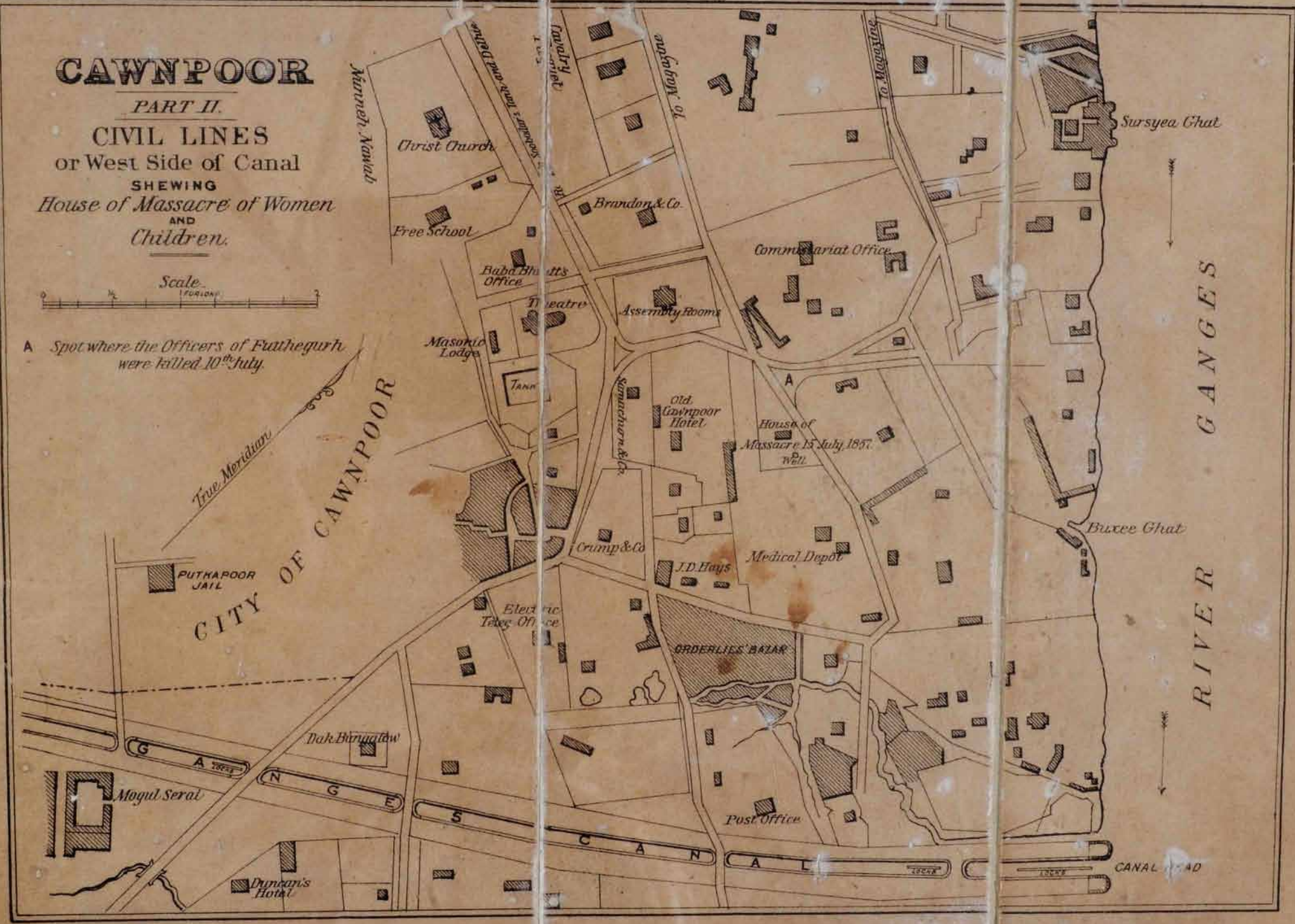
CIVIL LINES
or West Side of Canal

SHEWING

House of Massacre of Women
AND
Children.

Scale
1 FURLONG

A *Spot where the Officers of Futhegurh were killed 10th July.*



their hands, should any forcible means be employed to dishonor them. The Náná, finding them so resolute, tried to gain them over by kindness. On one occasion beer and wine were given; on another, rum was issued. He himself took up his quarters in the "Old Cawnpore Hotel," facing the assembly rooms and adjoining the building, separated only by a compound—a space of thirty or forty yards—in which the poor captives were confined. He caused them to sit out of an evening in their premises, as also to promenade, whilst he and his brothers sat in the verandah of the hotel, staring at them. To please them he caused a little milk to be given to the children daily, as also some meat. Clean clothes were also issued, forcibly taken from the washermen of the station, who had them to wash previous to the out-break. On one occasion meat victuals, prepared by hired cooks, were given to the captives.

It is not easy to describe, but one may imagine the misery of so many helpless persons, all labouring under the greatest agony of heart for the loss of those so dear to them, who had so recently been killed, perhaps before their own eyes—and for their own wretched forlorn state, without a ray of hope of ever being able to get out of the hands of their ruffianly captors; their imagination painting to them a prospect of continual misery and dishonour. Think for a moment, so many persons being cooped up night and day in a low, small, pucca-roofed house, (see plan) with but six very small rooms, and that, in the hottest season of the year, without beds or punkhas, watched day and night by a set of savages continually staring at them and taking notice of them every moment. I am told the ladies—every one of them—had their hair cut short on account of the heat and scarcity of water to wash, as only one bhistee (water-carrier) was allowed them, and all that they had to spread under them was a mat or dried leaves. A native, or Maharatta doctor, was employed to attend upon the sick and wounded.

After the Náná's camp broke up at Savada, order was given, on the 5th July, to remove the native prisoners, now amounting to about 150 in number, from the cavalry hospital to the jail in the city. They were made into four divisions, each under charge of eight sepoys in undress, but well armed, and made to proceed at a hundred yards apart from the divisions, in a manner driven along like flocks of sheep. On our way we had to pass the lines of the 2nd Light Cavalry, and here a scene, worth recording, attracted my notice. It ap-

pears that an order had been issued by the "authorities" to assemble five thousand troops and march them off to Futtehpoor, with nearly all the artillery available, for the purpose of attacking and repulsing the British force, said to be advancing from Allahabad to attack Cawnpore. Now, the several rebel corps belonging to the station had established themselves in their respective lines, and made themselves very comfortable in them. The 2nd Cavalry was at the time being made to assemble on its parade ground by a few troopers and sirdars of the same corps in full dress, who, duly mounted, were calling out with all their might to the men in the lines to fall in; but they appeared to feel so reluctant to leave such agreeable quarters, that neither persuasions, threats, nor imprecations seemed to have the least effect upon them. Some pretended to be saddling their horses, others packing up their luggage, etc., and a great many were seen skulking away towards the city; then it was, that the contrast between the steady regularity and ready obedience of orders under the British rule, and that of the present management, became very striking. The prisoners, however, passed on, and I did not see how the leaders managed to collect their men together, but I heard that the following morning the rebel troops had marched away to Futtehpoor. On hearing this, how I prayed in my heart that their undertaking would be attended with complete failure. On entering the city, we met several sepoys, most of whom had been plundered by the villagers in the neighbouring districts, while attempting to convey to their families the money they had come into possession of at Cawnpore; for immediately on the outbreak occurring, the Rajputs and other villagers posted themselves on the roads in large bodies, well armed, for the purpose of plundering travellers, which work they found very profitable, as they invariably succeeded in disburdening the sepoys (who generally went singly and clandestinely in order to avoid their comrades, for where money is concerned a native will not trust even his father), of their ill-gotten booty and often treating them to a sound thrashing, sent them back empty-handed. Such ill-usage, it may be supposed, caused a bitterness of feeling in the hearts of the wretched sepoys not easily to be effaced. Seeing so many prisoners, and believing them to be all villagers their exultation was very great. The sight as it were added vigour to their bodies; such gestures and such menacing looks—such imprecations and abuse showered on them!—I can never forget the scene. I am only as-

tonished that they were restrained from falling upon us and satisfying their revenge. They, however, contented themselves by giving vent to certain horrible sentences upon the unfortunate prisoners. One was for blowing them away by the guns, another was for cutting off both the hands and noses of all, and letting them go as living examples to others!

Amidst all these imprecations and abuses, the guard of sepoys managed to hasten on the prisoners; and now I had a very narrow escape from falling into the hands of one of the then bitterest enemies of the Christians, though I did not know it at that time. This was the Qazi (Magistrate) of the city, a Mahomedan by caste, named Wazir-ud-din. I had been on friendly terms with this man ever since I came to Cawnpore, he being a respectable man. Seeing him on horse-back, about fifty yards in advance, as we entered the city, conversing with somebody in the street, and calculating upon our former acquaintance, I made up my mind to whisper to him my condition when near enough to be able to do so, trusting that he would help me out of my misery. For this purpose I shifted to the side of the road which would bring me quite close to him. Deeply absorbed in mind, I kept following the prisoners; my heart beating faster, the nearer I approached the Qazi, on account of the uncertainty of my reception on making myself known to him. Now we were within ten paces of the Qazi, his face was towards my side of the road and he was staring at the prisoners. Once I thought his eye fell upon me, but without recognition—indeed it would have been impossible for any body to recognize me in that state. A little more and I would have been irretrievably lost; for this man, as I afterwards learnt, was not only himself under an oath, but had sworn others, too, not to spare the life of a Christian in Cawnpore; and had assisted in the massacre of many who concealed themselves in the city. That was a most critical moment for me; but the same Providence whose care had hitherto guarded me, was again exerted in my behalf. The prisoners were suddenly made to turn into a narrow lane on the right, which leads to Putkapur, where we were to be incarcerated for the present, and I lost sight of the Qazi. In ten minutes more we reached the jail. It is situated in the city, being built by the British for prisoners under trial—in the shape of a soldier's barrack, without apartments, in size about thirty feet by twenty, with tiled roof, and the windows with iron bars fixed to the wall; having but one

door for entrance, which is also of iron bars. The compound, which is enclosed with mud walls about ten feet high, is rather spacious, having a number of out-houses in it, as also a puckka well of sweet water. This place being so secure, the prisoners could move about a little during the day, and bathe at the well by asking permission of the sentries, of whom eight usually stood guard, four near the prison door and four in the rear of the building.

By this time I was well known by the prisoners, as also by the guard people, many of whom pitied me, especially when they saw that the parched gram, on which alone I was made to subsist, did not agree with me, being unable to digest it; and twice becoming very seriously ill during the night; I was in great distress. Then it was that I remembered with indescribable anguish of heart, the anxious care that used to be taken of me on such occasions by my good and amiable wife. Oh! where was she then?—what had become of the dear ones I had, only a fortnight ago, left in the intrenchment I asked myself repeatedly, shall I never see their faces any more?

But hope sustained me. The very uncertainty of their fate buoyed up my spirits, or otherwise I should have sunk under my affliction. I knew that a good number of women and children were alive, and in imprisonment, and earnestly hoped that those of my family were amongst them; and that we should all receive our release in a few months. Thus I was enabled to bear up with my trials. On two occasions I received a handcake (chapátee) from one of the prisoners, and once a Hindu gave me, unasked, a pice to buy bread with. The state of my feelings on such occasions may easily be imagined. Living entirely upon bare parched gram, the flavour of bread had such a sweetness as cannot be described. The pice procured me four *chapátees* and a little *dál*, which Mendes and I finished with great relish. Oh! how grateful I felt to God for that meal! Mendes also managed, a day or two after, to get a pice from one of the prisoners, and we again had the pleasure of eating bread.

Those of the prisoners who had their homes at Cawnpore, were generally supplied with food by their relations once a day, besides receiving the usual allowance of gram from the prison, and were very well of; but the others, such as myself and Mendes, who had nobody in the world, had a hard time of it. The gram was issued once a day, and that at very uncer-

tain hours,—sometimes early in the morning, and next day perhaps after candle light. Oh! how hungry I have felt at times, so much so that, even parched gram had an indescribable relish! One has seen poultry, pent up in an enclosure, eagerly flocking together when about to receive their grain—such was our state. When it came at last, how great was the joy, and how anxiously did each person look to the distributors to give him a triffling quantity more; but the usual quantum, of about half a pound—as much as comes in the hollow of the two hands joined together—was on no account exceeded. On one occasion the sepoys of the guard, wishing to appropriate to themselves the price of one day's supply, did not issue the grain till 9 o'clock at night, though it was purchased and put by. Several prisoners, who had been starving for 30 hours, could not refrain from murmuring, and heartily cursing the Naná and all his clan. Three men at last broke out and complained in a loud voice, which brought the subadar to us, who, on learning the cause, scolded the sepoys for starving the prisoners; they, however, passed it off, by saying that a man was sent to purchase the gram, but had not returned. No sooner had the subadar gone away, than the gram was brought out, and the three men who made the noise were desired to come forward first. The poor fellows, thinking they would receive a larger quantity than usual, jumped up with alacrity. But the sepoys laid hold of them, and throwing them on the ground, beat them so severely with their thick shoes, that they nearly drove their breath out of them, after which they were sent away without their gram—which was then issued to the rest; but some of the prisoners made up the loss to the three poor fellows. That night all went to sleep without getting a drink of water after eating the gram, for it was late, and the guard would not permit the prisoners to go out of the prison, the door of which was always kept locked after candle-light till sunrise.

About the 9th July, five military prisoners (natives), heavily laden with fetters and escorted by a strong guard, arrived at the prison. These men had been tried by a court-martial, and proved to be loyal to the British, and the sentence passed upon them was to make an example of them by cutting off the hands and nose of each at a grand parade of the entire army, to be assembled on a convenient date—till which time they were to remain incarcerated in the Putkapur jail. Two of the prisoners I did not remember having

seen before—these were a native doctor, named Wallee Daud Khan of the 56th Native Infantry, and a sepoy also of the same regiment, but the other three I recognized at once, as having remained with us throughout in the intrenchment; one was a jemadar of the 56th Native Infantry, named Khoda Bux and his son Ellahee Bux, a drummer of the same corps. The third was the same Govind Singh sepoy, whom I have mentioned before. This poor man told me, with tears in his eyes, how unmercifully he had been beaten by the rebel sepoys of his own regiment. He had accompanied the officers from the intrenchment to the river side on the 27th June. Captain Goad of his corps held him by the hand and would not let go; but the mutineers took him away at last by force, and beat him all over in the most cruel manner, with the butt ends of their muskets, till he fell down, and was obliged to be taken to the Náná on a cat. He was at first ordered to be blown away from a gun, but afterwards the above-mentioned sentence was passed on him, as well as on the other four men. It was a pitiful sight even at that time to see his body swollen and blackened by the cruel beating he received.

The prison was now quite full, so much so, that many had to sit up against the walls all night. Every day some ten or twelve fresh prisoners were brought in, whereas not one went out of it; there were about 250 natives in that little prison, composed of all classes of people, but mostly villagers, said to have been taken in plundering. There was also a mutineer sepoy from Nowgong—a very powerful, big man, of about 28 years of age, but a great braggadocio. By his own account, he was the chief instigator of the mutiny at that station; and for which, he stated, he had been chosen by the sepoys of his corps to be a captain over them. While marching from Nowgong to join the Náná, some of the sepoys were offended with him, I suppose on account of his over-bearing conduct. He being possessed of a large sum of plundered money, was desirous of hiding it previous to appearing before the Náná; and on arrival near Cawnpore he had managed to remain away a little in rear, intending to bury the money in the ground, when the sepoys turned upon him, pronounced him a deserter, and tying his hands behind, brought him in as a prisoner,—thus he was kept in confinement pending his trial. One may conceive how indignant he was at such treatment—he, a Captain, to be thus degraded, was beyond endurance. A more sly, prying fellow, I have never seen. In two days he made

himself well acquainted with the circumstances of every prisoner in that jail; and when he learnt who I was, his rage exceeded all bounds—he would have killed me there and then had it been in his power to do so.

Among the prisoners with me was the murderer of a European named John Duncan, Superintendent of Roads. This murderer's name was Ghunseram, who found poor Duncan hiding himself in a village called Pewundee, about six miles east of Cawnpore. He treated him kindly for two or three days, but finding that the Náná had offered a reward for the heads of all Europeans or Christians, he gave notice of Mr. Duncan's whereabouts and received orders to bring his head to the Náná. When he did so, his indignation was great, when, instead of receiving a large sum as he had expected, only ten rupees were offered him. A few days after this deed was done, a native woman preferred a complaint against the fiend Ghunseram, setting forth that the wretch appropriated to himself all the money and valuables he had found upon Mr. Duncan's person. He was therefore seized and placed in confinement to be tried at the first opportunity. It was horrible to listen to his description in the jail of the manner in which he had deprived the poor man of his life. This he did with much bragging and boasting, and expressed in no measured terms his indignation at the paltry sum he had received as reward. As the fellow had really taken Mr. Duncan's valuables, he soon managed to bribe the amlah of the court and got his release. Mendes and I, however, marked him and trusted that some day or other we should be in a position to bring him to account. I am happy to say that on the arrival of General Havelock, this murderer was apprehended, and Mendes the drummer had the satisfaction of being present at his execution.

All this while the Náná continued to receive many more troops, which, after mutinying, had left their respective stations and poured from all sides into Cawnpore, so that about the 10th of July, there were near upon (20,000) twenty thousand armed fighting men of all classes at his command; and the depredations they committed in the city were excessive.

Fresh corps were being raised, recruits daily entertained, and a new horse battery was formed. The zemindars all around were directed to bring in the revenue due by them. New offices were created, and bestowed daily upon favourites. The Ganges canal, built at so much trouble and at so great a

cost to Government, was bestowed upon the villain Azimoolla, who, together with about a hundred and fifty of the Mussulman troopers of the 2nd Regiment, Light Cavalry, and Teeka Singh, subadar, (created a Brigadier General), were at the bottom of all mischief.

The Náná caused to be proclaimed by beat of tom-tom throughout Cawnpore and its districts, "that he had entirely conquered the British in these parts, whose reign having been completed were killed and destroyed in all parts of India; excepting in Calcutta and Lucknow, not a European or Christian of any kind was left alive; that in the Punjab and the Hills the Raja of Cashmere was the sole ruler; Agra was taken by Baza Bai, the Ranee of Gwalior; Allahabad was in the hands of a Moulvee; and the other stations between Calcutta and Allahabad, in like manner, had been conquered by the different Rajahs and others in those parts. That a *small* body of Europeans had managed to escape, and were between Allahabad and Cawnpore, but the troops he (the Nana) had sent a few days ago, had entirely destroyed them all; and that no more Europeans ever dared to come to Cawnpore." The natives who had no means of obtaining information from other stations, easily believed all these reports, especially when they were told that the whole of the native army in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, had mutinied and killed all their officers, so that those few who were loyal to us at heart began to waver, and many sought and obtained employment under the Náná.

Being very miserable, I felt myself capable of running any risk to find out whether any of my dear relations were alive, and resolved to make my escape; thinking that if once out of the prison, I could arrange with some of my office people to obtain me the necessary information by sending a letter to the poor prisoners, through one of the menials employed for their wants, or by going myself among them when they were allowed to sit out of an evening, as a fruit-vendor or sweetmeat seller. The only chance of my getting away was over a portion of the compound wall near the corner, which the rains had washed down to about five feet, and I thought I could easily jump over it unperceived in dusk of the evening, when there used to be generally a great bustle among the prisoners a little before the shutting in of the prison-door for the night. Having come to his resolution, I sat near the well watching the sentries, and found they were not at all vigilant, but carelessly standing here and there, conversing with any body they found near

them? The cause of this carelessness on the part of the sentries was afterwards explained to me; they new full well that escape was impossible from any other part, save the broken wall, and there they had posted a guard of eight sepoys outside in a hut, whom we could not see, as the ground was a great deal lower outside; and, had I jumped over, as I had determined, I should certainly have been taken, and perhaps severely beaten, if not killed. But here again, the hand of Providence interposed to save me.

It was on Friday, the 10th July, that I was thus sitting near the well, meditating on my escape, fully resolved to carry it out that very evening, when, at about 5 o'clock, the subadar returned, after making his report to the so-called Chief Commissioner of Cawnpore, named "Bábá Bhutt," being no less a personage than the brother of the Náná. The subadar it seems had represented that the prisoners were in great distress from want of room in the jail, and as they were all kept pending their trial, it would be as well to investigate their cases and dispose of them, as might be deemed proper. He was accordingly ordered to bring away immediately 25 of the prisoners from the first number, to be tried that evening.

The names were called, and mine fell among the 25; thus I was unable to carry out my desperate intention.

Now it was that I felt a clinging to life. I knew that if during my trial it was found out who I was, I should most undoubtedly be killed. I therefore said to the Subadar—"You have been very kind to me hitherto; now that life and death hang on your hands, if you expose me, and I am killed, my blood will rest on your head." He laughed good-naturedly, and replied, "At one time how anxious you were to be made known to the authorties, and worried my life out for not reporting you; but how soon you have changed your mind!" He then turned round to the sepoys of the escort and enjoined them not to mention a word to any body outside about me. We then proceeded through the narrow lanes of the city, a rope having been previously thrown round to keep us together, which greatly prevented our walking freely; as I had no shoes, my heels and toes were sadly bruised from being constantly trodden upon by the others.

On reaching the court, we were made to stand in a line alongside of the verandah, which was full of people, many of whom I thought I recognized. The "Bábá" was inside, investigating other cases. While thus standing, and being

the tallest in the lot, I attracted much notice; and although I covered up nearly half of my face with the rags on my head yet I could hear several voices among the beholders passing remarks upon me; and which ever way I turned my head, I saw people staring at me. I thought I should be discovered, and my heart beat high under the suspense. It was already late in the evening, and it now began to get dark. By degrees the persons in the verandah dispersed; retainers of the Bábá only remained. All was anxiety and suspense among the unfortunate prisoners. Presently a crowd of people came out from the building into the verandah, following a middle-sized, middle-aged, dark-looking man, with a large turban on his head. This was Bábá Bhutt, the "Chief Commissioner" of Cawnpro; the retainers all fell back, and a kind of music, composed of a couple of native drums, called *nágárás*, and other jingling instruments, struck up a confused kind of noise. The Bábá was leaving the court, going home; our subadar waited a little, and then advancing made his obeisance, and reminded the "chief" that, according to his wishes, 25 prisoners were waiting his orders. The answer was, in a grumbling, croaking voice, "I cannot attend to them now; don't you see how hard I work to restore order and authority in this, the Maharajá's (alluding to the Náná) dominions? Bring the prisoners very early to-morrow." Thus saying he went away, and we were conducted back to the jail.

At sunrise the following morning, the same prisoners were again called out; but before proceeding, the subadar caused our gram to be issued, which we took along with us. There was nobody at the court when we arrived, so we were made to sit down under a *neem* tree in the garden. This place belonged to Mr. Duncan, and was situated between the free school and theatre—having two buildings in the compound; the larger one, being used as a residence, and the other as a billiard-room; one being flat roofed and the other tiled, escaped the fire; and the Bábá selected this spot, preferring the billiard-room for his court, and using the other building as a store-room, for plundered and unclaimed property.

At about 10 A. M., a sound of the previous night's music was heard, and presently a very large mob was seen coming, an immense umbrella of red cloth being prominent amidst the crowd, indicated the precise spot where the Bábá was,—none but the chiefs were permitted to use an umbrella, even if it rained; any other person found with one was at once deprived

of it, as being considered highly impertinent and disrespectful to the ruling powers. The mob, and the red umbrella, stopped at the gate of the place we were in; and a sort of military manœuvring took place on the public road. A number of match-lock men (toradars), dressed in different ways with powder-horns, and dirty bags, intended for pouches, hanging at their sides, were made to stand in two rows on the left of the road; opposite to them stood a host of sword and shield men, with curled up mustachios and long beards, wearing the common dress of Mahomedans; a body of mounted men having half-starved, bony, ugly-looking horses under them, armed with long spears and broad shields, and a sword hanging at the side of each, stood on another side of the road. The red umbrella now began to move about very rapidly (we could not see the Bábá on account of the mob), now among the toradars, now in the midst of the beards and horse-men, then back again, and so on. This sort of business lasted for two hours. We asked what it all meant, and were told that new corps were being raised, and that the Bábá reserved for himself the privilege of collecting such levies; that he was at that time engaged in taking a roll of the men thus entertained.

While we were thus talking, four men brought from the city *kutwallee* a young Mahomedan, his arms tied very tightly behind, with his new red turban. He was a sawar of the new levy, entertained two days previously, seized in the act of extorting money from a *buneah*, and after being well kicked, was thus sent for the orders of the chief. How this man struggled, and cried, and begged to have his arms loosened a little! At last he had recourse to a trick: he fell down and called for water, pretending he was dying from thrist. Water was brought in a bhistee's bag, and as there was no vessel to drink out of, they were obliged to release his hands to admit of his using them for that purpose. After that he made his body so stiff that his arms could not be tied as tightly as before. He was taken after a while to Bábá Bhutt at the gate, and had his sentence immediately passed on him, which was 50 lashes on his bare back, after that to blacken his face and mount him with his face towards the tail, on a donkey, to be shown under beat of tom-tom throughout the city, and finally to undergo three month's jail in irons; which sentence was carried out without delay.

I leave the reader to imagine my own thoughts and feelings during this period of suspense and anxiety. Seated on

the bare, wet ground (for it had rained in the night), the powerful rays of a July sun, striking from above, the *neem* tree not being sufficiently thick to afford much shelter—when thirsty, it was a difficult matter to get a drink, and I was obliged to keep my face covered as much as possible for fear of being recognized, as many were passing up and down, some of whom were not unknown to me. I am only surprised I did not fall ill and die; at any other time I know, I could not have borne one-tenth of what I had undergone there. It is true, whom God spares, nothing can destory. Feeling myself so forlorn and helpless, I had placed my trust in God, and looked up *only* to Him for support. O! how gracious and wonderful has been his goodness towards me!

Bábá Bhutt, after inspecting the recruits, went back to his house, and did not return till 5 P. M. When he did come, he had no time to attend to us, and at sunset we were brought back to the jail, to be taken again early next morning. What conflicting emotions tortured my heart! Would I be released? and if so, what should I do? Could I but be sure of the fate of my beloved ones! If they had all been killed, what did I wish to live for? Such thoughts kept me awake for some time, but the fatigues of the day at last brought on a sound sleep, and I did not get up next morning till called up to prepare for starting to the court: taking my gram in a rag, I was ready.

It was a bright Sabbath morning, just the hour when I used to drive to church, accompanied by my beloved wife and child. The twelfth of July will never be effaced from my memory. We trudged along sorrowfully till we reached the place; there was no sign of Bábá Bhutt till 2 o'clock. I may mention here that an order had gone out some time before that a severe punishment would be inflicted upon any body who dared to utter the name of "Bábá Bhutt,"—that in future his name was to be simply "Bábá Sahib." Now *Bhutt* is a Maharatta word signifying mendicant, one who derives his support from charity, and this fellow was such by birth. I am told that he is the eldest of the three brothers. When Bájee Rao, the late Peshwa of Poonah and Sattarah, adopted his two younger brothers (Náná and Bálá as related elsewhere), this Bábá Bhutt (*alias* Neroo Punth) was rather overgrown and ugly-looking; he was therefore allowed to remain with his own father, and to follow the same pursuit, till the death of Bájee Ráo, when the Náná asked him to come

and live with him, though he was still called by his proper name—"Báhá Bhutt," but, of course, it would not do now that he was a "Chief Commissioner" to be still called a *Bhutt*!

This "worthy," at last, made his appearance at 2 o'clock preceded by the same discordant music I have mentioned before, and after an hour, our subadar took the liberty of reminding his "Excellency" about the prisoners. The nazir (sheriff of the court) was ordered, in an impatient manner, to bring forward their cases at once. Now was a moment of real excitement; as one after another was called up, the working of each man's features shewed what anxiety he felt. Mine was No. 18 or 19, and I was very anxious to know what sentence would be passed on No. 6, who was a Mahomedan cook from our intrenchment, named Chedi Khan, having been sent out five days before me to obtain information under promise of a reward of 1,000 rupees, but had also unfortunately fallen into the hands of the rebels. His case was exactly similar to what I had given out at first about myself, and according to which statement I was about to be tried; and I fully expected that we should both be set at liberty at once, for we had stated that to save our lives we had run away from the intrenchment. After a while of suspense, I saw Chedi Khan coming at last, and conceive my horror when I perceived he had heavy fetters on his legs; the poor fellow was crying bitterly, and told us that his sentence was three years' imprisonment with hard labour. I could not help feeling astonished at the Bhutt's assurance. I thought to myself, he makes sure of three years when he little knows what may take place in three months or three weeks. Chedi Khan was found guilty of the heinous crime of having remained and assisted the Europeans in the intrenchment for such a long time. "Why did he not," he was asked, "make his escape at the outset, as many other servants had done?" He endeavoured to explain, but no heed was given to his words.

And now my name was called out—"*Budloo Bawarchee*" (cook). How my heart beat at the sound! I adjusted my rags about me, so as to hide my features and body as much as possible and followed my conductor. I was brought, and made to stand by the side of a door outside, in front of which inside the house, was seated, or rather perched upon the cornor of the billiard-table, a dirty-looking fellow, wearing across his nose, green spectacles, with an unwieldly turban on his

head, holding a paper in his hand; this was the same man I had seen before, and was *Bábá Bhuts*. A high wooden stool was kept by the side of the billiard-table to admit of his mounting, or alighting from it; and a host of scribes, smartly dressed, stood round about the table, ready to catch a word that might fall from his "excellency's" lips. I really believe that nearly, if not the whole, of the British Cantonment Magistrate's office establishment was present there at that moment. I had scarcely time to make these observations, when with an impatient movement of the left hand, the Bábá croaked out, "make haste," all the time intently looking upon the paper in his right hand, which appeared like a petition. The nazir came forward and looked at me, for I was hid from his sight; but no sooner did his eyes meet mine, then he immediately put his head down, and stepped back. Whether he recognized me or not, I cannot say, but I know that I had often seen him before the outbreak, going to the Cantonment Magistrate's Court. I felt alarmed, but I was praying in my heart, "The will of God be done," and a calm resignation came over me.

Another growl from the billiard-table, with "What's the delay?" made the nazir read out, "Budloo, son of Jhundoo—cook by occupation———."

"Well, well; what is the crime? Read that," was the order.

The nazir read—"Ran away from the English entrenchment on the 24th June.———"

"Enough,"—was the order from the table—"now write his sentence":—

"Three years' imprisonment with fetters."

The nazir asked—"With, or without labour?"

"*With labour, of course*," was the reply.

Now I had made up a sort of a-cock-and-bull story in my mind to get over the sentence, and opened my mouth with—"I am a resident of———"

"Stop his mouth!—stop his mouth!!" was the order, and I was led out into the verandah without another word, where sat a black-smith amidst a heap of most formidable-looking fetters; he selected a fearfully heavy pair, and was about to clap them on my poor legs, when I told him that my sentence was three years, and therefore, in pity, he ought to give me lighter ones. He very kindly allowed me to make my own selection, but they were nearly all alike, and I was at a loss which to take; there was no help for it, I took up a pair, and

the blacksmith put them on me. I have since weighed these fetters, which are still preserved by me, and find they are more than five pounds.

Amongst the prisoners was the servant of a zemindar, accused of having robbed his master of a sum of money; there was no evidence against him, nor would he confess the theft, but the Bábá was determined, right or wrong, to make him confess. He had already been severely beaten; but now he was allowed breathing time, while my case was going on. He was again brought forward and desired to confess. He said he did not know anything about the money; that the zemindar had other servants, and they might be questioned. But no; the simple word *luggao* (that is, "strike") was again pronounced, and three men fell upon the poor fellow with the soles of their thick shoes, beating him in all parts of the body, as he kept rolling on the ground, to such a degree that he was unable to utter the least noise, and was to all appearance dead; then they ceased, and a little water was ordered to be put into his throat. When he came to his senses, the same question was repeated, and the same short word pronounced—*luggao*. Oh! how fearfully they beat him! I am sure the man would have confessed under so much beating, if he had taken the money. After a repetition of the above scene three or four times, he was ordered to be taken away and brought again the next day.

And now came drummer Mendes' turn, otherwise called *Yaqeen Mohammad*. His accuser was not present, and he, of course, denied the charge. The Bábá said, "I saw you with my *own* eyes taking away *bales of cotton*." Now, poor Mendes had never seen such a thing since the mutiny, and answered accordingly. The reply was, "All short men are wicked; this fellow is very short, and therefore very wicked. Give him six months' jail with fetters." Mendes made a salaam and came out, glad to find that nobody taxed him about being a Christian.

This day was brought into court, for the inspection of the "Chief Commissioner," two amputated hands, lopped off from the wrist of an unfortunate fellow convicted of theft, and sentenced by Bábá Bhutt to the above effect. When the bloody limbs were placed before this fiend, I was told he turned away his head in disgust and ordered them to be taken away immediately. The unfortunate sufferer, they said, died from loss of blood, after a few hours. When I heard of this I had much reason to be thankful for my own sentence of imprisonment,

for I had hopes of speedy deliverance by the British, who I made sure would retake Cawnpore before the setting in of the cold season, or latest by November or December.

I forgot to mention that when we were leaving the jail this morning, that rebel sepoy from Nowgong, who called himself a captain, and was so much against me, had asked, and obtained permission of the subadar to accompany us to the court, in order that his case might be adjusted at the same time, and the subadar intended to have him brought forward for trial after the whole of the 25 prisoners had been disposed of. When Mendes and I joined the others under the *neem* tree, this fellow, the "captain," I have forgotten his name, was very indignant when he found I had got off, as he said, so easily. "What!" said he, "this, a Christian and a *Keranee*, to be on a par with *Chaday Khan*, the cook, who is a Mussulman !! Surely his head ought to be cut off; if not his sentence ought to be not less than seven years' imprisonment." "Wait," said he, "my turn for trial will come presently, and see if I do not tell upon you." Then turning to the others he said,—"Look at him, how innocent he pretends to be, but he is very deep. Have you not observed by what devices he has managed to pass himself off all this while? He is a snake and it is not good to let him live." I told him, I had done him no injury, why should he be so much against me? He answered, with a significant move of his hand across his throat,—"Death—you deserve death." The others now tried to dissuade him from his evil intentions towards me; but *he* was determined to have me killed. I know not why this fellow felt so embittered against me; I had done nothing, to the best of my knowledge, to offend him. He did not seem to care much about Mendes; he would say, when speaking of him, "this fellow is harmless, and, as he has turned a Mahomedan, it proves him to be a right-minded person, and we have not much to apprehend from him,"—not so with me—he would stare at me as if he could penetrate into my heart, then grind his teeth, shake his head, and in a menacing manner mutter, "This is a serpent." There were but two more men left to complete the full number of the prisoners brought that morning to be tried, when my enemy's turn would come; and one cannot think how I felt after the threats he had uttered against me. I thought it was all up with me at last, for nothing could have saved me from death, had the Baba once discovered who I really was. I prepared myself to die and arranged in my mind

to beg for one favor, *i. e.*, to be allowed to visit the prison of the women and children before being executed. I know not whether this indulgence would have been granted me, but the idea of being once more able to see those dear faces—for I had persuaded myself to the belief that they were all alive—filled my thoughts; I wanted to tell them that I had not deserted them, when I came out of the intrenchment, as the circumstance of my not going back might have led them to believe.

Amidst all this anguish of mind a sudden movement among the Bábá's retainers took place—the discordant music struck up,—oh! how charming did the sound appear to me at that moment, it being the prelude to the Bábá's departure. The hangers on and the retainers formed two lines on either side of the road from the verandah. The red umbrella rose and moved forward; and the whole procession moved towards the gate. The Náná had need of the services of "His Excellency;" business for that day was over, and the court was closed. Oh! how can I utter in words the joy I felt at this reprieve, for such I considered it to be, as my enemy was determined to tell upon me the following day.

Under a deep sense of my gratitude and thankfulness to God, I forgot the shame and degradation that is inseparably attached to having fetters fixed to one's legs, and traversed back through the streets to the jail. Eight of us only had been fettered, ten pardoned, and the rest put off for next day. I took an opportunity to tell the subadar, that through his goodness I had been hitherto saved from being killed; now if he would be so kind as to order a double portion of gram to be given me, I might get life for a few months. He in reply advised me to keep up my spirits and that by-and-by the prisoners under sentence would get *attah* and *dhal*, if not pice in lieu to buy bread. From that day Mendes and I got a double allowance of gram.

That evening several purwannahs were handed over to the daroga in charge of the jail, conveying orders concerning each of the prisoners who had been tried during the day by Bábá Bhutt; one had reference to me, and I have been successful in subsequently obtaining a copy of the same from the records abandoned by the rebels on the occasion of their being driven out of Cawnpore by General Havelock. The copy I have now in my possession bears the stamp of the Cawnpore Special Commissioner's Office, and is signed as "true copy" by J. Perkins, Special Commissioner. When translated it runs as follows:—

"Copied from the Book of Purwannahs of Baba Bhutt's office—No. 458.

Purwannah to the address of the Jail Daroga,

This day the individual Budloo, defendant, convicted of having come out the of intrenchment, has been sentenced by *His August Presence* (*'Paishgah Hoozoor'*) to three years' imprisonment in the jail, in irons with hard labour. Therefore you are hereby directed to receive the said prisoner into your custody, and placing him in the jail, see that the sentence of three years passed on him be fully carried out. At the expiration of which period, be careful to present him before *His August Presence*, in order that permission may be given to his release. Herein fail not (*takeed jano*). Dated 19th Zeeqaad 1273 Hijree" (equivalent to 12th July 1857, A.D.).

Purwannah to the address of the Jail Daroga, Copied from the Book of Purwannahs of Babu Bhutts' Office. No. 458.

J. Perkins
SPECIAL
COMMISSIONER
1858.

نمبر ۴۵۸

ازکتاب نقل پروانجات

بابابہٹ

نقل

پروانہ بنام داروغہ محبس

آج کے روز مسمی ہدلو مدعا علیہ بجرم برآمد مورچہ سے میعاد تین برس بمشقت وجولانہ پیشگاہ حضور سے سزایاب مقید جہل خانہ کا ہوا اسواسطے تمکو لکہا جاتا ہے کہ مدعا علیہ مذکور کو میعاد تین برس تک قید رکہو بعد انقضای میعاد کے واسطے رہائی حضور مین پیش کرو تاکید جانو۔ ۱۹ ذیقعدہ سنہ ۱۲۷۳ ہجری

COPY
J. Perkins
Special Commissr.

CHAPTER VIII.

At pages 46 to 49, the arrival and massacre at Cawnpore of the non-military residents of Futtehgarh is given, and it is now necessary to state what happened to the military community and the ladies who remained at that station and used their best endeavours to prevent the troops from breaking out. "These endeavours so far succeeded, that the sepoys of the 10th Regiment Native Infantry continued to perfrom their usual duties with cheerfulness, and all seemed to go on well until the arrival of the mutinous 14th Regiment from Sepri, on or about the 18th June, and then the 10th Regiment broke out into open mutiny, having burst open the Jail and released all the prisoners."

"The first suggestion that presented itself to the officers was to take to the boats and abandon the station, but the river being then very low, that plan could not be carried into effect. The European community had, therefore, to betake themselves to the Fort and to endeavour to defend themselves: Out of upwards of 100 Europeans, including ladies and children, at that time in the station, only 33 were available for the purpose of defence. They were enabled to mount seven guns when the siege commenced. Colonel Smith of the 10th Native Infantry assumed command of the small garrison."

"The siege lasted up to the 3rd July, 1857, during which time several persons had been wounded by the enemy's shots. Colonel Tucker and Conductor Ohern were thus killed, and were buried together in one grave. When the position of the garrison became desperate, they had to spike their guns and abandon the Fort. The river having risen considerably by the rains, the party could now take to their boats."

"At 2 A. M. of the 4th July, three boats left Futtehgarh. The one in charge of Colonel G. Smith being disabled, the inmates were distributed in the two remaining boats. Whilst passing Singerampore, Major Robertson's boat grounding, its

occcupants were attacked and all killed or drowned with the exception of Major Robertson and Messrs, D. Churcher and Jones. The following are the names of persons who are believed to have perished on this occasion":—

Churcher, T. H. Mr., merchant.
Eckford, R., Ensigns 10th N. I.
Fisher T , Revd.
Fisher, Mrs. and child.
Fitzgerald, H., Lieut. 10th N. I.
Fitzgerald, Mrs. and child.
Gibson, Mr., Road Overseer.
Gibson, Mrs. and 3 children.
Knowles, Mrs and 3 children.
Lowis, R. N., Joint Magistrate,
Lowis, Mrs. and 2 children.
Phillismore, W., Cap., 10th N. I.
Robertson, Mrs. (Major), and child.
Redman, Sergt.-Major, 10th N. I.
Redman, Mrs. and 2 children.
Simpson, J.; Lieut., 10th N. I.
Sutherland, Mr., merchant
Sutherland, Mrs., and two Misses, taken away and killed at Futtehgurh.
Sutherland, 1 daughter, drowned.
Thomson, E., Miss.
Besides others, whose names cannot be given.

It must be remarked here that this party of military fugitives under Colonel Smith could not have been aware, owing to the interruption of all communication between Cawnpore and Futtehgarh, of the melancholy fate of the first batch of the non-military community who had preceded them exactly a month before, nor is it likely that they could have been informed, until too late, that Cawnpore was in the hands of rebels. My own information regarding the fate of this party, gleaned from the inhabitants of Cawnpore, is as follows:—On or about the 10th of July, rather a large number of Europeans, mostly ladies and children, with a few servants, were brought into Cawnpore as prisoners taken from a boat near Bithoor. They were conveyed on common hackeries to the Nana at the "old Cawnpore Hotel," opposite to the assembly rooms, the arms of the gentlemen were tied very tightly behind their backs. The ladies and children were put into the out-buildings of the medical depot, where the other females had been confined, belonging to the Cawnpore garrison, but the officers were ordered to be killed. While they were being taken to the place of slaughter, it was proposed by certain of the Nana's advisers that by sparing for a time the lives of some of the officers of higher rank, they would no doubt exert their influence with the British Government, and have the Fort of Allahabad made over to the Nana by way of ransom. This was highly approved of; and three of the principal officers, supposed to be Mr. Thornhill, the Judge, and Colonels Goldie and Smith were called back and asked what they had to say to this proposal; they no doubt felt the utter impracticability of the thing, yet wishing to prolong life, in the full assurance

of a speedy deliverance, promised, it is said, to do all in their power, but that the acceptance or refusal of the offer would, of course, entirely rest with the Governor-General.

Satisfied that they would so easily obtain possession of the Allahabad Fort, the deluded wretches began to indulge themselves in the most extravagant ideas of what they would do. Many fancied, and even made sure, that they were now in a fair way of conquering the remaining stations in the lower provinces of Bengal, when they proposed to invade England with an overpowering army and make the *Kafur Feringees* (Infidel Europeans) change places with them. *i. e.*, turn them into servants and rule over them. Such flighty fancies as these were at times even discussed in the jail where I was imprisoned, and some of the Mahomedan prisoners also often joined.

It is stated that these three officers were directed to be put into the same building with the ladies and children; the remaining gentlemen were than taken behind the compound wall of the old Commissariat office, and made to stand in a ditch, when a dispute occurred with regard to a native Christian and a Hindoo servant, who were both taken along with the Europeans. The first was offered his life if he changed his religion, and embraced Mahomedanism, but stoutly refused, saying he had not pursued Christianity merely for the sake of bread; this exasperated the troopers to such a degree that they hacked him up into pieces at once. The Hindoo was then told to come out from among the Christians and save his life. He replied, "I have served my master faithfully for years, I have eaten his salt, and have been to him as a son; how can I now forsake him in this time of trouble? I prefer to die with my master." No sooner were these words out of his mouth, than a pistol bullet fired through his ear knocked him over. The word of command was now passed to fire upon the officers, which was done in an instant. The bodies were allowed to lie exposed for a couple of days for the troopers and other Mahomedans to try their swords upon. On such occasions these men were in the habit of bringing their own children—young lads—and instructing them how to make a cut; at the same time giving them to understand that a cut upon even the dead body of a Christian Kaffir was of infinite value, entitling a true believer (Moslem) to a place in Paradise. After this the bodies were romoved and cast into the river. Those of the inhabitants of the city who had occasoin to pass that way, and saw the bodies of these unfortunate

any breeze, and a kind of dead heat usually prevails which is suffocating, when it becomes a difficult matter to exist without the *punkha* going over one's head at all hours. How must the tenderly nurtured ladies and delicate children have passed their miserable moments, and at nights especially, made room for so large a number to sleep on the bare, damp, musty floor of the confined apartments, almost all of them suffering from wounds and otherwise unwell. "The deep, dark horrors of the prisoners in the dungeon must ever remain unknown and even unimagined." It was reported that large numbers were dying daily in the greatest distress.

All this while the mutineers at Cawnpore continued to carry on all kinds of villiany and atrocities both in cantonments and the city. Mahomedans, calling themselves the descendants of the prophet, wearing garments of the most extraordinary devices, and many covered over from head to foot with armour, laden with five or six different kinds of weapons,—poured in from Oudh, and other parts of the country by hundreds. As for bragging and boasting, nothing could equal them. The people in the city of Cawnpore say that some of them have lived to be very old men, but they never saw or heard of such strange fiendish-looking men, and no one could tell where they came from, and what became of them after the defeat of the Nana. Men like these, accompanied by a few of the cavalry troopers or sepoys, entered the houses of the inhabitants under different pretences, plundered them, and in some instances took forcible possession of their women;—noise and confusion, plunder and oppression, were the order of the day. Hell and all its evil spirits appeared to have been let loose upon Cawnpore.

The Nana felt himself fully established at Cawnpore. Things appeared to prosper under him to the utmost of his fondest hopes; disciplined and well-trained troops continued pouring in from all the neighbouring stations, whence they came laden with Government treasure, after murdering their officers, and in most cases these treasures were presented to the Nana. Collectors of revenue were appointed to realize land rents from the zemindars. The financial resources of the Máharattas increased daily. Courts of "Justice" (!) were established; officers of State (selected from among the Maharattas) were appointed; attention was paid to both civil and military officers. The army, at this time under the orders of the usurper, was not under 20,000 well-trained troops, including the new levies raised at the station. Cawnpore was

swarming with them, so much so, that it could scarcely contain them; from Nawabgunj to Jauzmhow was one mass of these rebels, to whom many promises and hopes were held out so as to keep them in order. A proclamation was also issued, far and wide, with a view to make the people contented and obedient. It ran thus:—

"As by the bounty of the glorious Almighty God, and the enemy-destroying fortune of the emperor, the yellow-faced and narrow-minded people have been sent to hell, and Cawnpore has been conquered; it is necessary that all the subjects and land-owners should be as obedient to the present government as they had been to the former one; that all the government servants should promptly and cheerfully engage their whole mind in executing the orders of government; that it is the incumbent duty of all the ryots and landed proprietors of every district to rejoice at the thought that the Christians have been sent to *jehennum* and both the Hindoo and Mahomedan religions have been continued and firmly established,—therefore they should as usual be obedient to the authorities of the present government, and never suffer any complaint against themselves to reach the ears of the higher authorities."

I now return to relate what occurred to myself. I have stated that my persecutor, the "Nowgong Captain" had faithfully promised that he would inform against me the next day, when he expected, he would be taken to the court to have his case heard. The next day arrived, but Baba Bhutt was not at leisure to attend to the prisoners; and the rage of my "friend" the "Captain," was excessive. Arrangements were now being made to send the sentenced prisoners out to labour, and the good-natured subadar, wishing to employ me at some easy work, gave orders that I should labour at the forge, as one had been established in the jail compound, to prepare a thousand new iron fetters of different sizes. They gave me the hand-bellows to work, and I was not sorry for it, as it was not a very labourious duty. I, however, proved a sorry workman; not being used to the instrument, I could work the right hand one pretty well, but could not manage the left one at all, so I was dismissed after half an hour, and desired to attend next day and learn. Next day! Little did they know what the next day would bring forth.

The successful advance of the British troops under General Havelock, could now no longer be concealed from the people. The rebel force at Futtehpore, amounting to upwards

of 10,000 men, had been thoroughly beaten, at their first position, and lost nearly all the guns they had taken to that place from Cawnpore? Reinforcement after reinforcement was dispatched by the Náná, but to his utter dismay they were all repulsed. There was no resisting the Europeans; at dead of night, we would distinctly hear the distant booming of guns towards the seat of war. Oh, what joy the happy news of the approach of the British infused into my heart!—how much more joyful the European women and children must have been in *their* confinement,—what anxieties must they not have felt, and what heartfelt prayers offered, for the success of the brave army,—with what tumultuous emotions of hope and joy their hearts must have throbbed at the thought of a speedy deliverance!

On the morning of the 15th July, I was sitting and conversing with two of the prisoners, who were equally anxious with myself for the speedy arrival of our deliverers, when the Nowgong rebel, the "Captain," who it appears had been watching me at a distance, now approached, and said to me, in a sneering manner, "So you seem overjoyed that your brethren are coming to your rescue. Be assured, you will not be allowed to leave this place alive; for bear in mind, I shall batter your head against the wall before I go away hence." I said nothing, but moved off from that place; however, the others shamed him for entertaining such evil intentions against me, for which he seemed not to care at all. This fellow had been a wrestler in his regiment, and a powerful, strongly-built man he was. He would often show off his strength to the prisoners, by hitting his body against the walls; lifting up over his head some of the lads near him, and such like tricks.

No further opportunities ever occurred for the prisoners to be taken for trial to the court, as the "authorities" were too much occupied with other and weightier matters. All their attention was directed to keep off the European troops from coming to Cawnpore. Every fresh intelligence they received from the seat of war, was discouraging—every manœuvre proved futile. The British were now within 20 miles—there was no resisting them. About noon on the 15th July, a few troopers, I am informed, came in with the intelligence of the fight, and reported to the Náná, that they could not understand how the Europeans were making such head against such fearful odds; that they were coming like mad horses, or mad dogs—caring for neither cannon nor musketry, nor did these appear

to have any effect upon them ; that it was their belief that if it were not for the rescue of the women and children in confinement, the soldiers would not rush on with such impetuosity, and that even then it was not too late,—"kill the *maims* and *baba logues*," they said, "and inform the English force of it, and you will find the Europeans will be discouraged and go back, for they are only a handful in number."

"On Bala Rao's return to Cawnpore from the field of battle, wounded in the right shoulder by a musket ball, a council was held at the "old Cawnpore" Hotel, at which a large number are said to have assembled, and over which the Nana presided." * * * * They are said to have been unanimous in one fearful resolve, and that was the death of the unoffending and innocent women and children, and the few gentlemen whose lives had hitherto been spared. Two reasons were advanced in favor of this brutal resolve: the one, that it would probably prevent the further approach of the British ; the second, that many rebels even now determined to forsake a losing cause and return to their old allegiance, and knowing full well that many amongst the unfortunate prisoners could recognize the leaders, and give important evidence against them, being intimately acquainted with nearly all those implicated in rebel proceedings, they felt that it was positively necessary to destroy all European evidence, as the only chance of evading the condign punishment their crimes so richly merited. Hence was the fate of these unhappy captives to be sealed in blood, and all were to perish in one common lot."

A few native spies, it is said, were then brought in as being the bearers of letters supposed to have been written to the British by the helpless females in the prison, and with it the mahajans and Bengalees of the city were believed to be implicated. It was now agreed that the said spies with all the English captives should be put to death, and that the Baboos and every individual who could read and write English should have their right hands and noses cut off. The first order was carried out at once, and a degree was issued to apprehend the Baboos and others on the following day.

"The three gentlemen from Futtehpur, with Mr. Edward Greenway and his son Thomas, were told that the Nana required their attendance, and as they left the prison house to meet their fate elsewhere, appear to have been perfectly composed, even though they surmised that death awaited

them (which alas! to those thus situated must have ever been present), for their lips moved as if in prayer. There is clear evidence of their having been shot by the mutineers at about 5 P.M., near the wall of the Commissariat godown. Mr. Greenway being the last to fall."

Colonel G. Williams, in his "Review of the Evidence," then goes on to say:—

"I now approach the most painful and difficult portion of my task, over which I would gladly draw a veil, but that duty forbids my concealing aught of the real facts attending the closing of the Cawnpore tragedy. Regarding the numerous massacres that took place, the evidence, with the exception of some few discrepancies, is clearly and freely given; but on approaching the last and most terrible scene, all seem instinctively to shrink from confessing any knowledge of so foul and barbarous a crime as the indiscriminate slaughter of helpless women and innocent children. Evidence that runs clear and strong from the 15th May to 14th of July, suddenly ceases on the fatal day of the 15th of that month." * * * * "The evidence of the Christian drummers declares as follows:—After the five Europeans had been removed, the woman named Hosainee Khanum, or the Begum, who had the superintendence of the ladies, told them the Nana had sent orders for their immediate destruction; an appeal was made by one of them to Yousuf Khan, the jemadar of the guard, and, if the statement made by these drummers be correct, these men (the guard) refused to carry out the Nana's orders. Debased and brutal as many of the sepoys had already become, and steeped though their hands were in Christian blood, they yet hesitated to carry out the fiendish order of one, a still greater fiend than themselves." * * * * "The Begum, it is said, on their refusal, returned to Noor Mahomed's hotel, and shortly reappeared with five men, two Mahomedans and three Hindoos (others say seven), but most of the witnesses implicate in particular one man of the Nana's guard named Sarvur Khan (a lover of the Begum's). A volley is said to have been fired at random by a few sepoys, but the butchery of the women and children was committed by men sent from the Nana's compound, in executing which they were occupied from about 6 P. M. until dark, when the doors of the building were closed for the night."

"Thursday, 16th July.—An accumulation of horrors

ends this frightful tragedy—one of the most barbarous on record. Early in the morning the parties who had committed the massacre went to the slaughter-house attended by some three or four sweepers, to remove the bodies from the house. On the doors being opened—fearful to relate—some three or four ladies and two or three children were found still alive. Oh! who can describe, and scarce even picture, the agonies they must have endured throughout that awful night—lying wounded on the floor, saturated with the blood of their late friends and companions, and surrounded by their mangled bodies, surviving but to meet even a more horrible death than those butchered before their eyes the preceding evening—scarcely credible is it that any could outlive the terrors of such a night, and yet retain their reason; but only truly would such seem to have been the case. Enviable must they have deemed the lot of their murdered companions, when dragged forth together with the bodies of the slain by the hand of their cruel executioners; they were cast into a dry well that lay close at hand, both living and dead buried in one common hideous sepulchre; and though thousands witnessed this frightful barbarity, not one of them all in pity lifted hand or voice to stay the cruel deed, or even petition for a more prompt and merciful death for those poor quivering survivors and innocent babies—who, horrible to relate, kept circling round the well pursued by their demon executioners until caught—and then cast alive into that yawning grave, amongst the mass of dead and dying. But one consolation (poor though it be) is afforded us in pursuing the statements regarding this period, when Satan may truly be said to have been let loose upon earth—a conviction which I share in common with others, who like myself have had to search into the events of this ever-memorable mutiny. The most searching and earnest enquiries totally disprove the unfounded assertion that was at first so frequently made and so currently believed, that personal indignity and dishonor were offered to our poor suffering country-women."

My own information as recorded at the time of writing my manuscript runs thus:—

The native spies were first put to the sword, and after that the gentlemen were brought out from the out-buildings in which they were confined, and were shot; then the cook and sweeper-women who attended upon the prisoners, after whom the poor females were ordered to come out, but neither

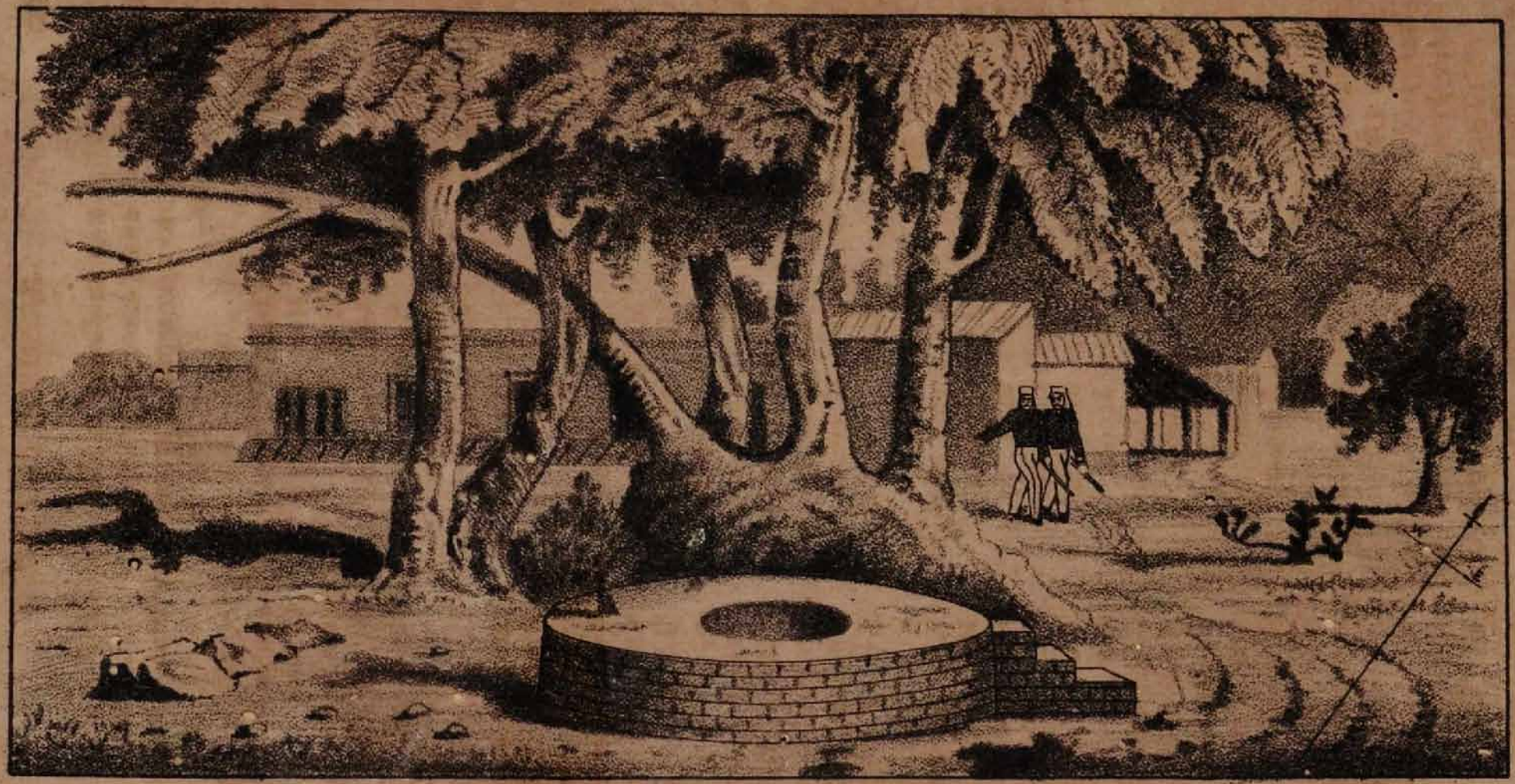
threats nor persuasion could induce them to do so. They laid hold of each other by dozens, and clung so close that it was impossible to separate, or drag them out of the building. The sepoys therefore brought their muskets and fired a few shots upon them from the doors and windows, then, the executioners rushed in with swords, and commenced hacking down the poor helpless and unoffending creatures. The fearful deed was done most deliberately and completely in the midst of the most dreadful shrieks and cries of the victims. There were about 200 souls, including children, and from a little before sun-set till dark the fiends were occupied in completing the dreadful deed. The doors of the building were then locked for the night, and the murderers went to their homes; next morning it was found, on opening the doors, that some six or eight females with a few of the children had managed to escape death. A fresh order was sent to murder these also, but some of the survivors who had not been severely wounded, unable to bear the idea of being cut down, rushed out into the compound, and seeing a well there, threw themselves into it without hesitation, thus putting a period to lives it was impossible for them to save. The bodies of those murdered on the preceding evening—some still breathing—were then ordered to be thrown into the same well, and "jullads"* were employed to drag them away. The innocent children who survived the previous evening's massacre, kept running here and there to save themselves, the ruffians allowing them to do so for some time, till five or six fellows posted themselves behind the building at one of the corners, and the unfortunate innocents were desired by the others to go and hide themselves there; the terror-stricken children did so, not suspecting any danger, and as they went one after another they were cut down. I am told that these blood-thirsty hounds gloried much on that occasion in their skill in taking the head clean off at one stroke!

In the court-yard of this house of blood, a native list of names was found by some officers; the names are believed to be those of the ill-fated victims butchered as above. It was kept by a Mahratta or Bengalee doctor who was appointed to attend upon the helpless sufferers. Some of the names were difficult to make out, not being quite intelligible. A transla-

* Jullads belong to a very low caste of people generally employed as executioners and hangmen, as well as in killing dogs when they increase to a dangerous extent.

tion of this list was published in Calcutta (see *Phœnix* of 26th August, 1857), and I have thus been able to furnish an exact copy of it here, having merely arranged it alphabetically, for easy reference :—

Mrs. Bell
Alpen Bell
Mrs. Baines
Phillip Baines
Mrs. Battie
Mrs. Barbing
Eliza Bennett
Mrs. Berrill
Mrs. Berthwick
Mrs. Brett
Miss Burn
Miss Burn
Mrs. Carroll
Miss Carroll
George Caley
C. Caley
Mrs. Carter
Mrs. Cooke
Mrs. Cooper
Mrs. Copeman
Mrs. Colgan
Maria Conway
Miss Conway
James Cousins
Mrs. Crab
Mrs. D——
Mrs. Dallas
Mrs. Daly
Henry Duncan
Weston Dundi
Mrs. Dupton
Charles Dupton
William Dupton
Henry Dupton
Margaret Fitzgerald
Mary Fitzgerald
Tom Fitzgerald
Ellen Fitzgerald
John Fitzgerald
Mrs. Fraser
J. Gill
Mrs. Gilpin
Harriet Gilpin
Sarah Gilpin
Sam Gilpin
S. Gilpin
Mrs. Gillie
Mrs. Green
Edward Green
Mr. Greenway
Mrs. Greenway
Miss Greenway
Y. Greenway
Martha Greenway
Jane Greenway
John Greenway
Mary Greenway
Mrs. Guthrie
Catherine Guthrie
Lizzie Homes
Mrs. Hill
William James
Mrs. Jenkins
Mrs. Jacobi
Henry Jacobi
Lucy Jacobi
Hugh Jacobi
Mrs. Jones
Mrs. Johnson
Mrs. Kurside
Henry Kurside
Willis Kurside
Grace Kirk
William Kirk
Charlotte Kirk
Mrs. Lery
James Lery
C. Lery
James Lewis
Mr. Lindsay
Frances Lindsay
Caroline Lindsay
Lucy Lyell
Mrs. Mackinna
Mrs. MacCuller
Jervie Martindell
Mrs. Murray
Mrs. Morfett
Mrs. Moore
——Moore
Mrs. Norris
William North
Arthur Newman
Charlotte Newman
Mrs. O'Brien
Miss O'Conner
Mrs. Parrott
Mrs. Peters
Miss Peters
James Peters
Mary Peters
Mrs. Peel
George Peel
Harriet Pistol
Mrs. Pokeson
Mrs. Probett
Stephen Probett
Miss Probett
Johnnie Probett
Nellie Probett
Emma Probett
Louisa Probett
Mrs. Raselier
Mrs. Reed



THE EXTERIOR OF THE HOUSE IN WHICH THE MASSACRE OF THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN TOOK PLACE, AND THE WELL DOWN WHICH THEIR BODIES WERE THROWN ON 16TH JULY, 1857.—*Copied from a Sketch taken at Cawnpore by Lieut. C. W. Crump in August*, 1857.

James Reed
Julia Reed
C. Reed
Charles Reed
Baby Reed
Mrs. Russell
Eliza Russel
Mrs. Sanders
William Sanders
Eliza Sanpore
Mrs. Seppings
John Seppings
Edward Seppings
Henry Simpson
Mrs. Scott
Miss Sinclair
Mrs. Sheridan
William Sheridan
Baby Sheridan
Lucy Stake
William Stake
Mrs. Tibbetts
Mrs. Twoomy
Mrs. Walker
Daniel Walker
Miss Wallet
Emma Weston
G. Weston
Elizabeth West
Mrs. White
Miss White
Miss White
Catherine Widlep
Jane Widlep
Thomas Widlep
Henry Williams
Miss Williams
Mrs. Willis
Mrs. Wooler
Tommy Wooller
Susan Wooller
Mrs. Wrexham
Clara Wrexham
Dramond Wrexham
Two Ayahs

FUTTEHGURH FUGITIVES.

Mrs. Copeland
Mrs. Gillom
Colonel Goldie
Mrs. Goldie
Mary Goldie
Eliza Goldie
Mrs. Heathcote
Miss Long
Mrs. Lewis
Emma Lewis
Eliza Lewis
Godfrey Lloyd
Bala Lloyd
Mrs. Lupin
Mrs. Maltby
Mrs. Reen
Mary Reen
Catherine Reen
Eliza Reen
Lucy Reen
Jane Reen
Dina Reen
Emalia Reen
Mrs. Rees
Eliza Rees
Jane Rees
Mrs. Seth
Colonel Smith
Mrs. Smith, and two children
Mr. Thornhill
Mrs. Thornhill
Mrs. Thompson
Mrs. Tucker
Miss Tucker
Louisa Tucker
George Tucker
L. Tucker
Mrs. West
Mrs. Woolger
Charles Woolger
Thomas Woolger
Mrs. Yatman
Three Ayahs

Word was then sent to the villagers and others, on the road, to inform the British troops of the messacre, but this seemed not to have the desired effect: and it only remained to make one grand effort to repulse the conquerors. A large reinforcement was collected, and headed by the Nana himself proceeded to the seat of war. The cowardly wretches soon found to their cost, notwithstanding all their previous bravado, how miserably inferior they were in courage to the European

soldiers. The result of these fights is too well known to need repetiton here. I will, therefore, only add that the miscreant Nana found his own courage no better than the rest of the villainous rebels, and that there was nothing better for him than to run for his life. He did so, and with him the whole of his boasting army; they took the outer Grand Trunk road and went direct to Bithoor. The remainder of the rebels at Cawnpore and the entire population were panic-struck, and leaving home, property, every man that had a hand in the rebellion took to his heels, and it is stated that there never was seen so great a flight as on that occasion. People deserted their families to escape with their own lives: from noon till midnight nothing but immense mobs were seen rushing away as fast as possible towards the west—some crossed over to Lucknow from Bithoor ghat, others went towards Delhi, and most of the city people hid themselves in the neighbouring villages, where they were robbed by the zemindars.

The sepoys are said to have been possessed of an immense deal of money, mostly in gold mohurs, which they purchased at a great premium, having paid as far as Rs. 28 or 30 for one, usually of the value of Rs. 20. These men paid a rupee a head to the ferry to cross the river, on the banks of which they pitched away their muskets, coats, pantaloons, etc., and dispersed in different directions into the district.

It is a singular fact that this wretch—the Nana—reigned at Cawnpore *full forty days*, viz., from the 6th June till the 15th July, having bolted on the 41st day, which was the 16th July, and in that brief period he was permitted to commit such fearful attrocities as has no precedent in the annals of history.

"The following day, 17th July, the Nana was busily occupied at Bithoor in providing for the safety of his own wretched life and valueless property, in which he was greatly assisted by his old servants, placing the treasure, etc., on elephants, and from thence on boats, and crossing them over to Oudh. The craven-hearted, accursed man of blood, remembering that he had one more poor helpless Christian woman with an innocent babe of 32 days old in his power, even as he fled from Bithoor in dread, directed her equally remorseless guard to murder their defenceless captive in cold blood, and forcibly taking with him their kind but powerless protectors and guardians—the Paishwa's widows—he was henceforth no longer seen within the halls of his adopted father." This poor woman was Mrs. Carter. When the mutiny broke out, her husband, Joseph

Carter, was keeper of the toll gate at Sewrajpore, near Bithoor, where he and his wife were made prisoners and sent on to the Nana's nephew, Pandoo Rung Rao, at Bithoor, along with the heads of three Europeans murdered by the mutineers. Mrs. Carter was kindly taken under the protection of Bajee Rao's widows, who threatened to destroy themselves if Mrs. Carter was in any way molested or injured, she being in an advanced stage of pregnancy. Mr. Carter and the three heads were then forwarded on to Cawnpore, where the poor man was killed by order of the Nana. "Poor Mrs. Carter was kept a prisoner under a guard of the 7th Cavalry, and after passing the perils of child-birth—a girl was born on the 15th June—she appears to have deen treated by the Paishwa's widows with consideration and even with kindness, who possessed the softer and kindlier feelings of womanhood, especially towards a suffering and unfortunate member of their own sex. But to the Nana pity was unknown, revenge precious, even though expended on a weak and helpless woman and unconscious babe; and though at first overlooking his poor captive, whilst occupied in preparing for the safety of his own miserable life, he did not allow himself to forget her entirely."

CHAPTER IX.

I WILL now relate what occurred among the prisoners at Putkapoor. When the sepoys of the guard found, on the evening of the 16th July, that the station was deserted by the rebel army, and that a large portion of the population of the city was gone, they also made arrangements to leave, by bringing out their clothes and traps and making them into bundles. The subadar's pony was saddled, and at about candle-light they rose to start. The prison door had been kept locked since eight o'clock that morning; for fear of some, if not all of the prisoners taking advantage of the confusion and running away, the subadar kept the key of the lock with him, and thus we got no water to drink all that day. Now, when the prisoners saw that they were about to be thus abandoned, they gave a tremendous shout, and used certain expressions, implying that the sepoys would for ever be cursed if they left them thus shut in this prison. This had its effect; the subadar returned, and made arrangements with a burkundaz to sit at the door all night with the key, which he delivered to him, and if he found that the Nana's army did not return to the attack by morning to open the door and set the prisoners free. After the subadar's departure, the prisoners exhibited much impatience to be let out at once; however, the burkundaz was on oath, and would not open the door till the appointed time. The Nowgong "Captain" in his own anxiety seemed to have forgotten me altogether; it was fortunate there was no light that night in the prison, or he might have seen me, though I had by the advice of Mendes and Chedi Khan removed on the previous evening to another part of the building, very remote from the spot this fellow occupied.

A young man, named Kulloo, who had no fetters on, had attached himself very much to me, and now promised, together with his brother, to follow me wherever I might go. Mendes and Chedi Khan also volunteered to keep by me under all circumstances; but when at 3 o'clock next morning the prison door was opened, and a fearful rush made towards it—nearly 300 prisoners, *all* wishing to get out first—we got separated

from each other, then there was much shouting all round, as it was rather dark, and none could be distinguished. At last we found each other, and proceeded deeper into the city, then turned towards the Orderly Bazar, where was Chedi Khan's home. The streets were almost entirely deserted in some places, at others, people were still rushing along with bundles on their backs and heads. Many stopped out of curiosity to see us, but waited for nobody, fearful of falling into the hands, or meeting any, of the followers of the Nana, or a stray sepoy. Now we got out of the city, and gained the public road ; now we passed the assembly rooms, all was still as death in that part ; the jingling of our fetters became very audible, as we sped along in our anxiety to get out of those parts. I proposed we should deaden the sound by wrapping cloth to the parts of the fetters which emitted the sound, but there was no help for it—we could not linger a moment on the public road,—on ! —on ! was the word. A number of people passed by us but said nothing ; they were as anxious as ourselves to get away. Now another gang was seen coming a head at some distance ; we wished to run, but the fetters would not allow us. We reached the gate of Messrs. Crump and Co., and got into a lane between two compounds which led to the Orderly Bazaar.

Here Chedi Khan's old mother, who expected her son, had arranged with a blacksmith in the neighbourhood to get his fetters taken off, and we had hoped to get rid of ours, too, at the same time ; she took us at once to the smith's house, his door was bolted from inside. We called to him several times but received no reply ; at last we burst it open and entered. An old woman, in a frightened voice, informed us that the smith had run away only an hour ago. We asked for his instruments, but they had been buried somewhere or other—she pretended not to know. This was very discouraging, and we held a consultation as to what was best to be done. Chedi Khan determined to remain with his mother ; Mendes was for going back to the city, and urged on me to accompany him, but I could not for a moment think of following such a course ; I was resolved, at all hazard, to join the British army without further delay. Kalloo and his brother pronounced that they would follow me to the last. We therefore separated ; but Mendes thinking better of it, came back and joined my party. We now crossed over the canal bridge, and, proceeding along the opposite bank, came to a flight of steps descending to the brink of the water ; as this was at a good

distance from the public road, we sat down on the inner steps to rest.

Words cannot express the emotions that crowded my thoughts at that moment. While I am penning this, it appears as if it were all a vivid dream, my heart was full even to bursting, and I poured it out in an earnest prayer of thanksgiving to that Almighty and Merciful Power, who had seen fit thus far to protect and spare my life.

After a while we prepared to start, but both mine and Mendes' legs were horribly cut near the ankles. The wrought-iron rings of our heavy fetters, constantly rubbing against the bare skin, had peeled it of in several places and made it very painful. The British camp was upwards of three miles from that place, and how to proceed so far we did not know. As it was still dark, we thought we could manage, by moving along the banks of the cannal towards the south, to reach General Gunge, where lived a good many blacksmiths, who would perhaps strike off our fetters. So, wrapping our legs with rags under the rings, we proceeded and reached that place in safety. The inhabitants were up, and much excitement seemed to prevail among them, as they did not know what treatment they might receive from the Europeans. Their tormentors, the sepoys and *budmashes*, had all deserted the previous night, and they now hoped they would again enjoy peace and happiness. Groups of men sat here and there anxiously discussing these matters, and seemed to be very thankful for the approach of the British. Seeing me and Mendes walking the streets in fetters, they were curious to know how we had got out of the jail; we told them that the whole of the prisoners were let go, that we were villagers and had been imprisoned without any fault, and begged they would assist us in ridding our legs of the fetters. We were afraid to confess who we actually were, as no dependence was to be placed in natives, and there may have been still a few "budmashes" lurking about who would no doubt kill us. The people heartily cursed the Nana and the sepoys for all they had done, and pointed out to us where to go; but the blacksmiths had all shut up their shops and would not acknowledge themselves to be such. The fact was, that they did not know how matters would end; that if by any chance the Nana should again come in possession, he would punish them for taking off our fetters, therefore, to pass it off, each would point to his neighbour, who in his turn would direct us into another street.

Thus going backwards and forwards—now into this lane, now into that—now turning to the right, now to the left—we were completely harassed, for we had been on our legs nearly a full hour.

And now the glimmerings of dawn beginning to appear, I resolved to delay no longer; for, though tired, my feelings were worked up to such a pitch as not to let me rest. Join the British camp I would at any cost, but Mendes declared he could move no longer; he had acquaintances not far away, and there he proposed we should all ago. I declined, and asked Kulloo and his brother what they would advise; they said, "Come along at once; we will not desert you." So, leaving Mendes, we started, and getting out of General Gunge we reached the same tank where I had been taken a prisoner at first. It now contained a good deal of water, for there had been much rain; passing thence we came up to the late unfortunate intrenchment, the sight of which overpowered me; I could not proceed further, I sat down on the mound *over* the trench, where my poor family used to sleep during the night, for the trench was full of water.

Kulloo and his brother espied at a distance in the plain, in the direction we were to proceed, a couple of carts abandoned by the enemy, and asked leave to go and see, if they could get any plunder from them; I readily consented, as I was desirous of being left to myself for a few minutes. When my mind was somewhat composed, I followed, but before I had gone above a hundred yards, I heard somebody crying out, at a great distance in the rear, as if to me, "Stop, you prisoner—stop! where are you running away?" I turned round, and to my utter dismay beheld a tall man, wearing the dress of a Mahomedan, and holding a sword in his hand, making towards me, with long strides, repeating the above words. I made haste, and walked as fast as I possibly could, for to run was impossible, towards the carts, where Kulloo and his brother were; the distance was above 300 yards, and the enemy seemed to be fast gaining upon me bawling away all the time as loud as possible, and threatening to cut off my head the moment he overtook me. It was "the chase of a tortoise and fox;" he was now within a hundred yards of me, and was running I called out to Kulloo, who was busy rummaging the contents of one of the carts, which contained grain, etc.; he heard me, and, with his brother came immediately to my assistance, accompanied by five or six other men

(villagers), whom the abandoned carts had also attracted to that place. My prisoner, seeing so many men ready to take my part, halted and desired them to give me up as I was a prisoner. Kulloo, who had armed himself with a thick club, borrowed from one of the villagers, told him to go about his business, and not meddle with me; that it was true I had been a prisoner, but that I was liberated that very morning by order of the Nana, and was now proceeding to my village. While this conversation was going on I did not stop, but kept moving on in the direction I thought the English camp must be located. The adversary inquired "where was my village?" and, as Kulloo did not know what to say, he called out to me. I stated I was going to Gowkhera (for that was the name of a village in these parts I had often heard mentioned, though I did not know its exact locality.) The man said, "Why is the prisoner then going that way? Gowkhera is more to the right." "Tell him," said he to Kulloo, "not to go in the direction he is proceeding, for the Nana has caused a strong force to lie in wait in a ditch not far from hence, with a view to surprise the Europeans when they march in this morning—some 4,000 troops are *now* coming down from the magazine with heavy guns, and a desperate battle will be fought presently." I did not believe this, yet I was doubtful, so I turned a little to the right, still keeping in view the line I was following at first. I now approached the late lines of the 53rd and 56th Regiments Native Infantry, between which was a broad, empty space; and, hearing a distant suppressed noise, I looked through the space, and to my horror perceived an immense army, as it appeared, at dawn, covering the whole of the low ground in the front, a little to my left, the very spot which the man, who pursued me had mentioned, as being occupied by the Nana's troops. My first impulse was to get into the empty lines and hide myself; but that would not do, for if the force really belonged to the enemy, the sepoys would naturally like to come under the shelter of the lines during the day. I looked all round, there was no other place of shelter any where—the plain was a very large one. Kulloo and his brother still lingered behind, and I was quite alone. "No chance of escape," said I to myself; and in my despair, I stood still, looking towards the army; their gun-carriages and cattle were distinctly to be seen, the sun was just about to make its appearance, and I thought I would soon be perceived and overtaken.

POOR BUDLOO

On his way to General Havelock's Camp on the Morning of 17*th July*, 1857.

While thus thinking, a body of about a hundred infantry with three persons on horseback, emerged out of the east corner of the sepoy lines, proceeding from *the* army towards the city of Cawnpore. These are, thought I, going to hasten the 4,000 troops and guns that fellow talked of a little while ago. I stood still looking, not caring to go away, for there was no place to go to. They were at a good distance, and had not observed me; but I was struck with the regular and steady movement of the footmen. Can those be the rebel sepoys? thought I to myself—surely they would not proceed so steadily; presently one of the men on horseback took off (as it then appeared to me) his turban, and put up his hand to his head. The turban was not put on for some time, but held by the left hand. It immediately occurred to me that natives are not in the habit of thus uncovering their heads; surely these are Europeans, and the officer on horseback has taken off his hat to enjoy the morning breeze. A thrill of joy filled my mind as I hastened towards them, saying, "All right!—All right!" They now observed me; the detachment turned towards me and halted. "Oh! they have seen me!" said I, and taking the rag off my head, I waved it on high, and shouted with all my might "Hurrah! hurrah!! hurrah!!!" This saved my life, for (the soldiers told me afterwards) the officers seeing me in that disguise and with fetters on my legs thought I was some felon broken away from prison, making my escape; and had ordered two men from their ranks to shoot me. Their rifles had been cocked and placed to their shoulders; the aim was just being taken when I waved the rag and shouted; a second's delay on my part would have seen me a dead man. They now believed I was an unfortunate fugitive, and the whole detachment advanced towards me, I also made haste to join them. When within twenty yards of them I called out in a loud voice, "Thanks be to God, I am saved—I am saved!" The commanding officer on hearing this rode up and asked who I was. I told him, in a few words all that had happened to me, and to the European community of Cawnpore. The other two officers and the men had by this time joined us, and pitied me very much.

One of the officers tried to open my fetters with a bayonet, but they were very strong and he could not do so. I was, therefore, obliged to accompany the detachment in that state (it was a reconnoitering party sent in advance of the army), but the joy and excitement of the moment made me forget that I

had fetters on. I followed the horse of the commanding officer to whom I was enabled to give much important information concerning the enemy, as also to act as a guide to the detachment, for the officers and men were perfect strangers to the station, and had to proceed very warily towards it; not knowing where the rebels might be hiding.

I pointed out our intrenchment to the officers, who galloped off to see the place; they were much concerned to know how we could have held out so long in such a defenceless position.

We now came opposite to Generalgunj, where many harmless natives stood in small groups, anxious to greet the Europeans, but afraid to advance, not knowing how they might be received. The officers believing them to be rebels, and apprehending treachery on their part, ordered a few soldiers from the ranks to advance and fire upon them, but I happily succeeded in begging them not to do so. We proceeded on, and when within 300 yards of the canal, rather large bodies of unarmed natives were seen, eagerly looking in our direction, but none daring to advance; the officers now resolved to fire upon them believing them, to be the mutineers in disguise, and were with much difficulty dissuaded by me from doing so, I only succeeded when I drew attention to my fettered legs, saying that if I was deceiving my deliverers I should be the first to fall, having no means of escape. Had these been fired upon, the entire station would have been deserted, for the wretched mutineers, on their flight, had done all in their power to cause a complete desertion of the populace in order to put the Europeans to inconvenience with regard to the supply of provision, etc., intimidating the peaceable people by saying that the soldiers would not spare a single man, woman or child in Cawnpore.

By this time three or four other natives from our right came up and confirmed my statement with regard to the good will of the inhabitants still left in the city, so we proceeded, and more native by degrees joined us; they stated that a number of sepoys had slept during the night in the "Mogul Sarai" (an inn), and the officer commanding, detached about 25 of his Europeans to attack them if still there. These marched off at double quick pace, and before reaching the inn a great rush was made, not from *that* place, but from the new range of buildings, on the oposite bank of the canal, where the sepoys had removed from the inn—not considering the latter place at all adapted for making a bolt when necessary. There were

upwards of two hundred of them in these buildings, and a more precipitate flight they never could have made in all their lives.

Not finding any rebels at the inn, the party returned, and we all proceeding thence, passed the canal, when a vendor of sweetmeats met us, and was permitted to sell all he had to the soldiers, who were very hungry, not having had anything to eat, save a few hard dry biscuits, since they left Futtehpore. The other natives, seeing that this did not suffice for so many Europeans, volunteered to procure more, and presently supplies of all sorts were brought out, with greatest alacrity. Fruits, hand-cakes, sweetmeats, etc., etc., also milk in jars, came pouring in abundance; each vendor vying with his neighbour to be the first to get rid of his supply, not caring for payment, though the officers rewarded them well for the same. Can after can of milk was poured out, and given to the Europeans as they continued their march, so that by the time we reached the assembly rooms, the soldiers were perfectly satisfied. A native merchant, named Elahee Bux, came out with a box of cigars, and freely distributed them among the detachment. The officers and men were quite pleased with the attention of the natives, who on their part strained every nerve to make themselves serviceable; all the while blessing their stars for being once more permitted to behold the European countenance, and getting rid of the tyranny of the rebel sepoys and the *Nana's abominable* government.

It will be borne in mind, that I am not speaking this of the *entire* populace of Cawnpore, three-fourths of whom had absconded the previous night with the *rebels* and *budmashes*, —some from real disaffection towards us, but the greater part from apprehension. Those that remained did so with fear and trembling, not knowing whether the sins of the villainous murderers might not be visited upon the whole of the inhabitants, and fully prepared to bolt at once should any sign of this nature be manifested.

The building in which the poor helpless ladies and children had been so dreadfully massacred now came to view. The natives pointed it out and the officers galloped into the compound. I also followed, but could not proceed further than the gate; I was in a manner spell-bound—I could not prevail upon myself to advance—I stood at the gate, unable to move. One of the officers shortly returned, and I learnt from him that there were no dead bodies lying about, either in the

enclosure or in the house itself ; another officer returned a little while after, and stated that the scene he saw was the most awful that eye could witness. One of the rooms was a perfect pool of blood, two inches deep, and the well at the back of the house was almost full to about six feet to the brim, with the dead bodies of the cruelly-murdered females and children.

It was now proposed by the officers to proceed and take possession of the magazine, and the detachment accordingly marched towards it, but when we came to the rear of Messrs. Brandon and Co.'s shop, a thought struck me, that possibly the enemy might be collected in the magazine in a large body to offer resistance. This I accordingly communicated to the commanding officer, and, with his permission, selected one of the peons who had joined us from the city, and whom I knew, to run over and see. Meanwhile the Europeans where ordered to cross through the compound (Brandon's) and halt on the old parade-ground opposite to Christ Church,—after this I was desired to go and get my fetters knocked off. Since no blacksmiths had made their appearance among us, although several men had been sent to fetch one, I took Kulloo and his brother with me, as also a few more men from the mob, and proceeded to the city.

Mendes had returned to the city after I left him, and hearing of the arrival of the Europeans, came out to join them. He also followed me, as his fetters were likewise still on. Shall I state how I felt when my legs were released ? No ; this I leave my readers to imagine ! I took the fetters in my hands and resolved to keep them as a memento as long as I live, and have preserved them carefully. Oh ! with what light steps I returned to join the Europeans ! I had only time to reach the boundary of the city, when all of a sudden I felt the earth under me tremble, as if it had received an electric shock. I staggered as if drunk ! Simultaneously there was a tremendous explosion towards our north—it seemed as if a volcano had suddenly opened. A volume of flame gushed upwards, succeeded by clouds of dense smoke and dust, and for several minutes it kept hanging over the spot. This was the last act of treachery the rebels could think of. They had placed a slow match upon the powder in the magazine, calculated to last till the detachment should reach the spot, and had the latter proceeded on to the magazine, as they had intended, there is no doubt of the fearful destruction which would have ensued.

There was no occasion now to proceed further, and the detachment moved into the Quartermaster Sergeant's bungalow of the old Native Infantry lines, which was a tiled one, and had escaped the fires. This detachment was "B" Company, Her Majesty's 84th foot, commanded by Captain Ayten; Doctors Gayer and Le Presle were in company, and were attached to Major Rennand's advance force.

Liberty! ah, how sweet is liberty! None can fully appreciate its value, but those who have been deprived of theirs. I was now again free and among friends; words cannot express the emotions of thankfulness I then felt for my miraculous preservation. I held up the ugly fetters to my eyes, half inclined to doubt my senses and to believe that I was in a dream; but the reality could not be mistaken,—all I could do was to offer up my heartfelt and grateful thanks to that Supreme and Almighty Disposer of all things, whose gracious mercy had so conspicuously been exerted in my behalf, to deliver me so miraculously—so signally—from the dangers that beset me all round. I may well exclaim with the pious Psalmist:

"The sorrows of death compassed me, and the pains of hell got hold upon me; I found trouble and sorrow. Then I called upon the name of the Lord; O Lord, I beseech thee, deliver my soul. Gracious is the Lord, and righteous; yea our God is merciful. The Lord preserveth the simple; I was brought low, and he helped me. Return unto thy rest O, my soul; for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee. For thou hast delivered my soul from death, and my feet from falling." *

I had been on my legs that morning (17th July) upwards of four hours, without shoes, and almost naked, my knee-joints and ancles sadly bruised with the constant friction of the fetters. I could hardly stand—so fatigued and hungry was I, not having had any thing to eat or drink since eight o'clock the previous morning My own state, however, was not much worse than those of my brave and generous-hearted deliverers, among whom I sat and with whom I held converse, listening with delight mixed with admiration to the few hurried details they could then give me of their several successful encounters with the rebels during their march from Allahabad to Cawnpore, a distance of 126 miles, which they had traversed in eight days, fighting four desperate battles with the Nana's villain-

* Psalm cxvi. 3-8

ous army, who in point of numbers were as many as ten to one of our harassed but hardy soldiers. The privations and distress the latter had undergone, the heavy marches they had made—braving the heat and rain of the most inclement season of the year, bearing up with hunger and thirst, lying in the open air—all these had their effect upon the poor men, who now looked as if quite done up, and so they were in body though not in heart, so that a day's rest to them was a real boon. The officers, too, were noble fellows, forgetting their own present comforts, strained every nerve to make their men as comfortable as circumstances would permit. Overlooking, good naturedly, all impatient expressions or ill conduct of the men, some of whom, as may naturally be expected under their heavy trials, were not over particular just then, as to their behaviour, though on the whole a more steady, well disposed set of men it would be difficult to find.

By this time some of my servants traced me out, and expressed great delight at seeing me again, having given me up long ago as dead ; my washerman invited me to his house to take a bath. I accompanied him, and a barber was procured to crop my hair, which was in a shabby state ; the bath refreshed me, and I felt a peculiar pleasure in putting on a suit of clean under-clothing, which was all the washerman could give me, and these even were none of the best, for the Nana had previously caused all the washermen of the station to deliver up into his store every article of European clothing in their possession, on pain of having their noses and right hands cut off. My washerman, however, had saved, as *mementoes*, some five or six articles of clothing belonging to my beloved family and myself, by burying them in an earthen chatty under a heap of hay, and now he brought them to me. Oh, how precious have they been to me ever since—for these are the only relics of the dead I have ever been able to obtain, except our two dogs. After taking a meal of chuppatees and curry, which the poor man's wife had just prepared for their own breakfast, part of which she most invitingly laid before me, I returned to rejoin my deliverers in the Quartermaster-Sergeant's bungalow of the old Native Infantry lines.

The officers and soldiers did not make me out in my *clean* clothes, until I spoke to them, and then they gave me a most hearty welcome. I endeavoured to make myself as useful as possible, and acted as interpreter to the officers that day, as they did not well understand the natives.

The main force with General Havelock had moved up that day, and taken possession of the cavalry stables opposite the intrenchment. This was exactly three weeks after the signing of the treacherous agreement by which the false Nana obtained the evacuation of the intrenchment. Here many of the peaceable natives proceeded with supplies of different sorts and received good prices for their articles. Two other detachments of Europeans had that morning proceeded out of their camp, and entered the station, one of these detachments having remained near the assembly rooms, and the other having proceeded to the city and established a police there; the rebel flag, which was still waving at the kotwallee, was thrown down, and proclamation issued throughout the city, of arrival of the British force, calling upon the inhabitants to settle down peaceably, and to render every assistance to the Europeans with regard to supplies, etc. I have already stated that three-fourths of the inhabitants of the city had deserted on the previous night, so that the few who remained were all well-disposed towards us, and hailed with joy the advent of the English.

At about 10 A. M., two rebels were found in one of the city inns or *sarais*—being wounded severely, they were unable to make their escape; they were brought to us, and on being questioned as to who they were, answered, in a very insolent manner, that they were fighting men. One was a Mahomedan jemadar of the 2nd Light Cavalry, and the other a Hindu Naick of the 53rd Native Infantry, and had received their wounds during the siege of General Wheeler's camp. The European soldiers at the sight of these were so excited as to be restrained with difficulty by their officers, who caused the wretches to be placed out in the sun as a preliminary punishment, where the miscreants would occasionally console themselves by uttering sundry abuses and curses upon the English, saying that the *kaffirs* (infidels) would yet be destroyed. On such occasions the Europeans would reward them with a kick or so for their pains.

At noon a number of native boys and others announced in great astonishment that a *jahaz* (a ship) had just arrived in the Ganges. This was the steamer *Berhampootur*, having a hundred soldiers and several guns on board, and as a vessel of this kind had never yet proceeded so far up the country as Cawnpore, the sight of her both astonished the natives, and gave them confidence in the resources of the British, for the

idea of utter destruction of nearly all Europeans, had been so instilled by the Nana and his adherents in the minds of the ignorant people, that they were doubtful if the handful of British troops who had so bravely re-conquered Cawnpore, would be able to keep their own very long. The object of this vessel, I was informed, was to take the rebels at Cawnpore by surprise and rescue the poor European women and children in bondage: but, alas! it had met with many obstacles on the way, the chief of which was the want of sufficient water in the river, besides having to contend with the rebellious zemindars on the Oude bank of the river who had placed their batteries at convenient spots all along the bank. Hence she was unable to effect the noble object, which she had in view, and was obliged to make slow progress, acting in consonance with the land forces under General Havelock, all the way from Futtehpore to Cawnpore.

During the day, with some difficulty, I had procured a few ready-made clothes from the cloth merchants in the city, where I met the treasurer of my office, named Pragnarain, from whom I received great attention and kindness. I was now enabled to make my appearance in my proper apparel, though the clothes were not of very good fit. I once more returned to my deliverers, and found them still occupying the Quartermaster-Sergeant's bungalow. Mendes, the drummer, had also remained with us the whole of the day, and was kindly treated.

At about 5 P. M., three of the five native military prisoners, who were in irons with me in the Putkapoor jail, came to us, and were presented by me to the officers of the detachment; they brought with them their fetters for the inspection of the officers, who told them to wait a few days, when their case would be taken into favourable consideration. I may as well mention here, that every one of these good men have since been handsomely rewarded by Government. Khuda Bux, jemadar, is at present enjoying a splendid appointment at Lucknow, as commandant of Police Corps on a salary of Rs. 300 per month.* The rest are promoted to subadars in the 1st Battalion, Police Corps at Cawnpore, and Mendes, drummer, is Quartermaster-Sergeant of the same corps.

* Eleven villages, assessed at Rs. 4,000 per annum, were bestowed upon Khuda Bux as a reward for his fidelity to Government during the Mutiny. These villages, all belong to the Roy Bareilly District, about 20 miles from Lucknow, Taluka Baryarpur. Khuda Bux died in the year 1870, leaving his effect to his son Ellahee Bux, who is also one of the survivers of the Cawnpore Massacre—(vide appendix.)

Pragnarain, treasurer, very kindly invited me over to his house for the night. I took leave of the Europeans and proceeded to the city at about sunset. While passing through, I had to traverse the same streets by which, only five days ago, I had been conducted as a prisoner and in irons. How the tables were now turned!—then the natives pointed at me the finger of contempt; but now what a change!—every individual I met, whether high or low, bowed almost to the ground the moment he saw me, and made his obeisance—not to me, as I thought, but to the English clothes I had on, and which only a day ago would have brought sure death to the wearer.

Being comfortably housed for the night, I was very grateful; Pragnarain was kind and attentive. 'Kulloo had not deserted me, and was now my only servant. I promised I would do much for him, and subsequently succeeded in getting him employed as a private in the 1st Battalion Police Corps at Cawnpore, which pleased him much. The fatigues of the day had quite knocked me up, but when I laid myself down to rest for the night I could not sleep. The terrible events which had so recently transpired, came crowding over my mind. In the course of that day, I had been put in possession of many of the particulars of that awful heart-rending massacre of the 15th July, of which hitherto I was in perfect ignorance; but the statements of the different persons, who related them, were so conflicting, as to quite bewilder me. I could not learn a word about my beloved family; what had become of them, or how killed, no one could inform me. In my bondage I had so worked up my mind as to believe that many, if not all of them, were alive and in confinement with the rest; and the hope of again meeting them (for I fully believed we would all be rescued before the end of the year, though I did not think General Havelock would have been enabled to come so soon). had sustained me under my heavy trials. But now where were they? Brutally murdered in cold blood on the 15th July? I believed such to be the case at the time, but subsequent inquiries have convinced me that not one of those whom I called mine, ever returned from the banks of the river on that awful day—the 27th June. They must have all been together in one boat and perished at the same time.

The world appeared to me a blank—all my fond hopes were gone; I was alone—quite alone. I could only look upwards to heaven, and wish I had also joined the dear souls that had gone before;—all I could do was to call upon God

most earnestly in my terrible distress, and say, "O God, help Thou me whom Thou hast spared."

I repeatedly asked myself—"What, if all my dear relatives at Agra are also massacred?" as was given out by the rebels, whilst I was in confinement. The thought was dreadful—so I resolved at any cost to know the worst. Pragnarain exerted himself and procured a cossid (messenger) to undertake the journey. The man did not fear to go; though the road was perfectly unsafe. His appearance and way of talking convinced me of his success, and I wrote a letter to my brother on the following morning.* When the messenger returned with his reply, eleven days after, how great was my joy to learn that they were all alive and well,—how heartfelt were my thanks to God, for permitting me to enjoy this satisfaction! The happiness and delight of the cossid was beyond expression. The trip had been an event in his life,—he had been taken before the Lieutenant-Governor as the bearer of the only authentic intelligence of the doings at Cawnpore, as the daks had been stopped since 5th June, and had been rewarded with a handsome donation of fifty rupees (paid to him at Cawnpore by an order). The poor fellow could not speak of anything for some time, but of what the *Lord Saheb* (The Hon'ble Mr. Colvin) had said to him—how he had made him sit before him on his own foot-stool, and patted him on the back for undertaking so perilous a journey; how he had asked him many questions about Cawnpore, and had made much of him.

I had reported myself, on the 18th, to the Commissariat Officer with the Field Force, who, having brought no office establishment with him, was glad to receive my services, and reported the same to the Officiating Commissary-General at Calcutta, under whose instructions my arrears of salary from 1st June were paid me, and I was instructed to re-organize the Cawnpore Commissariat Office, which I had no difficulty in doing, as the whole of the Bengalis composing the English Department were present, and were but too glad to be taken back. I was then directed to accompany the Field Force to Lucknow, but my state of health would not admit of my doing so. I was allowed to remain at Cawnpore with General Neil's force.

* Copies of this letter were taken by some of the officers at Agra, and sent to their friends in England, by which means it reached the *Illustrated London News*, as may be seen at page 322 of its issue of 26th September, 1857.

CHAPTER X.

It is not the object of this simple narrative to enter into the particulars of the several battles won by our brave and hardy troops from the time of their progress from Allahabad in July, nor to describe the exertions the great hero of Cawnpore—General Havelock—so strenuously made to hasten to the relief of the beleaguered garrison at Lucknow, and the obstacles and difficulties he experienced in his repeated attempts. Full details of these have already appeared from time to time in the newspapers and other works since written and published. Omitting, therefore, such details, I shall confine myself to the narration of only such particulars as appertain to the foul deeds done by the rebels and traitors at Cawnpore.

Some of the scenes, most horrifying and dreadful that eye could witness, were to be met with by persons who visited that house of terrible carnage and blood, where the helpless women and children had been butchered on the 15th July. On a near approach to the building, the mind imperceptibly filled with the most harrowing thoughts, felt as if a strange indescribable *something* hovered round the place which impressed one with awe, and the deepest melancholy. Then, as the horrified beholder entered the court-yard and stood at the threshold, his eyes fell upon the floor inside, covered over with blood, it came over his shoes as he stepped in. Tresses of women's hair, some nearly a yard long, mats steeped in gore, children's shoes, and articles of female wear, hats, bonnets (some hanging against the wall), leaves of Bibles and other religious books, children's frocks and locks, ladies' boots, broken daguerreotype cases, small earthern pots and pans, bottles and water vessels, broken and unbroken, were to be seen strewn all about the place, dotted thickly with blood. One small room was a pool of blood about two inches deep. There were the marks of bullets and sword cuts on the walls

and pillars in the room and on the door posts. Into these sword cuts in places long tresses of ladies' hair had been carried by the edge of the weapon and there hung—a most painful spectacle. It is stated that one of the five executioners mentioned at page 118, named Sarwur Khan, had no less than three swords broken while slaughtering the helpless victims, for he was seen repeatedly emerging out of the building with his broken sword to procure another from the Nana's quarters in the hotel. Many little bits of paper, carefully folded up, were found containing hair of children and men, some had inscribed on them "dear Willy's hair," "Ned's hair with love," and such like endearing epithets. Ah! what precious relics must these have been to the possessers, thus carefully to have been preserved to the last, only to be parted from with life—most heart-rending spectacle!

In my anxiety to learn something about the fate of the dear ones, who had been so cruelly snatched away from me, I most carefully searched high and low all over the walls, behind the doors, and in every corner and pillar of that building, for some trace of my lost ones; but no writing of any kind met my longing eyes, except a few dates and the days of the week scrawled over here and there with charcoal, or the fragments of a broken earthen vessel,—such as, "Arrived here on the 4th July, Saturday," then below it was continued—"5th Sunday," and so on, up to the 14th July. I have on subsequent visits to the building observed writings upon the walls in places where none was to be seen at my first visit, and which, from the manner of the wording I could not believe as having been traced by the unfortunate victims, though purporting to be so.

Two of the illustrations attached to this book are, as will be seen, copies, on a reduced scale, of the beautiful pencil sketches taken on the spot by Lieutenant Crump; the publishers of which have given a brief account of the brave young officer's career, and how "he took part in the nine bloody battles of General Havelock's column, and how he fell fighting in the fortified streets of Lucknow on the 27th September, 1857."—I copy from it as follows:—

The following extract from one of Lieutenant Crump's articles is so appropriate as a literary descriptive companion to the *sketches*, that it is here given. After describing the hard-won victory of the 16th July, (at the retaking of Cawnpore) he writes, "And now alas came intelligence which

turned the joy of our victory into mourning. We had learned on the march up, that about a hundred of our women and children were still alive at Cawnpore. The thought of releasing them from their cruel bondage, had been a matter of happy speculation throughout the camp. We now learned from people who came in, that the Nana Sahib had caused every soul of them to be murdered in cold blood the day before when he found the fight going against him. Cawnpore, formerly the largest, handsomest, and wealthiest station in the north-west, was now one desolate wilderness of roofless, gutted houses; traces of the most wanton devastation met the eye at every step, every door was pulled off its hinges. Some officers of the force visited the place wherein the fearful tragedy of the day before was enacted. It was a native house of the better kind, having rooms on either side, round an enclosed courtyard, where those unfortunate ladies and soldier's wives and children had been confined; and it was told me, as an actual and literal fact, the floor of the inner room was two inches deep in blood. It came over men's shoes, and articles of female wear, broad hats and bonnets, books, and such like things, lay scattered all about the rooms. There were the marks of bullets and sword cuts on the wall, not high up as if men had fought, but low down, and about the corners, where the poor crouching creatures had been cut to pieces. The bodies of the victims had been thrown down a well, just behind the house, and were there seen, a mangled heap, with an arm or leg protruding here or there. If the Black Hole of Calcutta brought down such retribution on its perpetrators, what vengeance should be meted out for this?"

Here was picked up by an officer a slip of paper written by one of the Misses Lindsay, and ran as follows:—

"Entered the barracks	May 21st.
"Cavalry left	June 5th.
"First shot fired	June 6th.
"Aunt Lilly died	June 17th.
"Uncle Willy died (Major W. Lindsay) ...	June 18th.
"Left barracks	June 27th.
"George died (Ensign G. Lindsay, 10 ms.) ..	June 27th.
"Alice died—(Miss Lindsay)	July 9th.
"Mamma died (Mrs. G. Lindsay) ...	July 12th."

The writer, with her surviving sister, perished in the general massacre. The earliest comers to this House of Blood

found many little relics, among which were a book, entitled "Preparation for Death," and a torn Bible, on the fly-leaf of the latter was written, "For darling Mamma, from her affectionate daughter, Isabella Clair," and the book had noted on the blank page as follows:—"27th June, went to the boats;—29th, taken out of boats;—30th, taken to Savada Kothi—Fatal day."

All my endeavours to obtain any information regarding the fate of my beloved ones proved futile. Oh! what would I not give to know of a certainty in what manner and under what circumstances, my beloved wife and child, and the dear ones I had so recently brought away from Calcutta, to die in so dreadful a manner, had met their several fates! It would be some consolation to me to be certain in what particular spot their dear remains have been deposited, for killed they are without doubt. I have reason to believe that they all met a watery grave; and what strengthens this belief is, that not one of their names is included in that list found near this building. It also appears from the statement of some of my servants, that not one of my beloved ones returned from the banks of the river on that terrible morning, the 27th June. It is dreadful to think of all they must have suffered on that occasion.

My child Polly's faithful servant, Thakooranee, who was with us in the intrenchment, had escaped; not having been permitted by the sowars to accompany the ladies to the river, when they left the intrenchment that morning, and was not killed, owing to her old age and miserable appearance. This servant's statement of the distress and lamentations of my poor wife, when she found I had not returned to the intrenchment, according to my promise, is heart-rending. Every moment of the forty hours, from the time I went out on the 24th June, in my disguise of a native, was counted with feverish anxiety and expectation; when that time expired, with it all hope died away—and, Oh! in her distress of mind she called herself my murderess for consenting to my undertaking so perilous a journey, which could not but be attended with certain death. Thus she lamented my loss, stooping down against the wall in the corner of the burnt barrack where I had left them, and where I used to sit, refusing to be comforted. My sword and my Bible, as well as the garments I had taken off on the 24th, now became to her inestimably precious; and the servant further describes that when about to leave the in-

trenchment on the 27th, one of the rebel sepoys took possession of the sword, and would not give it up, although she entreated him with tears to do so. She then appealed in the most pitiful manner to the by-standers all round, explaining how precious a relic it was to her. Her appeal was so touching that one or two of the men immediately recovered and restored the sword to her, with which she hastened to join the other ladies now ready to start for the river. While they were all proceeding on foot, my child, finding that Thakooranee was not allowed to accompany them, was greatly distressed and kept looking back and calling to her all the while, until she was hid from view. This old servant's grief is excessive beyond expression.

* * * * *

General Neil having been left in full charge of Cawnpore, now set about most energetically to establish order and authority. Police and Intelligence departments sprung up in no time: a native corps of sweepers and other castes (held in abomination by the Hindoos and Mahomedans) was speedily formed into battalions to bring down the pride of the *Pandies*, and paraded morning and evening: rebel sepoys and others almost daily captured and strung up to the moulsaree tree which is in the enclosure of the building, where the European ladies and children were massacred on the 15th July, and where also a gallows was erected; many high caste Brahmins among the captured rebels having been compelled to collect the bloody clothes of the victims and wash up the blood from the floor, after undergoing these degradations which includes loss of caste; sweepers of a class called *domes* (the mere touch of whose hand to a Brahmin is pollution of the highest degree, and death from whom is to be attended by awful consequences, namely, transmigration of the soul into seven several forms of miserable reptiles and horrible mousters, each time dying most terrible deaths) received orders to hang the infatuated wretches.

The spot selected for our new intrenchments or rather fortifications of earth, was on the right bank of the Ganges, near Buxee-Ghat; and thousands of native labourers, men, women and half grown people were employed daily upon them, so that in less than a month these ant-like swarms managed to throw up earth-works of very considerable dimensions. They raised a wall seven feet high and fifteen feet thick all round, which was turfed over to prevent its being washed

away by the rains; and was "fitted with sally ports and gates; field magazines, embrasures, and platforms for the guns, made of brick-on-edge, set in concrete by masons."

I omitted to mention that a notice was issued directing the natives to deliver up, within a certain date, all plundered English property that may be in their possession, and intimating that severe punishment would be inflicted on any one who still retained such property beyond the time allowed; the effect of this was, that all who had any property of this sort were afraid to come forward and deliver it, but they lost no time in casting out all they had into the streets during the night, so that not only the streets of the city but the adjacent compounds of bungalows, ditches and gardens, were all strewn over with English property. Furniture of various kinds, beautiful china, glass and crockery ware, ladies work-boxes, splendid dresses, and toilet ornaments! also valuable books with or without their bindings, were strewn about in heaps in all directions! but a great deal more property was cast away into the canal and river! many carts and coolies were employed for several days to collect all that could be found, and these were stored in the Assembly Rooms, where they were sold off by public auction, on account of Government. The purchasers were mostly natives, and many made their fortune by getting the lots for little or nothing, buggies and carriages sold off for less value than their wheels were worth, except a few which realized something to a third of their cost.

Besides raising an infantry corps of sweepers, called Police Battalion, the appointment of *thanadar*, or native superintendent of police, was conferred upon a most notorious *jullad*, by name Aitwurya, who a month subsequently was proved to be one of the principal butchers or executioners, employed by the Náná in dragging away the bodies of the poor European victims, and who was foremost in stripping the dead of their garments and taking as booty all he could get upon their person. However, at the time of his appointment to this high and honorable post, his real character was not well known. Thus invested, he was directed to proceed and take charge of the police-station at Bithoor at the head of a hundred other villainous *jullads* selected by himself from among his brethren, and very likely participators in all his past iniquitous deeds.

With a tremendous shout of praise, and "*bole baba*"

(long life) to General Neil, these villains accepted the appointment. Their leader Aitwurya procured a large horse to ride, and a silver badge and lace belt, with a suitable dress and shoes to put on. Thus equipped, he forthwith proceeded to Bithoor to the utmost astonishment and horror of the inhabitants, and set about carrying on a series of unheard-of oppression, bribery, and corruption. This created him enemies, and on complaints being preferred, a man named Pursunnarain, and one who was, at that period of martial law, in great authority under the orders of his European superior, was directed to proceed to Bithoor and set matters right.

This Pursunnarain appears to have made himself an object of extreme hatred to the inhabitants of the station from his covetous disposition. He proceeded according to orders, escorted by a few horsemen of the low caste new levy, and took with him his favorite dancing girl, a Cashmerian. On arrival, he immediately ordered music and country wines to be brought, and passed the greater part of the night in drinking and dissipation. While this sort of thing was going on, at dead of night some three or four hundred rebel horsemen, who had been lurking about in the neighbourhood, fell upon Bithoor, and at once attacked the police—Pursunnarian, being nearly drunk, attempted to jump down a window, but was taken and hacked to pieces; Aitwurya and his brother *jullads* made a precipitate bolt to Cawnpore; the dancing girl managed to hide herself in some hut or other close by;—and the rebels, after committing all the havoc they could, retired to the district by morning.

Pursunnarain had a relative by name Huzaree Lall, who took his death much to heart, and set on foot a series of inquiries against Aitwurya, and succeeded in bringing home to him the fearful part he had taken while the traitor Náná had held sway at Cawnpore. The house of Aitwurya was searched and many European articles of clothing and ladies' jewels, also money, was found, buried in earthen and brass vessels under ground; and people in his neighbourhood came forward to prove that he had all along been employed by the Náná. This was sufficient to secure him a just retribution for all his brutal and wretched deeds. He was hanged on the *moulsurree* tree in the court-yard of the very building where he had so, short a time back, been the principal actor in dragging the dead bodies of the unfortunate women and throwing them into that horrible well while life was yet warm in some of them.

Our communication with Calcutta were all this while kept open, and small detachments of Europeans continued to arrive by bullock train from Allahabad; but the roads to the North-Western Provinces were entirely closed—a few cossids (messengers) managed to convey a letter or two occasionally with the greatest difficulty, for which they were very highly paid, and thus we could obtain information, though very imperfectly, of what was going on at Delhi, Agra and other stations. Twice I had the pleasure of hearing from my relatives at Agra. My state at Cawnpore, as may be imagined, was very wretched;—the recollection of the past—the scenes I had been in the habit of frequenting with my beloved family in happier times, constantly obtruded themselves to my view wherever I went. The station of Cawnpore became hateful to me in the extreme. I felt I was, at times, not in my right mind, and wished earnestly to get away from that place of woeful recollections.

It is true I was still attached to the Commissariat, and my salary was regularly given to me,—work was carried on, but I hardly knew what I myself did. The writers under me strained every nerve, from regard for me, to have every thing done satisfactorily, in the hope that I might not leave them; but I could not control my feelings. My wants were few, I had no ambition nor energy left for any thing. I was perfectly broken down, both in mind and body. I resolved to resign my appointment, and proceed by any means to my relations at Agra. The Officiating Commissary-General, Colonel Nuthall, at Calcutta, to whom I submitted my application to resign, treated me very kindly,—his kind sympathy in my affliction afforded me much comfort. He did not accept my resignation, but recommended my applying to him for leave of absence; at the same time giving me most excellent advice, desiring me to engage my mind in writing out a narrative of all that had transpired at Cawnpore, which would serve to divert my thoughts from more painful matters. In fact, he called upon me officially to do so. Since I could not avail myself of my leave of absence until relieved by some competent person, I was obliged to await my time, as a person from Calcutta was expected to arrive to take my place. In the meantime, following up the advice of Colonel Nuthall, I drew up an imperfect narrative, which I headed "A Brief Account of the Outbreak at Cawnpore," &c., &c. I had not written above ten or twelve

pages when an attack of cholera laid me low; but the mercy of God restored me once more to life.

As an instance of the goodness of Colonel Nuthall in cheering up my spirits, in my heavy affliction, I place before my readers a copy of one of the several letters I received from that excellent officer. It is dated Calcutta, 26th August, 1857:—

"I have received your note with the first portion of your most interesting * narrative, which will be submitted to Government to-day. You have my cordial thanks for it, and will, I trust, receive those of the Government. I shall be glad to get the remainder when your health will admit of your completing it. If you can give any information regarding the fate of Lieutenant————I shall be very much obliged. I most earnestly urge you not to think of proceeding towards Agra, in the present unsettled state of the country. Your life is of too much value to your remaining relatives, and I may add to the Government, to be risked so wildly. If, as is supposed, the Gwalior troops are on the move, you would have no chance of reaching Agra. Your services may be of great value at Cawnpore, as you have the means of obtaining information, and this I personally pointed out to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief this morning. He said he would submit the matter to Government, *and we may yet be empowered to organize an Intelligence Department*, which would afford you ample and congenial occupation, until the country to Agra and Delhi shall be cleared.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant, (Signed) T. J. Nuthall, Officiating Commissary General."

General Havelock's army of deliverance having returned, being too small to cope with the enemy on the Lucknow line was now doomed to a short period of enforced repose at Cawnpore. The hardy but harassed men needed it to prepare for the terrible struggle then in store for them, but the feverish anxiety of the General for the speedy relief of the garrison of Lucknow was perceptible in his every movement; his uneasiness and extreme solicitude for rescuing the beleaguered garrison appeared to give him no rest. Often and often have I seen him in our new intrenchment stand

* This is the same narrative to which allusion is made in the Red Pamphlet at page 159, Chapter VII.

over against one of the bastions towards the bank of the river, and look wistfully for a very long while in the direction of Lucknow. He would sometimes come on horse-back, and the noble animal under him seemed to understand and enter into the feelings of his illustrious master ; for he stood almost as still as a statue, while the good man with his binocular surveyed the country all round, and watched the movements of the rebels on the opposite bank of the river, where, at the distance of a couple of miles, they were busily engaged for several days in throwing up an intrenchment, and making great preparations in order to intercept the march of the British army towards Lucknow. We could see them bringing out very large guns drawn by elephants and placing them in their intrenchment, and thousands of work-people engaged in completing their stronghold, their cavalry, sometimes in large bodies, galloping about from right to left. All this the General's eye scanned over at a glance, but it did not apparently engage all his attention ; what appeared more deeply to engross his thoughts, as discovered from hints occasionally thrown out, was, as it were, to plot upon his mind every inch of the difficult road he expected shortly to traverse, the greater part of which his recent experiences had already indelibly engraved upon his memory. The resources of the enemy had been well calculated, and were thoroughly known to him and his knowledge of the surpassing difficulties of his enterprise, owing to the inadequacy of his force, made him complain incessantly for more reinforcements. His heroic determination and extreme anxiety to engage the enemy and liberate his suffering countrymen and women from that blocked up prison of Lucknow, was only checked by this one consideration—want of sufficient troops ; for how long could his small force of 1,800 bayonets sustain itself against thousands of the rebel army holding most strong positions all the way to Lucknow, extending over fifty miles, and whose total strength was calculated by the natives as not under 80,000 fighting men, exclusive of the hordes which surrounded the English intrenchment at that station ; for *all Oude* was in arms against us, and it is the most powerful and warlike province in Bengal, besides being the nursery of our once splendid, but now traitorous, Bengal army ? " The cruel massacre at Cawnpore being ever before him with the full conviction that a like dreadful destiny was inevitable for the beleaguered English at Lucknow, unless instantly relieved,

made General Havelock so impatient and eager to lead again his small band of gallant men, to achieve their relief or perish in the attempt."

It was not very long ere the cheering intelligence reached us that a large reinforcement was on its way to Cawnpore, commanded by General Sir James Outram, consisting of Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers and 90th Foot, detachments of Her Majesty's 64th, 78th, and 84th Regiments, and a company of Royal Artillery. These reached Cawnpore on the 14th September, and the following day brought the General also.

Sir James Outram, being superior in rank to Brigadier-General Havelock, had been, immediately on his arrival at Calcutta appointed to the military command of the Dinapore and Cawnpore Divisons, and it was expected that he would now assume that command without delay. He, however, resolved to act differently, and notified his wishes in a Divisonal Order, issued on the 16th September, which was as follows :—

" The important duty of first relieving Lucknow has been intrusted to MAJOR-GENERAL HAVELOCK, C. B., and Major-General Outram feels that it is due to this distinguished officer, and the strenuous and noble exertions which he has already made to effect that object, that to him should accrue the honor of the achievement. Major-General Outram is confident that the great end for which General Havelock and his brave troops have so long and so gloriously fought will now, under the blessing of Providence, be accomplished. The Major-General, therefore, in gratitude for and admiration of the brilliant deeds in arms achieved by General Havelock and his gallant troops, will cheerfully waive his rank on the occasion, and will accompany the force to Lucknow in his civil capacity as Chief Commissioner of Oude, tendering his military services to General Havelock as a volunteer. On the relief of Lucknow the Major-General will resume his position at the head of the force."

This voluntary act of Sir James Outram's speaks for itself ; none but a generous and magnanimous mind could have acted in this maner.

Preparations for the march now progressed rapidly. General Havelock's own men were in high spirits for the coming engagements. These added to the reinforcements brought by General Outram, made up the force to about 3,000 strong. He divided his troops into three brigades, two of infantry and one

of artillery, the first of which was commanded by Brigadier-General Neil. The Volunteer Cavalry, mustering about 150 strong, was headed by Sir James Outram, though nominally under its legitimate commandant Major Barrow; this small body of horsemen ("composed of officers of sepoy corps which had mutinied, of European soldiers selected from infantry detachments for their skill in horsemanship, and of Civil Engineers and gentlemen settled in India who had been drawn out by the dangers of the times") was all the cavalry the army had, and it had distinguished itself highly, having been conspicuous in the field of battle throughout the campaign ever since General Havelock had advanced from Allahabad in July.

The new intrenchments on the right bank of the Ganges were now completed, and the Commissariat and other arrangements all duly attended to—large stores of surplus provisions of all kinds and of ammunition being laid in. The sick and disabled men were comfortably housed in a roomy hospital built for them. It was now necessary to leave Cawnpore in charge of Colonel Wilson of H. M.'s 64th Foot with a small, but sufficient force to man the garrison and guard the bridge of boats across the river.

It was a grand day for Cawnpore when the three Generals, Havelock, Neil, and Outram, left for the relief of Lucknow. No sooner had the army crossed the bridge of boats on the 20th September, 1857, then a skirmish took place on the opposite bank, where the enemy had, as stated before, been at work for some days.

It was altogether an imposing and animating sight; the whole of the engagement could be seen from our intrenchment. The enemy's stronghold was captured without much struggle, and the guns taken from them on this occasion were sent into Cawnpore at once. The army now halted on the river-side, occupying the ground wrested that morning from the enemy, and stretching its encampment upwards of a mile in length.

General Havelock commenced his march to Lucknow on the 21st, and by mid-day of the 22nd the whole of the camp-followers, baggage and cattle, had disappeared; but a very strong westerly breeze had sprung up on the previous day and continued for four days, the rain fell in torrents the whole time upon the almost unsheltered army, as very few tents had been taken, in order not to encumber the army,

since a large park of artillery and an abundant supply of ammuniton had accompanied the force.

The rebels rapidly retreated as General Havelock advanced and we heard of one more skirmish, which took place at a distance of about six miles from Cawnpore, when two more guns were taken by our infantry; and Sir James Outram having charged upon the enemy, whilst they fled from the face of our army, succeeded in capturing two other guns, leaving upwards of a hundred of the rebels sabred on the plains. The enemy fought no more after this until the British army reached Alum Bagh, which is four miles from Lucknow; but they blocked up the road after our troops had passed on, and all communication with Cawnpore was effectually cut off.

For several days no intelligence of any kind reached us from the army, and we had no means of communicating with them. An attempt was made by our Commanding Officer to establish a police station at Unao, 10 miles from Cawnpore, and keep the Lucknow road open; a hundred armed natives were sent to that place for that purpose, but it was not long before they were attacked and cut up by the rebels almost to a man. Our cossids could bring us no intelligence, and they returned stating they were unable to proceed. It was, however rumoured at the station that Lucknow had fallen into the hands of the British, but nothing certain could be ascertained; all was anxiety and conjecture.

On the 1st of October, at noon, the cannon from our ramparts began suddenly to fire a royal salute. All in the intrenchment—the soldiers, the convalescents, and the natives—assemble together; and no sooner was it known that the salute announced the fall of Delhi, then the Europeans gave three loud cheers, and the countenances of all brightened up with the happy intelligence. This excitement had not subsided when a second salute gave cause for still greater happiness, as it proclaimed that Lucknow was also in our possession.

This last salute was, however, found afterwards to have been premature; for subsequently correct information was received that our troops had only gallantly charged the enemy and entered Lucknow, fighting their way desperatly over every obstacle till the Residency was gained, and the besieged had been enabled to welcome the conquerors; but the loss on our side had been severe, upwards of 800 had been killed and wounded, and General Neil, having received a shot through

the head from the top of an archway, had died on the spot. The numerical strength of the enemy was so great and they had swarmed round our army with such determination, that our small force was perfectly inadequate to the task of conducting the ladies and children from the Bailey Guard intrenchment. Thus was General Havelock hemmed in with them; but he had previously secured a very strong position at Alum Bagh, where he had left his baggage and cattle with a small force to protect the same. These, now left to themselves, were attacked in great force from all sides, but succeeded in bravely holding their own.

Great anxiety was felt at Cawnpore from a knowledge that only fifteen days provisions had been taken by General Havelock, and it was feared that his supplies would be running short. Colonel Wilson therefore resolved at all risk to send out a supply, escorted by 300 Europeans and two guns. The convoy left on the morning of the 2nd October, and was likewise not heard of for some days after. Fears were entertained for its fate; fortunately it had reached Alum Bagh in safety.

Nothing further could now be done at Cawnpore to help our troops at Lucknow, but it was hoped that ere long fresh reinforcements would arrive, and all would yet end well; as it was, small detachments of Europeans continued to arrive from Allahabad and served to strengthen our own garrison.

CHAPTER XI.

My prolonged stay at Cawnpore enabled me to become acquainted with many incidents which had actually occurred during the outbreak, most of which have been related in this narrative. The people, as stated before, were apprehensive of giving information on this subject to the European authorities; but, knowing me well, they were unreserved in their communications to me. I also sought out every one of the few Christian survivors who had not gone into the intrenchment, and learnt their several histories and the means by which they had been saved.

The case of one family affected me very much, it was that of a pensioner, John Buttress, who had been attached to Messrs. Greenway Brothers for sometime. He and his family had not gone into the intrenchment, but when the outbreak took place, they disguised themselves in native clothes and remained in a small house; but were soon pointed out by some of the Bazar people and taken prisoners. There were Mr. and Mrs. Buttress, her son named Jones and his wife and their four children. After much persecution and annoyance, (being supposed to be natives) they were allowed to retire to their house, but were subjected to such perpetual dangers and apprehensions, that their existence became exceedingly burdensome to them; the little children having been accustomed to call their parents by the name of "papa and mamma" could not well break off the habit, and gave utterance to those expressions at the very moment when their parents most dreaded they should. Their state grew worse every day until after the evacuation of General Wheeler's intrenchment, they became hopeless of being able to save the females from dishonour and outrage. In this state of despair, they one day resolved, all to die together; so taking a large piece of arsenic, Mrs. Buttress sat down to pound it on a stone, intending to mix it with a little flour and bake a cake, of which all should partake and

die. While thus engaged, the other members of the family sat around, when suddenly one of the younger children, in its sweet child-like simplicity asked—"And grand mamma will this be enough to kill us all? This was too much for the old woman, she was touched to the core, and avoiding the eyes of the others put some part of the poison into her own mouth, wishing to die before the rest; but it choked her, and her son threw away the remainder of the stuff The old woman suffered much from the effects of the poison, but it was the means of saving the poor family, as shortly after, the arrival of British troops put an end to all further persecutions.

The case of a very aged lady—Mrs. Walker was related to me, as follows: "Being a very aged and feeble old person she was permitted by the sepoys to live, who frequently saw and spoke to her, giving her even food and water; but the servants of Mr. Mackintosh, who were known to her and who had so busied themselves in the murder of their master and his son, *vide* page 39, fearing lest Mrs. Walker might at some future period give evidence against them, took her forcibly before the Nana about a week or ten days before the massacre of the 15th July. She was ordered to be placed with the rest of the captives, and ultimately shared their fate."

A man named Edward Williams, a house proprietor at Cawnpore, related to me his sad story as follows: "When the mutiny broke out he had secreted his wife and three children in the city, and having disguised himself as a native took refuge in another quarter of the station; but three days after his family was discovered, and as his wife was dressed as a Mahommedan female, and could moreover speak the language perfectly, she tried to pass herself off for a Cashmerian, being of a fair complexion; but suspicion was too strong against her, and as a test her captors undid her tresses, and discovered that her hair smelt of English hair oil. This was considered a sufficient evidence against her, and the enraged ruffians struck her head off at one blow of the sword, and murdered her three children also, when this sad intelligence reached Mr. Williams, he lost no time in making his escape from Cawnpore.

On or about the 10th October, I proceeded for the first time to Savada, as hitherto want of time from public duties and other causes had prevented my going so far. A Hindoo, named Munglee Pershad, of Putkapoor, being proprietor of the above building informed me a day or two before that his

chowkidar (watchman) had reported having seen English writing on the walls in the inner apartments of the Savada House. This intelligence was sufficient inducement for me to put aside every thing else, and proceed to the building in the earnest hope of being able to find some traces of the fate of my lost family, or of those who had been kept prisoners in that building.

Munglee Pershad also accompanied me ; and on our way related many incidents connected with the dreadful doings of the rebels, which he had been enabled to glean. He told me he had heard that a tall European, believed to be Doctor Harris, Civil Surgeon, had been killed under one of the trees outside the compound of the "Savada House," and that his body had not been removed from the spot. The capture and death of this unfortunate officer is said to have occurred under the following circumstances :—He was taken near a village called Pewundee, on or about the 28th June, and is supposed to have been one from the English intrenchment who fell in that treacherous massacre at "Suttee Chowra Ghat." The zemindar of the village immediately sent the officer to the Nana, bound and escorted by some of his people. On being brought before the traitor-chief, well guarded and secured, he spoke very boldly and warned the Nana that many months would not pass over when his blood would be revenged by his countrymen. No heed was given to this, and one of the young men of the escort (a Thakoor by caste) was directed to take off his head with the sword he held in his hand. The man looked surprised on hearing this order, and said that he had already performed to the full extent the duty that had been assigned to him by his own master, which was to escort the poor gentleman to the Rajah Sahib, but since he could not well disobey this new order, he would demand that the hands of the captive officer be released, and a sword given to him, when he would most readily attack him, but that nothing would induce him to strike a person in so helpless a position as the poor captive. "What" said he to the Nana, "am I a Thakoor or a butcher, that you order me to commit so foul a slaughter ?" This was a broad hint to the miscreant, and displeased him much ; however, he contented himself by taking no notice of this bold speech, but turning to his own followers, he made a sign ; and the poor gentleman was taken away without another word, to the end of the compound and murdered under a tree.

We reached the place, and on entering the "Yellow Building," as it is usually termed by the natives, I found much writing on the walls, but nothing that could warrant my believing that such had been traced by the hands of the poor unfortunate captives; they were mostly caricatures and scribblings of names by the European soldiers who had come afterwards. One room only (a bathing-room in the north corner of the building) had traces of a good deal of pencil writing, but so defaced as to be hardly intelligible. I could distinguish only a word on two here and there: one was—"treacherously;" and a good deal below that was another—"our blood." I had now no doubt left in my mind that this pencil writing had been inscribed on the wall by some of the victims, and endeavoured my best to decipher some more of the writing; but save a few disjointed letters, and some small words, such as "we" or "and," I could not make out any thing more. It appears that when the Nana had broken up his camp at Savada some of his people carefully effaced all the writing on the walls. In this bathing-room had been confined for a few hours, I learnt, the officers and men brought back from the fugitive boat on 30th June, having been kept there until their murderers could decide in what way they should kill them, and it is believed that when they had some inkling of their doom, they traced that writing upon the wall. It is stated that when their ruffianly captors came to remove them, at about 4 P. M., of that day, the poor fellows tore off their shirts and with the shreds tied the door, so as to prevent the demons from taking them away; but it was all to no purpose—they were but poor helples captives! I felt much disappointed at not being able to make out the writing. Had the attempt to rub it off been made with some dry substance, many more words might have been left intelligible, but water had been used, and the paint on the wall having been mixed up with the writing, had entirely disfigured it.

Thus disappointed, I proceeded towards the tree where the murder of Doctor Harris was said to have been perpetrated and which was outside the compound towards the west end; the wall of the compound being low and broken, we were able to go direct. My horror may be conceived, when, on reaching the corner, my eyes fell upon some eight or ten human skulls huddled up together in a hollow place along the edge of the wall, and on looking about me a little further, I found a great quantity of human bones strewn all over the place, together

with fragments of many more skulls. These skulls and bones belonged to the poor officers and men who were massacred on the 30th June, as their bodies had not been removed owing to their murderers having left that locality a day after the foul deed. I picked up some of the skulls and examined them; there could be no doubt that they belonged to Europeans; but, alas! was there any means to distinguish any particular person!—all distinction of birth, rank and grade was there extinct. The stern commandant and obedient private, the beloved and much-liked officer and the loving and faithful soldier in the ranks, all lay there together in one mass, and on perfect equality. * * * * *

"Verily every man living is altogether vanity."

* * * * * *

Oh! what anguish, to think of their untimely end! What hopes and fears—what conflicting emotions had once filled those brave and undaunted hearts! But——peace. They are now at rest! Such is life!—"Man walketh in a vain shadow and disquieteth himself in vain: he heapeth up riches and cannot tell who shall gather them."

* * * * * *

With a heavy and bleeding heart I left the spot, and proceeding to the fatal tree, searched for the bones of poor Doctor Harris. A skull was visible from among some overgrown weeds in a ditch close to a tree, and further search brought to view some bones. There were many large ditches close by, and being filled with the late rains, had attracted a few washermen there. These informed me that nearly all the skulls and bones of those poor Europeans had been dragged away by jackals and other wild beasts from the spot where the murder took place, and had been strewn about all over that part. I searched for them and found three or four more; one was lying on the brink of a ditch, and not far from it some thing like a towel covered over with clay and turf appeared to view. I had this dug up, and found that a large port-folio was wrapped in it, bearing marks of having been perfectly saturated in water, as the leaves were glued together, and could not be separated now that it was dry; but there were traces of its having contained fancy note paper and envelopes, also many fragments of poetry apparently written in a neat lady's handwriting. In one of the compartments of the port-folio, which I had torn open to examine, were found about a dozen visiting cards all glued together and the writing effaced; I, however, found one with

some writing on it, and on separating it from the rest, read—"Mr. H. R. Cooper," this I have preserved.

Unable to bear the idea of allowing these human bones to remain thus exposed any longer, I had them all collected into a hole, dug the following day near the spot for that purpose, and covered up with earth. There were seventeen skulls in all and about thirty baskets of bones.

Returning from the Savada House, I visited the unfortunate intrenchment, where I had for the last time parted from my loved ones. This fearful looking place had so melancholy an interest about it, as to often attract me to it. On this occasion, having sent away my attendants, and after passing a short time there I took the same route I had traversed on the 24th June, when I came out in disguise—every spot of ground was distinctly remembered; at last I reached the place, in General Gunge, where the rebels had at that time placed a police-station, and where my captor, the Mahomedan sowar, had brought me on the occasion. I wished to know if the poor people there would recognize me now, though it was not likely, since I was not in the same costume; at first they were afraid even to speak to me on the subject, but being gradually drawn into conversation, two of the women (one of whom had given me water to drink in my distress) recollected the circumstance perfectly well, and related every particular, quite unconscious that I was the identical person of whom they were talking. I asked if they new the fate of the man? They answered, "He was kept in the jail, but what became afterwards of him they could not tell." They were not a little astonished and pleased when I told them that I was the man; and these poor women had now no difficulty in recognizing me. After thanking them, and making some small returns for their kindness to me when I was an utter stranger to them, I left the spot.

The station of Cawnpore was again threatened about this time. The rebels and the traitor Nana learning that General Havelock's troops were unable to return from Lucknow, and being aware of the weak state of our garrison, were mustering in force about a mile beyond Bithoor, with the intention of surprising our force, more especially as a body of mutineers—Delhi fugitives—had reached Bithoor. Small detachments of European soldiers were almost daily arriving from Allahabad by bullock train, and our good old Commanding Officer, Colonel Wilson, who was then in charge of Cawnpore, knowing

the difficulties of the British troops in Alum Bagh before Lucknow, was exceedingly anxious to muster up a sufficiently strong party to escort a further supply of provisions to that place. Of this no doubt the rebels near Bithoor were perfectly aware through the means of their spies, who came daily into our camp in various disguises with bundles of hay, grass and wood to sell as honest villagers, as well as labourers, and it was impossible for the police to detect the spies from the others, since thousands of poor people were still daily employed by us in strengthening the intrenchment, pulling down obstructions and ruins of houses, and filling up ditches, etc. Rebel sepoys even had the audacity occasionally to come in disguise and mingle with the last mentioned classes, working inside the intrenchments, which enabled them to know our position and strength very correctly. Two sepoys had thus been detected and given up by some of the village labourers, who on being proved to be such were hanged. The enemy had every facility for obtaining correct information of our doings and were now arranging to attack us as soon as our convoy should leave for Alum Bagh. Orders were issued on the 17th October, for the detachment, mustering about 700 bayonets, to march off towards Lucknow at once, and preparation was made accordingly; but at midnight, instead of proceeding in that direction, the force was moved out as quickly as possibly in the direction of Bithoor, accompanied by a field battery and a few native horsemen, without any encumbrances except as much provision as was calculated to last the troops for four days. They reached Bithoor that same morning, and after a short rest proceeded to attack the enemy, whom they found occupying a grove of trees about a mile in front. No sooner did the rebels perceive our troops than they opened two guns upon them; but it did not take long to reply with our guns, and after firing a few rounds, the infantry charged upon the enemy, carrying every thing before them. The rebels escaped with a loss of about 70 in killed and wounded, five carts of ammunition and three guns. Our gallant little band returned to Cawnpore on the 20th bringing with them three or four prisoners, one of whom was the bearer of a purwana, or letter, from the Nana calling upon the people in and around Bithoor to collect provisions and supplies of different kinds and keep in readiness for the use of himself and his "terror-conveying" army.

After a couple of days rest, the convoy of provisions was

despatched to Alum Bagh, and reached in safety ; but unfortunately for the beleaguered garrison at Lucknow, no portion of this provision could be conveyed to them, for though the distance was only four miles, yet the state of things was such that it was a difficult matter even to glean the remotest intelligence of them, and our force at Alum Bagh knew nothing of what had occurred within the previous fortnight, or what was then going on at Lucknow.

The fall of Delhi having in some measure freed our troops from occupation in the Upper Provinces, a large force was now rapidly pushed towards Lucknow for the relief of the beleaguered garrison under the command of Brigadier-General Hope Grant, C. B.

On the 26th October the Brigadier-General marched into Cawnpore. His column, now about 5,000 strong, crossed the Ganges after five days, with a large number of carts and about 3,000 camels laden with supplies for Lucknow. On the 3rd November the column reached Alum Bagh, and awaited the arrival of our new Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell who was then on his way from Calcutta.

Having arrived at Cawnpore and completed his preparations, the Commander-in-Chief started on the 9th November and joined the forces at Lucknow in safety.

Cawnpore was now left under the command of General Windham, with about 1,000 troops, which continued to be augmented by small reinforcements arriving daily from Allahabad.

About a week or ten days after the departure of the Commander-in-Chief, it was strongly reported at Cawnpore that Lucknow had fallen, though no authentic information had reached us. Every preparation was therefore made to receive and welcome the rescued ladies and children. Large tents were pitched for their accommodation, servants hired, furniture, crockery-ware and many other necessaries were borrowed from merchants and others and laid out in tents in the compound of the "old Cawnpore hotel" and the assembly rooms. A large number of carriages nnd conveyances was also engaged to meet them half way from Lucknow, as soon as correct information of their departure from that place should be received.

Amidst all this preparation and joy, alas ! the devoted station of Cawnpore was doomed once more to be besieged.

The rebels of the Gwalior Contingent* having established themselves at Calpee, about 30 miles from Cawnpore, on the banks of the Jumna, had by this time matured their preparations ; and taking advantage of the absence of the Commander-in-Chief, and the comparatively small force left for the protection of Cawnpore, now considered the time had arrived to make an attack. Their well trained and disciplined army, the efficient state of their artillery, (having brought away from Gwalior a complete siege train), their large and almost inexhaustible supply of ammunition and provisions, as well as formidable display of arms of all descriptions, inspired them with the hope of certain and speedy victory.

The rebel army now advanced upon Cawnpore ; but, before leaving Calpee, it was resolved that the army was most scrupulously to avoid all oppression and molestation of the natives, as it was thought that the defeat of the Nana and his army was attributable to the fearful atrocities committed by himself and his followers whilst in possession of Cawnpore.

These "important" matters having been duly disposed of to the mutual satisfaction of all parties, the army was divided into different brigades, commanded by sirdars selected from among the Gwalior Contingent troops, computed to be not under fifteen thousand in number,—besides the remnant of the Nana's late army, which, to the number of about six thousand, also volunteered their service ; but these from their past conduct, were mistrusted by the Contingent, who pronounced them "a dastardly set," and would not permit any of their leaders to be entrusted with authority or command in the field, though they availed themselves of their services.

Intimation of the advance of the enemy having reached Cawnpore, Major-General Windham collected nearly the whole of the troops at his disposal, and proceeding to the main canal, about four miles from Cawnpore, encamped himself there on the 24th November, and throwing up a temporary intrenchment, waited to strike at any portion of the advancing enemy that might come within his reach, keeping at the same time his

* "These men were picked sepoys of great stature and reckoned fine soldiers who constituted the army of the Maharajah of Gwalior ; (they were raised by the East India Company.) Had not the Maharajah held them in so long, and which he had great difficulty in doing, their accession to the ranks of the Dehli mutineers would have been a frightful accumulation of the difficulties of the summer of 1857. Delhi had fallen when this formidable army broke through all restraint and joined the tide of revolt, which compelled the Maharajah of Gwalior to seek refuge in the fort of Agra till the mutineers had all left and gone towards Cawnpore."

communication safe with Cawnpore. On the 25th the enemy began to make their appearance, and on the following day prepared for an attack. It was resolved to meet their first division on the Pandoo Nuddee ; our force consisted of about 1,200 bayonets, 8 guns, and 100 mounted sowars. "The enemy, strongly posted on the other side of the dry bed of the Pandoo Nuddee, opened a heavy fire of artillery from siege and field guns ; but such was the eagerness and courage of our troops, and so well were they led on by their officers, that we carried the position with a rush, the men cheering as they went, and the village, more then half a mile in its rear, was rapidly cleared. The mutineers hastily took to flight, leaving in our possession two eight-inch iron howitzers and one six-pounder gun. In this fight our loss was not severe Observing from a height on the other side of the village, that the enemy's main body was at hand, and that the one just defeated was their leading division, the Generel at once decided on retiring to protect Cawnpore, the intrenchments, and the bridge over the Ganges. We accordingly fell back, followed, however, by the enemy up to the bridge over the canal.

"On the morning of the 27th, the enemy commenced their attack with an overwhelming force of heavy artillery. Our position was in front of the city. We were theatened on all sides, and very seriously attacked on front and right flank In spite of the heavy bombardment of the enemy, our troops resisted the attack for five hours, and still held the ground until finding that the mutineers had fully penetrated into the town and having been told that they were then attacking the fort, the General directed the whole force to fall back into the fort with all the stores and guns, shortly before dark."

While the battle was raging in the morning (27th November) much anxiety prevailed among the inhabitants of the city and in the fort. The bombardment of that day, as heard from our intrenchment at a distance of two miles, was such as few persons could have ever witnessed. As the day advanced the sound of the bombardment grew louder, as if approaching our intrenchment, till about two in the afternoon, the battle had advanced to within a mile of us ; and shortly after, the whole force was obliged to fall back into the fort. Then came a rush of natives from the city to us for protection, and such as had taken the precaution to provide themselves previously with passes, received admittance at once, but the rest had to shift for themselves the best way they could.

It was not difficult now to convince those few grumblers who previous to this attack were in the habit of speaking disparagingly about the late General Sir Hugh Wheeler's management during the fearful siege of June last, for here we were with upwards of two thousand European soldiers in almost as bad a predicament as that unfortunate General was with but two hundred and ten men, besides having to encounter other very serious difficulties.

The confusion and panic which prevailed that evening in the intrenchment baffles description. It was, however, fortunate that the enemy had not followed up their advantage, and charged us into the fort, as their overwhelming numbers would have made this an easy matter, and our men were so harassed and knocked up with the day's work, that they would have been unable to repulse them. We now fully expected to be besieged for a while until assistance could arrive from Lucknow or Allahabad, but as there were no ladies or children in the intrenchment, our anxiety was not great, since the fort was sufficiently strong to enable our holding out for months, and there was no want of provisions ; for a large supply had been stored in.

The enemy did not occupy the city that night. General Windham now assembled all his principal officers, and it was decided that an attack should be made upon the enemy on the following day. The battle on the 28th was very severe and lasted the whole day. The enemy took possession of the city of Cawnpore during the night of the 28th, and on the morning of the 29th commenced bombarding our intrenchment with a few guns from a good distance.

The enemy made every effort to destroy our bridge of boats so as to prevent any assistance coming from Lucknow. Their round shots struck the bridge in many places, as did the rockets which they fired in that direction from time to time. They also made a night attack, and attempted to reach the bridge, but the Rifle Brigade, who occupied the chief outworks in that direction, and kept a most vigilant look out both day and night, repulsed them. Failing in these attempts the wretches devised a new plan, this was to get a couple of light boats and set them adrift in the middle of the current after placing in them a quantity of oily and other combustible matter and setting them on fire. The boats came rapidly along the strong current, blazing away at a furious rate, and would no doubt have communicated the flames to the bridge-of-boats had they been

allowed to stick amongst them, but our look-out men were watchful, and took measures in time to intercept the progress of the burning boats.

The rebel batteries could not do us any serious injury in the intrenchment, owing no doubt to the distance they were posted —for the mortars and howitzers in the fort would not permit the enemy to plant a gun with impunity sufficiently near to admit of its taking effect ; however they kept firing away their heavy guns from their distant batteries, some of which were erected on the *house tops* in the advance portion of the town well protected by sand bags, etc.; the mutineers selected such houses as they found suited for Battery purposes, and after pulling down the roofing filled the hollow with earth taken from deep trenches dug across the principal streets in the city in order to obstruct the passage of the English troops should they come that way, and for which work they seized all classes of people without distinction who had to labor hard without getting any hire : Thus the rebel batteries and trenches progressed without difficulty. Many of the buildings were loop-holed and every precaution taken to keep the British from again entering the city. Not a day however was allowed to pass by the rebels without attempting to establish a few batteries nearer to our garrison, and they had every facility for doing so from the cover of adjacent buildings, because our round shot and musketry could not have much effect upon such positions ; in these attempts, however, the shells from our mortars proved to be a successful barrier. The way our artillery officers managed these was very ingenious : as soon as the exact position of a newly-erected battery of the enemy, in some ditch or behind a strong building, was ascertained from the smoke arising from the guns when fired, six or eight of these little mortars would be arranged in position, loaded and primed, and at the word of command all would be let off at once, when the shells followed each other in quick succession, humming a peculiar tune in the air, and as it were, like so many bull-dogs, searching out the spot, exploded with tremendous effect, darkening the whole space with whirlwinds of dust. This was enough ; the same battery never played again from that spot. Oh ! that such means of silencing the rebel battery had been at hand in General Wheeler's ill-fated intrenchment. We should have been comparatively secure from the annoyance of the Nana's guns.

The Gwalior Contingent kept up a most incessant fire of

musketry from the adjacent buildings. The old Commissariat office, Assembly rooms, and all the houses in that direction afforded them ample cover, but they could not do us any material harm, whereas our riflemen picked off almost every man that appeared to view even at a considerable distance.

On the 29th, a couple of rebel spies were seized by the native police, and were being carried for orders to Major Bruce the Superintendent of that department in the intrenchment. No sooner, however, was it known among the European soldiers that they were rebels, than in their excitement which could not be restrained, five or six of them wrested the prisoners in a moment from the hands of the policemen, and dragging them away to the earth works over-looking the Ganges, put bullets and bayonets into them in no time ; all was done in a moment and the bodies pitched over into the river.

General Windham had despatched messengers to Lucknow as soon Cawnpore had been attacked, and several others followed each other with notes to the Commander-in-Chief, informing him of the real state of things with us, and an anxious look-out was kept up all the time in the Oude direction for his arrival.

It appears that after the relief of the Lucknow garrison, had been effected—which has been ably described by other writers, and will be found in other works—all the ladies and children who had been rescued from that fearful confinement, and the sick and wounded, amounting to about 2,000 souls, were conducted to Alum Bagh on the night of the 22nd November. Lucknow itself was abandoned to the rebels for the time, and a force made up to 4,000 strong was left under Sir James Outram to hold their position at Alum Bagh. General Havelock had been elevated to the rank of Knight Commander of the Bath for his first three battles, and information had reached him of the estimation in which his country held him for his bravery. But, alas ! this good and brave man was no more. He was numbered among the dead. The shield of God had protected him throughout the campaign from the shots of the enemy. His life was prolonged till he should witness the realization of his fondest desire—" the relief of the besieged garrison, "—and it now pleased his Maker that he should " lay himself down and die." An attack of dysentry had confined him to his bed since the 20th November, and soon after his removal to Alum Bagh he became worse ; every thing was done to restore him, but his exertions both of body and

mind, had been too much for his exhausted and worn-out constitution.

The remains of Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B., were buried at Alum Bagh on the 25th November, 1857.

Two days after this sad event the Commander-in-Chief proceeded with the remainder of his troops, together with the rescued ladies and children, towards Cawnpore. On arrival at Bunnee, the report of heavy firing in the direction of Cawnpore was heard; and shortly afterwards the messengers of General Windham had reached him with the unwelcome news that Cawnpore was besieged a second time. The force was accordingly pressed forward, and, when within a few miles of the station, Sir Colin preceded the column. At about four o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday the 29th November, a body of horsemen was seen at a good distance on the Lucknow road, galloping towards our intrenchment; all eyes were turned upon the riders as they came at a splendid pace; the officers in the intrenchment raised their telescopes, and shortly after the name of SIR COLIN was passed all round: a little more and the gallant commander had crossed the bridge of boats, and had reached the intrenchment. Then the troops gave a thrilling cheer, and the cannon boomed out a salute. There was animation in every countenance, and every eye was lit up with joy. Sir Colin did not remain inactive for a moment; his eagle eye at once spanned the whole affair. The Rifle Brigade were ordered to charge the mutineers and to drive them out from that portion of the city which was nearest to our outworks. This they did in a gallant style under the command of Colonel Fyers, who was supported by Colonel Walpole. The Lucknow force was encamped that evening within three miles of the Ganges, on the left bank.

Alas, for the poor fugitives from the Lucknow garrison! Their trials and anxieties were not ended yet. Having undergone such severe hardships and privations during a protracted siege of five months, they had hoped to enjoy a little comfort and peace on reaching Cawnpore. But it was destined to be otherwise. The din of battle and the booming of cannon was awaiting them, and greeted their ears. The preparations we had made for the reception of the ladies and families had, unfortunately, all fallen into the hands of the Gwalior Contingent, and had been turned by them into smoke and ashes. Thus we were quite unable to render the Lucknow garrison any assistance.

But the meeting with a near relative and family, and some dear friends who had been thus snatched from the very jaws of death, afforded me inexpressible joy and much cause for thankfulness to that Great Power whose goodness and mercy had spared our lives, and enabled us to meet each other once more.

"It had now become necessary" (wrote the Commander-in-Chief in his despatch of the 2nd December) "to proceed with the utmost caution to secure the bridge—all the heavy guns were placed in position on the left bank of the Ganges, and directed to open fire and keep down the fire of the enemy on the bridge. This was done very effectually, while Brigadier Hope's Brigade, with some Artillery and Cavalry was ordered to cross the bridge and take position near Wheeler's intrenchment across the canal, and a cross fire was at the same time kept up from our new intrenchment, to cover the march of the troops. When darkness began to draw on, the Artillery parks, the wounded, and the families were ordered to file over the bridge; and it was not till 6 o'clock P. M., on the 30th, that the last cart had cleared the bridge. Thus the passage of the force, with its encumbrances over the Ganges, had occupied many hours."

"The camp now stretches from the Dragoon lines, in a half circle, around the position occupied by the late General Sir Hugh Wheeler, the foot artillery lines being occupied by the wounded and the families."

The rebels seeing the large camp coming from Lucknow, had given out among themselves, in order not to discourage their army, that Rajah Maun Singh, a famous warrior of Oude to whom the Nana had gone for assistance, was advancing up in all haste to attack the British, and that Cawnpore would soon fall into his hands. This report, however, proved so far true that four regiments from Oude had arrived about the same time by a different route through Bithoor and joined the Gwalior Contingent. But the avaricious miscreant Nana, who had accompanied them to Cawnpore, taking advantage of so good an opportunity, was busily engaged in endeavouring to recover his gold and silver articles from a large well (having a very deep spring) near his palace at Bithoor, wherein it appears he had put all his valuables unknown to any body, save a few of his trusty followers, previous to his having abandoned that place on the 17th July. As this well contained a great quantity of water, it was a difficult matter for him to get out the

articles; he was therefore constrained to call in the aid of some of the village people ; but before he could succeed, both the Nana and the whole of the rebels were dispersed by the Commander-in-Chief. Through the means of those villagers, the British were subsequently informed of the fact of the well containing valuables, and several large chests of gold and silver plate were afterwards taken out from it, which occupied about a fortnight. The value of the whole, it is said, was estimated at upwards of ten lacs of rupees (£100,000 sterling).

As three or four days passed away after the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief, and no attempts were made to repel the enemy, it caused much surprise among the garrison, because the intentions and arrangements of the Commander were known to nobody ; and the rebels perceiving the passive state of the British took courage and engaged themselves in laying out a grand plan for scaling our fortifications. Their splendid scaling ladders and large frame works of bamboo were all destined soon to fall into our hands before they could make use of them, for the Commander-in-Chief was now ready to act upon the offensive. Another General would perhaps have advanced into the town and attempted to drive away the enemy from it, and would thus have endangered the lives of his men from the deadly fire of the enemy from their trenches and loop-holed buildings ; not so however with Sir Colin ; well might the Governor General in his General Order on that occasion say—"The masterly guidance of the Commander-in-Chief has been scarcely less conspicuous at Cawpore than it was at Lucknow ; each disposition and movement of his forces fitted into one complete and effective scheme proof, against all disturbances of the day of battle. General Sir Colin Campbell has added largely to the heavy claim which he holds upon the gratitude and confidence of the Government, and of the soldiers whom he leads to victory. In two hours the camp of the rebels was reached and taken and their route completed."

The manner in which this was done is contained in the following extract of Sir Colin's despatch, dated the 11th December, 1857 :—

"I have the honor to report to your Lordship, that late on the night of the 3rd instant, the convoy, which had given me so much anxiety, including the families and half the wounded, was finally despatched to Allahabad, and on the 4th and 5th the last arrangements were made for consigning the remainder of the wounded to places of safety, while a portion of the

troops was withdrawn from the intrenchments to join the camp.

"On the afternoon of the 5th, about 3 P. M., the enemy attacked our left pickets with artillery, and showed infantry round our left flank. After two hours of cannonading the enemy retired on the afternoon in question. Arrangements were then made for a general attack on him the next day.

"His left occupied the old Cantonment from which General Windham's post had been principally assailed. His centre was in the city of Cawnpore, and lined the houses and Bazars overhanging the canal, which separated it from Brigadier Greathed's position, the principal streets having been afterwards discovered to be barricaded His right stretched some way beyond the angle formed by the Grand Trunk-road and the canal, two miles in rear of which the camp of the Gwalior Contingent was pitched, and so covered the Calpee road. This was the line of retreat of that body.

"From intelligence received before and after the action, there seems to be little doubt that in consequence of the arrival of four regiments from Oude, and the gathering of various mutinous corps which had suffered in previous actions, as well as the assemblage of all the Nana's followers, the strength of the enemy now amounted to about 25,000 men with all the guns belonging to the Contingent, some (36) thirty-six in number together with a few guns belonging to the Nana.

"Orders were given to General Windham on the morning of the 6th to open a heavy bombardment at 9 A. M., from the fort, and so induce the belief in the enemy that the attack was coming from the General's position. Brigadier Greathed was desired to hold the same ground opposite the centre of the enemy, which he had been occupying for some days past, and at 11 A. M., the rest of the force was drawn up in contiguous columns in rear of some old cavalry lines, and effectually masked from the observation of the enemy.

"The cannonade from the intrenchment having become slack at this time, the moment had arrived for the attack to commence.

"The advance then continued with rapidity along the whole line, till the canal bridge was passed; the troops, which had gathered together, resuming their line of formation with great rapidity on either side as soon as it was crossed; and continuing to drive the enemy at all points, his

camp being reached and taken at 1 P. M., and his route being complete along the Calpee road.

"Without losing any time, the pursuit with cavalry, infantry, and light artillery was pressed with the greatest eagerness to the fourteenth mile-stone on the Calpee road, and I have reason to believe that every gun and cart of ammunition which had been in that part of the enemy's position which had been attacked, now fell into our possession. The troops having returned from the pursuit at midnight on the 6th, and their baggage having reached them on the afternoon of the next day, Brigadier General Grant was detached in pursuit on the 8th with the cavalry, some light artillery, and a brigade of infantry, with orders to destroy the buildings belonging to the Nana Sahib at Bithoor, and to press on to Seria Ghat, twenty-five miles hence, if he had good tidings of the retreating enemy. This duty was admirably performed by the Brigadier-General, and he caught the enemy when he was about to cross the river with his remaining guns, and attacked him with great vigour, taking every gun he possessed without losing a single man."

The total number of guns taken from the enemy at Cawnpore and during the pursuit after them amounted to 32, with a very large quantity of carriage, ammunition and provisions, and it took several days to bring them into the fort. The rebels had done a great deal of mischief during the ten days they were in possession of Cawnpore. Those few houses in cantonments that had escaped hitherto, were on this occasion reduced to ashes. The assembly rooms being a flat-roofed house, had been brought into good use by our authorities, and Contained a large quantity of soldiers' spare bedding, camp equipage, confiscated property, etc.; these were set fire to by the rebels before they were driven out of the station, and the roofing of the building was completely destroyed.

* * * * * * * *

The aspect of this once beautiful station of Cawnpore is entirely changed. Residents, who were absent when the mutiny broke out in June, now returned and looked at the place in bewilderment and shook their heads in sorrow. Houses, gardens, large shady trees, bazars and huts all had disappeared—everything to the extent of a mile all round the new fort was now being cleared away. The spot where once stood the

splendid assembly rooms, the shops of Brandon and Company and J. W. Hay, merchants, had become a dreary waste. The house of slaughter of the helpless women and children had likewise been dismantled; and the trees round the well and the court-yard all cut down. The well containing the remains of the murdered had been covered in with earth on the arrival of General Havelock's troops, and since then a circular wall, two feet from the ground, has been raised all round it, and filled up with brick and mortar; the *flat* surface at the top of which being about nine feet in diameter.

The soldiers of H. M.'s 32nd Regiment, on their arrival from Lucknow, put up a very expressive inscription near the Well of Murder to the memory of their wives and children. It is in the shape of a cross; and one or two other small tombs and inscriptions have since sprung up in its vicinity. These were the only marks that indicated the place of slaughter to a stranger at that time.

The shattered barracks in the old intrenchment of June, 1857, stood as they did on the day I had parted with my lost family; all the marks of the terrible shots were there, as they were made in the walls before our very eyes, while we crouched in the corner to avoid them. Oh! monument of sad recollections! The spirits of the dead appeared to be still their, but where were the dear ones themselves?—Gone to be with the Lord. His mercy has been vouchsafed, under their sore trials to the saving of their souls; and we shall meet again in a happier and better world—beyond these stormy skies—never to part again.

The site of the Slaughter-House and of the adjoining buildings has been converted into a "Memorial Garden," and two handsome monuments (see Appendix B) have subsequently been erected by Government over the wells containing the remains of the dead, *i. e.*, one near Wheeler's intrenchment, and the other near the Assembly Rooms: but it is much to be regretted that none of the trees that grew round about the Slaughter-House, have been spared, as they would have served to indicate the exact site of that building.

This narrative is now concluded. It will, perhaps, not be out of place to give further particulars regarding myself for the information of my readers, some of whom may be sufficiently

interested in my fate to feel a desire of knowing what became of me afterwards. This I have given in Appendix C, attached hereto, and while doing so, I desire humbly to render my most hearty thanks to Almighty God, who in His great mercy, exerted His gracious Providence, so conspicuously, so signally, to bring me out of the dangers that beset me on all sides during those terrible times described in this narrative and at last brought me out safely—one among a thousand! Can there be any doubt that it was the hand of God alone that separated me from my people just at the time when my stay with them would have sealed my fate for ever. Had I been allowed to stay seven hours longer in the intrenchment on the 24th June, the arrival of Mrs. Jacobi with the Nana's offer would undoubtedly have put a stop to my going out at all, and I should certainly have perished with the rest of the garrison. When I think of my miraculous perservation, I am filled with wonder and awe. The very circumstances of my having been taken a prisoner was the means of my preservation. Then while in the hands of the rebels for twenty-three days, how wonderfully I was prevented from being brought to the notice of the chiefs.

Lieutenants Thomson and Delafosse with the other two Europeans had certainly also a providential escape, but theirs was in the ordinary course of events, as under such circumstances some must get away. Not so with me. I was clearly put aside by the hand of God, and while in the power of enemy, if nothing else, the "Nowgong Captain" (see page 138) would have had me killed. Why was Baba Bhutt called away in the midst of his official duties just at the very moment when my enemy's turn had arrived to be brought before the man, one shake of whose head was as good as an order to take away the life of a Christian, and the fellow was so well prepared to bring me to notice. I am fully convinced in my mind that I should not have lived another moment had the "Captain" been permitted to see Baba Bhutt, and which he would certainly have done had the Nana's messenger come five minutes later to call this individual.

Even to the last, when *our own* troops might have shot me unwittingly; the impulse that caused me to wave the cloth to the advance guard of Europeans, was most assuredly prompted by the same Gracious Providence, "without whose will not a sparrow can fall to the ground.

The conviction, that naturally arises in reflective minds

is that there was a purpose—a special purpose—in all that took place at Cawnpore during the forty days that Satan was permitted to employ the agency of wicked men to commit the deeds which no man unaided by the devil, could have done. Hindus, who would not take the life of a worm, had their hearts so hardened as to permit,—nay, even join, and gloat in—the cruel murder of innocent babes and helpless women—women too, whom under other circumstances they would not only respect and honor, but hold in the place of their gods! God only knows why all this was permitted, and that, too, when the rulers of India were proclaiming "peace, peace, all is peace in India!"—See Lord Dalhousie's minute on the annexation of Oudh in 1856.

Now, did all these things happen without the guiding hand of God?—and in doing so had the Almighty no purpose? It cannot be otherwise; the thoughts that troubled my mind on this subject for many years were embodied, though imperfectly, in an article "ENGLAND'S GREAT MISSION TO INDIA" which formed part of the Second Edition of this my narrative —which however it is not thought necessary to continue in this or in any future Editions of the book.

THE END.

APPENDIX A.

NOTE.—The following Lists of Names were compiled, partly from personal knowledge from details furnished by Lieutenants Thomson and Delafosse and other survivors, from information derived from records in public offices, but mostly from private sources, *i. e.*, from the relatives and friends of the victims residing in other stations; and, although no pains were spared to make them complete as was practicable under existing circumstances, yet it is feared many names have been omitted and some incorrectly inserted. The corrections subsequently made by Colonel G. W. Williams have now been adopted.

LIST I.

Names of those who went into General Wheeler's Intrenchment and are supposed to have died, or been killed, on the dates specified.

Names entered in black type are believed to be the same as per list at page 151.

The dates of the three general massacres are :—

27th June—at "Suttee Chowra Ghat," River Ganges.

30th June—Fugitives brought back from boat and killed at "Savada."

15th July—Massacre of women and children in captivity.

Ashburner, Lieut., Artillery, went out with a party (as at page 23), and never returned ... 5th June

Allen, Doctor.

Allen, Mrs. & 2 children

Anderson, J. G., Mr. (Railway) ... 27th June

Anderson, Mrs.

Angelo, F. C., Capt., 16th N. I. ... 27th June

Andrews, T. Quarter-Master Sergeant, 1st N. I. ... 27th June

Andrews, Elizabeth, Mrs.

Andrews, E. A., Miss

Andrews, Amelia, Miss.

Ashe, St. G., Lieut. Oudh Artillery .. 27th June

Amstrong, H. H., Lieut., 53rd Native Infantry ... 27th June

Babbine 14th N. I.

Baines, J. C., Mr. (Railway) ... 30th June

Baines, Mrs. ... 15th July

Baines, Phillip, Master 15th July

Battine, C., Lieut. 14th N. I. ... 30th June

Battine, Mrs. ... 15th July

Barlow, Mr.

Batavia, Martha Miss, aged 17 years ... 27th June

Balfour, M., Lieut., 2nd Cavalry ... 30th June
Bax, G., Lieut., 41st N. I., died of wounds in the intrenchment.
Belson, H., Captain, 53rd N. I. ... 27th June
Belson, Mrs., died of fever ... 19th June
Belson, Miss, died in the intrenchment.
Bell, Thomas, Sergt.-Major, 56th N. I., died of sun-stroke ... 21st June
Bell, Margaret, Mrs. ... 15th July
Bell, son to do. ... 27th June
Bell, son to do. ... 27th June
Bell, Miss (6 years of age) ... 15th July
Berrill, W., Conductor, (Commissariat) ... 27th June
Berrill, Mrs. ... 15th July
Berrill, Isabella, Miss (14 years of age)
Berrill, T. A., Mr. (Railway)
Berrill, H., Mr. (do.)
Bennet, Eliza, Miss, grandaughter to Bazar Segt. Reid ... 15th July
Beestel, Mrs.
Bisset, Miss
Blair, Mr.
Blair, Mrs. supposed to have perished ... 15th July
Blair, Miss. supposed have perished ... 15th July
Blair Isabella, Miss, died of fever in intrenchment.
Bothwick, Mrs. ... 15th July
Bolton, A. T., Lieut., 7th L. Calvy. ... 27th June
Bowling, J. P, Assistant Surgeon, 56th Native Infantry
Bowling, Mrs. & child 51th July
Boyes, W. R, Surgeon, 2nd L. Cavy. ... 30th June
Boyes, Mrs. ... 30th June
Bridges, O. S., Lieut., 53rd N. I. ... 27th June
Brightman, Miss, died in the intrenchment of fever.
Brierly, Edwin, Mr., E. T. Office.
Brett, Mrs. ... 15th July
Brooke, Sergt., D. P. W.
Brooke, Mrs.
Burn, C., Miss ... 15th July
Burn Miss, ... 15th July
Burney F. W., Lieut., Artillery ... ... 27th June
Bunney, Mr. Horse-breaker ... ... 27th June
Campbell, Mr.
Campbell, Mrs.
Caley, two Masters ... 15th July
Carroll, Mrs. ... 15th July
Carter, Mrs. ... 15th July
Carmody, Sergeant ... 27th June
Carmody, Mrs, Milliner, ... 27th June
Chandler, Emma, Miss, 27th June
Cheeters, Mary, maid servant to Mrs. Prout ... 13th July
Chalmers, W. A., Lieut., 56th N. I., killed in the intrenchment.
Chalwin, E. G., Vety. Surgeon, 2nd L. Cavalry, killed in intrenchment
Chalwin, Mrs. ... 15th July
Christie, Henry, Mr. ... 21st June
Christie Mrs. ... 27th June
Christie, 3 Misses.
Christie Master
Conway, Maria, Miss. 15th July
Cousins, James, Master 15th July
Collins, I. R., Inspector, Post Offices
Collins, J., Mrs.
Connelly, Mrs.
Cockey, H. E., Revd... 27th June
Collyer., N., Surgn., 53rd N. I., died of wounds in the intrenchment.
Colgan, Mrs. ... 15th July
Cook, R. B., Mr., Opium Department.
Cook, Mrs.
Cook (family of above)
Cox, Mr., killed by shell in the intrenchment.
Cooper, H. R., Mr., (Railway) ... 30th June
Cooper Mrs. ... 15th July
Cooper (family of above)
Copeman, Mrs. ... 15th July
Crabb, Mrs. ... 15th July
Cripps, S. E., Mrs., died in the intrenchment.

Cummins, Mr., (Railway) wounded in the intrenchment.
Currie, E. H., Captain, H. M.'s 84th Regt., died of wounds.

Dallas, Mrs. ... 15th July
Daniell, M. G. Lieut., 2nd L. Cavy. ... 30th June
Darling, Mrs. & infant
Dachey, Mrs. & infant 15th July
Darby, Mrs. & infant 27th June
Daly, Mrs. ... ... 15th July
Davis Mr. & 4 children
Dawson, A., Ensign 53rd N. I. ... 27th June
Delafosse, Lieut., 53rd N. I. ... Escaped
Dempster, C., Lieut., Artillery, shot in the intrenchment.
Dempster, Mrs. and 4 children
DeCruize, Miss (Free School)
DeRussett, Mr., Merchant ... 27th June
DeRussett, Mrs. (page 45) ... 11th June
DeRussett, 2 children.
Duncan, David, Mr., Merchant ... 27th June
Duncan, Mrs. and infant.
Duncan, Master } ... 20th June
Duncan, Miss }
Duncan, Henry, Master 15th July
Dupton Mrs. ... 15th July
Dupton, Charles ... 15th July
Dupton, William ... 15th July
Dupton, Henry ... 15th July
Dundas, W. Master ... 15th July
Duffey, Apothecary

Eckford, J. A. H. Lieut., Artllery, killed by a round shot in the intrenchment.
Eckford, Mrs.
Elms, E. J., Capt., 1st N.I.
Emmor, W., Apothecary, H. M.'s 32nd Regt.
Emmor, Mrs.
Evans, Major
Evans, Mrs. and 2 children, killed by a fall of masonry.
Ewart, John, Colonel, 1st Native Infantry 27th June
Ewart, Mrs. and 2 children ... ... 27th June
Ewart, J. H., Lieut, 12th Native Infantry.

Fagan, H., Lieut, 56th Native Infantry ... 27th June
Fagan, Mr.
Fagan, Mrs.
Fagan, two Misses.
Farnon, Mr., Telegraph Dept. ... Escaped
Fairburn, Mrs.
Fenn, Mrs.
Fitzgerald, John, Mr.
Fitzgerald, Margaret ... 15th July
Fitzgerald, Mary ... 15th July
Fitzgerald, Tom ... 15th July
Fitzgerald, Ellen ... 15th July
Fitzgerald, John ... 15th July
Forman, T. W., Ensign, 53rd N. I. (wounded) 27th June
Forsyth, W. (Railway)
Fraser, Mrs. died in bondage in July.
Freeman, Mr.
Frost, Mary, Mrs. (aged 60 years) ... 27th June
Frost, Rebecca, Mrs. (25 years) and infant ... ... 27th June
Frost, Emmelina, Miss (17 years) ... 27th June
Fulton, Sophia, Miss.
Fulton, W., Master.

Carbett, C., Dr. Sup. Surgeon, died of fever in the intrenchment.
Garrett, Mr., Engineer (Railway)
Galway, Mr. (Telegraph)
Gee, W., Mr., Merchant, killed in the intrenchment ... 7th June
Gee, Rose Anne, Mrs., died of fever in do.
Gibson, Mrs.
Gibson, Miss
Gill, Mr., Schoolmaster 13th June
Gill, Mrs., (ditto) ... 13th June
Gill, 3 children ... 27th June

Gill, 1 child ... 15th July
Gilpin, Mr.
Gilpin, Sarah, Mrs ... 15th July
Gilpin, Harriet ... 15th July
Gilpin, Sarah ... 15th July
Gilpin, Sam, ... 15th July
Gilpin, S. ... 15th July
Gladwin, H., Sergt.-Major 2nd Cavalry
Glanville, G. I., Lieut. 2nd Cavalry ... 27th June
Glasgow, two Misses.
Goad C. R., Lieut. 56th N. I. ... 27th June
Goodwin, Mr., (Telegraph Office.)
Gordon, W., Qr.-Master Sergt 53rd N. I. 27th June
Gordon, Mrs. ... 27th June
Gordon, C. A., Master
Gordon, S. W., Master
Green, Mr. (E. I. Railway) ... 27th June
Green Mrs.
Green, Edward, Master
Green, Susan, Miss
Grey, Sub-Engineer (D. P. W.), died in the intrenchment.
Grey, Mrs.
Greenway, Rose Ann, Mrs; son Edward and family (see list No. 2.)
Greenway Thomas, Mr., Merchant, died of fever in the intrenchment
Greenway, Mrs., burnt in boats ... 27th June
(Their children.)
Greenway, Miss Louisa, died of fever in the intrenchment.
Greenway, Master Henry, burnt ... 27th June
Greenway Misses, Jane and Mary ... 15th July
Greenway, Master Frederick, ... 27th June
Greenway, Samuel, Mr., Merchant ... 30th June
Greenway, Mrs. and infant, died of fever in the intrenchment.
(Their children.)
Greenway, Miss Ann.
Greenway, Miss Rosaline.
Grinsey, Mrs.
Gum Mr. (E. I. Ry.)
Guthrie, Mrs. ... 15th July
Guthrie, C., Miss ... 15th July

Harrison J. H., Lieut., 2nd L. Cavalry ... 28th June
Harris, P. H., Dr. Civil Surgeon ... 27th June
Harris, Mrs.
Hagan, Mrs.
Harkness, Mrs. and child (Free School)
Halliday, W. L. Capt., 56th N. I., shot in the intrenchment.
Halliday, Mrs. & child died of small-pox.
Haycock, Revd. ... 20th June
Haycock, Mrs. (mother to ditto.) ... 27th June
Haycock, Mr., Watchmaker, died in the intrenchment.
Haycock, Mrs., died of fever in intrenchment.
Hay, J. D. Mr., Merchant ... 16th June
Hay, Mrs. (and 3 children)
Hanna, Mr., Engineer (E. I. Railway)
Hampton, Miss.
Hefferan, Asst. Apothecary, Artillery.
Heberden, M. C., Mr. Railway (wounded), 27th June
Heron, Sergeant-Maj. 1st N. I.
Heron, Mrs. & 2 children.
Henderson, J. W., Ensign, 56th N. I. ... 27th June
Henderson, E, Mr., drowned ... 27th June
Hillersdon, W. R. Major, 53rd N. I. (wounded) ... 27th June
Hillersdon, C. G. Magistrate and Collector, killed by a round shot ... 13th June
Hillersdon Mrs, (see page 34) died in the intrenchment ... 9th June
Hillersdon, 2 children, died of fever

Hillings, Sergt.-Major 1st N. I.
Hillings, Lydia, Mrs. and son.
Hill, E. C., Ensign, H. M.'s 32nd Regt.
Hill, Mary, Mrs. ... 15th July
Holmes, Elizabeth, Miss .. 15th July

Jack, Alex C. B., Brigadier, died of fever
Jack, Mr., wounded and died.
Jackson, Mr., killed by a round shot in the intrenchment.
Jackson, J. A., Mrs.
James W. Master ... 15th July
James, Mrs.
Jacobi, Fred., Coachbuilder, killed in the intrenchment.
Jacobi, Mrs. ... 27th June
Jacobi, H., and family (see List No. 2.)
Jackford, Mrs.
Jellico, T. G., Capt., 53rd N. I. ... 27th June
Jellico, Mrs. and 2 children, died of fever in the intrenchment.
Jenkins, R. U. Capt., 2nd Cavalry, died of wounds in ditto.
Jervis, C., Lt., shot in the intrenchment
Jones, Mr. ... 27th June
Jones, Mrs. ... 15th July
Johnston, A. R., Mr. (E. I. R.)
Johnston, Mrs. and children.

Keeler, Mrs.
Kelly, Sergt. (D. P. W.)
Kelly, Mrs.
Kempland, G. Capt., 56th N. I. ... 27th June
Kempland, Mrs. and 3 children ... 27th June
Kinleside, Mrs. ... 15th July
Kinleside Henry, Master ... 15th July
Kinleside, Willis Master 15th July
Kight, Mrs. and 2 children ... 27th June
Kirk, Mrs., Senior ... 27th June
Kirk, Grace, Miss ... 15th July
Kirk, Charlotte, Miss 15th July
Kirk, William, Master 15th July
Kirk, John, Mr., Merchant.
Kirk, Mrs. and infant.
Kirkpatrick, Mr. Merchant.
Kirkpatrick, Mrs. and infant.

Latouche, H. Mr. (E. I. R.) ... 30th June
Larkins, G., Colonel Artillery.
Larkins, Mrs. and 2 children.
Lake, Qr.-Mr. Sergt. 56th N. I., died in the intrenchment.
Lake, Mrs.
Lawrence, John, Mr. (E. I. R.)
Lawrence, Mrs. and 3 children
Leary, Mrs ... 15th July
Leary, James, Master 15th July
Leary, Chas., Master
Leath, Miss
Lewis, James, Master 15th July
Lindsay, W., Major, (A. A. Genl.) died in the intrenchment .. 18th June
Lindsay, L. Mrs., died in the intrenchment 17th June
Lindsay, Caroline, Miss, 15th July
Lindsay, Frances, Miss, 15th July
Lindsay, Alice, Miss, died in captivity ... 9th July
Lindsay, G., Ensign, 1st N. I. ... 27th June
Lindsay, G., Mrs., died in captivity ... 12th June
Little, Mr., Merchant.
Lyell, Lucy, Miss ... 15th July

Mackillop, J., Mr. (C. S.) wounded whilst drawing water at the well .. 27th June
Macauley, P., Assistant Surgeon, Artillery ... 30th June
MacCullen, Master.
Maclanders, Sergeant (D. P. W.) ... 27th June
Maclanders, Mrs. and infant ... 27th June
MacMahon, T. Sergt.-

Major 53rd N. I.
MacMahon, Ann, Mrs. and 4 children.
MacMoran, two Misses
Master, G. A., Lieut., 53rd N. I., taken prisoner and died .. 29th June
Mainwaring, Cavalry Cadet.
Manderson, N. J., Lieut., 2nd Cavy, died in the intrenchment
Martin, J. W. Lieut., Artillery
Maxwell, Mr., Deputy Opium Agent.
Martindell., N., Miss, 15th July
Mark, Ellen, Miss
Manville, Conductor
Manville, Mrs., and 4 children
Miller, A., Mr. (Railway)
Morfett, Jane Mrs. ... 15th July
Moncrieff, E. T. R., Revd. ... 27th June
Moncrieff, Mrs. and child ... 27th June
Moore, J., Capt., H. M.'s 32nd Regt. ... 27th June
Moore, Mrs. ... 15th July
Moore—children .. 15th July
Morris, W. L. G., Lieut., 56th N. I.
Nelson, Mr. ... 9th June
Newenham, A. W. R, Surgeon, 1st N. I.
Newenham, Mrs., died of fever in the intrenchment.
Newenham, Arthur ... 15th July
Newenham, Charlotte ... 15th July
North, W., Master ... 15th July
Norris, Mrs. ... 15th July

O'Brien James, Mr. (Collector's office) ... 27th July
O'Brien, Mrs., died in the intrenchment
O'Brien, Mrs., widow of J. L. O'Brien of Meerut ... 15th July
O'Brien, Rory, Master son to ditto ... 27th June
O'Conner, Miss ... 15th July
Ogle, Mr. (Canal Dept,
Ogle, Mrs., and six children.
Osborne, Mrs. (age 48 years) ... 27th June

Parker, G., Sir, died of sun-stroke in the intrenchment.
Palmer, Fred., Mr., (Medical Depot) died of sun-stroke in the intrenchment.
Palmer, Henry, Mr., died of wounds in the intrenchment.
Parker, Sergeant, Road Overseer.
Peake, C., Mr. (Telegraph office)
Peel, Mrs. and son .. 15th July
Peters, Mr. Apothy., (left the intrenchment) .. 12th June
Peters, Mrs. and family (left intrenchment) ... 12th June
Peters, Miss, 53rd N. I., 15th July
Peters, Miss, 53rd N. I., 15th July
Peters, James and Mary, 53rd N. I. ... 15th July
Prole, W. G., 53rd N. I., died of wounds in the intrenchment.
Prout, W. R., Major, 56th N. I., died of sun-stroke in the intrenchment.
Prout, Mrs. ... 15th July
Purcell, Mr., Merchant
Purcell, Mrs. and son (left the intrenchment on 10th) .. 12th June
Price, Mr., Pensioner, died in the intrenchment.
Probett, M., died of wounds in intrenchment.
Probett, Mrs. ... 15th July
Probett, Miss ... 15th July
Probett, Stephen and John, Masters ... 15th July
Probett, Nellie, Emma, and Louisa ... 15th July

Quin, R. O., Lieut., 2nd Cavy., died of fever in the intrenchment.

Quin, C. W., Lieut., 2nd Cavy. (wounded), 30th June

Ramsay, Mr. (Telegraph Dept.)

Redman, F., Lieut., 1st N. I., killed by a round shot in the intrenchment.

Reilly, Condr., Depy. Com. of Ordnance ... 27th June

Reilly, Mrs. and children

Reilly, Mr., Road Overseer.

Reid, Geo., Mr., Merchant ... 27th June

Reid, G., Mrs. ... 15th July

Reid, James ... 15th July

Reid, Julia ... 15th July

Reid, C ... 15th July

Reid, Charles ... 15th July

Reid, Baby ... 15th July

Reid, William, Bazar Sergeant ... 27th June

Reid, Mrs., died in the intrenchment ... 10th June

Reid, Nixon, Pensioner

Reynolds, J. H., Capt., 53rd N. I, killed by a round shot in the intrenchment.

Reynolds, Mrs. and child, died of wounds and fever in the intrenchment.

Rickets, Mr. (Railway Department)

Roach, Mr., Postmaster, 27th June

Robinson, Mr. (Railway Department.)

Roberts, Mrs.

Rooney, Joseph, the Revd, Roman Catholic ... 27th June

Russell, Mrs. ... 15th July

Russell, Eliza, Miss ... 15th July

Ryan, Cattle Sergeant (left the intrenchment on 10th) ... 12th June

Ryan, Mrs., and 3 daughters (left the intrenchment 10th)... 12th June

Satchwell, R.M., Lieut 1st N. I. ... 28th June

Saunders. T. J. G., Lieut. H. M.'s 84th ... 30th June

Saunders, Mrs. and son, 15th July

Seppings, E. J., Capt., 2nd Cavy. ... 30th June

Seppings, Mrs., and two children ... 15th July

Scott, Mrs. ... 15th July

Schorne, John, Mr., Merchant ... 27th June

Sherman Mr., Merchant, wounded in the middle finger of right hand in the intrenchment;—and was killed ... 27th June

Shore, Mrs.

Sinclair, Mr. (Railway Department.) ... 27th June

Sinclair, Miss ... 15th July

Simpson, Henry and William, Masters.

Shaw, Mrs.

Sheridan, H., Mr., Merchant ... 30th June

Sheridan Mrs. and two children ... 15th July

Shepherd, W. J., Mr. (the Author, aged 32 years), escaped.

Shepherd, Ellen, Mrs. (aged 22 years and 6 months) ... 27th June

Shepherd, Louisa (aged 5½ years) ... 27th June

Shepherd. infant (see page 57) ... 18th June

Shepherd, Daniel, Mr. (aged 22 years) ... 27th June

Slane, Mr., Asstt. Apothecary, died in the intrenchment.

Smith, H. S., Capt., 1st N. I., died of wounds in the intrenchment.

Smith, Mr., (Railway Dept.)

Sotheby G. W. M., Lieut. Artillery, died of wounds.

Stacey, W. H., Mr., Deputy Collector.

Stevens, R. Ensign ... 56th N. I.

Stanley, Mr., wounded.

Stirling, Lieut., 2nd Cavy ... 27th June

Stoke, Lucy and William ... 15th July

Stowell, Margaret, Miss

Supple, J. C. Ensign,

1st N. I, killed by a round shot in the intrenchment.
Winton, Mrs. and 3 children ... 27th June
Swan, Sergeant, Ganges Canal
Tibbetts, Mrs. ... 15th July
Thomson, M., Lieut., 56th N. I, escaped.
Thomson, Apothecary, H. M.'s 32nd Regt.
Todd, Mr. ... 27th June
Tomkins, Mrs., Milliner
Tresham, Mrs.
Tritton, Mr.
Turner, A., Capt, 1st N. I. ... 29th June
Turner, Mrs. and child, died of fever
Turnbull, A. M., Lieut., 13th N. I.
Twoomy, Apothecary, 27th June
Twoomy, Mrs. and child 15th July
Tress, Francis, Quartermaster-Sergeant, 2nd Cavalry.
Tress, Elizabeth, Mrs.
Vaughan, T., Merchant, 27th June
Vibart, Edward, Major, 2nd Cavalry ... 29th June
Vibart, Mrs. and children
Virgin, J., Mr. (Railway Dept.) sun-stroke
Virgin, Mrs.
Vincent, T. M. Lieut., H. M.'s 8th Foot.
Viscarde, Mr. (Railway Department.)
Warde, H. J. G., Lieut., 56th N. I. ... 27th June
Wainwright, T., Lieut., H. M.'s 32nd.
Wainwright, Mrs., died of fever.
Wainwright, Miss.
Wallet, Miss .. 15th July
Warden, George, Mr. (Railway Dept.)
Walsh, Mr., ditto.
Walsh, Mrs. and children.
Walsh, D., Riding-Master, 2nd Cavalry.
Walsh, Mrs. and children.
Warren, Sergeant, Pensioner.
Wade, Frances, L., Mrs, died of fever in the intrenchment.
Warde, Lieut., 56th N. I.
Wells, Mr., Coach-Builder.
Wells, Mrs., and children.
West, Elizabeth, (and 2 children) ... 15th July
Weston, Emma, and George ... 15th July
Wheeler, Major-Genl. Sir Hugh, K. C. B.,... 27th June
Wheeler, Lady ... 27th June
Wheeler, Miss,—fate not known.
Wheeler, Miss
Wheeler, G. R., Lieut., 1st N. I. ... 21st June
Whiting, F., Capt. Engineer ... 28th June
White, Isabella, Miss ... 15th July
White, Miss ... 15th July
Wheelan, Sergt. (D. P. W.)
Wheelan, Mrs. and 2 children, Tom and Susan ... 15th July
Widlep, Catherine, Jane, and Thomas ... 15th July
Wiggins E., Lieut.-Col, 53rd N. I., A. A. G. 27th June
Wiggins, Mrs. and 2 children ... 12th June
Willis, Mrs. and child ... 15th July
Williams, S., Col., 56th N. I., sun-stroke .. 8th June
Williams, M., Mrs. died of exhaustion.
Williams, Georgiana, Miss .. 27th June
Williams, Mary, Miss, died in the intrenchment ... 15th June
Williams, Fanny, Miss, 15th July
Williams, Henry, Master ... 15th July
Williamson, W., Capt., D. A. C. G. ... 27th June
Williamson, Mrs. and child.
Wren, F. S. M., Lieut 2nd Cavalry.
Wrixon, R. B., Mr. ... 27th June
Wrixon, Mrs. ... 15th July
Wrixon, Clara Lucy, Miss ... 15th July
Wrixon, Edward, (12 years of age) ... 15th July
Yates, Mrs.

Troops composing the English portion of the Garrison, and who were killed between the 6th and 30th June, 1857.

1st Company, 6th Battalion, Bengal Artillery.

Bestal, Sergt.-Major.		
Cawcutt, Quarter-Master Sergt.		
Murlow, Drill Sergt.		
Beatie,	Sergeant.	
Dravin	do.	
Donoghue,	do.	
Dogherty,	do.	
Dunseeth,	do.	
Edmundson,	do.	
Farrel,	do.	
Fallon,	do.	
Owen,	do.	
Connolly,	Corporal.	
Glenny, John	do.	
Genny, Joseph	do.	
Lynch,	do.	
Ryan, Anthony,	do.	
Ryan, Patrick,	do.	
Scott,	do.	
Service,	do.	
Smith,	do.	
Burke,	Bombardier.	
Norris,	do.	
North,	do.	
Beezley,	Gunner.	
Burke,	do.	
Blake,	do.	
Bleenan,	do.	
Brazington,	do.	
Caruthers,	do.	
Cairegy,	do.	
Corkill,	do.	
Cullen,	do.	
Gough,	do.	
Hutchinson,	do.	
Jackson,	do.	
Keane,	do.	
Kelly,	do.	
Kenny,	do.	
Mackinlay	do.	
McConnel,	do.	
McGuire,	do.	
Maloney,	do.	
Mangain,	do.	
Mitchell,	do.	
Morrissy,	do.	
Morton,	Gunner	
O'Dwyer,	do.	
Pearce,	do.	
Porter,	do.	
Reiley,	do.	
Rogers,	do.	
Sullivan, James,	do.	Escaped
Sullivan, Fin	do.	
Thompson,	do	
Ward,	do.	
Whelan,	do.	
Webster,	do.	
Warrel,	Bugler	

Names of their families not known.

Detachment of Her 32nd Regiment.

Color-Sergt. Johnson, 4th Company, (Acting Sergt-Major.)

Grenadier Company.

Coyle,	Corporal
Adcock,	Private.
Ashton,	do.
Carroll,	Private
Clarke,	do.
Corrigan,	do.
Lyons,	do.
Mulrae,	do.

1st Company.

Brownley,	Sergeant.
Hawkins,	Private.
McGarry,	do.
McGoverin,	do.
Murdough,	do.
Noble,	do.
Potter,	do.
Sharpe	do.
Toms,	do.

2nd Company.

Dowling,	Private.
Keane,	do.
Magee,	do.
Overmars,	do.
Payme, Vincent,	do.
Payme, Patrick	do.
White,	do.

3rd Company.

Lonnergan,	Sergeant.
Bannister,	Private.
Gom,	do.
Lees,	do.
Lovello,	do.
Widdowson,	do.

4th Company.

Maber,	Sergeant
Patterson,	do.
Goldsmith,	Croporal
Moberly,	Corpiral
Wood,	Drummer.
Dobson,	Private.
Farrel,	do.
Galway.	do.
Green,	do.
Hindes,	do.
Holland,	do.
Johnson,	do.
Revin,	do.
Prout,	do.
Shammy,	do.
Sommers,	do.
Stokes,	do.
Telleson,	do.
Toole,	do.
Turrel,	do.
Wagstaff	do.
Wooley,	do.

5th Company.

Maywood,	Sergeant
Price,	Corporal
Butler,	Private.
Cagley,	do.
Haggerty,	do.

Company.

D'Oyley,	Corpora .
Brogan.	Private.
Cassey,	do.
Connell,	do.
Harper,	do.
Kelly,	do.
Reynolids,	do.
Stoney,	do.
Wellingtion,	do.

7th Company.

Slacey	Sergeant.
Barrister	Private.
Brown	do.
Morgan,	do.
Stiffington,	do.
Turner,	do.

8th Company.

Hopkins,	Private
Lelland,	do.
Lansdale,	do.
Murphy,	do.
Postel,	do.
Tritton,	do.

LIGHT COMPANY

Colin,	Private.
Purdu,	do.
Reddington,	do.

DETACHMENT OF HER MAJESTY'S 84TH REGIMENT.

Mulvelut,	Sergeant.
Gready,	do.
Gilder,	do.
O'Keefe,	Corporal
Henigan,	do.
Bentley,	do.
Brooke.	Private.
Dowal,	do.
Glynn,	do.
Leaky,	do.
McKamer,	do.
Cole,	do.
Drum,	do.
Duggan,	do.
Butler,	do.
Condry,	do.
Dunn,	do.
Eaton,	do.
Fish,	do.
Fuller,	do.
Gamon,	do.
Gould,	do.

Higgins,	Private	
Hallas,	do.	
Hunt,	do.	
Jackson,	do.	
Leonard,	do.	
Lynch.	do.	
Loveday,	do.	
Lathem,	do.	
Mace,	do.	
Mallinson,	do.	
Martin,	do.	
Mahon,	do.	
McCalla,	do.	
McIntyre,	do.	
McNavi,	do.	
Murphy	do.	Escaped
Neeves,	do.	
Norris,	do.	
Ryan,	do.	
Scot,	do.	
Taylor,	do.	
Reilly, John,	do.	
Reilly, Lawrence,	Private	
Woodsworths,	do.	

DETACHMENT OF 1ST MADRAS EUROPEAN FUSILIERS.

McGrath,	Sergeant
Bussey,	Corporal,
Nolleth,	Private
Over,	do.
O'Briem,	do.
O'Nile,	do.
Pike,	do.
Pike, 2nd	do.
Price.	do.
Phillips,	do.
Prescott,	do.
Ready,	do,
Sullivan,	do.
Stewart,	do.
Walker,	do.

Names of Women of Her Majesty's 32nd Regiment, and number of Children.

Frances, Brounley,	2 children,	Eliza Margood,	3 children.
Mary Butter,	1 child.	Rosa Mahser.	
Mary Burne,	1	Margeret Mulrae,	1 child
Bridget Brown.	"	Mary Noble,	1 ,,
Mary Carroll,	1 child.	Emma Payne	2 children
Maria, Cassye,	2 children.	Maria Payne,	1 child
Ellen Cogley.		Harriet Patterson.	
Margaret Collins.		Louisa Pestel,	2 children.
Ellen Connell,	1 child.	Sarah Pender,	1 child
Mary Corrigan,	1 "	Diana Potter,	1 ,,
Sarah Coyle,	1 "	Susanna Pratchell.	
Elizabeth Doyle,	1 "	Elizabeth, Pue,	1 "
Dorcas Fulton.		Catherine Reddington,	2 children
Jane, Furrall.		Margaret Stacey,	child
Bridget Gomm,	2 children.	Honor Stoney,	
Susanna Holloway.		Bridget Widdowson,	1 child
Agnes Johnson,	1 child	Mary White,	2 children.
Margaret, Jool,	1 "	Add orphans & other children whose fathers were at Lucknow about	17 "
Mary Keane,	2 children.		
Mary Kelly,	1 child.		
Catherine Less	1 "		
Catherine Lonsdale.	"		
Anne Lovell,	1	Total 41 woman and about	60 children
Martha Maggan.	2 children.		

Musicians of Native Corps and their Families.

*1st Regiment N. I.**

Bullard, John, Drum-Major.
Hatch, Benjamin, Fife-Major.
Warcoat, J. C., Bugler
Ollenback, F. E., Drummer.
Ollenback, John, do.
Ollenbick, Eliza and 4 children
Bullard, T., Drummer.
Bullard, John, do.
Money, R. D. do.

53rd Regiment, N. I.*

Peters, Sam. Drum-Major, and family
Toone, Joseph, Fife-Major
Elliott, H., Drummer
Elliott, C., do.
Elliott, W., do.
Elliott, L., do.
Spiers, David, Band Sergt.
Spiers, H., Mrs. Escaped.
Spiers, Eliza, Miss, do.
Spiers, Amelia, Miss, do.
Spiers, Isabella, Miss, do.
Spiers, Matilda, Miss, do.
Spiers, Fred., Master do.
Speirs, J. Drummer
Toone, J., do.
Peters, S., do.
Arthelene, P., do.
Sarges, C., do.

56th Regiment. N. I.

Alburke, J., Drum-Major.
Phillip, J., Drummer,
Mendes, Henry do. Escaped
Periera, J. do.
Allen, W. do.
Hook, B. do.
Moore, J. do.
William, A do.
Toderick, W. A do.
Toderick, Jane, do.
Baptist, G., do.

Mearse, A. G., Fife-Major.
Alburke, J., Drummer
Alburke, H., Drummer
Bradshaw, Eliza, widow, Escaped
Bradshaw, Robert, Drummer
Bradshaw, Mrs & 1 child, Escaped
Bradshaw, John, Drummer
Bradshaw, Mrs. & 1 child, Escaped
Peters, John, Drummer
DeCruz., do.
John, B., do.
Letts, Elizabeth, widow, Escapes-
Letts, John, Drummer.
Letts, Eliza, Mrs., severe injuried received on 27th June, and died three days after.
Letts, Caroline, and Rachel, children to above
Massey, F., Drummer.
Murray, John, Pensioned Drum-Major
Murray, Mrs, Escaped
Murray, Benjamin, Drummer.
Pekhoo, John, do.
Pybah, R. do.

LIST II.

Name of those who are said to have perished outside, as they did not come into the Intrenchment

Auchin, Chinaman, Shoemaker	... 12th	June
Carter, Joseph, Mr.,	10th	June.
Carter, Mrs. and infant	.. 17th	July
Cooney, Drummer,	... 7th	June
DeGama, I. X., Merchant	... 10th	June.
Duncan, John, Mr., Road Supdt.	... 10th	June
Green, Pensioner	... 8th	June.
Greenway, Rose Anne Mrs, senior,	... 15th	July
Greenway, Edward, Merchant	... 15th	July
Greenway, Mrs. and a little girl,	... 15th	July
Greenway, Francis, son to above	... 15th	July
Greenway, Leah, and Martha, daughters. to above	... 15th	July

* Names of women not known.

Hollings, Captain, (page 39) .. 9th June
Haman, Indigo Planter 13th June
Jacobi, Henry, Watchmaker ... 10th June
Jacobi, Mrs. ... 15th July
Jacobi, Henry, Lucy, and Hugh, children to above ... 15th July
Jacobi, William, son to above (grown up) 8th June
Maling G. W., Mr., ... 8th June
Maling, John, Mr. ... 8th June
Mackintosh, C., Merchant (aged 64 years), 8th June
Mackintosh, D., Mrs. (aged 57), ... 8th June
Mackintosh, Joshua, son to above (aged 25 years.) ... 8th June
Maloney, Pensioner ... 7th June
Marshall, Mrs ... 7th June
Murphy. Mr., (Railway) ... 5th June
Waterfield, Mr., ... 10th June
Walker, A. Mrs. aged 65 years) } 15 July
Walker, Daniel, Master. }
Williams, Mrs., wife of Edward Williams, House proprietor, killed with her 3 children ... 10th June
Several others whose names are not known.
Two Europeans. (Conductor and Sergeant) with Magazine Boats.
Fulow, Joseph, Mr., left for Allahabad and killed.
Fulow, Sarah, Miss, left for Allahabad and escaped.

LIST III.

NAMES OF SURVIVORS.

The following individuals were in the Intrenchment during the siege and ultimately escaped.

Lieut. M. Thompson.
Lieut. H. Delafosse
Private Murphy
Gunner Sullivan
Mr. W. J. Shepherd (the author)
Drummer H. Mendes.
Bradshaw. Eliza, widow, (56th N. I.)
Bradshaw, Mrs. and 1 child Amelia.
Bradshaw, Mrs. and 1 child. Ellen.
Mr. T. Farnon of E. I. Railway
Miss Horn, taken away on 27th
Miss Amelia Spiers (aged 14 years) taken away and not found.
Mrs. Hannah Spiers, wife of Band Sergt. 53rd N. I. } Saved on 27th June, and allowed to reside in the city.
June, and escaped some months after.
Letts, Elizabeth, widow (56th N. I.)
Letts, two children, Caroline & Rachel.
Miss Eliza Morrison, one of the Free School girls, since joined her parents at Dinapore.
Mrs. Murray
Miss Isabella Spiers } Saved on 27th June and allowed, to reside in the city.
Miss Matilda Spiers }
Master Fred Spiers }
Miss Elliza Spiers.
Mary Ann, ayah to Mrs. Greenway, escaped on 17th June and remained hid in the city.

Khoda Bux, Jemadar, 56th N. I.
Elahee Bux, Sepoy, 56th N. I.
Gobind Sing, Sepoy, 56th N. I
Wullee Dad Khan, Native Doctor, 56th N. I.

Mitter Jeet, Sepoy, 56th N. I.
Mahomed Gous, Sepoy, 56th N. I. was sent out on 23rd June to gain information, and remained hid in the city till 17th July.

LIST IV.

NAMES OF SURVIVORS

Residents of Cawnpore who remained away from the Intrenchment in various disguises, and escaped by the aid of natives.

Abel, G., Pensioner
Abel, Mrs. and 2 children
Buttress, Thomas, Pensioner.
Buttress, Mrs.
Brown, Margaret, Mrs. and child
Forrester, William, Pensioner
Farnon, Ambrose, Mrs.
Greenway, Charles, Mrs., mother to Mr. Samuel Greenway, Merchant; owing to her old age was not killed, but received much annoyance from the rebels
Ireland, J., Pensioner.
Ireland, Mrs.
Williams, Edward. Escaped to Lucknow
Waterfield, Mrs., and child.
Jones, Stephen, Mr.
Jones, Mrs. and 4 children
Jacobi, Isabella (wife of William Jacobi), see List II.
Lowther, Mrs, and her sister Eliza
Maling, Margaret, Mrs.
Maling, Thomas, her son.
Maling, Edward, her son.
MacMullen, Mrs., and child.
Miss Hay, an aged person.
Reid, W., Pensioner. Escaped to Allahabad
Reid, Mrs, and three children. Escaped to Allahabad.
Native Christians—James John; Jaseph, his wife and children; Ebenezer Gunput; Emanuel and family.

Most of the parties in this list managed to pass off for natives, and were allowed to live.

APPENDIX B.

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT

MONUMENTS TO BE ERECTED AT CAWNPORE OVER THE WELLS NEAR THE SITE OF SIR HUGH WHEELER'S INTRENCHMENT AND NEAR THE ASSEMBLY ROOMS.

From LIEUTENANT-COLONEL H. YULE, **Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor-General, to the Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces in the Public Works Department, — dated Head-Quarters, Camp Ghosalpore, the 9th January, 1861.**

I AM directed by the Governor-General to communicate through you to His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, His Excellency's wishes regarding the Monuments to be erected at Cawnpore over the two Wells of unhappy celebrity.

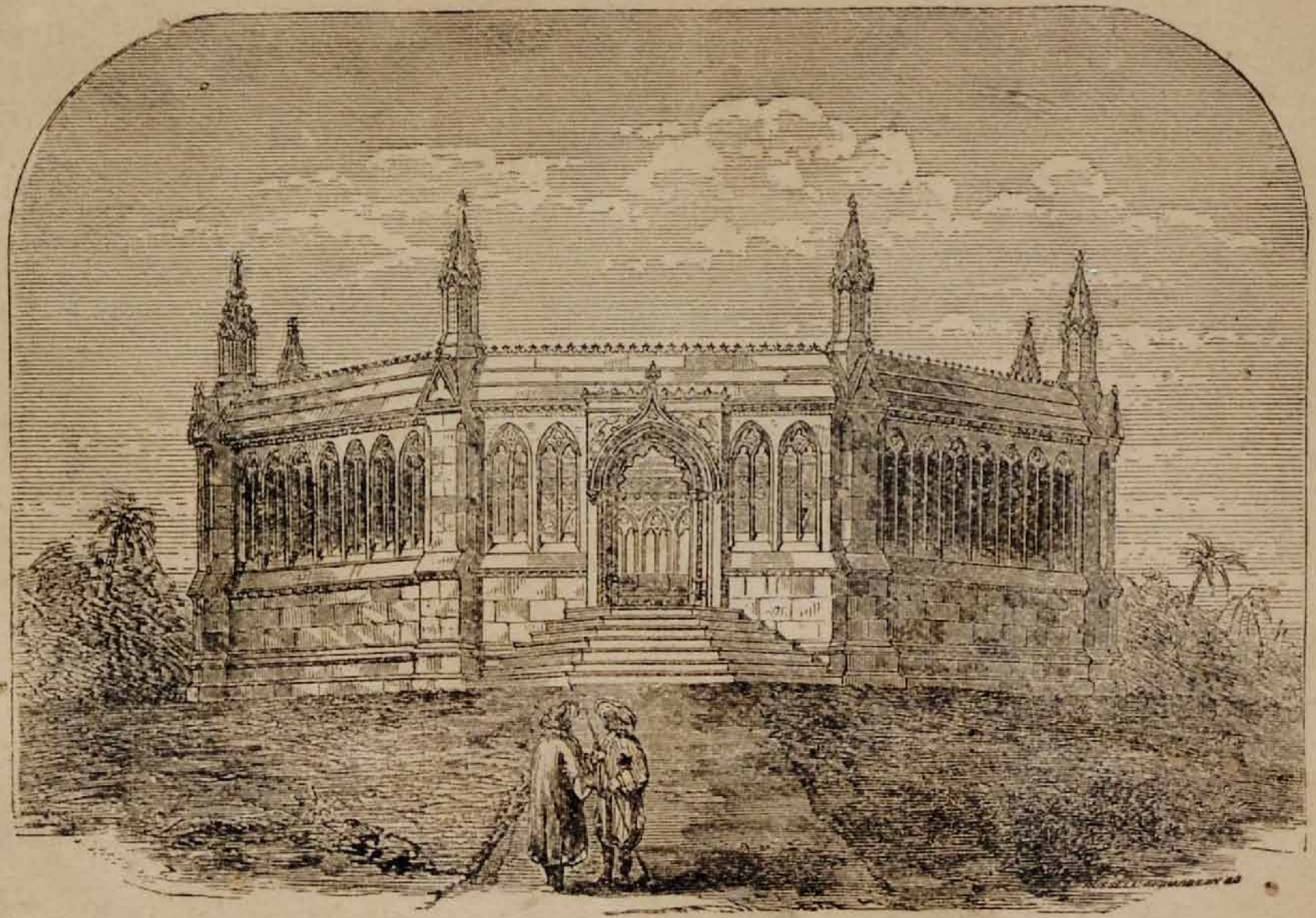
2. Designs for both the Monuments will be forwarded in a few days. That for the Well near Wheeler's Intrenchment consists of a massive Iona Cross on an appropriate Basement.

3. That for the other Well, west of the Canal, will consist of an octagonal Gothic Screen and Platform encircling the closed Well. Both the Screen and the Platform will be executed in stone. Over, or by the side of the Well, will be placed a marble Statue.

4. On receipt of the Drawings orders should be issued to the Executive Engineer regarding the first-mentioned Monument and the Cross near Wheeler's Intrenchment. But His Excellency desires to entrust the construction of the architectural parts of the other Monument to Mr. C. B. Thornhill, C. S., knowing his strong interest in the matter and his acquaintance with the details of Gothic Architecture. The Statue will be executed in England, and will be contributed to the Monument by the Governor-General.

5. Mr. Thornhill shou'd be at once directed to ascertain the exact state of the Well: whether or not it was a brick Well? of what nature and dimensions was the brick-work with which it is believed to have been closed?—what is the state of the soil round it, in view to a determination of the precautions necessary in founding a Monument of the kind intended, the whole platform of whose foundations will be about sixty feet in diameter?

6. It will probably be necessary to remove the Crosses erected by the Soldiers of the 32nd Regiment and by those of the Artillery. But when this is necessary they should be re-erected with the greatest promptitude as near their original site as may be, without interfering with the new Monument.



CAWNPORE MEMORIAL WELL.

7. If will be difficult to form an estimate of the cost of the architectural portion of the Monument until some part of the stone work shall have been executed. But I am to request that funds may be supplied to Mr. Thornhill as soon as he is ready to commence; and that he be directed to furnish monthly accounts of expenditure to your Office.

Head-Quarters, Camp Sehore, dated the 25th January, 1861.

No. 296.—I am directed by His Excellency the Governor-General, in continuation of my letter No. 203 of 9th instant to forward with this letter one Drawing on card-board and one sheet of plans for the Cross to be erected over the Well near the site of Sir Hugh Wheeler's Intrenchment; and nine sheets of plans for the Monument near the Assembly Rooms.

2. The former design is by Mr. G. E. Street, Architect, of Montague Place, Bedford Square, London; the latter by the Secretary in this Department.

3. The Cross will bear inscriptions on the face of the Standard and on the Pedestal respectively. The inscription for the other Monument will be engraved round the rim of the Well. These inscriptions are given below.

4. Special precautions will be required for the foundations of both these Monuments, but especially of the larger one. For this a solid platform of concrete should be laid in over the whole surface and bounded with hoop iron. The actual site of the Well should be arched or vaulted over.

WELL NEAR GENERAL WHEELER'S INTRENCHMENT.

INSCRIPTION ON FACE OF STANDARD OF THE CROSS.

In a Well under this Cross were laid, by the hands of their fellows in suffering, the bodies of men, women, and children, who died hard by during the heroic defence of Wheeler's Intrenchment when beleaguered by the Rebel Nana—June 6th to 27th.

A. D. MDCCCLVII.

ON FACE OF PEDESTAL OF THE CROSS.

Our bones are scattered at the grave's mouth as when one cutteth and cleaveth wood upon the earth. But our eyes are unto Thee, O God, the Lord.—PSALM. CXLI.

WELL NEAR THE ASSEMBLY ROOMS.

INSCRIPTION ON THE WELL WITHIN THE SCREEN.

Sacred to the perpetual memory of a great company of Christian people, chiefly women and children, who near this spot were cruelly massacred by the followers of the Rebel Nana Dhoondopunt, of Bithoor, and cast, the dying with the dead, into the Well below on the 15th day of July,

MDCCCLVII.

A beautiful "Memorial Church" now stands on the site of Wheeler's beleaguered barracks of June, 1857. It was consecrated by the Right Revd. Robert Milman, D. D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta, on the morning of the 8th December, 1875, on which occasion a representation was made to His Lordship of the condition of Eliza Bradshaw, then a feeble old widow (a survivor of the general massacre,) who was residing in the compound of Christ Church School, and who had been kindly supported by the minister in charge of that Church. After some days Mrs. Bradshaw informed me that a subsistance allowance of Rs. 3 per mensem with arrears had been granted to her, which had greatly improved her condition, but on account of old age and great sorrow for the loss of her two sons who had been cut down before her own eyes, she had become blind and suffered from other bodily ailments, all of which she bore with much Christian fortitude till she departed this life on the afternoon of the 9th April, 1884.

The spot in the garden where the remains of Mrs. Hillersden and Mrs. DeRussett were laid, is distinguished by a railed enclosure, containing a stone tomb, on which is inscribed—

THIS STONE MARKS A SPOT
WHICH LAY WITHIN
WHEELER'S INTRENCHMENT.
IT COVERS THE REMAINS AND IS
SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
THOSE WHO WERE THE FIRST
TO MEET THEIR DEATHS
WHEN BELEAGUERED
BY MUTINEERS AND REBELS
IN JUNE, 1857.

The bones of the officers and soldiers murdered on the 30th June, have been buried at the south corner of the "Memorial Church," in the intrenchment, having also a railed enclosure all round; within which, on the flat surface of the marble ground, is beautifully worked on *raised* letters, the following :—

BUT BE OF GOOD CHEER I HAVE OVERCOME THE WORLD.

IN THE WORLD YE SHALL HAVE TRIBULATION.

IN THREE
GRAVES
WITHIN THIS ENCLOSURE
LIE THE
REMAINS

OF MAJOR EDWARD VIBART, 2ND BENGAL LIGHT CAVALRY
AND ABOUT SEVENTY OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS,
WHO, AFTER ESCAPING FROM THE MASSACRE,
AT CAWNPORE, ON THE 27TH JUNE, 1857,
WERE CAPTURED BY THE REBELS AT SHEORAJPORE, AND
MURDERED ON THE 1ST JULY.* THESE REMAINS

WERE ORIGINALLY
DEPOSITED WITHIN
THE COMPOUND OF
SAVADA HOUSE,
AND WERE REMOVED
TO THIS PLACE
IN APRIL,
1861.

THIS MEMORIAL
WAS ERECTED
BY THE GOVERNMENT,
N. W. PROVINCES,
IN THE MONTH OF
OCTOBER, 1867.

IN MEMORIAM.

The well in the intrenchment, from which we had to draw

*30th June is ascertained to be the correct date, as stated by Colonel Williams.

water at so much risk, and a few of the old tree that have been spared, are now the only witnesses of the terrible moments spent by the poor sufferers during the siege of June, 1857, and it would give the beholder some slight idea as to the effect the 24 pounder shot had upon our exposed barracks when fired from No. 5 rebel battery were he to take up his position on the high bank of the tank situated about 500 yards to the east of the Momorial Church.

The boundary of the intrenchment is marked by small stones six inches high, set a short distance from each other in the ground. These were placed, I learn, at the desire of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales when inspecting the place on Monday the 10th January, 1876, and it would no doubt be interesting to future visitors to know how the two barracks which were in the intrenchment were situated, the foundations of which are still in the ground, and might be made distinguishable if a layer or two of bricks were added and the earth about the existing walls of the foundation properly settled all round.

APPENDIX C.

It is evident that my prolonged stay at Cawnpore, which was very much against my inclination, had a very injurious effect upon both mind and body for the remainder of my life Had I been in a position to cease from work and leave the station, I am confident that I should have been able, in a few months, to shake off the gloom that had settled down upon my mind, and with health of mind and body restored, would have been enabled to resume my post in the Department, where for 11 years I had spared no exertion to maintain a character for industry, etc., and where my services where so well appreciated. It is sad to reflect now how the effect of those few months injured my future prospects, and I was then not quite in the prime of life, being only 32 years of age. It is very clear to me, and I make the assertion with feelings of gratitude, that the Officiating Commissary-General, Colonel Nuthall, had kindly motives in keeping me well employed with a view "that my mind might be diverted from more painful thoughts," as he very kindly expressed it himself. In his letters, which were always cheering, he would express a desire that I might continue to hold on until some competent person could be sent to relieve me, saying that my services were very valuable to the Department at the time.

The press of work, as may easily be imagined, was so great at the time that we were under the necessity of holding office for eight or ten hours daily, inclusive of Sundays, and such a thing as a holiday was never heard of then; this was a great source of suffering to me in my already shattered state of body and mind, my digestive powers having been very much impaired, owing to want of proper food, and the life I had to lead so long upon pure parched gram; nor was there time to take proper remedies —"one could not afford to *fall sick*." At times I found myself quite incapacitated for work; my impaired memory, and loss of power to *fix my attention*, compelled me often to put aside work that required immediate attention, and I laboured under a perpetual and unaccountable feeling of apprehension which was exceedingly distressing, the fear of something going wrong—the omission of some important duty which might cause serious inconvenience to the public service—gave me no peace;—my duties, which were always of a responsible nature, became eminently so at that time, and I earnestly and repeatedly urged the necessity of my being relieved. But there was no help for it and I had to submit. until, on or about, the 20th December, 1857, the arrival of Mr. R. McCrea, the Head Assistant of the Rangoon Commissariat, set me at liberty to make over charge of my duties to him and leave Cawnpore. In the meantime the Officiating Commissary-General had (*vide* his No. 813 of 30th December, 1857, to the Deputy Commissary-General C. C.) been pleased "to promote me from the third to the second class of Head Assistant, to fill an existing vacancy with effect from 1st January, 1858." This announcement which under other circumstances would have been received with joy and gratitude, failed to afford me much satisfaction, as I felt I had lost all ambition for the future; in fact I had very foolishly asserted that I did not expect ever again to rejoin my post. So that while my request for four months' leave of absence was granted me, the Deputy Commissary-General, Major Scott, who had recently transferred his office to Cawnpore,

thought proper to call upon me through the Executive Commissariat Officer (*vide* his No. 2 of 1st January, 1858) "to state distinctly whether I did, or did not, intend to rejoin my appointment at the expiration of my leave." In reply, I stated that I could not well answer the question asked me, but if life was spared I would not fail to give at least a month's previous notice as to whether I would rejoin or not. It appears, however, that the impression was so clear in regard to my not rejoining, that I was called upon *a second time* "for a more distinct reply as to what my *present* intentions were, as other arrangements were dependent on a decided reply from me" (No. 161, dated Deputy Commissary-General's Office, 12th January, 1858).

I fear I was not in my "right mind" at the time, as, on receipt of the above, I decided on sending in my resignation, feeling very happy that I had done so, which would certainly benefit several parties—some of whom had large families to provide for. As for me, I had now no beloved object left whose interest I should consult; my own wants were few. Had I not lived on bare-parched gram for twenty two days?—and had not a pice worth of coarse chapatees with a little dhal been to me a great treat?

I left Cawnpore on or about the 15th January, 1858, and proceeding to Agra, was, as one risen from the dead, once more restored to my remaining relatives, whence, after a short stay, I left on a visit to Delhi and Meerut, accompanied by my brother and family. It is not necessary to mention the devastation and ruin we met wherever we went.

Having learnt at Agra that Government had authorized a certain amount of compensation, otherwise termed "succour-money," to be granted to sufferers of property, I had submitted my application accordingly to the Magistrate of Cawnpore, who, after a month and ten days' consideration, called on me (in his letter No. 170, dated 31st March, 1858) to furnish "a certificate of non-implication in the mutinies, accompanied by proof of loss, and a statement as to by whom (!!!) my property was plundered or destroyed, so that the necessary inquiry may be made." Hear was I in a fix! After undergoing such severe sufferings and losses, I was now called upon to furnish impossibilities! To whom was I to apply for these documents? The European community had all been slaughtered, and the word of a native witness was worth nothing! It appeared very strange, too, that such a request should be made, since my case was well known at Cawnpore, and the Magistrate himself was well acquainted with every circumstance.

After some consideration, I sent a reply—the only one I could possibly give—stating that a certificate of the nature called for could only be furnished from his own—the Cawnpore Magistrate's—office, after due inquiry, as my case would bear any degree of investigation. I also named the parties who could bear testimony to my having been sent out in disguise from General Wheeler's intrenchment, and who *saw* me leave the garrison on the occasion, since they subsequently became my fellow prisoners in the jail of the rebels; I further stated the names of the officers of the European detachment whom I had first joined on the morning of the 17th July, 1857, and to whom I had been enabled to render some little service before the magazine was blown up by the traitors; adding in conclusion, that if further proofs were deemed necessary, I was able to produce my fetters and the rags in which I had passed my moments of intense misery while in captivity, as I had preserved them.

No reply having been received to this letter, I again addressed the Magistrate on the 24th May, stating that it was my desire to submit my case to the notice of Government with a view to solicit some mark of its acknowledgment of my services, earnestly urging that the Magistrate would kindly use his exertions in my behalf, as it lay in his power to make

a thorough investigation into the matter, to enable him to furnish me with a certificate which I could submit with the application I intended to make to Government.

After waiting a long while for a reply, and receiving none, I was induced to proceed to Cawnpore again. On inquiry, I learnt that a report of my case had been forwarded to Allahabad for the orders of Government on the 6th August, 1858, which was worded as follows :—

"The applicant is one of the few survivors of the Cawnpore Massacre. At the commencement of the outbreak in June, 1857, he had with his family taken shelter within the intrenchments, abandoning all his property ; but a fortnight after, he appears to have left the intrenchment under the instructions of General Wheeler for the purpose of collecting information in regard to the mutineers within the city. In this attempt he proved unsuccessful, as he was immediately taken prisoner, and kept in confinement with irons on his legs until released by General Havelock's force on the 17th July, 1857—a clear proof that the applicant was in no way concerned in the mutinies ! The loss of property sustained by him is valued at Rs. 3,300, which does not appear at all exaggerated. It is supported by the prescribed declaration on honor ; and from the evidence of several respectable witnesses, it is clear that he lost the whole of his property, and was left in a perfectly destitute state, besides losing nine members of his family in the general massacre. Under these circumstances I would recommend a donation (in other words 'succour-money') of Rs. 500 being granted him according to the scale of salary (Rs. 200 per month) received by him. It is less than one-sixth of his entire loss. The applicant has not yet received any succour-money or compensation from this office. (Signed) S. THORNTON, *Deputy Magistate.*"

I now resolved to proceed to Allahabad considering that I should be better able to represent my case in person. On arrival at that station I waited upon W. Muir, Esq., Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces ; and, as it was apparent that orders had already been given to pass to me the amount of succour-money to which I was entitled, and further that Government had been pleased to take notice of the merits of my case, and, without waiting for an application, had directed that Mr. Sherer, Magistrate of Cawnpore, be called upon to state in what way Government should reward me for the services rendered, it was not considered expedient by me to give any further trouble in the matter ; I therefore desisted from submitting the application I had in contemplation.

As, however, I was anxious to proceed to Calcutta, I begged Mr. Muir would be so kind as to obtain me a free passage by steam ; at the same time I submitted for his perusal the manuscript I was taking down for publication there. That gentleman very kindly promised he would assist me.

When I again waited upon Mr. Muir, he was happy to inform me that the Governor-General had been pleased to grant me the passage, and what was more, had expressed a wish to see me, on the following day.

At the appointed hour, on the 3rd September, I proceeded to the Government House, and sent in a note I had brought from Mr. Muir to the address of Mr Bowring, Private Secretary to the Governor-General. That gentleman came out, and desired me to wait a little, till his Lordship would be more at leisure.

After a while I was called, and an officer, one of the Aides-de-Camp, desired me to follow him. The officer turned the key of the door, and we entered a spacious hall. His Lordship was seated at a large desk quite alone ; a great quantity of papers and letters were arranged all around on the table. The officer, who went a little in advance of me, motioned his

hand to me towards the Governor-General, pronounced my name, made a bow and left the room. Lord Canning looked at me, and returned my salute; then pointing to a chair, said in a very kind and affable manner "be seated." He asked me many questions, and said he had had some parts of my manuscript read to him; but, as it was not completed, he wished to know some particulars about the conduct of a certain native named in it. I stated all I knew of the matter, and his Lordship expressed a desire that I would give it to him in writing, saying that I was to deliver it to Mr. Muir; then, with a benignant smile, indicated by an inclination of the head, that the interview was ended. I immediately rose, and making my obeisance, retired.

The following day I submitted my report according to his Lordship's instructions.

On arrival at Calcutta, I received a remittance of Rs. 500, and shortly after was forwarded to me the following copy of letter, No. 873, addressed by "W. H. Lowe, Esq., Officiating Assistant Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces, to E. C. Bayley, Esq., Officiating Commissioner of Allahabad, dated the 12th October, 1858." It ran as follows:—

"I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your predecessors letter of the 10th August last, No. 1655, and in reply to inform you that, under the circumstances represented, the right Honorable the Governor-General has been pleased to sanction a grant of Rs. 1,000 to Mr Shepherd as a reward for the services rendered by him during the seige of Cawnpore."

"Ordered that a copy of the above be forwarded to Mr. Shepherd for information. (Signed) W. H. Lowe, *Officiating Assistant Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces.*"

I esteemed this mark of recognition of my services on the part of Government with feelings of gratitude, though I felt convinced that had General Wheeler survived, his support and recommendation would have been most cordially accorded in my behalf, and the merits of my case would then have been more deservedly noticed and appreciated.

It is not necessary to enter into details of what occurred during the time I remained unemployed; suffice it to say that, being enabled to keep constantly on the move, my mind began gradually to recover its healthy tone, especially as I received kind sympathy wherever I went: besides which, the information that was constantly sought at my hands in regard to the fate of my fellow-sufferers in General Wheeler's intrenchment kept me pretty well employed. By this means I have become possessed of a very interesting file of letters, mostly from ladies in England.

Colonel Nuthall had retired on the return from furlough of Colonel James Ramsay, who also retired after a short time, and another officer, who did not know me, was appointed Commissary General. Under Colonel Ramsay I had served while he was Executive Commissariat Officer; and among the numerous testimonials which were in my possession before the mutiny, two that I had received from that officer were the most valuable, and, on my informing him of my loss, he very kindly favored me with the following:—

Copy of the statement shewing the services in the Commissariat Department of Mr. W. J Shepherd, late Head Assistant of the Cawnpore Division, from the 1st October, 1846, the date of his entertainment in the Department, to 1st Januaryy 1858, the date on which he resigned his situation:

"Age 32 years, 3 months and 20 days.

"Details of service and salary in each appointment—

(Omitted here).

"Total period of Service—11 years, 3 months and two days.
"Last salary drawn ... ... Rs. 200 0 0
"Promoted to 2nd Class, on Rs. 250, on 1st January, 1858.
"Date of resignation, 1st January, 1858.

"Certified that the above is granted to Mr, Shepherd on account of his having lost all his testimonials of character during the late disturbances at Cawnpore. He was one of the most hard-working and useful servants of the Department, and his past conduct and general character were such as to reflect the highest credit on him.

COMMISSARY-GENERAL'S OFFICE: (Sd). JAS. RAMSAY, COLONEL,
Fort William, 2nd July, 1858. *Commissary-General.*"

With the return of health, the desire to be engaged in work began to be felt. I now began to feel keenly the imprudent step I had taken in throwing away a good situation and services, which in a few years would have entitled me to pension, but what I regretted most was, the undue advantage that had been taken of my unhappy state at the time which had decided me in resigning my post;—affliction and circumstances over which I had no control, and which, from its severe nature, were sufficient to render any man insane—had been the means of depriving me of all—*every thing*—even my past services—and I had to begin life afresh. Had I been placed on medical leave (and I was entitled by the Regulations to two year's furlough)—I should have drawn my absentee allowance, and at the expiration of leave would have joined my post without any loss. But I suffered very heavily, when a vacancy occurring in the Agra Commissariat, I was allowed to rejoin the Department under Commissary-General's Letter No. 109 of 4th June, 1860, extract of which runs thus:—"I have no objection to Mr. Shepherd's re-entering the Department and taking Mr. Barrie's place at Agra. He will receive the rate of pay as he did, when he left the Department, *viz.*, Rs. 200 per month."

Now this 200 rupees per month was at that time the salary of a *fifth class* Head Assistant, as per revised scale recently sanctioned by the Government of India as follows:—

1st	class—salary up to May 1858,			Rs. 300	— Revised salary		Rs 400
2nd	do.	do.	do.	250	do.	do.	350
3rd	do.	do.	do.	200	do.	do.	300
4th	do.	do.	do.	150	do.	do.	250
5th	do.	do.	do.	100	do.	do.	200
6th	do.	do.	do.	75	do.	do.	150
7th	do.	do.	do.	0	do.	do.	100

Had I even been allowed to hold the place now become vacant by the resignation of my predecessor, I should have received Rs. 250 without injury to any other individual. However, I considered that this was not the time to appeal, but to work; and to work I did go with a hearty good will—having recently been married again, I had now some inducement to labour for our support.

But I very soon discovered that I had no easy task before me. The arrears that had been allowed to accumulate in the Agra Commissariat were something formidable, having resulted from the extensive and prolonged military operation in Central India and Gwalior. My predecessor was a young man who had entered the Department during the troublous times, and not having had the opportunity of being trained in the peculiar working of accounts then obtaining there, had been unable to afford much assistance, and had eventually to leave; it was evident to

me now why Colonel Nuthall had considered my services so valuable in the Department.

By dint of hard work and close application on the part of all hands in the office, we soon managed to reduce the arrears to a minimum. The manner in which this was done is shown in the following extract from letter No. 5, dated 3rd January, 1862, from the Executive Commissariat Officer, Agra, to the Deputy Commissary-General, Central Circle:

2. "Great progress has been made since former inspection in January 1860, in bringing up arrears. The office has become current from the end of February, 1861, having rendered 13 months' accounts complete in 7¼ months; accounts for January, 1860, having been despatched on 19th July, 1860, and those for January, 1861, on 27th February, 1861, thereby obviating the necessity of forming the arrear Branch, authority for which was conveyed in proceedings of Military Finance Department's No. 3567 of 22nd January, 1861; but on the contrary, enabling this executive to dispense with the services of all extra writers by the end of 1861, and thus reducing expense."

3. "The sentiments of the Examiner of Commissariat Accounts, of the manner in which the arrears of this office have been brought up are conveyed in the annexed extract from his letter No. 86, dated 5th February, 1861, which I beg to append for your information"

4. "The opinion of the Military Finance Department is also given in acknowledgment of the above in para 2, of their resolution No 4634 of 28th March, 1861, circulated with Commissary-General's No. 824 of 2nd April, 1861."

Every account that we had rendered, was (in point of bulk and amount of expendition) equal to three or four of those we used to take a whole month in preparing under ordinary circumstances, and will give an idea of the amount of exertion that had been brought to bear upon the occasion; this was done solely with a view to place the office on a footing which would give us comparative ease in the future performance of our duties. Alas! such was not to be the case. The *current* duties of every Executive Commissariat Office during the year 1861 and 1862, were unprecedentedly heavy, consequent on the introduction of the new system of accounts *repeatedly* altered, the constant calls for numerous statements and other documents, attention to voluminous printed circulars issued by the Military Finance, which were often so ambiguously worded as to make it a hard matter to understand what was really required, and in some instances had to be modified and re-issued, entailing much unnecessary correspondence, etc. "Then came the Budget system" into operation for the first time, with ostringent and peremptory orders to submit the same on a fixed but very limited date, etc., etc.—Oh, how much I regretted our not taking advantage of the permission given to "form an Arrears Branch," which almost all most Executives in the Central Circle and availed themselves of. In endeavouring to effect a saving to Government, I found I had done myself very great injury The incessant labour of seven or eight hours daily at office, and three or four hours more at home at nights, and perpetual strain upon my mind and memory for sixteen months, had proved too great for a constitution which had previously been shaken so terribly. I fell seriously ill in October, 1861. and on recovery found that my nervous system was sadly shattered. I suffered from severe headaches, giddiness, loss of memory, want of confidence, and other distressing symptoms. I had fondly hoped that the circumstances of my case would have admitted of a representation being made to Government, and that as an act of justice I should have been restored to the proper grade of Head Assistant, to which I had attained, and which I should now have retained had not severe calamities deprived me of the power to act aright. *i. e.*, taking two years' medical leave instead

of resigning. To this end I had laboured so hard, bearing in mind the saying—"first deserve then desire." The time had now arrived when this representation might have been made; but my state was such as to make me doubt whether I should be able to continue at all in the Department.

The Executive Commissariat Officer at Agra had very kindly addressed a letter in my behalf, which obtained me the sanction of Government to count towards pension the services I had lost by resigning. It ran thus:—

Extract from Letter No. 50, dated Agra Commissariat Office, 11th February, 1862, from CAPTAIN R. DAVIDSON, *Assistant Commissary-General, to the Deputy Commissary-General, Central Circle, forwarding an application from Mr. W. J. Shepherd, Head Assistant, soliciting that his previous services in the Department, amounting to 11 years three months, may be allowed to count towards pension.*

3. "Since he rejoind the Department, in June 1860, Mr. Shepherd has been Head Assistant in the Agra Office, and has afforded me great satisfaction in the discharge of his duties. I have already on several occasions reported favourably of his exertions to bring up the heavy arrears remaining unadjusted in this office when he became Head Assistant, and I trust from the good character borne by Mr. Shepherd during his eleven years of previous service, and from the peculiar circumstances under which he left the Department, that his claims may be favourably recommended for the consideration of Government.

Extract from Letter No. 14, dated Fort William, 22nd April, 1862, from Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Commissary-General.

"I am directed to acquaint you that the right Honorable the Governor-General in Council is pleased to grant Mr Shepherd's request that the time above mentioned shall count as service."

In March, 1862, I was promoted to the 4th class grade of Head Assistants, and transfered to the Bareilly Commissariat. My kind officer, Captain Davidson, gave me the following testimonial:—

From CAPTAIN R. DAVIDSON, Assistant Commissary-General to Mr. W. J. SHEPHERD, *Head Assistant, Agra Commissariat, No. 30, dated Agra, Commissariat Office, 5th March, 1862.*

SIR,—As you are about to be transferred to Bareilly after serving as Head Assistant of this office for nearly two years I have pleasure in bearing testimony to the satisfactory manner in which you have always performed your duties here. You joined this office when the accounts were greatly in arrears, and outstandings very heavy. The accounts have been brought up to date, and all outstandings (with trifling exceptions) have been cleared off with very little loss to Government. These satisfactory results are very creditable to you, and I have on several occasions reported favourably of your exertions, intelligence, and general efficiency for the information of the Head of the Department."

At Bareilly I was treated by the Civil Surgeon, who, after a while, recommended my being granted six months' medical leave, as per copy of his certificate dated 1st June, 1862, annexed:—

"I, Frederick Corbyn, M. D., Civil and Staff Surgeon, Bareilly, do hereby certify that Mr. W. J. Shepherd, Head Assistant, Commissariat Office, Bareilly, is in a bad state of health, which has been occasioned by exposure to the sun, and mental anxiety both before and after the mutiny. He at present suffers from acute headache and irritability of the nervous system, accompanied by restlessness when he has been engaged for many hours at mental labour. He also loses the power of fixing his attention, is subject to cerebral lassitude, vertigo, and impairment of memory.

"I therefore solemnly and sincerely declare that, according to the best of my judgment, rest of mind and freedom from care and anxiety is essentially necessary to his recovery, and would strongly recommend that Mr. Shepherd be allowed six months' leave to remain at Bareilly for the restoration of his shattered health."

At the expiration of my medical leave, during which I received half pay I returned to duty and had to bear up with much inconvenience. A man with a defective memory is not worth much; the distress of mind I suffered at this time is only known to God, whose goodness under my heaviest trials has ever sustained me, and whose mercy has always permitted me to put my entire trust in Him.

I was at last advised to lay my case before Government as being quite incapacitated to hold my post in the Commissariat. On the 15th May, 1863, I submitted a "memorial" for the favourable consideration of His Excellency the EARL of ELGIN, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, the concluding paragraph of which runs thus:—

"Your Lordship's memorialist would further venture to state that another mode of ensuring him a fair competence for the maintence of himself and family would be a grant of land from the many confiscated states which lie at present at the disposal of the Local Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Estates have been bestowed for the reward of merit, and it were therefore not presumptuous to expect a similar bestowal on your Lordship's memorialist in consideration of the risk he incurred in venturing his life to serve the beleaguered garrison at Cawnpore, and of the severe losses and privations he has experienced—losses not only of life and property, but ultimately resulting in a complete derangement of his nervous system, obliging him to give up an appointment which, if continued in, should have at the present date secured him an income of Rs. 400, (four hundred) per mensem as a first class Head Assistant, with the prospect of being able in a few years to retire on a handsome pension.

"Further, your Lordship's memorialist will not trespass on your invaluable time; having laid bare at your Lordship's feet the whole circumstance of his case, he feels assured that a kind and benevolent Government such as your memorialist has the honor of serving, will not deny him the aid and assistance he solicits under his present distress, and for which he, as in duty bound, will ever pray."

I also annex copy of the transmitting letter addressed by the Executive Commissariat Officer, Bareilly, bearing No. 135 of 16th May, 1863, as follows:—

"Sir,—I have the honor to forward a letter dated 15th instant to my address from Mr. Shepherd, Head Assistant of Bareilly Executive Office, together with a petition from Mr. Shepherd to His Excellency the Viceroy, which I beg to submit for very favourable consideration.

"Mr. Shepherd has always borne a very high character in the Department, as the several testimonials that accompany his petition testify. Personally I have known Mr. Shepherd only for 2½ months, during which period he has done his best to give satisfaction, and has been very atten-

tive to his duties. His health and memory have certainly greatly failed him, and the course he proposes to adopt, should the Governor-General be pleased to comply with his prayer, *viz.*, resigning his present appointment, I consider judicious, as close application to his arduous duties for any length of time will probably have the effect of still more impairing his memory, and render his resignation a matter of necessity.

"Mr. Shepherd's high character and respectability having been vouched for by all those under whom he has served, and his sufferings during the mutiny at Cawnpore being the sole cause to which his present failing health is to be attributed, I sincerely hope it may be found practicable to reward him in the way he wishes when it is probable that his now failing health may be restored.

(Sd.) J. J. WILLIS, MAJOR,
Assistant Commissary-General."

Following are copies of two Government letters issued in reference to the above, both to the address of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh:—

No. 663, dated Simla, 3rd September, 1863.

"SIR,—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General being desirous of bestowing a grant of land in proprietary right on Mr. Shepherd, who rendered good service during the mutinies at Cawnpore, where he received wounds and suffered privations that have broken his health, I am directed to request that you will inform me whether an estate yielding a clear annual profit of Rs. 1,250 per annum is available for this purpose in Oudh.

(Sd.) C. W. AITCHINSON,
Under Secy., to the Govt. of India,
with the Governor-General."

No. 1832, dated Fort William, 31st December, 1863.

"SIR,—With reference to your Secretary's letter dated 9th October last, No. 3032, reporting that two villages in the Oonao District, assessed at Rupees 1,300 per annum are available for grant to Mr. Shepherd, I am directed to inform you that the Governor-General in Council authorizes you to confer these villages on Mr. Shepherd in proprietary right with remission of the assessment for his life, as a reward for his services during the mutinies.

(Sd.) J. T. WHEELER,
Asst. Secy., to the Govt. of India."

The receipt of the above grant afforded me great relief, as it enabled me to retire from service, though at the same time I felt it hard to give up my past faithful services of upwards of 14 years.

I took possession of my two villages on the 10th of March, 1864, and was permitted to change the name of the best one from Jummunneah to ELGINGURH (as per docket No 1313 of 25th April, 1864, from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh to my address). Thus, I am enabled to perpetuate the memory of Lord Elgin; for it was to his goodness I feel I am indebted for this assistance in my distress, otherwise I do not know what should have become of me and family.

We made Lucknow our "head-quarters" for a time, whence the distance to the villages is about thirty miles on the Grand Trunk Road to Cawnpore: and shortly after, the Oudh and Rohilkund Railway line was marked right through "Mouza Elgingurh," when twenty acres of good land had to be given up for the purpose, for which money compensation of Rs. 814, or eight years' yield of land, was offered me; and when all my efforts failed to obtain land in lieu, instead of money, I was obliged to accept of the same whereby a permanent loss of Rs. 102 per annum was sustained taking into consideration that it was the wish of Lord Elgin that my grants should yield me a "clear annual profit of Rs 1,250," after paying Government revenue and all authorized village expenses. But the construction of the railway line gave ample employment to my villagers for two or three years, of which they were very glad

At first I had no experience in matters connected with zemindari, but I took great interest in it, and soon found that this kind of life was very well suited to me; and, although for the first two or three years it was found impracticable for my family to reside in the village, yet ultimately, we managed to settle down there, and having come in possession of a little money which fell to my share from the estate of my brother-in-law, Mr. Frost, at Calcutta, whose family had perished at Cawnpore in 1857, I was enabled to spend the greater portion of it in the improvement of my villages. The railway line having *split in two* the land belonging to Mouza Elgingurh, it was considered absolutely necessary to erect a hamlet or "*khera*" on the part thus cut off from the main village, which I did. Here also we had taken up our residence, and had built a cottage, with out-houses, etc, for our comfort. We were now enabled to establish a free school for the village boys, and the American Methodist Mission at Lucknow sent us a preacher, who, with his other work, undertook the tuition of the boys also. We had religious services regularly on Sundays, in which some of the intelligent Hindus took much interest and attended gladly. The work of preaching the Gospel was kept up without interruption for about three years.

When I began to understand something about zemindari, I found to my regret that certain very serious difficulties had to be contended with, the chief of which lay in the soil and in the extreme poverty of the villages. In Mouza Elgingurh the soil throughout is of a very poor, sandy description, containing a kind of very thick grass called "kansa," highly injurious to cultivation, and very difficult to eradicate, as its roots are to be found at a great depth; the cultivation of cotton, potatoes, tobacco, etc., being quite out of the question There are no wells in this village suited for irrigation purposes, nor have the people the means of sinking any. My own attempt at one, which cost 200 rupees, and the existence of two old ones, which cost Baseer-ood-dowlah (Chief eunuch to the late King of Oudh, to whom these villages belonged) large sums of money without coming to a good spring, confirms the general belief that, up to a certain extent of land, it is impracticable to have good wells. The poor cultivators have therefore to depend entirely upon the Bussaha Jheel for the irrigation of their fields, which is very expensive, as the water has to be conveyed by manual labour, and that by four of five "lifts." Though this Jheel is a very extensive one, it soon dries up on account of the great drain, as all the villages on both banks, for miles and miles, have to draw on it. In this way it is certainly a great blessing, but it often proves to be a source of much evil when the rainy season is severe or prolonged, for it retains such a degree of moisture on the low lands all along its banks as to prevent the timely sowing of the rabi crops to a great extent, which causes a serious loss at the end. When there is too much rain, the excessive moisture, consequent on the proximity of the Jheel, destroys the crops; but if the season is a dry one, there is no means whatever of irrigation. There

is another great drawback, which is, want of sufficient pasturage, and our cattle are never in a thriving condition; when disease breaks out. which is rather frequent, they soon succumb, and this proves to be a source of much distress to the cultivator. It will easily be seen that the condition of the asamees under these circumstances is one of perpetual, and some times of extreme poverty, and precludes their getting the help of buneahs and mahajans, as is usual in all flourishing villages. Annual advances of money for purchase of cattle, as well as for seed to sow, have, as a matter of necessity, to be made to them by the zemindar, which when the season turns out to be a bad one, is seldom refunded, it being quite out of the power of the cultivator to do so.

The other village, named Shahzadpore, is a small one, and although the soil is much better, the assessment fixed by the Settlement is very high, and will never be found to yield a *nekasee* of 800 per annum.

While we resided among the people, I was enabled to give my personal supervision to every thing connected with the two villages which are situated on either bank of the Jheel; but all my exertions were soon found to be in vain. Successive bad seasons set in, and from causes beyond our control, the distress of my villagers became very great. From Fuslee year 1275 to 1280 (A. D. 1868 to 1873) the seasons were unfavorable, of which three years proved to be exceptionally bad. Fever and ague would also break out at the closing of the rains, which would confine to bed almost every individual in the village, and it would be some time before they were again able to move about, but rendered so weak and helpless as not to be able to attend to business, so that the sowing of the rabi crop could not be done at all in some cases, and in others so imperfectly as to prove "labour lost" at the end. Cattle disease also broke out on several occasions, and the distress of the people in Mouza Elgingurh was very great. I did all in my power to help them until my resources failed me. There appeared to be no other alternative left but to direct them to leave my village and go away elsewhere in search of labour, in order to save themselves from starvation; many, therefore, very reluctantly did so, laden as they were with the accumulated arrears of three or four years, as well as the advances they had received from time to time. When I came to make a final adjustment of my accounts I found that the sum I had to write off as *irrecoverable* from causes of deaths, desertions, and destitution, amounted to very near Rs. 3,000, and a further sum of about Rs. 1,500 remaining oustanding against those who, under great privations, were still holding on, but who were never again in a position afterwards to make good their word. Thus, finding myself unable to obtain a living, and fearful of getting involved in debt, I was thankful to accept a situation on Rs. 75 per month in the Chief Engineer's Office, Oudh and Rohilkund Railway, at Lucknow. This was in March, 1873, and since then I have continued to work in this office, my salary having been increased to Rs. 135 in the course of thirteen years *

The circumstances related above were well known to Major-General L. Barrow, C. B. of the Oudh Administration, at whose hands I have received very kind treatment. No other officer in Oudh took so much interest in my case, ever since I came to Lucknow, as did this truly good gentleman; to him every particular of my life was well known, especially the difficulties that I was struggling with in regard to

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* But for the occurrence of the mutiny I should in all probability have completed the necessary period of service in the Commissariat Department to qualify for pension, and might have, long ere this, retired on a pension of Rs. 200, as some of the hands in that Department have done, though by far my juniors.

my villages. On more than one occasion, when I have expressed my heartfelt thanks for the kindness received at his hands, he would stop me by saying that I "had deserved well of the Government." I had great hopes of something being done to effect an exchange of my villages, but just as the long-cherished expectation of many had been realized, and the appointment of the General to the post of Chief Commissioner of Oudh was hailed with delight by all his numerous well-wishers, it pleased God to afflict him, and this good man had to retire.

The experience gained from twelve years' careful personal management had fully convinced me that after my demise, when the Government assessment of Rs. 1,254 will have to be paid, it will be utterly impossible for my family to manage the affairs of the villages, so as to be able to to get a living from them, and the recurrence of one or two bad seasons would not only deprive them of their only means of support, but that if the Government revenue could not be paid, the villages would soon have to be sold off—perhaps by auction, which would hardly realize their value. It has been a matter of painful reflection to me to think that, although a gracious Ruler intended to have done me an act of everlasting kindness by bestowing these estates on me in proprietary right, yet it was not in my lot to retain them even during my own life time; and after mature consideration, I came to the resolution to dispose of the villages, and invest their proceeds in some way which would secure to my family a more reliable source of income than the present precarious one. An opportunity soon occured, and I was enabled to carry out my wishes in September 1875, reserving the privilege allowed me of drawing the amount of the Government assessment, for my own use which is "remitted during my life." The purchaser, who is a native resident of Lucknow, being a man of experience, with money at command, is able to struggle on better with the above difficulties than I would do, yet he often gives trouble in paying his instalments, and it is doubtful if a really adverse season occur whether I could get my money from him.

I invested the proceeds of the sale of my villages in house property near Kaiser Bagh, and secured good tenants, hoping shortly to be able to retire from deskwork. This however became impracticable, as owing to the amalgamation in 1877, of the two Provinces, *i. e.*, Oudh and the North-Western, with its consequent reduction of Establishment and transfer to Allahabad of the Public Offices, caused the income from house property in my locality to deteriorate and become precarious. Thus with the increasing wants of my family it was found absolutely necessary for me still to work on at the desk. I have several times attempted to "make provision" for my family, but the medical testimony, without which the Insurance Companies and the Family Pension Fund, cannot admit new members, has always been in the way of my success. So long back as the year 1864 my first application was thrown out "as being precarious" yet by the goodness of God I am still alive, and *now* at the age of 61 years, able to earn a living by the labor of my own hands in the interests of wife and children. By His goodness also I have the joy of having around me a son and a daughter grown up (the latter just married) while two younger sons are of the respective ages of eleven and fifteen years.

And here I should have concluded my story, and taken my leave of my kind readers, were it not for an occurence which will no doubt be as pleasing for them to read as it is gratifying to me to relate.

On the 4th April, 1886, I received at Lucknow a letter from the Magistrate and Collector of Cawnpore which ran as follows:—

"Dear Sir,—The Viceroy visits Cawnpore on the 9th instant can you manage to be at Wheeler's Intrenchment at 4 p. m., on that day? Yours faithfully, H. D. Moule."

Previous to this, in the early part of December last, it had been arranged by the Local Authorities that the survivors of the Lucknow Bailey Guard siege, should be presented to the Viceroy at Lucknow, and that as I was now the sole survivor of Wheeler's Intrenchment, I should similarly wait on His Excellency at Cawnpore. This arrangement unfortunately could not be carried out as, owing to sudden severe indisposition, His Excellency was unable to visit these places.

On receipt of the above notice from Mr. Moule, I decided on despatching to Allahabad, with a note addressed to the Private Secretary to his Lordship, a copy of my "Narrative of Cawnpore" (Second Edition, which I had intended to present in person for His Excellency's acceptance when I exppected to be brought before him in the preceding December. I intimated to the Private Secretary that my object in despatching the book to Allahabad for His Lordship's gracious acceptance was, that it might afford His Excellency an opportunity of glancing over its contents during the journey between Allahabad and Cawnpore, should His Excellency desire to note any object for special inspection. This done, I made arrangements to comply with Mr. Moule's directions, and on the morning of Friday the 9th April, I sent him a note from the waiting room of the Oudh and Rohilkund Railway, Cawnpore, and received the following reply:—"Dear Sir, I am sorry I shall not have an opportunity of going over the ground with you, but I have been all round the Station already to-day. If you will kindly be at Wheeler's Intrenchment at the Shahmiana I have had pitched there, you will be presented to the Viceroy and will be able to explain the different sites to him and answer such questions as may be asked you, I shall refer His Excellency to you for all information, so please try and make yours answers as clear as you can: I am afraid you will also have to be rather brief as there will only be ten minutes or so to spare there; the visit being such a short one. Yours truly, H. D. Moule."

The Viceregal party arrived at Cawnpore at 4 p. m., by special train and on His Excellency alighting at the E. I. Railway platform, the guard of honor in waiting received him with a royal salute and the artillery pealed forth a salute of 31 guns; and after an introduction to some of the chief Civil and Military officers present the Viceroy received an address of welcome from the Municipality. The party, accompanied by the ladies and officers of the station, then drove down, under an escort of cavalry, to the south east of Wheeler's Intrenchment by the metal road constructed after the mutiny along the "new barracks" and on arrival at the *well of the dead* they alighted, and after inspecting the monument over the well (see appendix B.) the whole party turned towards Wheeler's Intrenchment.

All this while I had been waiting according to Mr Moule's directions at the Shahmiana which had been erected on the site of the thatched Barrack. There I stood alone by myself, the sole representative of the unfortunate garrison, nervously expecting that some gentleman would come forward for the purpose of presenting me to the Viceroy, but none came. Presently, the Viceregal party were nearing the spot, Lord and Lady Dufferin being a little in advance of the rest. I lifted my hat and bowed, but His Excellency came right up to me and in a most kindly manner shook me by the hand, saying "I am glad to make your acquaintance Mr. Shepherd" and then turning round introduced me to Lady Dufferin who also most graciously extended her hand to me. This act of

condescension, on the part of their Excellencies quite overpowered me for the moment, and I could not utter a word. Seeing my embarrassment, His Lordship very kindly directed my attention to the spot we then stood on, asked if that was the site of one of the barracks. As I had not sufficiently recovered my equilbrium, I stooped and picked up the copy of my book which had been lying at my feet with the view to show His Excellency the plan of the Intrenchmeut but the Viceroy took the book into his own hands saying with a smile "I know your book better than you do yourself," and turning over the pages he showed the plan to Lady Dufferin. His Excellency then desired me to point out the well from which the garrison drew water during the siege; on my doing so, it was immediately surrounded by the whole party who minutely examined its sides which still bear the marks of cannon-shot. Thence proceeding towards the Memorial Church, the site of the "pucca barrack" as well as the railed enclosure containing the remains of Mrs. Hillersden and Mrs. De Russett had to be passed; here the Viceroy made some remarks and then remembering having read of my being wounded during the siege, asked me kindly "if I still suffered from the wound in my back." The party then entered the Church and were shewn the numerous tablets, etc., by the Chaplain in charge, the bells all the while pealing forth a right royal welcome.

While I was waiting outside, Mr. Moule informed me that His Lordship and Lady Dufferin had very kindly expressed their pleasure at meeting me and after a while Mr. McFerran came up to me and said "Our party will return to the railway platform at 7 o'clock this evening and you are requested to be there, as Lady Dufferin wishes you to sign your name in her book." He handed me his card at the same time, adding—"you can enquire for me" and hastened to join the Viceregal party which was then about to leave.

I accordingly proceeded to the East Indian Railway platform. At rather a late hour I learnt that the party had proceeded by another route to the "troop platform," and as the latter was only about a mile away I walked to it along the railway line; but it was then about 9 o'clock, and every thing then appeared to be very quiet, I could not make up my mind to disturb any body, so very reluctantly came away and returned to Lucknow. At the latter station, while thinking what I should do next, I was favored with the following letter from Mr Moule:—

"Dear Sir, I have been desired by His Excellency the Viceroy to ask you to write your name, that is to say your signature on the first page of the copy of your book which you gave him; and also the date and place, etc. I would suggest your writing to this effect:—

Presented to His Excellency in person by his obedient humble servant, the Author, W J SHEPHERD, Wheeler's Intrenchments, Cawnpore, 9th April, 1886.

Please also enclose your autograph signature—*W. J. Shepherd*—on a separate piece of paper for Her Excellency, Lady Dufferin, who wishes to paste it into her autograph book. I send you the book *by book post*. Please return it to me—"bearing" after doing what is required.

Yours truly, *H. D. MOULE*"

These suggestions were carefully attended to by me, and the book and paper duly despatched. All expenses connected with my trip to Cawnpore were paid me by Mr. Moule.

The above incident, it will easily be understood afforded me then, and will ever afford me, a degree of pleasure which it is not easy for me to express in words; and while the language of my heart is—"God bless their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Dufferin" I am impressed with a deep sense of loyalty to the representative of Her Majesty—our Gracious Lady—Queen Empress, who so nobly reflects, to the joy and gratitude of all in India, the just and humane purposes of our Sovereign Lady as set forth in the memorable words of His Excellency the Viceroy voiced on the 9th December, 1884, in answer to the Deputation of the Ahmedabad Notabilities, *viz.*, "There is nothing which passes in India which our Gracious Sovereign does not carefully watch, and having been summoned to her presence before my departure from England she laid upon me her commands, to do everything in my power to promote the happiness and welfare of all classes and sections within the circuit of her Eastern Empire."

God moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to perform;
He plants his footsteps in the sea,
And rides upon the storm.

While England is beginning to get more and more interested in her Eastern-Empire, the WORD OF GOD is steadily and surely "having free course and is glorified." He who has declared—"and the Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in the whole world for a testimony unto all the nations, and then shall the end come,"—is also able to bring about His Gracious purposes in His own inscrutable way. At no period in the History of India was the work of the various Missionary Societies of Europe and America represented in this country in a more flourishing state *than it is now*. There are at present not fewer than fifty-three Missions at work in India, Burmah and Ceylon, aggregating 791 foreign missionarirs besides 361 ladies. The number of native Christians in India, exclusive of Burma and Ceylon, amounts to 4,50,000. *Vide Revd. B. H. Badley's Indian Missionary Directory.*

In conclusion let us ponder over the precious words contained in the following passages taken from the last two chapters of the Revelation of St. John the Divine.

"And he spake unto me, saying, come hither, I will shew thee the bride, the wife of the lamb. And he carried me away in the Spirit to a mountain great and high, and shewed me the holy city Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God having the glory of God; * * * and there shall in no wise enter into it anything unclean or he that maketh an abomination and a lie: but only they which are written in the Lamb's book of life: * * * Behold I come quickly: and my reward is with me to render to each man according as his work is. I am the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end. Blessed are they that wash their robes, that they may have the right to come to the tree of life, and may enter in by the gates into the city. Without are dogs, and sorcerers, and fornicators, and murderers, and idolators, and every one that loveth and maketh a lie."

"I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things for the churches. I am the root and offspring of David, the bright and morning star. And the Spirit and the bride say, Come. And he that heareth let him say, Come. And he that is athirst, let him come: he that will, let him take the water of life freely."* * *

He that testifieth these things saith, Yea: I come quickly. Amen. Even so come, Lord Jesus.

Lucknow, 16th October, 1886.