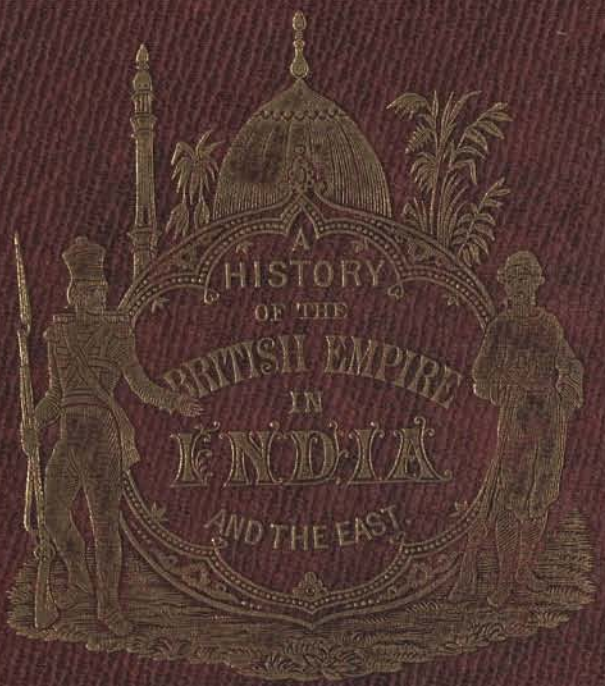
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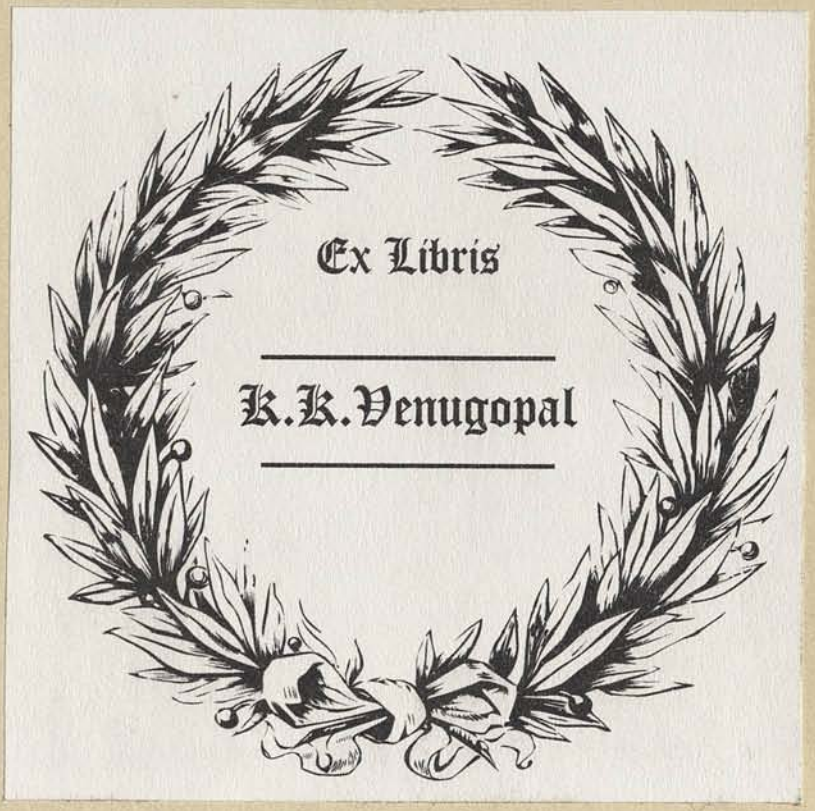
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HINDOO MAIDENS FLOATING LAMPS.

ON THE GANGES

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SIR JOHN LAWRENCE, BART. G.C.B.

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CROSSING A TORRENT IN BOOTAN.

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SACRED TEMPLE AND TANK — UMRITSIR.

G. Stodart.

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE, K.T.

*From a Painting by Sir John W. Gordon, R.A.*

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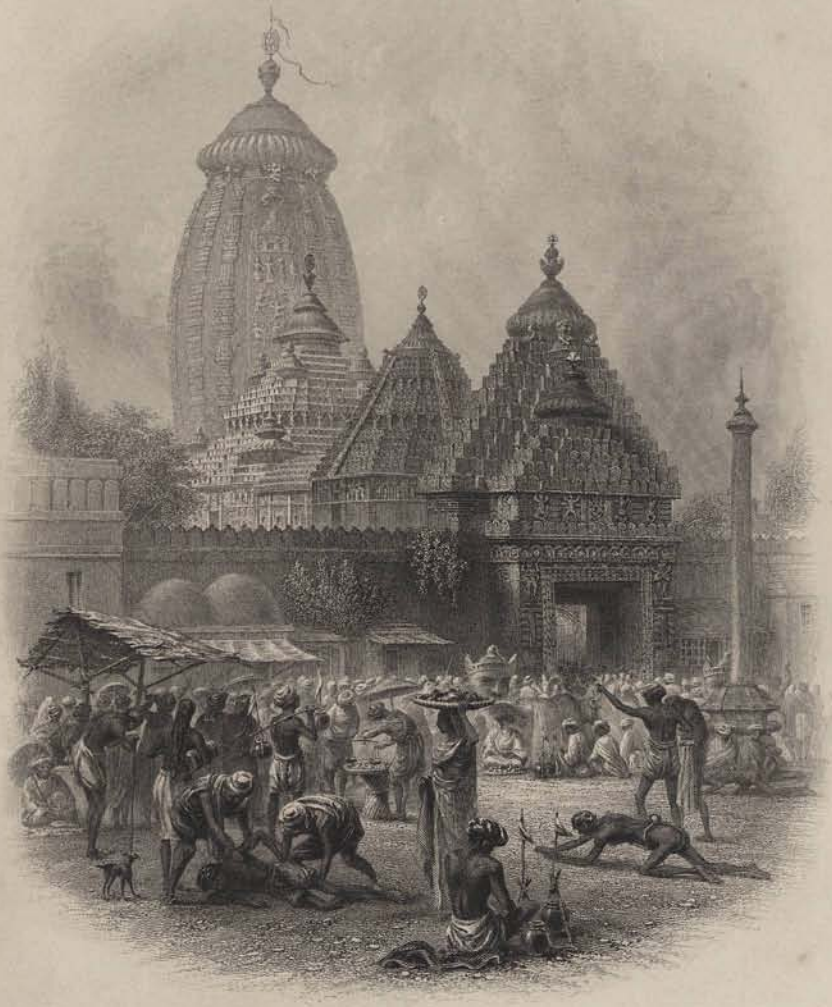
# The History of the BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA AND THE EAST.

BY Dr E. H. NOLAN.



TEMPLE OF JUGGERNAUT.

London.

JAMES S. VIRTUE, CITY ROAD & IVY LANE.

had been experienced, and while the Affghan chiefs were already in arms. The indiscretion of the general-in-chief did not stop there; for part of the commissariat was within the walls of Cabul itself, and a number of the officers were permitted to reside there.

On the 2nd of November, 1841, the populace of Cabul rose in insurrection. The houses of the British officers were first attacked, and among them, with especial malignity, those of Sir Alexander Burnes, and of the paymaster of the shah's forces, a British officer, Captain Johnson. Had Sir Alexander Burnes, even then, showed firmness and a quick insight of events, the insurgents might have been intimidated. Sir Alexander, however, forbid his guard to fire on the people, and tried the British plan of quieting a mob by making a speech. Neither Clive, Hastings, nor Wellesley, would have wasted time at a period of such urgency in a way so unsuitable to orientals. The result was, that when the sepoy guard was permitted to defend the minister, the moment had passed for effectual action. The sepoys were overpowered; Sir Alexander, his brother, Lieutenant Burnes, and Lieutenant William Broadfoot, an officer of distinguished talents and bravery, perished. Broadfoot slew six of his assailants before he fell. The residency was plundered; every one in it, even women and children, were, with the bloody ferocity of Mohammedans, murdered. The house was plundered, and then burned. The shah's treasury was also plundered, and after the massacre of those in charge of it, and their families, committed to the flames. Several British officers were wounded, and the escape of any was miraculous, for the whole population, well armed, was excited to the highest pitch of fanaticism,* and crying out madly for the blood of the infidels. An attempt was made to assassinate Captain Sturt, of the engineers (son-in-law of General Sale), in the precincts of the palace. He was stabbed three times by an Affghan of rank, who escaped into an adjacent building. Captain Lawrence, a distinguished political servant of the company, afterwards still more known and honoured, had a narrow escape from sword and matchlock while bearing a despatch.

The shah was more vigilant, active, and skilful than the English generals. He sent Campbell's Hindostanee regiment in his own service, and three guns, to suppress the insurrection. The populace were prepared for such an event, and gallantly resisted. The Hindostanee soldiers did not display much courage or loyalty, and gave way without making any impression upon the enemy. A son of the shah, and a number of Affghans—a sort of body-guard—supported the Hindostanee infantry, but the horsemen showed even less loyalty and spirit than the Hindostanees. Brigadier Shelton and a portion of the troops was just then encamped at some distance from both the Balla-Hissar and the cantonments. He was ordered, or, as it would appear, requested to send a portion of his troops to the former place, with which he complied, and the rest he marched to the cantonments. Neither he nor General Elphinstone took any measure to put down the insurrection in the city, which might have been done that day by officers of intelligence and promptitude.

Orders were given that the 37th Bengal native infantry, which had gone part of the way with General Sale, and remained posted at the Khoord-Cabul, should return. Major Griffiths conducted his regiment safely, but had to fight his way against very superior numbers during the whole march. Lady Sale, who witnessed their arrival, and who had a more masculine intellect and military mind than the chief officers of the British force, described the progress of the gallant Griffiths and his men as if it had been a mere parade movement. The arrival of this battalion on the 3rd, did not lead to any increased activity, or more decided policy on the part of the English general. Some of the officers made desultory efforts on their own account, to dislodge the rebels from various posts which it was dangerous to allow them to occupy, but the general seemed as incapable of laying down any plan for the action of others, as he was of going about or doing anything himself; the rebels, therefore, continued the offensive, and strengthened themselves in every way, and in all directions. Several important positions were lost by English officers for want of ammunition, for which their applications to their superiors were made in vain.* Various chiefs, faithful to the cause of Shah Sujah, offered assistance to the British officers, but were so discouraged by the haughty contumely with which they were treated, that they shrunk back into neutrality, or were compelled for their own safety to join the enemy. A small fort used by Brigadier Auquetil, a French officer in the shah's service, and where also some of his majesty's commissariat stores were placed, was defended by some Affghans in the shah's service, who were commanded by Captain M'Kenzie, an officer of courage and great presence of mind. That gallant man defended the post until he had not a single cartridge left. His solicitations for ammu-

* *Military Operations at Cabul.* Lieutenant Eyre.

* *Lady Sale's Journal.*

nition to British cantonments and to the Balla-Hissar were in vain; he therefore evacuated the place in the night, and endeavoured to join head-quarters. His adventures were romantic, and his escape from the dangers by which he was surrounded wonderful. His own account of that terrible march is graphic and exceedingly interesting:—"Before we had proceeded half a mile, the rear missed the advance, upon whom a post of the enemy had begun to fire. All my regulars had crept ahead with the Juzailchees, and I found myself alone with a chuprasse and two sowars, in the midst of a helpless and wailing crowd of women and children. Riding on by myself, along a narrow lane, to try and pick out the road, I found myself suddenly surrounded by a party of Affghans, whom at first I took to be our Juzailchees, and spoke to them as such. They quickly undeceived me, however, by crying out, 'Feringhee hust,' 'here is a European;' and attacking us with swords and knives. Spurring my horse violently, I wheeled round, cutting from right to left, for I fortunately had my own sword drawn previous to the surprise. My blows, by God's mercy, parried the greater part of theirs, and I was lucky enough to cut off the hand of my most outrageous assailant. In short, after a desperate struggle, during which I received two slight sabre cuts, and a blow on the back of my head, from a fellow whose sword turned in his hand, which knocked me half off my horse, I escaped out of the crush, passing unhurt through two volleys of musketry from the whole picket, which by that time had become alarmed, and had turned out. They pursued me, but I soon distanced them, crossing several fields at speed, and gaining a road which I perceived led round the western end of the shah's garden. Proceeding cautiously along, to my horror I perceived my path again blocked up by a dense body of Affghans. Retreat was impossible; so, putting my trust in God, I charged into the midst of them, hoping that the weight of my horse would clear my way for me, and reserving my sword cuts for my last struggle. It was well that I did so; for, by the time that I had knocked over some twenty fellows, I found that they were my own Juzailchees. If you ever experienced sudden relief from a hideous nightmare, you may imagine my feelings for the moment. With these worthies, after wandering about for some time, and passing unchallenged by a sleepy post of the enemy, I reached the cantonments."

The next day apathy and neglect pervaded the English head-quarters, as on the preceding days. The British commissary held his stores in a small fort, which, if taken, the stores from which the troops were fed would fall into the hands of the enemy, and the English must either surrender, or starve. This important position, upon the occupation of which so much depended, was guarded by one officer, an ensign, and a few sepoys of the 5th Bengal native infantry. During the 4th of November, Mr. Warren, upon whom the maintenance of the post devolved, sent word that he was pressed by a very superior Affghan force, and unless he obtained speedy assistance he must abandon the defence. Instead of sending a body of troops to assist him in retaining a place of such vital importance, a very small detachment was sent to aid him in evacuating it. The detachment sent for this purpose was too small to fight its way to Ensign Warren, and had to retreat with the loss of a considerable portion of the men; yet, notwithstanding this failure, another small force was dispatched on the same errand, and, of course, with the same result.

Captain Boyd, the English commissary-general, and Captain Johnson, commissary-general to the shah, made representations to General Elphinstone of the folly and ruin of surrendering such an important place to the rebels, containing as it did stores of rice, rum, medicine, under-clothing, &c., amounting in value to four lacs of rupees; whereas, the cantonments did not contain food for three days, and none could be procured elsewhere. Ensign Warren was then ordered to hold the post. The officer replied in sensible and earnest language to the effect that the insurgents were mining the walls, and that his men had become disheartened, and some had deserted. He was again ordered to hold the post, and informed that at two o'clock in the morning he would be reinforced. The commander-in-chief occupied his time in prolix councils of war, and no relief was sent to Ensign Warren. While General Elphinstone and his chief officers were debating, Ensign Warren and the remains of his detachment entered the cantonments. The enemy had set fire to the gate of the fort, as well as shattered a portion of the wall with gunpowder. Warren, no longer able to defend the place, and his soldiers no longer willing to do so, escaped with difficulty. Lieutenant Eyre in his work on *Military Operations in Cabul*, describes the effect which the capture of the commissariat fort produced upon the troops: "It no sooner became generally known that the commissariat fort, upon which we were dependent for supplies, had been abandoned, than one universal feeling of indignation pervaded the garrison; nor can I describe the impatience of the troops, but especially the native portion, to be led out for its recapture

—a feeling that was by no means diminished by their seeing the Affghans crossing and re-crossing the road between the commissariat fort and the gate of the Shah Bagh, laden with the provisions on which had depended our ability to make a protracted defence."

General Elphinstone was so goaded by the loudly expressed indignation of the officers of inferior rank and the common soldiers, that he was obliged to venture upon some act of apparent decision. He ordered an attempt to be made to capture the fort of Mohammed Shureef, by which the commissariat fort was commanded. Two guns under Lieutenant Eyre were ordered to open a fire upon the forts, to cover an assault by Major Swayne, who was to blow open the gate with powder. The guns maintained their cannonade until their ammunition was nearly gone, but Swayne made no attempt to lead his infantry to the attack. Whether he would have ventured to do his duty ultimately it is difficult to say, for General Elphinstone recalled the party. This was attended by another burst of indignation on the part of the troops; even the sepoys could not restrain the expression of their scorn, and demanded to be allowed to storm the fort. The 37th Bengal regiment—which had behaved so well as a battalion under Major Griffiths, and when brigaded under General Sale—called out loudly for permission to take the place. The cause of this shameful failure it is difficult to determine, as testimonies disagree. Lieutenant Eyre attributes it to Major Swayne; Lady Sale throws all the blame on General Elphinstone. The following passages convey the language expressed by both authorities. Major Eyre thus wrote:—"Major Swayne, instead of rushing forward with his men, as had been agreed, had in the meantime remained stationary, under cover of the wall by the road side. The general, who was watching our proceedings from the gateway, observing that the gun-ammunition was running short, and that the troops had failed to take advantage of the best opportunity for advancing, recalled us into cantonments." Lady Sale says:—"The troops retired by order of General Elphinstone, to my no small surprise, for the enemy had begun to run out from a broken bastion; but when they found our people retreating, they took courage, and no more left the fort."

General Elphinstone, who seemed to have no mind of his own, was again moved by the murmurs of the troops, and ordered a renewed attempt to take the fort, to be made on the next day. Edward Thornton thus describes it:—"At an early hour three iron 9-pounders were brought to bear upon the north-east bastion, and two howitzers upon the contiguous curtain. The firing was maintained for about two hours, during which the artillerymen were exposed to the fire of the enemy's sharp-shooters stationed on a couple of high towers which completely commanded the battery. A practicable breach being effected, a storming party, consisting of three companies, one of her majesty's 44th, one of the 5th native infantry, and one of the 37th native infantry, marched forward and speedily carried the place. The death-throe of this redoubtable fort was far less violent than might have been expected from the degree of tenacity attributed to it. About one hundred and fifty men succeeded in planting the British flag upon it; but it is to be lamented that the gallant officer, Ensign Raban, of the queen's 44th, who first waved it on the summit of the breach, was shot through the heart while in the act of thus displaying the signal of his country's triumph." The British cavalry pursued the fugitives, and would probably have cut off the whole had not the enemy's horse have made a demonstration in such numbers as compelled the British to draw off.

The *commissary fort* was still in the hands of the enemy, and so considerable a portion of the stores remained in it that its recapture might have saved the army. But the general would neither order this to be done nor allow others to do it. Lady Sale thus narrates one instance of the general's delinquency in this respect:—"Paton [assistant quartermaster-general] and Bellew [deputy assistant quartermaster-general] meet in council with Sturt [her son-in-law, and chief officer of engineers], at nine, most evenings, at our house. To-day [6th November] arrangements were made for carrying the shah's garden and the commissariat fort by daybreak, everything being so clearly explained, that even I understood it as well as hemming the handkerchief I was making. . . . . Plans were sketched, and all the minutiæ written out, so that the general might have no questions to ask. It is now midnight, and no reply has been sent from him, though an answer was to have come to say whether the work should be done or not." From subsequent passages in the *Journal*, it seems that the general hesitated—then approved the plan—then abandoned it.

It is probable that but for the interference of the chief civil officer, Sir W. Mac Naghten, General Elphinstone's army would have been destroyed without the general permitting any proper disposition of defence to be made. At Sir William's suggestion, Brigadier Shelton, a very brave but dull officer, who had lost an arm at Waterloo, where he had distinguished himself by courage, was ordered

to remove from Balla-Hissar to the cantonments to assist the general-in-chief, whose incapacity, physical and mental, had now arrived at such a pitch as to require some more vigorous soldier in immediate consultation with him to save the army from speedy ruin. Shelton was vigorous and gallant enough for this task, but had not the mind of a general any more than his chief. Even when Shelton took a prominent share of responsibility, Sir W. Mac Naghten, only by undertaking to be held responsible, could induce an attack upon a fort so near to the Balla-Hissar as to enable its garrison to fire musketry among the British troops. This fort, which was called the Rika Bashee, was in consequence ordered to be stormed. The assailants consisted of the 44th royal regiment, the 37th native regiment of Bengal, and about an equal number of Affghans in the shah's service. A troop of horse artillery, and a gun of "the mountain train," were attached to this force. Captain Bellew, who behaved with great gallantry, laid powder to the gate. The explosion missed the main gate, and blew open a wicket, through which only two or three soldiers could pass at a time, by stooping, or almost creeping. A few men instantly rushed in, chiefly officers, very few of the soldiery showing any disposition to enter. Colonel Mackerall, and Lieutenant Cadett of the 44th, Lieutenant Hawtrey of the 37th Bengal regiment, and Lieutenant Burd of the shah's force, with dauntless intrepidity entered together, sword in hand, clearing the enemy from the way. The garrison, supposing that the large gate was blown in, and that the whole British force were entering, fled in dismay through a gate at the opposite side. At that instant, however, the enemy's cavalry, always more gallant than the infantry, charged round the angle of the fort, and began to sabre the shah's infantry, who fled without resistance. The British infantry behaved with nearly as little spirit, English and sepoys fleeing together. Indeed, the sepoys of the 37th showed a disposition to form and resist, but the panic of the 44th was unmitigated. Major Scott made efforts to rally them, but in vain. He then called upon volunteers to follow him; one man only had the courage or confidence, whichever was the virtue required. His name was Steward. He would have been unnoticed and unrewarded by his stoical superiors had not Sir W. Mac Naghten interested himself in him, and procured his promotion to the rank of sergeant.

The heroic courage of Brigadier Shelton alone retrieved the disgrace, and saved the brave men who had entered the fort. The brigadier rallied some of the troops, who, after renewed displays of cowardice, or want of confidence in their officers (it is difficult to which influence to attribute their hesitation), at last entered the fort, and secured its conquest. In the meantime, the officers and their few followers who had entered the wicket gate when it was blown open, had been exposed to a fearful conflict. They shut the gate out of which the garrison had fled, drew a chain across it, and fastened it with a bayonet. Two of their number, Lieutenants Cadett and Hawtrey, returned to bring up assistance. Before the runaway soldiers were rallied by Shelton, the Affghans returned (having heard of the flight of the English), and forced away the chain and the bayonet. Mackerall fell, bravely fighting to the last. Lieutenant Burd and two sepoys found shelter in a stable, barred the gate, and fired from the apertures which admitted air. Against this frail post the Affghans directed their whole fury: young Burd and his two followers flinched not, and kept the enemy at bay until assistance arrived. When that at last came, one of the faithful sepoys was slain, and thirty dead Affghans lay around and in the entrance of the shattered door of the stable. Edward Thornton says, "when the fort was gained, the gallant pair were found by their companions unharmed. The rescue, indeed, was at the last moment, for the ammunition of the besieged combatants was reduced to a stock of five cartridges."

The English had two hundred killed and wounded during these conflicts. Captain M'Crae was cut down in the first charge upon the gateway. Captain Westmeath was shot in one of the skirmishes without. The effect of the success was that the enemy abandoned the minor adjacent forts. Grain, to a considerable extent, was found in one, which circumstance cheered the army not a little. During the day much of it was removed to a safer place. A guard was applied for by the commissary to protect the remainder through the night, but with the infatuation by which all the imbecile control of this army was characterised, this important request was refused. Before morning it was removed by the enemy, and another serious deprivation was inflicted upon the army.

On the 13th of November, the enemy appeared in great force upon the heights, and fired into the cantonments. Sir W. Mac Naghten by taking upon himself* the responsibility, succeeded in inducing the general to send out a force to disperse them. The British soldiery, both European and native, showed a want of courage so unusual with British troops, as to excite the astonishment

* Thornton, vol. vi. p. 26.

of their officers. The fact was, the men did not doubt the courage of their officers, which far surpassed their own, but they had lost all reliance upon the military capacity of the commander-in-chief, and of his principal officers; they were therefore unwilling to incur peril when life might be thrown away in a useless enterprise. The British, however, gained their object, and captured one of the enemy's guns. Another was protected by a heavy fire from the Affghan matchlocks, and the men of the 44th regiment could not be stimulated by the words or example of their officers to charge and capture it. This was the second time that regiment, which had so highly distinguished itself at Waterloo, had shown a want of British spirit at Cabul, independent of some minor instances in which it was deficient in alacrity and military ardour. As the soldiers of the 44th could not be prevailed upon to incur the danger of the enemy's fire to carry the gun away, Lieutenant Eyre and a horse artillery gunner descended into the ravine where the gun lay abandoned, and spiked it. The bad example set by the 44th infected the whole of the native infantry. The attack made at the instigation of Sir W. Mac Naghten, had a salutary effect upon the Affghans, who for nearly a week offered the British little molestation. The English general being quite content to be let alone, left his enemies to adopt their own course.

On the 22nd November a contest occurred in the village of Behmauroo. That place had afforded the English some supplies, who, utterly thriftless and incapable, left it unprotected. The Affghans, to cut off the resources derived thence, occupied the village without hindrance. When the mischief was effected, the English general began to think of the inconvenience attending it, and ordered Major Swayne, of the 5th native infantry, with a small force of cavalry and infantry, and a *single gun*, to dispossess them. *Another gun was sent afterwards.* The orders were to storm the village. Major Swayne, however, behaved on this occasion precisely as he had done when ordered to storm the commissariat fort. He stood for hours firing at too great a distance to do any harm, the infantry being under cover with the major, the cavalry and artillery being exposed to the long-range matchlocks of the enemy. The artillery, of course, replied as efficiently as their position allowed; the cavalry were useless. In the evening, Brigadier Shelton joined the assailants, if such they might be called, and looked on while, as Lady Sale described, they did nothing. As the party retired at the close of this ignominious day, Brigadier Shelton had the folly to inquire of Lady Sale if she did not approve of the way in which the troops conducted themselves. This brave woman, accustomed to witness the heroic deeds of her illustrious husband, and the military genius which distinguished him, answered with indignant censure, pointing out the absurdities, in a military point of view, of the way in which the undertaking had been conducted and had failed. But not even the rebukes, remonstrances, or scorn of a sensible and resolute lady could inspire the English generals with wisdom, or goad them into a spirited conduct of the war. Shelton had as gallant a heart as ever beat in British bosom, but he had not mind. He was a good, kind, just, honest man, true to his country and his duty, but he had no capacity for the responsibility devolved upon him; and the system of the British army did not provide that men should be at hand, as they always might be with any considerable body of British troops, equal to emergencies such as are common to armies.

The next day Brigadier Shelton went out with about one thousand infantry of the 44th regiment, and the two native regiments, a company of sappers, a squadron of regular light cavalry, another of irregular, and one hundred men of Anderson's horse. With this force also there was a single gun. This error Lady Sale commented upon severely and justly at the time. A second gun might easily have been sent, so that a regular and unintermittent fire could have been preserved. The gun was brought to a knoll, which was supposed to command the enemy's principal bivouac. The enemy became confused, seeking places of shelter, and giving a desultory fire from their "juzails." Shelton was urged by the more intelligent of his officers to storm the place while the enemy was in confusion, as the night was dark. This he neglected to do; for, although personally fearless of danger, he was too kind willingly to expose his soldiers, of whom he was fond, to any perils that did not promise to bear important fruit; and, unfortunately, his judgment was seldom clear in that respect. When morning dawned and gave the enemy light to penetrate the objects and plans of the assailants, and fight or fly as their interests might point out, Shelton resolved upon a storm; selecting an officer who had already repeatedly proved himself incompetent, the general filled up the measure of his infatuation. Major Swayne was ordered to storm the principal gate. He could not find it—*it was wide open.* He instead came upon a small wicket, which was barricaded; he did not try to force it, but placed his men under cover, where they quietly remained out of harm's way, and doing no

harm to their enemies, until they were called off. Lieutenant Eyre believes that Major Swayne was obliged to put his men under cover, being unable to force the gate. It was forced, however, but not by him. Lady Sale says a way was made through the space it closed, "by a few men pulling it down with their hands, and kicking at it." The place was taken, not because British skill or valour accomplished it, but because the garrison, overrating the energy and ability of their foes, chose to evacuate it and take ground on an opposite hill to that occupied by the British, and separated from it only by a gorge. Perceiving the vacillation of the English, the Affghans returned to the village and re-occupied it with much judgment, and in considerable force. The brigadier proceeded to dislodge the enemy, who remained in position on the opposite height. Whatever may be conceived as improbable for a general to do under such circumstances, Brigadier Shelton performed. He brought forward skirmishers to the brow of the hill, two squares were formed by his infantry, supported by his cavalry, the whole force being obnoxious to the fire of the Affghans, who were covered by crags and mounds of stones artificially raised. The conduct of the British troops was dastardly in the extreme. The men had not the smallest confidence in General Shelton's dispositions, and could not be brought to hope for any success under either his command, or that of General Elphinstone. The British skirmishers could only be kept to their duty by the dauntless exposure of the officers, and their encouragements, remonstrances, and even taunts. They could no more be induced to advance against the enemy than in the Crimean war the soldiers of General Windham could be brought to follow him in the Redan, and for the same reason, want of confidence in their leaders. In the case taken for illustration, however, the men fought heroically, so far as depended upon their individual action, but Brigadier Shelton's troops showed a craven spirit in every form. The skirmishers fell back upon the main body, and the Affghan skirmishers advanced; as soon as they approached the squares, the latter gave way. The officers did everything that men could do to rally them, offering immense pecuniary rewards to capture the enemy's flag, which met with no response. The despicable cowardice of the 44th regiment was the main cause of all this disgrace; for the sepoy regiments had repeatedly proved themselves brave and well disciplined, but sepoys seldom fight well if they see want of courage in the European soldiers, to whom they look for courage in the field. Many of the British officers advanced and threw stones at the Affghans, the base men of the 44th looking on without being moved by the heroic example. Captains Mackintosh and Mackenzie, Lieutenants Troup, Leighton, and Laing, were among the foremost in thus acting. Mackintosh and Laing fell. The enemy rushed to seize the only gun which the English had with them. The cavalry were ordered to charge to prevent such a result: they refused to obey. Captains Bolt and Collier, and Lieutenant Wallace, charged the enemy, followed by a number of native officers; the remaining officers, European and native, made every possible exertion to induce the men to charge, but they would not. The cavalry were all natives. Had there been another infantry regiment of Europeans, and a single squadron of European cavalry, the disgrace and ruin entailed by the cowardice of the 44th regiment might have been retrieved. The cavalry looked on, while the artillerymen, fighting with dauntless courage—alone brave amidst a demoralized army—struggled to retain the gun: all were cut down, two killed. The first square of the British infantry was running away, the second preserved its formation, and the fugitives were rallied in its rear, but only after incredible labour on the part of their gallant officers. This display of order and animation awed the enemy, who abandoned the gun. The English opened fire, which was maintained at some distance, but on the enemy again advancing, the infantry ran away. The officers once more displayed boundless heroism, but in vain; not even self-preservation could rally these cowards, who were cut down by the Affghans with great slaughter. The pursuers gave no quarter, and mercilessly hacked the wounded. Some of the shah's own infantry, Affghans, rallied and fired; at the same moment Lieutenant Hardyman arrived with a fresh troop of horse, who, not partaking of the general demoralization, charged with effect. One of the Affghan chiefs, whether from this display of spirit, or from a treacherous loyalty to the shah, halted his men. Colonel Oliver, Captain Mackintosh, and Lieutenants Laing and Walker were left dead upon the field.

When Shelton advanced against the height occupied by the Affghans, he left on the range of knolls which his own troops had occupied, three companies of the 37th Bengal native infantry, under Major Kershaw. This small force covered the retreat with distinguished courage, such as had always characterised that corps. They fought with such courage, and preserved such order, that to them must be attributed the safety of those who escaped. One of these companies was entirely destroyed,

except a corporal and two men. These representatives of their company retired, preserving their coolness and discipline to the last. This was not the first time in the history of Indian wars that the sepoy soldiers showed a fortitude superior to the European. Shelton had proved himself utterly incapable of any command whatever. He had the folly and stupidity afterwards to boast of the conduct of his regiment, the 44th, and blame the sepoys for the loss of the battle, although the Europeans set an example of cowardice, and would, probably, have been all cut off had not their *flight* been covered by the reserve companies of the 37th Bengal native infantry.

The military leaders urged Sir W. Mac Naghten to negotiate for a retreat, the safety of which might be guaranteed. It was obvious that the soldiers would not fight under the leadership of such men, and so Mac Naghten, sorely against his own disposition, yielded to their importunities. It was, after much diplomatic trick, arranged that Shah Sujah should descend from his throne, and the English abandon Affghanistan. The shah, after much prevarication, refused to abandon the musnid, gathered his partizans around him, defended his position, and showed far more spirit than his protectors. The English, no longer able to dictate terms to the shah, were compelled to make terms for themselves. The soldiers were starving, and were very anxious to see the war concluded in any way. It was finally agreed that the English should give up Affghanistan, and retire under the protection of the chiefs, who were to provide them with beasts of burden and food. The animals were never provided, and what little food the English did procure was purchased at a most extravagant price. It was at last demanded that the English should surrender their guns and artillery ammunition. Some demur was made to this, but it was substantially conceded. Meanwhile the attacks of the Affghans upon the garrison of Cabul continued. Mohammed Shureef's fort was the chief point of contest. The Affghans tried to blow open the gate with powder, as the English had done, but not understanding the process, the explosion only did harm to themselves. They then laid a mine, but Lieutenant Sturt, the engineer, the heroic son-in-law of Sir Robert Sale, entered the mine in the night, and destroyed it. The cowardice of the 44th regiment, however, betrayed the fort to the enemy. The garrison consisted of one company of that regiment, and one company of the gallant 37th. Lieutenant Gray, who commanded the company of the 44th, was wounded, and while getting his wound dressed, the whole of his men ran away, climbing the walls of the fort to escape, not having had a man killed in the defence. The company of the 37th, which had behaved well, and lost two men, was anxious to defend the place, but being abandoned by their European fellow soldiers, they also fled, and the Affghans, unopposed, walked into the fort. Sturt had been carried about in a litter, suffering from his wounds; yet he was the life and soul of the garrison, directing everything and animating all. Sir Robert Sale and his noble-hearted wife might well be proud of such a son-in-law. A company of the 44th had garrisoned the bazaar, who endeavoured to run away, after the example of their comrades in the fort, but their officers by desperate exertions prevented them. A guard of sepoys had to be placed at the entrance to *prevent the Europeans from deserting*. Lieutenant Eyre says that this regiment "had been for a long time previous to these occurrences in a state of woeful deterioration." The fact is, the regiment was composed of men who had no sympathy with British chivalry, and cared nothing for defeat to England, or dishonour to the British name. At last discipline began to fail in cantonments as in the field, and here also the 44th set the example.

The winter began now to set in severely, and the English became urgent for the performance of those stipulations which the Affghan chiefs had made with Sir W. Mac Naghten. The troops quartered in the Balla-Hissar, left it for the cantonments, preparatory to the retirement of the whole body from Cabul. Akbar Khan, at this juncture, made a proposal that the English should occupy the cantonments and the Balla-Hissar a few months longer, that Shah Sujah should be confirmed on the throne, that Akbar Khan should be his vizier, and that the English should pay a large sum of money for the arrangement. Akbar also offered to decapitate Ameen Oolah Khan, the most sturdy opponent of the English, if they would pay for it. Sir William replied that England paid no blood money. Whether this offended Akbar, or that the whole scheme was a pretence to detain the English until the passes were so obstructed by the winter, that the troops might be more easily sacrificed, it is difficult to determine.

Sir William accepted all the other propositions: an interview was proposed by Akbar and acceded to by Sir William. At the appointed time, Sir William proceeded to the rendezvous accompanied by Captains Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie. He requested General Elphinstone to have two guns ready for secret service, to keep the garrison on the alert, and have the walls strongly manned. He suspected treachery. His wishes were so

imperfectly attended to, as to draw from him severest reproaches upon the military authorities; whom, indeed, no disasters could warn and no experience teach. The general had even the incredible folly to write a letter to the envoy, remonstrating against this demand for employing his troops in such a manner. Neither Elphinstone nor Shelton were capable of transacting any business of importance, or of comprehending military measures which required thought, foresight, or combination. The spot selected for the interview was nearly screened from view from the cantonments by a range of knolls. Sir William left the small escort allowed him by the military chiefs at some distance; he, and the three officers who had accompanied him, advanced to the appointed place. Akbar Khan arrived soon after, attended by several other chiefs, among them the brother of the man whom he had proposed to decapitate. A carpet was spread and the conference was opened. Soon after, a number of armed men drew near, and formed a circle at some distance. Captain Lawrence remarked, that as the conference was secret, these men should be ordered away. Akbar replied that it was of no consequence, as all were in the secret. He then cried aloud, "Seize!" and the envoy and his three companions were disarmed and pinioned, and borne away prisoners. Sir William had just before presented Akbar with a pair of pistols; with one of these he shot the envoy, with the other Captain Trevor. The other two were spared, and the mangled remains of their companions and seniors were paraded before them. The hands of Sir William Mac Naghten were cut off, carried about, and thrown in at the window where the surviving officers were imprisoned. As soon as the officers were seized, the escort ran away, excepting one man, who was almost cut to pieces by Akbar's adherents. Sir William had ordered the body-guard to follow him; they did so for some distance, but fled at the commencement of danger. Sir William has been blamed for trusting to Akbar, but he had no other course open to him. He had no confidence in the generals, who were little better than fools. He had no confidence in the soldiers, for, although the sepoys were disposed to stand firm, the 44th, the only European regiment, were cowards, or at all events indisposed to fight when only British honour was concerned, without any prospective advantage to themselves.

When tidings of this terrible treachery arrived at the cantonments, no call of honour was made upon the army, no generous effort of devotion made to rescue the living, or save the slain from insult; nothing chivalrous, brave, wise, or noble was attempted; the stolid generals listened and wondered. While they were pondering over the events of disaster and humiliation of which they were themselves the occasion, Akbar Khan sent in a new treaty, or, rather that which had already been agreed to, with three new articles:—1st. That the British officers should leave all their guns behind, except six.* 2nd. That they should give up all their treasure. 3rd. That the hostages already held by the Affghans should be exchanged for married men with their wives and children. The council met to consider these propositions. Major Eldred Pottinger (who, as Lieutenant E. Pottinger, had so gallantly defended Herat) acted as political agent. He urged the council to refuse such disgraceful terms, to hold their ground, and act with spirit, or to attempt a retreat to Jellalabad. The council determined to accept Akbar's terms, in spite of Major Pottinger's warnings that he only intended to betray them. Bribes were offered by the council to married officers to entrust themselves and their wives and their families in the hands of the Affghans. Some were found to acquiesce, but only some. This part, therefore, of Akbar's demand could not be complied with! The council consisted of General Elphinstone, Brigadier-general Shelton, Brigadier Anquetil, Colonel Chambers, Captain Bellew, and Captain Grant. General Elphinstone wrote to Akbar that it was contrary to the honour of his country to surrender ladies as hostages. Akbar obtaining the bills for fourteen lacs, and the concession of all his other demands, accepted married hostages, without their families. Captains Lawrence, Mackenzie, and Skinner, were therefore sent into the cantonments. Captains Drummond, Walsh, Warburton, Webb, Connolly, and Airey, were to remain as married hostages. Akbar undertook to take charge of the sick and wounded that might be left in Cabul after the English troops should depart. On the 6th of January the British set out upon their march.

Before giving an account of this march, it is necessary to refer to the events which were taking place in other parts of Affghanistan, while humiliation exhausted itself upon the army at Cabul.

The revolt against Shah Sujah appeared simultaneously in every part of his unexpectedly acquired dominions. In the middle of November, 1841, Major Pottinger, political agent in Kohistan, accompanied by Lieutenant Houghton, adjutant of the Goorkha

* A previous proposal to abandon all their cannon and artillery ammunition had at first been conceded, but ultimately was not agreed upon.

regiment in the shah's service, attended by a single soldier of his corps, entered Cabul, having been obliged to abandon his post, and make his way through incredible difficulties, hardships, and dangers to head-quarters. Lieutenant Rattray, Major Pottinger's assistant, had been murdered. In defending Chareker, the major was wounded, and the chief military officer, Captain Codrington, killed. During the defence, so scarce was water that for a considerable time only half a wine glass was allowed to each man, and at last even that could not be dispensed. The native troops began to desert from the garrison, and finally mutinied. The Affghans, assisted by the Mohammedans in the pay of the British, attempted to murder Lieutenant Houghton. Finally, Pottinger and Houghton retreated, leading out the dispirited garrison, who one by one dropped away by desertion or death, until only the soldier who entered Cabul with them remained.

There was a remarkable sameness exhibited in the retreats accomplished or attempted by the English in remote garrisons or outposts. Nearly all those places were imperfectly garrisoned, a fault common to the English in India. Captain White, in his political paper on the cause of another war—that with Birmah—made this pertinent remark:—"A very injudicious practice prevailed in India of posting small detachments to impede the movements of formidable armies, so far in advance from the head-quarters of the division as to preclude the possibility of their receiving timely reinforcement if attacked; a practice that from the train of evil consequences it has produced, loudly calls for the intervention of authority, as heedlessly and unnecessarily exposing the lives of the troops, and injurious to the interest of the service, by cutting up their forces in detail, damping the spirit of their men, and encouraging an enemy to advance from the prospect of an easy triumph." The habit of establishing weak, unconnected, and unsupported outposts and garrisons, was exemplified by many instances from the war with Nepaul, by the same officer.

Dr. Grant fell a victim on the retreat of Major Pottinger from Kohistan. Lieutenants Maule and Whelan tried to maintain themselves in a fort, but were deserted by the sepoys and Affghans in the shah's service, and then barbarously murdered. Captain Woodburn proceeded with a detachment from Ghizni, hoping to reach Cabul. He was surprised, and the whole detachment cut off. It appears as if the very imminency of the danger, instead of inciting to vigilance, prevented it. When Sir Robert Sale made good his march from Cabul to Jellalabad, he left a considerable force at Gundamuck. The majority of the men deserted to the enemy, the remainder refused to hold the place, but consented to retire upon Jellalabad, whither their commander, Captain Burnes, succeeded in conducting them. He lost all his baggage and two guns, which the sepoys refused to defend. Another detachment of Sale's brigade was left at Pesh Boolak, to hold that post as long as possible, and when no longer able to do so, they were to retreat upon Jellalabad. This party consisted of Affghans and Hindoos in the shah's service, who refused to hold the position. The Hindoos began to desert, but the enemy put them to death, which circumstance prevented the desertion of the remainder. Captain Ferris cut his way through the enemy and arrived at Jellalabad, having lost all his stores and treasure, to the value of thirty-eight thousand rupees. His loss in personal property was also heavy. These instances of the dangers and heroism of the officers, and the dastardly conduct of the shah's forces, and of the natives in the British service, are specimens of the general aspect of affairs, while yet the Hon. General Elphinstone and his *alter ego*, Colonel Shelton, were conducting affairs at Cabul from one degree of shame and disaster to another.

## CHAPTER CXIII.

### RETREAT OF THE BRITISH FROM CABUL.—DESTRUCTION OF THE ARMY.

ON the 6th of January the army of General Elphinstone departed from Cabul. The plains were deep in snow, and the magnificent mountain range presented to the eye vast piles of dazzling white, a scene the most singular and striking to Europeans. So penetrating was the cold that no clothing could resist it. The Asiatics in the British army of course suffered most, more even than the women, wives and daughters of officers and soldiers, by whom the dispirited troops were accompanied. "The crowd," as Lieutenant Eyre calls this army, amounted to 4500 fighting men, 12,000 camp followers, and

many women and children. The author just quoted enumerates the strictly military portion of the retreating body as follows:—"One troop of horse artillery, 90; her majesty's 44th foot, 600; = 690 Europeans. 5th regiment of light cavalry, two squadrons, 260; 5th shah's irregular ditto (Anderson's), 500; Skinner's horse, one ressala, 70; 4th irregular ditto, one ditto, 70; mission escort, or body-guard, 70; = 970 cavalry. 5th native infantry, 700; 37th ditto, 600; 54th ditto, 650; 6th shah's infantry, 600; sappers and miners, 20; shah's ditto, 240; half the mountain-train, 30; = 2840. Total, 4500. Six horse-artillery guns; three mountain-train ditto."

At nine o'clock in the morning the advance left the cantonments, and until evening the throng continued to issue from their gates. The Affghans, like all Mohammedan peoples, faithless, fired upon the retiring force, killing Lieutenant Hardyman of the 5th light cavalry, and about fifty troopers, who endeavoured to cover the march. As soon as the British cleared the cantonments all order was lost; the incapacity of the commanders became more conspicuous than ever. The body they commanded ceased at once to be an army, and the whole became one confused mass of fugitives. The confusion could hardly be increased when night closed around the weary way of the dispirited host. The darkness was lessened by the glare from the cantonments and the British residency, whence arose a sheet of flame; the fanatics having set fire to the buildings. Many of the sepoys and camp followers dropped down dead before the generals ordered a halt; many more perished before the morning's dawn.

The Affghan chiefs had calculated upon such results, and therefore delayed the execution of the convention which was supposed to ensure the British a safe retreat, until winter, so stern in those elevated regions, had thoroughly set in. When General Elphinstone halted his miserable followers, he had no plan for their encampment, and disorder intensified misery. The second day's march was more confused than the first, although even Generals Elphinstone and Shelton must have felt that upon the preservation of order rested safety. Sir Charles Napier's well known words of severe and just censure upon the management of British Indian armies on the march, were fatally exemplified in the manner in which the British general conducted his troops. One of the shah's regiments disappeared in the night, having either gone over to the enemy, or returned to Cabul in the hope of aiding Shah Sujah. Numerous small detachments of Affghans hung upon the flanks of the dejected corps. These were supposed to be the escort promised by the chiefs, who had obtained the bills for fourteen lacs of rupees. This delusion was soon dispelled, for before the second day's disastrous march terminated, the rear-guard, almost the only semblance of order maintained by the generals, was attacked. The British force, upon which the duty of guarding the rear devolved, was composed of the 44th regiment, the mountain-guns, and a squadron of irregular horse. The guns were captured in the sudden and unexpected onset. The 44th regiment was ordered to retake them, but showing their usual cowardice, of which they betrayed no shame, they refused to advance. Lieutenant White, at the head of his brave artillerymen, advanced and spiked the guns in defiance of the efforts of the Affghans to prevent them. Lady Sale, in her Journal, describes this achievement as most heriocally performed. Lieutenant Eyre has been accused of partiality in describing the bravery of the European artillerymen in contrast to the despicable conduct of the 44th; but Lady Sale, the wife of an infantry officer, could have no such motive, and her language is still stronger than that of the indignant artillery officer. The snow now became so heavy that the horses could not drag the guns through it, so that it was necessary to spike ten more.

It was discovered that Akbar Khan was with the enemy. Communications were opened with him, and an appeal made to the honour of that traitor and murderer to fulfil his engagement to escort the British safely. He replied that he had been sent from Cabul for that purpose; that the English, having marched before permission had been given, had occasioned the attack; that Sir Robert Sale had refused to deliver up Jellalabad according to the treaty between General Elphinstone and the chiefs of Cabul; that hostilities must be renewed unless that treaty were fulfilled, and six hostages surrendered to him to ensure the abandonment of Jellalabad by Sir Robert; and finally, that the British must not march beyond Tezeen, until Sir Robert Sale marched out of Jellalabad. It was agreed that the British should halt at Boothank until the following morning. Day had scarcely dawned when, without any attempt to continue the negotiation begun the previous evening, a fierce onslaught was made upon the rear-guard. Whether animated by despair, or that some unaccountable fit of bravery came upon them, the 44th, led by Major Thain, gallantly repulsed the attack.

The British entered the Pass of Boothank on the third day. This pass is five miles long, narrow, and the sides precipitous and very elevated. A stream poured through it, which fell from its lofty source with such extraor-

dinary rapidity that it was not frozen except at the edges, and where it had overflowed its banks sheets of smooth, clear ice rendered the passage of man and beast most difficult. So winding was this river, that travellers must cross it twenty-eight times in going through the pass. At the entrance from Cabul the defile was much wider than at any place between it and the opposite entrance, where the width of the ravine was narrowest. The heights were covered with fanatics. It is scarcely possible to conceive perils more imminent and a situation more afflicting than that which fell to the lot of those who had had so many opportunities of gaining victory and renown at Cabul; and when it was too late to obtain those advantages, had opportunities of dying nobly the soldier's death upon fields of not altogether hopeless combat. Onward marched the forlorn multitude. For a time the 44th royal regiment and the 54th native infantry maintained the duties of rear-guard, but when they began to suffer severely, they abandoned military order and ran towards the front, forcing their way forward as they could. How it was that the enemy did not fall sword in hand upon the whole host is scarcely conceivable; probably the fitful displays of animation on the part of the 44th may have deterred such a result. Three thousand of the fugitives were slain in the dreadful passage, and the survivors emerged from it wounded and woe struck.

Horrible as were these disasters, worse awaited the forlorn host. When they reached Khoord-Cabul the cold became more intense, the country being more elevated; to this misery was added a fall of snow, rendering progress slower. There were no tents; no wood could be gathered to light fires, and the supply of food was already nearly exhausted. The camp remained that night unassailed. In the morning no efforts were made by the generals to restore order. Two hours before the time fixed for marching, the greater portion of the troops and nearly all the camp followers went on, setting the general orders at defiance. They were induced to halt by information that Akbar Khan had promised provisions, and requested General Elphinstone to halt, that arrangements might be made by the chief to draw off the Affghans from the line of march, except a force of his own to form an escort. The real object was to bring up his men, as they could not march so quickly through the hills as the fugitive British through the defiles. The whole of the British were against delay; they did not trust Akbar's promises; they had preferred flight to battle, and knew that the only remaining chance of safety was in making that flight rapid. One more march would have brought them to a lower level of country, and free them from the snow. Yet the generals did halt. To adopt any course requiring promptitude or energy, even when it afforded the only hope of safety, was impossible to them. While the English halted, Akbar proposed that the ladies, children, and married officers should be surrendered to his protection, he promising faithfully that they should be escorted a day's march behind the retreating army. The generals complied with this demand, notwithstanding the astonishment expressed by the inferior officers. The surrender was made, and two wounded officers were added to the number of hostages, for such they really became. The provisions which he promised to send never came. Famishing with cold and hunger, the British again began their perilous march, until another night, with all its horrors, fell upon the footsore, bleeding, and beaten crowd. It was a terrible night, numbers dying from exhaustion, cold, hunger, and wounds. There had been experience, such as might have profited all, of the necessity of discipline, and the danger of disorder; but the soldiery and camp followers were not taught the lesson. The next morning saw the tumult and disorganization of former days, if possible, increased. All were terror struck; nearly all the Hindostanee soldiers and camp followers were frost-bitten. Akbar Khan's success in causing General Elphinstone to halt was fatal. This day's march brought the crisis. In a narrow gorge, between two precipitous hills, the enfeebled fugitives were attacked from the heights above with a destructive fire, until the gorge was nearly choked with the dying and the dead. The native infantry were here either slain, left wounded in the pass to be afterwards murdered or perish of cold, or throwing away their arms and accoutrements they fled, willing to serve the enemy, or hoping to find a hiding-place. When resistance seemed no longer possible, the enemy, bounding down the declivities, attacked the British, sword in hand; the whole of the baggage was captured, and with it the public treasure. Part of the advanced guard, or what might more appropriately be called the advanced portion of the crowd, emerged from the pass, and the officers with it succeeded in inducing a halt to cover the progress of the remainder. Stragglers reached them, some frightfully wounded, the remainder of the main body of the force had been cut to pieces. The force now mustered seventy men and officers of the 44th, a hundred and fifty native cavalry, fifty horse artillerymen, with one 12-pound howitzer: the camp followers still amounted to several hun-

dreds, exclusive of the wounded, and disabled by frost-bite. Akbar Khan proposed that the whole force should be disarmed and placed under his protection. For once General Elphinstone refused the insidious overtures of the murderer of Sir W. Mac Naghten. The progress of the force was resumed with somewhat more of order. Again a narrow pass lay in its line of march, and again the heights were covered with the marksmen of the enemy. Brigadier Shelton displayed some of his old brave spirit; he threw out skirmishers, made dispositions which were sensible, and such a demonstration of decision as deterred the Affghans from falling upon the British with the sword, and the force arrived, after some further casualties, in the Tezeen valley. Lieutenant Eyre describes these Affghan rifles as "the best marksmen in the world:" one can hardly credit such an opinion, when such a force as that commanded by General Elphinstone could march through a series of passes, of such a nature that a single British regiment, unless formed of men like the 44th, might have defended any of them against the march of fifty thousand men. In some places those passes were a mere gorge, in others the turns were sharp and sudden, so angular that before they were attained the towering rock appeared right before the advancing army, and on these crags the Affghans were perched or crouching with more or less cover, their long-range firearms pointed to the passage below. Were they marksmen of the ability for which Lieutenant Eyre gives them credit, not a man of General Elphinstone's army would have emerged from the first pass. The opinion here given of Lieutenant Eyre's estimate of the Affghan sharp-shooters is not unsupported. One who had abundant opportunity of observing them, says of similar attempts against the passage of General England's forces between Candahar and Ghizni, that they failed from deficient aim as well as deficient courage of the assailants:—"The enemy made no stand, rapidly retreating from hill to hill, and keeping so far out of range that with all their fire they but slightly wounded two of our people."* The same observer thus expresses himself on another occasion:—"It is difficult to credit all that one hears of the superior marksmanship of these people. I can imagine that well screened behind a rock with a rest for their piece and a fixed mark, they may hit at considerable distances; but when compelled to move as in following an enemy, or retreating from height to height, they appear to do very little execution, with a great expenditure of ammunition."

* Rev. J. N. Allen.

Had the British maintained order and military discipline on the march from Cabul to Tezeen, and had General Elphinstone distrusted Akbar Khan and shown any tolerable skill and spirit, the loss would not have been one-third what it was.

In the valley of Tezeen, Akbar again sought to induce the British to delay, or to surrender their arms and trust to his protection. The general this time refused all parley, and ordered the troops to move upon Jugdulluck, twenty-two miles distant. It was thought just possible that Sale might send or bring some succour thither. The wounded, those unable to walk, and the remaining gun, were abandoned in the valley, and the men went on more hopefully than hitherto on their desperate march. At seven o'clock in the evening they began to move, hoping to reach the proposed destination before day. It was morning when the advance reached Kutterrung, little more than half the distance. The camp followers, who formed a column between the advance and rear-guard, hesitated to go on when the fire of the Affghans was at all active, who were guided in the discharge of their pieces by the noise made by the retreat, as the darkness was too dense to admit of deliberate aim. Shelton, who brought up the rear-guard, was unable to get his men forward from the obstruction presented by the swaying to and fro of the centre column. The brigadier displayed great activity during this night, but all his exertions were fruitless as to quickening the march of the native "followers." Jugdulluck was reached in the evening, and Akbar Khan opened his usual negotiations, inducing a halt, and at the same time encircling the British by the fire of his infantry. Cowardice only prevented the Affghans from closing in upon their victims. Captain Bygrove, at the head of fifteen Europeans, crept up the acclivity of a hill which was crowned with ten times their number of enemies, who fled with craven speed. The issue of the conference was that Akbar Khan protested that the hostile attacks of the Affghans arose from the violation of the convention of Cabul by the British. Sir Robert Sale felt it to be his duty to disregard that treaty, especially as one of its articles was the surrender of Jellalabad. Akbar Khan considered that hostilities were justifiable so long as the stipulation that the British would evacuate Affghanistan remained unfulfilled. He now demanded that Brigadier Shelton and Captain Johnson should be surrendered as hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty of Cabul, so far as Jellalabad was concerned. *General Elphinstone accepted these terms!* The general was also invited to a conference to

settle the matter finally. The commander-in-chief gave the command, *pro tem.* to Brigadier Auquetil, and attended the proposed interview with the officers designated by Akbar for hostages. They were received with courtesy and hospitality, and were accommodated with tents for the night. The next morning conferences began between the British officers and a number of Affghan chiefs; Akbar Khan playing the part of mediator. Nothing decided was accomplished, and as the day advanced General Elphinstone prepared to return. He, however, soon found that his own despicable folly had made him, his second in command, and an intelligent and gallant officer, Captain Johnson, prisoners. The mode in which he placed himself in the power of an enemy whom he knew was likely just to act as he did, might give rise to the suspicion that he desired such a result to secure his own safety. Such an imputation has never been cast upon him, and it is fair to presume was never deserved, but the absolute absurdity of his conduct on any other supposition might well lead to such a surmise.

The British looked anxiously for the return of their generals, and the tidings of their negotiations. Major Thain and Captain Skinner rode some distance in the direction of Akbar's camp, in their anxiety to observe if any messenger were on the way; they were attacked, and Captain Skinner wounded mortally. It would surprise the reader that these officers should expose themselves to be waylaid and cut-off, when they saw that the Affghans observed no truce,—if any occurrence, however irrational, in connection with that army could create surprise, after its conduct on the morning of the first revolt at Cabul. Akbar gained fresh delay by these proceedings. Hunger, thirst, and cold, and the assassin fire of the foe, made an additional number of victims. Another day and night were wasted, and at last the little force moved on, in the hope that it might reach Jellalabad. After a short march, which the enemy had not anticipated, it was pursued by overwhelming numbers, every part of the country sending its tribe to participate in the slaughter of the infidels. The enemy still kept up a murderous fire, fearing, with all their numbers, a close combat with the British, or supposing that with less loss to themselves they might pick off the whole by a distant fire. A night made mournful by the expectation that it would prove their last, gave place to a day destined to prove the gloomy anticipation well-founded. Twelve officers, with what was left of the cavalry, rode on, as their delay could have afforded no protection to the infantry. There were a few other small parties of mounted men. The infantry followed, but as they approached Gundamuck the smallness of their numbers was exposed by daylight. The enemy refused to negotiate; an appetite for the blood of the infidels raged in the bigoted Mussulmans. About twenty men and a few officers took up a position on a height. The Affghans ranged themselves on an opposite height, pouring matchlock volleys upon the crags where the few English were posted. These men, determined to sell their lives dearly, maintained a steady fire, beneath which most of the foremost Affghans fell. Several times the enemy charged these few British soldiers sword in hand, but were repulsed with signal slaughter. At last, one charge in overwhelming numbers completed the destruction of the British infantry. Some few, desperately wounded, escaped. Captain Souter was one of these. He tied the colours of his regiment round his waist, and thus preserved it. The enemy, however, preferred blood to banners—they were Mohammedans. The cavalry was on ahead, but the Affghans lined the way, and six fell dead under "the slugs" of the Affghan pieces on the way to Futtehabad, where the survivors arrived. The inhabitants received them with warm expressions of sympathy, and hospitably entertained them. Had these officers among the poor fugitives been taught in their youth the genius and spirit of the Mohammedan religion, they would have distrusted such manifestations of kindness. While the wanderers were partaking of the refreshments they so much required, their hosts armed themselves, rushed upon them, killed two of their number; the rest, with difficulty, and by dint of hard fighting, were enabled to remount and ride away. Their entertainers also took horse and pursued and cut down the whole party, except Dr. Brydon, who alone reached Jellalabad, like the last of Job's servants, escaping to tell the story of destruction.

While the events which have been described occurred at Cabul, at Jellalabad, and in the passes between those two places, very similar transactions were occurring in other parts of Shah Sujah's dominions. At Ghizni, Colonel Palmer, the British officer in command there, found himself in a situation quite desperate, from the pressure of the enemy on every side. Colonel Palmer wrote to General Elphinstone, at Cabul, and to Sir William Mac Naghten, for orders and counsel, but could obtain neither. Time was in this way consumed which could not be afterwards redeemed. Colonel Palmer relied upon the fidelity of the inhabitants, who, with Mohammedan falsehood and hypocrisy, pretended loyalty to Shah Sujah, and friendship to the

English. All the while they were in correspondence with their co-religionists outside, and suggesting a plan for gaining the latter admission to the city. This plot was successful; the British, taken by surprise, fought desperately, and after twenty-four hours of sanguinary struggle, were obliged to give up the city, and retire to the citadel, where they continued to bid defiance to the foe until the 1st of March, 1842, ten weeks after the town was lost. During that period the British endured, with uncommon hardihood, cold, hunger, and privations of every kind. Water at last failed. This decided the necessity of surrender. A command had also arrived from General Elphinstone to give up the place, in virtue of the treaty of Herat. It was arranged that the garrison should march out of the citadel in six days, that a certain portion of the city should be set apart for their residence until they were prepared to march, when they were to leave for India, with all their baggage, colours flying, and an escort of Affghan cavalry. The Affghan chiefs bound themselves, by an oath upon the Koran, to abide by these stipulations. The oath was of course violated the moment an opportunity presented itself; the blood of the infidel, more than possession of city or citadel, was desired by these fanatics. On the 6th of March the British left the citadel, and took up the quarters in the city assigned to them; on the 7th, when off their guard, they were attacked, not only by the multitude but by the guns of the citadel, under the direction of the chiefs. The commander of the citadel, Shumsoodeen, a nephew of Dost Mohammed, offered to spare the officers on condition of their surrender to him, and giving up the sepoys to massacre. This was indignantly refused, and the attack continued till many officers and men fell. The sepoys, perceiving that all must eventually perish, resolved to steal away, and attempt to march upon Peshawur. They informed their officers of their intention, and wished them to accompany them, but expressed their resolution, with or without their officers, to attempt an escape. The officers in vain dissuaded the men, and as they knew the attempt must end in the destruction of all, they surrendered themselves to Shumsoodeen Khan. The sepoys cleverly made their way through a hole in the outer wall of the town. They had not gone far when a heavy fall of snow puzzled them as to their route. The Affghans were soon in pursuit, and the unfortunate fugitives were either cut to pieces or made prisoners. It is not likely that had their officers accompanied them, better fortune would have attended the retreat. Whether their officers were bound in honour to have gone with them, is a point in military casuistry not so easily decided. If the officers believed, as appears to have been the case, that whatever hope existed was in connection with a defence of the quarter of the town they occupied, and that to retire from it was to incur certain destruction, which the sepoys were resolved to risk, then it is evident that the gentlemen in command of the force adopted the only course open to them. The captive officers were treated with barbarity, and barely escaped being murdered.

The fall of Ghizni produced a moral effect to the disadvantage of the British, which was felt all over Affghanistan. Colonel Palmer behaved with skill and spirit when obliged to stand on his defence, but he did not possess the general intellectual qualities necessary for the post he occupied, however, as a military man, he was worthy of confidence, and in the hour of emergency acquitted himself with honour and discretion. He was outwitted as easily as Elphinstone and his coadjutors, and reposed trust in the Mohammedan chiefs and people, which an acquaintance with the history of the Mohammedan imposture, and its effects upon the minds of men, would have forbidden.

Candahar, like Jellalabad, held out. General Nott commanded the garrison, and he was a man of the Sir Robert Sale type. There were some follies perpetrated at Candahar, but they were political, not military. When the insurrection broke out, an attempt was made to bribe the chiefs. They took a lac of rupees among them, and continued quiet as long as they received money. As soon as the instalments of the stipulated amount were exhausted, they commenced hostilities. Among the men who so acted, was a nephew of the reigning monarch, for whom the English had expended and suffered so much. Part of the troops ordered to return to India by Lord Auckland, belonged to the garrison of Candahar, and consisted of Colonel Maclaren's brigade. This body was proceeding on its homeward route, when it heard of the destruction of Captain Woodburn and his troops on their way from Ghizni to Cabul. This led them to halt; and they were soon after ordered to return to Candahar. Had they proceeded, they must in great part have perished, and the residuary garrison of Candahar could not have been saved by even the genius of Nott. General Elphinstone ordered Nott to send him assistance. This order came too late; the way was covered with snow. Nott, however, ordered Maclaren to conduct his brigade thither if possible. Fortunately for the garrison of Candahar, and, perhaps, unfortunately for that of Cabul, he did not succeed. The physical

obstacles were insurmountable. When Akbar Khan had destroyed the garrison of Cabul on their dreary and bloody march, he collected an immense force, with the object of accomplishing the same success at Candahar. As has been already shown, he received from the indomitable Sir Robert Sale signal defeat at Jellalabad. Akbar, with indefatigable activity and diligence, appeared with his forces before Candahar, and selected a position near to the town, protected by a morass along his front. Nott determined to lose no time in giving him battle, and, on the 12th of January, marched out with all his army, except the troops left to guard the cantonments. The enemy delivered a rapid and heavy matchlock fire, and fled as the British prepared to charge, without encountering a single bayonet. The flight was so eager that pursuit was ineffectual. The moral effect of that battle, like that of the battles fought by Sale, was to deter the Affghans from a near approach to the place, and to awe the inhabitants of the whole district.

In the midst of these triumphs and reverses of the British arms, the man whose unfaithful selection of a general led to the disasters endured, left India for England, where he incurred the censures of the British public, and severe attacks from the parliamentary party opposed to his own; but partizan support brought him through, and he was loaded with panegyric by the Whigs, as if he had proved himself a public benefactor, and a dispenser of patronage on principles of the sternest justice.

The successor of Lord Auckland was Lord Ellenborough, who arrived at Calcutta on the 28th of February, 1842, when the government there was in consternation, and the British throughout all India filled with shame and grief for the ruin which the Auckland policy had inflicted. Whatever the merits of Lord Ellenborough, as ultimately proved, he was not selected to his high post on account of them, but just as his predecessor was selected, to answer a party object at home. Lord Auckland was a mere aristocratic whig nominee; Lord Ellenborough a mere tory nominee. Lord Ellenborough arrived, however, in the midst of appalling difficulties, and set about the discharge of his onerous and trying duties with zeal, courage, activity, and great energy. His appointment excited intense popular dissatisfaction in England, but he displayed qualities for which the English public had given him no credit; although mingled with a certain rashness his supposed possession of which had caused anxiety on his account amongst his friends and his party, and anxiety for the welfare of India and the empire among the English public.

Lord Auckland remained until the 12th of March, to offer (it was said) his counsel in the great emergency, and to assist in completing those arrangements which he and his friends hoped would redeem the faults and misfortunes of the Affghan war. Lord Ellenborough pressed forward, with characteristic vigour, the means taken to restore British authority, and wipe away the stain from the escutcheon of England which Lord Auckland's policy caused it to receive.

## CHAPTER CXIV.

### SECOND INVASION OF AFFGHANISTAN BY THE BRITISH—GENERAL POLLOCK ADVANCES FROM JELLALABAD TO CABUL—GENERAL ENGLAND MARCHES FROM QUETTAH TO CANDAHAR.

As soon as the real situation of affairs in Affghanistan was known in India, efforts were made to bring back safely the troops that yet remained. Two separate armies were organized. One of these was placed under General Lumley, of which General Pollock afterwards took the command. This was destined to march from Peshawur to Jellalabad, and thence, having formed a junction with the brigade of Sir Robert Sale, to return to Peshawur, possibly to march upon Cabul. The other force was collected in Scinde under General England, and ordered to advance as far beyond Quettah as would ensure to General Nott a safe retreat from Candahar. These arrangements were made by Lord Auckland. His appointments were severely criticised, Major-general Lumley was known to be in ill health. It was reported that Major-general Pollock was far from well. Murmurs were heard that men of merit, and entitled by their military position to confidence and a command, were overlooked, and that favouritism ruled as certainly if not as disastrously as when General Elphinstone was sent on his abortive errand to Cabul.

The season was severe, and the difficulty of marching a large force through the passes and to the relief of isolated posts was immense. The enemy had command of all the communications, and it was likely that what-

ever the troops consumed, would have to be brought with them from India. As soon as General Elphinstone's distress at Cabul was known, a brigade consisting of four regiments of native infantry was collected at Peshawur, and placed under the command of Colonel Wylde. A Sikh infantry brigade was attached to this, with a considerable force of Sikh artillery. Colonel Wylde, placing himself at the head of this division, marched from Peshawur, and attempted to force the celebrated Khyber Pass. The Sikhs refused to go forward as soon as any obstacle arose; the sepoys only required an example to fail in their duty. The camp followers and camel drivers deserted or were cut down by the enemy. Neither Sikhs nor sepoys would defend the baggage, which was to a great extent plundered by the enemy, and finally Colonel Wylde was obliged to make an inglorious retreat. It was the fashion at that time in India to laud the sepoys to the skies; hence a proper proportion of European troops was not attached to divisions and separate commands. The good conduct of the sepoys on some occasions, and, as in the case of the 44th, the indifferent conduct occasionally of European troops, conduced to hold up the delusion. Such a force as Colonel Wylde commanded was utterly unfit to cope with the real dangers and superstitious fears connected with the Khyber Pass. An attempt was made to relieve the isolated fort of Ali Musjid, but it failed, and the place was abandoned.

Soon after these occurrences fresh troops were sent forward. Colonel Wylde's failure occurred at the beginning of January, 1842. "Early in that month a reinforcement, consisting of her majesty's 9th foot and 10th light cavalry, a regiment of native infantry, and a detachment from another, together with details of artillery and irregular cavalry, crossed the Sutlej on its way to Peshawur. Subsequently the force assembled there was strengthened by the dispatch of her majesty's 3rd dragoons and 31st foot, the 1st regiment of light cavalry, two regiments of native infantry, some recruits for her majesty's 13th, and some details of irregular cavalry artillery." General Pollock, on his arrival at Peshawur, found the whole of Wylde's division utterly demoralised. Many of the men were in hospital from an epidemic contracted during their late campaign. Neither sepoy nor Sikh concealed his unwillingness to advance into the Khyber Pass. The general, under these circumstances, resolved to wait for reinforcements, and succeeded in opening communications with Sale. The plan which had failed everywhere else was tried at Peshawur, that of buying over the chiefs. They accepted the money, swore upon the Koran eternal fidelity, and immediately broke their oaths. They kept no faith with "Feringhies." General Pollock does not appear to have had much confidence in the native portion of his troops, nor did he show himself eager to risk his force in order to ensure the relief of Sale, who, although he had beaten off his enemies, was suffering from want of food. It was not until the 5th of April that Pollock moved, and then it was at the head of a force so large that no doubt as to the issue could exist, and no peril was incurred. On approaching the Khyber Pass, the general found that a far larger force of Affghans had been collected than had before disputed the passage. The painfully protracted delay had also emboldened them. They had raised some rude works in situations advantageously selected, and breastworks, roughly but not unskilfully formed, had been constructed in commanding positions. Pollock's dispositions were such as might be expected under the circumstances. He sent out two flanking columns to scale the heights and dispossess them of the enemy, while his main column advanced to the mouth of the pass. Each of the flanking columns was separated into two detachments. The right, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Taylor, 9th foot, and Major Anderson, 64th native infantry; the left, under Lieutenant-colonel Moseley of the 64th native infantry, and Major Heriet of the 26th native infantry. As soon as these operations had begun, a large body of the enemy moved to the rear of the British, supposing that the baggage would be left imperfectly protected, and intending to make a swoop upon it, and possibly succeed in also carrying off treasure. Brigadier M'Caskill, who commanded the rear-guard, had, however, made such dispositions of his force that not a package was lost nor a pack animal wounded.

The flanking columns cleared the heights gallantly, the enemy maintaining a desultory and distant fire. Many men and officers suffered from fatigue, few from the fire of the Affghans; our sepoys delivered theirs with better effect when in motion, or when halting only while firing, than the Affghans, who, notwithstanding their celerity of movement among rocks, were not quick enough to escape the bullets of their pursuers. General Pollock received little opposition after so decisively forcing the entrance to the pass, and in ten days he arrived at Jellalabad.* Parties of Affghans kept hovering in observation along the route, and, trusting to their swiftness of foot, often approached and delivered a fire from their matchlocks, or waited behind rocks

* Blue-books.

until a detachment passed, and then fired and fled. Great numbers paid for their temerity in thus acting; the European skirmishers brought them down as they fled, and the light pieces of the horse artillery showered grape amongst the rocks. It was not until long afterwards that the English learned how sure and deadly their fire thus proved; they supposed that as that of the enemy proved so innoxious, the inequalities of the ground, and the novel description of practice, caused their own to be nearly as harmless.

When General Pollock arrived at Jellalabad, great was the joy of the garrison, and of the illustrious officers who had achieved such heroic exploits. The question then arose what course General Pollock should take; whether he should return with Sale's brigade to Peshawur and remain there, his troops acting as an army of observation, as Lord Auckland had in the first instance directed, or adopt the bolder policy of Lord Ellenborough, with which the general's own views agreed. Sir Jasper Nicolls, the commander-in-chief, had concurred in the views of Lord Auckland; he now supported the more vigorous ideas of Lord Ellenborough.

On the 15th of March the governor-general, in council, thus addressed Sir Jasper Nicolls:—"The commander of the forces in Upper and Lower Affghanistan will, in all the operations they design, bear in mind these general views and opinions of the government of India. They will in the first instance endeavour to relieve all the garrisons in Affghanistan which are now surrounded by the enemy. The relief of these garrisons is a point deeply affecting the military character of the army, and deeply interesting the feelings of their country; but to make a rash attempt to effect such relief in any case without reasonable prospect of success, would be to afford no real aid to the brave men who are surrounded, and fruitlessly to sacrifice other good soldiers, whose preservation is equally dear to the government they serve. To effect the relief of the prisoners taken at Cabul, is an object likewise deeply interesting in point of feeling and of honour. That object can probably only be accomplished by taking hostages from such part of the country as may be in or may come into our possession; and with reference to this object, and to that of the relief of Ghizni,* it may possibly become a question, in the event of Major-general Pollock effecting a junction with Sir Robert Sale, whether the united force shall return to the country below the Khyber Pass, or take a forward position near Jellalabad, or even advance to Cabul. We are fully sensible of the advantages which would be derived from the re-occupation of Cabul, the scene of our great disaster, and of so much crime, even for a week, of the means which it might afford of recovering the prisoners, of the gratification which it would give to the army, and of the effect which it would have upon our enemies. Our withdrawal might then be made to rest upon an official declaration of the grounds on which we retired as solemn as that which accompanied our advance, and we should retire as a conquering, not as a defeated power; but we cannot sanction the occupation of an advanced position beyond the Khyber Pass by Major-general Pollock, unless that general should be satisfied that he can—without depending upon the forbearance of the tribes near the pass, which, obtained only by purchase, must, under all circumstances, be precarious, and without depending upon the fidelity of the Sikh chiefs, or upon the power of those chiefs to restrain their troops, upon neither of which can any reliance be safely placed—feel assured that he can by his own strength overawe and overcome all who dispute the pass, and keep up at all times his communication with Peshawur and the Indus."

The opinion of General Pollock as to the policy of his advance from Peshawur was thus expressed:—"If I were to advance with the intention of merely withdrawing the garrison of Jellalabad, my success in advancing must chiefly depend on concealing my intentions; for, although (if I succeed in any negotiation to open the pass) every precaution will be taken by me to secure a retreat, I must expect that every man will rise to molest our return, as they would be left to the mercy of the Affghan rulers; and I must confess I sincerely believe that our return here, unless I have first an opportunity of inflicting some signal punishment on the enemy, would have a very bad effect both far and near." *

On the 29th of April, Sir Jasper Nicolls, by the direction of the governor-general, forwarded instructions to General Pollock to withdraw from his advanced position to Peshawur. The views of the government of India were materially modified as to the necessity and importance of this second expedition to Affghanistan, by the death of the sovereign, Shah Sujah, who was murdered at Cabul by fanatics. Matters now assumed this aspect in the councils of the English. Lord Ellenborough, at first vigorous and lofty in his ideas of the necessity of redeeming British honour, gradually lowered his tone until it sunk to the level of that of Lord Auckland.

* The fall of this place was not then known.

* Letter to Lieutenant-colonel Luard, February 27th, 1842.

He,and the council of India, were for the rapid withdrawal of Nott and Pollock, the former to Scinde, the latter to Peshawur. Some misgiving as to the propriety of a retrograde movement while so many English officers, and especially so many English ladies, were captives in the hands of Akbar Khan, pervades the correspondence of the governor-general with the commander-in-chief in India, and the secret committee in London; yet the ease with which the safety of these individuals seems to be given up in view of the general interest is not encouraging to the spirit of self-sacrifice on the part of individual Englishmen for their country. Sir Jasper Nicolls, Generals Pollock, Nott, and England, all showed a more manly and generous feeling, as well as a nobler jealousy for their country's honour. Both General Pollock and General Nott urged remonstrance after remonstrance, and, for a time, in vain. "A craven spirit," as General Nott called it, seemed to take possession of the civil authorities. In a letter to Mr. Maddock, at the end of March, 1842, General Nott urged upon that official that the government would review its whole position in Affghanistan before a retrograde movement should be irrecoverably made, and "the effect which a hasty retirement would certainly and instantly have upon the whole of Beloochistan, and even in the navigation of the Indus, will be taken into consideration. At the present time, the impression of our military strength among the people of this country, though weakened by the occurrences at Cabul, is not destroyed; but if we now retire, and it should again become necessary to advance, we shall labour under many disadvantages, the most serious of which, in my opinion, will be a distrust of their strength among our soldiers, which any admission of weakness is so well calculated to ensure; and in what other light could a withdrawal from Jellalabad or Candahar be viewed?" In a subsequent letter, General Nott says, "Perhaps it is not within my province to observe, that, in my humble opinion, an unnecessary alarm has been created regarding the position of our troops in this country, and of the strength and power of the enemy we have to contend with. This enemy cannot face our troops in the field with any chance of success, however superior they may be in numbers, provided those precautions are strictly observed which war between a small body of disciplined soldiers and a vast crowd of untrained, unorganized, and half-civilized people constantly renders necessary. True, the British troops suffered a dreadful disaster at Cabul; and it is not for me to presume to point out why this happened, however evident I may conceive the reasons, and the long train of military events which led to the sad catastrophe." *

On the 14th of May, Lord Ellenborough, in a despatch to Sir Jasper Nicolls, yields to the wish of the generals so far as to direct that the posts of Jellalabad and Candahar should be held by Pollock and Nott for some time. This temporising on the part of the Indian government caused much precious time to be squandered which the generals were eager profitably to employ. In India Lord Ellenborough received the credit of leaning to the decisive policy of the generals, and the more timid policy was attributed to the civilians of the supreme council. Sir Jasper Nicolls, at last, in a more decisive tone, declared that neither Pollock nor Nott could with propriety or convenience withdraw until the autumn was very far advanced. The reasons given by Sir Jasper for this opinion were not so solid as the opinion itself. At all events, the governor-general allowed the decision of the officer who held the chief military responsibility to stand, and he immediately proceeded to collect an army of reserve in such a position that it could either reinforce Pollock or Nott, as might be required, and at the same time by its movements deceive the Affghans as to the general intentions of the government. The Affghan chiefs, although not very well served by their spies, were not altogether ignorant of the councils which prevailed at Calcutta. His excellency knew this, and was less in expectation of misleading the Affghans than of "overawing the states of India." This was necessary, as the military prestige of England was lowered over all Asia. The Sikhs openly expressed their contempt, and hinted that a Sikh and Affghan alliance could expel the English from India. The plans of General Pollock and General Nott were clear, precise, bold, and consistent: Lord Ellenborough wavered as a tree shaken by the wind. At the end of May he was once more in favour of General Pollock retiring from Jellalabad, fixing his head-quarters at Peshawur, and keeping open the Khyber Pass. Nott was also to give up Candahar. On the first of June his excellency sent a despatch to General Pollock, which recommended both retirement and action. His lordship's mind was tossed to and fro like a ship upon an agitated sea. He wrote so many despatches so little consistent with others of nearly the same date, or reiterating almost in the same terms directions previously given, that he seemed to be moved by an intense propensity for rash and inconsiderate letter-writing. His

* Letter to Mr. Maddock, April 18, 1842.

despatches were those of a restless mind, anxious to direct and govern, but with little judgment.* Had his political opponents in England made themselves familiar with his excellency's epistolary efforts at that period, they would have had abundant material for attack, both upon him and those who nominated him to the high and onerous office he held.

General Pollock continued to entreat permission to advance upon Cabul, declaring that he did not believe there was a single soul to obstruct his march between that place and his camp. The governor-general's letters continued embarrassing, and fruitless delay was created. The British nation suffered bitterly from the incapacity of those to whom affairs were entrusted by her governments. Men arose who had the capacity to redeem her honour, but they arose unexpectedly, by the force of circumstances, and, in a great measure, in spite of a system which repressed genius and fostered patronage, connection, and routine. General Pollock had upon his staff one officer who even then had the attainments and capacity of a great general. It has been related how Captain Havelock was transferred from the staff of the Hon. General Elphinstone to that of Sir Robert Sale. The latter general strongly recommended General Pollock to accept the services of that officer, bearing a strong testimony to his invaluable aid during the march to Jellalabad, the defence of that place, and in the pitched battles with Akbar Khan. General Pollock yielded to this suggestion. Havelock, breveted to a majority, and made a Companion of the Bath, was transferred to the personal staff of General Pollock. The opinions of the general were much influenced by the decision and experience of Havelock, who considered the advance upon Cabul as the only true line of policy. "General Pollock† marched from Jellalabad on the 20th of August, 1842. Lord Ellenborough,‡ on the 4th of July, 1842, wrote to Major-general Nott, as well as to General Pollock, granting permission to the advance upon Cabul; General Pollock from Jellalabad, by the passes, up to the capital; and General Nott, proceeding from Candahar, *viâ* Ghizni, to Cabul. General Pollock reached Gundamuck§ on the 23rd of August, and hearing of the enemy being at Mammookhail, two miles distant, attacked them next morning."

Brigadiers M'Caskil and Tulloch, Lieutenant-colonel Taylor of the 9th foot, and Captain Broadfoot, here distinguished themselves. The enemy gave way as fast as attacked, but their strong position enabled them to inflict some loss. Four officers were wounded, and fifty men put *hors de combat.* General Pollock marched from Gundamuck on the 7th of September,* after a halt of a fortnight, during which arrangements were made to keep open his communications and establish depots of supplies. Next day† the general moved through the Pass of Jugdulluck. Here opposition was offered from good positions on the heights. The enemy were quickly dislodged, and with loss; the British had only one man slain, an officer, and sixty-five wounded, among whom was an officer. The British officers on this occasion, as during the whole route of the advance, showed a too forward valour. Indeed, throughout the whole Affghan war, the regimental officers covered themselves with unfading glory; more than Roman virtue shone in their daring and devotion.

On the 11th of September General Pollock reached Tezeen valley, memorable in the retreat of Elphinstone's army from Cabul. While resting his army on the 12th, his pickets were attacked with boldness in the evening; Lieutenant-colonel Taylor showed personal valour and good officership in repulsing the enemy. Nevertheless such was their audacity, that through the night successive although unsuccessful attacks were kept up against the whole line of pickets, especially those on the extreme left. It was evident from these bold measures that the Tezeen Pass would be disputed. On entering it next day its heights were observed to be crowned by sixteen thousand men, under the command of Akbar Khan. His force, however, did not offer a resistance in proportion to its numbers; the English marched through the pass and encamped at Khoord-Cabul, having incurred a loss of 162 men killed and wounded, exclusive of four wounded officers. The enemy disheartened did not fire another shot, and on the 16th of September General Pollock arrived in triumph at Cabul. Great was the consternation of the people of the city and province as the fine army, under the command of General Pollock, advanced upon the capital, and the general expectation was that all Affghans caught by the troops would be put to death. On the morning of the 16th Pollock entered the Balla-Hissar, and planted there the English standard, the bands playing the British national anthem, the guns firing a salute, and the cheers of the soldiery rising

* See Blue-book.
† Blue-book, p. 372.
‡ Ibid., pp. 327, 329. Letters, 404, 405.
§ Blue-book, p. 374.

* Blue-book, p. 383.
† Ibid., p. 385.
‡ Ibid., p. 395.

with triumphant vehemence, as if they would rend the heavens.

Having thus traced the progress of the army from Peshawur, it is necessary to turn to that at Candahar, and to the army of General England, which was ordered to march to its relief; but the further relation of events connected with Upper Affghanistan, where General Nott and his officers continued to maintain their ground,must form a separate chapter.

General England was ordered to proceed from Scinde to cover Nott's retreat, at the head of a body of troops far too small for the performance of such a duty. When the General reached Quettah, and was reinforced, his whole division did not reach three thousand men, and with these his task was to proceed through the most formidable passes, crowned with numerous enemies acquainted with every rock and ravine. General England has always been acknowledged, by those competent to judge, as one of the most skilful officers in the service. He was not a flashy and showy general, but active, energetic, brave, and vigilant; he possessed the qualities which fit a man to have the charge of soldiers. Reckless of his own safety, this general carried to the verge of excess his care and concern for the safety of his men. During the Crimean war he rendered very important services. At the battle of the Alma he not only sent up the guns of his division to assist the 2nd division, under the intrepid Sir De Lacy Evans, but he accompanied them, exposing himself in the thickest of the fire when his own division, which was in support, was not then brought into action. At Inkerman he contributed much to the success of the day by the prudent movement of a portion of his division from their own post to that against which the enemy was directing its attack. He personally joined that part of his division, having made skilful provision for the defence of his own particular post.

The situation in which General England was placed at Quettah was one of intense difficulty and deep anxiety; reinforcements were promised, but they arrived too slowly to enable the general to accomplish his purpose as opportunely as he desired. While awaiting his reinforcements at the place last named, finding forage scarce, he determined to proceed to Killa-ab-Doolah, in the valley of Peshawur, where it was plentiful. He set out on the 24th of March, 1842, and soon found that he was watched by the enemy's horse. The 3rd light cavalry cleared the country of these scouts, killing, wounding, and capturing some. On entering the defile leading to the village of Hykulzie, a powerful Affghan force, under Mohammed Sadiz, was strongly posted. General England had obtained no information of the strength of the enemy. The officer whose duty it was to afford it, as a political agent, could obtain none, the people on the line of march concealing all knowledge of that kind, although making every demonstration of friendship. The general naturally believed that the force opposed to him was small; it was however very numerous, but hidden by a series of breastworks, a ditch, and abattis. General England ordered the advance, consisting of four light companies under Major Apthorp, to clear the lower hill. This party was opposed by overwhelming numbers; Captain May, who commanded the light company of the 41st regiment of the royal line, was shot through the heart while gallantly leading on his men. Major Apthorp was mortally wounded. While the advanced companies were maintaining an unequal contest it was impossible to support them, as the main column was charged by crowds of cavalry, who were bravely repulsed, leaving numerous men and horses dead. General England with great skill brought off the whole of his baggage without losing any portion. On the return to Quettah, Major Apthorp died. Besides the two officers who fell, there were twenty-six men killed; the wounded were sixty-nine. General England, perceiving that the enemy was in such strength in his neighbourhood, concentrated the small body of men at his command in Quettah and its cantonments; defences were thrown up, and the place was judiciously strengthened. The general in this position awaited the promised reinforcements. The narrow space which the division occupied tended to create sickness, but the arrangements of the general showed much sanitary skill, and preserved the health of the troops. Instances, however, occurred with increasing rapidity and virulence of fever and dysentery; erysipelas set in where wounds had been received in a considerable proportion of cases.

On the 23rd of April, an order was received by General England to join General Nott, at Candahar. The proceedings of the former officer since the commencement of the troubles may be thus briefly summed up:—The news of the Cabul tragedy reached General England, then in command of the Scinde field force, at Dadur (the lower end of the Kojuck), about the end of November or beginning of December, 1841. Towards the middle of January the news of the murder of Mac Naghten, by Akbar Khan, and other distressing intelligence, arrived. It was reported that the insurrection had spread towards Candahar, and that some local levies had deserted from

the service, killing their English officers, and that Affghan chiefs were gathering round the city, and placing it in a state of blockade. In March, General England, anxiously pressing on in the direction of General Nott (who was beleaguered at Candahar), reached Quettah at the upper extremity of the Bolan. On the 25th of March he marched forward from thence, and on the 28th unsuccessfully attacked the strong position at Hykulzie, and, retreating from thence, re-entered Quettah. General Nott had been previous to this, very importunate for assistance, and made various requisitions to General England, with which the latter had no means of complying. Thus, on the 14th of February he sent for cavalry, but at that time there was only half a regiment of Bombay horse and some irregulars in all Scinde, hardly sufficient to keep open communications. The government contemplated merely the falling back of Nott from Candahar, and the advance of General England to the Quettah side of the Kojuck Pass, to create a diversion in his favour, and form a point of support upon which General Nott might retire. On the 11th of March Major Rawlinson, who was then with Nott at Candahar, wrote, "I rather think he will recommend that Brigadier England should come on *with his half force* to Killabola *at once*, and wait there until the whole force has concentrated, when he can push over the Kojuck, and advance to Candahar." If such were the expectations of General Nott, they were at least as rash as they were bold, and much more rash than reasonable. The condition of General Nott naturally induced expectations that he would not have cherished had he known the means at General England's disposal, and the opinions of the government. On April 2nd, General Nott wrote to General England:—"I know not what the intentions of government are, but this I know and feel, that it is now four or five months since the outbreak of Cabul, and in all that time no aid whatever has been given to me." "I have continually called for cavalry, for ammunition, treasure, stores, and medicine for the sick. I have called loudly, but I have called in vain."*

It has been shown on preceding pages, that neither Lord Auckland, Lord Ellenborough, nor the council at Calcutta, were favourable to any advance from Jellalabad or Candahar to Cabul, and that at last Lord Ellenborough tolerated it, moved by the advice of Sir Jasper Nicolls, and the remonstrances of Nott and Pollock. Nott, however, had not the same opportunities as Pollock had of knowing the tone of feeling at Calcutta. General England was well aware that the government was adverse to any attempt at a march from Candahar to Cabul, although the political agents at Candahar and in Scinde showed the desire felt by Nott for advancing.

The passage of General England on the 28th, triumphantly, through the scene of his former reverse, was a great gratification to the army. On both occasions he was encumbered with an enormous mass of baggage, containing every requisite for Nott's army. The advance of General England was not, as it has generally been regarded, the march of an army, but of a vast convoy, which the whole of his force was not more than sufficient to protect, for the Affghans were determined if possible to capture his baggage. On approaching the place of his former unsuccessful contest, General England found the enemy occupying similar positions, which he gallantly stormed. Sir Charles Napier, commenting upon both attempts on this pass, says: "England beat the same enemy with the same troops."* He also records in his journal this censure: "General England has again fought on the same ground. Taking due precautions, he won the heights—a clear proof of former negligence."† It was not correct of the eccentric and dashing Sir Charles Napier thus to write. England *did not* "beat the same enemy with the same troops." He was reinforced. Sir Charles was a thousand miles off, and, as he admits himself, recorded his opinions on hearsay evidence. A comparison of the force of General England on each occasion reproves the rash assertions of Sir Charles. On the 25th of March, England moved forward from Quettah, having 2,500 animals, &c., and a guard consisting of about thirty Bombay cavalry, five weak companies of her majesty's 41st regiment, four six-pounders of Bombay horse-artillery, and six small companies of sepoys, with perhaps fifty Poonah horse, in all about a thousand men. Sir Charles represented General England as having attacked the enemy in March with half his force, leaving the other half with the baggage. This also was an error. The troops which England did not bring up in support and into action, consisted of about four hundred sepoys, who protected the rich and vast convoy which it was now evident the Affghans watched and reckoned on with avidity; and when Sir Charles Napier disapprovingly says, "he did not bring the whole into action, and that if he had done so he would have won," Sir Charles was not aware how slender Sir Richard England's resources

* Stocqueler's *Life of General Nott*, vol. ii. p. 14.

* *Memoir of Lieutenant-general Sir Charles Napier.* By Lieutenant-general Sir William Napier, vol. ii. p. 222.

† *Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 172.

were, for it is perfectly evident that Napier thought that England had with him *the very same troops on this first and unsuccessful occasion*, which were triumphant upon the *second* occasion at Hykulzie. The reinforcements received by England enabled him to make the following arrangement for the attack (a disposition impossible on the former occasion, owing to his then slender resources): viz., three columns were formed, each having Europeans at their head, and a reserve under the command of Major Brown, of her majesty's 41st regiment; the troops that were to threaten the right of the enemy marched first, having the greater space of ground to traverse; the rest were kept back till this flank attack had actually begun under Major Simmons, his musketry being the signal for the two other columns to branch off towards the enemy. The casual practice of Leslie's light guns covered these movements. A position was taken up by two small squadrons of the 3rd Bombay cavalry, ready to take the earliest account of the enemy, if he should condescend to fly. The enemy held his ground for awhile, but, finding his rear in danger, by the attack on his right flank, he gave way. Bold and vigorous in a direct resistance, he now quailed and became instantly alarmed, by this sidelong movement, and saved himself, with the loss of sixty or seventy men, by a precipitate flight to the inaccessible recesses of the mountains. This is one of the operations which, in the December following, Sir Charles Napier declares "place the major-general in a high position." To pass the Kojuck with troops and a baggage-train, was not an easy operation under any circumstances. General Lord Keane thus writes to General England relative to this passage:—"Buslan Lodge, Hants. July 17th, 1842. Most heartily do I congratulate you on walking over the heights of Hykulzie and through the Kojuck Pass. I know the ground well, and found it a difficult job to pass the army of the Indus, even without an enemy to defend it." On the 2nd of December following, Sir Charles Napier emphatically endorses the opinions of the highest authorities in India, *that this identical affair at Hykulzie*, as well as various other military operations, "place the major-general (England) in a position in which he may treat with just disregard and contempt all reflections thrown upon his military character." Concerning the ability of General England on this occasion, and generally, Sir Charles happily did justice in his private letters and official communications, but the publication by Sir William Napier of the notes in the journal of Sir Charles, just as they were entered, causes that eminent man to appear harsh in his judgments of General England. The latest opinions of Sir Charles furnish the best evidence of his matured judgment; and on the 6th of October, 1842, he wrote to General England thus:—"You have your troops well in hand, and the interference of a superior officer (alluding to himself) would be injurious to the public service," &c. In another letter of Sir Charles to General England, he says, "I am so pressed for time that I must delay writing on one or two points upon which *I wanted your advice.*"

General England's passage through Kojuck Pass was with little loss. At Hykulzie, Lieutenant Ashbourne, of the 3rd light cavalry, was severely wounded; six natives also received wounds, some of which were dangerous. General Nott, in order to facilitate the advance of England, sent Brigadier-general Wymer to the entrance of the Kojuck Pass, on the Candahar side. Of this General England received intelligence on the 1st of May, while the army was encamped in attendance upon divine worship. This intelligence inspired a sense of security among the troops, for it was generally apprehended that the pass would be disputed before the army emerged from it. These apprehensions had received confirmation from the appearance of cavalry on some points where that description of force could be collected, and from the dropping shots taken by the Affghans from their long-range rifles, to which our muskets could not reply, not carrying so far. Flanking parties had to be thrown out during the march, which inflicted little mischief upon the enemy, who fled from hill to hill as the flashes approached. The British suffered from a few shots only, but many fell from fatigue each day, and could only be brought on afterwards in the "dhoolies."

A clergyman, who accompanied General England's army, gives the following picture of the pass, and relation of the meeting of England and Wymer:—"The pass was exceedingly pretty, having a great deal more verdure on the hills than I had seen anywhere in Scinde. There were many fine trees, and their fresh green foliage, with the bold forms of the rocky heights beyond, and the green turf in the foreground, strongly reminded me of some parts of the north of England, though on a much larger scale. As we proceeded, the hills approached each other, and the path narrowed, until the camels began to get jammed into a dense mass, and seeing little prospect of a passage for some time, I sat down under the cool shade of a high rock, and made a very comfortable breakfast on cold beef and hard-boiled eggs. I then contrived to wind my way through strings and strings

of camels, till I came in sight of the steep ascent of the pass. Here I saw the heights in front crowned by troops, which, from the distance, could not be ours. I soon ascertained that they were a part of Brigadier Wymer's force, which had been sent to meet us from Candahar, and in securing those heights in the morning, their work had been much sharper than ours. They had two men killed and some wounded, and had killed about twenty-five of the enemy."

General England from thence advanced, and, on the 10th of May, encamped under the walls of Candahar, and delivered within its gate money, horses, equipments, &c., of which that garrison had long stood in need. The train of baggage included upwards of 3,000 camels, besides pack bullocks, donkeys, ponies, horses, &c. On arriving at Canhahar, General England's army found quarters prepared for them, General Nott having prudently expelled all the armed inhabitants. The following description of the scenes which followed the junction of the two armies is interesting :— " Our arrival was hailed with great delight, as we brought with us several camel loads of letters and newspapers, the garrison having been entirely cut off from communication during the whole winter up to the period of our arrival, an accumulation of all their letters during that period having taken place at Quettah, between which and Candahar only the smallest notes could pass, conveyed by Cossids at the hazard of their lives, many of whom were sacrificed. The garrison had been subjected to great privations; the expense of feeding their cattle was enormous; and the price of every article that could be procured for money extravagant. They had been again and again employed in the field, and that without tents, in the depth of winter. I am persuaded that their privations and exploits were by no means fully appreciated, for owing to the exceeding brevity of General Nott's despatches, they had not the advantage of having them made known to the world." General Nott, although a good officer and a good general, was stern, not affluent in bestowing generous praise on others, not sparing in censure upon those who differed from him in opinion, or thwarted his views. Stocqueler, who in his life of this eminent soldier, disparages those who in any way came into comparison with him, so passes over his faults as to appear guilty of the *suppressio veri*, and is so eager to arrogate all merit to his hero, as scarcely to escape the *suggestio falsi*. Between Nott and England their sprung up a coolness. Nott had, in his bold soldierhood and jealousy for the military honour of his country, resolved from the beginning not to retreat from Candahar, and he blamed England for not sooner bringing him succour, whereas the orders of the latter general were to strengthen Quettah, and so to dispose himself as to cover Nott's retreat from Candahar, which the government of Calcutta expected, and taught England to believe that General Nott would execute.

Both armies were now placed under the command of General Nott, and thus strengthened, by men, munitions, and provisions, he determined upon advancing to Cabul. Before he could effect that purpose, other tasks remained to be performed, and other scenes of interest to occur.

## CHAPTER CXV.

EVENTS IN UPPER AFFGHANISTAN—GENERAL NOTT MARCHES TO SCINDE—CAPTURE OF GHIZNI—GENERALS NOTT AND POLLOCK ADVANCE TO CABUL—RESCUE OF THE ENGLISH PRISONERS—DESTRUCTION AND EVACUATION OF CABUL.

ON the 19th of May Brigadier Wymer was ordered to release the garrison of Khelat-i-Ghiljie. He departed from Candahar for this purpose with her majesty's 40th, Captain Leslie's troop of horse-artillery, Captain Blood's battery, 3rd Bombay light cavalry, the shah's irregular horse, and the 16th and 38th Bengal native infantry, constituting a very formidable force. The Affghans, having good information, saw that their only chance of conquering the garrison of Khelat-i-Ghiljie, was while Wymer's force was *en route* to relieve them. Accordingly an attack was made, but Captain Craigie with his small band inflicted terrible loss upon the Affghans, completely repulsing them.

The enemy believed that Candahar might also be attacked with advantage while the large force of Wymer was absent. On the 22nd the enemy appeared in force. Her majesty's 41st was ordered out to repel the threatened assault. The enemy withdrew. They were commanded by a son of Shah Sujah, for whom the English had done and

suffered so much—a fair specimen of Mohammedan gratitude. For some days the garrison of Candahar had peace, anxiously looking forward to intelligence of Wymer's brigade, and the garrison of Khelat-i-Ghiljie.

The chaplain of her majesty's 40th regiment records a singularly striking and picturesque incident of which he was a witness.* His relation of it will introduce the reader to some of the personages who occupied a prominent place in the interest of Affghan and Indian politics at that time:—"On the 27th I accompanied General England and his staff on a visit to Prince Timour Shah, the eldest son of Shah Sujah-ool-Moolk, and now, by hereditary right, the king of the Dooranee empire. We were introduced by Major Rawlinson, political agent, who acted as an interpreter. The prince's apartments were in the palace, the greater part of which was built by Ahmed Shah. We were shown into a large quadrangle, more completely oriental than anything I had previously seen. One side was occupied by a building three stories high, with a flat roof and balustrade; it had embayed projecting windows, with richly carved lattices, and a style of architecture of Moorish character, something like the drawings of the Alhambra. The court was completely surrounded by a drapery, forming a cloister; a light framework ran all round, the stems of the vines were planted at regular distances, and the branches and tendrils mantled over the framework in rich festoons. At the end opposite the buildings was a thick shrubbery, with many fruit-trees and walks; the walks were broad, paved, and planted at the angles with cypresses. The centre was occupied by an oblong piece of water, with a stone edging, perfectly clear and full to the brim, in which various sorts of fowl were sporting. Nothing could exceed the coolness, tranquillity, and repose of the whole scene, softened by the mild light of sunset. At the farther end of this piece of water carpets were spread, some of which, I was told, were from Herat, and of considerable value, though their appearance was much the same as ordinary nummud, but softer. Here sat his royal highness in a chair, I suppose out of compliment to us. After our salaam, chairs were placed for us, and conversation commenced. The prince is a man of about forty, rather stout, his countenance heavy, yet not unpleasing, and improving much when animated in conversation; he had a fine black beard and eyebrows. Those who have seen them both say that he strikingly resembles his father, the late shah. His dress was of white silk and gold interwoven, with a loose outer vest of dark blue cloth edged with gold. His manner was serious and dignified, without hauteur. I looked with melancholy interest upon this representative of the Dooranee monarchs—a king without a kingdom. He is said to have the best moral character of the family, to be a man of peace, and despised on that account by the Affghans, as is natural among a people nurtured in blood and turbulence. He inclines much to the British, and professed his intention of accompanying the force should it evacuate the country. We complimented him on the beauty of his residence, and when he spoke of Candahar as compared with Cabul, and other topics, expressed our regret that we could not converse otherwise than by an interpreter. He replied that it had always been a cause of regret to him that he had not been taught English when young, that he had made some attempts to acquire it, but it was uphill work. He was determined, however, that his sons should not labour under the same disadvantage; they were learning English, but he was sorry to say they were very idle, and loved their swords, guns, and horses better than study. We consoled him by the assurance that such failings were not confined to princes, or to his countrymen, and requested to see the culprits. They were accordingly sent for. The group, as they advanced—the rich dresses of the two boys, the black servant following in a long white dress, the buildings and scenery around—would have formed a beautiful subject for Daniel's *Oriental Annual.* Chairs were placed for them, at the right of their father, but rather behind. After the customary salaams, we assailed them with a multitude of questions as to the sharpness of their swords, the swiftness of their steeds, &c. They were very fine boys—I suppose of about twelve and nine years of age; the elder rather heavy-featured, and much resembling his father; the younger a very handsome child, and full of animation. The elder had, at his own earnest request, been sent out on one occasion with one of the brigades, but to his disappointment they returned without fighting. On the 22nd, when the alarm of the enemy's approach was given, he had ordered his horse to be saddled, and told the prince he was going out with the troops, which, much to his disgust, was not permitted. The prince told us that when they were riding with him, they often wanted to discharge their fire-arms; but as he did not admire that kind of amusement, he was accustomed on such occasions to send them to

* *Diary of a March through Sciude and Affghanistan with the Troops under the command of General Sir William Nott, K.C.B.* By the Rev. J. N. Allen, B.A., Assistant Chaplain to the Hon. East India Company's Bombay Establishment.

the rear to amuse themselves. I fear the youngsters will hardly prove such quiet people as their papa. After a time we made our salaam, and retired."

The same author gives an equally graphic account of an action fought at Candahar, on Sunday, May 29th:—"In the course of the morning her majesty's 41st, two regiments of Bengal native infantry, and what cavalry we had, were ordered out on an alarm similar to that of Sunday last, but with more serious results. After they were gone, hearing rather a heavy discharge of artillery, and my people telling me that they could see the enemy from the top of the house, I ordered my horse and went to the Herat Gate. From the top of this I soon descried three dense bodies of the enemy's cavalry, on some low hills about a mile and a half to the north-west. They were keeping up a rapid and well-sustained discharge of matchlocks, which was loudly responded to by the shah's artillery. The bulk of our troops were hidden from view by a long belt of gardens between them and the town; but I saw some of the movements of the artillery as they crossed the plain. After the fire of the artillery had continued for some time, it was succeeded by a heavy discharge of musketry behind the gardens, which I immediately concluded to be from our infantry advancing on the enemy. After a time I saw a large body of horse, which had been the object of this fire, making off towards the left at great speed. On the right they collected and came down upon a village, of which they possessed themselves, but were soon driven out by a well-directed fire of shrapnel. They were now flying in all directions, and by about three P. M. all were gone. Their numbers were computed at about five thousand, principally cavalry. It was stated, upon information subsequently obtained from some among them who came in, that they had about two hundred killed, and about the same number wounded. The number of our wounded was about twenty, and two or three sepoys were killed. Lieutenant Mainwaring, of the 42nd Bengal native infantry, was wounded; and Lieutenant Chamberlayne, commanding a detachment of the shah's irregular horse, here received one of those many scars which are the honourable testimonials of his gallantry throughout this campaign. His cavalry, and the Poonah horse under Lieutenant Tait, did good service this day, as did about two hundred Persian horse, under Aga Mohammed Khan, who was in our pay. This man is of the royal family of Persia, and an exile on account of some attempt to raise rebellion in that country. He is said to be the head of the Assassins, the lineal representative of the Old Man of the Mountains, and to derive a considerable income from the offerings of his sect. Sufter Jung and Achtur Khan were present at this action, and the mother of Akram Khan, who was blown from a gun in October, 1841, at Candahar. This lady pretended to a vision of the prophet, and was playing Joan of Arc among the Affghans. It happened unfortunately that on two successive Sundays we had been thus disturbed; but it was most providential that the loss was so small. The enemy expected to have been joined by a large number from the villages around, and were much deceived in the strength of the garrison. Their ill success completely broke their party, which dispersed with mutual recriminations. Prince Sufter Jung surrendered himself shortly after to General Nott, and was received and treated with greater leniency than he deserved; for whatever cause of offence the Affghans in general had against us, from him and his family we were certainly entitled to expect gratitude."

At the beginning of August a portion of the army was ordered to proceed down the Bolan Pass into Scinde, under the command of General England; the other part of the force was to march under General Nott for Cabul. General Nott at that time knew nothing of Pollock's success, nor indeed until he learned the fact at Ghizni.

### MARCH OF GENERAL ENGLAND FROM CANDAHAR TO SCINDE.

The task imposed upon General England was even more hazardous than that which General Nott took upon himself. It was a brave resolution to march upon Ghizni; but the general who accomplished it reserved to himself the whole European force at Candahar, and assigned to General England to convey the sick, wounded, women, children, a vast mass of material, and the chief part of the camp followers, through the passes of Jugdulluck and the Bolan to Scinde, his only fighting men being sepoys, who, unsupported by Europeans, had a terror of the Affghans. General England effected his task, harassed the whole way by clouds of Affghan cavalry, matchlock-men, and robber hordes. Nothing achieved in the Affghan war, unless it were the march of Sir Robert Sale from Cabul to Jellalabad, and his defence of that place, displayed generalship equal to that shown by General England in his retirement from Candahar. He conducted a vast multitude of helpless human beings, with mere sepoy guards, in the face of an enemy who had no fear of sepoys unsupported by Europeans,

through passes which a handful of brave men might defend against an army.

The ability of General England in connection with this extraordinary performance, has been lately called in question by Sir William Napier, in the memoir published by him of his brother, Sir Charles. It appears that at the time Sir Charles entered in his private journal some severe strictures upon this exploit. These Sir William Napier has republished in the memoir, but has not given the opinions of Sir Charles afterwards expressed in a calm review of these transactions. As Sir William is well known to be as honourable as he is brave and talented, it is to be presumed that he overlooked those latter opinions of his brother, and also of other distinguished men, as competent as either Sir Charles or Sir William Napier to form an opinion on the matter. Our readers may require at our hands some notice of this controversy, and historical truth demands that the conduct of these gifted men should be placed in its true light.

On the 6th of August General England commenced his long retreat from Candahar. His force was, in fact, an immense and ill-assorted baggage-guard, nearly ineffective for all purposes of offensive warfare, the really combatant or protecting force did not exceed 3,500 men, all sepoys, there not being a single European soldier in the whole corps. The number of human beings in some parts of the march amounted to nearly forty thousand, and there were twelve thousand animals to guard. On the 31st of October General England, with his retreating force, reached the Indus, and encamped under General Sir C. Napier, who had arrived from Bombay, and thus ended the retreat from Candahar of 450 miles, which was then—in 1842—pronounced by Sir Charles Napier himself to be a most "difficult retreat;" and in 1849 he declared "this long retreat of General England was, in every sense of the word, one of great danger." Upon this achievement of General England, the journal of Sir Charles Napier contains the following entry in 1842:—"October 21st.—In a rage. The poor wounded soldiers coming down with England's second column, were thrown down like dogs."*

Again, Sir Charles has entered in his journal:—"A letter from England says the thieves were close to his rear-guard. I met his second column in March. We saw how contemptible the thieves must be. With a single troop of hussars opposed to the second column, I would have taken the whole convoy. Had England been attacked, nothing could have saved him."

* *Memoir*, &c., vol. ii. p. 225.

Sir W. Napier, commenting upon entries in Sir Charles's journal concerning this march, says:—"Subsequent information convinced Sir Charles Napier that the march was a mere procession, and conducted without order, skill, or danger, or difficulty."*

The answer to these items of the private journal, and the mistaken and ungenerous comments of Sir William Napier, is beyond refutation. Sir Charles entered these items in moments of irritation, with imperfect information, and without reflection. That Sir Charles was likely to act in a manner so rash is, unhappily, well known to all who have studied his character, or known anything of him as a public man. His panegyrics and his censures, written and *vivâ voce*, were so intemperate as often to deprive either of the weight the opinion of so great a man would naturally possess. This peculiarity of his temper has been noticed by nearly every independent reviewer, either in the pages of our reviews or the columns of our leading journals, both in India and the British Isles. The march of General England did not deserve the censures recorded, but really did deserve the laudations which the same pen bestowed upon it. The following letter from Sir Charles to General England himself, is a striking confutation of the entries in the journal:—

*Sukkur, Upper Scinde, Oct. 6th*, 1842.

Allow me to congratulate you on your successful progress in a most difficult retreat, for your convoy is like Falstaff's bill for sack, and your troops something like the item for bread in the same account, no proportion between them, and I really did not expect that you would have passed the Kojuck without immense loss. Your having done so, I must say, does you great honour, encumbered as you were, not only with your baggage, but with all the riddances of General Nott's force besides. I rejoice at General Nott's success with all my heart, but no military man can deny that, of the two operations, that allotted to you was by far the most difficult one, whether the composition of your troops or the ground to go over be considered. His a compact force of picked troops for active service, with only the baggage that was absolutely necessary, and no sick, besides cavalry and a powerful artillery, and no passes to force; yours the refuse of his force, no cavalry, few guns, the hospitals of both forces, and the baggage of both, with perhaps the greatest passes in the world to traverse, and the enemy the same in both cases! and last, assuredly not least, the one force animated by the pride of an advance, the other acting under the depressing influence of a retreat. Hoping you may receive the praise you have so well earned,

Believe me to remain, &c.,

C. NAPIER.

On the 2nd of December following, when Sir C. Napier received from the governor-general a despatch, in which he commended the skill of General England in this arduous march, Sir Charles sent it to the officer in question, endorsed, "*The governor-general is quite right.*" Seven years later, in a letter to the

* *Memoir*, &c., vol. ii. p. 213.

board of control, Sir Charles stated—"His (General England's) march from Candahar to Sukkur was a very difficult march, in which every one who was left a few yards behind the rear-guard was murdered." The opinions of all the authorities, civil and military, were the same. Sir Jasper Nicolls wrote on the 27th of October, 1842, and expressed his concurrence in the eulogy bestowed on this great march by the civil authorities at Calcutta. On the 15th November, Sir George Arthur, governor of Bombay, a man of truth and integrity, officially communicated his approbation, in which he says, "Nothing could be more satisfactory than the retreat of your force." "I could not resist assuring you how much gratified I am at your having made so successful a march from Candahar to the Indus." The following testimony from the highest authority in India, officially given, may complete this evidence:—"The governor-general has much satisfaction in announcing the successful termination of the arduous and difficult operations confided to Major-general England; this operation, however less brilliant in its circumstances than that entrusted to Generals Nott and Pollock, yet called into exercise many of the higher qualities which most contribute to form the character of an accomplished general." . . . . . He "communicates his thanks to Major Outram, and the other political officers, for the zeal and ability they have manifested!"* &c.

The confusion which Sir Charles Napier witnessed, was among the soldiers of the second column of the retiring force. When the convoy arrived at Quettah, and the danger was over, General England divided it into three columns. General England himself remained in the situation where danger would be found, if any existed—in the rear of the third column. When Sir Charles, who knew little at that time of Indian armies and Indian convoys, saw the second column, England was two hundred miles behind up the country. The division of the great convoy of forty thousand human beings and twelve thousand animals into three columns, when that could be safely done, no enemy to molest, was judicious, and even necessary for their more convenient and expeditious descent. That the convoy system of Indian armies was itself bad, there can be no doubt, but that was beyond General England's cure; he deserves the more praise, for obviating, so far as that was possible, the mischiefs which that system entailed. The dangers which beset General England before reaching Scinde, and the order and spirit with which he encountered them, the reader may infer from the following passages from his despatches, in which names are quoted, some of which must be an ample guarantee for the truth:—"On the morning of the 3rd, I found the Kahees posted in some numbers on the steep ground which commands the upper extremity of the narrow zigzag near the Bolan. These insurgents had, however, only time to deliver a few rounds, when their attention was fully engaged by the flanking parties which covered our left, and which I now reinforced with," &c. "I have every reason to be satisfied with the handsome manner in which our troops ascended these stupendous heights, and cleared them. Major Woodhouse speaks very highly of them." "On this occasion Major Outram gave me his able assistance, as well as in flanking the lower extremity of the Bolan Pass, near Kundie, where I had good reason to expect to meet hostile tribes; but the total disappointment of the Kakurs on the 3rd, and the effectual flanking arrangement," &c. It is thus evident that General England acted with the strictest military precaution, while on the enemy's territory, but arranged this vast and helpless body of men and beasts, whom he had protected, in columns of march, when on British territory the same active protection was no longer needed, and more rapid progress was important on grounds economical and sanitary.

* General Orders, dated Simla, Oct. 20th, 1842.

### MARCH OF GENERAL NOTT TO GHIZNI AND CABUL.

Having followed the march of General England, we shall now trace the progress of General Nott to Ghizni and Cabul. Timour Shah revisited India with General England, while the brother of Timour, at his own request, was permitted to remain in Candahar, to hold it if possible. This resolution on the part of the prince was against the wish of the English, who expected their departure to be the signal of an attack, ending in massacre. As the British left, many "civilians" among the Affghan population watched opportunity for assassination.

General Nott's army moved off for Ghizni on the 7th of August. The number of fighting men did not exceed seven thousand. The cavalry consisted of the 3rd Bombay light cavalry, Skinner's horse, the shah's horse; in all, I think, not much exceeding one thousand. The artillery—the 1st troop of Bombay horse artillery, the 3rd company 1st battalion Bombay foot artillery, 3rd company 2nd battalion Bengal foot artillery, 1st troop shah's horse artillery (native), with a party of Bengal, and another of Madras sappers and miners. The guns were—four 18-pounders, two 24lb. how-

itzers, four 9-pounders, twelve 6-pounders; total twenty-two. The infantry—her majesty's 40th and 41st regiments, and the 2nd, 16th, 38th, 42nd, 43rd Bengal native infantry. The army carried provisions for forty days, which, with ammunition, &c., loaded ten thousand public and private camels, besides bullocks, asses, mules, and tattoos. The followers it is impossible to estimate, but they must have been at least double the number of fighting men.* The enumeration of the force given by Major Huish adds to the infantry the 3rd, or Captain Craigie's Bengal irregular infantry; and to the cavalry, five ressalates of Christie's irregular horse.

The march of this army lay through wild and magnificent scenery, and through vales of soft and radiant beauty. It was itself a magnificent spectacle, and gave to many a picturesque valley through which it passed an aspect of romantic effect, such as only could be produced by the winding way of an oriental host. Seen from many elevated positions, the country, the camp, the moving squadrons and battalions of war, presented a panoramic picture of the most impressive and attractive kind. The hills at certain hours seemed bathed in purple light, the plain vividly green, from the camel-thorn, and from the abounding southern-wood, which filled the air with its perfume. The red columns of the English infantry, crested with the sheen of their bayonets, the many-costumed cavalry, the dark rolling guns, and behind all, except the rear-guard, camels, camel-drivers, and camp followers, with many-hued apparels, presented an exciting and strange array. Whatever the pleasurable emotions created by such scenes to English eyes, the painful feeling could not be dismissed, that each day's march was tracked in blood. Skirmishes were not frequent, but were sometimes sharp, and fool-hardy or lazy camp followers were every day cut off by the enemy. Besides, every spot told some tale of previous conflict and slaughter, which had occurred in the desultory struggle of the previous year. On the 27th the enemy increased in the rear, infantry and cavalry, in considerable force, pressing upon the rear-guard. Skinner's and the shah's horse were ordered to fall back, and engage the enemy, which they did, cutting down some twelve troopers, and more than fifty footmen, with a loss of only five or six wounded. On the 28th, the Affghans, by showing a small force, seduced the English cavalry to follow them, when, as the latter rounded the spur of a hill, an immense force, composed of five thousand men, horse and foot, attacked them. The British succeeded in covering the retreat of a foraging party, but with a loss in killed and wounded of one-seventh of their number. The officers having displayed much more daring than their troops, suffered severely. Captain Bury was cut down after slaying with his sabre four of his opponents; Captain Reves was shot dead; Lieutenant Mackenzie received several most desperate sword cuts. When the cavalry arrived, they were reinforced, and again sent out to recover the bodies of their slain officers. The infantry, with Captain Blood's nine-pounders, and Captain Anderson's six-pounders, were directed against a fort whence it was alleged the assailants issued. As the British approached it, the villagers came out with supplicating gestures declaring that they and their people had no part in the attack. The general directed them to remain quiet, and ordered Captain F. White, with the light company of her majesty's 40th regiment, to examine the place. The general might have spared himself the trouble; falsehood and perfidy were ever upon Affghan lips—they were true disciples of Islam. As the small party approached, the people who protested such innocence opened a fire of matchlocks, from which Major Leech, political agent and interpreter, narrowly escaped.

The British then rushed forward, followed by the light company of the 41st and a battalion company of the 40th, under Captain Neil. The fort was full of armed men, who fought furiously. The British, maddened by the treachery they had experienced, put all to the bayonet. The Affghans defended every courtyard, every house, every apartment, pressed by the infuriated English. Women and children were of course spared, but some were hurt in the conflict. In one house in which there were many, those within refused to surrender; a shot from a six-pounder drove in the door, scattering ruin upon those within. The red torrent of avenging soldiers followed; every man in the place perished, and some women and children fell victims in the struggle.

The camels and fodder taken from the grass-cutters were found in the inclosures, and recaptured. The English soldiers plundered the place, and then set fire to it. The bodies of the soldiers and officers who had fallen in the attack made by the enemy were recovered, all brutally mangled. The dead bodies had been hacked with vengeful ferocity by those who so soon paid the penalty due to such deeds.

The next day, after a short march, the army halted and were attacked on their camping ground by the enemy. The troops were ordered out. A fort called Goyain, gave

* Rev. Mr. Allen.

confidence to the enemy. It was filled with matchlock-men, who, as the English approached, shouted defiance and cursed them. They considered the building impregnable; besides, there was a large force of their brethren hovering about upon the flanks of the British. The first discharge of the English nine-pounders carried away the battlements of the right bastion, killing a number of its defiant occupants, and alarming the rest. The succeeding fire of the English cannon was not so effectual, and the enemy resumed courage. Lieutenant Terry, of the Bombay artillery, proposed to blow open the gate by approaching a gun very near, under cover of a heavy fire from the English infantry. The gate, however, was built up with mud, and this material was so thick as to resist the fire of the gun, which was withdrawn. The Affghan army meantime reached a neighbouring hill, and opened a fire of artillery, to which the English promptly replied. This artillery battle was waged for an hour. While this action went on upon the British left, a strong Affghan force attempted to turn the British right. The supporting regiments prevented that, by advancing against the enemy. The recklessness of the English was on this occasion remarkable. When the play of the artillery of the enemy was really severe, "there was an almost entire absence of any sense of danger. Jokes and laughter resounded on all sides, and the general feeling appeared to be more that of a set of schoolboys at a game of snowballs, than of men whose lives were in instant peril." Some poor fellows perished in the midst of this jocundity. The battle was won by the superior fire of the English cannon. The enemy retired, bearing away their guns leisurely. In the despatches the force drawn up against General Nott was reported as twelve thousand men. The Rev. Mr. Allen, who was in the action and near General Nott's person, computes it at half that amount. The British pursued, but the enemy retreated in perfect order, maintaining a well directed fire of artillery and matchlocks, causing the British considerable loss. Nott pressed them closely, captured two guns, their baggage, and a large stock of ammunition which had belonged to the English garrison at Ghizni. By far the most formidable of the enemy's troops were Mohammedan deserters from the Bengal sepoys. In the night the Affghans deserted the fort, and a number of minor forts in the vicinity, leaving behind some ammunition and vast stores of grain and other food. The camp followers and a tribe of Affghans, rivals to those who had held the forts, set on fire whatever was inflammable in the forts and villages. Much discontent was afterwards created in the army by the omission of all mention of the 41st regiment, as if it had taken no part in the action; and by omitting to name the captors of the guns, and others who had distinguished themselves.

The British reached Ghizni on the 5th of September, and prepared to breach its walls. An Affghan army occupied the heights behind the town, but were driven off, and abandoned all further attempts to save Ghizni. The garrison evacuated the place in the night. It is remarkable how frequently in Indian warfare the British have allowed the enemy to play them this trick. On entering the place many relics of the garrison left by Lord Keane were found. On one of the windows there was scratched by an officer an account of the sufferings of himself and his brother officers. From this it was learned that the Affghan chiefs had violated two treaties, and had twice put Colonel Palmer to the torture. The names of the cruel and treacherous chiefs were also given. The work of destruction soon began; the great gun, Zubber Jung, which threw balls of fifty-pound weight, and a number of other pieces of cannon and gingals were burst. The fortifications were ruined, the wood-work of the citadel and town torn down for fuel, and the citadel itself shaken into ruins by mines. An ingenious inscription in English words and Greek characters was found upon one of the walls, directing attention to a particular beam where copies of the treaties made with Colonel Palmer were deposited. They were found and preserved. The army was much refreshed by the great abundance of delicious fruit and vegetables obtained in the neighbourhood of Ghizni. The weather was genial and balmy; the climate resembling that of England, but steadier and finer, the days being warmer, the nights, early mornings, and evenings about the same temperature as that of the neighbourhood of London. The celebrated sandal-wood gates, taken from Somnauth by Mohammed of Ghizni, and which adorned his tomb, were removed from that place on the 9th of September, preparatory to their being carried to Hindostan. This was a great triumph, as the Mohammedans, especially the Fakeers, esteemed them as trophies of victory over the infidel. The tomb was otherwise carefully respected.

On the 10th of September, General Nott marched for Cabul. On the march, during the 12th, the army came upon the fort of Sidabad, where a sanguinary conflict had taken place, November 3rd, 1841. Captain Woodburn was promised protection by certain Affghan chiefs, and was received, with one

hundred and fifty sepoys, into a small walled yard beneath the fort. As in every other case, the chiefs violated their pledges, and fired down upon the party, pent up in a narrow compass. They made their way out and defeated the enemy, but Woodburn was killed by a shot from the bastion. The fort was found empty, and barricaded by General Nott, who forced it, and found there poor Woodburn's will, a letter of commendation to him from Sir W. Mac Naghten, and other relics of the party who had well, but vainly, fought. This scene of perfidy was blotted out from the face of the earth by the English engineers. During the remainder of the march there was much skirmishing, and some hard fighting, the Affghans always incurring defeat. On the 17th, the army reached Cabul. On the 18th, Generals Pollock and Nott met. News arrived the same evening that Sir Richmond Shakespear had found the English prisoners safe. A brigade was sent out to his support. It is here necessary to direct attention to the fortunes of those who had been so long in captivity with the enemy. During the reverses incurred by the Affghan chiefs, they had been placed under charge of Saleh Mohammed Khan, who was proceeding with them, by order of Akbar Khan, to Turkistan. One of the captives ingeniously tampered with Mohammed, offering him a large sum of money, and a pension for life, if he would allow them their liberty. Sir Richmond Shakespear volunteered, with a small party of cavalry, to go to Mohammed Khan, and undertake their escort. The perils he encountered were numerous, and it was by a strange coincidence, while Pollock and Nott were congratulating one another upon the current of events, that the communication reached the former that Sir R. Shakespear had the captives, but was in hourly danger of a force from the enemy overtaking them and effecting a recapture. Sir R. Sale, at the head of a brigade, was sent out to secure their safety; and the brigade, with their charge, entered camp on the 21st. The list of restored captives comprised, according to Major Hough:—"Ladies, seven; women, three; children, eleven; officers, thirty-one; non-commissioned officers and privates, forty-nine; clerks, two; boys, two; total, one hundred and five. Including the officers from Ghizni. Captain Bygrave was given up on the 27th of September." The Rev. Mr. Allen, who witnessed their arrival, makes a different statement:—"The number of prisoners liberated, including those left in Cabul, was as follows:—ladies and European women, twelve; officers, thirty-four; children, seventeen; non-commissioned officers, privates, and clerks, fifty-four; total, one hundred and seventeen."

The joy of the garrison of Cabul over their countrywomen and countrymen, thus raised from the dead, may be conceived but cannot be described. Eager groups pressed around each, greetings and thanksgivings were heard, and tears were seen on every side. The European soldiers were deeply excited, and even the sepoys caught the generous infection. Lady Sale, and her daughter, Mrs. Sturt, were especially objects of interest. The latter lady had lost her gallant husband, a young engineer officer of extraordinary promise, who died of the fatigue he experienced in defending Cabul, after having been desperately wounded by assassins. Lady Sale, in her journal, describes him as carried about in a litter, animating all by his example who were not paralyzed by the stolidity and irresolution of the commander-in-chief.

While yet the British occupied Cabul, it was deemed expedient to subdue Istaliff, a town of great strength, covering ground difficult of access, and inhabited by a people accustomed to bear arms. It was twenty miles distant to the north-west of Cabul, in Koh-i-daman. The houses and fortifications occupied the slope of a mountain, behind which loftier eminences rose, shutting in a pass which formed the road leading to Turkistan. The fugitives from Cabul had taken refuge at Istaliff, and so confident were the people in its strength, that the families of all who were exposed to danger from a great distance had fled thither. The task of subduing this place was committed to Major-general M'Caskill. The force placed at his disposal, was—"Two eighteen pounders, and a detail of artillery (Bombay), Captain Blood's light field-battery, Captain Backhouse's mountain train, head-quarters and two squadrons of her majesty's 3rd dragoons, one squadron of the 1st light cavalry, Christie's horse (irregular), her majesty's 9th and 41st foot, the 26th, 42nd, and 43rd native infantry, and Captain Broadfoot's sappers and miners."

The action at Istaliff is thus recorded by Mr. Kaye:*—"M'Caskill was completely successful. He made a rapid march upon Istaliff, and took the enemy by surprise. The Affghan chiefs had collected in this place their treasure and their women. They had looked to it as a place of refuge, secure from the assaults of the invading Feringhees. They had relied greatly on the strength of the place, and scarcely any defensive measures had been taken to repel the assaults of the enemy. When M'Caskill entered the gardens which surround the town, a panic

* Kaye's *Affghan War*, p. 634.

seemed to have seized the people, they thought no longer of defence. Their first thought was to save their property and their women. Ameenoollah Khan himself fled at the first onset. As our troops entered the town, the face of the mountain beyond was covered with laden baggage-cattle, whilst long lines of white-veiled women, striving to reach a place of safety, streamed along the hill side. What our troops had to do they did rapidly and well; but the fire of the enemy's jezails soon slackened when the 9th foot, with Broadfoot's sappers, and the 26th native infantry, dashed into the gardens, where the Affghan marksmen had been posted. And as their gallantry, so their forbearance is to be commended. M'Caskill, respecting the honour of the women, would not suffer a pursuit; but many fell into the hands of our people in the town, and were safely delivered over to the keeping of the Kuzzilbashes. Two guns and much booty were taken; the town was fired, and then M'Caskill went on towards the hills, meeting no opposition on the way, destroyed Charekur, where the Goorkha regiment had been annihilated, and some other fortified places, which had been among the strongholds of the enemy, and then returned triumphantly to Cabul." Referring to this action, Mr. Marshman says:—"General M'Caskill, who commanded the division, left all the arrangements of the attack to Havelock's skill; and he dwells with delight in his letters to his relatives on the opportunity he now enjoyed, for the first time after twenty-seven years of soldiering, of organizing a great military movement, as he said, out of his own brain. The town was carried with little loss, through the admirable combinations of Havelock's strategy, and the affair at Istaliff was considered one of the most brilliant of the campaign; but it is only at the present time that Havelock's share in it can be prudently recorded."

If these statements of Mr. Marshman be correct, the facts they record are an invaluable contribution to the fame of Havelock. He was then only a major on the staff of General Pollock, and accompanied M'Caskill by the courtesy of the former.

After this expedition, the commander-in-chief, in pursuance of his orders, prepared to return to India. He destroyed the great bazaar, so famous in history, built in the time of Aurungzebe. In this place the body of the British envoy, when murdered by Affghan assassins at the command of Affghan chiefs, had been exposed to insult, and General Pollock resolved that the retribution should be the destruction of the place itself. A mosque at the end of the bazaar, and another near the cantonments, ornamented with European materials during the interval between the exit of the Hon. General Elphinstone and the entrance of General Pollock, in order to commemorate the slaughter of the Feringhees, were also destroyed.

On the 12th of October, General Pollock began the retirement of his army, by sending forward Sir Robert Sale, with the 1st and 2nd brigades, the 1st light cavalry, 3rd irregular cavalry, and Christie's horse, over the Gospund Darrah Pass, with the object of turning the Khoord-Cabul. The result of this movement was, that the main pass was penetrated without so much as an exchange of shots. General Nott's division followed, but was attacked in the Huft Khatul Pass, on the 14th of October. General Pollock considered that this, and some petty attacks upon his rear-guard, were made by brigands. It is surprising that the general should think so, for there was as much appearance of military order among the assailants as in any Affghan force which he had encountered.

On the 17th of December, 1842, the army crossed the Sutlej. There were great rejoicings and festivities in Ferozepore; yet there were many causes for regret. England had been placed in mourning for the loss of a multitude of her brave and noble children. British honour was, indeed, vindicated by the destruction of Cabul, Istaliff, Ghizni, Candahar, and Jellalabad. The Affghans had been everywhere defeated, the ladies and officers so treacherously made captives had been rescued, but the conquering armies had scarcely accomplished their ultimate victory, when they began to retire; and, although General Pollock declared in his despatches that no organized resistance was made to the return of his army, yet an angry enemy who had made no submission hung upon their flanks and rear, and made victims of soldiers and camp followers until the English flag was lost to view from the territory of Affghanistan. To this day the Affghans hold themselves to have been the conquerors in that war, and the same feeling, kept alive by Russia, pervades Persia and Central Asia. There is, however, an awe of English power remaining in Affghanistan as a result of the advance of England, Nott, and Pollock, which has deterred the Affghans since then from entering into any important combinations against the power of Great Britain.

Thus ended the terrible Affghan war, one of the most destructive to the life of English soldiers, and by far the most injurious to British reputation in which the empire had ever been engaged. This justifies the length at which its affecting details have been given.

## CHAPTER CXVI.

THE WAR IN SCINDE—ADVANCE TOWARDS HYDERABAD—THE AMEERS COERCED INTO A TREATY WITH THE ENGLISH—ATTACK UPON THE ENGLISH RESIDENCY AT HYDERABAD—EXPEDITION OF SIR CHARLES NAPIER IN THE DESERT—BATTLE OF MEANNEE—BATTLE OF DUBBA—VICTORIES OF COLONEL ROBERTS AND CAPTAIN JACOBS—SIR CHARLES NAPIER'S GOVERNMENT OF SCINDE.

IN a previous chapter an account was given of the proceedings of the British in Scinde previous to the Affghan war, and more especially during the period when the army of General England was ordered to prepare for protecting the retreat of General Nott. On the 4th of November, 1842,* a year and two days after the outbreak at Cabul, a draft of a treaty with the ameers of Scinde was prepared, several of the articles of which became important at the close of the Affghan war. By article 2, the company's rupee was to become the only coin legally current in the dominions of the ameers, after the 1st of January, 1845.† By article 5, the ameers renounced the privilege of coining money.‡ The 6th article relates to the cutting of wood for the steamers navigating the Indus. By article 7, Kurrachee and Tatta were to be ceded to the British government, and a free passage between Kurrachee and Tatta. By article 8, Subsulkhote,§ and the territory between the present frontier of Bhawulpore and the town of Rohree, are ceded to his Highness of Bhawulpore, "the ever faithful ally and friend of the British government."

Sir W. Napier says,‖ the Scindian princes "were again excited by Nott's advance upon Candahar; they judged it a forced abandonment of that important city; and though he afterwards destroyed Ghizni, and, in conjunction with Pollock, ruined Istaliff and Cabul, the apparently hurried retreat from Affghanistan which followed, bore, for the misjudging people, the character of a flight. It was viewed as a proof of weakness, and Belochis and Brahooes became more hopeful and more confident than before. The ameers of Upper and Lower Scinde consulted together, how best to league against the Feringhees; Sikh vakeels were at Khyrpore, ready to start for Lahore, loaded with presents for the Maharajah; and at the same time, letters came from the victorious Affghans, reminding the ameers that they were feudatories of the Doonaree empire, and exhorting them to act boldly in the common cause. These things led to the ameers' final destruction; they were the forerunners of the battle by which they fell; but their primary cause, it has been shown, was deeper seated. The Scindian war was no isolated event. 'It was the tail of the Affghan storm.'" The ameers swore upon the Koran their determination to unite with Affghans, Sikhs, or whatever other allies might be procurable, to make war upon the English. Fortunately for the interests of the British empire, the late Sir Charles Napier was in command of the troops in Scinde, while General England was at Candahar, and after the celebrated retreat of that officer in charge of the great convoy. Sir Charles Napier did not regard the war which was about to be launched against Scinde as just. His opinion was well founded; the ameers had never committed any aggression upon the English. They had preserved a cold and studied distance as long as they were able, and were influenced in so doing by the conviction that any alliance with the government of Calcutta would ultimately be subversive of their own independence. Various treaties had been forced upon them which were intolerably overbearing, and the English agents domineered over the country as if it were a province won in war. When the draft treaty, already referred to, was laid before the ameers, by Lieutenant Eastwick, on behalf of the Bombay government, Noor Mohammed, one of the principal ameers, took from a box all the treaties which were in force, and sarcastically asked, "What is to become of all these?" Before receiving a reply, he calmly, but with indignant remonstrance, added, "Here is another annoyance. Since the days that Scinde has been connected with the English, there has always been something new; your government is never satisfied; we are anxious for your friendship, but we cannot be continually persecuted. We have given a road to your troops through our territories, and now you wish to remain." The death of Noor Mohammed facilitated the designs of the English, which were carried out with as little

* *Affghan War.* By Major Hough.

† The date of the coinage of the company's rupee throughout our Indian possessions.

‡ The act of coining is the right of the sovereign of a country.

§ Which had been taken from the nawab by the ameers.

‖ *Conquest of Scinde*, part i., p. 111.

scruple as justice. The ameers had borne the injustice of Lord Auckland's government, but when Lord Ellenborough arrived, a puerile and hot-headed policy was pursued, calculated to drive them to madness or despair. Yet, as in the case of Affghanistan, his hot vigour was followed by reaction, and he hesitated as to the expediency of forcing certain cessions of territory which he had ordered Colonel Outram, the resident, to demand. A month afterwards one of his fits of vigour returned, and Sir Charles Napier was placed in the chief civil and military authority. On the 5th of October Sir Charles reported to the governor-general that the ameers took tolls upon the river; which was contrary to the treaty forced upon the ameers by the government of Calcutta, which it had no more right to dictate, than any Scinde or Beloochee robber would have to levy blackmail within the Indian territory. Sir Charles Napier, although he admitted that the ameers had been aggrieved, and had committed no aggression, did not resign his political or military functions, but carried out the governor-general's unjust policy with an earnest will. The general instituted a series of intrigues between certain of the ameers, which were neither very clever nor very cunning, and eventually did more to embarrass affairs and drive the ameers to resistance than any of the articles of the oppressive and insolent treaty forced upon them.* By one of the intrigues in which Sir Charles engaged himself, a certain ameer, named Meer Proostum, fled to another, his near kinsman, named Ali Moorad upon whose head he placed the turban, an act which betokened the surrender of power. Out of this transaction arose the necessity, or the supposed necessity on the part of Sir Charles Napier, of taking a fort in the desert called Emaum Ghur. This exploit was one of great peril and difficulty, and was accomplished by Sir Charles with singular vigour and audacity. The fort was so situated that to reach it at all with an armed force was all but impossible. The march to it was long, the way a perfect waste; everything to be brought by the troops must be carried, even water. The quantity of that commodity necessary for men pursuing military enterprises in such a climate, and especially while marching over a desert, would be very great. Sir Charles was deterred by no difficulties, he determined to carry his point, and soon, and effectually. He selected two hundred irregular cavalry, one hundred and fifty of whom had ultimately to be sent back from want of forage. His artillery consisted of two howitzers, 24-pounders. He placed 350 men of her majesty's 22nd regiment on 175 camels, loaded 10 camels with provisions, and 80 with water, and marched forth against the stronghold, the number of the defenders of which he could not have known. The fort was actually defended by considerably more than 2000 men, and the skirts of the desert were crowded with fanatical Beloochee horsemen. He went forth early in January, 1843, brought his force thither in safety, captured the place, blew it up, and returned with a rapidity which dazzled and astonished friends and foes.

*This occurred when the East India company was at peace with all the known authorities of Scinde;* so that it became obvious to the ameers, and their friends the Beloochees, that the English were determined upon plundering the territory of Scinde from its possessors.

As to the exploit itself, the Duke of Wellington, in his place in the house of lords, gave the following opinion:—"Sir Charles Napier's march upon Emaum Ghur, is one of the most curious military feats which I have ever known to be performed, or have ever perused an account of in my life. He moved his troops through the desert against hostile forces; he had his guns transported under circumstances of extreme difficulty, and in a manner the most extraordinary, and he cut off a retreat of the enemy which rendered it impossible for them ever to regain their positions."

The treaty proposed to the ameers, November the 4th, 1842, was sealed by the ameers, most reluctantly, the 14th February, 1843. The expedition in the desert terrified the ameers, although it intensified their desire to drive the English from their country. The Beloochee people were not so readily alarmed. Their patriotism and fanaticism were thoroughly roused. They regarded the English as robbers, tyrants, and truce-breakers, and determined to rid their country of them or perish. Three days after the treaty, was fought the ever-memorable battle of Meannee! When the treaty was signed, the ameers warned Major (holding the local rank of colonel) Outram, that if Sir Charles Napier continued to advance, the result must be, a revolt by the people and troops against the execution of the treaty. Sir Charles did advance, and without justification on any ground. The predicted consequence took place. On the 15th of February, the people rose, and the first object of attack was the British residency. The enclosure in which the mansion was situated was swept by the river, where a British steamer was placed, armed with cannon. Numerous bodies of

* Parliamentary Papers relating to Scinde; Supplementary Papers; Correspondence of Sir Charles Napier.

Scinde horse and foot environed the enclosure in every other direction. For four hours the enemy maintained a heavy fire, to which a small party of British replied, under Captain Conway; Lieutenant Harding and Ensign Pennefather distinguished themselves by their activity, skill, and courage. Two gentlemen, Captain Green, of the 21st native infantry, and Captain Wells, of the 15th, volunteered, and rendered important services. Captain Brown, Bengal engineers, went on board the steamer, and acted as an artillery officer, with good effect. The British were too few to continue the defence, and retired with order to the steamer, leaving behind most of their baggage, and all the property of the residency. They subsequently joined the force of Sir Charles Napier.

### BATTLE OF MEANNEE.

The ameers now determined to resist the advance of the English troops, the commander of these troops was furnished with a conclusive reason for continuing his march by the storming of the residency. On the 17th he reached Meannee, about six miles from Hyderabad. The ameers awaited him there in a strong position, flanked with woods, and behind the dry bed of the river Fullaillee. Before the extreme right of the enemy's position lay a village, affording a good cover. Two British officers volunteered to reconnoitre, which was done with great boldness and coolness, the officers riding along the whole line exposed to a perilous fire. The result was, however, the supply of accurate information. The number of the enemy was seven times that of the British, but Sir Charles considered that any delay for reinforcements would strengthen the confidence of the ameers and produce a moral effect upon the country dangerous to the success and even the existence of his little army, not stronger than a brigade; he therefore determined to attack. It was a daring resolution; with less than three thousand men of all arms to assail a strong position defended by more than twenty thousand men, of reputed courage! But Sir Charles was a man of bold conclusions.

The ameers did not wait to be assailed. As soon as the British came within range of their guns, a heavy fire was opened, but happily it was not well directed. The reply of the British cannon was most effective, and undoubtedly prepared the way for closer attack. The British guns were placed on the right. Infantry skirmishers with the Scinde irregular cavalry were thrown far in front, merely to make the enemy show his strength. The British infantry then moved from the right in *echelon* of battalions, refusing the left to save it from the fire of the village, which, as before noticed, covered the enemy's right. The major-general commanding compared the movement to a review over a plain swept by an enemy's cannon. The artillery and her majesty's 22nd regiment, in line, formed the leading *echelon;* the 25th native infantry, the second; the 12th infantry, the third; and the 1st grenadier native infantry, the fourth. The 9th Bengal light cavalry formed the reserve, in rear of the left wing. The Poonah horse with four companies of infantry guarded the baggage. The British line opened a fire of musketry within one hundred yards of the bank of the river. The Beloochees charged their advancing enemies, firing their matchlocks and discharging their pistols as they came to close quarters. From neither fire did the English receive much harm. The Beloochees, with sword and shield, then threw themselves upon the British line, the men of which advancing, shoulder to shoulder, delivered a volley, so simultaneously that it was as if given from a single machine of destruction, and directed so low that every shot told. The first line of the Beloochees went down under this surely directed fire, the second line was pierced by the bayonets of the British line, which as a wall of pointed steel received the desperate charge. Nevertheless these brave adversaries came on, scimitar in hand, as if eager for death, and so severe was the onset that the fate of the battle was for some time in suspense. The peril to the British was now so great that Colonel Pattle, at the suggestion of Captain A. Tucker, moved his cavalry, with the view of turning the enemy's right flank, and charging their rear, so as to check the force of their terrible onslaught upon the line of the British infantry. While Colonel Pattle and Captain Tucker were thus initiating an important movement, the responsibility of which the colonel was reluctant to incur, orders came from the commander-in-chief to "force the right of the enemy's line." The 9th Bengal cavalry had the honour of executing this movement, supported by the Scinde horse. The former regiment took a standard and several guns, the latter captured the camp, from which the cavalry of the Beloochees retired slowly, firing as they retreated, and taking deliberate aim. Lieutenant Fitzgerald pursued them several miles with a small body of cavalry, and himself slew three of their horsemen in single combat. This charge of cavalry decided the battle. The 22nd forced the bank of the river, as the appearance of the English cavalry in the rear of the Beloochees confused their infantry. The 25th

and 12th native infantry crossed the dry bed of the river nearly as soon as the 22nd; the 12th, scrambling up the opposite bank, captured some guns in position there. The whole of the enemy's artillery was taken, with their camp equipage, stores, ammunition and treasures. Several standards were also taken. Sir Charles in his despatches stated that all were captured, which his own account of the retreat of the Beloochee cavalry shows could not be correct.

Seldom did British arms gain a harder fought battle, and seldom were the numbers engaged on each side so disproportionate. Not more than 1900 men were actually in action on the side of the British. The ameers brought their whole force into battle, except the cavalry, which came into combat when Colonel Pattle charged round their right flank and fell upon the rear of the infantry. Some accounts rate the force of the ameers at 25,000, but certainly more than 20,000 men gave battle to the little Britsh band opposed to them. The loss of the English was 56 soldiers killed and 177 wounded, and 95 horses.* Six officers were killed and 22 wounded.

The plan of the battle is intelligible to civilians: the mode of going into action was beautiful, but the execution was confused, and but for the cavalry charge round the right upon the rear—a movement which never occurred to the enemy as possible until it was accomplished, and therefore bewildered them, —the probabilities were great that the battle would have been lost.

The Duke of Wellington had a very high opinion of the genius of Sir Charles Napier as a soldier, and was notoriously partial to the Napier family. This latter circumstance must qualify the reception given to any opinions pronounced by his grace upon the actions of Sir Charles. The duke's opinion of the battle of Meannee, and of the conduct of the victor, consequent upon it, has been very generally received; it was in the following terms:—"He gained the camp of the enemy, got possession of his guns, and obtained the most complete victory, taking up a position in which he was not again likely to be attacked. Not only did he secure Hyderabad, and the portion of the Indus which lay in his rear; he brought up a reinforcement and placed himself at the head of a stronger army than that which he commanded before the battle. He manifested all the discretion and ability of an officer familiar with the most difficult operations in war."

Immediately after the battle, three ameers of Hyderabad, and three of Khyrpore, came in and surrendered themselves. They were sent prisoners to Bombay. Lord Ellenborough declared Scinde "annexed" to the company's dominions.

* Blue-book.

### BATTLE OF DUBBA.

Shere Mohammed was still in arms, at the head of twenty-five thousand men; and so confident was he of success, that he boasted he would "Cabul the English." The use of this phrase, which became current among the Scindians, showed how extensively the weakness of the Hon. General Elphinstone, and the incapacity for large operations of Brigadier Shelton, had deprived the English of military prestige among the nations contiguous to British India. Mohammed took up a position at Dubba, about eight miles north-west of Hyderabad. He had eleven guns in battery, and four field-pieces. His infantry were drawn up in two intrenched lines, and his cavalry in masses in the rear. The right flank rested on the Fullaillee, the bed of which was at that spot deep, and retained a large quantity of mud and muddy water, sufficient to prevent the position from being turned. There was another nullah* to the rear of the former, forming an obtuse angle to the front line, and there the left of the enemy's army was posted. Thus the true front of battle extended from the right for one mile perpendicularly to the Fullaillee, presenting, what may be termed, the right wing and centre to an attack; but the left wing behind the second nullah, was refused. All the cavalry were behind the left. In the rear of the right wing stood the village of Dubba.† Between the first line of the right and centre and the village of Dubba there was another nullah. Each had what in military technicality is called a ramp for advancing and retreating. The enemy's second line was placed near the second and larger nullah, in the rear of which he posted his cannon. His pioneers cleared away the low jungle which had occupied the land in front, so that the fire of his guns might not be impeded.

Such was the position of the Beloochee army, described with as few technicalities as possible, so that the popular reader may comprehend the vast strength of such a post. With such intrenchments and nullahs, protecting his lines in every part, a native commander would naturally consider his lines unassailable.

The army of Sir Charles Napier did not number one-fifth of that of his opponent. He had 1100 horse, and nineteen guns; five

* The dry bed of a river, or of a canal, or other cut for containing water, is called a nullah.

† This village was also called Narajah.

of these belonged to the horse artillery. Two pieces of cannon, and a few hundred troops were left to guard the camp before Hyderabad. The rest of the little army, numbering less than five thousand men, and seventeen cannons, proceeded to attack the foe.* Arriving before the intrenched position of Mohammed, the English general instantly formed; in doing which, he adopted the plan taken at Meannee, advancing by *echelon* of battalions. The left of his line was too near that of the enemy, and had to be thrown back. The guns were placed in the intervals between the battalions of infantry; the cavalry covered the flanks. The right was somewhat "refused," because a wood towards that flank at once impeded the formation, and might cover the enemy's sharp-shooters. The infantry of the enemy's left extended half a mile beyond that of the extreme right of the cavalry flankers of Sir Charles. This portion of the enemy's line was exposed to the general's view; not so their centre and right, which were hidden by the nullahs. The village of Dubba appeared to be unoccupied. Three British officers—Major Waddington of the engineers, and Lieutenants Brown and Hill, rode close up to the right centre of the position, and afterwards proceeded along the centre to its junction with the right, for the purpose of causing the enemy to show his force. This object was attained. Unable to conceive what these officers were about, the enemy stood on the defence, their first line starting up eagerly and firing. So close did these gallant officers ride to the line, that the ramps for leaving or entering the nullah was distinctly seen, and the precise position noted by Major Waddington. Sir Charles having thus cleverly reconnoitered, put his whole force in motion for the attack. His first object was, by rapidity, to gain the junction of the nullah with the Fullaillee, and, passing it, to seize the village before the enemy could penetrate his design.

The attack was led here, as at Meannee, by her majesty's 22nd regiment, and with equal, if not even surpassing, heroism. A cross fire from the British artillery so galled the enemy's centre, that his troops showed symptoms of unsteadiness, and moved towards the left as if to be out of range. On perceiving this, Major Stack, with the 3rd cavalry, under Captain Delamain, and the Scinde horse, under Captain Jacobs, charged the flank, towards which the bodies of infantry, detaching themselves from the centre, were tending. The major dashed across the nullah, cleared all obstacles, cut into the infantry, and pursued them for miles. This charge was executed without orders, and, like most feats of the kind, however fortunate, entailed imminent peril to the army it was bravely intended to serve. Sir William Napier says:—"He thus exposed the flank of the line of battle, and exposed the whole army to a defeat, if the wood had really been filled with the selected division of Beloochees."

The 22nd regiment, under Captain George, was directed by Major Poole, who commanded the brigade to storm the nullah on the enemy's left, which was accomplished in the most daring manner. The enemy's right flank was turned by Captain Tait, with the Poonah horse, and by Major Story, with the 9th Bengal cavalry, pursuing the enemy as Major Stack did on the left, and cutting down the fugitives over several miles of their flight. Thus both flanks of the enemy were actually turned and defeated, the centre alone being able any longer to resist, which it did not do with any persistence, the remainder of the infantry and cavalry advancing with the regularity of a review, and the guns of the British from the right and left pouring in a terrible cross fire. Thus ended the battle of Dubba. The opinion of the great Duke of Wellington concerning it is on record:—"A brilliant victory, in which he (Sir Charles) showed all the qualities of a general officer, and in which the army displayed all the best qualities of the bravest troops." The British lost two hundred and seventy officers and men. More than half the number of casualties occurred in the 22nd regiment.

After this victory the spirit of the Scindians was broken, although Shere Mohammed still hoped to retrieve his disasters. From the field of battle Sir Charles marched to the south, entering Meerpore in triumph; and on the 4th of April the fortress of Omercote opened its gates. Sir Charles determined to surround, if possible, the fugitive Shere Mohammed. To accomplish this, he divided his army into three parts, holding himself the command of one, and giving the charge of the two others to Colonel Roberts and Captain Jacobs. Upon those two officers devolved the chief duties connected with the active prosecution of the plan. On the 8th of June, Colonel Roberts met the Ameer Shah Mohammed, and Captain Jacobs encountered Shere Mohammed six days after, the British in each case gaining a signal victory. Roberts, with a small force, defeated two thousand men, and captured the shah; Jacobs, with a very disproportionate force, vanquished about four thousand Beloochees, the shere flying to the desert, attended only by his personal retinue. These events gave great satisfaction in England and at Calcutta, and Lord Ellenborough

* *Conquest of Scinde.*

nominated Sir Charles to the government of Scinde. During his government no opportunity occurred for the display of his military genius. During the Sikh campaign, more than two years afterwards, Sir Charles marched by Mooltan from Scinde with a small force; and proceeding in advance, reached the grand army shortly after the sanguinary victory of Sobraon. If, however, the government of Sir Charles was not to be distinguished by any achievements of a military nature, it was very remarkable for its civil administration. The great Napoleon and his great rival both expressed (without either borrowing from the other) the opinion that civil qualities entered into the competency of a superior commander, even more than military. This seems to have been borne out by the management of armies, and by the administration in Scinde of Sir Charles Napier. He ruled Scinde arbitrarily, but justly; sternly, yet mercifully; in the interest of his country, yet for the welfare of the people. He held down with an iron hand all disposition to insubordination or revolt, nevertheless, so attached the people to him, that when he departed, they followed him with tears and lamentations. In war they gave him the formidable *soubriquet* of "Shatan;" in peace they almost adored him as a deity. Scinde was afflicted with many calamities during his reign, as one might very appropriately call his government; but his administration of its affairs created order, cherished industry, brought wide regions, previously unproductive, into cultivation, and preserved innumerable lives when famine and disease ravaged the whole realm.

The following statement of the difficulties with which Sir Charles had to contend was drawn up in an *expose* made to government, and suppressed by the Bombay council, or some of its officials. It is headed, "Sir Charles Napier to the Governor in Council. Bombay, Oct. 21, 1846." An extract only is made from the document:—"Plundering grain was rife all over the land while war lasted. People stole grain and concealed it, especially government grain; for the conquerors were strangers in the land, and fear pervaded all hearts, none knowing what the victorious foreigners would do; quantities of grain were therefore buried, and cultivation neglected. We at first had no knowledge of the proper men to employ as *kardars* and *umbardars*, nor did we know the amount of the collections which ought to be made; consequently, the government was robbed to an immense extent; an evil which still exists, though it gradually decreases. These kardars, therefore, took no pains with cultivation; they were occupied with pillage. The canals could not be properly cleaned till the country was fairly settled; and without this clearing there could be neither health nor crops in Scinde. When we conquered Scinde the canals were choked up, for the ameers having resolved on war, everything relative to agriculture appears to have been abandoned for some time before the battle of Meannee; men were preparing for war. A plague of locusts fell upon Scinde. This was a heavy and extensive affliction; it not only consumed this country, but, I am told, ravaged whole provinces in Upper India, so that very small collections could be made there. Be that as it may, these locusts nearly destroyed the Scinde crop in 1844. The locusts were preceded by a dreadful epidemic, which raged from the end of August, 1843, to January, 1844, destroying thousands, and leaving those who survived unable to work. The troops suffered less than the people of the country; yet, out of seventeen thousand fighting men, thirteen thousand were helpless in the hospitals; and of the remaining four thousand, not above two thousand could have made a day's march. Cultivation was abandoned, for no man had strength to work. To close this catalogue of ills which fell upon the cultivation and people of Scinde in 1843 and 1844, the Indus suddenly fell, while the few crops which that year had been raised, were yet on the ground, and a vast portion thus perished from want of water, for the river did not again rise."

A powerful opposition was raised against Sir Charles among the Bombay officials, and a minute was recorded by the council, censuring the way in which Sir Charles supported the revenue of Scinde, which, it was alleged, was done by causing an artificially high price for grain after the revenue paid in that commodity was received by the governor. This minute was absolutely false, and gave rise to discussions in parliament when the disgraceful fact came to light, that, although the Bombay government produced a copy of the faithless minute, no minute could be found of the complete confutation of the calumny. It was a curious circumstance, that Sir Charles himself predicted that such would be the case after his death. The falsehood was, as he foretold, revived; the refutation was suppressed. Those officials, in their communications with the supreme government, represented Scinde as under "a pressure of financial difficulties," in consequence of the mal-administration of the governor, and the people as groaning under the excessive weight of taxation caused by his arbitrary, incompetent, and selfish government. Sir Charles

replied to these animadversions, showing their utter falsehood, in a brief despatch to the governor-general, Dec. 15, 1845, the following extracts from which will at once vindicate the aspersed hero, and disclose to the reader the lengths to which officials can go in injuring even men of the highest name who resist their interference, or refuse them homage :—

*December 15th*, 1845.

RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR,—In answer to the extract from a letter of the Secret Committee, I have to say :—

1. That transit duties were abolished in Scinde by Lord Ellenborough's orders in 1843. I am here to obey the orders which I receive. I cannot imagine why the "Secret Committee" should suppose I disobey those orders. The transit duties have not been reimposed upon the people of Scinde, nor any new tax.

2. There is no "pressure of financial difficulty" in Scinde: its revenues increase, and a surplus of about £250,000 sterling has already been placed to the credit of the Honourable Company, after defraying the cost of the civil government and 2,400 armed and disciplined police.

3. The supreme government, at my recommendation, sanctioned the adoption of the Bombay customs code, and desired me to substitute this code for the destructively severe system of the ameers in Scinde, and I have done so gradually. Like all changes having for object to diminish the receipt of taxation, it will probably reduce the revenue in a slight degree next year, but add to it afterwards. It is well understood by, and agreeable to the merchants and people, whose present burthens will be relieved. After the 1st of January, 1846, the heavy and, what is worse, the vexatious duties levied hitherto under the old system of the ameers will cease, and be replaced by light import and export duties levied on the frontier, except on goods in transit through Scinde. In fine, the Bombay regulations are adopted.

4. I have the honour to enclose herewith a lithograph plan of the positions of the "Chokies," or custom-house ports which I am establishing at the entrances to Scinde; and I have been induced to hasten the establishment of these ports, for the purpose of preventing the entrance of opium not covered by passes.

5. Though I regret that my conduct should have failed to obtain for me what I think it deserves, the confidence of the home authorities in a sufficient degree to overturn the baseness of *secret* information, which I have reason to suppose was sent from Bombay, I have, nevertheless, the satisfaction of believing that I possess the confidence of your Excellency.

C. J. NAPIER.

Sir Charles left Scinde on the 1st of Oct., 1847. Mr. Pringle, a civilian, an officer of the company, succeeded him. That officer, in a report the last day of 1847, praises the clemency, wisdom, moderation, and firmness of his predecessor. These good opinions were repeated by Mr. Pringle's successor, Mr. Frere, occasion having occurred for notice on his part of the principles of administration adopted by Sir Charles Napier. The successors of the military chief were men very competent to the duties imposed on them. They nurtured the prosperity which Sir Charles initiated, and which he left as a happy legacy to Scinde.

## CHAPTER CXVII.

### WAR WITH CHINA—NAVAL AND MILITARY OPERATIONS—TREATY OF PEACE—OPENING OF FIVE PORTS TO EUROPEAN COMMERCE.

THE history of English interests in China, after the date with which the last chapter on this subject closed, continued for a number of years to be monotonous, disclosing no occurrences of a kind to interest the readers of a work on the general concerns of the British empire in the East. Only for short intervals did concord prevail at Canton between the Chinese authorities and the English, or indeed any foreign traders. The trade of most European nations declined, except that of the English. The American commerce fluctuated, and on the whole made no observable progress. Edicts of the viceroy were continually issuing against some practice or other of the English. At one time the presence of English ladies gave offence; at another, some assault was committed by some drunken sailor on a Chinese subject; then, questions were raised so frivolous and vexatious as greatly to try the temper of the British merchants, who petitioned their government to insist on a redress of grievances, and the admittance of a resident at Pekin. Remonstrances were made to the Chinese officials, in language respectful and proper; to which replies were given almost always to the same effect, that if the English did not like the terms upon which they were permitted to trade, there was no occasion for them to come so far, and by staying at home collisions with the subjects of his celestial majesty would be avoided. There was no answering this logic, however unsatisfactory the English might have considered it.

In the years 1830-31 the insults and aggressions offered by the Chinese authorities were intolerable, and it became necessary for the committee, to which the concerns of the East India Company were committed, to adopt measures of public remonstrance, addressed to

the Chinese people as well as to the officials. An appeal was made also to the Governor-general of India to interfere, first by negotiation, and, failing in that, by force. The English did not act with promptitude and spirit, such as alone the Chinese could understand. Forbearance and petitions only brought fresh indignities. It was only when the officers of his celestial majesty felt that the course pursued was one involving danger and inconvenience to themselves, that they were open to conviction. The bad feeling which at this period arrived at such a height, was aggravated by the clandestine opium traffic, and the affrays which arose out of it. As the year 1831 advanced, and at the beginning of 1832, the officers of the viceroy entered the foreign factories when they pleased, treated their inmates with violence and abuse, tortured servants and interpreters, and, finally, set about breaking up the landing-place opposite the factories. There appeared to be no motive for these outrages, but the wanton exercise of power, contempt and hatred of foreigners, and a desire on occasions to extort money.

In February, 1832, Mr. Lindsay and the Rev. Mr. Gutzloff were dispatched to the north-east coast of China: their instructions were rather indefinite, and their voyage abortive, except so far as the acquisition of useful information was concerned. Some ships had, however, disposed of valuable cargoes of opium, woollens, and calicoes on the northern coasts.

By an act of parliament, passed in the fourth year of his majesty's reign, entitled "An Act to regulate the Trade to China," it was, amongst other things, enacted that it might be lawful for his majesty, by any such order or orders as to his majesty in council might seem expedient and salutary, to give to the superintendents mentioned in the act, or any of them, power and authority over the trade and commerce of his majesty's subjects within any part of the dominions of the Emperor of China; and to impose penalties, forfeitures, or imprisonments for the breach of any regulations, to be enforced in such manner as should be specified in the orders in council. This act came into operation April 21st, 1834. At the court at Brighton, on the 9th day of December, 1833, an order in council was issued investing in the superintendents of trade appointed in virtue of that act, all the powers invested in the supercargoes of "the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies." On the same day, another order in council was issued, instituting, in virtue of the said act, a court of justice, with criminal and admiralty jurisdiction, for the trial of offences committed by British subjects in the ports and harbours of China and within a hundred miles of its coasts. One of the superintendents mentioned in the act, was nominated to hold such court. The practice and proceedings of such court were to be conformable to those of the courts of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery in England. A third order in council was issued the same day, in virtue of the act already named, empowering the superintendents to levy and collect tolls from English ships entering any port where these superintendents might reside. It was also ordered that within forty-eight hours of the arrival in a Chinese port of any British ships, a manifesto in writing, upon oath, specifying the particulars of the cargo, should be sent by the master or supercargo to the superintendent. Lord Napier was dispatched as the chief superintendent of British trade, from Plymouth, in his majesty's ship *Andromache*. Matters had now arrived at an interesting epoch in the commercial connection between China and Great Britain. John Francis Davis, who succeeded Lord Napier as chief superintendent, observed of the juncture of affairs when Lord Napier was nominated to that office:—"On the 22nd April, 1834, the trade of the East India Company with China, after having lasted just two hundred years, terminated according to the provisions of the new act, and several private ships soon afterwards quitted Canton with cargoes of tea for the British Islands. One vessel had, previously to that date, sailed direct for England, under a special licence from the authorities of the East India Company. A most important national experiment was now to be tried, the results of which alone could set at rest the grand question of the expediency of free trade against the *Chinese monopoly*; or prove how individual traders were likely to succeed against the union of mandarins and mandarin merchants."

The number of superintendents which the new bill authorized was three, two others with Lord Napier were immediately nominated. The East India company now stood in a new relation to China. Instead of having the exclusive possession of the tea trade, and all but the exclusive trade in other commodities, the bill of 1833 deprived the company of the power of trading between China and Great Britain, and threw the whole of the Chinese commerce open to the enterprise of individual merchants. One consequence of this was, that as the operation of the act began a few months after it was passed, the company had to sell their fine ships, and other trading property, at heavy loss. These great changes by the British government were carried out

without any notice to the Chinese authorities, notwithstanding that the danger of such a course was pointed out by persons well acquainted with the temper of the Chinese government and people.

On the 15th of July, 1834, Lord Napier arrived at Macao. Mr. Davis and Sir George Robinson accepted the offices of superintendents with his lordship. According to the instructions given to Lord Napier, by the foreign secretary, he was immediately upon his arrival to announce his mission in a communication to the viceroy. That functionary refused to receive it, on the ground that Great Britain had no right to send a resident representative to Canton, without first obtaining the permission of the court of Pekin. His lordship had no means of communication with the viceroy but through the Hong merchants, which he properly refused. His hands were tied up by such minute instructions from home, that no discretion was left to him in the midst of difficulties of which the home authorities could be no judges, and which could only be met by promptitude and address, as the exigencies arose. The Chinese meanwhile beset his lordship's house with soldiers, beat his servants, and continued to evince a feeling of rancorous hostility. His lordship was placed in a false position by the ignorance and wilfulness of the government at home, in spite of the warnings and protests of the Duke of Wellington, whose sagacious mind and oriental experience enabled him to foresee the issue of the pragmatical and conceited plans of Lord Grey. At last matters assumed so formidable an aspect of hostility, that Lord Napier was obliged to send for a guard of marines, and order the *Imogene* and *Andromache* frigates to the anchorage at Whampoa. As this order was executed, the guns of the Bocca Tigris fort opened fire upon the British, cutting away some ropes and spars, and wounding a sailor. The broadsides of the English frigates soon silenced these demonstrations of anger. As Tiger Island was approached, a still heavier fire was directed against the English, and a still more formidable reply was made to it. Each British ship had a man killed; the fortifications of the Chinese were much damaged, and the destruction of life among those who manned them was considerable. The men-of-war triumphantly sailed up to the anchorage. The Chinese now stopped the trade, demanding the withdrawal of the frigates, and the retirement of Lord Napier from China. The East India company had warned the government of the consequences of its precipitate and high-handed legislation, and the fruits were now borne. As was usual, the English, after formidable demonstrations of resolution, gave way the moment their trade sustained injury. The Chinese by their obstinacy and persistence gained a complete victory. The selection of Lord Napier for the important office committed to him might well have been questioned, as indeed it was both in England and China. His rank and party connections, not his fitness, determined the appointment. His lordship possessed excellent qualities, intellectual and moral, and was a useful public man; but no especial fitness was possessed by him for what might be called a Chinese embassy, or for a post which was even more difficult to fill than that of an ambassador. A few weeks after arriving at Macao, having abandoned the attempt to establish a residence at Canton, his lordship died, from the effects of the climate and the mortification which he felt at the failure of his mission, and the humiliation to which his country and himself were exposed by the incapacity of his government. This incapacity was the more to be regretted as the government of the day comprised men of great reputation, and Lord Palmerston was the secretary-of-state upon whom the execution of the orders in council devolved. Great as his lordship's talents were for the discharge of any duties which might be imposed upon him in connection with the relations between the United Kingdom and other parts of the world, his knowledge of oriental affairs and of commerce was small, and his capacity to deal with them, in common with that of the rest of the cabinet, insufficient. It was, however, a cabinet which would not be taught, but was carried away by popular applause, and pride of newly acquired power.

On the death of Lord Napier, the second superintendent assumed the chief direction of affairs. That gentleman was of opinion that an appeal to the government of Pekin should be prosecuted, but this had been *forbidden* by the instructions delivered to Lord Napier in case of any dispute, without first communicating with the British foreign secretary. At this juncture the great Congregational missionary, Dr. Morrisson, the Chinese interpreter to the superintendents, died. His loss was much felt because of his superior knowledge of the Chinese language and people. His son and the Rev. Mr. Gutzloff were nominated in his stead. The viceroy issued edicts commanding the English to elect or obtain from England a merchant, not a royal officer, to manage the trade. Of these edicts Mr. Davis took no notice, believing that the Chinese would find it necessary themselves to open communications with him. In January, 1855, Mr. Davis returned home;

Captain Elliot, who had acted as secretary to the commission, became second, and Sir George Robinson first superintendent.

The opening of the Chinese trade the previous year facilitated smuggling, and this was more especially carried on in connection with opium. The edicts of the imperial government against the admission of the drug had been as numerous as inoperative, but so prodigious was the increase of smuggling when the East India Company was deprived of the Chinese trade, that it became incumbent upon the imperial government to adopt vigorous measures to put a stop to it, or at once abandon all pretension to control contraband commerce upon its coasts. The increase of the importation of opium tended to weaken physically the Chinese population; to create poverty, idleness, and recklessness; to drain the country of silver, and to weaken the bands of authority; the imperial government was therefore roused to exertion to check or stop the injurious import.

Captain Elliot succeeded Sir George Robinson as chief superintendent. He foresaw that the open and daring conduct of the crowds of opium smugglers who mingled with those who pursued legitimate commerce would bring on a war, or the expulsion of European traders. He earnestly importuned the British government to invest him, or a successor, with power to interpose and to punish English subjects engaging in such unlawful dealings. The government refused to do this, substantially on the ground that it was not the province of foreign governments to act as revenue police or coast-guards for countries on whose shores their subjects smuggled. The government, however, declared that any smuggler resorting to force in case of attempts to arrest him by the Chinese authorities, should be considered as a pirate. This was more generous to China than just to the smugglers, whose dishonourable calling was no ground for acting towards them illegitimately. It was clearly the business of the mandarins to deal with the smugglers, Chinese or foreign, as best they could; and of the English authorities to discountenance the traffic by moral means, and to afford no protection to English subjects embarked in it.

The year 1838 opened at Canton unfavourably to commerce and to the prospects of peace. The Hong merchants had incurred enormous debts to the new traders under the free system. They refused to pay except by instalments, extending over a great number of years. The Chinese laws afforded to the barbarians no redress, there was only the old answer, "If you do not like the country, its laws, maxims, and customs, why don't you go away? we do not wish you to stay." The Hong merchants had in this way cheated the English out of three millions of dollars. The amount of opium seized by the Chinese authorities amounted to two millions sterling. This opium was in many cases seized by mandarins who had connived at the illicit traffic, taking bribes to admit it, and seizing the contraband as well. The conduct of the Chinese officials was immoral and corrupt in these transactions.

On the 12th of July, 1838, Sir Frederick Maitland arrived in the ship of war *Wellesley*, and in consort with the war-brig *Algerine*, and was joined by the superintendent. The ships anchored in Tong-boo Bay, seven leagues south of the Bocca Tigris. The Canton government communicated in the old way through the Hong merchants; the superintendent sent back the despatches unopened, informing the bearer that the orders of the British government were peremptory to correspond only with the officers of his imperial majesty.

Captain Elliot then proceeded to Canton, and sent an unsealed letter by a mandarin to be communicated to the government. Mr. Davis thus relates what occurred:—"The paper was left open with a view to obviate the difficulty about the use of the character *pin*—a petition. It was conveyed to the viceroy, but the merchants returned it with a remark from his excellency that he could not take it unless it bore the character *pin*. Captain Elliot then declared that he had formally offered to set forth the peaceful purposes of the admiral's visit, and if the viceroy did not think fit to accept these explanations, his business at Canton was concluded, and he should forthwith retire. A British boat, meanwhile, passing the Bocca Tigris was fired upon by the forts; and when boarded by a mandarin, was required to state whether the admiral or any person belonging to him was there, as they should not be permitted to pass up. Sir Frederick, on being informed of this insult, remarked that he had come to China with a determination to avoid the least violation of customs or prejudices; but that he was nevertheless resolved to bear no indignity to the flag. He accordingly proceeded forthwith to the Bocca Tigris with the vessels under his command, to demand a formal disavowal of these unprovoked attacks. A civil letter was soon received from the Chinese admiral Kwan (afterwards discomfited in action with the *Volage* and *Hyacinth*), asking the reason of Admiral Maitland's visit; and in reply to this, a demand was made for reparation on account of the late insult. The result was the mission of a mandarin captain of war-

junks to wait upon the British admiral, accompanied by one of less rank; and the expressions of disavowal of any intention to insult were written at the dictation of the higher officer by the hand of the other on board the *Wellesley* in the presence of the several parties. Sir Frederick Maitland signified his satisfaction with this declaration, and after the exchange of some civilities, returned to his former anchorage, and soon afterwards sailed away."

Only two months after this transaction the Chinese functionaries, irritated by the persistence of the smugglers, prepared to execute a native smuggler in the front of the factory; the remonstrances of the Europeans upon so gross an outrage being treated with disdain, they boldly armed and drove the executioners and the attendant guards away. The people approved of the dispersion of the party. Some of the Europeans, in the insolence and hardihood of their pride, contemptuously struck with sticks the lookers on; these immediately resented, and at last a mob of thousands, armed with such missiles as could be obtained, attacked the factories. The Chinese troops drove back the mob.

Captain Elliot offered to co-operate with the government in suppressing the river smuggling, and obtained a direct communication from the viceroy, thus gaining a precedent for carrying on official correspondence without the intervention of the "Hong."

For some time matters wore a more tranquil aspect, and the smuggling was much repressed. Early in 1839, a high commission of his imperial majesty arrived at Canton, and at once proceeded to adopt measures of extraordinary severity and injustice to terrify the Europeans and stop the traffic. His first act was to execute a native opium dealer in the square in front of the factories. This operation was attended by so powerful a force that the merchants could only haul down their flags and protest against the barbarous outrage. The despatches of Captain Elliot describe the demands of Commissioner Lin as extraordinary even from an oriental tyrant. He issued an edict directly to the foreigners, demanding that every particle of opium on board the ships should be delivered to the government, in order to its being burned and destroyed. At the same time a bond was required, in the foreign and Chinese languages, that "the ships should hereafter never again dare to bring opium; and that, should any be brought, the goods should be forfeited, and the parties suffer death; moreover, that such punishment would be willingly submitted to." He plainly threatened that if his requisitions were not complied with, the foreigners would be overwhelmed by numbers and sacrificed; but at the same time made some vague promises of reward to such as obeyed.

Mr. Davis describes the events which followed with a brevity and completeness which will in a short compass place the reader in possession of the facts which led to what is popularly known in England as "the opium war:"—"On first hearing of the proceedings at Canton the British superintendent, always present where danger or difficulty called him, hurried up in the gig of her majesty's ship *Larne*, and made his way to the factories on the evening of the 24th March, notwithstanding the efforts made to stop him. The state of intense distress in which he found the whole foreign community may be estimated by stating that the actual pressing difficulty was the obstinate demand that Mr. Dent, one of the most respectable English merchants, should proceed into the city and attend the commissioner's tribunal. Captain Elliot's first step was to proceed to Mr. Dent's house, and convey him in person to the hall of the superintendents. He immediately signified to the Chinese his readiness to let Mr. Dent go into the city with himself, and upon the distinct stipulation, under the commissioner's seal, that he was never to be moved out of his sight. The whole foreign community were then assembled, and exhorted to be moderate and calm. On the same night the native servants were taken away and the supplies cut off, the reason given being the opposition to the commissioner's summons. An arc of boats was formed, filled with armed men, the extremes of which touched the east and west banks of the river in front of the factories. The square between and the rear were occupied in considerable force; and before the gate of the hall the whole body of Hong merchants and a large guard were posted day and night, the latter with their swords constantly drawn. So close an imprisonment is not recorded in the history of our previous intercourse. Under these circumstances the British superintendent issued a most momentous circular to his countrymen, requiring the surrender into his hands of all the English opium actually on the coast of China at that date. In undertaking this immense responsibility, he had no doubt that the safety of a great mass of human life hung upon his determination. Had he commenced with the denial of any control on the occasion, the Chinese commissioner would have seized the pretext for reverting to his measures of intimidation against individual merchants, obviously his original purpose, but which Captain Elliot's sudden appearance had disturbed.

He would have forced the whole into submission by the protracted confinement of the persons he had determined to seize, and, judging from his proclamation and general conduct, by the sacrifice of their lives. On the 3rd of April it was agreed that the deputy superintendent should proceed down the river with the mandarins and Hong merchants, and deliver over to the commissioner 20,283 chests of opium from the ships which were assembled for that purpose below the Bocca Tigris. The imprisonment and blockade in the meanwhile remained undiminished at Canton, and attempts were made to extort from the foreigners the bond, by which their lives and property would be at the mercy of the Chinese government. This was evaded."

On the 4th of May, when all the opium was delivered, the imprisonment of the English ceased, with the exception of sixteen persons, who were retained until the 25th; they were liberated under an edict never to return to China. The commission restricted the trade of all other foreigners, when all English subjects had withdrawn. The conduct of Captain Elliot throughout these transactions was marvellously prudent and firm. The Duke Wellington described his concluding act as one "of courage and self-devotion such as few men had an opportunity of showing, and, probably, still fewer would have shown." His grace characterized the conduct of the Chinese commissioner and government with equal terseness. He "had never known a person filling a high station in another country treated in such a manner as Captain Elliot had been treated by the authorities of Canton."

The English took refuge at Macao, but were driven thence by a military demonstration on the part of Lin. An unarmed schooner was attacked by mandarin boots, and the crew murdered. Other aggressions followed. The English remained in their ships. The commissioner demanded that all their vessels should enter the river, and that a man should be delivered up for execution to atone for the life of a Chinese lost in a drunken broil with some sailors, English and American. Provisions were not allowed to be sold to the English ships, which were supplied indirectly through Macao, and by various hazardous boat enterprises. An English ship of war, the *Volage*, arrived most opportunely for the protection and supply of the English. Soon after an action was fought between the English vessels and the war-junks of the enemy, which was conducted by the British naval officers in a manner highly to their credit. This conflict arose and was conducted in the following manner. On the 3rd of October the Chinese admiral left his anchorage, and stood out towards the English ships, which were got under weigh and moved towards the enemy. The war-junks then anchored in order of battle, and the British ships were "hove to." The English opened negotiations; the admiral replied that an Englishman must be given up to suffer death in atonement for the life of the Chinaman (previously referred to), killed in a drunken brawl. Captain Smith, the senior officer, considered that the safety of the ships demanded that he should repel this hostile demonstration. "At noon, therefore, the signal was made to engage, and the ships, then lying hove to at the extreme end of the Chinese line, bore away ahead in close order, having the wind on the starboard beam. In this way, and under easy sail, they ran down the Chinese line, pouring in a destructive fire. The lateral direction of the wind enabled the ships to perform the same evolution from the other extreme of the line, running up again with their larboard broadsides bearing. The Chinese answered with much spirit, but the terrible effect of the English fire was soon manifest. One war-junk blew up at pistol-shot distance from the *Volage*, three were sunk, and several others water-logged. The admiral's conduct is said to have been worthy of his station. His junk was evidently better manned and armed than any of the others; and after having weighed, or perhaps cut or slipped his cable, he bore up and engaged her majesty's ships in handsome style. In less than three quarters of an hour, however, he and the remainder of his squadron were retiring in great distress to their former anchorage, and, as Captain Smith was not disposed to protract destructive hostilities, he offered no obstruction to their retreat. It is to be feared, however, that this clemency was thrown away upon the Chinese, who have no conception of the true principles of such forbearance, and subsequent facts show that they actually claimed the victory. This they perhaps founded on the circumstance of her majesty's ships making sail for Macao, for the purpose of covering the embarkation of the English who might see fit to retire from that place, and of providing for the safety of the merchant ships. On the 4th of November, the *Volage* joined the fleet at Hong-Kong, and the *Hyacinth* was left at Macao to watch events in that quarter. It was time that the Chinese should receive such a lesson as the foregoing, for not long prior to it they had robbed and burned a Spanish brig, the *Bilbaino*, utterly unconnected with opium, under the plea that she was an Eng-

lish vessel, though her proper flag was flying."* The treatment which the unfortunate crew of this Spanish ship received was cruel, barbarous, and unrelenting, affording no pretence of justification.

There was still some trade carried on by the English through the intervention of the Americans, who were the only foreigners that submitted to the requisitions of the Chinese authorities. They carried out Chinese commodities in their boats to the English ships, and received goods in return, driving for some time a profitable trade. This, however, was not permitted to last. The Chinese on discovering what took place, effectually put a stop to all commercial intercourse with the English. Captain Elliot could now do nothing until instructions from his government arrived.

The view taken by the British government was that a declaration of war could alone adjust matters. War was accordingly declared, and a powerful force sent to compel compliance with English demands. This war was unpopular in England. The view taken of it by the mass of the people was, that it was declared for the purpose of enforcing sales of opium, and that this was done to enrich the East India Company as the growers of that commodity. The narrative already given proves that the company had nothing to do with the transactions which led to the struggle. These transactions began when the company was no longer permitted to trade with China, and were a consequence of throwing open the trade, which the Duke of Wellington, and other eminent persons well acquainted with the East, foresaw and foretold. Had the trade been continued in the hands of the company, such a war could not have broken out; although on other grounds a rupture with China might have arisen. Whatever the advantages of giving freedom to the trade with China, the disadvantage at that particular juncture of opening a door for the smuggling of opium was attendant upon that event. Her majesty's government gave no countenance to the opium smugglers, but rather passed beyond its proper province in denouncing and thwarting it. Captain Elliot was willing to co-operate with the Chinese officials to suppress it, even by giving an extreme interpretation to his powers as chief superintendent, but the Chinese authorities treated his overtures contemptuously and arrogantly, although unable to put a stop to it themselves. Yet all these facts were suppressed by the parties who carried on the agitation against the government of Calcutta and of London, in connection with the war. Apart from those who were actuated by party opposition against the section of English politicians then in power, the denouncers of the government consisted mainly of the members of the Peace Society, and of the Society of Friends, the former being chiefly composed of the latter. Lecturers were hired, men of clever debating powers, and eloquent, who convened meetings all over England, denouncing the war as neither forced upon us by necessity nor demanded by justice. The Chinese were represented by these lecturers as an amiable and honest race, whose government was highly moral, and being virtuously intent upon protecting its people from the enervating and dissipating effect of opium, adopted police and revenue regulations full of wisdom, which the English merchants and Captain Elliot, the English superintendent of trade, infringed in violation of international law, of natural right, and of the law of God. All these statements were false, except so far as that Englishmen were among the opium smugglers, as adventurous English seafaring men will be found amongst smugglers off the coasts of every country whose revenue system allows a contraband trade to become profitable. These allegations were, however, pretexts. The real motive with the Peace Society, and the religious body called Quakers, was to make an efficient and popular protest against war, which they believed, under any circumstances, to be contrary to the law of God, inexpedient, and in the long run injurious to the cause it was employed to promote. The occurrence of every war in which their country happens to be engaged brings out this party in a similar mode of action. The same or other orators are hired to preach down the policy of the existing government which has entered upon the war, and because it has done so, and to arraign and denounce the Englishmen who may, however unjustly treated, have been the victims, and thereby the occasion of the hostilities. These agents of the Peace Society invariably represent their own countrymen as cruel and sanguinary, actuated by unjust views and selfish aims, and inflicting undeserved injury upon harmless and well-intentioned nations, who by British brutality are forced into efforts of self-defence. The policy of such representations is to rouse the English people to put a stop to the war itself, and so secure a victory to the peace principle. Probably no public body, no society, no party, ever adopted a line of procedure more dishonest than this. If all war be unjustifiable on Christian principles in the opinion of the Society of Friends, the church of the Mora-

* *The Chinese.* By John Francis Davis, Esq., F.R.S., and Governor of Hong-Kong: London, Cox, King William Street, Strand.

vians, or any other religious association or church, it is the duty of such to put forth that opinion as a theological or social question to be discussed, and to extend it by a zealous and honourable propagandism; but to pervert facts, to extenuate, deny, or conceal the crimes and injuries of races or nations that have made war upon England, and to cover with obloquy by scandalous falsehoods the character and conduct of all English statesmen and men of the profession of arms, who assert what they believe to be the rights of Englishmen by military force, is worse than war itself, less reputable than even an unjust appeal to arms, and is an exemplification of bigotry, tyranny, and aggression on the part of those who profess liberality, benevolence, and peace, demoralising to the public, and dishonouring to the cause of free discussion.

The British government was extremely unwilling to go to war with China, and even at the last hour adopted all means to avert it. This fact was kept out of sight by the agitators of the Peace Society, and of the Society of Friends, when common justice required that it should have its fair representation in the estimate which they invited the English people to form of their rulers and of the causes of the war. The government of her majesty felt it to be intolerable that in order to put down smuggling and smugglers, even if Englishmen had been exclusively the offenders, which was not the case, the Chinese officials should seize unoffending merchants, and the representative of her majesty, hold them for many weeks in durance, and menace their lives, unless others of their countrymen, the real offenders, should surrender the prohibited commodity. The English representative could only by the force of his character, by promises of indemnity, and by an appeal to the patriotism of his offending countrymen, on the ground of the danger to which he and the inoffensive merchants seized by the Chinese were exposed, obtain the surrender of the opium. The English government could not with justice refuse to make good the promise of indemnity, and it was right and just that the Chinese should be compelled to refund the money, to apologise for the outrage offered to English subjects and the English representative, and to give guarantees for future rectitude towards her majesty's subjects, who might carry on legitimate trade in their country.

To the demands of the British government the Chinese especial commissioner and plenipotentiary replied by a proclamation, couched in terms of vindictive violence and supercilious scorn, offering a reward for the heads of Englishmen, and to all who might succeed in setting fire to their ships. So bloody and truculent was this imperial manifesto, that when copies reached England, accustomed although Englishmen were to oriental bloodthirstiness in so many various Indian wars, all classes were filled with horror, except the members of the Peace Society, who rather availed themselves of such documents as proving the lengths to which the amiable, sensible, quiet, industrious, virtuous Chinese might be driven by the injustice of Englishmen and their government.

All efforts to avert war on the part of the British officials having failed, it was at length commenced with a resolution and spirit worthy of the object proposed. The British government, however, began with the errors in which English ministers usually begin hostilities. The military force was much too small. The naval department of the expedition was sufficient, but so few were the troops, that throughout the campaign they were exposed to great hardships; no reliefs could be obtained, when humanity, economy, and military science all conspired to demand such arrangements as would have ensured them. The comforts of the men were shamefully neglected. Their food was of the worst quality; many of the soldiers died from the badness of their provisions. There was an almost total neglect of sanitary arrangements for the troops both on board ships and on shore. The men were nearly as badly off for air, water, and the means of cleanliness, as those on board the plague-stricken transports which were used in the Crimean war at a later period. The provision for medical requirements was disgracefully inadequate. The soldiers clothing was not regulated by the climate in which they were sent to make war: during the fierce summer of southern China the men wore the flaming red jacket buttoned over the chest, and the hard stock buckled tight round the throat; men fell dead both in action and on other duty from these causes, yet even the commanding officers were averse from any relaxation of "the regulation dress." The officers were well taken care of, and just as it occurred in the war around Sebastopol, the proportion of officers who fell in battle was considerable, while few died from disease; whereas of the men a large portion of the whole army perished from sickness, induced by causes over which the government and commanding officers had control. The men, nobly brave, generously devoted to their duty, loyal to their sovereign, and faithful to their officers, were treated with a contemptuous indifference by the chief authorities, civil and military, which cannot be too sternly denounced upon the page of history.

The expedition against China set out from Calcutta in April, 1840. The 17th of that month the last transport left the Hoogly.

### CAPTURE OF CHUSAN.

The first operations of a formidable nature were directed against Chusan. It was made an easy conquest on the 5th of July, 1840. It was garrisoned by a considerable body of troops, amounting to 3650. In little more than three months only 2036 men were fit for duty; the rest were in hospital or in the grave. Men conversant with the condition of these brave fellows have written as follows:—"Between three and four hundred had been interred, and about fifteen hundred were sick. The gallant Cameronians were reduced to a perfect skeleton, and the brave 49th were scarcely in a better condition. No doubt this was mainly to be attributed to the want of fresh and wholesome provisions, predisposing the constitution of the men to the agues and fevers epidemical in this place; for we find the sickness comparatively mild amongst the officers, who had means of living on a more generous diet; and that much sickness, it was said, prevailed among the Chinese. The seamen and officers on board the ships were not sickly.* Dr. D. McPherson says,† 'So great was the dread of exciting a bad feeling, and causing discontent among the natives, that our men were obliged to live in their tents when there were thousands of houses available for that purpose; and without regard to the health of the men, or consulting medical authorities on the subject, positions were laid out for the encampment of the troops. Parades and guard-mounting in full dress, with a thermometer ranging from ninety degrees to one hundred degrees, made the scenes resemble the route of garrison duty in India.' 'Men were placed in tents‡ pitched on low paddy-fields, surrounded by stagnant water, putrid and stinking from quantities of dead animal and vegetable matter. Under a sun hotter than that ever experienced in India, the men on duty were buckled up to the throat in their full dress coatees; and in consequence of there being so few camp followers, fatigue parties of Europeans were daily detailed to carry provisions and stores from the ships to the tents, and to perform all menial employments, which experience has long taught us they cannot stand in a tropical climate. The poor men, working like slaves, began to sink under the exposure and fatigue. Bad provisions, low spirits, and despondency drove them to drink.* This increased their liability to disease, and in the month of November there were barely five hundred effective men in the force.'† 'Medical men, as is often the case, were put down as croakers, they were not listened to.'"

It is horrible to relate of Englishmen and of British officials, that when the men were literally rotting away, the officers scarcely suffering anything, and it was proposed by the medical men to receive them on board-ship, where they might be preserved in health, the cold-blooded reply was, that "the authorities would not be justified in incurring the expense!" Such is the testimony of Dr. McPherson, who was a spectator of this hardened sacrifice of human life to save something about £100 a day.

On the 6th of November, 1840, a truce was concluded between the imperial commissioner and Rear-admiral Elliot. Subsequently orders arrived for the evacuation of the island, which took place on the 22nd of February, 1841, when the troops and ships of war proceeded to the Canton river. Before they arrived there, other events had transpired. It became plain that the Chinese made the truce available to gain time, and had no intention of negotiating for peace. It was supposed by the emperor and his mandarins, that China was invincible, and that the barbarians would lose patience, hope, and courage, and leave her coasts. The time of the cessation of hostilities having transpired without the hostile officers coming to terms, the clash of arms was again renewed.

### BATTLES OF CHEUMPEE AND TYCOCTOW.

A force was disembarked on the 7th of January, 1841, upon the island of Cheumpee. The command of this detachment was confided to Major Pratt, of the 26th, or Cameronian regiment. Major Hough gives the following brief account of the action there and at Tycoctow:—"The force under the gallant major consisted of men of the royal artillery, and marines, and seamen, six hundred and seventy-four; 37th Madras native infantry, six hundred and seven: and Bengal volunteers, seventy-six. Also one hundred invalids, who had arrived from Chusan. Her majesty's ships *Calliope*, *Larne*, and *Hyacinth*, under Captain Herbert, proceeded to bombard the lower fort, while the steamers *Nemesis* and *Queen*, threw shells into the hill forts and intrenchments on the inner side,—the *Wellesley* and other large ships moving up into mid-channel, in case they might be required. The

* Statement of a Bengal assistant-surgeon, recorded by Major Hough.

† Madras army. *Two Years in China*, 1842, p. 12.

‡ *Two Years in China*, p. 21.

* Shamsoo—no arrak to be had.

† Out of 3650 men, landed in July, 1840.

Chinese kept up a fire for an hour. Had the enemy's guns been a little more depressed, much mischief would have been done. When their firing had slackened a little, the infantry advanced. All the enemy's positions were carried, and their loss was great. In the forts there were eighty-two guns, and as many in the war-junks. Their force was about two thousand men, of whom six hundred must have been killed, and as many wounded. The fort of Tycoctow was carried by the division under Captain Scott, consisting of the *Druid*, *Samarang*, *Modeste*, and *Columbine*. The next day the signal of a flag of truce was exhibited on board the *Wellesley*."

The truce lasted for three days. On the fourth day, when the troops were in expectation of renewing hostilities, a proclamation from Captain Elliot, announced that preliminaries of peace between the high commissioner and himself had been agreed upon. It was in virtue of this agreement that orders had been sent for the evacuation of Chusan.

### OPERATIONS IN THE CANTON RIVER.

These preliminary arrangements for peace were a blind for the prosecution of warlike projects and a new effort to wear out the English by procrastination. This was soon made apparent. Hong-Kong was taken possession of by the English; the Chinese began hostilities in the Canton river by firing upon the English boats; which resulted in a successful attack by the British upon the Chinese forts. In these operations her majesty's ships *Wellesley*, *Calliope*, *Samarang*, *Druid*, *Herald*, and *Modeste* were engaged with the batteries, and Major Pratt mastered the defences on the island of Wantong, taking 1,300 prisoners. The troops led by the major were detachments of his own gallant Cameronians, of her majesty's 49th regiment, the 37th Madras native infantry, volunteers from the Bengal infantry, and a few of the royal marines. The *Blenheim*, *Melville*, and *Queen* silenced, by their broadsides, the batteries of Arunghoy. Sir H. F. Senhouse, at the head of the marines, landed and drove the Chinese from the works which they had constructed at such prodigious labour and expense, and defended with so much hope. The Chinese Admiral Kwan, who had on a former occasion behaved with so much spirit, perished, his junk having been blown up. The light squadron of the navy advanced farther up the river, under Captain Herbert, of the *Calliope*, as its commodore. At "the first bar" the enemy was found strongly posted on the left bank, close to Whampoa Reach; vessels were sunk to block the passage, and a fleet of forty war-junks was drawn across in order of battle. The *Madagascar* and *Nemesis* soon dispersed the flotilla, and after some hours' firing, silenced the batteries. The marines then, as usual, landed, driving before them, almost without opposition, ten times their number. A captured Chinese, upon being interrogated as to the little resolution displayed in defending the batteries, replied, "If you must come in, we must go out," and seemed to think this a conclusive explanation of the facility of retreat displayed by his countrymen. Sir Gordon Bremer quickly joined Captain Herbert, and the advanced squadron, a portion of which soon arrived within sight of the walls of Canton. This several writers represent as the first time English ships of war were seen from Canton.*

At the end of March, Sir Gordon Bremer left for Calcutta, in order to bring up reinforcements. A convention was soon after entered into, by virtue of which the trade was partially reopened. This convention, like all other temporising expedients, only tended to prolong the war. Heavier metal than protocols and agreements was necessary to impress China with the conviction of barbarian superiority, and the imperative claims of justice.

### ATTACK ON CANTON.

On the 2nd of May Major-general Sir Hugh Gough took the command of the forces. On the 24th, operations were commenced against Canton. Its "braves" were very boastful, and its officials still wrapped up in fancied security and unyielding pride. The plan of action was as follows:—The right column, in tow of the *Atalanta*, to attack and keep the factories. This force consisted of 309 men and officers of the Cameronians, an officer of artillery and 20 men, and an officer of engineers, the whole under command of Major Pratt. The left column, towed by the *Nemesis*, in four brigades, to move left in front, under Lieutenant-colonel Morris. His majesty's 49th (Major Stephens), 28 officers and 273 men; 37th Madras native infantry, Captain Duff, 11 officers and 219 men; one company Bengal volunteers, Captain Mee, 1 officer and 114 men; artillery (royal), under Captain Knowles, 3 officers, 33 men; Madras artillery, Captain Anstruther, 10 officers, 231 men; sappers and miners, Captain Cotton, 4 officers, 137 men. Ordnance—four 12-pounder howitzers, four 9-pounder field-pieces, two 6-pounders, three 5½ inch mortars, and one hundred and fifty-two 32-pounder

* Continuation of Hume and Smollett's *History of England*: Virtue & Co., City Road and Ivy Lane, London. Major Hough's account of the campaign in China, *Annual Register* for 1841.

rockets. Naval brigade, under Captain Bouchier (*Blonde*)—1st naval battalion, Captain Maitland (*Wellesley*), 11 officers, 172 men; 2nd naval battalion, Commander Barlow (*Nimrod*), 16 officers, 231 men. Reserve, under Major-general Burrell—Royal marines, Captain Ellis, 9 officers, 372 men; 18th Royal Irish, Lieutenant-colonel Adams, 25 officers, 495 men. The right column took possession of the factories before five o'clock, P.M. The left column reached near the village of Tsing-hae, the point of debarkation, about five miles, by the river line, above the factories.

Sir Hugh's despatch contained the following passage:—"The heights to the north of Canton, crowned by four strong forts, and the city walls, which run over the southern extremity of these heights, including one elevated point, appeared to be about three and a-half miles distant; the intermediate ground undulating much, and intersected by hollows, under wet, paddy cultivation, enabled me to take up successive positions, until we approached within range of the forts on the heights, and the northern face of the city walls. I had to wait here some time, placing the men under cover, to bring up the rocket battery and artillery." A strongly intrenched camp, of considerable extent, which lay to the north-east of the city, was taken and burnt.

On the 26th, Sir Hugh Gough hoisted a flag of truce, and gave the Tartar general two hours to consider the necessity of a capitulation, or for the commissioner to decide upon yielding to the demands of the plenipotentiaries. No notice was taken of Sir Hugh by either official, and he was preparing to storm the place, when Captain Elliot stayed his sword, by announcing another agreement upon preliminaries.

Sir Hugh Gough attacked the vast city with less than three thousand men, and captured the factories and the forts on the heights with a loss of only fourteen killed and ninety-one wounded. The naval commander reported an additional loss of six killed and forty-two wounded. The Chinese admitted a loss of two thousand killed and wounded. A Chinese army of forty-five thousand men had been collected for the defence of the city. This army was obliged, by the convention with Captain Elliot, to evacuate the city. The military force at the disposal of the plenipotentiaries was absurdly small; it might have burned or plundered Canton, but it could not conquer and hold it. The English consented to spare the place upon the payment of a ransom. The troops were brought from Canton, upon the execution of the convention, to Hong-Kong, where they suffered decimation by sickness, arising from the unhealthiness of the place and the want of sanitary care on the part of those in charge of them.

The conduct of Captain Elliot and Sir G. Bremer did not give satisfaction to the authorities at Calcutta, nor London; their measures were deemed too temporising. A more firm policy and active course of procedure were held by those in power to have more befitted the occasion. Accordingly, soon after, Sir G. Bremer returned to China from Calcutta, and he and Captain Elliot went home. Rear-admiral Sir W. Parker, and Major-general Sir Henry Pottinger arrived as plenipotentiaries. It was at once determined by these high personages, that the war was not likely to be brought to an issue on the Canton river, that a blow must be struck nearer to the metropolis of the empire. The time lost up to this period was most injurious to the cause for which the English fought, and to the men by whom these victories were obtained.

### CONQUEST OF AMOY.

The first enterprise of the new plenipotentiaries was the subjugation of Amoy, off the harbour of which the fleet found a rendezvous, on the 25th of August. The defences of the harbour were very strong, consisting of a continued battery of granite a mile in extent. This granite wall was faced by mud and turf several feet thick, so as to conceal the fortification. The embrasures were roofed, and thickly covered with turf, so as to protect the gunners. This battery terminated at either end in a high wall, connected with rocks which were of great elevation and parallel to the beach. A channel six hundred yards in width between Amoy and the island of Ko-long-soo, was the entrance to the harbour. The fleet opened fire upon these fortifications in all their extent, and a dreadful cannonade was sustained for four hours by these works, without sensible injury. At last the troops landed, and assailed by escalade the flanking wall. The task seemed almost impossible, but the grenadier and light companies of the Royal Irish forced their way through every difficulty, and drove the enemy back. These gallant fellows were alone within the enemy's enclosure, with the whole host opposed to them. They acted as skilfully as bravely; having driven the enemy back with the bayonet, killing more men than had fallen from the fire of the whole fleet, they opened a gate, through which the rest of the army entered and took possession of the place. Ko-long-soo was an easier conquest, and contemporaneous with that of the great battery. The British acquired much provisions and stores useful in such a campaign. The quantity of corn, powder, and Chinese weapons captured was

enormous. The engineers blew up the magazines, broke up and inundated the arsenals, set fire to the war-junks and timber collected for building more, spiked five hundred cannon, and left the dockyards and fortifications in desolation. A force of five hundred and fifty men were placed in Ko-long-soo, and the ships *Pylades, Druid,* and *Algerine* were left in the neighbourhood; the rest of the armament moved on.

RECAPTURE OF CHUSAN.

This place had been newly fortified, on the same plan as Amoy. The embrasures for guns were 270, but not half of these were supplied with cannon, nor were the remainder efficient in half their number. Other works had been raised on heights commanding the approaches. The attack was made on the 1st of October, Sir Hugh Gough in person taking a very active part in the most dangerous portion of the enterprise. Two columns were landed, of 1,500 and 1,100 men respectively. The storm lasted for two hours, and was completely successful. The enemy lost 1,500 men. Many mandarins were among the slain. The British left a garrison of four hundred men, and proceeded to Chinhae.

CAPTURE OF CHINHAE.

This place was strongly fortified, after the Chinese fashion, and being the key to the great and rich city of Ningpo, its defence and capture were regarded as very important by those upon whom these different duties devolved. The city is built on the left bank of the Ta-hæ, and was defended by a strong citadel. The ships took up their positions so as to shell the citadel, and enfilade the batteries. Sir Hugh adopted the same method of attack which had been successful in the assaults elsewhere; he landed separate columns, who escaladed the flanking walls, and took the batteries in reverse. Captain Sir T. Herbert, R.N., Lieutenant-colonel Craigie, and Lieutenant-colonel Morris commanded separate columns of attack. The bombardment was most destructive. The flight of shells and rockets rushed from the ships in a continual stream. The city was in some places a heap of ruins, and thousands of its defenders lay dead or dying, while only nineteen of the assailants were killed or wounded. A garrison of five hundred men was left at Chinhae. The troops left in occupation of the conquered places caused such a deduction from the numerical force of the British as to tell seriously upon it, and there yet remained much work to perform before concession was likely to be wrung from so obstinate an enemy.

CAPTURE OF NINGPO.

The Chinese had expended all their precaution on Chinhae, and, believing it to be unassailable, took little thought about Ningpo. The Tartar troops had been so severely handled at the former place, that they were unwilling again to be brought into collision with British troops. The English force which landed for the purpose of storming this great city, did not exceed one thousand men. The gates were barricaded, but no one had the courage to defend the walls, which were escaladed; the Chinese assisted the escaladers to open the gates from within. The capture was made on the 13th of October, 1841. The English held possession, but so small was their force that the Chinese army in the field gained heart, and ventured to attack both Ningpo and Chinhae on the 10th of March, 1842. The disproportion of numbers was very great, but the enemy after some fighting, and after succeeding in penetrating to the interior of the city of Ningpo, were repulsed with slaughter. They made a bold attack upon the ships with fire-rafts, which was skilfully averted.

Intelligence reached the English commander that two intrenched camps were constructed at Tsekee, near the Segoon hills.* It was determined to disperse the army collected there. On the 15th of March the troops were embarked on board the steamers *Queen, Nemesis,* and *Phlegethon,* and early in the afternoon landed within four miles of the camps. The British plan of attack was the same as had been adopted at the other captured places. The enemy made a feeble resistance. The English had only three killed and twenty-two wounded; all the killed and most of the wounded belonged to the sailors and marines; her majesty's 49th regiment numbered the remaining wounded, which were four rank and file and three officers, Captain T. S. Reignolds, and Lieutenants Montgomerie and Lane.

Early in May the city of Ning-po was evacuated, and the expedition advanced up the Yang-tse-kiang; two hundred men were, however, left in garrison upon the Pagoda Hill at Chinhae.

On the 18th the expedition arrived at Chapoo, about fifty-five miles from Chinhae;† the enemy was numerous, and made formidable preparations for resistance. The assailing force was small. The British, as usual, under Sir Hugh Gough, attacked in three columns. The usual result followed—the enemy fled. In their flight a body of less than three hundred Tartars had their retreat

* Bingham says, *on* the hills, vol. ii. p. 297.

† Ibid.

cut off by the Cameronians. They threw themselves into a joss-house, and supposing that they would receive no quarter, defended it with great resolution: it was loop-holed, situated in a defile, and altogether difficult to assail; cannon made no impression upon it, and the musketry fire upon the loop-holes did not effect much. Attempts to break open the door were futile, so strong was it, and those who made the attempt suffered from the cool fire of the Tartars; amongst these that fine officer Lieutenant-colonel Tomlinson of the Royal Irish. Major Hough gives a different version, and perhaps the correct one, of his fall. There was, according to that officer's account, a wicket into which the soldiers might enter by single file; Tomlinson bravely set the example, and as he entered was either shot or cut down.* Several of the officers and soldiery of the Royal Irish persevered in entering one by one, and suffered a similar fate. The gate was breached by bags of gunpowder, and the place previously fired by rockets; the troops entered, putting the defenders to the bayonet or making them prisoners. The loss of the British in killed and wounded was sixty. The total loss of the Chinese was about sixteen hundred, but many wounded had been carried away while the Irish were storming the joss-house. The city was nearly destroyed by the fire of the British guns and rockets. The proportion of officers who were killed or wounded in our force, especially of superior officers, made this affair one of the most serious during the war.

The expedition still advanced, effecting minor objects in its course, until the 16th of June, when her majesty's ship *Dido*, with eight transports containing troops sent from India, joined the fleet.

At Woo-sung, where that river forms a junction with the embouchure of the Yang-tse-kiang, and at Paoushan, bodies of Chinese troops had been dispersed, and collections of war material of various sorts destroyed, while the squadron waited for the arrival of reinforcements. On the accession of force the armament proceeded to attack Shanghae.† The capture of Shanghae was effected with exceedingly little battle, although considerable trouble and fatigue to both the maritime and military forces. The Admiral Sir W. Parker, the General Sir Hugh Gough, and Lieutenant-colonel Montgomerie especially exerted themselves.

Immediately after this success still further reinforcements arrived. The *Belleisle*, from England, and a fleet of transports from India, brought the means of a still more vigorous prosecution of the war. Company's troops from both the Bengal and Madras settlements, and her majesty's 98th regiment, with Lord Saltoun and other officers of distinction, joined the expedition.

On the 6th of July seventy-three ships of war, including small craft, and attended by transports, proceeded up the Yang-tse-kiang. On the 17th Captain Bouchier, in the *Blonde*, was ordered to blockade the entrance to the grand canal. A fine squadron was placed at his disposal, composed of the *Modeste*, *Dido*, *Calliope*, *Childers*, *Plover*, *Starling*, and *Queen* and *Nemesis* steamers. Bouchier executed the task committed to him in an admirable manner, cutting off the whole junk trade with Pekin, one of the severest blows that could be inflicted upon his celestial majesty. On the 19th the *Cornwallis* took up a position off the city of Tchang-kiang, at the entrance of the south grand canal, while her marines occupied the Island of Kinshan. On the 21st the rest of the ships destined to operate against that city were at their berths, and the troops were landed, divided in the old way and attacking upon the old plan. The 1st column was under the command of Lord Saltoun, an officer who had seen much war, and had always acquitted himself well. He served in Sicily, 1806-7; Corunna, 1808-9; Walcheren, 1809; Cadiz, 1811; Peninsula; Quatre Bras and Waterloo. Sir Hugh Gough in person superintended the operations of the 2nd column. The 3rd column was placed under Major-general Bartley. The Tartar garrison was not very large, but very superior numerically to their assailants. The troops which composed it were picked men, most of them of gigantic stature and proved strength. They fought with desperate courage, under the impression, which the mandarins had inculcated, that the English would give no quarter. The guns at the embrasures were well served, the walls were high, and the gates strong. The engineers blew open the gates with bags of powder, and on other points escalades were effected. It was not until a large portion of the city lay in ruins under shell, and shot, and rockets, or was in conflagration, and the Tartar troops were nearly all put to the bayonet, that the English were masters of the place. When all opposition ceased, the sights that were disclosed filled the British with horror. Many of the citizens, and especially persons of rank, had cut the throats of their wives and children, and hung themselves in their houses, rather than fall into the hands of an enemy whom

* *The War with China.* By Major Hough.

† In the geographical portion of this work the reader will find a fuller account of the Chinese cities, and of China generally, than is to be found in any work not exclusively occupied by information concerning that empire.

they were taught to believe neither spared man nor woman in their fury. Heaps of corpses were found lying in some of the houses to which the spreading flames had communicated themselves, and the odours of burning flesh told too truly what was taking place in others. Sir W. Parker, at the head of his marines, was frequently engaged in hand to hand conflicts with men who resisted with the wildest desperation. Lieutenant Crouch, R.N., and the crews in the boats of the *Blonde* suffered severely while operating on the Grand Canal, and the boats were with difficulty saved. The list of casualties after this day's conflict was very heavy. Bingham relates that the "arms and arsenals were destroyed, and the walls breached in many places." He also states that "the cholera broke out among our troops, and destroyed many men." The commanders-in-chief, to avert from Nankin the calamities that had befallen Tchang-kiang, dispatched the Tartar secretary with a summons and terms of capitulation to New-kien, viceroy of the two Kiang provinces. Keeying and Elepoo again attempted to open communications, but had not full power to negotiate.

On the 11th of August the fleet and 4,500 soldiers were assembled before Nankin, the old southern capital of the empire. The regular troops of the garrison did not amount to more than three times the number of their assailants, but an immense host of irregulars were within the walls. The Tartar general sued for an armistice of two days, as mandarins of the highest rank were on their way from Pekin to treat for peace. This was conceded, but with some misgivings that the only object of the enemy was to gain time.

On the 17th of August a treaty of peace was signed between the Chinese commissioners and Sir Henry Pottinger, the British plenipotentiary. The following are its terms:

1. Lasting peace and friendship between the two empires.

2. China to pay twenty-one million dollars,* in the course of the present and three succeeding years.

3. The ports of Canton, Amoy, Foo-choo-foo, Ningpo, and Shanghae, to be thrown open to British merchants; consular officers to be appointed to reside at them; and regular and just tariff of impost and export (as well as inland transit) duties to be established and published.

4. The island of Hong-Kong to be ceded in perpetuity to her Britannic majesty, her heirs and successors.

5. All subjects of her Britannic majesty (whether natives of Europe or India), who may be confined in any part of the Chinese empire, to be unconditionally released.

6. An act of full and entire amnesty to be published by the emperor, under his imperial sign manual and seal, to all Chinese subjects, on account of their having held service, or intercourse with, or resided under, the British government or its officers.

7. Correspondence to be conducted on terms of perfect equality amongst the officers of both governments.

8. On the emperor's assent being received to this treaty, and the payment of the first instalment, six million dollars, her Britannic majesty's forces to retire from Nankin and the Grand Canal, and the military posts at Chinhae to be withdrawn; but the islands of Chusan and Kolong-soo are to be held until the money payments, and the arrangements for opening the ports, be concluded.

An imperial edict announced the ratification of the treaty on the 29th.

The loss to the Chinese in this war was very great, independent of the humiliation, and the damage done to the prestige of the Pekin government in the estimation of the people. Three thousand pieces of cannon were taken, many very serviceable,—the majority only fit to sell for old metal. The Chinese war-junks were nearly all destroyed, but it is impossible to compute their number. Vast stores of arms, gingals, matchlocks, swords, spears, &c., were captured, which, although of no use to the British, were a heavy loss to the Chinese. Independent of the indemnity for the war, the ransom paid for Canton was 6,669,615 dollars, nearly 200,000 dollars were found in the treasuries of the different places captured. Two hundred tons of copper was taken at Chinhae. The total loss to China, in dollars, was about six millions sterling; the destruction of material for both war and peace was enormous. The lesson taught to China was severe, but it did not produce the effect which the friends of peace would wish to find among the fruits of war to the vanquished. The Chinese did not profit by the experience derived for any very long time, they relapsed again into the arrogance and oppressiveness which brought on the war.

The conduct of the navy and army of England was in every way laudable throughout the war. The rewards which they received were not very munificent, but were on a much more liberal scale than was generally the case in the British service. A batta of six, twelve, and eighteen months, according to the time served in the expedition, was dispensed to the officers. Some promotions and brevet honours were given.

Lord Saltoun remained in command of the army in China until the indemnity was secured according to the terms of the treaty. Sir Hugh Gough passed to other scenes of warfare, with which his name will be coupled in British history.

* Four million two hundred thousand pounds, at two shillings per dollar.

## CHAPTER CXVIII.

WAR WITH THE MAHRATTAS OF GWALIOR—BATTLES OF MAHARAJPORE AND PUNNIAR—DANGERS ON THE SIKH FRONTIER—LORD ELLENBOROUGH RECALLED—MR. BIRD GOVERNOR-GENERAL, *pro. tem.*—SIR HENRY HARDINGE ARRIVES AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

AFTER his operations in China, Lieutenant-general Sir Hugh Gough was nominated to the command of the forces in India, and his services were soon demanded in a short, decisive, but sanguinary war.

The treaty of Berhampore, in 1804, bound the English to maintain a force to act upon the requisition of the Maharajah of Gwalior to protect his person, his government, and the persons and government of his heirs and their successors. The maharajah of that date was Dowlut Rao Scindiah. That chief died June 18th, 1827. When on his death bed he sent for Major Stewart, the company's political agent, and informed him that he desired him, as acting for the company, to do as he thought best for the welfare of the state. The heir was Jhunkogee Rao Scindiah, who maintained faithfully his relations to the company's government. At his decease, the heir was Tyagee Rao Scindiah, he was moreover adopted by the Maharanee Bazee Bae, the widow of his highness. The maharajah was a minor. The regency was, at the desire of the maharanee and the chiefs, placed in the hands of Mama Sahib, a competent person. The company's government did not interfere, but acquiesced in the arrangements peaceably made by those most interested. The maharanee, with the fickleness of persons in her situation in India, expelled the sahib, and one Dada Khajee Walla, became her confidant, against the will of the chiefs, and without consulting the British government. The new functionary suppressed the correspondence of the English officials, which their government denounced as the assumption of an act of sovereignty, and rendering it impossible any longer for the government of Calcutta to correspond with or through the usurping regent. Efforts to adjust these disputes by quiet means having failed, the governor-general, Lord Ellenborough, issued a proclamation, December 20th, 1843, setting forth the facts, and declaring the necessity of enforcing by arms the rights of the young maharajah in accordance with the terms of the treaty of 1804.

An army assembled at Hingonah, under the command of Sir Hugh Gough. The governor-general attended the army. Vakeels, from certain of the Mahratta chiefs, sought to negotiate. This, however, was a scheme of the usurping regent to gain time, for he had resolved to appeal to force to assert the absolute character of his regency. The governor-general did not see through his wiles, and in consequence of the inactivity of the English army for five days, in the very crisis of the occasion for which it appeared in the field, much loss of life occurred that otherwise might have been spared. It at last became obvious that battle must decide the questions at issue. The combinations of the commander-in-chief were such as to gain the marked approbation of the governor-general. The army was divided into two separate corps, or as Lord Ellenborough's *post facto* proclamation calls them, two wings. Sir Hugh Gough in person took the command of one, which was directed against Maharajpore; and Major-general Grey was nominated to the command of the other, which was directed against Punniar. At each of these places a battle was fought contemporaneously, and, after victory decided both fields in favour of the British, the two corps formed a junction and united under the walls of Gwalior.*

### BATTLE OF MAHARAJPORE.

On the 29th of December, 1843, the *corps d'armée* under the command of Sir Hugh Gough, crossed the Kohuree river at dawn. The enemy had acquired great strength during the night, and was drawn up in front of the village, from which the battle took its name. Their position was strongly intrenched, and with considerable ability. Eighteen thousand men, of whom one-sixth were cavalry, and one hundred cannon, defended the intrenchments. The cannon were too numerous for the number of troops they were intended to strengthen; some of them were very large; the artillerymen were well instructed, especially the one gunner to each piece. Up to this point the management of the English had been at once tardy and precipitate; there was haste without speed, there was talent without prudence and precaution; the mind of Lord Ellenborough himself impressed the whole proceedings, and Sir Hugh Gough did not display that independence of thought necessary, however difficult, when the governor-general was in camp. A reconnaissance

* For description of this place see descriptive and geographical portion of the work.

took place, upon which the plan of action was formed to direct the chief attack upon the Chonda intrenchment, where the guns and the enemy were supposed to be, as the village of Maharajpore was not then occupied. Brigadier-general Valliant's brigade was to lead the action, and Major-general Littler was to support the movement. The delay, want of vigilance and of effective reconnaissance, rendered the plan of battle abortive, and the rear became the column of attack, when the enemy suddenly opened fire from the village of Maharajpore. The grand elements of success, by Sir Charles Napier, in the two terrible battles of the Scinde campaign, especially in that of Meannee, was the effective reconnaissance, and the previous calculation of every supposable contingency. So imperfect was the reconnaissance in the battle now related, that the British hardly knew the precise position of the enemy they were about to attack, and were themselves surprised by the unexpected opening of a deadly fire upon troops who expected to be engaged in another part of the field. The governor-general, Lady Gough, and other ladies and civilians, were, in consequence of this want of management and foresight, in the most imminent danger, and for a short time exposed to the fury of a cannonade within easy range. The attacking army was not greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy. Perhaps never had an action been fought with any native power where so large a proportion of men to those of the enemy were ranged on the side of the English. The Mahrattas were, however, much stronger in artillery, the English having only forty guns, a proportion of which were not ready for immediate use. When Sir Hugh Gough had been ordered to march from Agra, he was to have taken fifty battering guns. Only ten were taken, the governor-general and commander-in-chief having been misled by the pacific assurances of such of the Mahratta chiefs as were in the interest of the maharanee and the regent. Everything was to be carried with a high hand, and this lofty and magniloquent spirit characterised the direction of affairs throughout. Major-general Littler, instead of having to support Valliant, had to begin the action. A terrific cannonade was opened upon these soldiers, many of whom perished, who, by proper management, might have been saved. In the despatch of Sir Hugh the severity of this cannonade is referred to, as awakening the valour of the soldiers, and the usual phraseology of despatches about nothing being "able to withstand the rush of British soldiers," celebrates the success of the attack; but there is nothing said to extenuate the faults which exposed these men unexpectedly to the havoc of a terrible artillery, which no means had been taken previously to silence or subdue. The 39th foot, bearing upon their banners, since the battle of Plassey, "*Primus in Indis*," supported by the 56th native infantry, according to Sir Hugh Gough, "drove the enemy from their guns into the village, bayoneting the gunners at their posts." How they could be driven from their guns into the village, and bayoneted at their posts at the same time, passes the comprehension of a civilian. Probably the general meant, that the infantry ranged behind the guns were so "driven," while the artillerymen remained "at their posts" and died. Even this would not express the fact,—many, both infantry and artillery, perished in defence of the guns, and the mass were driven in upon the village. In the despatch the commander-in-chief wrote that the 39th and 56th "drove the enemy from their guns into the village, bayoneting the gunners at their posts," and immediately adds, "Here a most sanguinary conflict ensued," &c. It is difficult from this passage to gather where the sanguinary conflict took place,—whether at "their posts," the place immediately referred to, or at the village into which the great body of the defenders were driven. According to the facts, however, the village was hotly contested, the Mahrattas throwing away their musketry or matchlocks, and using only their more congenial weapon the sword. The conflict was not of long duration: British skill and valour decided it with deadly promptitude. Sir Hugh's favourite and feasible practice in China he found available here also: General Valliant's brigade was ordered to take *in reverse* the village so fiercely assailed in front; this confused the gallant defenders, who ran wildly about, striking loosely at everything, and then falling before musket-ball and bayonet. Most of the men who defended the village perished, and the capture of twenty-eight cannon rewarded the exploit of the victors. On the extreme left of the British, Brigadier-general Scott was engaged with the enemy's cavalry, and, with disproportionate numbers, kept them all occupied. He and Captain Grant, with his horse-artillery, even menaced the right flank of the foe. Valliant's brigade, in conformity with instructions given before the battle, had suddenly assumed a form not contemplated, moved against the Mahratta right, already threatened by Scott. His object of attack was Chonda, but on the way he had in succession to storm three intrenchments. The Mahrattas clung to their cannon, unwilling to leave them in even the last extremity, causing heavy loss to the British, especially in officers

of forward valour. The 40th regiment lost two officers in command, Major Stopford and Captain Codrington, but happily they survived; these gallant soldiers fell wounded under the muzzles of the guns, and bearing the flags which they chivalrously captured. While Valliant was thus impeded by obstacles of so formidable a nature, Littler, dashing through the enemy's line at the right of the captured village of Maharajpore, pursued his way over broken ground upon Chondar, where the 39th British regiment, led by Major Bray, and the 56th native infantry, led by Major Dick, gained the main position at the point of the bayonet. The battle was now over. It might have been easier won by good arrangements, but could not have been better fought by the gallant soldiers who conquered. The Mahrattas lost nearly one-fourth of their whole number. The British incurred a loss of 797 men, of whom 106 were killed, including seven officers, who were either slain on the field or died of their wounds.

### BATTLE OF PUNNIAR.

While Gough was fighting the confused but successful battle of Maharajpoor, General Grey was winning the battle of Punniar. That officer acted with promptitude and vigilance; the enemy were attacked without allowing them any time to strengthen their position, and with a small force a comparatively easy conquest was made of a very strong position occupied by twelve thousand men, more determined in war than the natives of India usually are. The British loss was 215 killed and wounded. The casualties would have been fewer had not the troops been fatigued by a long and sultry march.

The junction of the two *corps d'armée*, each having won a decisive battle, under the walls of Gwalior, awed the durbar into submission. The Mahratta troops of his highness were disbanded; a British contingent, consisting of four companies of artillery, two regiments of cavalry, and seven of infantry, was formed, the expense of supporting which was to be borne by the maharajah. This contingent soon became as much a native army as that which was disbanded, and figured seditiously when the mutinies of 1857 gave opportunity to the disaffected in every Indian state to betray their real feeling. The expenses of the war were paid by the state of Gwalior.

The governor-general issued a proclamation, in which he panegyrized the dauntless courage of the British officers and men. He exaggerated grossly the importance of the war, declaring what was obviously absurd, that "it gave new security to the British empire in India."

It is difficult to imagine that by good statesmanship this war might not have been avoided, and by better generalship decided with little loss in a single action. The policy however was sound. The English fulfilled a treaty which the usurping regent compelled them to enforce; and the relations of the English to the Sikhs were at the time most critical. Lord Ellenborough, in his despatches, justified his policy on that ground. He observed that under ordinary circumstances the different parties in Gwalior might be left to fight out amongst themselves all questions of the ascendancy of ministers or ranee, who should be regent, and what chiefs ought to have most influence, but with a magnificent Sikh army menacing the British frontier, it was necessary to bring the affairs of Gwalior to a speedy termination. The policy of letting them alone would be the wisest in a time of peace, but should war break out with the Sikh army, then the Gwalior force would occupy a position of hostile watchfulness, ready to deepen defeat into ruin, or embarrass successful enterprise. Not knowing how affairs with the maharanee of Lahore might issue, Lord Ellenborough thought it high time to settle matters with the maharanee of Gwalior. Still, when the whole case is impartially and comprehensively viewed, it is reasonable to think that prudent and skilful statesmanship might have averted a conflict, and even secured the goodwill and aid of the government and army of the Gwalior Mahrattas in any collision with the Sikhs. As the policy adopted towards Gwalior confessedly turned upon the threatening aspect of the Punjaub, it is necessary to show what our relations were at that time with the strangely blended military and ecclesiastical power which occupied that country, and over which the young and amiable Maharajah Dhuleep Singh then nominally reigned. It is the more necessary to review these relations, as in a short time the most sanguinary wars India ever saw arose out of them, the account of which must be reserved for another chapter.

From the period of the campaign from Peshawur in favour of Shah Sujah, our relations with the Sikhs beyond the Sutlej became exceedingly disturbed. Notice has been incidentally given of the progress of that people, and in the descriptive and geographical portions of this work the country which they occupy has been depicted.

In 1805, when Holkar resisted English arms so stubbornly, and sought the aid of the Sikhs, we entered into treaty with them.

Runjeet Singh was the monarch of the Punjaub. That remarkable man was born in 1780, and twelve years after, upon the death of his father, was proclaimed head of the Sikh nation. Runjeet obtained Lahore from the Affghans, and had already a position of influence and power in northern India. In 1824, Cashmere, Peshawur, and Mooltan became his conquests. He then also reigned over the whole of the Punjaub proper. He always showed a decided friendship for the English, whether from partiality or policy never could be determined.* He died on the 27th of June, 1839. At that juncture he was allied with England, for the restoration to the throne of Cabul of the expatriated monarch Shah Sujah.

After the death of Runjeet the affairs of the Sikh nation became perturbed, and the old friendship to the English was displaced by feelings of suspicion and dislike. The Mohammedans of the Punjaub always hated the British, and their hatred found vent when the expedition to Cabul by way of Peshawur was undertaken. This animosity and rooted jealousy extended until the chiefs were with difficulty restrained from attacking the army of General Pollock on his return from Cabul. Various revolutions delayed any attack upon the English, but the Sikh people being ambitious of obtaining Scinde and Delhi within their empire, the English were regarded as impediments to the expansion of Sikh power. Apprehensions of encroachment were also entertained, but the common soldiery and all members of the Sikh nation who were not politicians, believed that the power which suffered such reverses in Affghanistan was not invulnerable. These reverses had caused the resistance to our aggressive policy in Scinde, and had also left the legacy, as the reader will learn, of long and sanguinary conflicts with the Sikhs. The victories of Sir Charles Napier in Scinde had somewhat restored British prestige, but the same effect did not follow the conquest of Gwalior by Sir Hugh Gough. The Mahrattas were not greatly superior numerically to the British, and yet they maintained in two pitched battles a regular and arduous fight. The fame of this Mahratta resistance spread all over India, and led the Sikh soldiery to believe that as they were, at all events in their own opinion, better troops than the Mahrattas, the ascendancy of the British in India might be disputed. An aggressive war at last became supremely popular in the Punjaub.

Dhuleep Singh, a boy ten years of age, reputed to be the son of Runjeet Singh, ascended the throne, and Heera Singh became vizier. The minister found it impossible to control the soldiery. The army which Runjeet had so well organized for conquest, and which he had so well controlled, now ruled the state. The vizier and various other eminent courtiers were put to death by the paramount power, the army. The maharanee had a favourite named Lall Singh. Her influence was great, and she used it with skill to promote him to the viziership.

It soon became a settled policy with the more serious and reflecting chiefs to desire a war with the English, not for the sake of conquering them, which they believed to be impossible, but in the expectation of first getting the army away from the vicinity of Lahore, and then in the hope that they would be slain or dispersed by collision with the English. In such case it was supposed that the English would come to terms, and approve even of the policy. It was not calculated how the English might feel to the Sikh nation after losing thousands of brave men in a war for defence of their Indian dominions against a sort of military imperial republic, nor was it considered by these Lahore politicians how the expense of a war with the English would ultimately fall upon the Punjaub and upon the crown of Dhuleep Singh, the unoffending victim of such a conflict. Such was the state of the relations between the English and the Sikhs when war broke out. It was no doubt hastened by the knowledge on the part of the Sikh soldiery, that the government of Calcutta was bound to assist the maharajah against all enemies. Should the military faction carry its spirit of revolt further, and the court of Lahore call for English aid, as was expected, it would probably be rendered. Some of the chiefs were favourable to such a course; this was known throughout the Sikh army, and caused the murder of several eminent persons. It led the majority of the troops to the decision that a sudden attack with their whole force upon the English would break their power, at least compel the cession of rich territory, perhaps issue in the establishment of a Sikh empire all over India. The wildest dreams of ambition were cherished, the fiercest religious fanaticism fostered, and exultation spread through all ranks of the army; and many classes of the people at the prospect of a grand war for empire, in which the banner of the Khalsa would float from Calcutta to Kohistan.

The war which followed was not conducted under the auspices of him whose Indian administration did so much to stimulate and increase if not to create the feeling which

* *History of the Sikhs.* By Captain J. D. Cunningham, Bengal Engineers.

caused it. Lord Ellenborough was recalled. His passion for military glory offended the East India Company, Ever since the system sprung up of nominating a peer to the general government of India, huge military enterprises had been carried on at a ruinous expense to the company. The English cabinet had a strong temptation to countenance Indian wars; they entailed no expense upon the English exchequer, gave immense patronage to the crown through the board of control, and the governor-general afforded support to a large portion of the royal army, and increased the prestige of English power in Europe. Great was the indignation of the holders of Indian stock with the wars of Lord Ellenborough, all of which were rashly waged, and that in Scinde aggressively, rapaciously, and unrighteously to a degree revolting to the minds of peaceable and just English citizens. The company determined to recall Lord Ellenborough. They did so without the consent of the cabinet, and in spite of its protests. The order of recall arrived in Calcutta on the 15th of June, 1844. The government immediately devolved upon W. W. Bird, Esq., the senior member of the Bengal council. Lord Ellenborough was *fêted* in Calcutta, but the homage paid to him was chiefly by the military. On the first of August he set sail for Europe. The Duke of Wellington manifested great indignation at his recall and the mode of it, and the party leaders in both houses intimated all sorts of threats against the East India Company for exercising its undoubted prerogative, and for doing so in the interest, as it believed, not only of the holders of East Indian stock, but of India and of England. The noble viscount was created an earl by the government as some consolation for the attacks made upon him in the press both at home and in the East, and the general indignation which his policy excited in England. His political opponents generally made a very unfair and unscrupulous use of the unpopularity excited by the conduct of his wars.

The vacant governor-generalship was given to Sir Henry Hardinge, who was an able general, and who as an administrator had given great satisfaction to Sir Robert Peel. The directors gave the new governor-general a grand entertainment, and in a long speech impressed upon him the necessity for peace, in order that economy might be possible, without which the welfare of the populations of India could not be promoted, as their condition depended upon social improvement, and the development of roads, railways, river navigation, educational institutions, &c. These things could not be afforded to them by the company, unless peace allowed of that financial prosperity always impossible where a war policy prevailed. Sir Henry Hardinge arrived in India at Calcutta, on the 23rd of July, and preserved indefatigably and wisely the policy assigned to him by the directors. The Sikh war, however, interrupted these dreams of progress, and darkened for a time the financial condition of India.

## CHAPTER CXIX.

### THE SIKH WAR—BATTLES OF MOODKEE, FEROZESHAH, ALIWAL, AND SOBRAON—ADVANCE UPON LAHORE—PEACE.

On the 17th of November, 1844, the Sikh soldiery began the war. On that day the determination to invade Hindostan was taken at Lahore, and in a few days the troops moved upon the Sutlej. On the 11th of December the invasion began. The Sutlej was crossed between Hurrakee and Russoor. On the 14th, a corps of the army took up a position near Ferozepore. The new governor-general was as much taken by surprise as Lord Ellenborough and his guard were at Maharajpore. Sir H. Hardinge assured the secret committee, in his correspondence with London, that there was no probability of the Sikh troops attempting to cross the Sutlej. This opinion was excusable in Sir Henry, as being inexperienced in Indian affairs and the habits of Indian races. He was, however, warned by persons better competent to pronounce an opinion on the subject than he could be, that the Sikhs were about to pass the river. It was the fashion, at government-house, especially in Lord Ellenborough's time, to sneer at the civil service, particularly when civilians, however experienced, offered opinions which touched at all upon military matters. Sir Henry had, however, been warned by military men, as well as civilians, whose opinions should have received attention, that the Sikhs would burst across the confines of their empire like a flooded river suddenly rising and overflowing its banks. Sir Henry and the commander-in-chief (Sir Hugh Gough) were slow in believing the

result, and as slow in preparing against a contingency which had been probable for so long a time. Captain Nicholson and Major Broadfoot, however, watched the movements of the enemy, and furnished the government with all necessary information. The garrison of Ferozepore was the first threatened by the approach of the enemy. It consisted of seven thousand men, commanded by Sir John Littler. They marched out, and boldly offered battle, which the Sikh leaders, Lall Singh, and the vizier, and Tej Singh, the commander-in-chief, declined. They, in fact, gave Captain Nicholson to understand that they had no desire for success, and would not attack an isolated division of the British army, as their object was to bring their own army into collision against the grand army of the British, that the latter might be broken up by defeat resulting from its presumption. The subsequent conduct of these chiefs hardly corresponded with these professions. The advance of the main army of the British, under Sir Hugh Gough, brought on the battle of Moodkee, the first of the war.

When the troops arrived at that village, they were exhausted with fatigue and thirst. The general moved them on in quest of the enemy, whom it was known was in the neighbourhood, and likely to attack. Sir Hugh has been criticised for not drawing up his men in front of the encampment, and awaiting the arrival of the Sikhs. He advanced, however, and about two miles distant found them in order of battle. The scene of battle was a flat country, covered in part with a low shrubby jungle, and dotted with hillocks, some of which were covered with verdure, but most of them bare and sandy. The jungle and the undulated inequalities of the ground enabled the Sikhs to cover their infantry and artillery, presenting a good position, which was occupied by troops giving every indication of having confidence in themselves.

The British force consisted of the Umballah and Loodiana divisions of the British army, which had just formed a junction. The number under Lord Gough's command did not exceed eleven thousand men, while that under Lall Singh and Tej Singh amounted to thirty thousand. The enemy had forty guns, the British a small proportion of artillery. The quality of the British force was well adapted to the undertaking. It consisted of the division under Major-general Sir H. Smith, a brigade of that under Major-general Sir J. M'Caskill, and another of that under Major-general Gilbert, with five troops of horse artillery, and two light field-batteries, under Lieutenant-colonel Brooke, of the horse artillery (brigadier in command of the artillery force), and the cavalry division, consisting of her majesty's 3rd light dragoons, the body-guard, 4th and 5th light cavalry, and 9th irreguar cavalry. The artillery of the enemy opened with formidable effect upon the twelve British battalions of infantry as they formed from echelon of brigade into line. The battery of horse artillery, under Brigadier Brooke, for a time replied to so severe a fire without silencing it, but being reinforced by two light field-pieces, that object was accomplished. In order to complete the formation of his infantry without advancing his artillery too near the jungle, Sir Hugh Gough made a flank movement with his cavalry, under Brigadiers White and Gough, upon the left of the Sikh line. This was a brilliantly executed and effective movement. The dragoons turned the enemy's left, and swept along the whole rear of their line of infantry and cannon. Perceiving the admirable execution of these orders, Sir Hugh directed Brigadier M'Tier to make a similar movement with the remainder of the cavalry upon the enemy's right. Had not the position of the Sikhs been so well chosen, these manœuvres would have probably filled their ranks with consternation. As it was, little more was effected than to surprise the enemy, distract his attention, and enable the English infantry to form and advance with less loss than otherwise would have been the case. The enemy was far advanced when the British line of infantry charged, and the battle was fought in the dusk of evening and by starlight. The English attacked in echelon of lines. Amidst clouds of dust and smoke, deepened by the shadows of closing day, the English rolled their heavy musketry fire into the jungles, still approaching: sometimes the enemy fell back under this fire, or the close discharges of the horse artillery, which galloped up to the jungle; in other instances the sand hills and the brushwood were contested amidst the dash of bayonets and the grapple of desperate conflict, when man meets man in a struggle of victory or death. To the bayonet of the English infantry Sir H. Gough attributed the success of his charge. The enemy was compelled to withdraw, leaving seventeen guns in the hands of the British. The army returned to camp about midnight, and rested on the 19th and 20th of December, to collect the wounded, bring in the guns, and refresh the exhausted troops. Major-general Sir R. Sale died of his wound; Sir J. M'Caskill was shot through the chest and killed. The number of killed were two hundred and fifteen, wounded six hundred and fifty-seven; total, eight hundred and seventy-two. The enemy killed and wounded many officers

by firing from trees. This was a heavy loss to the small army of Sir Hugh Gough. The death of Sale and M'Caskill, two of the best officers in India, was regretted by all the officers of the army, and by the gallant soldiers who had so often followed them to victory.

### BATTLE OF FEROZESHAH.

On the 21st the army marched to within three or four miles of Ferozeshah. Sir John Littler had been ordered to form a junction with the grand army, with as large a portion of the garrison of Ferozepore as could safely be withdrawn from it. The governor-general afterwards wrote a narrative of the junction of these forces, and the operations they were called upon to perform. Anything from the pen of Sir Henry Hardinge (afterwards Lord Hardinge) on a military subject will be eagerly read; his account is therefore given of the complicated transactions which ensued :—

"At half-past one o'clock the Umballah force, having marched across the country disencumbered of every description of baggage, except the reserve ammunition, formed its junction with Sir John Littler's force, who had moved out of Ferozepore with five thousand men, two regiments of cavalry, and twenty-one field-guns. This combined operation having been effected, the commander-in-chief, with my entire concurrence, made his arrangements for the attack of the enemy's position at Ferozeshah, about four miles distant from the point where our forces had united. The British force consisted of sixteen thousand seven hundred men, and sixty-nine guns, chiefly horse artillery. The Sikh forces varied from forty-eight thousand to sixty thousand men, with one hundred and eight pieces of cannon of heavy calibre, in fixed batteries. The camp of the enemy was in the form of a parallelogram, of about a mile in length, and half a mile in breadth, including within its area the strong village of Ferozeshah; the shorter sides looking towards the Sutlej and Moodkee, and the longer towards Ferozepore and the open country. The British troops moved against the last-named place, and the ground in front of which was, like the Sikh position in Moodkee, covered with low jungle. The divisions of Major-general Sir J. Littler, Brigadier Wallace (who had succeeded Major-general Sir J. M'Caskill), and Major-general Gilbert, deployed into line, having in the centre our whole force of artillery, with the exception of three troops of horse artillery, one on either flank, and one in support to be moved as occasion required. Major-general Sir H. Smith's division, and our small cavalry force, moved in a second line, having a brigade in reserve to cover each wing. A very heavy cannonade was opened by the enemy, who had dispersed over their position upwards of one hundred guns, more than forty of which were of battering calibre; these kept up a heavy and well-directed fire, which the practice of our far less numerous artillery of much lighter metal checked in some degree, but could not silence; finally, in the face of a storm of shot and shell, our infantry advanced and carried these formidable intrenchments; they threw themselves upon the guns, and with matchless gallantry wrested them from the enemy; but when the batteries were partially within our grasp, our soldiery had to face such a fire of musketry from the Sikh infantry, arrayed behind their guns, that, in spite of their most heroic efforts, a portion only of the intrenchment could be carried. Night fell while the conflict was everywhere raging."

Sir Hugh Gough thus narrates the events of that terrible night, and of the succeeding day :—"Although I now brought up Major-general Sir H. Smith's division, and he captured and long retained another point of the position, and her majesty's 3rd light dragoons charged and took some of the most formidable batteries, yet the enemy remained in possession of a considerable portion of the great quadrangle, whilst our troops, intermingled with theirs, kept possession of the remainder, and finally bivouaced upon it, exhausted by their gallant efforts, greatly reduced in numbers, and suffering extremely from thirst, yet animated by an indomitable spirit. In this state of things the long night wore away. During the whole night, however, they continued to harass our troops by the fire of artillery, wherever moonlight discovered our position. But, with daylight of the 22nd, came retribution. Our infantry formed line, supported on both flanks by horse artillery, whilst a fire was opened from our centre by such of our heavy guns as remained effective, aided by a flight of rockets. A masked battery played with great effect upon this point, dismounting our pieces, and blowing up our tumbrils. At this moment Lieutenant-general Sir H. Hardinge placed himself at the head of the left, whilst I rode at the head of the right wing. Our line advanced, and, unchecked by the enemy's fire, drove them rapidly out of the village of Ferozeshah and their encampment; then, changing front to its left, on its centre, our force continued to sweep the camp, bearing down all opposition, and dislodged the enemy from their whole position. The line then halted, as if on a day of manœuvre, receiving its two leaders as they rode along its front with a gratifying cheer, and displaying the captured standards of the Khalsa army. We had taken upwards

of seventy-three pieces of cannon, and were masters of the whole field.

"In the course of two hours, Sirdar Tej Singh, who had commanded in the last great battle, brought up from the vicinity of Ferozepore fresh battalions and a large field of artillery, supported by thirty thousand Ghorechurras, hitherto encamped near the river. He drove in our cavalry parties, and made strenuous efforts to regain the position at Ferozeshah. This attempt was defeated, but its failure had scarcely become manifest, when the sirdar renewed the contest with more troops and a large artillery. He commenced by a combination against our left flank, and when this was frustrated, made such a demonstration against the captured village, as compelled us to change our whole front to the right. His guns during this manœuvre maintained an incessant fire, whilst our artillery ammunition being completely expended in these protracted combats, we were unable to answer him with a single shot. I now directed our almost exhausted cavalry to threaten both flanks at once, preparing the infantry to advance in support, which, apparently, caused him suddenly to cease his fire, and to abandon the field." The enemy's camp "is the scene of the most awful carnage, and they have abandoned large stores of grain, camp equipage, and ammunition."

The conduct and issue of this battle are given in the language of Sir H. Hardinge's narrative, and of Sir Hugh Gough's despatch, contrary to the plan generally observed in this work, because the mode in which this battle was fought, and the conduct of the whole campaign, especially up to this point, have been so much criticised in India and in England, and by military men in Europe and America. As to the battle itself, it has been observed, that the British artillery did not display the superiority usual in Indian warfare. The Sikhs are said to have fired three times for every two shots from the British guns. The position taken up by the British has been condemned. As before the battle of Moodkee, there was inadequate information. The intelligence department of the army failed to prove itself effective. It has been even stated by military men that the British army marched along the rear of the Sikh position on which "face" of the intrenchments there were no guns, and took post in front of the lines from which the Sikh cannon were directed, and generally so fixed, that they could not have been turned to the reverse, had the attack been directed upon it. The proportion of numbers to those of the well-equipped and well-disciplined enemy, was unjust to the British soldier. No adequate conception had been formed by the governor-general or the commander-in-chief of the task undertaken. The foe was underrated. The defective information at Calcutta, and want of judgment among those who had the chief control of the campaign, and the responsibility of providing for it, cost fearful loss of valuable soldiers. So badly was the army provided, that, although only the second conflict of the campaign, and upon the confines of British territory, the battle was all but lost for want of ammunition. As subsequently at Inkerman, and previously on so many hard-fought fields in India and elsewhere, the English soldier was left without ammunition at a most critical juncture. The commissariat, and carriage, were in a condition which caused the soldier much suffering. The intrenchments were undoubtedly stormed, but they were not generally formidable, not being more than eighteen inches high; but the new force brought up by Tej Singh would probably have retaken the ground, had not an accident led him to withdraw. The English cavalry left the field, and marched to Ferozepore. This order the officers declared was given by official authority. If so, either a shameful blunder was committed, or a retreat was contemplated. The fact is, however, that the cavalry, or a large portion of it, left the field, and exposed the whole army to the most imminent peril. This blundering episode was, however, mistaken by Tej Singh for a grand measure to attack him in the rear; and supposing that the English must have obtained reinforcements to attempt the like, deemed it prudent to withdraw his army. Thus an accident, such an accident as it was disgraceful should occur in any European army, actually relieved the British of the presence of the enemy at a juncture when the men and their ammunition were nearly exhausted. It was natural that the British public should be dissatisfied with a battle where so many fell before a native force, and where at last an accident, itself discreditable to an army, caused the foe to retire at a juncture when, from another circumstance also disgraceful to the management of the force, there was an inadequate supply of ammunition. Neither Sir Henry Hardinge nor Sir Hugh Gough showed the foresight, comprehensiveness, nor faculty of detail necessary to great commanders, or great statesmen. Both showed great ability in handling small numbers in action, and probably never on any field, by any commanders, was more dauntless bravery shown. During the nights of suspense, when the wearied British soldiery lay down under the incessant fire of the enemy's artillery, which ploughed up the ground in various directions,

Sir Henry Hardinge went among the soldiers, lay down among the groups, chatted with them in a tone of confidence, talked of "chastising the Sikhs next morning if they were insolent," and thoroughly sounded the temper of the soldiers as to what reliance might be placed upon them in the dreadful conflict which awaited them. Sir Henry, with sleepless energy was everywhere, and everywhere the soldiers received him with a heroic confidence in him, and reliance on themselves, displaying a surprising heroism.

During the series of battles—for the conflict was a series of struggles, not a single action—Sir Henry Hardinge exposed his person with romantic gallantry. Several members of his family were by his side in every peril. On one occasion a cannon-ball passed between him and his aid-de-camp, to whom at a short distance he was addressing some words. How Sir Henry, or any of his staff escaped, is astonishing. Sir Hugh Gough was also in the front of battle on his right, by word and gesture animating his men, and first in daring wherever danger invited. Both these heroic men, whatever their errors as commanders, displayed the highest chivalry; and each also in the action, whatever their deficiency of foresight previously, displayed experience and competency to command in battle. They were first-rate generals of division—they were more; but whatever their subsequent successes or display of military skill, the conduct of the campaign, reviewed as a whole, was not marked by enlarged ability for the conduct of armies.

The Sikhs retired to the neighbourhood of Sobraon, on the right bank of the Sutlej. Thither Sir Hugh Gough and the governor-general pursued, taking up a position from which they might observe the enemy in all directions. The following were the dispositions made from this centre by both armies. The Sikhs manœuvred from Sobraon, along the right bank of the Sutlej. The British army executed an oblique movement to its right and front. Major-general Sir H. Smith, supported by a cavalry brigade, under Brigadier Cureton, was in this new allinement, still on the right, opposite to Hurreekee Puttun; Major-general Gilbert in the centre; and Major-general Sir R. Dick on the left, covered again by cavalry. Major-general Sir J. Grey, at Attaree, watched the Nuggur ford. The troops of Major-general Sir J. Littler occupied the cantonment and intrenchment of Ferozepore. There was no doubt that Sirdar Runjoor Singh Mujethea had crossed from Philour, and, not only threatened the safety of the rich and populous town of Loodiana, but would have turned the right flank, and have intersected the line of our communication at Busseean and Raekote, and have endangered the junction of our convoys from Delhi. Brigadier Godby commanded three battalions of native infantry at Loodiana. Major-General Sir H. Smith, with his brigade at Dhurmkote, and Brigadier Cureton's cavalry, were directed to advance by Jugraon towards Loodiana; and his second brigade, under Brigadier Wheeler, moved on to support him.* Brigadier-general Godby was ordered to reinforce Major-general Smith. The march was a disastrous one. General Smith was thrown out of communication with General Wheeler, a matter of serious strategical importance. The enemy hung upon Sir Harry's flank and rear with courage and pertinacity, executing difficult evolutions with skill and rapidity. According to Sir Harry's despatch, "a portion of the baggage fell into the hands of the enemy." The fact, however, was, a great deal was lost. It was placed, in the different manœuvres which the constancy and activity of the enemy compelled, between the two forces, and was captured.

The sirdar took post in an intrenched camp at Budhowal, fifteen miles lower down than Loodiana.

### THE BATTLE OF ALIWAL.

On the 28th of January, 1846, the battle so designated was fought by Sir Harry Smith. The cavalry, under the command of Brigadier Cureton, and horse artillery, under Major Lawrenson, formed two brigades under Brigadier MacDowell, 16th lancers, and the other under Brigadier Stedman, 7th light cavalry. The first division as it stood consisted of two brigades: her majesty's 53rd and 30th native infantry, under Brigadier Wilson, of the latter corps; the 36th native infantry and Nusseree battalion, under Brigadier Godby, 36th native infantry; and the Shekawatte brigade, under Major Foster. The Sirmoor battalion was attached to Brigadier Wheeler's brigade of the first division, the 42nd native infantry had been left at head-quarters.

The regiments of cavalry headed the advance of the British. As they approached they opened and wheeled to either flank, and the infantry and artillery formed line and approached. The scene was grand and imposing. The glittering lines of the Sikhs flashed like silver in the sun, while their dark looming guns were pointed with well-judged range against the approaching ranks.

The form of battle was peculiar; the left of the British line and the right of the Sikhs were remote, while the British right was very

* Major Hough.

near to the enemy, whose line as it approached the British, stretched far beyond. The disadvantage of this outflanking extension of the enemy's left was counterbalanced by the judicious arrangements of Sir Harry Smith's cavalry on his extreme right. The grand object of the British was to secure the village of Aliwal. He directed the infantry of his right wing against that post. It was occupied by hill men, who made a feeble resistance, but the Sikh artillerymen died at their guns. The British cavalry on the right charged through the enemy's left, dividing his line, and breaking up a large portion of the army. At the same time the Sikhs opposed to the British left, consisting of their best troops, outflanked the English line. Here a charge of British cavalry also turned the fortunes of the day. The British lancers were received by well-formed Sikh squares. The British rode through them; but as they did so, the Sikhs closed behind, as some of the British squares did when partially penetrated at Waterloo. The Sikh infantry received the English lances on their shields, breaking many of those weapons. Again the British charged through, and, by a happy manœuvre, changed the lance from the lance hand. The Sikhs not being prepared for this, caught on their persons instead of on their shields the thrusts of their foes. A third time the British cavalry rode through the squares before they were effectually broken and dispersed. It was a battle in which British cavalry effected wonders against infantry.

The enemy endeavoured to rally behind Boondree; but the hot pursuit of the British deprived them of this last resource of despair. Numbers were driven into the river, and shot down by musketry and discharges of grape as they struggled across. Fifty pieces of cannon were captured. On this occasion the superior skill of the British artillery was made apparent. Major Lawrenson, early in the action, on his own responsibility, galloped up within close range of the most destructive of the enemy's cannon and swept the gunners from their posts. In the pursuit, the play of two eight-inch howitzers made fearful havoc upon the dense and disordered masses of the fugitives.

The loss of the enemy was extremely heavy, but could not be computed. When the dead bodies floated down the Sutlej to Sobraon, both British and Sikhs then first learned that a great battle had been fought, and these silent and appalling witnesses bore evidence, striking and conclusive, on which side victory lay.

Among the officers who had distinguished themselves at Moodkee and Ferozeshah, none was more signally useful, or dauntlessly intrepid, than Lieutenant-colonel Havelock, afterwards the saviour of British India. At Moodkee two horses were shot under him, but he escaped without a bruise. At Ferozeshah his heroic conduct attracted the admiration of all who had opportunity to observe it. The calm resoluteness of the man may be conceived from a single incident. During the bivouac on the first sad night at that place, Lord Hardinge, in his glorious efforts to encourage the men, came upon Havelock lying asleep from excessive fatigue, *he had chosen a bag of gunpowder for his pillow.* To the exclamations of Lord Hardinge's astonishment the hero quietly replied, "I was so tired."

### BATTLE OF SOBRAON.

On the left bank of the Sutlej, at Sobraon, the Khalsa army had collected its strength, and it was resolved by the British leaders to attack that post as soon as General Smith and the victors of Aliwal should form a junction with the army, and when siege artillery and other heavy ordnance should arrive from Delhi. The strange want of proper preparation which had hitherto characterised the councils and operations of the British authorities still prevailed. The English were allowed, with a very small force of artillery, consisting of field-pieces, light guns, and howitzers, to march against intrenchments covered with guns of the heaviest calibre, worked by the most skilful artillerymen that any native power in India had ever possessed. Now, it was absolutely necessary to wait for a supply from the arsenal at Delhi, before the strong position of Sobraon could be attempted. It was well that Tej Singh, instead of recommencing the battle of Ferozeshah, did not march to Delhi and make an easy capture of the stores, upon which the British now relied to complete the war.

Sixty-seven pieces of artillery were in battery upon the trenches which the enemy had constructed, and the greater part of the infantry were within the defences. The cavalry, under Lall Singh, were dispersed along the river, observed by the British cavalry, under the gallant and skilful Generals Thackwell and Cureton. Lord Gough estimated the number of the enemy at 35,000 men. Major Hough says, that 20,000 men would exceed the actual number. The Sikhs themselves afterwards stated their number to have been 37,000. The defences were not constructed on scientific principles, yet excessive labour had made them strong. Hurbon, a Spanish officer, and Mouton, a Frenchman, aided the defence, but the haughty pride of

the Sikhs persisted in measures which these officers opposed. There were several other French and Spanish officers of professional reputation in junior positions.

Early in February, 1846, part of the siege train and stores arrived. Sir Harry Smith joined on the 8th. Some of the stores and heavy guns did not arrive until after the action was over. The battle commenced on the 10th of February. Before dawn a surprise was made on a post called Roode Wallah, or the post of observation. That post the British had allowed, from sheer negligence on the part of the superior officers, to fall into the hands of the enemy, just as they had allowed the defences of Sobraon to become formidable without any efforts to retard or molest the foe, still waiting for guns and stores which should have been with the army from the beginning, as there had been ample time to prepare against an inroad which every one seems to have foreseen but the chief civil and military authorities.

The surprise of Roode Wallah was successful, and soon after the possession of that position the battle began. It was an action exceedingly complicated, and the generalship of both sides was regarded as exceedingly defective. There was a want of scheme on the part of the Sikhs, and of concentrated authority and guidance; and similar deficiencies existed on the English side. There was also an impatience and impetuosity which sacrificed many lives, although the means of a more scientific attack were at hand. After all the delay, guns of a sufficient calibre were wanting in the hour of action, and the infantry were precipitated upon the formidable batteries without having been silenced by those of the British. The English infantry were formed into line for the attack as if the whole face of the trenches had been equally assailable, the result was the whole line was exposed to the enemy's cannon, and the devouring grape swept numbers away that by a more scientific arrangement would have been saved. After all, the men were obliged to crowd together in wedges or columns, and penetrate the gaps made in the intrenchments by the English artillery. The difficulty of entering the trenches was great; the Sikhs disputed every battery and every defence with fierce courage, giving and receiving no quarter, cutting down and hacking mercilessly the wounded who fell into their hands. It is probable that the infantry might have failed to accomplish their arduous task, had not the cavalry aided them in an unusual but not altogether unprecedented way. The sappers and miners broke down portions of the intrenchment, and let in the 3rd light dragoons, and afterwards the irregular native cavalry, in single file. There was room, when once in, for these cavalry to form to a certain extent, and charge the infantry; while others with desultory impetuosity rode at the guns, sabreing the gunners and capturing the cannon. Long and furious was the conflict, and never did men fight and fall more bravely than the Khalsa soldiery. At last, after the repeated ebb and flow of battle, the Sikhs were pushed back from all their defences, rallying and fighting as they slowly retired. It became necessary to cross the river, and they had not taken proper pains to maintain the communications in their rear. An excellent bridge of boats had been constructed, but Tej Singh, who ran away at the beginning of the assault, broke the centre boat of the chain, either from treachery or from accident; accordingly, when the retreating force came to that point they were stopped, or threw themselves into the river, and endeavoured to escape by swimming. As the fugitives retired to the bridge of boats they were cut down in great numbers by the pursuing troopers, and on the bridge were exposed to volleys of musketry, flights of fiery rockets, and showers of vertical grape —it was a carnage, a carnage most horrible for human arm to inflict, or human eye to witness; multitudes perished in the river, piles lay dead upon the bridge, round-shot crashed, and bursting shells rent the bridge itself, and masses of the dead and dying sank together into the flood, which ran red with human gore. The Sutlej had risen that day seven inches, thus rendering the efforts of the fugitives to ford the river much more perilous than they could have supposed. Some fought their way along the banks and reached fordable spots well known to them, and in this way many thousands escaped to the opposite bank. They reassembled and took post on a distant elevation, but some dispersed, and others continued their flight to Lahore. The words of the poet were literally applicable when the rays of the setting sun fell upon the swollen Sutlej, the shattered batteries of Sobraon, and the exulting host of the British as they buried their dead, and tended the wounded :—

> "Night closed around the conquerors' way,
> And lightning showed the distant hill,
> Where those who lost that bloody day
> Stood few and faint, but fearless still."

It would be difficult to award the meed of praise to any particular corps of the British army in this dreadful battle. The artillerymen throughout the Sikh war displayed undaunted bravery, officers and men of the horse artillery galloping up close to heavy batteries, and, by their rapid discharges of

grape, sweeping away the Sikh gunners from their guns. The 10th regiment of infantry, newly arrived, were exceedingly forward in the conflict, and the 3rd light dragoons merited the eulogy of the commander-in-chief, when he said, "they seem capable of effecting anything possible to cavalry, and of going anywhere that cavalry can go." The Goorkha regiments were exceedingly efficient. Sir Hugh Gough, in his despatch, said of them, "I must pause in this narrative, especially to notice the determined hardihood and bravery with which our two battalions of Goorkhas, the Sirmoor and Nusseree, met the Sikhs, wherever they were opposed to them. Soldiers of small stature, but indomitable spirit, they vied in ardent courage in the charge with the grenadiers of our own nation, and armed with the short weapon of their mountains, were a terror to the Sikhs throughout this great combat."

The Sikhs acknowledged that their loss was nearly fourteen thousand men. The English suffered heavily; many were ill after the battle from excessive fatigue and fever, arising from their exertions. Under the cannonade and in the storm the loss was heavy. Major-general Sir R. Dick died of a wound received in the intrenchments. He was a gallant old Waterloo officer. Major-general Gilbert was slightly wounded; and of the officers, killed and wounded, most suffered through the extraordinary courage they displayed. Lieutenant-colonel Havelock (the future hero of Lucknow) had a miraculous escape,—a ball entered the saddle-cloth, killing his horse, without so much as a bruise occurring to himself.

Immediately upon the battle of Sobraon, Sir John Littler, who was posted with a very powerful division at Ferozepore, crossed the river, and the main army prepared to follow. The cavalry dispositions were excellent, under the skilful arrangements of Generals Cureton and Thackwell.

The intelligence of the battle of Sobraon did not create so much exultation as might be expected in England or British India. It was indeed a great relief, as was also that of the battle of Aliwal; but there existed much dissatisfaction with the conduct of the whole campaign, and there was a disposition to throw more than his share of the blame upon Sir Hugh Gough, while Sir Robert Peel and his government were assiduous in screening from censure Sir Henry Hardinge. Both were favourites of the Duke of Wellington, for he knew the noble gallantry of the men, and their very great efficiency in serving in the highest commands, not actually supreme. The public were not, however, satisfied by even the military testimony of his grace, much more than by the special pleading of the plausible baronet. It was obvious that a great deal had been left unthought of by both the heroes of the war. Some of the most efficient soldiers and officers in the British service had perished, who, in all probability, would have been preserved had the campaign, in all its aspects, civil, political and military, been conducted as it ought to have been. Guns, ammunition, supplies, were all wanting; Delhi had been left exposed to a *coup*, if Tej Singh had been a skilful enemy, or loyal; egregious blunders had been committed, vast quantities of baggage was lost to an inferior enemy; infantry attacked a wide area of trenches in line, although these trenches bristled with the heaviest ordnance, and when every officer and soldier knew that attack in column would not only have spared the men, but more easily have conduced to success. The management of the campaign did not even improve as blunders and their consequences were developed. The enemy was allowed to seize an important post just before the battle of Sobraon; that place was permitted to assume strength, which had a Wellington, a Napoleon, or a Havelock commanded, would, by skilful manœuvres, have been prevented; and at last infantry was compelled to storm intrenchments with the bayonet, the guns of which were far from being disabled, because there was no longer an adequate supply either of artillery or musketry ammunition. Had the fire of the cannon and musketry upon the retreating force on the bridge of boats, on the fords, and on the fordless river, been as full and continuous as it was well directed, and as it would have been had the ammunition been adequate, nearly the whole Sikh army would have been destroyed. These things were discussed not only by military men, but among the middle classes of England, who had become more capable than formerly to canvass the conduct of military affairs.

Having crossed the Sutlej, Sir John Littler pressed vigorously forward, and Kussoor fell to the British without a blow. The Sikhs re-collected at Umritsir, individually as brave as ever, but, collectively, enfeebled and depressed. Gholab Singh, of Jummoo, opened negotiations with Sir Henry Hardinge in the name of the infant sovereign, Dhuleep Singh. The English representative demanded a million and a half sterling as an indemnity for the expenses of the war, and the cession of all the country between the Beear and the Sutlej, as security against further aggression. The Sikhs were reluctant to concede so much, but Sir Charles Napier had marched up with

reinforcements from Scinde, which decided them. The English were unwilling to accept the concessions which they ultimately obtained, but the season was, in Sir Henry Hardinge's opinion, too far advanced to justify any demands which might lead to renewed hostilities. Generally the reasoning of his excellency did not appear sound on this matter to the officers of the Indian army, and the members of the civil service; but Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington, the government and parliament, approved of the policy Sir Henry adopted.

The young maharajah tendered his submission in person to the representative of the Queen of England, and on the 20th of February the British army arrived at Lahore, as the allies of Dhuleep Singh. The public entry of the maharajah with his new allies was a pageant at once gorgeous and impressive, occidental and oriental pomp strangely blending in the scene. The ensigns of civil authority and military power dazzled the eyes together. The insignia of Eastern royalty, and of that anomalous power, the great Company Sahib, were, to the disciples of Govind, marvellously mixed. The population gazed at the great sight as if it were a scene of magic. Only a short time before the mighty army of the Khalsa (or Church) of the Sikh prophet marched forth from the gates of the capital: since then the Sutlej had ran red with their blood, their unburied corpses lay along its banks, the prey of the Indian kite, the vulture, and the other savage creatures which infest the ground where battle had raged. The ponderous cannon—the pride of the Sikh soldiery, and which they knew so well how to direct—swelled the train of the conqueror, or lay in broken fragments upon the shattered trenches, which the valour of Sikh, sepoy, and Briton had stained with the blood of the brave. It was more like the relation of some Indian tale of gods and spirits creating strange phantasies among the abodes of men, than a reality. The Sikh could not realize it. The beaten soldier stalked forth and viewed the anomaly with scowling brow, but unarmed hand—bewildered, baffled, wonder-struck, but not cowed. The Lahore citizen sulked, and gazed with an interest and listlessness as incompatible as they were obvious. The women, not so reserved or secluded as in India proper, were pleased with the pageant; they uttered no joy nor grief, but shared with their husbands, sons, and brothers, in hatred to the conquering stranger, who, carrying his machines and arts of slaughter from afar, over western and eastern seas and shores, now humbled the sacred Khalsa under the shadow of its citadel.

The pageant passed away, English regiments garrisoned the metropolis of the Sikhs, General Littler held its military resources in his grasp, and a treaty professed to secure perpetual friendship and alliance between the East India Company and the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh. Gholab Singh managed to serve his sovereign and himself. He became the chief of the beautiful region of Cashmere. This was ceded instead of money, Gholab Singh purchasing it from the British. The new Maharajah of Cashmere, by the 3rd article of a treaty signed March 10th, gave the British three quarters of a million sterling for the territory. On the 15th of March, 1846, he assumed his title and his sovereignty. Thus ended the first Sikh war, as glorious as it was fatal to the valour of the Sikhs; as unfortunate for the reputation of English prudence and military skill, as it was glorious to the heroism of the English soldier.

## CHAPTER CXX.

THE SECOND SIKH WAR—REVOLT OF CHUTTUR SINGH—MURDER OF ENGLISH ENVOYS AT MOOLTAN—GALLANT CONDUCT OF LIEUTENANT EDWARDES—GENERAL WHISH BOMBARDS AND CAPTURES MOOLTAN—SENTENCE ON MOOLRAJ—ADVANCE OF LORD GOUGH—BATTLE OF RUMNUGGUR.

THE second Sikh war commenced almost immediately after the first had concluded; at least the elements began to work which burst forth in an irruption of desolation and carnage once more.

As soon as the treaty had been concluded referred to in the last chapter, the British government of India settled down into the conviction that, in the eyes of the Sikhs, the English were irresistible; and that however the Sikhs might murmur or create partial disturbances, a revolt against the last treaty, or the predominant influence of the English at Lahore, was highly improbable. Sir Henry

Hardinge's mind was filled with the delusion. He was utterly unacquainted with India, its people, its modes of thought, its political ethics. Circumstances had never directed his mind to the subject. He was not sent from England, any more than his predecessors, because he knew anything about India, or possessed any peculiar fitness. He was a political *protégé* of Sir Robert Peel; had answered the baronet's party and political purposes well in certain situations at home, and was rewarded with the honourable, lucrative, and, therefore, coveted post of governor-general of India. In Ireland he had made an expert, red tape, parliamentary partizan secretary. He held himself on polite and good terms with Irish politicians and Irish gentlemen, and was admired by that gallant people for his chivalrous soldierhood. He had no qualifications which fitted him for the governor-generalship of India. There were hundreds of the company's servants, and scores of servants of the crown, better adapted to the office. The old principle was maintained of making the office a reward for political partizanship or service in parliament, and with the old results. A second Sikh war broke out, finding the English as little prepared as for the first, simply because they had exercised no foresight to prevent it, or to provide against its occurrence.

On the 5th of April, 1847, Sir Henry, then Viscount, Hardinge, wrote to the secret committee in London that the Sikh chiefs, comprising the durbar of Lahore, were carrying on the government with a loyal desire to execute the treaty. At that time the majority of the durbar were plotting the destruction of the English. At the end of May (the 27th), he again addressed the secret committee, holding forth the same assurances that all was well. In that letter he quotes the opinions of the British resident, no less gifted a person than Lieutenant-colonel H. M. Lawrence, that as usual all sorts of reports were raised of intentions on the part of the Sikhs, and even of the chiefs, against us, which were greatly exaggerated, and many obviously false. These "reports" seem to have been utterly rejected at government-house; yet no man who had studied the religion, disposition, and antecedents of the Sikhs could doubt that those rumours had a basis in the wide-spread disaffection of chiefs and people to the alliance of Dhuleep Singh with the stranger, and the presence of the latter in any part of the Punjaubee empire.

The first symptoms of opposition appeared in a resistance to the possession by Gholab Singh of the territory for which he had paid the English. It was necessary to have recourse to arms in order to put down, and keep down, a pretender who disputed the new maharajah's claim. Soon after, Chuttur Singh, an influential chief, raised the standard of revolt.

The next indication of opposition was made by Moolraj, the khan or chief of Mooltan. That chief had in various ways given offence to the durbar of Lahore, or at all events to the English influence in that durbar. Remonstrances having proved ineffectual, Moolraj was addressed in terms which plainly intimated, that unless his conduct was shaped in conformity with the behests of the durbar, force, in the name of the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, would be employed. Moolraj responded by resigning his government of Mooltan, and expressing his intention to resign it into the hands of any authorized person or persons sent to receive the trust. Whether this was a pre-arranged manœuvre between Moolraj and the opponents of the English in the durbar it is difficult to determine; it is probable, however, that had native officers only been sent to receive the surrender, it might have been made *bonâ fide*. The English resident ordered Mr. Agnew, of the civil service, and Lieutenant Anderson, of the Bombay army, to accompany Sirdar Khan Singh, who was nominated to the dewan of Mooltan. Five hundred and thirty irregulars were sent as an escort. Moolraj made a show of surrendering his dewanee, but made pretexts of delay.

Meantime, insurrections began in the city, and the two Englishmen were slain. Moolraj affected to be no party to this crime, but averred that he had no power to punish the perpetrators, who were popularly upheld. It was a foul and treacherous murder, in which Moolraj had complicity. If he were not the original plotter of it, he undoubtedly abetted the murderers after the deed. The mode in which the transaction took place has been recorded by the author of this history in another work, just issuing from the press, *Nolan's Continuation of Hume and Smollett's History of England.* The way in which it is there related, and the consequences which followed, are placed with brevity before the reader.

On the 17th of April, the authority was surrendered in due form by Moolraj, and the object of the British officers seemed to be accomplished. On the 18th they were attacked and desperately wounded; it was at first supposed from a sudden impulse on the part of the soldiery of Moolraj, but it was afterwards known to be the result of treachery. The officers, accompanied by the new governor, were carried to a small fort outside the town. A fire was opened upon the place from Mooltan, but it was ineffectual. A few days afterwards, however, the fort was attacked by

the soldiers of Moolraj; the Sikhs who garrisoned the place, and among whom were the escort, treacherously opened the gates, and the assailants entered, foaming with rage, and demanding vengeance upon the infidel officers. Lieutenant Anderson was in a dying state; but Mr. Agnew, although so badly wounded, defended himself with resolution to the last: both officers were murdered. Intelligence of these barbarities reached Lahore with the speed so peculiar to the East; and a force of three thousand cavalry and some infantry was dispatched, under Sirdar Shere Singh, against the refractory city. There happened to be upon the Indus, at the head of a small force, a young and gallant officer who had served with distinction upon the staff of Lord Gough, and who was favourably known by his clever contributions to the India press on the state of the company's territory, civil and military: this officer was Lieutenant Edwardes. He was engaged in settling a disturbed district of country, and in collecting the land-tax due to Moolraj, as Sikh governor of Mooltan. At the same time, Colonel Van Cortlandt, a native of India, and a distinguished officer in the service of the company, occupied Dhera Ismael Khan, also in the neighbourhood. Lieutenant Edwardes crossed the river into the Deerajat, whence he wrote to the Khan of Bhawulpore, requesting him to make such a movement of troops as would prevent Moolraj from falling upon either Edwardes or Cortlandt. The khan's territories were so situated as to enable him to effect a military disposition to accomplish this object. The khan made the required demonstration. When Edwardes crossed the Indus, he left a detachment of three hundred horse to protect the collection at Leiah, where, on the 18th of May, they were attacked by a body of cavalry exceeding their own in number, sent against them from Mooltan, with ten light field-guns (zumbooruks). The British force so manœuvred as to attain a good position, although under the fire of the zumbooruks, and then charged brilliantly, dispersing the Mooltanese, and capturing their guns.

Colonel Cortlandt was as prompt as Edwardes in the measures taken by him. He left the fort of Dhera Ismael Khan, and proceeded by the base of the hills southward. On his route he was joined by a Beloochee chief, with one hundred of his wild followers. Cortlandt detached these, with a portion of his own troops, against the fortress of Sunghur, westward of the Indus. The commander of the fort refused the summons of surrender, and for six hours maintained a gallant resistance; he then brought off the garrison by a skilful manœuvre, reaching Mooltan in safety.

Lieutenant Edwardes and Colonel Cortlandt effected a junction of their small forces, and on the 20th of May were attacked by a division of the Mooltan army. The united forces of Cortlandt and Edwardes were so disposed that not more than one thousand five hundred men could be brought into action, while the enemy numbered three thousand. The artillery force of each was about equal. Edwardes was, however, joined by a body of irregular cavalry, and a party of Beloochees, which brought up the British force more nearly to an equality of numbers. The Sikhs in British pay happily showed no disposition to fraternise with the Mooltan army, although the calculations of Moolraj were based upon such an expectation. The enemy suffered a signal defeat and great slaughter The Beloochees behaved remarkably well. The skill of British officers turned the balance in favour of the native army under their command.

After this engagement, Edwardes, acting upon the authority which he possessed as a civil officer of the company, demanded a reinforcement from the Khan of Bhawulpore, and in the meantime, recruited his force by Sikhs, Beloochees, Affghans, and men from the hills of various tribes. The faculty of organization, the ceaseless activity, and the courage of this young officer were surprising. Colonel Cortlandt was also equal to the part assigned him; but, although senior in military rank, the civil functions of the former gave him an especial, and, in some respects, superior authority. The Khan of Bhawulpore responded to the demands of Edwardes, and a plan was laid for a junction of their troops. In pursuance of this, the British crossed the Indus on the 10th and 11th of June. Moolraj was informed by his spies of every movement, and the intelligence was conveyed to him with astonishing rapidity. He accordingly marched a large force to intercept either army, and beat both in detail. On the 14th he crossed the Chenab, leaving a considerable force on the other bank. This detachment marched to Khan Ghur, but on the following day crossed the river, being surprised at that place by the advance of Edwardes's irregulars. The Mooltanese had barely time to cross the Chenab, when the scouts of the English galloped into Khan Ghur. The Sikhs, instead of receiving Edwardes's force at that place, and practically attempting the scheme of Moolraj, encamped on the opposite side of the river, in observation of the British officer and his little army. This delay and timidity was fatal; for the lieutenant was soon joined by the infantry and a portion of the artillery of Cortlandt, whose cavalry were scouring the country. The situation of affairs became now interest-

ing and important, for the Bhawulpore forces had arrived on the enemy's side of the Chenab, within twelve miles. Edwardes made a retrograde movement, so as to place himself opposite the Bhawulpore encampment. The enemy advanced to within four miles of that position. In the course of the night, the raw levies of Edwardes contrived to cross the river in a very irregular manner, and within dangerous proximity to the enemy's patrols, but were unmolested. On the 18th, early in the morning, the lieutenant crossed with the remainder of his men, except the horses and artillery, which remained with Cortlandt on the opposite side, for a more slow and safe transport across the river. Scarcely had the lieutenant gained the opposite bank than he was attacked by the Sikh army, which had been moving up from Bugurrarah while he was gaining the passage. This was a terrible engagement. The sun had hardly risen upon river, and swamp, and undulating plains, when the Mooltanese forces fell upon the motley crowd of the British levies, and in such superior numbers that victory seemed certain. For nine hours the English officer resisted the onslaught, and by his valour, activity, presence of mind, and moral influence, kept his undisciplined forces in firm front to the foe. At last Cortlandt's guns were brought over, and made the contest somewhat equal. Later in the day, two regular regiments belonging to the colonel's division arrived, with six guns, and the enemy panic-struck fled, leaving a large proportion of their troops upon the field, slain, wounded, and prisoners, with six guns, and their entire baggage and munitions of war. The conduct of Edwardes throughout the day was splendid, and laid for him a deeper foundation still than had already existed for his military reputation.

Moolraj retreated to Mooltan, followed by the British, and the Khan of Bhawulpore, who had rendered hitherto but little assistance, and whose movements led to the suspicion that he had more sympathy with Moolraj than he dared to avow.

On the 28th of June, a Sikh brigade under the command of Sheik Emaum-ood-deen, which had been dispatched by the government of Lahore, arrived to reinforce the English. The whole army appeared before Mooltan, consisting of eighteen thousand men.

Emaum-ood-deen retired; the bulk of his force remained, and was ultimately placed under the command of Shere Singh, who professed to be on the side of the maharajah and the English, but was in reality organizing a most perilous plot of treachery and treason. While, however, the shere maintained this profession of loyalty, he was rapidly joined by other sirdars with troops, under the same pretence, but also with the same aim.

The Nawab of Bhawulpore, General Cortlandt, and Lieutenant Edwardes remained before Mooltan, constantly skirmishing with the enemy, their force being inadequate for the reduction of the place, but too strong to be easily beaten off. Sir John Littler was of opinion that the forces under the British officers and their allies, should be left as an army of observation, and no offensive operations undertaken against Mooltan until the general plans of the enemy became developed, and the English had gathered a main army sufficiently strong for the complete suppression of revolt throughout the Sikh territories. The commander-in-chief had formed the same opinion, independent of Sir John Littler's communications.

On the 13th of July, 1848, Lieutenant Edwardes warned his superiors that Shere Singh was a traitor, and was collecting forces to aid the revolt, under cover of co-operation with the English. Either the higher officials did not credit the sagacious judgment of Lieutenant Edwardes, or they neglected to act upon it. Shere Singh had ample scope for maturing his plans.

On the 22nd of July, a proclamation was issued against Moolraj, charging him with rebellion and murder.

On the 18th of August, Major-general Whish, a distinguished artillery officer, arrived with a force of seven thousand men, and took command of the whole investing army. On the 12th of September the place was bombarded, and other operations undertaken, which prepared for the finale of the struggle. On the 14th Shere Singh marched from Mooltan with his division, consisting of the finest soldiers of the Sikh army. Moolraj was anxious for the withdrawal of the sirdar; had he remained, it is probable that the forces sent by the English government against Mooltan would have failed. Lieutenant Edwardes had contrived to ferment disputes between these chiefs by letters fabricated for the purpose of deceiving them. Each chief came into the possession of a supposed correspondence between the other and the English, which the spies of Edwardes placed in their hands, pretending to betray him for sake of the Khalsa cause. The departure of Shere Singh involved operations elsewhere on the part of General, then Lord Gough, himself, as commander-in-chief of the grand army of the Punjaub, which had been collected for the suppression of the revolt. For nearly four months the operations before Mooltan were discontinued from want of reinforcements. The arrival in December of Brigadier-general the Hon. D. Dundas,

with a division of Bombay troops, enabled General Whish to decide the contest. The enemy's intrenchments were attacked on the 27th of December. A chance shell from one of the mortars blew up the magazine, causing extraordinary loss of life, and destruction of material. The grand "musjid" and many of the principal houses were laid in ruins. The granaries also were totally destroyed.

Whish was now at the head of a very large army, amounting to fifteen thousand British, European and native, and seventeen thousand of the troops of the Rajah of Bhawulpore, and other allies; he had also one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. On the 2nd of January, 1849, Mooltan, after a terrible cannonade, was stormed. The resistance was desperate, the Sikhs fighting as at Moodkee, Ferozeshah, and Sobraon, with the tenacity of men, and the ferocity of wild beasts. Old Runjeet Singh and his soldiers were well named, when called "the Lions of the Punjaub." It was not until the 21st that the citadel was surrendered. Moolraj demanded terms of capitulation. General Whish would hear of nothing but an unconditional surrender. This was at last made, and the sirdar, with firmness and dignity, delivered himself a prisoner. He made no manifestations of grief, nor allowed depression to cloud his brow. He bore himself with uncommon fortitude until he learned that banishment from his country, not death, was to be his doom; he then gave way to violent expressions of grief and despair, and begged to be executed in the country of his birth and of his love, rather than be sent away to drag out life miserably, as must be his fate when an exile. He was a murderer, and deserved a murderer's death. Such was pronounced upon him by a court-martial commissioned to try him, but he obtained the respite, which he would not accept as an act of clemency, but denounced as a refinement of cruelty.

Seldom did a conquered city display so terrible a scene as that witnessed in Mooltan. The dead and dying lay everywhere, and notwithstanding the cold season, the odour arising from putrescent corpses was intolerable. One of the first duties which the conquerors felt bound to impose upon themselves was the discovery of the bodies of their murdered countrymen, and their burial, or re-sepulture. The bodies were discovered cast into an obscure place, and covered with earth. They were exhumed and publicly interred, with military honours. Poor Anderson's own regiment was among the troops who effected the conquest, and their band played the dead march as they followed the remains of their brave and talented comrade in arms. The coffins were deposited in a grave at the highest part of the fort, with every demonstration of respect, and much manifestation of sorrow for their loss, and the cruel end which they had experienced.

The army of General Whish, which was set at liberty by this conquest, prepared to join the grand army under General Gough. Whish was a brave, prudent, and skilful artillerist, but rapidity of action was not among his soldierly qualifications. Dundas was even more tardy than Whish, and the progress made to join the commander-in-chief was so slow, as to baffle his lordship's calculations, and the operations of the campaign.

Before the junction of the two armies took place, various events befell that which Lord Gough commanded. He had been ordered to collect an army at Ferozepore. This duty was slowly and most imperfectly executed. The experience of the previous war was thrown away upon governor-general, commander-in-chief, and the executive of the army generally. All the defects of commissariat and transport remained as they were when their deficiency nearly destroyed the British army in the previous Punjaub war. This is the testimony of every writer, and every officer acquainted with the affairs of British India at that time. On the 21st of November, 1848, Lord Gough joined the grand army at Saharun, a position from which he could march with nearly equal advantage upon any point of the territory where decisive events were likely to take place.

The Punjaub takes its name from the five rivers which water it.* The Chenab is the central of these five rivers. The theatre of opening war was between the Chenab and the Indus, and bounded by the confluence of these rivers. The town of Ramnuggur lay upon the left bank of the Chenab, stretching to a distance of a mile and a half from the stream. That place was the point of support and headquarters of Shere Singh, who had, as before related, left the vicinity of Mooltan. He had now decided upon a separate line of operations. An island was situated in the middle of the Chenab, at a bend of the river opposite Ramnuggur. Shere Singh occupied the island by a brigade, and with batteries erected there commanded the ford, or nullah, as a ford at low water, or any water course, natural or artificial, is called in the vocabulary of the country. Besides the forces on the right bank of the river and on the island, the Sikhs had a strong body of troops on the left bank, which, in the first instance, it appeared to Lord Gough ought to be dislodged. The strength of the main position of Shere Singh at Ram-

* See geographical portion of this work, p. 32

nuggur was very great, it was flanked on one side by the land in the river, on the other by a grove. Between the right bank and the island the communication was maintained by boats, with which the enemy was well supplied; they were a peculiar description of craft, suitable especially for this purpose. The ford, or nullah, between the island and the left bank was not very difficult, but the descent to it was steep.

The whole of Shere Singh's arrangements were scientific. Lord Gough commenced his operations by directing the 8th light cavalry to advance along the left bank, supported by her majesty's light dragoons and the company's light horse. The 8th skirmished, the enemy receding as the supporting cavalry came up. The horse artillery, in their ever forward valour, pushed into the deep sand on the margin of the river, and brought the enemy's position at Ramnuggur within range. The guns in position there were very heavy, and opening with precision upon the light pieces of the English soon silenced them, and forced the men to retire, leaving one or two ammunition waggons behind. The 14th light dragoons were directed to charge them, supported by a regiment of native cavalry.* The 14th dragoons was commanded by Colonel William Havelock, brother to the hero who afterwards won in India a renown immortal. Colonel William Havelock was one of the most intrepid officers in the service. During the "Peninsular war" in Spain, when a mere boy, he had signalised himself by extraordinary feats of daring worthy the old Norse sea-kings, from whom he is said to have been descended. Such enthusiasm did he inspire among the Spaniards, that although seldom willing to stand before the French, they would follow young Havelock anywhere. Generally when he led them a cry would go forth, "Follow the fair boy!" and with a shout they would rush with him into dangers other officers could not induce them to encounter. This was the hero upon whom the task devolved of charging with the 14th light dragoons into the nullah. The author having described this action in the work referred to in the note, will here quote the description of the heroic General Thackwell, who was an eye-witness. That officer having noticed the events already recorded on this page, goes on to say:—"It was while the enemy were thus apparently setting us at defiance, that Lieutenant-colonel Havelock, of the 14th dragoons, requested permission to charge, and drive them from the bank. No sooner had the equivocal assent been accorded, than the flaxen-haired boy of the Peninsular, on whose deed of valour the military historian has proudly dwelt, entering into a hand gallop, at the head of his men, soon threw himself on the crowd of Sikhs who lined the high bank. The 5th light cavalry, under Lieutenant-colonel Alexander, ably supported the gallant 14th. So impetuous was the onset of these determined warriors, and so energetically and effectually did Havelock and his troopers ply their swords, that the bank was swept in a few minutes of all its swarthy occupants, who, running hastily down the bank, across the sand, threw away their standards in their flight. Not contented with having driven the enemy from this position, Havelock, animated by that fiery spirit which glowed within him, instantly resolved to exceed the limits of his mission, and renew the offensive, contrary to the real wishes of the commander-in-chief, by continuing the charge on the discomfited enemy, and driving them back across the river. Yielding to his insatiable love of glory, he brandished his sword above his head, and calling on the squadron of the 14th, in reserve under Lieutenant-colonel King, to come and support him, dashed furiously down the steep declivity into the tract of sand in which, it will be remembered, the gun had been immovably fixed, and over which Captain Ouvry had charged. The British cavalry becoming now fully exposed to view, the Sikh batteries opened a rapid and destructive fire upon them. The Khalsa infantry also, summoning fresh courage, began to stand and open matchlock fire on their pursuers. The horses of the dragoons soon became exhausted in this difficult ground, their feet every moment sinking into deep sand or mud. Our cavalry were not only exposed to the fire of the batteries across the river, but some guns, which had been dragged to the left bank, had taken up a position near the green island above alluded to, and the presence of this artillery inspired the enemy with fresh courage. The deportment of Havelock was more that of a mortal confiding in the protection of the ægis of some divinity, than that of an ordinary human being. In the last charge, always in advance, he suddenly disappeared, and the latest glimpse of that daring soldier, disclosed him in the midst of the savage enemy, his left arm half severed from his body, and dealing frantic blows with his sword, so soon doomed to droop from his trusty right hand. His last words were—'Follow me!' Some days after the action,

* In the author's Continuation of *Hume and Smollett's History of England* he described, upon what appeared to be adequate authority, this regiment as the 3rd; General Thackwell says it was the 5th. See *Nolan's Hume and Smollett*, chap. lv. p. 729, and Thackwell's *Sikh War*, p. 40.

a mutilated corpse was discovered, which the chaplain of the army, Mr. Whiting, recognised by the hair on the body to be that of this gallant but ill-fated sabreur. Such a death was worthy of William Havelock."

The slaughter of the brigade commanded by Havelock was not the only misfortune which befell the army in the rash attempt upon the nullah. Major-general Cureton rode up with an order of retreat from Lord Gough. The moment he delivered the order he received two balls simultaneously, and fell dead from his horse. Thus two of the finest cavalry officers in the British, or in any other army, perished in this ill-fated charge. The troops retired discomfited and dispirited.

On the 30th of November, Captain Nicholson, whose services had so often proved available in the civil department, discovered a small ford higher up the river; he had also the address to provide some boats. At this point Major-general Thackwell was ordered to cross, and take the enemy on that flank, while Lord Gough remained in front watching for any opportunity for striking a deadly blow, which the movement of Thackwell might create. It was not an easy task for the general to cross by the imperfect ford, and scanty supply of boats. His dispositions were skilful, but his difficulties were formidable. On the 3rd of December he effected the passage. Shere Singh did not, however, allow him to surprise his flank, nor to pass to his rear. He moved out an adequate force to check the movement of the English general. On the 4th of December Thackwell was himself menaced on his flank by guns and cavalry. His orders fettered him. Nothing was left to his discretion, although he was quite as competent as the commander-in-chief to conduct difficult operations in the face of an enemy. Thackwell's orders barely allowed of his replying to the enemy's cannonade, but he made such able dispositions as deceived the enemy both as to the amount of his force and his intentions, and the Sikh force retired upon its main body. The action, chiefly an artillery battle, which arose from the flank movement of General Thackwell, takes the name of the battle of Sodalapore, although it was more a series of demonstrations and a duel of artillery than a battle. General Thackwell, having been a good historian of war as well as a distinguished actor, in his own words shall relate the course of a conflict which was better known to him than to any one who has told the tale of his success:—"After a cannonade of about two hours the fire of the enemy slackened, and I sent Lieutenant Patton to desire the cavalry on the right to charge and take the enemy's guns, if possible, intending to support them by moving the brigades in echelon, from the right at intervals, according to circumstances; but as no opportunity offered for the cavalry to charge, and so little of daylight remained, I deemed it safer to remain in my position than attempt to drive back an enemy so strongly posted on their right and centre, with prospect of having to attack their intrenched position afterwards. From this position the Sikhs began to retire at about twelve o'clock at night, as was afterwards ascertained, and as was conjectured by the barking of dogs in their rear. I have every reason to believe that Shere Singh attacked with twenty guns; and nearly the whole of the Sikh army were employed against my position, which was by no means what I could have wished it; but the fire of our artillery was so effective that he did not dare to bring his masses to the front, and my brave, steady, and ardent infantry, whom I had caused to lie down to avoid the heavy fire, had no chance of firing a shot, except a few companies on the left of the line. The enemy's loss has been severe; ours, comparatively, very small."* The force which had passed over with General Thackwell, and which followed afterwards, was a small one:—Three troops of horse artillery, two light field-batteries,† her majesty's 3rd light dragoons, two regiments of light cavalry, one irregular cavalry, her majesty's 24th and 61st regiments of infantry, five regiments of native infantry, and two companies of pioneers. The two 18-pounders and the pontoon train were sent back.

Shere Singh was partly influenced in drawing in that body of troops by the cannonade with which Lord Gough played upon the island, and the batteries of Ramnuggur. Thackwell advanced from Wurzerabad, along the river until he arrived within a short distance of Ramnuggur, where there was another ford. This enabled him to protect the passage across of a brigade of infantry, under General Godby. These plans led the enemy to abandon his position. General Gilbert, with a brigade of cavalry, was moved across, which caused Shere Singh to quicken his retreat. The proceedings of Lord Gough were so leisurely, that the Sikh general had no difficulty in moving away with impunity, and finding a strong position suitable to his projects. It was not until the 28th of December that Lord Gough and the rest of the army crossed the river. The subsequent movements and struggles of both armies must be reserved for another chapter.

* Seventy-three men and forty-eight horses killed and wounded.

† Thirty guns sent, two were sent away, leaving only twenty-eight guns.

## CHAPTER CXXI.

SHERE SINGH RETREATS FROM RAMNUGGUR TO RUSSOOL—BATTLE OF CHILLIANWALLAH—OPERATIONS AGAINST RAM SINGH IN THE RAREE DOAB—STORMING OF THE DULLAH HEIGHTS—BATTLE OF GOOJERAT—DEFEAT AND SURRENDER OF THE SIKH ARMY—ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAUB.

THE slow movements of the English enabled Shere Singh to acquire new strength. His troops accumulated to the number of forty thousand men, all, or nearly all, in a high state of discipline, into which French and British officers had brought them during the latter years of Runjeet Singh's life, and for some time after his death. A powerful artillery of the heaviest calibre perhaps ever exercised in field operations, swelled the magnitude and strength of that army. This force of guns has been variously estimated from sixty-two to ninety.* Shere Singh marched to the Jhelum, where he took post near the village of Russool. The position which he had abandoned was very strong, but the movement of Thackwell led him to despair of holding it, and in choosing Russool he perhaps made a selection still more eligible for a grand contest. It also more easily led him to combine with Chuttur Singh, and other chiefs, and concentrate the whole. Chuttur had reduced the fort of Attock, after it had been well defended by Major Herbert. That officer contrived to send intelligence of its fall to the commander-in-chief, and to warn him that Chuttur Singh intended to form a junction with Shere Singh. The slow movements of Lord Gough were quickened by this information, and he resolved, if possible, to bring the Sikhs to battle before the grand junction of their forces had taken place. This was a resolution which his lordship should have taken sooner, and the officials at Calcutta should have better provided him with means for the onerous task which thus devolved upon him in the re-subjugation of the Punjaub. Lord Gough formed an erroneous opinion as to the strength of the ground taken up by Shere Singh, and as to its peculiarities, circumstances which considerably influenced the remainder of the campaign. When the commander-in-chief arrived before the village of Russool, he reconnoitered the enemy's lines, the right of which rested on the village of Luckneewallah, and Futteh-Shah-le-Chuck, the left on the village of Russool by the Jhelum, and the centre, where the main strength of the enemy was gathered, lay around the village of Chillianwallah. The position chosen was upon the southern extremity of a low line of hills. That part of the range was more especially cut up by nullahs, intersected by ravines, and obstructed by craggy eminences, obstacles to the approach of an assailing force which had been keenly observed, and skilfully discriminated by the artful and vigilant officer by whom the Sikhs were commanded. Lord Gough determined to bring the enemy to a general action, and prepared his measures accordingly. The author of this history may venture to say, that no description which has appeared of the battle that ensued has so particularized its changing fortunes, without encumbering the narrative by tedious or technical details, as the account which he published in his Continuation of *Hume and Smollett's England*,* which he therefore here transcribes.

The advance to the ground chosen by the sirdar was impeded by a jungle, to avoid which, and to distract the enemy's attention, Lord Gough took a considerable *détour* to the right. He succeeded in avoiding the intricacies of the jungle, but not in distracting the attention of Shere Singh. That general moved from his encampment, and took ground in advance, a manœuvre calculated to hide the strength of his position, and to disconcert any previous arrangements of the British commander.

About noon on the 13th, Lord Gough was before the village of Russool, and finding a very strong picket of the enemy on a mound close to that place, his lordship, after some fighting, dislodged it. Ascending the mound, the general and his staff beheld the Khalsa army arranged along the furrowed hills in all the majestic array of war. The British officers gazed with admiration and professional ardour upon the long lines of compact infantry, and the well-marshalled cavalry, mustered in their relative proportions and positions with scientific exactness. The sirdar's batteries were chiefly masked by jungle. The scene was striking in its aspect, the magnitude of the events associated with it, and the excitement it stirred up within the hearts of the brave. Alas, how many noble hearts were necessarily

* Nolan's Continuation of *Hume and Smollett*; Hugh Murray; Major Hough; Thornton, *The Three Presidencies*.

* This work is now publishing by J. S. Virtue, Ivy Lane and City Road.

to bleed before victory crowned the arms of England, and that fine Khalsa army followed the destinies of England's Asiatic foes! Lord Gough found that he could not turn the flanks of the sirdar's army, they were so protected by jungle, unless he detached a portion of his army to a considerable distance, which he deemed unsafe. The day was too far advanced to begin any operations. The engineer officers were ordered to examine the country in front, and the quarter-master-general was about to take up ground for the encampment, when the enemy advanced some horse artillery, and opened a fire upon the skirmishers in front of Russool. Lord Gough ordered his heavy guns to open upon the enemy's artillery, and for this purpose they were advanced to an open space in front of the village. Shere Singh did not act with his usual good strategy in exposing the positions of so many of his cannon which the jungle had concealed, and which might have remained hidden until an attack upon his line would have afforded him opportunity to use them with sudden and terrible advantage, as he afterwards was enabled to do with those on his right. As it was, he replied to the British cannonade with such a force of his field-artillery as constrained Lord Gough to draw up in order of battle, lest in the night the sirdar's guns should be moved still more forward, and open on his camp. His lordship, keeping his heavy guns on the centre, placed Sir Walter Gilbert's division on his right, flanked by Brigadier Pope's brigade of cavalry, strengthened by her majesty's 14th light dragoons, and three troops of horse artillery, under Colonel Grant. This arrangement was necessitated by the large force of cavalry observed upon the enemy's left. On the left of the British line, Brigadier-general Campbell's division was formed, flanked by Brigadier White's cavalry, and three troops of horse artillery under Colonel Brind. The demonstrations of the enemy were such that, late as was the hour, and weary as the troops were with marching, Lord Gough determined to attack at once. His lordship's critics, influenced by the events which followed, have severely censured him for attacking under such circumstances, more especially as the ground was unknown to his lordship. It was true that sufficient time had not been obtained to reconnoitre the enemy's positions, but it was not correct to allege that Lord Gough was entirely unacquainted with the ground, as he had previously known it, especially the country to the left of the enemy. It was generally supposed by his lordship's censors that the attack was a wanton waste of life, and arose from the brave, rash, and unreflecting temperament of the general, and the irritation caused by the sudden and severe artillery fire opened upon him. On the other hand, the Duke of Wellington declared that he would, in Lord Gough's place, have acted as he had done; and so full of confidence were the Sikhs in their numbers and resolution, that had not the general given battle, he would have been obliged to defend himself from a desperate night attack under circumstances far less favourable. There can be no doubt, on the part of any who know the noble old soldier, that he acted from his sense of duty to his army and his country, and not from personal irritation.

The battle began, or, it may be said, was resumed, by a heavy cannonade, which lasted for more than an hour, when Lord Gough ordered his left to advance, making a flank movement. In executing this manœuvre, the troops exposed their own flank to a galling fire from heavy guns, the positions of which had remained covered by jungle, and the Sikh batteries were so placed as to pour a cross-fire, the most destructive, upon the British. When the 3rd and 4th brigades reached the enemy's guns, they were received by a cannonade so awful that they were obliged to retire. As soon as it was known that these two brigades were engaged, the 5th, under Brigadier Mountain, was ordered to storm the centre. They were received with round-shot the moment they moved, with grape and canister as they advanced through the jungle, and, finally, with musketry within close and deadly range. Many of the Sikh soldiers, at the cost of their own life, advanced and shot down the British officers. Brigadier Mountain had distinguished himself in China, and had the entire confidence of Lord Gough, under whom he had served there. Under his able guidance, the British stormed the batteries and spiked the guns, under a flank fire from other guns, which they also spiked; while the enemy, without giving way, poured upon them musket-balls thick as hail. Detachments of musketeers took them on each flank; and some getting to their rear among the jungle, fired upon them with deadly aim. The British were thus compelled to cut their way back to their own lines through hosts of encircling foes. While this was going on upon the centre, Sir Walter Gilbert advanced against the enemy's left. That general occupied the extreme right of his division, and Brigadier Godby the extreme left. They marched through a dense jungle almost unmolested, and then were confronted by infantry. Had the British at once charged with the bayonet, the result might for them have been less sanguinary; they, however, opened

fire, and the Sikhs, more numerous, returned the fire, and outflanked them. Two companies of the 2nd (or Queen's) British regiment charged with the bayonet, but were surrounded. These gallant and skilful soldiers immediately faced about, and after some file-firing, charged, rear-rank in front. At this critical moment a field battery arrived, and drove back the enemy by the precision of their fire. Several guns were here captured by the British. The heroism and losses of the 2nd regiment were very great. While the infantry had thus been engaged in close and deadly battle, the cavalry also were occupied both on the left and right. On the former flank of the British, Brigadier White's brigade charged the enemy, covering the retreat of the infantry. On the extreme right, Brigadier Pope's brigade, strengthened, as has been already shown, by the temporary attachment of the 14th light dragoons of the queen's army, were ordered to charge a body of the enemy's cavalry, the number of which was much superior. Instead of obeying the orders given, they wheeled right about, and galloped off the field, breaking through the artillery, upsetting artillerymen, drivers, and waggons in their course, until they reached the field-hospital. According to some narrations of this transaction, the men galloped away under a mistake of orders; other accounts represent this to have been impossible, because their own officers, and officers of the artillery, endeavoured to stop and rally them without success, except so far as a portion of the 9th lancers was concerned. The enemy was not slow to take advantage of this extraordinary flight; they pursued—dashed in among the horse artillery—cut down seventy-five gunners, and took six guns. The arrival of artillery reserves, the rallying of a portion of the 9th lancers, the steadiness of the infantry, prevented the destruction of the whole right wing. The fresh artillery which came up opened upon the Sikh cavalry with grape and canister with such precision and fury that they retreated. Two of the captured guns were recovered in the retreat. The Sikhs gradually withdrew, leaving the field of battle in possession of the British, who, on this account, claimed the victory. The enemy, in the night, carried away all the guns which the British had spiked during the action, the four pieces of horse artillery which they took on the British right, and five stand of colours, and on these grounds also claimed the victory; and a salute of twenty-one guns in honour of the triumph was, as the English thought, most impudently fired. This was also done at Attock, in the capital of Chuttur Singh, and wherever the Sikh troops held a position. The Sikhs also claimed the victory for the same reason as the English did, being left in possession of the field. It was, in truth, a drawn battle. The Sikhs having began the engagement, and the English having retained the ground on which they fought, while the former withdrew their line, the battle may more correctly be said to have been won by the British; but the advantages gained were altogether on the part of the Sikhs, who continued to occupy for a month positions from which the British did not attempt to dislodge them. During that time Lord Gough waited for reinforcements, and felt the tardy arrival of some of the troops whose presence had been detained before Mooltan, as has already been shown.

The loss sustained by the Sikhs it is impossible to calculate; according to themselves it was much less than that of the English; and this is credible, when the strength of their position is considered, and the losses to which the unaccountable flight of Pope's brigade exposed the British right. The English loss, according to the official returns, was three thousand men in killed and wounded, nearly one-third of whom belonged to the former class; this, however, did not comprehend all the slain, for many were so horribly wounded by the close discharge of artillery that they died in a few days. The proportion of the wounded who were hit mortally was beyond that which usually occurs in battle. There were also many desertions of sepoy soldiers to Shere Singh, but more especially of Sikh soldiery under Lord Gough's command.

The flight of the large body of cavalry under Brigadier Pope was the subject of much investigation and criticism. The brigadier was too old for the duties imposed upon him; he had no experience in war, and was placed in the command from seniority. This gave occasion in England to denounce the substitution of seniority for fitness, so common in the British army. Unhappily, the officer himself, who was so much concerned in the responsibility of the event, and who had been much respected by his brother officers and his commander, was placed beyond all human accountability, for he fell in front of his fugitive soldiers. Colonel King, of the 14th light dragoons, who succeeded Colonel Havelock, who fell at Ramnuggur, was also much censured. His defence was, that he did his utmost to rally his men in vain; that they were generally light small men, mounted upon light small horses; whereas the cavalry immediately opposed to them were not only much more numerous, but cuirassiers, powerful heavy men, with

long and superior swords, and admirably mounted. The colonel complained of the bad manufacture of the English weapons, which bent against the swords or cuirasses of the Sikh cavalry. When Sir Charles Napier arrived to command the forces in India late in the spring, he inspected the 14th, and addressed them, referring to the allegations of their colonel, and telling them that they were fine, stalwart, broad-chested fellows, that would follow anywhere that they were led. Colonel King took this so much to heart that he retired from the field of inspection and shot himself. Sir William Napier (brother to Sir Charles) afterwards denied in the London newspapers that his brother intended to cast any reflection upon Colonel King. It was, however, generally believed in the army, that Sir Charles levelled a censure at the unfortunate officer, whose sensitive honour could not endure such a reflection from so high an authority. His fate excited deep commiseration, and the address of Sir Charles was disapproved of indignantly by the whole army.

The generalship of Lord Gough became the subject of anonymous criticism in India, and open attack in England; but the brave and skilful general proved, at the subsequent battle of Gujerat, that he knew how to gain victory at as little cost of blood as it was possible for military knowledge to ensure. The late drawn battle—if such it may be called—was designated the battle of Chillianwallah, after a village in the immediate neighbourhood of which the British had encamped. The Sikhs know it as the battle of Russool, the more appropriate name to give it, as it was in its vicinity the chief strength of the Sikh position was found.

The results of this battle were important; the Sikhs became encouraged, and the Sikh generals felt that the superiority of the English in natural talent or military science, was not such as to destroy the hopes of the sirdars to shake off the English yoke, and perhaps assert an ascendancy of the Khalsa over India. In England the shame and the alarm were great. Lord John Russell announced in parliament that Sir Charles Napier should be appointed to the command of the forces, and this was received with loud cheers. His lordship knew very well that the war would be over before Sir Charles could arrive to conduct it, but the announcement answered the end for which it was intended—it was mere parliamentary "clap-trap." His lordship did *not* announce a reform in the military administration, by means of which campaigns would be conducted by competent generals, whether successful or unsuccessful, with honour to themselves and their country. It is scarcely necessary to say that before Sir Charles Napier arrived, Lord Gough had retrieved his own renown and the credit of English arms. That Lord John Russell only made one of his customary plausible pretexts in this matter became pretty evident, from the fact that no dispatch was shown in sending out Sir Charles. That gallant man had no wish to go. Lord Dalhousie had now assumed the government of India, and with him it was not likely that the mercurial and open-mouthed Sir Charles would ever agree. Before that could be brought to the test, the second Sikh war was over.

The battle of Chillianwallah almost paralysed Lord Gough. He ordered General Wheeler with a force to join him, and a reserve under Sir Dudley Hill. Gholab Singh, the Maharajah of Cashmere, had sent ten thousand men to the sphere of action, but they behaved pretty much as the Spaniards did in the "Peninsular war,"—they left the English and their opponents to fight, reserving to themselves the opportunity to take such advantage as an armed neutrality might offer.

Dost Mohammed of Cabul, our professed ally, caused considerable apprehension after the battle of Chillianwallah. He assisted the Sikhs with an army of twelve thousand men, and it was feared that a large army of Affghans would pour upon India, with the energy and force of the Dooranee empire. The Affghan auxiliaries were chiefly cavalry, undisciplined, tardy in their movements, and not zealous in the war. The Affghans were Mohammedans, and regarded the true Sikhs as heretics or infidels, and therefore did not deem it desirable to risk much to serve one class of infidels against another, although on the whole they preferred the Sikhs.

When the government published, which they did ostentatiously, the list of guns, &c., captured at Chillianwallah, confidence was in a great measure restored to the army throughout India, for it was supposed that after all the rumours of failure there must have been a victory if cannon were left in the hands of the British; for it was well-known that the Sikh soldier patted his gun as he did his horse, and regarded it with similar affection.

Lord Gough was obliged to remain inactive, expecting reinforcements, which were under the command of Wheeler in one direction, and Whish in another. The progress of the latter was discreditably slow, especially of the Bombay column, under the command of the Hon. General Dundas. Wheeler's force had hard and useful work to do, before they could join the grand army. This was the conquest of Ram Singh, chief of the Raree Doab. This

leader occupied a formidable post in his territory, called the Dullah heights.

In the middle of January Wheeler attacked this position, but so inaccessible was the fastness that the most he could do, and that with considerable loss, was to drive out Ram Singh and his followers, whereas the gallant general hoped to accomplish either his capture or destruction. On the 11th, Wheeler ordered the 4th native infantry to take up a position to the northward of the enemy's post, so as to intercept him in case he should be obliged to evacuate the fort, and retreat in that direction; the main force tarried at Shorpore, where they had been in quarters, until the 13th, the sappers, pioneers, and labourers being engaged in making a practicable road through an exceedingly difficult country, consisting of defiles and "ghauts." This road was laid for about seven miles, as far as the village of Cote on the course of the Ravee, about three miles distant from Ram Singh's position. On the 14th, the little army of General Wheeler took up ground under the Dullah heights. That day and the next was occupied in cutting roads, transporting guns and mortars upon elephants, and making arrangements for storming the fort. On the morning of the latter day, Captain Hicks, of the 3rd native infantry, was dispatched with four companies of that regiment, and Mr. Hodgson, with two companies of the Guide corps, to take post west of the Dullah heights, on the opposite bank of the Ravee. The precautions taken by detaching these bodies of men were necessary from the topographical character of the neighbourhood. The Ravee, debouching from the mountainous region in which it has its birth, flows through a beautiful valley, where a series of hills lying from east to west presented an unequal ridge; on this ridge, overlooking the river, the little village of Dullah was situated, in which Ram Singh had so cleverly fortified himself. In every direction from the village the rock dipped almost perpendicularly, beside being protected by the river, which wound partly around it. Access was by paths, partly lying in hollows formed by former streams, and partly cut through the rock. These paths were circuitous, and nearly covered with brushwood, admitting only by single file of an approach to the platform on which the village rested. On either side of the path were precipices from twenty to eighty feet deep, and huge boulders lay profusely across the way. Very few men might defend this position against very many. The 4th native regiment was to advance against the face of this defence, from the direction where it had taken post some days, and the signal was to be the firing of a gun from the British camp. The 3rd and the Guides were at the same moment ordered, by the same signal, to advance against the west of the ridge, and crown a height visible from head-quarters. As soon as the success of this detachment was ascertained, the remainder of the 3rd regiment, and two hundred men of the 2nd irregular cavalry, who, with Lieutenant Swinton, had volunteered to serve on foot, were to advance upon another face of the ridge, from the little village of Chulbarah, where they had been posted; this party, ascending a spur of the hill on its left, was to co-operate opportunely with the advance of the other detachments. Major Fisher, at the head of a body of regular native infantry and irregular cavalry, with guns mounted upon elephants, were in support, and to ascend (the cavalry, of course, dismounting) when the various detachments had come well into action. There was yet another point upon which an ascent was to be attempted—that which was in front of the camp of the British. Major Davidson, with a few hundred Sikh auxiliaries, regular and irregular, supported by two companies of the 1st Sikh light infantry, under Lieutenant Peel, was ordered to make this attempt. At the moment for action, the signal gun was fired, but no one appeared to take any notice of it—no men were seen to make their way along the ridge. There was a long pause on the side of the British, the guns of the enemy at the same time firing. None of the detachments appearing on the ridge, Major Butler was ordered to attempt to storm it, in conjunction with the other party already appointed to ascend in front: this was happily accomplished, after a very sharp conflict. Major Davidson was shot through the hand, Lieutenant Peel was mortally wounded, and Lieutenant Christie killed. The detached parties, trusting to native guides, were purposely misled, and thus could not come into action. Ram Singh had by this means the way kept open for his retreat when resistance was no longer possible, and all the skilful arrangements that had been made to catch the eagle in his eyrie were disappointed by the treachery of the natives, who had been, unfortunately, too implicitly trusted in an important service.

### BATTLE OF GUJERAT.

Shere Singh maintained his post in the neighbourhood of Russool until the 12th of February, when he retired with coolness and deliberation. Lord Gough instituted a pursuit, but the Sikh cavalry covered the retreat of the army effectually. The approach, at last, of General Whish, greatly embarrassed the move-

ments of the Sikh chief. He was obliged, by the combinations which General Whish and Lord Gough were able to effect, to take post at Gujerat, where he requested Chuttur Singh to join him with his whole force, for he was too sagacious not to perceive that the war was approaching its crisis. Chuttur accomplished the junction, and then the most formidable army the English had ever encountered in the East were drawn up in the lines of Gujerat. The number of men was scarcely less than eighty thousand ;* the pieces of ordnance were fifty-nine. The whole force of Lord Gough, after the junction of Whish, did not much exceed twenty-five thousand men, but his artillery was superior to that of the enemy ; for, although Shere Singh's pieces were heavy metal, and his artillerymen practised in battle, as well as thoroughly drilled on the French system, Whish had brought with him heavy guns, and the artillerymen, officers, and privates of Lord Gough's army were excellent. The calibre of the British guns was, for the first time during the two campaigns, superior to that of the Sikhs; Major-general Whish was especially competent to direct that arm of the service.

The troops under the command of Lord Gough were : Cavalry—Her majesty's 3rd, 9th, and 14th light dragoons; Bengal 1st, 5th, 6th, and 8th light cavalry ; 3rd and 9th irregular cavalry; detachments of 11th and 14th irregular cavalry, Scinde horse. Artillery—Nine troops horse artillery, and four light field-batteries (one each of the Bombay army). Infantry—Her majesty's 10th, 29th, and 32nd foot; Bengal 2nd European regiment; 8th, 13th, 15th, 25th, 30th, 31st, 32nd, 36th, 45th, 46th, 51st, 52nd, 56th, 69th, 70th, and 72nd. In addition to these was a strong brigade, under the Hon. Major-general Dundas, of Bombay infantry, consisting of the 1st Bombay European Fusiliers, and several native regiments. Shere Singh made the village of Gujerat his head-quarters. It was curiously, and for military purposes, strongly situated between the Jhelum and the Chenab, but nearer to the Jhelum. It was nearly surrounded by a brook, which ran rather among than over the pebbles which lay in its bed, although in a few places pools of water were collected to some considerable depth. Between that brook and the town the main position of Shere Singh lay. Lord Gough resolved not to despise his enemy on this occasion, or by any act of precipitancy give him advantage. He also resolved to contest this battle upon the strictest principles of military science, so that no unfavourable critiques should be made upon his generalship at home. He began the action by employing his superior force of artillery, and contrived to use it to the utmost, causing great havoc in the ranks of the enemy, and smashing guns and tumbrils along his lines.

Shere Singh strove to bring into efficient play that arm of war in which he was more particularly superior to his enemy—the cavalry. With his numerous horse he endeavoured to outflank Lord Gough. Vast bodies of cavalry were thrown on either flank, and the skill, energy, and courage of the British horsemen were taxed to the uttermost to prevent this design. Shere Singh did not, however, display his usual generalship on this occasion; all his movements showed a mind perturbed and anxious. He did not conceal the position of his batteries as he had so cleverly done at Chillianwallah, but opening fire at long range betrayed the arrangement of his cannon before he could make the weapons seriously injurious to his foe. This fault, considering the superiority of artillery power on the part of the English, was irredeemable. Lord Gough, having nearly silenced the Sikh guns, and out-manœuvred their cavalry upon his flanks, attacked with his infantry, throwing his right against the left centre, and the right of the enemy's left. The difficulty was in passing the deep empty brook, or nullah, in doing which the guns of the enemy could be brought to bear, as the English cannon would necessarily cease their fire. This impediment was found formidable ; some valuable lives were lost in passing that "Rubicon;" but success attended the attempt, in spite of the grape and canister of the field-pieces, and the rolling volleys of musketry. The English ascended the banks of the nullah, brought the bayonet to the charge, dashed forward, penetrated the line, and separated the enemy's left and centre. Although that successful attack did not end the struggle, it virtually decided the battle. Shere Singh indeed must have seen, after his flank operations had failed, that if the British infantry passed the nullah his guns would be lost, as well as the battle. Scarcely had the British right accomplished the purpose for which they were directed against the enemy's line, than the left also cleared the nullah, and turned his right wing, huddling together his flanks in a confused mass upon his centre. Even then the gallant Sikhs hoped for victory. Their cavalry charged the flanks of the victorious infantry, but were in their turn brought down by successive close rounds from the horse artillery, and then their broken squadrons were charged by the English cavalry. Thus left free to follow their course of conquest, the English infantry of both flanks wheeled round

* Lord Gough's estimate was 61,500.

the village of Gujerat, pouring continuous volleys of musketry into the packed masses of the divided Sikh infantry, and inflicting horrible slaughter. The battle was won. Campbell and Dundas with their infantry, Gilbert, with cavalry and artillery, relentlessly pursued, exacting a fearful vengeance for the losses at the nullah of Ramnuggur, and the hill-sides of Russool. The Sikh army was broken. Lord Gough rested the main body of his army, entrusting to General Gilbert, with the cavalry, horse artillery, and light infantry, the further prosecution of pursuit. Thus, so far as active fighting was concerned, ended the second Sikh war.

Sir Walter Gilbert pursued the enemy unremittingly, until at last a surrender was compelled. The Affghans deserted the fallen fortunes of their confederates, and fled through the Khoree Pass. The Affghans lost half their number in the field, and a large portion of the remainder in retreat. Dost Mohammed Khan submittted to entreaties for peace, and as the English had no desire for another Affghan war, they accepted his offers, and extended forgiveness. The Sikh army surrendered, forty-one guns were captured, and the whole Khalsa force remaining after so many fields of slaughter gave up their arms, and, obtaining a gratuity of a rupee each, dispersed to their homes. During the war the Sikhs lost one hundred and sixty pieces of cannon, and twenty thousand stand of infantry arms. The British guns taken at Chillianwallah were all restored. The consequences of the Sikh war were the annexation of the Punjaub, and the entire destruction of the Khalsa army. The expense of treasure, by which the result was purchased, was very great, The cost of human life was also great. The policy of the British government, and the grounds of it, were made public in the following proclamation, issued on the 29th of March, by the governor-general :—

For many years, in the time of Maharajah Runjeet Singh, peace and friendship prevailed between the British nation and the Sikhs. When Runjeet Singh was dead, and his wisdom no longer guided the counsels of the state, the sirdar's and the Khalsa army, without provocation and without cause, suddenly invaded the British territories. Their army was again and again defeated. They were driven, with slaughter and in shame, from the country they had invaded, and at the gates of Lahore the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh tendered to the governor-general the submission of himself and his chiefs, and solicited the clemency of the British government. The governor-general extended his clemency to the state of Lahore; he generously spared the kingdom which he had acquired a just right to subvert; and the maharajah having been replaced on the throne, treaties of friendship were formed between the states.

The British have faithfully kept their word, and have scrupulously observed every obligation which the treaties imposed upon them. But the Sikh people and their chiefs have, on their part, grossly and faithlessly violated the promises by which they were bound. Of their annual tribute, no portion whatever has at any time been paid, and large sums advanced by the government of India have never been repaid. The control of the British government, to which they voluntarily submitted themselves, has been resisted by arms. Peace has been cast aside. British officers have been murdered when acting for the state; others engaged in the like employment have been treacherously thrown into prison. Finally, the army of the state and the whole Sikh people, joined by many of the sirdars of the Punjaub who signed the treaties, and led by a member of the regency itself, have risen in arms against us, and have waged a fierce and bloody war for the proclaimed purpose of destroying the British and their power.

The government of India formerly declared that it desired no further conquest, and it proved by its acts the sincerity of its professions. The government of India has no desire for conquest now—but it is bound, in its duty, to provide fully for its own security, and to guard the interests of those committed to its charge. To that end, and as the only sure mode of protecting the state from the perpetual recurrence of unprovoked and wasting wars, the governor-general is compelled to resolve upon the entire subjection of a people whom their own government has long been unable to control, and whom (as events have now shown) no punishment can deter from violence, no acts of friendship can conciliate to peace. Wherefore, the governor-general of India has declared, and hereby proclaims, that the kingdom of the Punjaub is at an end; and that all the territories of Maharajah Dhuleep Singh are now and henceforth a portion of the British empire in India.

His Highness the Maharajah shall be treated with consideration and with honour. The few chiefs who have not engaged in hostilities against the British shall retain their property and their rank. The British government will leave to all the people, whether Mussulman, Hindoo, or Sikh, the free exercise of their own religions; but it will not permit any man to interfere with others in the observance of such forms as their respective religions may either enjoin or permit. The jagheers, and all the property of sirdars and others who have been in arms against the British, shall be confiscated to the state. The defences of every fortified place in the Punjaub, which is not occupied by British troops, shall be totally destroyed, and effectual measures shall be taken to deprive the people of the means of renewing either tumult or war.

The governor-general calls upon all the inhabitants of the Punjaub, sirdars and people, to submit themselves peaceably to the authority of the British government, which has hereby been proclaimed. Over those who shall live as obedient and peaceful subjects of the state, the British government will rule with mildness and beneficence. But if resistance to constituted authority shall again be attempted—if violence and turbulence be renewed, the governor-general warns the people of the Punjaub that the time for leniency with them has passed away, and that their offence will be punished with prompt and most rigorous severity.

The decisive measures which this proclamation indicated, had the desired effect. The Punjaub gradually settled down, its administration was committed to able men, and the people were taught to rely on their own peaceable industry and a just government for prosperity. A new era dawned upon that rich but distracted realm, which became the glory of English government in India, so that when some years later the native army of Bengal, by which its subjugation was chiefly

effected, mutinied, the Sikhs remained loyal. Among the officers who so nobly fought and conquered in that formidable war, none held a more useful and honourable position than Major-general Thackwell. It was the last campaign in which the gifted veteran ever fought. He returned to his country, and enjoyed the respect of all classes. Some notice of his career as a whole is desirable, as he has lately (April, 1859) paid "the debt of nature," and is numbered with the long line of departed heroes who have made the name of Great Britain illustrious. He entered the army in April, 1800, and during his career of nearly sixty years had gained the highest distinction in the service, particularly in the East Indies. Sir Joseph's services in the Peninsula are thus recorded by Hart:—"Served the campaign in Gallicia and Leon under Sir John Moore, and was engaged in several skirmishes, and present at the battle of Corunna; served the campaigns of 1813 and 1814 in the Peninsula, including the battle of Vittoria, the Pyrenees in front of Pampeluna, the 27th, 28th, 29th, and 30th July; blockade of Pampeluna from the 18th to the 31st of October, when it surrendered; battle of Orthes, affair of Tarbes, and battle of Toulouse, besides many affairs of advanced guards, outposts, &c. Served also the campaign of 1815, including the action at Quatre Bras, the retreat on the following day, and battle of Waterloo. Commanded the cavalry division of the army of the Indus during the Affganistan campaign; was present at the storm and capture of Ghizni, and commanded the 2nd column of the army on its march from Cabul to Bengal." He commanded the cavalry division of the army of Gwalior throughout the Mahratta war in 1843, and commanded the cavalry division at the action of Maharajpore, on the 29th December of that year. Sir Joseph greatly distinguished himself in the operations against the Sikhs in the campaigns of 1846 and 1849, for which eminent services he received the thanks of parliament and of the East India Company, and was rewarded in the last mentioned year by her majesty nominating him a Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, the gallant general having formerly for his military services been made a Companion and Knight of that Order. During his honourable career in the service he had been several times wounded. At Vittoria he was severely contused on the right shoulder, and at Waterloo he was so badly wounded that he had to have his left arm amputated, and had two horses shot under him. On his return to England from the East Indies he was appointed Inspector-General of Cavalry in succession to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge. In 1834 he was made a knight of the Hanoverian Order, had received the silver war medal and three clasps for his services in the Peninsula, a medal for Sobraon, where he commanded the cavalry, and a medal and clasps for the last Punjaub campaign, also the empty honour of the Dooranee Order for services in Affghanistan. In November, 1849, he was appointed colonel of the 16th (the Queen's) regiment of light dragoons (Lancers). He was an intimate friend of the late General Havelock, and of Lord Clyde, Sir Harry Smith, Lord Gough, and other noble and gallant veterans of the army. His commissions bore date as follows:—Cornet, 22nd of April, 1800; lieutenant, 13th of June, 1801; captain, 9th of April, 1807; major, 18th of June, 1815; lieutenant-colonel, 21st of June, 1817; colonel, 10th of January, 1837; major-general, 9th of November, 1846; and lieutenant-general, 20th of June, 1854.

The *United Service Gazette*, for May, 1859 gives the following interesting account of the last act of homage which his country paid to his gallantry, and long and efficient services:—"Lieutenant-General Sir Joseph Thackwell, G.C.B., was buried in Corkbeg churchyard, which is distant about a mile from Aghada House, and twenty miles from Cork, on the 15th instant. The coffin was borne to the grave on the shoulders of his sorrow-stricken tenantry. The peasantry, who had swarmed to the spot from the neighbouring districts, lined the road from Aghada House to the church, as a last tribute of respect to one whose noble deeds of daring occupy an important place in history's pages. The Irish naval commander-in-chief, Admiral Talbot, with many other naval and military officers in full uniform, formed part of the funeral procession. The coast-guard from all the stations in the vicinity preserved order along the line of route. The badge and collar of a Grand Cross of the Bath, the insignia of a Knight of Hanover, and of the Dooranee Order, and the medals for the Peninsular, Waterloo, Affghan, Mahratta, and Sikh campaigns, so well earned by the lamented deceased, were tastefully arranged on a cushion, which was carried before the coffin by four officers. Notwithstanding all this glittering display, it was not a military funeral, there not being sufficient artillery, cavalry, and infantry at Cork to pay the honours due to a lieutenant-general. The gallant *sabreur's* remains lie near the mausoleum of the Roche family, with which he was connected by marriage, a family of which Lord Fermoy, the lord-lieutenant of Cork, is the present head. No cavalry officer ever saw more service."

## CHAPTER CXXII.

GENERAL AFFAIRS OF INDIA UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF SIR HENRY (LORD) HARDINGE—HIS DEPARTURE—ARRIVAL OF LORD DALHOUSIE—HIS GENERAL POLICY.

IT was necessary in previous chapters, in order to maintain consecutive relation, to narrate the progress of hostilities in the Punjaub to their termination, passing over all notice of civil affairs, and changes of government. This chapter will supply the omission. Very few governor-generals so much disappointed previous expectations as Sir Henry Hardinge. His nomination to the post commanded the general suffrage of his countrymen. Belonging to the Peel party, it was supposed that he would be the advocate of peace, yet immediately upon his arrival he had to wage a most dangerous war. He began that war most reluctantly, as he knew that the peace policy of Sir Robert Peel was popular in England. It is probable that had he made a warlike demonstration, such as became the empire he governed, and the real exigencies of the case, war might have been averted.

His appointment to the high office was regarded in England with great favour, from the supposition that he would, by his military prestige, probably prevent war. This was an absurd expectation, for the Sikhs or the sepoys knew nothing of his European renown. It was also believed in England that his military skill would enable him to take such measures as would deter any Asiatic people from aggression or disturbance, and that if war broke out his capacity for military arrangement would bring it to a speedy termination, by the use of those means which modern military science supplied, and the grand organization to which he was supposed equal. All these expectations were falsified. Very few civilians in the government of India allowed the country to "drift into war" so easily as did Sir Henry Hardinge. He acted in all respects similar to the Peelite cabinet of Lord Aberdeen subsequently, when its weakness, temporising, and vacillation, not only allowed but invited Russian aggression. Lord Aberdeen's demonstration of ten thousand men, unprovided with any of the means necessary for a campaign, in order to deter the Czar Nicholas from launching his hosts against Turkey, was a policy anticipated by Sir Henry Hardinge, when he allowed the Sikhs, which he knew, or ought to have known, to constitute the most formidable native army which had ever appeared in India, to cross the frontiers and invade India. So far from fulfilling the hopes of his countrymen, when war did break out, by the efficiency of his military administration, want and confusion harassed the army at every step, and in consequence our ascendancy in India was placed in the greatest jeopardy. Sir Henry was regarded as a man of a frank and direct mind, but his policy in India was indirect, and his relation of public transactions uncandid. While, for instance, he was praising the native army for its heroism and loyalty in his orders of the day, proclamations, and despatches, he believed that army to be dangerously disloyal, and was by no means satisfied with either its zeal or courage in action. It has been alleged in extenuation of this, that he praised the native troops from policy. If so, he might have consulted truth as well as policy, in some degree, by moderating the praise his conscience permitted him to bestow, and not mislead his own countrymen, who trusted that his panegyrics of native loyalty and valour issued from his convictions. It was supposed that Sir Henry was capable of ruling India with a comprehensive policy, and that he would treat liberally, and with enlarged thought, all great public questions connected with our Asiatic empire. He did not display these qualities, but he put forth surprising vigour and activity in detail. He performed all routine duties with alacrity and dispatch, and transacted public business with readiness, clearness, and perfect order. He neglected no duty which he imposed upon himself, or thought was incumbent upon him officially; but he interfered as little as possible with the routine of the offices even in military matters, and when he must have clearly seen that it was injurious to the public interests. His views were narrow, and he not only tolerated but fostered the spirit of clique and partizan patronage, and this at a time when his government should from necessity have rested on the broad basis of justice and principle.

Immediately upon his assumption of office, Sir Henry had to settle various disputes, in different directions, while the Sikh war was pending. In all these he showed an intense anxiety to conciliate and secure peace at all costs. There were disagreements between the Bombay government and the Rajah of Kalapore. The late prince had been a great robber, and a great devotee; he died while making preparations for plunder and a pilgrimage. His death relieved the Bombay

presidential government of some trouble for a time; but out of his decease differences among his ministers and tributaries arose, which remained as a legacy for Sir Henry Hardinge's administration. A rebellion broke out. British troops were sent to uphold a cruel and unjust government against a people driven to revolt. The troops sent were inefficient. They were, as was customary when British troops took the field, unprovided with proper commissariat or material of war, and commanded by men in virtue of their seniority or connexions, not because they were possessed of the talent for command. Shame and defeat were the consequences. It was necessary to attack the fort of Samnughur, which rested on the summit of a scarped rock. There were only three hundred men in its garrison, wretchedly equipped, yet they kept a large British force at bay for several weeks. Heavy guns were ordered up from Belgaum, thirty miles off, which were moved at less than a mile and a half per day. Colonel Outram and Mr. Reeves, arriving as civil commissioners, offered an amnesty, which the brave garrison refused, in consequence of their determination never again to submit to the oppressions which the rajah had inflicted upon them. After gross mismanagement in almost every form, and the commission of military errors utterly discreditable to the English arms, and the loss of many good soldiers, the Kalaporean and Sawunt Warree rebels were subdued. With that extraordinary good fortune which the English almost always have in some form, a man was found equal to the emergency. Colonel Ovans, who knew well the Indian character, a brave soldier, a good officer, and adroit political, brought order out of the chaos. The miserable failures, civil and military, where Colonel Ovans was not present, strikingly illustrated the system. The governor-general and the commander-in-chief were too far away to be responsible for the disgraces inflicted upon the British name in Kalapore and Sawunt Warree, but they repeated the errors on their own ground; they were, in fact, themselves part of "the system," and among its most prominent abettors.

During Sir Henry's government there were active operations on the Scinde frontier, in one of the most difficult countries in the world. These were conducted as fortunately and gloriously as military operations in other directions were the reverse. The mountain robber tribes of Scinde were put down by that great military heretic, Sir Charles Napier. He did not belong to "the system," and incurred the anger of all its orthodox upholders, who load his memory with opprobrium to this day, and hate it, because he put an end to cliqueism, rowdyism, gambling, military routine, and jobbery, in the army he commanded. Sir Charles, who bore the euphonious but not very complimentary soubriquet of Shitanka Chai, or the Devil's brother, politely imparted, for his activity and daring, by the Beloochees, swept the mountains of the robber hordes, making good soldiers of some, good agriculturists of others, and killing or compelling into exile all who persisted in resistance. Fortunately the responsibility of the Scinde exploits did not rest in Calcutta, or there would, in all likelihood, be disasters such as occurred wherever "the system" had its full scope. When in 1847 there appeared, at all events in the eyes of the governor-general, tokens of settled quietude in the Punjaub, and Sir Henry became Viscount Hardinge, he carried out the policy in favour at home, by reducing the army to a peace establishment. This he did so eagerly, and with so little discrimination, that it would have required the ingenuity of Lord Aberdeen, or Mr. Gladstone, or the conscientious peace principles of Mr. Cobden or Mr. Bright, to have rivalled him in the rapidity and success with which he disarmed, while a treacherous and powerful enemy, whose habits and purposes it was his business to study, was preparing for another and more formidable struggle. The state of the revenue afforded some justification to Lord Hardinge. The treasury was empty, war had swallowed up its resources. Unnecessary and unjust war left no funds for just and necessary war, such as that with the Sikhs was. The English government had pursued the same policy in India which it protested against in Europe, when carried out by Austria. As that power guaranteed the thrones of all the despots in Italy, and was ever ready to interpose to uphold absolute monarchy against the people, no matter how aggrieved the latter, and thus created, encouraged, and perpetuated tyranny and cruelty, so the English guaranteed the despots of India against their subjects, however cruel and horrid the oppressions which the people endured. Rajahs and maharajahs, nizams, subhadars, and kings robbed and murdered with the prospect of keeping down all revolt in their dominions by the aid of the British sepoys. This policy exhausted the treasury of India, and compelled the reduction of armaments when they ought to have been increased and strengthened. These reductions of Lord Hardinge were not skilfully effected. He left this too much to the civilians, and hence when the drum again beat to arms, it was difficult to find the material of war. The more skilled part of the army, such as cannot be easily recruited, was disbanded in a manner dispro-

portionate, rash, and dangerous. From the cool retreats of Simla, to which he retired like a philosopher, he reduced the expenses of the army one million sterling per annum; while the ranee at Lahore was disconsolate for the loss of her favourite Lall Singh, whom Lord Hardinge had banished, and while she and he were gaining the whole Sikh army to their cause, Lord Hardinge, with that business capacity with which he was endowed, set about many useful but costly works, all desirable and honourable, had the army been cared for first, and the Punjaub watched or garrisoned by a perfect force, provided with munitions, and all the appliances of an army even if small numerically. His lordship completed the grand trunk road from Calcutta to Benares, over which fifty-four bridges were erected. The Ganges canal, the formation of which had been begun under Lord Auckland's government, but stopped by Lord Ellenborough, was recommenced by Lord Hardinge. His lordship's good works were not confined to British India. He induced twenty-three of the petty princes to abolish infanticide, sutteeism, and slavery in their dominions. This course he adopted as the result of directions from home, but he entered into the spirit of his instructions, and pursued these objects *con amore*. He also raised Bengal to a separate government.

His lordship pared down the military expenditure on the eve of war, and increased the civil expenditure in the midst of commercial panic, and with a revenue deficit of two millions. His arrangements for improvement of the revenue were, however, admitted to be judicious, and had he remained and no war ensued, it was confidently affirmed by his friends that he would have seen a surplus in the treasury. He left India January 18th, 1848, six days after the arrival of his successor, the Earl (afterwards Marquis) of Dalhousie.

The Whigs were in office when Lord Dalhousie was nominated to the grandest vicegerency in the wide realms of the queen. He was not of their number, but of the influential followers of Sir Robert Peel, who bore a relation to the party like that which the bat bears to the bird and the mouse. His lordship had obtained among the *juste milieu* politicians, who claimed him as one of their circle, a reputation for extraordinary administrative ability. It does not appear, however meritorious his past services in that respect, that he deserved the laudations bestowed upon his genius for government which his friends and party asserted he possessed. He was, however, young and vigorous, and very ambitious to distinguish himself. His confidence in his own powers at least equalled that reposed in them by his friends. Immediately upon his arrival, commercial bankruptcy spread disaster over Calcutta and over India. Under the name of commerce and banking, vast swindling speculations were carried on by persons holding the highest places in society. It is not related that his lordship showed any remarkable tact or ability in dealing with such a condition of affairs. Perhaps it was too widespread, too pervading, too terrible in the ruin scattered, too complicated in the fraud and villany developed, for the powers entrusted to him to mitigate or control, whatever his capacity to employ them.

The policy pursued by Lord Dalhousie in the settlement of the Punjaub in 1849-50, was to endow the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, who would not come of age until 1854,* with a munificent pension, and to treat the Sikhs, not as conquered enemies, but as free English subjects, enjoying the protection of the government in the same way as her majesty's European subjects. This policy has been crowned with success. He also acquired for her majesty the Koh-i-noor, or Mountain of Light, which is represented as the most precious diamond in the world. At the Great Exhibition in London, in 1851, this gem was exhibited, and is therefore well known to multitudes of Englishmen. It was presented to the queen, at a levee, on the 3rd of July, 1850, by the chairman and deputy-chairman of the East India Company.

On May 6, 1849, Sir Charles Napier landed in Calcutta, as commander-in-chief. He immediately set about a reform of the army, in which he of course encountered the most decided opposition from all the patrons of routine. In the first six months of his command he had to decide forty-six cases of courts-martial; the crimes imputed to officers being drunkenness, gambling, and dishonourable actions arising out of these causes. While at Lahore, the eccentric but wise commander issued the following general order, certainly the most remarkable ever issued in the British army, but one much required. Men like Lord Hardinge and Lord Gough

* This young prince is now resident in England, and, under the guidance of Dr. Sir W. Logan, conducts himself with a dignity and prudence which has gained the esteem of statesmen and citizens. He is a frequent visitor of the court, is often invited by her majesty to select dinner parties, and is regarded by her with sympathy and respect. He is a pious Christian, fond of retirement, and benevolent. When he appears on public occasions he is invested with elegant oriental costume, and wears the richest gems. The author, who has had opportunity of observing the manners of his highness, has been struck with his intimate acquaintance with the language, customs, and observances of the country in which he has made his honourable exile.

winked at these things, rather than disturb "the system," or make themselves unpopular; Sir Charles only regarded his country, his duty, and the honour of his profession :—"At a late review of the troops on the plain of Meean Meer the following egregious deficiencies were evident to all: 1st. That some commanders of regiments were unable to bring their regiments properly into general line. 2ndly. One commanding officer of a regiment attempted to wheel his whole regiment as he would a company. 3rdly. Several officers commanding companies were seen disordering their companies by attempting to dress them from the wrong flanks. 4thly. When the line was ordered to be formed on the left column, some commanders deployed too soon, and ordered their lines thus improperly formed to 'double quick' in order to regain their position. This was all bad; but it was worse to see the regiments on receiving the word to 'double quick' at once charge, with loud shouts, no such order to charge having been given by any one, nor the words 'prepare to charge:' nor did anything occur to give a pretext for such a disgraceful scene, exhibiting both want of drill and want of discipline. 5thly. Bad as this was, it was not the worst. When these regiments chose to 'charge,' the commander-in-chief, to his astonishment, beheld the men discharging their firelocks straight up into the air; and he saw some men of the rear rank actually firing off their muskets to the rear over their shoulders as their bearers (he will not call them soldiers) were running to the front. He feels assured that no such scene could have occurred in any other regiments in the army. If ever such again happen, he will expose the commanding officer of any regiment that so disgraces itself, in public orders, to the whole Indian army. In the course of his service he never before witnessed such a scene. No commander could go into action with a regiment capable of such conduct without feeling certain that it would behave ill. The commander-in-chief will, therefore, hold commanding officers responsible (for they alone are to blame), that any soldier, who shouts or charges, or fires without orders, be instantly seized, tried at once by a drumhead court-martial, and the sentence executed on the spot."

This order was but a foretaste of the discipline enforced by Sir Charles. Yet he was no martinet. All his regulations were based upon sound military principles. The general custom of patching up and expediency he loathed, and, whenever opportunity afforded, exposed. Sir Charles held the command of the army for a very short time. The opposition he encountered in every attempt to establish reform led him to the conclusion that he could effect nothing serviceable to his country in his command. It was a high and honourable post, and most lucrative, such as Sir Charles would find not only suitable to his talents, but valuable, for he was comparatively poor; but as he took upon him the office with an honourable desire to do something useful in the public service, so he resigned it when he found there was no longer any hope of accomplishing his object. He gave his motives in brief, in a speech delivered at Kurrachee, where he was presented with a costly sword by the native chiefs :—"Lord Ellenborough treated me as a general officer, and the brave Bombay army seconded me nobly; not, as is the custom now-a-days, for a general officer entrusted with the command to be told by a colonel and a captain that this thing is right and that thing is wrong. If general officers are unfit for command, in God's name do not appoint them to command —and I must say, there are nine out of ten who ought not to be appointed; but I hold that when once a general officer is appointed to command, he ought to be treated as such; he ought to know what is best for the army under his command, and should not be dictated to by boy-politicals, who do not belong to the army, and who know nothing whatever of military science. It is this that has caused me to resign the command."

Dr. Taylor says: "During the eighteen months that Sir C. Napier held that office, forty-five officers of the Bengal army were tried by courts-martial, of whom fourteen were cashiered, six dismissed, seven lost rank, five were suspended, ten reprimanded, and but two honourably acquitted, one simply found not guilty, and four had their sentences commuted, or were pardoned."

On the 6th of December, 1850, Sir W. Gomm arrived to succeed Sir Charles. Things soon went on in the old way; "the system" was too sacred to be disturbed by heterodox reformers like Sir Charles. The Marquis Dalhousie displayed great activity. He had the vigour and ardour of youth, and really possessed administrative tastes, with a fair show of capacity for government. He determined to see for himself the condition of the provinces. He passed into the upper provinces, travelled all through the Punjaub, Peshawur, and Cashmere. He adopted measures both civil and military, calculated to secure these provinces. He then came by the rivers, examining their courses, and the countries on their banks to the capital of Scinde. From Hyderabad he passed to Bombay. He there embarked in a steamer for Goa, Colombo, Galle, in the island of Ceylon, Singapore, on

the Malacca Peninsula, Malabar, and then steaming through the bay of Bengal arrived at Calcutta.

During Lord Dalhousie's early administration the spirit of revolt among the Bengal sepoys displayed itself. It began in the Punjaub. The 66th regiment at Umritsir revolted; the plea was, the denial of batta (extra allowance). The ringleaders were arrested and punished, and the regiment disbanded. Lord Dalhousie favoured railways, and had the honour of initiating railway enterprise in India. Whatever the administrative care of Lord Dalhousie, there was a dash of the despotic in his measures, and this the English, in some cases, bitterly felt. The introduction of measures to deprive Europeans of their right of trial by jury, excited much antipathy, personally, to his lordship, and a violent opposition. The Europeans in the Mofussil were to be placed at the mercy of the magistrates. The measures intended to effect these objects were nicknamed by the English residents "the black acts." Lieutenant Waghorn died during this year; a poor pension only was awarded to his widow, although he had rendered, by his postal enterprises, great service to the company and to India, to the crown and to England.

In the year 1851, symptoms of disturbance manifested themselves in various directions. The mountain tribes on the Affghan borders showed a determination to plunder, as they had from time immemorial been accustomed to do. A force was collected at Peshawur, under the eyes of the ubiquitous governor-general, before whose energy time and space seemed to vanish. The Lawrences, and their political disciples, Major Edwardes, the hero of Mooltan, suppressed these disturbances, and like Sir Charles Napier on the Scinde frontier, turned robbers and marauders into loyal soldiers or peaceful agriculturists. These men, rude as they were, were amenable to a policy of consistent firmness and manly generosity, justifying the saying of Horace, *Argillâ quidvis imitaberis uda.* These wild mountaineers had been previously deemed incorrigible plunderers, like those described by Virgil, *Convectare juvat prædas et vivere rapto.* In the seaports a system of incendiarism sprung up, by which ships were set on fire, often when laden with a rich cargo for Europe.

In January, 1851, the ex-peishwa, Bajee Rao, died at Benares; his pension of £90,000 per annum fell to the company. Meetings of Hindoos were held in Calcutta to protest against the government patronage of the Christian religion, and the proselyting character of the government schools. It was sufficiently evident that the government was using the public wealth of India to propagate religious opinions opposed to those held by the masses, from whom that wealth was extracted. It was also obvious that heathen and Mohammedan religious institutions were supported from the public treasury. The feeling which pervaded the native gathering at Calcutta was intensely, almost savagely bigoted. It had been well that no occasion had been given for such a spirit. Means were adopted to disconnect the government with the support of Mohammedanism and idolatry, but a large number of the civil and of the military were in favour of the state endowment of idolatry, as "expedient" and good in "policy." The minds of the natives throughout Bengal were much unsettled by an infamous transaction, on the part of the government, calculated to destroy all faith in public men in India, and to uproot all confidence in the English from the native mind. Deficiencies in various public accounts had been discovered, and the governor-general ordered a strict investigation. In order to divert public attention from delinquencies by Europeans, a plan seems to have been formed among the officials to incriminate wealthy natives transacting business with the government. As a class, these natives are dishonest, but the disclosures of 1848-49 enabled the worst of the native usurers to address a European accuser with the *tu quoque.* The progress of these proceedings has been related by McKenna,* who presents the whole narrative of this great scandal with a brevity which cannot be improved, and the clearness and point of the relation be maintained. It is as follows:—

Jotee Persaud, a wealthy native and banker, being accustomed to engage in extensive transactions, and with great means and perfect organization at his disposal, undertook to subsist the Anglo-Indian armies during the wars in Affghanistan and Gwalior, by native agency, and at a distance from any effective system of check and supervision. Irregularities in detail occurred, and at the close of the war, all his accounts were not clear, distinct, or well vouched for. When the war was over, Jotee Persaud claimed a balance of half a million sterling from the Indian government. It was disputed, and of course not paid. Years of discussion and debate followed, the Indian authorities wearying out the pertinacious Hindoo. When hostilities in the Punjaub broke out, the military authorities applied to him to maintain the armies. Persaud at once declined to do so; he refused to be again connected with their commissariat. Every effort was made to induce him to yield, and at last he did give way, but upon two

* Continuation of Dr. Taylor's *History of India.*

conditions, that his past arrears should be adjusted as soon as the new war was over, and that a title of honour should be conferred on him. He accepted the new contract, and maintained the armies in the Punjaub campaign.

Having fulfilled his part of the undertaking, he asked the Indian government to fulfil the stipulations, but was again disappointed. Instead of the old balances being discharged, the new accounts were subjected to criticism, and to a more severe examination. One of the natives employed in the commissariat came forward on the 30th of March, 1849, and made a deposition against Jotee Persaud, accusing him of corruption, embezzlement, and forgery. The government ordered an investigation, which was referred to Major Ramsay. He declared the accused to be blameless, and sent in his report to the military board. Two of the members agreed with him, and were about to quash the case, when a third recommended it for the consideration of the governor-general and his council. Jotee Persaud had threatened an action for his demand, but while at Agra he was required to give bail to abide a trial for the charges brought against him by the government. Mr. Lang, of Meerut, became responsible. Jotee Persaud was allowed his liberty, and went to Loodiana, from whence he fled to Calcutta, thinking that within the jurisdiction of the supreme court, he would be safe from the Agra judge. But the warrant was executed in Calcutta, and Jotee Persaud was taken to be tried at Agra. In the meantime his bail was estreated, and treated roughly. Mr. Lang, a barrister of courage and talents, defended Jotee Persaud with spirit. Although the court was composed of a judge, a jury, and a prosecutor nominated by the government, the defendant was acquitted.

The trial lasted twelve days, in March, 1851, and excited an interest unparalleled in the district. India was searched for witnesses wherewith to procure a conviction; but not even then could a case be made out. In his defence, Mr. Lang called forward many high government *employés* to speak of Jotee Persaud's services and character. After the trial the enthusiasm of the natives broke forth, and the people offered to carry Jotee Persaud in triumph from the court-house. The Indian authorities sought to clear themselves from the blame which these proceedings afforded for imputing to them—1st, injustice in not settling their creditor's just claims; 2nd, ingratitude for not dealing liberally with one whose services were confessedly great; 3rd, breach of faith for not fulfilling the engagements they had entered into with Jotee Persaud as an inducement to undertake the supply of the army; and 4th, above all, a vindictive interference with his proceedings against them in the Queen's Court, by concocting unsustainable criminal charges against him in their own courts, by showing, 1st, that they could not be expected to pay a debt which was not admitted or proved to be justly due; 2nd, that here was no ingratitude in their acts, which were founded on justice; 3rd, that the delays in payment arose from the difficulties of having satisfactory proofs; and 4th, by stating that the investigation had been ordered, and bail had been required from Jotee Persaud months before he had commenced any action, and previous to his flight to Calcutta. It is impossible to come to any conclusion favourable to the authorities in this affair. It is more than probable that Jotee was not more honest than European commissaries are reputed to be. That he had his own way of making a profit, both by the government and the unfortunate soldiers, and that way not commendable, is also very likely; but he was acquitted of fraud by the very persons which the government appointed to investigate the charges which they brought against him. Before the matter came before a court of law his accusers appointed his judges on the tribunal of investigation, and they declared him innocent. A large debt was due to the man, and the officials who had the honour of their country in keeping endeavoured to confiscate his claim. They, resolutely bent on this course, nevertheless made fresh bargains with him when their own official helplessness made him indispensable. They then openly violate their new compact, and to uphold the iniquity of their proceedings, endeavour to ruin the man by resorting to subornation of perjury. There is nothing in the worst annals of the days of Clive, Vansittart, and Hastings—when these governors endeavoured to control the cupidity and tyranny of their countrymen—which surpasses the infamy thus openly incurred in 1851. Lord Dalhousie won no renown by his own conduct. Accustomed as he was to look personally into everything, why did he not investigate this affair, and stop the abomination before the judges of the land acquitted the man, whom his officials, by such desperate and flagrant violation of honour and honesty, sought to ruin. When faith is so often violated in contracts by the government at home, in sight of the English public, and under the lash of parliament and the press, we cannot wonder that the like should occur in India, were it not for the destruction to the interests of the nation which is created there by destroying confidence in English honour in the native mind.

In 1850 and 1851. Lord Dalhousie did

what he could to forward public works. The Ganges canal was in the former year continued on a scale of unprecedented magnitude. The proceedings of the governor-general during these years, in the Punjaub, have been already referred to elsewhere. The year 1850 was signalised by another great improvement in India, that of abolishing all punishment inflicted by Hindoos or Mohammedans, under the sanction of the law, upon persons changing their religion. This measure was violently opposed by all ranks and conditions of the natives, who hold the principle of coercion in religion. One of the provocations to the sepoy revolt a few years after, was this great and salutary reform: would that other provocations to that crime had been as much to our honour! During these two years, police and educational improvements were carried on under the auspices of Lord Dalhousie, the Lawrences, Montgomerie, and Edwardes, with some success, in Bengal, the upper provinces, and the Punjaub.

In the civil administration of Madras during the general government of Lords Hardinge and Dalhousie, there was much to trouble the presidency. Attempts to restrict the liberties of the English residents, on the part of the government, caused opposition from them during the governor-generalship of Lord Hardinge, and the presidential government of the Marquis of Tweeddale. The noble marquis personally favoured liberty and religious freedom, and in his general administration deserved well of his country. Still, another measure of that nobleman produced much discussion in India, and much discontent among the natives. In 1847, a minute of council, introduced by him, made the Bible a class-book in the government schools. The disturbance of feeling on the part of the natives was, in the same year, increased by a decision made by the law courts on a question of religious liberty. A young girl educated by the missionaries became a Christian. Her mother demanded that she should be delivered up to her, with the avowed object of coercing, in matters of conscience, her Christian daughter. The woman's co-religionists made a fierce hubbub, and treating the matter as a question of creed and right, brought it into the supreme court. The girl being of sufficient age, was by the decree of the court allowed to do as she pleased. This gave great offence to the natives, who insisted that she should be compelled to resume her former religion. They hated liberty, civil and religious, as the genius of Brahminism and Mohammedanism alike taught them to do. The minds of the people throughout the Madras presidency became more and more agitated by religious intolerance and fanaticism. There was an arrogant tone in the mind of the natives on all religious questions; they spoke, wrote, and acted as if they had the right and the power to compel the government to set at nought the scruples and rights of Christians, and to concede everything to their prejudices. The Mohammedan and the Brahmin were as intolerably fierce to one another as each was to Christians. At Gumsoor human sacrifices were attempted, and the whole district became disturbed, so that military interposition became necessary. An extension of greater religious liberty to the army further marked the era of progress in Madras. The baptism of five native girls at Madras, increased the ferment which previous events produced. The Marquis of Tweeddale left in 1847, having completed many reforms, removed vexatious taxation, improved Madras, put down cruel native practices, and opened the gate wider for the free labours of the missionaries. On the question of religious liberty, however, in Madras, as elsewhere in India, *adhuc sub judice lis est.*

Henry Dickenson, Esq., the senior councillor, took the government, *ad interim*, until the arrival of Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart. He landed April 7th, 1848. That year was remarkable for an insurrection of the Moplahs at Calicut, who were only put down after terrific slaughter. These men were Mohammedan fanatics—

> "Men of the murderous saintly brood,
> To carnage and the Koran given."

Their custom was to commit some furious and sanguinary outrage upon Christians and Brahmins, more especially the latter, then, exulting in having gained ",the surest way to heaven" by a passage of blood, shut themselves up in some mosque or temple, and defend it with a determination to sell life as dearly as possible, and pass to paradise and the prophet from the sword or shot of their adversaries. Many conversions were made to Christianity among the natives after the arrival of that functionary, who regarded them with no favourable feeling. In 1850, a young native embraced Christianity; his friends and his wife's friends forcibly withheld her from joining him. He appealed to the supreme court on a writ of *habeas corpus*. She was by the interposition of the judges restored to him. The natives treated this act of justice and righteous law—which was as much in their favour as in that of the Christian—as an invasion of their rights, their right to persecute. It is curious that in the vocabulary of Anglo-Indians, Madras is called "the benighted presidency," whereas there are more native Christians and more schools in it, in proportion to population, than in either of the other

presidencies. In the early part of Lord Hardinge's government, Bombay was under the presidential sway of the amiable and enlightened Sir George Arthur, a good man, a good soldier, and a good governor. After his retirement in 1846, Sestock Robert Reed, Esq., senior councillor, assumed, *pro tempore*, the reins of power. In 1847, Sir George Russell Clerk arrived as governor of that presidency. Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, the celebrated Parsee merchant, much honoured by the previous governor, received additional honour from Sir George. Scinde was that year placed on the same footing with other British provinces, thus completing the act of unprincipled invasion and spoliation with which, in the history of that interesting region, the English name has been dishonoured.

In 1849, Lord Falkland arrived as governor, in the room of Sir George Clerk. Then arose the discussion about the rajalik of Sattara, of which so much was heard in England. The rajah died without heirs. The government refused to recognise the principle of adoption sacred to native law all over Asia. The rajah's territories were annexed. His legal successor (legal in view of native law) claimed the throne, and hired advocates of eloquence and popular acceptance in England to urge his claims upon the justice of the English people, parliament, and court. Those claims were urged in vain; a spoil was to be gathered by the Indian government, and when that was the case, the voice of Asiatic custom, or Mohammedan law, however formally recognised, was unheard. During Lord Falkland's government of Bombay, education, especially in English, made rapid progress. In 1850 many discoveries were made of the corruption and cruelty of the native officials; many of them were dismissed from their offices. In 1851 disputes arose between the British government and the Nizam of the Deccan, which were not creditable to the governor-general, or to England. An account of these must be reserved for another chapter.

It became obvious that the leading feature of the policy of Lord Dalhousie was "annexation." He had annexed the Punjaub, confiscated the dominion of the Rajah of Sattara, minor states had been quietly disposed of, and now demands were made upon the Nizam of the Deccan, incompatible with his rights and dignity to grant, and to British honour to demand. The policy of his excellency appeared to be an exemplification of

> "The good old rule, the simple plan,
> That they should take who have the power;
> That they should keep who can."

The temper of India at the time was not favourable to such a policy. His excellency was warned of this. The certainty that as state after state was "brought within the company's red line" (as old Runjeet Singh would say), native gentlemen of ability, civil and military, would be debarred of all hope of rising to eminence; and as no scope would be left for ambition, their disloyalty would increase, and sedition and revolt employ their energies. Events would of themselves, in their own time, have brought these countries under British sway, but Lord Dalhousie, like men who make haste to be rich, and pierce themselves through with many sorrows, provided a heritage of grief, and blood, and shame for his country, by the haste of his ambition. It may be, it probably was, an ambition for her glory and aggrandizement, not his own; but the principle, and its operations, worked all the same against her.

## CHAPTER CXXIII.

GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE FROM 1851 (*continued*)—CONDUCT OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL TO THE NIZAM, AND ITS RESULTS—AFFAIRS OF OUDE—THE SECOND BIRMESE WAR—TREATY WITH DOST MOHAMMED.

GIBBON, the celebrated historian, remarks, "Darkness is favourable to cruelty, but it is also favourable to calumny and fiction." This remark applies to the negotiations and diplomacy of our Indian empire. Deeds of annexation like that of Scinde and the rajalik of Sattara were contrived, and executed, after a tortuous diplomacy of pretences, before the English public could hear anything about it. Even the court of directors, almost always unfavourable to annexation, were helpless in the hands of the board of control and governor-generals, who did for a long series of years pretty much as they pleased, in spite of the protests of the company. It is true that the directors, in a fit of unwonted spirit, might recall a governor-general, as they did Lord Ellenborough, but this exercise of their acknowledged right would be talked down in the clubs, wrote down in the organs of government, disapproved of in parliament by the members of the ministry, and denounced

by the ministerial hacks in both houses. The real power of the company had been gone from the days of Pitt—their virtual power from 1833.

In 1851 Lord Dalhousie demanded from the Nizam of the Deccan that he should give up to the British resident at Hydrabad* a portion of his territories of the annual value of £370,000, until his debt due to the company was fully liquidated. The resident was empowered to occupy with troops the country demanded, in case his highness refused compliance.

The relations of the nizam at that time to the British government of India were extremely delicate, and much dissatisfaction, real or feigned, was expressed at Calcutta with the way in which his highness governed his dominions. His state was, in fact, tributary, and he was held responsible for its good government according to an English standard, to which neither he nor his subjects had any desire to conform themselves. He was unable to cultivate any independent external relations. He dare not make treaties or alliances, except under the direction or control of the governor-general of British India. He was indebted heavily to the English government for the pay of troops ostensibly used in his service, really employed to overawe him and his subjects. He was, by treaty, to maintain an army in alliance with the British, to be placed at their disposal whenever they might require such assistance. This treaty he probably never intended to observe; at all events he acted without seeming to feel its obligation, as was customary with all the native princes. One of the advocates of annexation† wrote at the period to which reference is here made, in terms which so accorded with the policy of Lord Dalhousie, that it would seem as if the policy of annexation had been deliberately adopted, and its application determined upon in reference to all the native states, and that the word had gone out to all concerned in the East India interest to hold it up. At all events the number of books and pamphlets insisting upon the annexation policy which were published in 1850-52, was very remarkable. The work referred to contains the following bold assertion of the policy in reference to the Deccan, Oude, the states of Central India, and all the territories governed by princes born there. Concerning the nizam, the writer observes:—

"A population of nearly eleven millions is ground under his sway; his finances are in irretrievable confusion; his ministers prey on him, he preys on the people, and daily the process of disorganization and decay is going on, while the prince sits on a throne which would not last one year without the assistance of the East India Company. Anarchy and oppression consume the resources and desolate the face of a beautiful province, with an area of nearly a hundred thousand square miles.

"This is an organized crime against humanity. It is for the British government to redeem the state of Hydrabad from the demoralization and poverty with which it is afflicted, and to spare its reputation the reproach of conserving an authority exercised only for the vilest of purposes. Corruption, profligacy, oppression, practised in all the departments of the nizam's administration, enfeeble and impoverish the country, and it is a shame that the English nation should lend itself to the support of a government so irretrievably weak and immoral, or to the further injury of a people already debased, degraded, and undone. Charity may ascribe to the nizam the virtue of good intentions, but it is scarcely wise to adopt the Jesuit principle of dividing his motives from his acts, and judging him by the philosophy of Escobar. When a sovereign is set up by British authority, one question alone is to be answered—Is he fit or able to reign? If he is, then there is no need of a contingent force to uphold him on his throne. If he is not, every aid extended to him is an offence against the people he oppresses. The nizam's dominions, however, will inevitably, sooner or later be absorbed in our own, and humanity will bless the occasion which rescues a fine country and a large population from the double curse of a tyranny at once feeble and destructive."

Concerning the other states Mr. St. John says:—

"With still more justice may these criticisms be applied to the principle of upholding the King of Oude. He is, as his predecessors have ever been, a feeble, cruel, faithless despot, and we are the janissaries of his sanguinary power. We have lately been assured by an Indian official, high in the estimation of the company, that he has seen the tax-gatherers in the territories of Lucknow, lighting their way through the country with the flames of forty villages at one time, set on fire because the wretched inhabitants were unable to satisfy those vampires—the agents of an oriental exchequer. It would be difficult, with the utmost license of style,

* The reader will remember that this is the name of the metropolitan city of Scinde, as well as of the Deccan. See the geographical and descriptive portion of this work.

† Horace St. John; *History of the British Conquests in India*, Colburn, London, 1852.

to draw an exaggerated picture of the anarchy and impoverishment which prevail in Oude, under a prince whose imbecility renders his subjects equally contemptible with himself—*fraco Re fa forte gente fraca.* Whenever the British government determines, therefore, to be consistent in its justice, it will do, what the king's want of faith gives it authority at any moment to resolve. It will withdraw its support from him; he will assuredly fall; and it will remain for the company, instead of keeping up a standing army to defend a people which has been robbed of all that was worth protecting, to undertake the duty which attaches to an imperial power, and make late atonement to Oude for all the misery with which it has been afflicted under its native governors.

"In Nepaul, there does not appear any present necessity for interference, or in Nagpore. But in the Gwalior state, the politics of Hydrabad seem to be continually repeated. A score of small states are dependant on this—the hereditary domain of Scindiah's family. The Guicowar's dominions, under the Baroda residency, present a picture of similar demoralization, which it is vain to cry out against, unless the whole territory is to be immediately annexed; for the subsidiary and the protective system is inseparably bound up with those evils. While the British states occupy an area of 677,000 square miles, with a population of ninety-nine millions, the subordinate native states occupy an area of 690,000 square miles, with a population of only fifty-three millions; and thus one-half of India, with a third of its inhabitants, is under an inefficient, if not a destructive government, upheld and protected by the British arms.

"The whole of these ought gradually to be annexed, and the fiction of native sovereignty abolished. Were it a harmless fiction, it might be allowed to continue; but it is essentially injurious to India; and if in characterising the company's administration of its own provinces, I employ terms of elevated panegyric, in dwelling on the system which upholds the coarse and savage tyranny of Oude, and the feeble and pernicious government of Hydrabad, I have no language to express conscientiously my views except that of unqualified reprobation. The English people have to be instructed that their representatives in India support, at Lucknow, a king whose atrocities are ferocious, even in comparison with the usual acts of oriental tyrants; that it protects in Cashmere a ruler who flays a man alive because he fails to pay his tax; and that in Hydrabad, a miserable creature, the victim of his ministers, as well of his own imbecility and vice, is maintained in power because the British government, averse from conquest, desires to preserve its character for moderation.

"Every year, however, that these evils are permitted to exist, will increase the difficulty of removing them, as well as the necessity we shun. Infallibly the rotten state of Hydrabad will, sooner, or later, be incorporated as an integral province of our empire, and the longer this annexation is delayed, the more heavy and slow must be the labour of reclaiming it from barbarism to civilization. The ordinary question of history is thus reversed. It is not whether we have a right to conquer (for the conquest is already made), but whether, having conquered, we have a right to impose on the provinces we have subdued cruel and feeble princes, whose only ambition is to gratify their degrading lusts, and whose sole power is one of destruction. Guilt, under these despots, is insolent, and innocence only is not secure. There is no law imposed to curb their licentious will, which is enforced under a prerogative derived from us. Every principle of morals, and every political maxim is thus violated and defied. When an imperial government assumes the privilege to appoint viceroys, they should be charged to distribute justice and preserve peace, not to riot in the excesses of despotism, or give authority to pillage and assassination. The unhappiness of those populations is enhanced by contrast with the felicity of their neighbours. It is futile to muse over the pleasant vision of creating new Indian states, under kings of Indian blood, who may receive the lessons of civilization from us. We cannot proselytise these princes to humanity. They will not embrace our ethics; we must recognise their crimes. We may be gentle and caressing to them, but they will be *carnifices* to their people. We have dreamed too long over this idea. We have no moral authority to uphold them, and they have no claim to be upheld, for the prescriptive right to plunder and oppress any community is a vile and bloody fiction. The regeneration of such powers is impossible. It is time to relinquish the fancy The more we delay, confiding in a better future, the further will the chance be driven. 'The hope is on our horizon, and it flies as we proceed.'"

These words are exponent of the Dalhousie policy, as thoroughly as if written by his lordship himself.

It is needless to trouble the reader with a long account of events, which in their detail offer no interest. It would be a recital of much the same story were we to show how one little state after another was swallowed up by great imperial England. The Deccan was a grand prize, and it was seized without

compunction. The English resident made his demands; the nizam was in no hurry to concede them. Troops were ordered into his territory.

Throughout the year 1849-50, much dissatisfaction existed at Calcutta with the government of Oude. It is believed that even so early as the close of the war in the Punjaub, Lord Dalhousie had contemplated the annexation of that kingdom, the independence of which was held to be a sacred thing by both Mohammedan and heathen all over India. Lord Hardinge had visited that province, and remonstrated with the king upon the misgovernment of his dominions, in violation of his especial treaties with the English. One of the earliest acts of Lord Dalhousie was to send Colonel Sleeman thither to investigate the state of the country. That officer traversed the whole of the Oude dominions, and his report was most unfavourable. The country must have sadly deteriorated since the days of Bishop Heber, for no two accounts of any place could be more in contrast than that given by the divine and that by the colonel. Heber, however, took but a cursory view of the country; Sleeman investigated its actual condition. The enemies of Lord Dalhousie, and of the East India Company, affirmed that these accounts were got up by the colonel with a view to sustain Lord Dalhousie in following out his policy of annexation. When, at a later date, General Outram was sent with the ostensible object of reconciling matters, and of recalling the king to a sense of duty in reference to his people, and his treaty obligations with the English, similar allegations were made, and General Outram was criminated in a way such as his rectitude of character forbids those who know it to believe. The differences with Oude became more complicated and serious, until the final act of annexation by Lord Dalhousie set at work the elements of rebellion and mutiny, which lived, but slumbered, in the heart of India.

The year 1850 began in the serenest tranquillity. India was in perfect repose. The wars of Lords Auckland, Ellenborough, Hardinge, and Dalhousie, had added fourteen millions sterling to the public debt of India, and swallowed up besides six millions sterling of the current revenue. It was expected that Lord Dalhousie would prosecute peace by all means, and above all things avoid any attempts to enlarge the British territory, as it had been found by experience that the extension of British dominion lessened its security, and increased the debt, without any commensurate advantage. During 1850 and 1851 these pleasing expectations were realized, notwithstanding that in Oude, that realm of political storms, Lord Dalhousie and his agents were playing with the lightning. On the north-west frontier the Afreedees gave some trouble, and Peshawur, the old cause of contention between Affghan and Sikh, was the cause of disputation and negotiation between Aflghan and Englishmen. Sir Colin Campbell found occupation for the freebooters of the frontier, although his operations were not very successful, and his co-operation with Calcutta not very harmonious. Railways and electric telegraphs engaged the attention of the directors at home, and the councils in India. Laws favourable to religious liberty and education were also enacted, and improvements of various kinds devised and partly applied.

For many years the government of Ava had been on unfriendly terms with that of Calcutta, and early in the year 1852, the arrogance, ignorance, and folly of that state, led once more to an appeal to arms to settle permanently the differences which could not be otherwise adjusted.

### SECOND BIRMESE WAR.

A new viceroy of the Emperor of Birmah took up his residence in Rangoon. He seemed animated by a keen hatred to the English, and a resolution to avenge the disasters of the former war. His conduct was at first insulting only, which was borne tamely by the English, who dreaded the expense of another Birmese war. This endurance of affront provoked its renewal and aggravation, until it became intolerable. The property of English subjects was injured or invaded in various ways, and it became necessary at last to demand redress. Peaceful means were tried in vain; Commodore Lambert was sent with a ship of the line and some war-steamers. The commodore was received with much haughtiness, and acts of violence still continuing, he was compelled to exceed his instructions, and makesome active demonstrations of force. All Europeans whom the viceroy could seize were cast into prison, the rest found shelter on board the British ships. The dilatory policy of Lord Dalhousie throughout the contest enabled the Birmese to gain confidence, and organize resistance; prompt and decisive action, when an appeal to arms became inevitable, would have saved many valuable lives, and have prevented much expense and trouble.

On the 24th of February, six steamers were dispatched from Bombay to Madras to embark troops for a Birmese campaign, under the command of General Godwin, who, as colonel of a regiment, had served in the previous war with Birmah. The troops consisted of two European and four native regiments, with four corps of artillery, chiefly Europeans. It was

the 29th of March before the armament left the roads of Madras. A few days previous (the 25th) a force similar in all respects to that which left the roads of Madras, was dispatched from Calcutta. The total number of men, exclusive of the naval service, did not much exceed eight thousand. An ultimatum had been sent by the governor-general, which ran out on the 1st of April. An officer was sent to Rangoon to obtain a reply—he was fired upon. This act the Birmese knew well was contrary to European custom in war, was regarded as dishonourable and barbarous, and would excite strong resentment. Admiral Austin took command of the naval portion of the expedition. Both the naval and military commanders were advanced far in life, were inactive in their habits, and feeble from years. This circumstance excited much painful comment, to the effect, that notwithstanding all the nation had suffered from partizanship and routine in the selection of commanders, the system remained the same, as if incurable by any amount of calamity or experience.

On the 5th of April Martaban was attacked by the Bengal force, and easily carried. The Madras troops arriving on the 7th, were in time to participate in an attack upon Rangoon. The place was stockaded, and garrisoned by twenty-five thousand Birmese troops. The pagodas on the heights were fortified, and contributed much strength to the defence. The enemy fought in the way they had done in the previous war, and their defences were not much improved, but strong; their cannon were of heavier metal than in the former war. The stockades were cannonaded and bombarded, and some of them stormed; a marine force, consisting of eighteen hundred men, contributing prominently to the victory. The British lost seventeen men killed, one hundred and thirty-two wounded, and two officers from sun-stroke. The capture of Rangoon led to the immediate return of the inhabitants of Pegu, who hated the Birman yoke, and placed themselves willingly under the protection of the English. The British commander was one of those dilatory old generals, in which the civil authorities so frequently delight. He was desirous of doing nothing during the rainy season, from May to October, but the Birmese collected in such force at Bassein, a place of importance up the lesser Irriwaddy, a branch of the greater stream bearing that name, that it became necessary to dislodge them; at all events, so the general thought. He accordingly ordered four hundred Europeans and three hundred sepoys, with a corresponding complement of artillery, sappers, and miners, to accomplish that object. This force descended the Irriwaddy, and ascended the minor branch to Bassein. The importance of steamers in expeditions of this nature was demonstrated. This was an arm of war of the power of which the enemy had formed no idea, and their surprise, confusion, and dismay at its development, were very great. About seven thousand men sheltered in stockades defended the approaches to Bassein. The English, joined by a detachment of marines, mustered about one thousand. They found behind the range of stockades, a mud fort, mounted with heavy guns. After an ineffectual fire on the part of the Birmese, and an impatient and gallant attack by the British, stockades and fort were stormed, and the enemy fled, leaving nearly one thousand men killed, wounded, and prisoners, in the hands of the conquerors. The Birmese infantry fought badly, except while under cover, but the artillerymen stood by their guns until they fell, pierced by the bayonets of their assailants. Major Errington, and a detachment of the 51st light infantry, behaved with distinguished gallantry. The British left about half their number as a garrison.

On the 3rd of June a small force was sent in a steamer to attack the city of Pegu, the old capital of the province called by that name. One hundred Europeans, as many sepoys, and a few sappers and miners, composed the detachment. As the English approached, the enemy ran away. The English retired from the place without leaving a garrison, when the Birmese came back, and perpetrated great cruelties upon the Peguans for their hospitable reception of the English. During the remainder of June the weather was inauspicious for active enterprises, and very trying to the health of the troops. General Godwin's previous experience of the climate was not thrown away, his sanitary arrangements were skilful and successful. He sent to Calcutta earnestly desiring reinforcements, which ought not to have been needed; a sufficient force for the objects of the expedition should have been sent in the first instance. The reinforcements he required were sent, consisting of a few squadrons of light cavalry, a few troops of horse artillery, a field battery, some sappers and miners, and a few battalions of infantry. The governor-general also visited the seat of war, and conferred with the commander-in-chief as to a plan of future operations.

In July an expedition was undertaken against Prome, which was opposed in its progress up river, but dispersing the enemy's parties, it arrived, without loss, upon the rear of the Birmese general's army. The reinforcements had not yet arrived, and some apprehensions were entertained that the enemy might be found in such overwhelming numbers

as to defy attack. A couple of volleys were exchanged, and then the Birmese took to flight, leaving behind them twenty-eight guns, their standards, camp equipage, and the general's barge. It was September before Prome was captured, which was accomplished without incurring any resistance that deserved the name. The British did not garrison it, and when reinforcements arrived the enemy were again in possession, and determined, if possible, to hold it. An obstinate conflict ensued, but the dispositions of General Godwin and Brigadier McNeil rendered the enemy's resistance productive only of destruction to his own troops. General Godwin's capturing and recapturing of places caused much fatigue to the troops, and the loss, especially by *coup de soleil*, of several officers. There was a want of consistent and comprehensive plan on the part of the general's expeditions, which made them exhausting to his army and expensive to his country. When Prome was the second time captured, there lay a force of six thousand Birmese near the place, who held the town in observation. Nothing could have been more easy than the dispersion of these men, which the general refused to attempt until more troops were placed at his disposal. It was rumoured in the army that his excellency had an objection to terminate the war too soon. Small detachments were ordered up by him from Rangoon with so little judgment that they were beaten in detail. It then became necessary to send from Rangoon a force of fourteen hundred men, including a newly arrived detachment of Sikh irregular horse. This brigade swept the country of the enemy. At Pegu, eight thousand men drew up in line and awaited a charge, by which they were broken and dispersed. The Sikh cavalry proved themselves most efficient, pursuing and cutting down the enemy's cavalry with zeal and courage.

On December 28th, 1852, the governor-general, by proclamation, declared Pegu annexed to the British dominions. He also declared that he contemplated no further conquests, but should the King of Ava refuse to hold friendly intercourse with the British government, he would conquer the whole Birmese empire. This proclamation produced an important result—a revolution at Ava on the part of those who were opposed to the continuance of the war; the king was deposed, and his brother reigned in his stead. While these things were going on, hostilities were, as in the previous war, waged from Arracan. The British marched through the Aen Pass, taking the stockades in flank, by which it was blocked up, and slaying or dispersing their defenders. This circumstance also contributed to the revolution. Negotiations were opened with the new emperor, and by July, 1853, the Birmese troops had retired from the vicinity of Pegu, upon the dominions of Ava Proper. The feeling, however, was not amicable, and reason existed to doubt the sincerity of the new Birman court. The demonstrations made by the governor of Calcutta, of a firm intention to hold Pegu, had at last their due effect, and towards the close of 1854 relations were established as amicable as the Birmese will allow themselves to maintain with any foreign government. The year 1854 was not remarkable for any operations of a hostile kind in India, but affairs in Oude waxed worse and worse, and the policy of annexation by Lord Dalhousie, in reference to that country, was plainly developed, although not actually accomplished.

In 1855 amicable relations were established with Dost Mohammed, the ruler of Affghanistan, who had proved himself an acute politician. Hyder Khan (his son Akbar, the enemy of the English, had fallen a victim to the political jealousy of the other chiefs, and was poisoned) came down to Peshawur, and negotiated a treaty, by which Dost Mohammed, against whom we had made war in Affghanistan, was recognised by the British government. This chief had been governor of Ghizni when the British stormed that place. The treaty was negotiated with Mr. John Lawrence, brother to the Captain George Lawrence, who accompanied Sir W. Mac Naghten to the quasi-friendly meeting with Akbar Khan, and who saw the brother of Hyder Khan murder the English minister. "*O tempora mutantur, et mutamur cum illos!*"

Both the years 1854 and 1855 were in India years of administrative improvement and material progress.

## CHAPTER CXXIV.

HOME EVENTS—DISPUTES BETWEEN THE BOARD OF CONTROL AND THE COURT OF DIRECTORS DURING THE WHOLE PERIOD OF THE CHARTER OF 1833-4—VICIOUS PRINCIPLE OF APPOINTING GOVERNORS-GENERAL—RECALL OF LORD ELLENBOROUGH BY THE COURT OF DIRECTORS—DISCUSSIONS UPON THE APPOINTMENT OF LORD DALHOUSIE—HIS POLICY OF ANNEXATION CAUSES UNEASINESS IN ENGLAND—NEW CHARTER 1853-4.

THE charter of 1833-4 placed the East India Company in a position to the board of control, to the cabinet, and to the country, so essentially different from its previous relations to any of these sources of power and authority, that its history up to 1854 merges in the general political history of the English government. A relation of what transpired in the board of directory would prove uninteresting, unless to readers connected with either the company or with India. During all that time, the directors were engaged in struggles with the board of control, to retain some fragment of the power which was all but entirely wrested from their hands. The board made use of the name of the company and of the directors to screen itself from responsibility. If the policy pursued by the English cabinet was unpopular, the orators and organs of the press, who served the former, placed all evils at the door of the latter; if occurrences in India pleased the English people, the cabinet took all the credit. In the one case the directors of the East India Company were represented as mischievous and incompetent, in the other they were treated as cyphers; it was the president of the board of control, or the governor-general, or both, by whom all the good was accomplished. The directors held their tongues,—some from timidity, some from party sympathy with the cabinet of the day, others to please the court; men of quiet and reserved dispositions among them said nothing, it was their habit to be silent; if they did make a demonstration, they were threatened with the abolition of their power, and some of the government faction would be instructed to ask some pointed and insulting question, or make a motion, which would at least afford an opportunity for conveying the impression that the company was no longer of any use to India or to England, that it was an obsolete existence, and the sooner it became defunct the better. The most shameless falsehood and effrontery were resorted to, by successive governments, to brow-beat the directors, undermine the influence of the company, and clutch the patronage which, by law and justice, belonged to the directors. The directors were almost invariably for a policy of peace; the board of control and its nominees, the governors-general, were generally the abettors of aggrandizement and war.

Scarcely were the arrangements of 1833 made between the board of control and the directors, than the former resumed its officious, insolent, and domineering policy. Early in 1834 an application, on the part of the crown, was made to the King's Bench for a mandamus, to compel the court of directors, "under the act of 1793," to transmit certain despatches to the East Indies, they having been directed to do so by the board of commissioners for the affairs of India. These despatches related to claims made upon the King of Oude by certain unprincipled adventurers and money-lenders. The directors were unwilling to interfere, to embroil either the company or the government of India in a matter where they were not called upon by right or duty to take any part. The government might have waited a short time, as the act of 1833 would have come into operation on the 22nd of April, 1834. The board, however, would show its authority and dominate, and, therefore, insisted upon immediate compliance. Such was the general spirit in which business between the two boards was conducted. The cry raised against a double government was factitious, it meant simply, a demand upon the company to give up what *patronage* and authority remained with them, to the minister for India. Double government, properly speaking, there was none; for the board of commissioners or board of control, whichever way it might be called, generally enforced its views, and nearly always with a high hand, and in a spirit and mode unconstitutional and improper. The firmness of the directors in the case of the mandamus prevented its execution. They protested against the folly and wickedness of the whole affair, and the deputy chairman preferred any consequence rather than inflict upon his conscience the stain of signing such a despatch. The matter became known to the public, the newspapers took it up, public opinion was for once with the directors, the board of control became afraid of that public opinion it

had so often, by scandalously faithless means, misled and prejudiced against the directors and the company. Lord Ellenborough gave notice of a motion in the lords, and this caused Earl Grey and his ministry to make a precipitate retreat. Throughout the whole of his political career, Earl Grey was a haughty and factious enemy of the company, and when in power betrayed a jealousy of the court of directors, and an eagerness to grasp their patronage, which, probably, no other minister had shown. Lord Ellenborough demanded the reasons why the board of control refused to proceed with the mandamus, Earl Grey replied that he *did not know*. On the 5th of May Lord Ellenborough brought forward his motion, and uttered a withering denunciation of the conduct of the ministry. The Duke of Wellington, in one of the most sensible and earnest speeches he ever delivered in parliament, followed in the same strain. The lords-chancellors of England and Ireland delivered eloquent harangues for the purpose of making the motion a party question, in which they did not succeed. Finally the house of lords voted against the government, who winced more under the exposure than the vote. It was a vote of censure by the house of lords of the immorality and injustice of Lord Grey's government in its Indian policy, and of its tyranny and unconstitutional treatment of the court of directors. On the 8th of May Mr. Herries moved in the commons for the same papers refused, but extorted, in the house of lords. The government, intimidated by their defeat in the upper house, made no resistance. Sir Robert Peel, and several of the most eloquent members denounced the conduct of the cabinet, the board of control, and of its chief, Mr. Grant. None of the members, on either side, espoused the cause of the ministry, except Mr. Joseph Hume. That gentleman, always so liberal in home affairs, so watchful of the public expenditure, and so useful generally, sympathised in colonial matters, especially in East and West Indian affairs, with selfish and class interests. His mind was habituated to partial and unjust views of colonial affairs by siding with West Indian slavery, of which he was the industrious and but little scrupulous champion. The defeat of the board of control, in the attempt to coerce the court of directors into an inequitable and impolitic line of action, rankled in the hearts of the ministry. The nature of the defeat, its *modus operandi*, the public exposure attending it, mortified, but did not do more than partially check Lord Grey's enmity to the company, which he communicated to the heads of his party. A short time, therefore, was only permitted to elapse before the board of control renewed its aggressive policy towards the directors. Changes of ministry occurred at brief intervals, which established the Whigs in office for a time, more firmly, although with much diminished prestige. Sir John Cam Hobhouse became president of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India. He was a more courteous, but more insidious and less candid enemy of the company than Mr. Grant had been. Indeed, presidents of the board seemed to think that the real object for which they were appointed was not to co-operate with the directors for the better government of India, but to study and apply such tactics of opposition to the East India company as would soonest destroy it, and turn over to the coteries who constituted ministries that valuable patronage which the directors possessed, and for which the parliamentary and party politicians hungered. The chief offices in India were not conferred on the company's best servants, or on persons selected from any class of Englishmen peculiarly fitted for them, but upon political partizans. In proportion as India was ruled by the board of control it ceased to be governed for the people of India, or of England, and was governed for party purposes and party patronage. During the twenty years which elapsed between the act of 1833, and the act of 1853, for the regulation of the company's affairs, the directors showed an improvement in the spirit of their administration which no impartial person, acquainted with the history of the company, can deny.

In August, 1834, a new feud, as fiercely maintained as the last named, broke out between the two divisions of the "double government." On the resignation of Lord W. Bentinck, Sir Charles Metcalfe, *ex officio*, assumed the vacated post *pro tempore*. The directors, in view of the high talents of Sir Charles, his great experience of India, and his moral influence, deemed it inexpedient to disturb his possession of office, and confirmed him in his charge. This, as a matter of course, enraged the board of control, and a long and painful controversy arose. That Sir Charles possessed all the qualifications for the high office to which he was designated was not denied by the board; the president placed his objections upon the narrow ground of patronage. Sir Charles was a servant of the company; the office, in the opinion of the cabinet, ought to be held by a servant of the crown. The grand question for the public, as to the fittest man, was left out of view by the ministry. A place was wanted for a ministerial party-man, and, therefore, the excellent and enlightened appointment made by the directors should be overturned. India and

Indian appointments had been, at last, thoroughly brought within the range of the disputes of home party factions,—an evil against which all statesmen, conversant with India and its peoples, had warned successive governments. This contest continued until January, 1835, when Sir Robert Peel came into power. That minister was as much bent as his predecessors upon despoiling the company of their patronage, but he did not proceed to do so in the high-handed, haughty, insolent manner displayed by Lord Grey, Lord J. Russell, and Mr. Grant. He thought it possible by sly and slow methods, not less surely to accomplish the same end. He began his ministerial career by conciliating the directors, in which he completely succeeded; and, acting in harmony, Lord Heytesbury was nominated to the office, Sir Charles Metcalfe being provisionally named as his successor. Sir Robert Peel failed to secure the support of the commons. The Whigs again came into power, and they resumed authority in the same arrogant spirit towards the company. They refused to recognise Lord Heytesbury, *although he had been sworn into office.* It was one of the most discreditable party moves of the age. The public disapprobation was strong, but the Whigs braved it. Discussions fierce and protracted were maintained in parliament, which seriously damaged the government, and displayed the party animosities which it cherished, in a most unfavourable light.

On the 6th of May, 1836, the chairman and deputy chairman of the company addressed a letter to the president of the board of control, an extract from which will show the just sentiments by which the court of directors was at that time animated:—"The court do not forget that the nomination of Lord Heytesbury was made, and his appointment completed, during the late administration. But this fact, connected with his removal by the present ministers, fills the court with apprehension and alarm, as respects both India and themselves. It has always been the court's endeavour in their public acts, and especially in their nominations to office, to divest themselves of political bias; and in the same spirit they now consider it to be their duty frankly and firmly to express their decided conviction that the vital interests of India will be sacrificed if the appointments of governors are made subservient to political objects in this country; and if the local authorities, and, through them all public servants, are led to feel that tenure of office abroad is dependant upon the duration of an administration at home; and, further, that the revocation of an appointment, such as that of Lord Heytesbury, for no other reason, so far as the court can judge, than that the ministry has changed, must have the effect of lessening the authority of the court, and consequently impairing its usefulness and efficiency as a body entrusted with the government of India."

Whatever effect this letter may have had upon the convictions of the cabinet, it had none upon their policy. The general public had little opportunity of judging of the arguments and motives of the directors, for, unfortunately, they had such a repugnance to publicity, and so habitually neglected to throw themselves, however strongly in the right, upon the judgment of the country, that their battles with the board of control were fought in the dark. The board, however, through its agents in parliament, and by the press, stirred up the country by the reiteration of misrepresentations. From these causes the public had seldom an opportunity of judging except from *ex parte* statements. Fierce debates ensued in parliament; the ministry refused all papers and correspondence which might throw a light upon their motives and conduct. A motion was made to compel their production; Sir Robert Peel spoke with peculiar eloquence and effect in condemnation of the conduct of the ministry, but the vote was made a party one by the government, and the motion for the production of papers was successfully resisted. Sir Cam Hobhouse and Mr. Vernon Smith were especially remarkable in the debate for their party feeling and disingenuous arguments. The appointment of Lord Heytesbury was triumphantly resisted by his whig antagonists. Mr. Edward Thornton has justly observed upon the transaction —"It was one of the strongest instances on record, in which a power was exercised within the strict limits of the law, but in a manner altogether at variance with its spirit. It was one of those acts by which a political party loses far more in character than it can possibly gain in any other way." The nomination of a governor-general by the cabinet was an appropriate sequel to the previous conduct. After waiting until Lord William Bentinck arrived in England, during which time Sir C. Metcalfe conducted the government in a manner not at all in accordance with the policy of his successor, Lord Auckland was nominated. In a previous chapter this profligate and calamitous appointment has been made the subject of comment. It is only necessary to say here, that it was profligate, because it was a mere party nomination to the government of a great empire, and that it was made purely to confer a good office upon a confederate, irrespective of his merits. That it was a disastrous appointment, the history of Lord Auckland's incompetency as governor-

general of India, already given, has abundantly shown. In the years immediately following these transactions, the company and the board of commissioners were much occupied by the relations of England to Persia, and the gravest discussions took place as to the designs of Russia upon Hindostan by way of Persia. A sufficient account of the policy and proceedings of the company and the English government was given when relating the transactions preliminary to the Affghan war, so as to render unnecessary a further detail of them in connection with the discussions in the court of directors and the action taken by that body and the board of control.

For some years but few disputes occurred between the two boards. The disaster attendant on Lord Auckland's policy led to hot discussions in parliament. The Whigs defended their measure with very little regard to the justice of the defence. The press, however, teemed with severe articles, some of a sarcastic nature, turning into ridicule the claims of men to govern an empire whose judgment was so much at fault in nominating the lieutenant of a province; others of the "leaders" were severe, stern, written with dignity, and political knowledge. The wars in Affghanistan, Scinde, and in China, led to many discussions in parliament, and the thanks of both houses were voted to the officers by whom victories were achieved.

The appointment of Lord Ellenborough to the government of India was another instance in which the board of control exercised its authority to the disadvantage of India and of England, in spite of the company. In the nomination of Lord Ellenborough it is true no active opposition was offered by the court of directors, for it was well known how useless such opposition would have been. His appointment was, however, against the general opinion of that body, and of parliament, and of the country. His nomination was regarded as a fault on the part of the Tories, as culpable as the appointment of Lord Auckland by the Whigs. He was a man of more ability than Lord Auckland, capable of perceiving talent in others more readily, of appreciating and honouring it more; but he was as much of a partizan, and his attainment of so high an office was regarded as the result of mere party services. His career in India was so injudicious, involving so much danger and expense—so fitful, capricious, eccentric, and uncertain—that the directors were obliged at last to recall him, without the consent of the board of control. This decisive act caused long and angry discussions between the board and the court. Parliament took up the dispute. The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel defended Lord Ellenborough, justified his follies, and extenuated his errors with exceeding acrimony towards the company, and in a spirit as thoroughly the expression of mere party as the Whigs displayed in their dishonest apologies for Lord Auckland. The country had come very generally to the conclusion that appointments to office, in the public interest, was not to be expected from either of the great sections of the higher classes, who divided the influence of parliament, and alternately shared the favours of the court. The estimate formed of Lord Ellenborough, and of his career, by the English public, was that expressed in one of the most discriminating and eloquent passages in the *History of the British Empire in India*, by Edward Thornton :—"It is certain, however, that his Indian administration disappointed his friends; and if a judgment may be formed from his own declarations previously to his departure from Europe, it must have disappointed himself. He went to India the avowed champion of peace, and he was incessantly engaged in war. For the Affghan war he was not, indeed, accountable—he found it on his hands; and in the mode in which he proposed to conclude it, and in which he would have concluded it, but for the remonstrances of his military advisers, he certainly displayed no departure from the ultra-pacific policy which he had professed in England. The triumphs with which the perseverance of the generals commanding in Affghanistan graced his administration seem completely to have altered his views; and the desire of military glory thenceforward supplanted every other feeling in his breast. He would have shunned war in Affghanistan by a course which the majority of his countrymen would pronounce dishonourable. He might without dishonour have avoided war in Scinde, and possibly have averted hostilities at Gwalior, but he did not. For the internal improvement of India he did nothing. He had, indeed, little time to do anything. War, and preparation for war, absorbed most of his hours, and in a theatrical display of childish pomp many more were consumed. With an extravagant confidence in his own judgment, even on points which he had never studied, he united no portion of steadiness or constancy. His purposes were formed and abandoned with a levity which accorded little with the offensive tone which he manifested in their defence, so long as they were entertained. His administration was not an illustration of any marked and consistent course of policy; it was an aggregation of isolated facts. It resembled an ill-constructed drama, in which no one incident is the result of that by which it was preceded, nor a just and natural prepa-

ration for that which is to follow. Everything in it stands alone and unconnected. His influence shot across the Asiatic world like a meteor, and but for the indelible brand of shame indented in Scinde, like a meteor its memory would pass from the mind with its disappearance."* It is astonishingly strange that fourteen years after his recall, under circumstances so discreditable to himself, he should have been made minister for India, with a seat in the cabinet of the government of the Earl of Derby, again to be driven from office by the voice of public opinion, in consequence of his party spirit, and incompetency to deal with Indian affairs. It is if possible still more strange that his renewed errors found abettors among those to whom the responsibility of the government of this great empire were committed, and his conduct discussed in the spirit of faction, not of patriotism. His party had learned nothing during all these years, as his appointment to such an office proved, and the faithless defence of his conduct also proved, when public indignation left it impossible for the government to retain his services.

The decisive act of the directors in recalling Lord Ellenborough gave a fresh stimulus to the board of control to watch every opportunity for invading their independence. The double government worked badly, not because of its constitution, but because the higher classes represented by the government of the day were anxious to gain the entire patronage. It was impossible to govern India with a steady and consistent policy while this was the case. Professor Wilson was right when he wrote that some influential and independent body must always be maintained between the English cabinet and the people of India, if that country be governed with impartiality and a constant intelligible policy. The more power the board of control assumed, the less attention parliament paid to Indian affairs. If India, or an Indian governor, were to be the subject of a *party* debate, the parliamentary benches were well filled; if the interests of India, of England in India, of the relations of our oriental possessions to the empire, were to be discussed, the benches were empty of all or nearly all but those by whom the ministerial whip, or the member whose motion was to be debated, "made a house." Mr. Horace St. John, in his work entitled *British Conquests in India*, has truly observed:—"Whether the popular legislature is now so far educated to an acquaintance with the history, the religion and laws, manners, resources, industry, trade, arts, castes, classes, opinions, prejudices, traditions, local feelings, actual condition, or wants of India, seems to admit of little doubt. Such knowledge is still peculiar to a few. The technicalities of the most abstruse sciences are not more unintelligible to the general body of persons in this country, than the very names of Zillah and Sudder courts. Some who possess this information in a greater or less degree, desire parliament to adopt the whole legislative control of India, because they imagine every member is equally well instructed with themselves; but from 1834 to 1852, small change in this respect is observable. Whenever Asiatic topics were then introduced, they were listened to impatiently, treated with indifference, and eagerly dismissed.* Such subjects are not only uninteresting, but obnoxious, to the general body of the house. This feeling is no more than natural in that senate. It is the prevailing tone of the country, which is undoubtedly very ill-acquainted with the social and political state of the East.

"Consequently, nothing can be more dangerous than to trust to parliament alone for a watchful and wise administration of the details of Indian affairs. It may, and generally does, decide justly in great controversies on imperial policy; but if ever the minute and subordinate points are forced on the daily and continual attention of parliament, it will assuredly resign their settlement into the hands of the ascendant statesman of the day.† It would give him, what a prime-minister has himself described as a dangerous and unconstitutional amount of power, a power which should excite the jealousy of all in this nation who are attached to our institutions.‡ That minister without a corrupt sentiment in his breast, or a corrupt practice in his own scheme of action, will assuredly, under the conditions of his political existence, employ the power and patronage thus confided to his will in obtaining the command of parliamentary supremacy."

From the recall of Lord Ellenborough to the appointment of Lord Dalhousie, various useful laws were passed for India by the imperial parliament—these could not be enumerated and described except in a history of the statutes regulating Indian affairs. Sir Henry Hardinge and Sir Hugh Gough, it has been already observed in passing, were raised to the rank of peers, the former to that of a viscount, the latter to that of a baron; and subsequently Lord Gough was promoted a step in the peerage. Pensions were also conferred upon these noblemen, and their heirs male

* Vol. vi., close of the history.

* In an important debate in the commons (May, 1852), scarcely forty members would remain to hear the subject discussed.

† *Wilson*, ix., 563.

‡ Earl of Derby: Speech, April 2, 1852.

within two generations; various rewards were distributed to the naval and military officers who distinguished themselves in the Chinese war, and to the military officers who served in Gwalior and the two Punjaub wars. Promotion was not bestowed on a liberal scale to officers of inferior rank, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers. Thanks were given in parliament to the great actors, civil and military, who took the leading parts in the great transactions which passed in India up to the time when Lord Dalhousie resigned his government. He was himself promoted a step in the peerage. The appointment of that nobleman to the momentous responsibilities of governor-general of India, was due to the influence of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel. The latter regarded him as "a promising young man," a description scarcely appropriate to the office of governor-general of India. Sir Robert considered him a disciple of his own; and was proud of that tact for administrative routine which Sir Robert succeeded in imparting to Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Sidney Herbert, his own son Frederick, and others of his pupils in parliamentary and official service. There was no difficulty, therefore, in gaining the assent of Sir Robert to the nomination, but Lord Dalhousie, like Lord Ellenborough, was essentially the Duke of Wellington's nominee. However just his grace in the administration of armies or peoples, he was never a warm advocate for promotion for merit. He held the principle of aristocratic patronage to be perfect. Those who were his own warm admirers had always good chance of high office, provided they possessed tact for business (a *sine quâ non* with the duke), were well born (another indispensable requisite), and were endowed with bold and active habits, or were presumed to be so. Hence Sir Henry Hardinge, the Napiers, the Somersets, Lord Raglan (as he afterwards became) especially, and Lord Dalhousie. All these men were *smart* in business, or exact and regular in routine, or bold and energetic. None of these men possessed genius, or even large capacity, except the Napiers. The duke himself had no confidence in the prudence of Sir Charles or Lord Ellenborough, but all these men were upheld and abetted by him, as were others, from the action of the causes just alleged. All were clever men, fit for high and important, but subordinate offices. Perhaps Sir Charles Napier, in spite of his overbearing temper and rashness, had ability for the office of governor-general of India; none of the rest had the qualities necessary for a post requiring such various and nicely balanced qualifications. Rumour ascribed motives for the appointment of Lord Dalhousie which did not increase either the political or personal reputation of the duke. No doubt his grace believed that Hardinge, Ellenborough, and Dalhousie, were all competent for the office. He was conscientious in the support he gave them, but had they not been connected with himself, and had they not been idolaters of his genius and his glory, he would have judged them with a stern impartiality, which he did not exercise in reference to them. No governor-general that ever served England in that office had the ability for it that the duke himself possessed, who seemed to have an intuitive perception of the character of the peoples of India, and the way to deal with them. It is, however, indisputable that those whom he patronised in the office of governor-general, while they made a career brilliant and eventful, involved the empire in much alarm, occasioned vast bloodshed, perpetrated gross injustice, ruled the people arrogantly and tyrannically, although with administrative energy and ability.

In the year 1853 it became necessary to determine the new constitution of the East India Company, as the charter of 1833, which came into effect in 1834, was only to last twenty years. It would be tedious and uninteresting to place before our readers the discussions which occupied the attention of parliament on this subject. It is, however, necessary to give a succinct account of the important changes which then took place.

On June 3rd, 1853, Sir C. Wood introduced in the house of commons a bill for the government of India, which, with some slight modifications, became law. The principal features of this measure may be thus epitomized:— The relations of the board of control and the court of directors to remain as before. The thirty members of the court to be reduced to eighteen; twelve elected in the usual way, and six nominated by the crown from persons who have resided in India for ten years, either as servants of the company, or as merchants or barristers. One-third of the whole number to go out every second year, but to be again eligible. The directors to receive salaries of £500 a year, and the chairman and deputy-chairman £1000 a year. No change was made in the general control which the governor-general exercises over the Indian government; but a lieutenant-governor of Bengal was to be appointed; the lieutenant-governor of Agra to be continued; and a new presidency on the Indus to be created. A commission to be appointed in England to digest and put into shape the draughts and reports of the Indian law-commission appointed in 1833. It was also proposed to enlarge the legislative council; giving the governor-general power to select two councillors, the heads

of the presidencies one councillor each, and making the chief-justice of the Queen's Court and one other judge members, in all twelve; the governor-general to have a veto on their legislation. The privilege hitherto exercised by the court of directors of nominating all students to Haileybury and Addiscombe to cease, except in respect to the appointments to the military service, which were still to remain in their hands. The admission to the colleges, and consequently to the service, to be thrown open to public competition; properly qualified examiners being appointed by the board of control. The act to continue in force until parliament should otherwise determine.

On the 20th of August the act was passed. On the second Wednesday in April, 1854, it provided that the eighteen directors under the new constitution should be appointed. This provision was carried out according to law, and the authority of the old court ceased on that day. A more enlarged description of the act of 1853, which came into operation in 1854, would be unnecessary, as in a few years, in consequence of the mutiny and rebellion of 1857, the East India Company's control over the political affairs of India was abolished. The new act, together with the circumstances which led to it, will be noticed in future pages of this work.

## CHAPTER CXXV.

### ANNEXATION OF OUDE—LAWS AFFECTING THE TENURE OF LAND IN BENGAL.

IT has been shown in previous chapters that in no part of India did the agents of the company hold terms less amicable with a native state than in Oude. Both the government of that country and the government of England violated their agreements. The King of Oude consented to govern his subjects in a certain way which accorded with the views of the company, which declared itself unable in conscience or equity to hold up the king's government unless his people were ruled in a just way, and so as not to endanger the peace of the contiguous British territory. His majesty never so governed his people. His court was infamous, and the country impoverished and distracted; nevertheless, the people were loyal from traditionary and fanatical feeling, and the independence of Oude was held to be a sacred thing all over India. The English government failed in its pecuniary stipulations. Sums were borrowed which were never repaid, and borrowed in such a manner, and the lender so treated, as would naturally leave the impression that the borrower never intended to pay. Whatever may have been the conduct of the kings of Oude to their own subjects during the nineteenth century, their assistance in money, more especially to the English government on occasions of emergency, was most valuable, and was not acknowledged with gratitude or generosity. The following is the language of the author of *How to Make and how to Break a Treaty*:—"It was during the residency of Mr. I. R. Davidson that the first Punjaub campaign was raging. All India was looking in terror at the fierce and uncertain contest. The enemies of the East India government did not hesitate to scheme and make proposals for the overthrow of their government. Dinapore and Benares were rife with intrigue. Whispered messages to Nepaul were daily increasing the uncertain position of the East India Company. The government paper, that certain criterion of the state of public feeling, was at the lowest point ever known. There was then everything to induce the Oude government to assert their independence, or at any rate give themselves airs. One move in that direction, and the East India rule would have been thrown back one hundred years; and who shall say to what extent the loss might not have extended? But no; Oude was firm. In the East India government's peril was clearly seen Oude's constancy. Her men cheerfully given from her own army for the company. Her horses at the service of the irregular corps, then being raised in hot haste, and her minister directed to tender every and any aid that the East India company might require.* These are not wild, enthusiastic flatteries. These are the accounts of well-known realities. If Lord Hardinge has but an iota of the magnanimity for which we give him credit, he will not fail to bear witness to the gallant conduct of Oude on this occasion, and we look to him for it."

Lord Dalhousie, in his annexation policy, having fixed upon Oude as a rich province, determined to take it, after the fashion in which Lord Ellenborough took Scinde. The

* The minister Newab Ameenood Dowlah received a letter of thanks on this occasion.

agents of the noble marquis, well aware of his policy, made representations in harmony with it. During the whole period of Lord Dalhousie's government until the annexation took place, the British residents at the court of Oude interfered in every matter of government, and with an impertinence utterly humiliating to the king. In 1854, the king banished one Kurrun Uhmud, a Moonshee, for perjury and sedition. This man had been the spy of the British resident, who interfered on his behalf in terms of menace and insolence utterly subversive of the royal authority. The courts of law were interfered with, British troops were ordered out upon the sole authority of the resident to execute his decisions in cases where he had been imposed upon, and in which in no case should he have interfered. The result of such conduct was to create or increase the confusion and disorder in the king's dominions, on account of which the annexation was afterwards ostensibly effected. Whatever the weakness or wickedness of the court of Oude, the faults of its government have this extenuation, that it was impossible to preserve order while Lord Dalhousie's agents and the resident were dictating in every department. Colonel Sleeman, the English representative, ruled as a despot, and dictated as a conqueror.

On the 5th of December, 1854, General Outram arrived at Lucknow. His commission was to inquire if the reports of Colonel Sleeman concerning the condition of Oude were correct. The general confirmed the representations of the colonel, after a brief inquiry, over so extensive a field, of less than fifteen weeks. On the 18th of March, 1855, his report was made. The general, however, took care to guard himself from responsibility in thus bolstering up the annexation project, by declaring that he had no knowledge or experience of Oude, and only reported upon the basis of what he found in the records of the residency, and what he was told by the agents whom Colonel Sleeman employed. During the time the general was preparing his report, disturbances occurred between the Mohammedans and Hindoos, such as are common all over India. This was made a pretext by Lord Dalhousie for the use of armed force in the interest of the British government.

On the 18th of June, 1855, Lord Dalhousie made, what is called in Indian state vocabulary, "a minute," based upon the report of Outram, itself resting upon the general report of Colonel Sleeman, who had been sent to Oude to get up such a report. In this minute his excellency placed before the court of directors a review of the condition of Oude, and suggested "the measures which appeared incumbent to take regarding it." These amounted to the seizure of the revenues of Oude, and appropriating the surplus to the advantage of the company. The disposal of the king was a matter of difficulty; but, on the whole, Lord Dalhousie and the council of Calcutta were favourable to leaving him a nominal sovereignty. The directors and the board of control approved of the proposals in the main, and left the carrying out of the measure entirely to the governor-general's discretion. This was intimated in a despatch, dated the 21st of November, 1855. By the end of 1855, therefore, his excellency was invested with full power to do as he pleased; and he pleased to do that which no doubt every member of the council of India which now meets in Leadenhall Street will admit, set India in a flame, and was impolitic beyond any measure, however foolish or extravagant, perpetrated by any governor-general, from the day the board of control made the office a party one, and a reward for the members of a class. Military preparations were promptly made to carry out the plan purposed.

On the 30th of January, 1856, General Outram informed the prime-minister of Oude of the intention to take possession of the kingdom. To the remonstrances and arguments of his majesty there was but one answer, *sic volo, sic jubeo*. It was insisted that his majesty should accept and sign a treaty voluntarily surrendering his kingdom. This he refused to do. Three days of grace were allowed him for the acceptance of this bill. He still treated the proposal with indignation. "Accordingly, on the 7th of February, 1856, Major-general Outram issued a proclamation, previously prepared at Calcutta, wherein it was declared that 'the British government assumed to itself the exclusive and permanent administration of the territories of Oude,' and that 'the government of the territories of Oude is hereafter vested exclusively and for ever in the honourable East India Company.' Having thus assumed the government of Oude, he proceeded to constitute its civil administration, in accordance with instructions previously addressed to him for his guidance by the supreme council at Calcutta, appointing numerous commissioners and other officers, at large, and in some cases excessive salaries, payable from the revenues of the kingdom of Oude, to administer the affairs of the country in various departments. As may fairly be presumed, to his disappointment, if not to his surprise, the officials of the Oude government all refused to enter the service of the

East India government. The disbanded Oude army declined to enter the regiments which were being raised. Every inducement by confronting them with armed regiments to prove their helpless position, by tempting them with payment of arrears, and with the offer of receiving young and old alike into the ranks, failed for a long period. They declared they had no arrears to claim from his majesty; and one gallant subhadar of one of the regiments stepped in front of his comrades, and stated, he had served his majesty and his forefathers for forty years, and would enter no other service. That active officer, Brigadier Gray, who was present on this occasion, is challenged, if he can, to deny the truth of these assertions. In virtue of the proclamation, these gallant men, by their conduct on this occasion, might be accounted rebels; but in spite of the risks they encountered, they thus manifested their devotion to the *régime* of their slandered rulers and princes.

"His Majesty the King of Oude having determined to repair to England to lay his case before the throne and parliament, applied to the resident for his sanction; but that functionary, not respecting the misfortunes even of a king, treated his majesty's application in an imperious manner, and endeavoured to deter and prevent him from accomplishing his wishes. In order still more pointedly to mark his discourtesy, the resident, on frivolous pretexts, held to bail his majesty's prime-minister, Syed Allie Nuque Khan, a nobleman of royal descent from the family of Delhi, and of distinguished rank, who, from the commencement to the end of his political career has uniformly proved himself a sincere and steadfast adherent of the British government, and who has received the commendation of the British authorities. At the same time, other high and distinguished officials were held to bail, and placed under surveillance at Lucknow by the British authorities. The records, public acts, official documents, and other papers of importance to his majesty to enable him to establish his claim for the restoration of his kingdom, were seized by the resident and his officials. The prime-minister, as we stated, was obliged to give security, and to the effect that he would not depart from Lucknow. The same plan was followed with the minister of finance, Rajah Balkishen, and also with the keeper of the government records, Baboo Poorun Chum; and the king was thus deprived of the services of these officers, and of their testimony, so indispensable to the maintenance of his rights in this country. An attempt was even made to prevent the king's own departure by the arrest of twenty-two of his personal attendants, and by the seizure of his carriage horses; but he came away with others, and his family have now preceded him to England, to seek redress for this spoliation, at the hands of the English parliament.

"That no claim might be wanting in this behalf, since the confiscation of the Oude territory, the royal palaces, parks, gardens, menageries, plate, jewellery, household furniture, stores, wardrobes, carriages, rarities, and articles of *vertu*, together with the royal museum and library, containing two hundred thousand volumes of rare books and manuscripts of immense value, have been sequestered. The king's most valuable stud of Arabian, Persian, and English horses, his fighting, hunting, riding, and baggage elephants, his camels, dogs, and cattle, have all been sold by public auction, at nominal prices. His majesty's armoury, including the most rare and beautiful worked arms of every description, has also been seized, and its contents disposed of by sale and otherwise. The queen mother, to whom General Outram descended *to offer money** to induce her to persuade the king to sign the treaty, has also reason to declare that the ladies of the royal household have been treated in a harsh and unfeeling manner; that, despite their protest, and a most humble petition which they sent to the political commissioner, they were, on the 23rd of August, 1856, forcibly ejected from the royal palace of Chuttar Munzul by officers who neither respected their persons nor their property, and who threw their effects into the street; and that a sum of money which had been specially left by the king to be appropriated for their maintenance, was prevented by the British authorities from being so applied." †

The annexation of Oude was effected without a war. The king believed that an appeal to the Queen of the United Kingdom and her parliament would reinstate him in his honours, and he discouraged all attempts on the part of his troops or people to defend his throne. General Outram was appointed the governor-general's agent for the government of the province, and the plan of government was as nearly as possible identical with that established in the Punjaub. The system of police was that established in Scinde by Sir Charles Napier, when governor of that province. Thus the year 1856 witnessed one

* "His lordship in council will have gathered from the translation of the conference which I held with the queen mother, that I promised that lady an annual stipend of one lakh of rupees, provided that the king would accept the treaty."—*Oude Blue-book*, p. 291; and see pp. 285-6.

† "*Dacoitee in excelsis.*"

of the most remarkable events which had occurred in the history of the British empire in India: one of the oldest states, and in alliance with the East India Company, was, by the simple will of the English government, annexed. It is scarcely necessary to say, that the agitation excited by the measure in India was very great; at first, the people were appalled, after a time they prepared for mutiny and revolt.

The condemnation of Lord Dalhousie and the government was very strong in England, and the severest criticisms were made in the public press upon the whole system of our Indian government. In India, the people of Oude maintained a sullen silence, but they prepared for insurrection; and, in order to make it more effectual, endeavoured too successfully to corrupt the Bengal native army, which was mainly recruited from Oude and the surrounding provinces of British India.* Unfortunately, the disposition of the talookdars and soldiery of Oude to revolt was shared in by the whole of the inhabitants, even by those who might be supposed likely to profit by a change of masters. The conduct of Lord Dalhousie, his ministers, and officials, was not calculated to soothe the irritation and indignation which his policy had created. The state of Oude between the annexation and the great revolt has been described in a petition to the house of commons, from the King of Oude; the following extract will suffice:—"Since the military occupation and annexation of the kingdom of Oude, the country has been thrown into a state of much confusion. That whereas during the reign of the sovereign of Oude, and whilst happiness prevailed within the kingdom, no emigration took place therefrom, but, on the contrary, the subjects of Great Britain in Hindostan evinced a disposition to immigrate thereto, and settle therein; since the annexation of the territory to the British dominion, numbers of persons have fled from the kingdom of Oude, and immigration has wholly ceased. That it is computed that not less than one hundred thousand persons, including civil servants of the government, and the disbanded troops who have refused to take the company's service, have been deprived of their means of subsistence; that the business of the country having been transferred from the natives to the British officers and forces, the retainers of the zemindars have been thrown out of their situations; that the natives holding office as writers, clerks, &c., have been turned away and replaced by company's servants; that all allowances and pensions being stopped, many of the recipients, including members or near connexions of the royal family, have been reduced to extreme poverty; that the conduct of the British to the natives of the lower class is complained of as harsh in the extreme; that justice cannot now be obtained at Lucknow; and that crime is committed with so much impunity, that even the royal palace itself has been broken into and pillaged of money and jewels to a large amount." Lord Dalhousie seems to have been aware of the danger, although unwilling to acknowledge the cause or redress the grievances he had inflicted. He urged upon the company and the government the necessity of preserving a sufficient force of European regiments. He argued, requested, entreated, remonstrated in vain. While danger was threatening on every hand, the authorities in England were withdrawing the European regiments, without sending out reliefs. This policy was suicidal, and was persisted in with an infatuated conceit of judgment by the board of control and the company, notwithstanding warnings the most clear and urgent from men of the highest authority on Indian affairs, as well as from the governor-general. At last the denouement came, the blow was struck, and all Oude burned in insurrection. It is barely just to Lord Dalhousie to show that whatever his ambition, or his errors in working it out, he was prescient of the necessity for keeping up the European branch of the army in India, not only after the annexation of Oude, but throughout his government. He saw soon after his arrival the danger of placing too much confidence in the native troops, and the absolute necessity of preserving in the army of India, in all its presidencies, a larger pro-

* As the annexation of Oude was undoubtedly the main cause of the dreadful mutiny of 1857, the reader may wish to consult the voluminous documents extant on the subject. In doing so, the following may be perused with interest, in the order which follows:—

1. The treaties concluded between the East India Company and the rulers of Oude from 1765 to 1837, published in the collection of East India Treaties, laid before the House of Lords, 24th June, 1853.

2. The correspondence and minutes of the government of India amongst the "papers relating to Oude," presented to the houses of parliament by command of Her Majesty, 1856.

3. The notification from the Right Honourable the Earl of Auckland, Governor-general of India, to His Majesty the King of Oude, 8th July, 1839, on the subject of the recent treaty under date 11th September, 1837, and His Majesty's reply thereto sent with the case.

4. The remonstrance on the part of the governor-general of India, Lord Hardinge, delivered to the King of Oude, 23rd November, 1847, sent with the case.

5. The letter of the Honourable Court of Directors to the Governor-general of India, 10th December, 1856, relative to the assumption of the government of Oude, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 5th February, 1857.

portion of the European element. Several of the leading journals of London attributed to Lord Dalhousie an opposite line of conduct, and blamed him for the small number of European troops in India when the mutiny of 1857 broke out. Nothing could be more opposed to truth than these allegations. Copies of certain despatches and minutes during the governorship of India by the Marquis of Dalhousie, received by the court of directors, or by the president of the board of control, from the government of India, for an increase of European troops subsequent to the acquisition of the Punjaub, Pegu, Nagpore, Sattara, Jhansi, Berar, or other districts, have been submitted to parliament and printed, on the motion of Mr. W. Vansittart, M.P. The Marquis of Dalhousie, so far back as September, 1848, earnestly requested the addition of at least three European regiments of infantry to the army in India, from which so large a number of British troops had been withdrawn, and this request was complied with by the India-house authorities. In March, 1849, two other regiments of infantry were ordered to be added to the queen's forces in India. On the 5th of February, 1853, a secret letter was written by the Indian government, considering the regular force which would be required for the permanent occupation of the newly-acquired province of Pegu, and recommending that one regiment should be added to the number of European infantry in each presidency. This increase was ordered, the total addition including 71 officers and 2,760 rank and file.

In September, 1854, a most important minute was issued by the governor-general in council, and transmitted to the directors of the India-house, in which, with reference to the then state of India and the war in Europe, the diminution of the British force then at the disposal of the government of India was most earnestly deprecated. The minute appears to have been elicited by an order for the recall of the 25th and 98th regiments from India without being relieved until the close of 1855. It illustrates most strikingly Lord Dalhousie's sagacity, and we recommend an attentive perusal of it to all persons in possession of the parliamentary paper in which it is included. "The imprudence and impolicy of weakening our force of European infantry at the present time," writes the marquis, "will be made evident, I think, by a brief review of the amount of that force which we actually possess, of the position in which we stand, and of the contingencies and risks to which we are liable." He shows that the army had been very inconsiderably augmented during the past seven years, notwithstanding the great changes which had occurred in the interval, and the vast mass of territory acquired by recent conquests. He warns the directors of the danger of countenancing the prevalent belief (in India), that we were (in 1854) grappling with an enemy (the Russians) whose strength would prove equal to overpower us, by withdrawing troops from India to Europe; and he reminds them that "India has to play her own part in this contest, that, unlike Canada and the colonies, she is in close proximity to some of those powers over which the influence of Russia is supposed to extend, and that she is already indirectly affected by the feelings to which the war has given rise;" he adds, "it is at least possible that those feelings may be quickened in the hostile action which she will be called upon to meet by force of arms." This spirited remonstrance of Lord Dalhousie against the weakening of our military force was unavailing, for the authorities at home, "looking to the exigencies of the war in Europe and the general tranquillity of India," confirmed the order for the return of the two regiments. Another long "minute" was issued by the governor-general on the 5th of February, 1856. In this state paper the marquis, following the principles and guidance of Lord Wellesley, endeavours to determine what are the wants of the government of India in respect of European infantry throughout the territories for which it is responsible, and to show how those wants may best be supplied. The various considerations adduced must lead, he thinks, to the conviction that the European infantry in Bengal ought to be reinforced, and he names nineteen battalions as the *minimum* force of the European infantry which ought to be maintained upon the Bengal establishment;—twenty, he adds, would be better, and even more not superfluous. Having reviewed the wants of the several presidencies in succession, and in minute detail, the governor-general concludes that the *minimum* force of European infantry which can be relied on as fully adequate for the defence of India and for the preservation of internal quiet is thirty-five battalions—nineteen for Bengal, nine for Madras, and seven for Bombay. Of these twenty-four were to be queen's and eleven company's regiments. The idea of permanency being essential to the usefulness of this force, it was proposed by the marquis that the twenty-four queen's regiments should be declared by the home government to be the establishment of royal infantry for India, and that a formal assurance should be given that no one of these regiments should at any time be withdrawn without relief, unless with full consent of the court

of directors. It was further proposed to add a fourth regiment of European infantry to each of the armies of Bengal and Madras by converting two regiments of native infantry into one of European infantry; in each, respectively, disbanding the native officers and sepoys, and transferring the European officers to the new European corps.

The result of these minutes does not appear from the returns, but the public know that Lord Dalhousie expostulated in vain.

While the events which issued in the annexation were passing in Oude, changes were being effected in the laws of land tenure in Bengal, which, although salutary in themselves, led to discontent, and prepared the talookdars and zemindars for rebellion. There existed great difficulties in the way of reform of any kind in India, of which persons in England could form no conception. The sympathy of the people was with despotism, and they preferred freedom to cheat, and the chances dependant upon a speculation in fraud, to law and justice. When the English put forth any enactment which protected the oppressed, but which also prevented the oppressed from defrauding or imposing upon their tyrants, they felt no gratitude for such interposition. They were of course very desirous to be released from any disability under which they lay, provided the power which rescued them left them still an opportunity of resorting to chicanery in their dealings with others; but on the whole they preferred the most grinding tyranny under which men could suffer, if it also admitted the precarious hope of winning back their own by deceit and intrigue. Just laws, dealing equally with all, were regarded with aversion, unless where some tradition of creed allied such a law to long maintained customs. Early in 1856 the legislative council took up a measure which was designated "the Sale law." It was an excellent remedy for some of the greatest impediments to the prosperity of Bengal. The measure was introduced to the council on the authority of no less important and competent a person than Mr. Grant, and was admirably devised for its purpose. It would be impossible to give the reader a correct notion of the subject without detailing the state of the land tenure at the time in Bengal, and the way in which that tenure worked against the progress of agriculture, the settlement of European planters, and the prosperity of the country. The following description of "the Sale law," and of the circumstances which called for it, was written by a gentleman then on the spot, and familiar with the project, and the discussions to which it gave rise:—"Under the perpetual settlement the whole of Bengal has been divided into estetes held by landlords on the tenure of a fixed quit rent to the company. While this rent is paid no act short of treason can deprive a proprietor of his estates. Should he not pay up to the hour, however, his estate goes to the hammer. In practice few estates are thus sold, and the tenure may be regarded as a free holding subject to a land tax. These estates, however, are often of vast size. The landlord, often an absentee, cannot manage them himself. Farming, in the English sense, he never dreams of, and the collection of rents from perhaps 100,000 cottiers—there are more than 2,000,000 on the Burdwan estate—is too heavy a task for an Asiatic. He sublets it for ever. The sub-tenant, whom we call a talookdar, holds of the zemindar, as the zemindar holds of government. In English phrase, he has a perpetual lease from the tenant of the crown. Two-thirds of the whole land of Bengal is thus held, including almost all the indigo factories, sugar plantations, and European farms. The tenure would seem to an English farmer rational enough. Unfortunately, Lord Cornwallis, when he established the perpetual settlement, in order to secure the government rental, arranged that, in the event of failure to pay the quit rent, the sale should vitiate all encumbrances whatsoever. Whenever, therefore, an estate goes to the hammer every lease upon it is *ipso facto* void. Because Stowe is sold, all the John Smiths on the property are deprived of the leases they have paid for. The zemindars, thoroughly aware of the law, use it in this fashion:—They lease the lands to wealthy tenants, suffer them to raise the value of the property, fail to pay the quit rent, and at the consequent sale buy in their own estates, under a false name, clear of all encumbrances. The threat of such a proceeding has actually been employed in one instance within my knowledge to extort money from the manager of a great indigo concern. Of course with such a tenure improvement became impossible. Men will not lay out capital in improving a property their right to which may be destroyed at any moment without any fault of their own. They considered themselves, with justice, as tenants-at-will instead of leaseholders. The evil has long been felt, but hitherto a reform has been considered impossible. It would be, it was alleged, a breach of the perpetual settlement. At last the evil became unendurable. Captain Craufurd, manager of the Indigo Company's affairs, agitated the question vigorously. He demonstrated that the present tenure prohibited advance. The press took up the subject, asserting that a radical change would involve no breach of faith. Officials seized upon the

question as soon as there appeared a gleam of hope, and at last it assumed a practical form. A proposition was brought forward, strongly supported by the government of Bengal, for keeping leases inviolate in the event of a sale. So long as the money bid for an estate would cover the government arrear, the leases were to be held intact. The new proprietor would buy land subject to the leases upon it. In the event, however, of the sum bid not being sufficient to pay that arrear the leases must be violated and the encumbrances cleared away. This proposal, it is evident, secured the leaseholder in every event but one. A reckless zemindar might grant away portions of his estate at peppercorn rents till nobody would buy the whole subject to such leases. This contingency would be of frequent occurrence, and Mr. Grant therefore has proposed a new scheme. It goes further than the former one, further than the boldest reformers have dared to hope. Mr. Grant proposes that every talookdar, or permanent leaseholder, shall have the right to call in a government surveyor. If this official on examination reports that the rent paid under the lease is sufficient to pay the government rent, he is secured for ever. Whatever becomes of the estate his lease cannot be touched or his rent raised. He is of course bound by his lease to pay the rent agreed on with his landlord to his landlord; but the zemindar can no longer by fraud annul his own agreements, nor can he by folly cause the ruin of every one under him. Two-thirds of the land *users*—not landowners—of Bengal thus exchange tenancy-at-will for a leasehold right. They have always contracted and paid for the latter form of tenure, but hitherto, from the defect of the law, have been unable to secure it. The advantage of this reform to the zemindar is scarcely less than to his tenant. It is insecurity which has kept down the price of land in Bengal. It is calculated that on the average almost all zemindaries return a clear 25 per cent. upon the purchase-money; yet thousands prefer the government 5 per cent. simply for its security. In other words, the funds are held to be more secure than landed property in the proportion of five to one. Some other changes have been introduced, all tending to increase the security of land, of which the following is, perhaps, the most important:—Hitherto it has been dangerous for a great proprietor to quit his estate. His agent may want it for himself. In that case he fails to pay the government rent. No subsequent payment is of any avail. The estate is put up to auction, and bought by a bidder employed by the knavish agent. It is now proposed to permit the proprietor to deposit in the collector's hands any amount of company's paper he pleases. Up to the value of that paper he is safe. He may go to England for two years or ten, or, if he chooses, he may deposit so much paper that the interest shall be equal to the government rent. In that case he is secure for ever, happen what may. I have described this innovation at some length, but you will readily perceive that it alters not only the tenure of land, but the whole constitution of society in Bengal. It makes the leaseholder a free man. It deprives the landowner of a terrible instrument of coercion, ejectment at will, the right to which he had formerly by his own lease abandoned. It creates a class of yeomanry of small free landholders, a class most urgently required." It could not be expected that changes so momentous would be unopposed; yet for some time the parties most interested, in a selfish sense, remained silent, and, in fact, no opposition was made such as would undoubtedly have been offered had it not been for the impression entertained throughout the Bengal provinces that "the Company's Raj" would soon come to an end. The feelings nurtured in Oude had communicated themselves all through these provinces, and there was not only a general expectation of successful disturbance, but a knowledge of the means by which success was to be secured. The native landholders were not in ignorance, as were the company's officers, civil and military, as to the military revolt then preparing. The rebellion prevented the application of "the Sale law" by the council in its original form, but, while some of the reforms then discussed in connection with it have not even yet been carried, much has been done. The agitation on "the Sale law" greatly increased the agitation of the classes venally interested, but they avoided demonstrations, hoping that the power that interfered with their customs would soon perish in a new and grand struggle.

## CHAPTER CXXVI.

PERSIAN WAR—ITS CAUSES—INVASION OF HERAT—EXPEDITION TO THE PERSIAN GULF—CAPTURE OF BUSHIRE, MOHAMMERAH, AND AKWAZ—PEACE NEGOTIATED AT PARIS.

THE circumstances which originated the Persian war of 1856 were of the same nature as those which issued in the Affghan war. Minute details of the policy of Russia towards Persia, and, through Persia, towards British India, were given in the account of events preliminary to that war.

Although peace and, apparently, good relations were then established, a bad feeling lurked in the Persian court. The desire to invade Affghanistan was not abandoned, and the Russian government kept up the bad feeling without actually urging Persia to a war. Russia was anxious to keep open a cause of contention which she might one day turn to account, and yet afraid to provoke the power of England to any operations in the Persian Gulf which might increase her influence over the court of Teheran. When the war with Turkey, England, and France broke out, Russia was of course desirous to create a diversion by the instrumentality of Persia. Her instigations took effect only when a hostile movement of Persia could be no longer of use, peace between the European powers having been proclaimed.

The policy of Persia continued the same as when it occasioned the Affghan war. That policy was expressed with singular clearness by Hoossein Khan, a Persian ambassador, in a communication to Prince Metternich, in 1839. Prince Metternich observed upon this letter, that it was "expressed with a precision scarcely eastern," as the following extract will show:—

"The shah is sovereign of his country, and as such he desires to be independent. There are two great powers with whom Persia is in more or less direct contact—Russia and the English power in India. The first has more military means than the second. On the other hand, England has more money than Russia. The two powers can thus do Persia good and evil; and in order above all to avoid the evil, the shah is desirous of keeping himself, with respect to them, within the relations of good friendship and free from all contestation. If, on the contrary, he finds himself threatened on one side, he will betake himself to the other in search of the support which he shall stand in need of. That is not what he desires, but to what he may be driven, for he is not more the friend of one than of the other of those powers: he desires to be with them on a footing of equal friendship. What he cherishes above all is his independence, and the maintenance of good relations with foreign powers."

This letter puts the shah's policy in the most favourable point of view. The idea of compensation on the side of Affghanistan, for territory lost on the frontier of Russia, pervaded the Persian court, and it was something like a point of honour to take Herat whenever opportunity might present itself. On the 21st of July, 1851, Colonel Shiel, then minister of England at the Persian court, informed his majesty that the views of England, as to the independence of Herat, remained unchanged.

During the latter part of 1851 Herat was much disturbed, and the khan asked for Persia's help to maintain his authority. The shah promised aid if required, and entered into negotiations which had for their object to extort certain oriental forms from the khan which would constitute recognition of the shah's sovereignty. On the other hand, Dost Mohammed of Cabul was jealous of Persian interference at Herat, and threatened to march an army from Candahar, to counteract the shah's policy.

In the spring of 1852, a Persian expedition advanced against Herat. The city was occupied; various oppressions were perpetrated; several Affghan khans were seized and sent to Persia. These acts followed assurances the most pacific, offered to the English minister. Falsehood the most scandalous was resorted to for the purpose of concealing intentions dishonest and aggressive. Herat was finally annexed to Persia. When the cabinet at London became aware of these transactions, Lord Malmesbury, the minister for foreign affairs, refused to hold intercourse with the Persian ambassador.

In consequence of the resistance offered by Colonel Shiel, and his menaces of the active displeasure of England, the shah at last became alarmed, and on the 25th of January, 1853, signed an engagement renouncing all sovereignty, and promising not to interfere by arms in the affairs of Herat, but reserving the right to march an army into its neighbourhood in case any other power did the like.

The Persian government, in making so satisfactory a settlement, threw the English off their guard, which was the only object the Persian court and ministers had in view,

having never intended to perform any of the stipulations. The firmness of the English minister constrained their observance.

The temper and spirit of the Persian court became intensely irritable towards the English ambassador and his suite. A circumstance arose which brought this out painfully. On the 15th of June, 1854, Mr. Thomson, the English minister, wrote to Lord Clarendon, then minister for foreign affairs, informing him that he had chosen one Meerza Hashem Khan as the Persian secretary to the British mission. This person was courtly, learned, and in every way suitable to the office assigned to him. Lord Clarendon confirmed the appointment. The Persian court immediately persecuted the favourite of the English mission. The Hon. C. A. Murray succeeded Mr. Thomson, and he also favoured Meerza Hashem. The Persian court continued its persecution, and finally seized and imprisoned the khan's wife. Mr. Murray demanded satisfaction for this outrage upon the staff of the British mission, and the release of the lady. His demands were treated with disdain, and Mr. Murray felt bound to maintain the dignity of the government he represented by striking his flag on the 20th of November, 1855.

The Persian prime-minister put a report into circulation that both Mr. Murray and his predecessor had intrigues with the khan's wife, and therefore employed him in the embassy. The Persian premier at last made the allegation to Mr. Murray himself, in a despatch. On the 5th of December, after having endured many insults, he left Teheran.

The Persian court then endeavoured to transact business with England through the English ambassador at the Porte. On the 2nd of January, 1856, the Persian *chargé d'affaires* at Constantinople laid a long complaint before the English ambassador there against Mr. Murray, Mr. Thomson, Consul Stevens, and, in fact, all persons connected with the English mission at Teheran. The Persian court was as much opposed to the consul as to the ministers. The Persian ministers drew up a scandalous document for publication in Europe, incriminating the English ministers at their court of immorality. This document breathed a malignant hostility unusual between belligerent states, and utterly disgraceful in its conception and expression. Had all the English ministers been immoral, the fact would not have affected the merits of the dispute. The sacredness of the persons and property of all persons, Persians or others, engaged in the service of the English embassy, and of their families, had been violated spitefully and without provocation, and for this wrong redress was demanded.

It is probable that all these disturbances were got up by the Persian government to cover their policy towards Herat, for at the end of 1855, Prince Sultan Moorad Meerza was sent with a force of nine thousand men against that place.

The fall of Kars during the war with Russia was circulated all over Asia. The fall of Sebastopol was not known for long after. The Russians had the means of producing this double effect. The consequence was, the Persians were emboldened, as were also the Oudeans, and other enemies of England in India. The shah determined to accomplish the long-cherished purpose of his court, to annex Herat.

In July, 1856, Lord Clarendon caused the ultimatum of his government to be delivered to the Persian *chargé d'affaires* at Constantinople. He about the same time instructed the governor-general of India to collect forces at Bombay for operations in the Persian Gulf.

The ultimatum of the British government was in the following terms:—"The sadr azim (prime-minister) to write in the shah's name a letter to Mr. Murray, expressing his regret at having uttered and given currency to the offensive imputation upon the honour of her majesty's minister, requesting to withdraw his own letter of the 19th of November, and the two letters of the minister for foreign affairs of the 26th of November, one of which contains a rescript from the shah respecting the imputation upon Mr. Murray, and declaring, in the same letter, that no such further rescript from the shah as that inclosed herewith in copy was communicated, directly or indirectly, to any of the foreign missions at Teheran. A copy of this letter to be communicated officially by the sadr azim to each of the foreign missions at Teheran, and the substance of it to be made public in that capital. The original letter to be conveyed to Mr. Murray, at Bagdad, by the hands of some high Persian officer, and to be accompanied by an invitation to Mr. Murray, in the shah's name, to return with the mission to Teheran, on his majesty's assurance that he shall be received with all the honours and consideration due to the representative of the British government; another person of suitable rank being sent to conduct him, as mehmandar, on his journey through Persia. Mr. Murray, on approaching the capital, to be received by persons of high rank deputed to escort him to his residence in the town. Immediately on his arrival there, the sadr azim to go in state to the British mission and renew friendly relations with Mr. Murray, leaving the secretary of state for foreign affairs to accompany him to the royal palace, the sadr azim re-

ceiving Mr. Murray, and conducting him to the presence of the shah. At noon on the following day, the British flag to be hoisted under a salute of twenty-one guns, and the sadr azim to visit the mission immediately afterwards, which visit Mr. Murray will return, at latest, on the following day before noon. Satisfaction being thus given, and friendly relations restored, the settlement of the questions of Herat, of Meerza Hashem and of his wife, remains to be stated. Should Herat be occupied by the shah's troops, his majesty to engage to withdraw them without delay. Should that city be in any way menaced, though not occupied by the shah's troops, his majesty to engage not to allow them to occupy it on any account. In either case, the engagement being solemnly given, the British mission to defer to his majesty's wish, if renewed, respecting Meerza Hashem, by not insisting on his appointment at Shiraz; the Meerza's wife, however, to be restored to him, and himself to enjoy the security, emoluments, and position offered by the Persian government in a former stage of the question. The whole of the correspondence respecting Meerza Hashem may then be mutually withdrawn and cancelled, it being to be understood that no objections will be made by the Persian government to the appointment, as heretofore, of a British correspondent at Shiraz till that and other matters can be arranged by a suitable convention."

The ultimatum failed to secure redress. A series of fresh outrages were offered at the embassy upon such servants of the British government as remained there. Tidings of the forces clustering at Bombay reached Teheran, but the Persian, undismayed, ordered more troops to be sent to garrison his menaced provinces. Orders were sent to Consul Stevens to quit Persia, and take the means usual in such cases to secure the liberty and property of British subjects.

On the 24th of September, the president of the board of control was requested to forward to India, by the next mail, orders for the expedition to move to the Persian Gulf. On the 17th of October, Feruk Khan arrived at Constantinople as minister plenipotentiary of the shah. He entered into negotiation with Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and consented to terms of peace, but raised so many obstructions to them in detail afterwards, that no reliance could be placed in the sincerity of his negotiations.

On the 1st of November, the governor-general of India declared war against Persia. Three proclamations were issued by his excellency, which, when they arrived at Constantinople, caused the Persian plenipotentiary to withdraw from all further negotiations, and to treat his former agreements as null and void. Major-general Outram, K.C.B., had returned to England from Oude, and while at home was in consultation with the British government concerning the Persian expedition. He was appointed to command it, and arrived in Bombay for that purpose. He took the command of "the second division of the army of Persia," and proceeded with it to the Persian Gulf. The 1st division, under Major-general Stalker, had already been dispatched. The brigadiers of this division were Wilson and Honner; Brigadier Tapp had charge of the cavalry, and Brigadier Trevelyan the artillery. When the second division arrived at the Gulf, Lieutenant-general Outram holding the command in chief, that of the second division was reserved for Brigadier Havelock, C.B., deputy adjutant-general of her majesty's forces in India, who arrived afterwards. Brigadiers Hamilton and Hale commanded the brigades of that division. The cavalry of both divisions was placed under Brigadier Farol, C.B. Colonel Stuart, of the 14th light dragoons, commanded the cavalry of the second division. Brigadier Hill commanded the whole of the artillery force.

In the geographical portions of this work descriptions are given of the Persian Gulf and its shores, and Bushire is particularly described. A reference to these descriptions will enable the reader to follow with some ease the proceedings of the troops during this expedition.

The arrival of Sir James Outram was followed by active operations. The army marched round the head of the Bushire Creek, a heavy road, for the most part of loose sand. The army was drawn up in the following order:—Two lines of contiguous quarter-distance columns. First line: first brigade, first division—her majesty's 64th regiment, and 20th regiment native infantry. First brigade, second division—78th Highlanders, and 26th regiment native infantry. Second brigade, first division—2nd European light infantry, and 4th Bombay rifle regiment, native infantry. Second line: 3rd light cavalry (two squadrons); 3rd (Blake's) troop horse artillery; Nos. 3 and 5 field-batteries; one rissalak of Poonah horse. An advance guard was formed seven hundred yards on the right of all under Colonel Tapp, of the Poonah irregular horse, composed of one troop 3rd light cavalry, two guns horse artillery, two companies of her majesty's 64th regiment, and two companies of 20th regiment native infantry; the rearguard, under Major Hough, consisting of his own, the 2nd Beloochee bat-

talion, and one troop of Poonah horse, was drawn up on the left. The first night's bivouac was one of terrible storm; hail and rain with bitter blasts swept over the crouching host. Early in the morning, the march was directed against Brasjoon. Before one o'clock, the Persian videttes were seen reconnoitering. They fell back as the British approached, and the main army was soon after seen in rapid retreat. The advance guard of the British came up with the enemy's rear, and skirmished. The Persians behaved with spirit. One officer and several men were wounded, and Brigadier Honner had a narrow escape from a bullet which pierced his saddle. The enemy's intrenched camp fell into the hands of the English, and large stores of ammunition, food, and fodder which it contained. For two days the army rested, so far as marching or fighting was concerned, but was busily occupied in searching for grain, guns, and treasure, said to have been buried by the foe. Some quantities of corn and treasure were found, and some guns discovered in the wells. The military governor of Brasjoon was taken prisoner.

On the 7th the army retraced their steps to Bushire, bringing with them much of the booty they had acquired. The march was conducted leisurely. After midnight, the army was astonished to hear a volley of musketry in the rear, followed by the cannonade of two pieces of horse artillery. The shots gradually increased for half an hour, when the whole force became enveloped in a skirmishing fire. The Persian cavalry rode up, making every possible noise, shouting and blowing trumpets. The bugle-calls of the British army were familiar to the enemy, from the circumstance of British officers having been engaged in drilling his army a few years previously. This knowledge was used to create disorder in the British lines. Some of the buglers, riding close up in the dark to the 78th Highlanders, sounded the "cease fire," and afterwards, "incline to the left." The Highlanders remained steady. The yelling, shouting, and bugle-calls at last ceased, and the British lay by their arms, waiting in silence for the meeting. Before dawn five heavy guns were opened by the enemy with accurate range, wounding several officers, killing and wounding soldiers and camp-followers, and baggage animals. In the morning the enemy was seen with his force in order of battle.

There is but little information extant of the contest which ensued, and of its results, except what is contained in Sir James Outram's own account, which is as follows:—

*To his Excellency Lieutenant-general Sir H. Somerset, Commander-in-chief, Bombay.*

Camp near Bushire, Feb. 10th.

SIR,—I have the honour to report for your excellency's information that the Persian Expeditionary Force obtained a signal victory over the Persian army, commanded by Shooja-ool-Moolk in person, on the 8th inst.

The enemy's loss in killed and wounded must have been very great. It is impossible to compute the amount, but from the number of bodies which strewed the ground of contest, extending several miles, I should say that full 700 must have fallen. Two brass 9-pounder guns, with their carriages and horses, eight mules, laden with ammunition, and several hundred stand of arms, were taken; and the Persian commander-in-chief, with the remainder of his army, only escaped annihilation owing to the numerical weakness of our cavalry.

The loss on our side is, I am happy to say, comparatively small, attributable, I am inclined to believe, to the rapid advance of our artillery and cavalry, and the well-directed fire of the former, which almost paralyzed the Persians from the commencement. I have, however, to regret the loss of Lieutenant Frankland, 2nd European regiment, who was acting as brigade-major of cavalry, and was killed in the first cavalry charge; Captain Forbes, also, who commanded and most gallantly led the 3rd cavalry, and Lieutenant Greentree, 64th foot, were severely wounded.

Returns of the killed and wounded, and also of the ordnance stores taken, are annexed.

I myself had very little to do with the action, being stunned by my horse falling with me at the commencement of the contest, and recovering only in time to resume my place at the head of the army shortly before the close of this action.

To Major-general Stalker and Colonel Lugard, chief of the staff, is the credit due for successfully guiding our troops to victory on this occasion.

. . . . . .

At daybreak the Persian force,* amounting to between 6,000 and 7,000 men, with some guns, was discovered on our rear left (north-east of our line of march) in order of battle.

Our artillery and cavalry at once moved rapidly to the attack, supported by two lines of infantry, a third protecting the baggage. The firing of the artillery was most excellent, and did great execution; the cavalry brigade twice charged with great gallantry and success; a standard of the Kashkai regular infantry regiment was captured by the Poonah horse, and the 3rd light cavalry charged a square, and killed nearly the whole regiment; indeed, upon the cavalry and artillery fell the whole brunt of the action, as the enemy moved away too rapidly for the infantry to overtake them. By ten o'clock the defeat of the Persians was complete. Two guns were captured, the gun ammunition, laden upon mules, fell into our hands, and at least 700 men lay dead upon the field. The number of wounded could not be ascertained, but it must have been very large. The remainder fled in a disorganized state, generally throwing away their arms, which strewed the field in vast numbers, and nothing but the paucity of our cavalry prevented their total destruction and the capture of the remaining guns.

The troops bivouaced for the day close to the battle-field, and at night accomplished a march of twenty miles (by another route) over a country rendered almost impassable by the heavy rain which fell incessantly. After a rest of six hours, the greater portion of the infantry continued

* Guards, 900; two Karragoozloo regiments, 1,500; Shiraz regiment, 200; four regiments of Sabriz, 800; Arab regiment, 900; Kashkai, 800—5,100; Sufengchees, 1,000. Cavalry of Shiraz, 300; Eilkhanee, 500—800. Total, 6,900; guns (said to be), 18.

their march to Bushire, which they reached before midnight, thus performing another most arduous march of forty-four miles under incessant rain, besides fighting and defeating the enemy during its progress within the short period of fifty hours. The cavalry and artillery reached camp this morning.

The result is most satisfactory, and will, I trust, have a very beneficial effect upon our future operations.

The greatest praise is due to the troops of all arms for their steadiness and gallantry in the field, their extraordinary exertions on the march, and their cheerful endurance of fatigue and privation under circumstances rendered doubly severe by the inclemency of the weather, to which they were exposed without shelter of any kind; and I cannot too strongly express the obligation I feel to all under my command for the almost incredible exertions they have undergone and the gallantry they have displayed on this occasion.

To Major-general Stalker and to Colonel Lugard my especial thanks are due.

To the heads of the several departments, as well as to every officer belonging to those departments, and to my personal staff (including Lieutenant-colonel Lord Dunkellin, who volunteered his services as aide-de-camp), I am much indebted. From all I received every possible assistance, and, although I do not now specify by name the department and personal staff, and other officers alluded to, I shall hereafter take an opportunity of bringing them individually to your excellency's notice. Indeed, when all have behaved so nobly, it is difficult to specify individuals.

The rapid retreat of the enemy afforded but little opportunity for deeds of special gallantry. I have already alluded to the successful charges made by the 3rd cavalry and Poonah horse, under Captain Forbes and Lieutenant-colonel Tapp, and to the very efficient service performed by the artillery under Lieutenant-colonel Trevelyan. The brigadiers commanding the infantay brigades—Wilson, Stisted, and Honner—with the several commanding officers of the regiments, and indeed every officer and soldier of the force, earned my warmest approbation.

To the medical officers of the force I am under great obligation for their untiring exertions throughout these arduous operations.

I cannot conclude without alluding in strong terms to the valuable assistance I have received from Major Taylor, whose services were placed at my disposal by the Hon. C. A. Murray, C.B.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

J. OUTRAM,

*Lieutenant-general commanding Expeditionary Force.*

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Total killed.—Europeans, 3; natives, 7.

Total wounded.—Europeans, 31; natives, 31.

Grand total.—Killed, 10; wounded, 62—72.

Died of wounds since the action—3 Europeans and 3 natives.

M. STOVELL, *Superintending Surgeon.*

1st. Division Persian Expeditionary Field Force.

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The following is the return of ordnance captured on the morning of the 8th inst., at Bivouac Khoosh-ab:—

One brass gun, Persian inscription, vent good, 9-pounder, length 6 feet, bore 4.2, of Persian manufacture.

One ditto, ditto, spiked, 9-pounder, length 6 feet, bore 4.2, of Persian manufacture.

These guns are in good travelling order, mounted on travelling field carriages, each limber fitted with a limber box to contain about thirty rounds of ammunition. One gun was taken with three horses, harness, &c., complete.

The carriages are of block trail constructions; the cheeks of one require to be replaced.

Eighteen rounds of ammunition and some food were in the limber boxes.

Besides the above were 262 rounds of gun ammunition, which I destroyed before leaving the bivouac on Sunday evening. The mules, eight in number, which carried it, I have brought into camp. I have 350 stand of arms, and I think fully treble that number must have been taken by camp followers and others.

One gun was spiked by our horse artillery, as they had to leave it when following on in pursuit. I have since removed the spike.

B. K. FINNIMORE,

*Captain, Field Commissary of Ordnance, P.E.F.F.*

The precise force under Sir James Outram's command on this occasion was as follows:—3rd cavalry, 243; Poonah horse, 176—419 sabres; 64th foot, 780; 2nd Europeans, 693; 78th Highlanders, 739—2,212 European infantry; sappers, 118; 20th native infantry, 442; 4th rifles, 523; 26th native infantry, 479; Beloochees, 460—2,022 native infantry. Total, 4,653. 3rd troop horse artillery, 6; 3rd light field battery, 6; 5th light field battery, 6—Total, 18 guns. Camp.—376 Europeans; 1,466 native infantry; 1 company of European artillery; and 14 guns.

The troops rested on the field of battle, and refreshed themselves; but in a few hours after, they took up their old position; on the line of march heavy rain fell, and their sufferings were great: no army ever displayed more patience, unless indeed the men whose heroic fortitude endured, without murmuring, the horrors of the Crimean war. The cold to which the heroes of the Persian expedition were exposed was intense, the season was especially severe, although the winter of that part of Persia is generally cold and wet, with heavy hail-storms. Almost every kind of bad weather common to that climate at that season fell upon the little army of General Outram, which without a murmur encountered every task imposed upon it, and every difficulty that impeded. On the night of the battle, men and officers literally lay in mire, and when the march was resumed, it is no exaggeration to describe it as made knee-deep in mud. Rain continued to fall, accompanied by a sharp, biting wind throughout the remainder of the way to Bushire, where the force arrived without another combat, or losing a straggler. So perfect were General Outram's arrangements, that even the dead were carried with the army, that they might be buried in the English lines with military honours. This had an excellent effect upon the soldiery, for it caused them to feel that they were commanded by men who sympathised with them. There had been but one officer slain, so that the cavalcade of death, with that exception, was made up of private soldiers, and one or two non-commissioned officers. This concern to show respect to the men in humblest rank was attributable to General Outram, but all the officers caught the generous infection.

They participated in the toil and sufferings of their brave followers, and identified themselves with them in manly and soldierly sympathy.

On the morning of the 11th of February, Lieutenant Frankland, and the brave soldiers who died, received sepulture together, with all the honours which could be paid to their remains. On the previous morning, the 10th, the force marched into the lines of Bushire, amidst the cheers of those who had remained in camp, and of the sailors and marines from the ships. On the same morning the lieutenant-general in command issued a judicious order of the day, not resembling those frigid orders which issued from Lord Raglan, Sir James Simpson, and Sir E. Codrington, in the Crimea, but one warm with admiration of the noble qualities which the soldiers had displayed, and which indirectly appealed to their patriotism.

The rain descended in torrents for several days following that on which the force returned to Bushire. A few fine mornings enabled the troops to take exercise. During the interval Brigadier-generals Havelock and Hamilton arrived from India, and assumed the commands to which they had previously been appointed: Havelock commanding the second division, and Hamilton the first brigade of that division. From the 14th of February the weather again assumed its former character, and the lines were deluged with rain; nevertheless, so excellent were General Outram's arrangements, that the army was in vigorous health and excellent spirits. Reinforcements gradually arrived, but the heavy surf on the sea-shore prevented troops from landing, and also the dispatch of supplies for men and cattle. The good management of the commissariat—a rare piece of fortune in English armies—prevented any inconvenience. General Outram saw personally to everything; like the great Duke and Sir Charles Napier, he entered into all the detail of his army, while he never suffered a mere routine to formalise the service, and prevent the exercise of foresight, and of capacity for judging of events as they arose.

On the night of the 22nd of February the enemy's camp fires were seen upon the hills, of which there was a prospect from the lines. The enemy's patrols avoided all demonstrations by day; at night they watched opportunity to cut off camp-followers. The English fortified their lines, erecting fine strong redoubts, and mounting them with heavy 68-pounders. Thus matters proceeded until the 4th of March, when a change of weather enabled the general to embark forces for an expedition against Mohammerah.*

* For description see geographical portion of this work.

EXPEDITION TO MOHAMMERAH.

The circumstances attending the embarkation and the arrival before Mohammerah have been described by an eye-witness and participator in the events of the war, Captain G. H. Hunt, of the 78th Highlanders. The description is at once condensed and graphic, and has all the lifelike force of that which a competent witness relates:—"It was now known that General Outram's arrangements were to be as follows,—viz., General Stalker to remain in command at Bushire, with Brigadiers Wilson, Honner, and Tapp; the troops to remain being two field-batteries and the mountain trains, the entire cavalry of the first division, three companies each from her majesty's 64th, and the Highlanders, the 4th rifles, 20th native infantry, and the Belooch battalion; Sir James proceeding himself with the remainder, to the number, of all arms, of about four thousand men—those left for the defence of Bushire counting about three thousand. The different accounts of Mohammerah stated it to be held by from ten to thirteen thousand men, with numerous cavalry in its neighbourhood, and seven of the shah's best regular regiments among its garrison. The works of the fort or batteries were described as very formidable earthen parapets, eighteen or twenty feet thick, with heavy guns on the river face. To encounter these, until the troops should land and carry the batteries, were the broadsides of the *Clive* and *Falkland* sloops, and *Ajdaha, Feroze, Semiramis, Victoria,* and *Assaye* frigate steamers; which must, however, face the enemy's fire at the distance of about one hundred yards. The difficulty of the enterprise, however, seemed only the more to determine the general to accomplish it; and camp gossip affirmed that an ill-timed remonstrance from the Turkish government against our attacking a place so near their own (a neutral) territory, had materially hastened our chief's movements, and that the arrival of any portion of the expected cavalry and artillery would be the signal for an immediate advance.

"On the 6th of March, before the transport *Kingston* put to sea, the *Falkland* sloop sailed for the Euphrates; and about the same time her majesty's 64th regiment embarked in the *Bride of the Sea* transport; and, even while these events were occurring, the *Feroze, Pottinger,* and *Pioneer* steamers entered the roads, bringing a troop of horse artillery and some of the long-looked-for Scinde horse; so the departure of the entire expedition now became imminent. Intelligence was also brought in this day, stating so confidently that the new Persian commander-in-chief, with considerable reinforcements, had joined

the army recently beaten by us, and intended an advance, that strong hopes, if not actual expectations, were entertained that he might be induced, when the departure of so large a portion of our force became known, to attack the camp and try the strength of our new redoubts, and thus give the troops remaining behind an equal opportunity of honour and distinction with ourselves. On the afternoon of the 6th, the *Kingston*, with four other transports, got clear of the Bushire roads, and were off the island of Karrack early next morning. This formed no exception in desolate rocky appearance to its sister islands in the gulf. A detachment of the 4th rifles held it as a coaling-station for the Indian navy. The mouth of the Euphrates was made by daylight on the 8th, with the *Falkland* sloop under all sail leading into it; and after being aground on the bar for about an hour, the *Kingston* anchored by noon among the eight or ten ships that had then arrived; others continuing to reach the anchorage in the course of the day. A considerable portion of the expedition had assembled in the river, and the cavalry patrols of the enemy evinced great curiosity at our movements, coming down close to the water's edge to make their observations within easy gun-range, but no shot was fired at them. A day or so previously to our arrival, one of their superior officers held an inspection of about three thousand of their infantry abreast of the shipping, and evidently intended for observation." A considerable body of their irregulars, both horse and infantry, still occupied the village of Mahamur, opposite to the anchorage, and had pickets established in some ruined buildings within rifle-range. The Persian horsemen came within easy range, performing feats of horsemanship such as equestrian showmen might display in England. They flourished their swords, poised their lances, and seemed very desirous to impress the English with the idea that the horsemen of Persia were dangerously active and expert in encounter.

While the troops were impatiently waiting to be led against Mohammerah, General Stalker committed suicide at Bushire. That officer, finding that he was to be left in command on the departure of Sir James Outram against Mohammerah, was overwhelmed by a sense of responsibility. In important commands, under the chief direction of some other officer, he was very efficient; and in the public and private communications of the commander-in-chief was much honoured. When, however, he believed that a superior force would attack the lines which it would be his duty to defend, he shrunk from a responsibility to which he was unequal, and deprived himself of life. In the war with Russia, two British admirals acted in the same way from a similar cause; and soon after the death of General Stalker, Captain Ettensey, the naval chief of the expedition, also perished from his own hand, from the consciousness of his incompetency for the great task devolved upon him.

The promotion of officers in the British service by routine, purchase, and favouritism, is often as irksome to the victims of such unsuitable honour, as it is unjust to the country which is injured, and to meritorious officers who are neglected.

Until the 23rd of March the fleet, with troops on board, remained at anchor. The enemy, during the interval, worked hard at the defences. Captain Maisonneuve, of the *Sibylle*, a French ship of war, then observing matters in the Persian Gulf, under the pretence of a display of alliance, made energetic representations to the British of the strength of the enemy's positions and the incompetency of the English, with such means as they had at their disposal, to attack it successfully. The French captain professed a warm alliance, although not actually intending to unite his fire to that of the British fleet against the foe; but it is not at all improbable that the polite captain would have preferred that the English did not try to take Mohammerah, but, yielding to his opinion, have abandoned the enterprise, and incurred the disgrace of doing so. Active preparations continued until the dawn of the 26th, when the attack began. During these preparations, the sailors of the Indian navy showed an intelligence, order, and activity which the royal navy might well admire, and could not surpass, perhaps not equal.

On the night of the 25th, and before dawn of the 26th, a most gallant as well as useful manœuvre was performed. A raft, with two eight-inch and two five-inch mortars, was moored behind a low island in the middle of the river, and fronting the most powerful battery which the enemy possessed. "The cool daring of the men who placed, and the little band of artillery who remained on this raft for several hours of darkness in the middle of a rapid river without means of retreat, and certain destruction staring them in the face, should the enemy, within but a few hundred yards, be aroused to the fact of their presence, requires no commendation. The simple narrative of the event as it occurred is sufficient." Happily, the enemy was not "aroused to the fact of their presence" until at day-dawn the first shell sent from the raft fell into the centre of the battery, slaying eleven of the enemy. The Persian soldiers

were engaged at prayer when the shell fell among them; so sudden was the explosion, and so terrible the effect, that those who were not themselves among the victims were filled with wonder and consternation. "The attacking ships got under weigh as the first shot was fired, and proceeded to engage the batteries, going into action as follows:—The *Semiramis*, with the commodore's pendant flying of Captain Young, Indian navy, and towing the *Clive* sloop, led the squadron, followed by the steam-frigates *Ajdaha*, *Feroze*, *Assaye*, *Victoria*, the latter towing the *Falkland* sloop, which she cast off when in position. The leading ships passing the lower batteries, and opening their guns as they could be brought to bear, were soon at their respective posts, followed in quick succession by the near division; and but few minutes had elapsed after the *Semiramis* had fired her first gun before the action became general, the Persian artillery replying with spirit. The morning being very clear, with just sufficient breeze to prevent the smoke from collecting, a more beautiful scene than was then presented can scarcely be imagined. The ships, with ensigns flying from every masthead, seemed decked for a holiday; the river glittering in the early sun-light, its dark, date-fringed banks contrasting most effectively with the white canvas of the *Falkland*, which had loosened sails to get into closer action: the sulky-looking batteries just visible through the grey fleecy cloud which enveloped them; and groups of brightly-dressed horsemen flitting at intervals between the trees where they had their encampment, formed altogether a picture from which even the excitement of the heavy cannonade around could not divert attention."*

The *Berenice*, with General Havelock and the Highlanders on board, led the column for disembarkation. So crowded were the decks of the *Berenice*, that had a single shot plunged into the mass, the havoc must have been dreadful. Providentially, that peril was escaped. The conduct of the Indian navy in covering the landing was beyond praise. They kept up so terrible a fire of broadsides at the critical moment, as to prevent the enemy from being able to give sufficient attention to the transports and their precious freights. Those vessels were all armed, some with only one gun, others with several guns or mortars, and the fire from these was directed most skilfully. The reckless exposure of the sailors of the Indian navy must have filled the enemy with surprise, as it did the British army with admiration. The enthusiasm of these gallant tars equalled their audacity; in the midst of the furious cannonade they cheered vociferously each detachment of the troops as they passed between the ships on their way to what appeared still greater dangers, and more formidable encounters. The infantry and some field artillery were landed by two o'clock, but the creeks of the river were filled by the rising of the tide, so as to intercept the passage of the horse artillery, and the 14th light dragoons. The general ordered the troops he had with him to advance; the grenadier company of the gallant 64th keeping up a fire upon the enemy's matchlock-men while the troops passed. The troops arrived at the extremity of the date-grove which covered the line of advance, and hid the enemy's position. At once the lines of the Persians broke into view as the troops emerged beyond the intercepting wood. By this time the loud duel between the ships and batteries had nearly ceased; an explosion in the chief magazine of the defences had silenced many of the guns, and created alarm among the Persian troops.

The position of the enemy as presented to General Outram from the verge of the date-grove consisted of the town and batteries, flanked by intrenched encampments, which were thrown back to the rear of the place. In front of these lines large bodies of troops were massed. Upon these lines the British marched. The formation was as follows:—a line of contiguous quarter-distance columns; a field-battery on the right. Next came the 78th Highlanders; next the 25th native infantry, (one wing), her majesty's 64th regiment, the light battalion, and 23rd Bengal light infantry, the whole covered by a cloud of skirmishers. The point of attack was the camp to the left rear of the town of Mohammerah, where the shah-zada had evidently pitched his cavalry and guns, and had been with them in person. His infantry had occupied the other encampment, about five hundred yards to the right of this, and had also been quartered in considerable numbers in the batteries and date-groves adjacent. Up to the moment of our advance, these troops were drawn up in order of battle, outside the boundary of the shah-zada's camp, the right of their line far outflanking our left, which had actually no protection when it had once advanced into the open plain, beyond the 23rd native light infantry being slightly thrown back. This great risk, however, caused no hesitation. The scene which followed was singular. The British advanced in compact order of battle, with bold bearing and confident step, when, to their astonishment, as if the hosts of the

* *Outram and Havelock's Persian Campaign*. By George Townsend, pp. 249, 250.

enemy were a dissolving view, they melted away. The Persian soldiery refused to fight, battalion after battalion vanished, and with such rapidity, that before the English could recover from their astonishment, the grand army of the shah had disappeared. Every tent remained standing, and the ground was covered with arms and ammunition, accoutrements and garments, shot and shell which had fallen in the camp from the British guns and mortars. No wounded men were seen, but the dead were scattered around in bloody profusion. Some of the wounded had in part been sent into the interior, others were hidden by the townspeople. The inefficiency of the British shells was proved by the numbers which lay among the enemy's tents without having burst. Before retreating the Persians had destroyed their grand magazine. As the cowardly Persian army glided away, crowds of bolder Arab robbers approached to plunder the camp. These were driven off by a few of the advance men of the 14th light dragoons, and the rearguard, while Sir James Outram pursued the fugitive army. The Scinde horse made desperate exertions to overtake them, but could only come upon unfortunate stragglers who were wounded. The English were powerless to pursue from the old cause of inefficiency in this respect—an inadequate force of cavalry. Indeed, so small was the number of the English army, that it is astonishing the enemy did not try the ordeal of battle. The Arabs fell upon the wounded fugitives, murdering them partly from love of plunder and partly from animosity.

Eighteen beautiful brass guns and mortars were found in the camp, amongst them a Russian 12-pounder, cast in 1828, bearing an inscription which stated that it was a present from the Emperor Nicholas of Russia to the shah. The total loss of men in slain by the enemy was probably about five hundred, they acknowledged a loss of three hundred. The wounded who died on the retreat, and those murdered by the Arabs, would increase the numbers by several hundreds. Their total loss could not be less than one thousand men. The British loss was ten men killed and thirty-one wounded, including Lieutenant Harriss of the Indian navy. The fire of the Persians was good, hulling the ships, and cutting up the rigging; several boats were much injured, and one sunk, the mortar raft was also damaged, and in great danger of being sunk. Many lives were saved on board ship through the protection afforded by trusses of hay placed round the sides of the vessels.

When the British had time to examine the position which they had conquered, they were much amazed at its strength, and the skill shown in constructing and mounting the batteries. The scene was thus described by an officer on the staff of the army, who examined the works and witnessed the havoc made by the fire from our ships:—"The strength of the batteries was found to have been by no means exaggerated, and considerable skill was displayed both in their position and construction. Nothing but stout hearts within them was required to have made their capture matter of bloody price to the victors: happily for us these were wanting. Solid earthworks, open in rear, with parapets eighteen feet thick and twenty-five in height—the embrasures casemated, and revetted with date-stumps (which the heaviest shot will not splinter), and the whole interior thickly studded with pits full of water to catch our shells—had been the work cut out for us. The north battery had embrasures for eighteen guns, and stood on the right bank of the Karoon, at its junction with the Euphrates, and looked across and down the stream of that river. The south battery had eleven guns, and was on the opposite bank of the Karoon, commanding in the same direction. A small fort between the north battery and the town, and connected with the former by a long intrenchment, with embrasures for guns, mounted eight or ten guns. This intrenchment, crowded with infantry, had kept up a heavy musketry fire during the whole action; and from the broken pieces of arms and appointments lying about, as well as patches of blood-stains in all directions, our shot must have told fearfully among its occupants. Several minor batteries of from two to four guns each were on either bank, and just outside the west face of the town, on the right bank, was a very carefully made and strong work for ten guns. The whole of the works bore the marks of very rough treatment from our shot, though they were far from being ruined. Outside the small fort connected with the north battery was a capsized brass 12-pounder, with the carriage smashed, and three dead horses harnessed to it, all evidently killed at the same moment, if not by the same shot. A captain of their artillery and three gunners were also lying dead beside it. A letter found on the officer stated his expectation of a great battle on the morrow, and foreboded his own fate—committing his wife and children to the care of his brother at Teheran. This letter was subsequently forwarded to the address it bore by the British political agent at Bagdad.

"Two other handsome field guns and a large brass mortar were found deserted near the brass 12-pounder, the accident to which had prevented the enemy carrying them off; and they must have had some frightful casualties

in their ranks while their men were delayed in the attempt. Some few corpses remaining on the spot presented horrible spectacles: a huge African, in particular, struck on the back of the head by a round-shot, which had carried away all the bones of the skull and face, lay across another dead soldier, with the hideous, eyeless black mask that had once been a countenance, still as it were mowing and grinning at the beholder. The scene of the explosion of their grand magazine also afforded some ghastly objects, and the damage it had occasioned was frightful—legs, arms, and heads—wretched mutilated remains of humanity—protruding among the blackened, blasted ruins. The effect of the 68-pounder shot upon the date-trees was most extraordinary, a single one sufficing to snap the largest. The immense size and range of these missiles had occasioned the greatest terror and astonishment among the Persian troops, and doubtless was their excuse for their subsequent dastardly misconduct. Much discouragement was also said to have been created in their ranks by the loss of Agha Jhan Khan, surteep, or general of division, and their most able chief, who fell desperately wounded very early in the day, while showing a most gallant example in the north battery.

"The 27th and 28th of March were occupied in removing the guns, collecting the stores, &c., and in landing supplies and our own tentage for the troops, who, with the exception of those to whom the Persian tents had fallen prize on occupying their camps, had up to this time been living entirely in the open air."

### EXPEDITION TO AKWAZ.

While the British were encamped at Mohammerah, Sir James Outram ascertained that the enemy had retreated, with the intention of reaching Akwâz, about one hundred miles distant, on the river Karoon. It was the grand depot of provisions of war of all kinds for these provinces. The British commander-in-chief conceived the idea of sending up some steamers, with a small detachment of troops, and of damaging or destroying the place before the retreating force could reach it. The steam squadron consisted of the *Comet*, *Planet*, and *Assyria*, under Commander Rennie, of the Indian navy, whose experience in river warfare in Birmah and China had been considerable.

"The troops told off for the service were, one hundred and fifty men from the flank companies of the 64th regiment, and a like number furnished by the light and Captain McAndrew's companies of the Highlanders. Each steamer took one hundred men, the light companies of the Highlanders going on the *Comet;* Captain Goode's grenadiers, of the 64th, on the *Planet;* and Captain McAndrew, with part of his own Highlanders and part of the light company of the 64th, on the *Assyria*. The expedition was accompanied by the following officers, irrespective of the troops:—Captain Wray, deputy quartermaster-general of the army; Captain Green, military secretary to Sir James; Captain Kemball, political agent and consul at Bagdad; and several other officers. The steamers left Mohammerah about ten o'clock on the morning of 29th March, the *Comet* leading and lending a tow-rope to the *Assyria*, she being of lesser power; the *Planet* brought up the rear. A gunboat, carrying two 24-pounder howitzers, was also in tow of each steamer." After sunset of the first day's sail, a party of officers landed, and discovered the ground upon which the enemy had bivouaced in their retreat, and the wheel-marks of five guns were made out, besides those of a carriage of narrow axle. Getting under weigh again at daylight the next morning, the ruined mosque of Imaum Subbeh was reached early in the afternoon; and the steamer running alongside the bank, a few officers landed to explore, again finding the marks of the enemy's halting-ground. The five guns had been parked near the ruin, which stood close to the waterside, and the shah-zada himself had evidently occupied the little shelter afforded by the few date-trees in its immediate neighbourhood. The wheel-marks of the small carriage were again made out, and, judging from the freshness of the impressions in the clay and other appearances, not more than twenty-four hours could have elapsed since the retreating army had passed. Several fresh-made graves also gave evidence that they had buried their dead by the way; and, from the absence of the usual scraps of food around the bivouac fires, and similar indications at the picketing-places, they were evidently pressed for both provisions and forage. Again the little squadron got under weigh, and on arriving at the Arab village of Ismaini, it was learned that the enemy had passed the previous day; the force consisting of seven regiments, two thousand horse, and four guns; and another gun, with a broken carriage, towed in a boat along the river close by their line of march. On the 31st, at dawn, the brisk little *Comet* cast off the *Assyria*, and putting on full power, made up river, expecting to capture the boat on board of which was the gun. Soon after nine in the morning, a straggler from the rearguard was captured. He was so exhausted with fatigue, hunger, and fear, that no information could be extracted from him. From the Arabs it was soon after ascertained that the enemy's army had reached

their destination, towing their boat with the gun safely up to the city. The remainder of the little squadron joined in the evening, and a position was taken up for the night. Early on the morning of the 1st of April, the squadron steamed up towards Akwâz. The Persian army was descried on the right bank of the river, the town was situated on the left. "They had a most formidable cavalry force, certainly over two thousand; four large masses of infantry were partly screened by a low range of sand-hills, which ran along their front; and three guns were distinctly seen in position near a small mosque in their centre, a fourth being on a slope below and to the left of it. Their line fronted down the river, and at a slight angle to it, their left resting immediately upon its bank. Our small fleet steamed slowly up to within three thousand yards of the position, all busied either in surveying the river, reconnoitering the force in front, or observing the patrols of cavalry which were now riding within rifle-shot abreast of us, and watching our movements. A boat beneath the left bank for some minutes escaped with very casual notice; but suspicions being roused, it was determined to examine her. A cutter from the *Comet*, taking two officers of the party and a corporal's guard of the Highlanders, accordingly boarded her (the crew jumping overboard as the cutter approached), when she proved to be the much-coveted prize, a splendid 12-pounder brass gun being found in her. While hoisting this on board the *Comet*, a couple of horsemen approaching closer to see what we were doing, a shot was fired at them from one of Colonel Jacob's new rifles. The effect of this was most ridiculous: though not striking either. They both turned at once, galloping back at speed to the picket of some thirty cavalry which they had come from, and which also withdrew to a more respectful distance. Some Arabs next hailed us from the shore, one was brought on board, and it was ascertained that the garrison of Akwâz did not exceed five hundred infantry and thirty horse, left to protect the stores, which had scarcely been touched by the enemy before our approach. The information appearing reliable, it was determined at once to attempt reaching the town by landing on the left bank, and circling clear of cannon-range to its east face; when, should it be found defended in much greater force, a simple reconnaissance was to be made, and an orderly return to the boats; but if practicable, the town was to be carried, and the stores burnt. A gunboat was ordered to go up the river as far as possible without rashness, and open fire with two howitzers. There were only two small boats on the side of the river where the Persian army lay, so that men could not be sent over in any great numbers to assist the garrison of the city. The gunboat performed its mission admirably; Mr. Hewett, mate of the Indian navy, directed the fire with great coolness and skill, although a very young man. Dispositions were made of a most ingenious nature to make the enemy believe that the British force opposed to them was only the advance guard of a great flotilla, and of the whole army of Sir James Outram. A high jungle, screening the formation of the troops, enabled this happy imposition to be practised, rendering it impossible for the enemy to form any correct estimate of the numbers. "A single line of skirmishers, each man ten or twelve paces apart, first issued from the bushes on the plain, in view of the enemy; the supports followed these, at about one hundred yards' interval, also in single rank, and with files very much loosened. At another interval of about one hundred yards, the three main detachments advanced, about two hundred yards apart, each in columns of threes, and opened out to very wide intervals. The light company of the Highlanders was on the left, and on entering the town had to turn to the left, and, getting under cover at the water's edge, to endeavour to keep down the fire. Captain Goode's grenadiers of the 64th were in the centre, and were to move on the body of the town, and at once begin destroying the stores. Captain McAndrew's detachment on the right, composed partly of Highlanders and partly of men of the 64th, was to turn to the right on entering, and, watching any troops that might attempt the upper face of the town, also destroy whatever magazines or stores fell in his way."

The garrison of the town ran away, and crossing far up the river, joined the main army. The sheik, with a long retinue of religious persons, came out to solicit protection, which was afforded, on condition that he would disclose the position of the magazines, and aid in their destruction. He was assured that private property would be spared and the inhabitants treated with respect.

The Persian army remained still in position, and it was necessary for the troops to act with the greatest circumspection. A lucky cast from one of the howitzers pitched a shell into the shah-zada's quarters, nearly destroying a mosque. His excellency became so alarmed that he gave orders for the army to retreat upon Shustu, his nearest depot, but a long distance for an army without provisions, as all their stores lay in the city which they were unable to save. Ten thousand men thus fled before three hundred, surren-

dering a city and extensive magazines of food and ammunition. One who witnessed the retreat of the Persians thus described it:—"Their infantry, keeping in four distinct masses, went off first, marching very rapidly on a course parallel to the river, taking the four guns seen in position with them; and they were also said to have had three others of lighter metal. A small green palanquin carriage, with glass windows, and a 'takhteraidan,' or mule-litter, in which Persian women of rank usually travel, were conspicuous in the midst of a strong escort. This was the carriage, the tracks of which had been found at their several bivouacs. The cavalry brought up the rear, and a magnificent appearance this great body of horse presented. They certainly exceeded two thousand in number, appeared well mounted, and were dressed in long blue frocks, with trousers of lighter colour, a white belt, and the high black lambskin cap peculiar to the Persians. A sabre and long matchlock slung across their backs appeared to be their only arms, as (unusual with Asiatics) no lances were visible among them. The pick of the Bactdyari tribes, reputed the shah's best cavalry, were present among the number. They carried three standards with them, but in crimson cases, not flying. One of these horsemen remained concealed behind a wall until their whole army had proceeded about a mile, then suddenly starting from his hiding-place, he fired his matchlock at the town, as if in defiance, and galloped off at speed after his comrades. This was the last man seen of the Persian army.

"Before their rearguard had advanced many hundred yards out of their lines, the gunboat crossed, taking Captain Wray, Lord Schomberg Kerr, and Captain Green, with twenty of the Highlanders, and with utter impunity exploded a quantity of ammunition deserted by them; although—a few minutes after this took place, and when the party might easily have been cut off from the boat, had a few of their horsemen possessed the courage to dash back—they unlimbered a light gun and sent a shot at some Arab marauders who had swam the river and commenced plundering the lines they had abandoned. The town had been entered about half an hour before midday, and it was about two o'clock when the last of the enemy was seen. During the whole of this time the work of destroying the stores had been going on, Major Kemball first compelling the Arabs to carry down to the steamers as much of the flour and wheat as stowage could be found for them, and, as payment for their labour, threw open to them the remainder.

"Besides the immense quantity of grain thus carried off and scattered by us, fifteen cases of perfectly new firelocks and bayonets were taken, fifty-six fine mules in capital condition, a handsome horse of the shahzada's, a number of new pack-saddles, with their appointments, and a great many new intrenching tools of different descriptions. The whole of these were brought away in the boats. The firelocks captured were of English manufacture, and had the Tower mark upon them. A large flock of sheep was also among the prizes. Of these, as many were brought off as the boats could hold, and the troops and seamen consumed many more during the stay which it was now decided to make at Akwâz, both for the moral effect and for political reasons; the remainder of the flock was presented to the sheik of the town on the departure of the expedition."

Captain Selby, noticed elsewhere in this work as so useful an officer in his marine surveys, was of great service in this expedition. He commanded the *Comet*, and his surveys of the river and of the Persian Gulf on former occasions enabled him to guide the little squadron in safety.

During the 2nd and 3rd of April, the political agent who accompanied the expedition remained at Akwâz, receiving the submission of the sheiks of the surrounding districts. While these events were occurring, negotiations for peace were going on at Paris, which, on the 4th of March, was concluded. This intelligence arrived at Mohammerah on the same day that the expeditionary force arrived at that place on its return from Akwâz. Sir James Outram put himself into communication with the nearest Persian authorities in reference to the fulfilment of the treaty. He arranged that a small garrison should remain in Bushire, and the rest of the troops return to India. Great dissatisfaction was created among the army of Persia by the easy terms which the Persian ambassadors obtained at Paris. The general impressions were, that the French emperor, or his foreign minister, were more anxious, by the interposition of France, to prevent the acquisition of renown and influence by the English in Persia, than to secure a tried and faithful ally such terms as honour and justice might demand. It was thought that Lord Clarendon showed too little firmness, and that he and Lord Palmerston displayed more eagerness to please the French emperor than comported with the dignity of England. These noblemen did not expect that the operations in the Persian Gulf would be so successful. They, no doubt, calculated upon the expedition being conducted with the usual blunders of an English

campaign. They did not recollect, or did not know, that Outram and Havelock were men who rose by their merit, and were not the creatures of a pragmatical governor-general, or a servile commander-in-chief. Had there been a just conception in the English cabinet of the capacity and resources of the majority of the officers who led the army of Persia, better terms would have been insisted on. The troops engaged in the Persian expedition became a useful reinforcement to the army in India struggling against the mutineers and rebels of the Bengal provinces and Central India. From that circumstance the reader will be interested in the destination of the troops which left Persia in May, 1858. In a field-force order, made at the camp, Mohammerah, 9th of May, 1857, the following dispositions were made as to the places to which the troops then departing should be sent:—

1st. "The third troop of horse-artillery to Kurrachee; first company second battalion of artillery to Kurrachee; reserve companies to Bombay; her majesty's 64th regiment to Vingorla; her majesty's 78th Highlanders to Bombay; light battalion to Bombay; Madras sappers and miners to Bombay.

2nd. "The 23rd native light infantry and the 26th native infantry are transferred to the first division, and will proceed to Bushire, with the detachment of Scinde horse and land transport corps now at Mohammerah.

3rd. "The staff of the second division will return to Bombay, with the exception of the engineers, ordnance, and commissariat departments, which will proceed to Bushire and await further instructions.

4th. "Brigadier-general Jacob, C.B., will command the troops stationed at Bushire, which will be organized as follows:—cavalry brigade: 3rd regiment light cavalry, Scinde horse, Poonah horse, Aden troop, 14th king's light dragoons—Brigadier Stewart. Artillery brigade: 4th troop horse artillery, 3rd light field-battery, 5th light field-battery, 8th light field-battery, three companies of the second battalion artillery, four companies of the fourth battalion artillery—Lieutenant-colonel Trevelyan. Infantry: 20th regiment native infantry, 26th regiment native infantry—first brigade, Colonel Macan. Fourth Bengal native infantry, 23rd regiment native light infantry, Beloochee battalion—second brigade, Colonel Honner.*

5th. "The Lieutenant-general avails himself of this opportunity to return his warmest thanks to the whole of the troops placed under his command for service in Persia, for their very exemplary conduct since their arrival in this country, evinced by the fact of scarcely one instance of misconduct on the part of any individual having been brought to his notice. This entire absence of crime amongst so large a body of troops assembled in camp redounds to the credit of both officers and men, and is the strongest possible proof of the high state of discipline of the force; whilst their conduct throughout the expedition to Brasjoon, and in the engagement at Khoosh-aub, bore ample testimony to the gallantry of all ranks before an enemy, and to their cheerful and patient endurance of fatigue and hardship under most trying circumstances."

In the remainder of "the order," his excellency thanked the officers of his force for their signal skill and gallantry, selecting Brigadier-general Havelock, C.B., and Brigadier-general Wilson, K.H., as especially worthy of honour.

On the 15th of May, Brigadier-general Havelock, with the staff of his late division, embarked on board the *Berenice*, the vessel on board of which he had been, and which so providentially escaped when under fire of the batteries of Mohammerah. The *Berenice* arrived on the 23rd of May at Bombay, where the unwelcome intelligence of the mutiny smote every ear and every heart. The Highlanders and the 64th regiment were immediately, without landing, dispatched for debarkation nearer to the scene of action. How little did the authorities of Bombay suspect that the experience and hardihood acquired in Persia had qualified those troops for sublime services in India! As little was it supposed at Bombay or anywhere else in India, that Havelock was to be the saviour of our Asiatic possessions, and that in him Britain would find a genius equal to the terrible emergency Providence permitted to arise.

Havelock, and most of his officers, had disembarked at Bombay, although the men still "kept the ships." He did not again embark in the *Berenice*, but in the *Erin*, on the 1st of June, following the troops which had been sent forward. A storm arose, and the *Erin* struck upon a reef off the Island of Ceylon, near a small civil station called Caltura, between Galle and Colombo. The loss of all on board was imminent, and had that precious freight of genius and devoted loyalty perished, India, humanly speaking, would have been lost to England. The cowardly Lascars (native sailors) refused to go aloft and ease the ship, or make any exertion whatever below. They huddled together in craven fear and fanatical apathy, while the English officers performed their work for them. To the firmness, coolness, and genius

* This force subsequently went to India, in time to render service in the suppression of the mutiny.

of Havelock it was mainly due that every soul on board did not perish.

On the 8th of June Havelock and his officers embarked on board the *Fire Queen*. On the 12th the ship entered the roads of Madras. She arrived at Calcutta the 17th of June, bringing also Sir Patrick Grant, the new commander-in-chief of the army of the Bengal presidency. The arrival of those officers at Calcutta, especially Havelock, caused joy and hope in the midst of the depression and gloom which then predominated. The causes of this despondency will be related in another chapter.

## CHAPTER CXXVII.

DEPARTURE OF LORD DALHOUSIE—ARRIVAL OF LORD CANNING AS GOVERNOR-GENERAL —BREAKING OUT OF A SEPOY MUTINY—WANT OF FORESIGHT AND DECISION ON THE PART OF GOVERNMENT—DISBANDING OF REGIMENTS AND PUNISHMENT OF INDIVIDUAL OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS—PROOFS OF A MOHAMMEDAN CONSPIRACY.

EARLY in March, 1856, Lord Dalhousie retired from the government of India. His successor, Lord Canning, arrived previous to that event. These two men met at Government House, amidst festivities and splendour.* The most eventful incidents of British Indian history had occurred during the government of Lord Dalhousie, but even these were destined to be surpassed in magnitude and importance by those which afterwards taxed the powers and experience of Lord Canning. Lord Canning's difficulties were in the main created by Lord Dalhousie. To deal with this legacy of difficulties Lord Canning did not possess any extraordinary abilities. He had been considered an apt man of public business, with the family talent for diplomacy; he had been as good a postmaster-general as his predecessors in that office, which is not a very high commendation. He inherited a great name, and was a favourite of Lord Palmerston, under whose auspices he went to India. Much more could not be said for him. His reception at Calcutta was described in the chapter which treated of the social condition of India. His government, previous to the breaking out of the mutiny, was not in any way remarkable. That event surpassed all others in Anglo-Indian history, in its importance and its danger, and brought out a heroism and talent on the part of the British in India—of all ranks—such as excited the admiration of their countrymen and of the world. The causes of the mutiny, and even the immediate occasion of it, have been referred to so frequently in the course of this history, that it is unnecessary further to discuss them. In the chapters which treat of the social condition of India, and of the Indian army, and in the introduction, sufficient has been written on this subject to render it only requisite to make incidental reference to it as the narrative of facts proceeds.

* The reader will find an account of their meeting in chapter xxvii., under the head of "The social condition of India."

### MUTINY OF THE BENGAL ARMY, AND INSURRECTION IN THE BENGAL PROVINCES.

The annexation of Oude had disgusted and enraged the sepoys of the Bengal army, who were generally recruited from that country, or from the contiguous province of Upper Bengal. Independent of that circumstance, while the government pampered the Brahmins and high-caste Mussulmans, it became less careful of offending the religious prejudices of the soldiers. Instances had occurred of these prejudices having been invaded in various ways without creating revolt, but the government did not know that in every such case bad feeling was created, which was quietly but actively diffused. Cases of military revolt had, however, occurred so often in Indian history in consequence of the superstition of the sepoys taking offence, that the government and its officials had lessons of prudence so plainly given, that none but persons judicially blinded, or utterly incompetent, could have been heedless. All such monitions proved in vain; the government and the officials acted like men governed by some irresistible fate. *Quod Deus vult perdere prius dementat*, might be pronounced in every department of the Bengal government, without impiety, so blindly did each proceed in precipitating the awful catastrophe which impended. Various indications were afforded before Lord Dalhousie left India, and immediately after the arrival of his successor, that the native army was in an unsettled state; that the troops were not respectful to their officers, not loyal; and that they brooded over some real or supposed grievances, not simply with discontent, but with vindictive feeling. These indications

of the temper of the troops were noticed all over Bengal and the annexed provinces. A sense of alarm was felt by loyal natives and independent English settlers. In Calcutta, it was impossible to visit the bazaar without perceiving that the natives of all classes expected some serious and important event, and that society was perturbed. All these portents of a coming storm were pointed out to the government, but its officials, civil and military, refused to hear the rustling of the leaves, and only awoke from their stupidity when the trees themselves were snapped by the tempest. When at last the hurricane of sedition burst forth, the government was utterly unprepared for such a calamity, and were stunned by the tidings of disaster and devastation.

The first decisive indication of a state of distrust on the part of the sepoys occurred at Dum-Dum, where a school of musketry was established. The feeling was first shown there at the close of 1856. On the 22nd of January, 1857, Captain Wright, of the 70th native infantry, brought under notice of Major Bonteim, the commandant, the existence of dissatisfaction among the men. His report stated that "a very unpleasant feeling existed among the native soldiers who were at the depot for instruction, regarding the grease used in preparing the cartridges, some evil-disposed person having spread a report that it consisted of a mixture of the fat of pigs and cows." Captain Wright added, "The belief in this respect has been strengthened by the behaviour of a classie attached to the magazine, who, I am told, asked a sepoy of the 2nd grenadiers to supply him with water from his lotah; the sepoy refused, observing he was not aware of what caste the man was; the classie immediately rejoined, 'You will soon lose your caste, as ere long you will have to bite cartridges covered with the fat of pigs and cows,' or words to that effect. Some of the depot men, in conversing with me on the subject last night, said that the report had spread throughout India, and when they go to their homes their friends will refuse to eat with them. I assured them (believing it to be the case) that the grease used is composed of mutton fat and wax; to which they replied, 'It may be so, but our friends will not believe it: let us obtain the ingredients from the bazaar, and make it up ourselves; we shall then know what is used, and be able to assure our fellow soldiers that there is nothing in it prohibited by our caste.'" After some delays, such as may well surprise any person acquainted with the importance of allowing the native troops to take up a religious or caste prejudice, the men were paraded, and asked if they had any grievances or complaints. About two-thirds of the men, and *all* the native commissioned officers, stepped to the front and respectfully stated that a suspicion had gone abroad that the fat of kine and swine was used in the preparation of the cartridges for the Enfield rifles. It was well known that the Mohammedan regarded swine's flesh as abominable, while those of the Brahminical religion holding kine to be sacred, would have their religious prejudices shocked by the use of fat from the animal in the making up of their cartridges. The men prayed that wax and oil should be used. General Hearsey, commanding at Barrackpore, acquainted the deputant adjutant-general of the forces with the true state of affairs, of which the general formed an accurate estimate. He recommended that the men should be allowed to obtain from the bazaar whatever ingredients for preparing the cartridges would answer that end, and satisfy the religious scruples of the sepoy.

The deputy adjutant-general took three days to "con over" the affair, and then sent the correspondence to the military secretary, who answered, on the 27th January, that the governor-general in council had adopted General Hearsey's suggestion, which might be carried out as well at Umballah and Sealkote, if the men wished it. The inspector-general of ordnance was applied to for information as to what the composition used in the arsenal for greasing the cartridges of the rifle muskets consisted of, "whether mutton fat was or is used, and if there are any means adopted for ensuring the fat of sheep and goats only being used; also, whether it is possible that the fat of bullocks and pigs may have been employed in preparing the ammunition for the new rifled muskets which has been recently made up in the arsenal." The reply was, that the grease used was a mixture of tallow and beeswax, in accordance with the instructions of the court of directors; that the tallow was supplied by a contractor; but that "no extraordinary precaution appears to have been taken to ensure the absence of any objectionable fat." The first ammunition made in the arsenal was intended for the 60th rifles, and it was probable that some of this was issued to the depot at Dum-Dum. The inspector-general regretted that "ammunition was not prepared expressly for the practice depot, without any grease at all," but the subject did not "occur to him." He recommended that the home government should be requested not to send out any more made ammunition for the Enfield rifles.*

On the 28th of January, General Hearsey again informed the government that the idea was deeply seated in the minds of thesoldiers, that the government intended to deprive them

* *The Sepoy Revolt; its Causes and its Consequences.* By Henry Mead.

of caste by a deceitful trick, and then by force to make them Christians. The general assured his superiors, that so completely had this idea taken possession of the sepoys, that "it would be idle and unwise to attempt its removal." He also stated that incendiary fires had taken place, which were the work of the disaffected soldiers, and perpetrated with the object of disturbing the country, exasperating the natives, and thus creating a sympathy with their own sedition. It seems almost incredible that the government, in the face of this and other evidence, wrote home making light of the whole affair, and informing the court of directors that the explanations offered to the sepoys had satisfied them. The directors have been blamed for not foreseeing the magnitude and peril of the crisis when its first indications gave them warning. It is not wonderful that they should accept the assurances of Lord Canning and his council that all was well, more especially as the president of the board of control (Mr. Vernon Smith), and the premier, Lord Palmerston, were satisfied with the competency of Lord Canning to determine all matters on the spot, and with the accuracy of his advices. While the English government and the Indian government were crying "peace, peace, here was no peace." Had all the officials at Calcutta been blind, or had the dispatches which were received from the provinces been addressed to men without reason, they could not have acted with less forethought, or shown less judgment. Viscount Canning had evidently taken up the government in the spirit in which Lord Dalhousie had laid it down—that India might be regarded as secure and prosperous. In the last "minute" of the government of the Marquis Dalhousie, he thus recorded his conviction, while reviewing the history of his own eight years of office:—"I enter on the review with the single hope that the honourable court of directors may derive from the retrospect some degree of satisfaction with the past, and a still larger measure of encouragement for the future." This minute was perused by Viscount Canning with confidence in his predecessor and himself, and hence the false security in which he wrapped himself, and the dulness of all around him to the real signs of the time.

On the 11th of February, General Hearsey wrote to the government declaring that they "dwelt on a mine ready for explosion." He pointed out the peculiar facts connected with several fresh instances of incendiarism, as proving that they had been perpetrated by the soldiery. The general declared that depositions had been made before him and other authorities that the soldiers had conspired throughout the Bengal army to prevent the government from forcing them to abandon their religion by compelling them to break caste in biting cartridges greased with the fat of forbidden animals. The general showed how he had paraded the men, and dissuaded them from their dangerous proceedings, and added these ominous words:—"You will perceive in all this business the native officers were of no use; in fact, they are afraid of their men, and dare not act; all they do is to hold themselves aloof, and expect by so doing they will escape censure as not actively implicated. This has always occurred on such occasions, and will continue to the end of our sovereignty in India. Well might Sir C. Metcalfe say, 'that he expected to awake some fine morning, and find that India had been lost to the English crown.'" The procedure of the government, on the receipt of new and most alarming communications from various parts, was slow, uncertain, and, at last, when action of a determined kind was taken, it was haughtily confident, severe, and impolitic.

The sepoys at Barrackpore took measures to corrupt those of the 19th regiment at Berhampore. That regiment, on the night of the 19th of February, suddenly assembled, and made demonstrations of revolt. Colonel Mitchel, who commanded the garrison, immediately ordered out other troops at the station, which were a squadron of irregular cavalry, consisting of one hundred and eighty men; there were also two pieces of cannon, manned by six native gunners each. He there addressed the 19th, demanding the reason of their parading without orders; they alleged that it arose from a report that European troops had been ordered up to the station to murder them unless they consented to violate their religion by biting the greased cartridges. Colonel Mitchel addressed them in terms which blended firmness and prudence. The cavalry and artillery remained loyal, and the infantry, at last, consented to lay down their arms and submit to their duty. They were invited to test the cartridges. This the native officers did in the presence of the men, and pronounced the greater number free from grease of any kind, but that grease had been used in preparing the more highly glazed paper of one set of the cartridges. The men were informed that a plan would be adopted of loading without biting the cartridge, but although this satisfied the majority for the time, the good faith of government, as to the maintenance of its promises not to interfere with their religion, was not trusted. The regiment, however, continued to perform its duties. It will be observed that the irregular cavalry and artillerymen remained loyal, and that their loyalty saved the station, for there was not a

European quartered there. This furnishes proof of the sincerity of the infantry in the allegations they made as to the causes of disaffection. The artillery and cavalry had nothing to do with such cartridges, and therefore not only made no complaints, but were ready to fire on their mutinous co-religionists had they continued in revolt. The artillery and cavalry, however, sympathised with the grievances of the infantry, but not being themselves involved in them, were easily satisfied as to the remedies proposed. The 19th had been seduced by the men of the 34th, stationed at Barrackpore, who promised co-operation, but failed to render it in the hour of trial.

When Lord Canning heard of the transactions at Berhampore, he determined upon making an example of the 19th regiment, although the corps had returned to its duty, and had evidently misconducted itself, not from a mutinous disposition, but from a sincere conviction that the government had violated its engagements never to enforce observances or practices upon its native soldiery at variance with their religion. Lord Canning ordered the *Oriental* steamship to Rangoon, to convey the 84th regiment of the royal line, quartered there, to Barrackpore; to which place also a wing of the 53rd regiment, stationed at Fort William, was ordered; and some artillery was to accompany these detachments. The mutinous native regiment was, at the same time, ordered to march from Berhampore to Barrackpore. This last order was, that the regiment might be disbanded in the presence of the garrison, and of various detachments called in from a certain distance. It might be supposed that a measure of such importance would be kept secret by the select few whom it was necessary should co-operate in carrying it out—this, however, was not the case; scarcely had the resolve been taken when it was known and discussed among the sepoys at Barrackpore. The 34th regiment of Bengal native infantry quartered there was one of the most fanatical and disloyal of the service. This corps, which, as already shown, had caused the uneasy feeling in the 19th at Berhampore, immediately laid a plan for frustating the intentions of the government. The authorities had no information of the exact state of feeling in the 34th. They were dull of understanding to observe the indications of things at Barrackpore, as well as everywhere else. The order to march to Barrackpore was given to the 19th, and the 34th was commanded to relieve that corps. The latter advised the former to mutiny on the road, assuring it that European troops had been sent for to massacre it; a particular part of the road was specified for the revolt; the officers were, according to the plan of the 34th, to be at once murdered, a signal was to be given, and the 34th would march out and join the mutineers. This correspondence fell into the hands of Colonel Mitchell, who acted with undaunted courage and perfect skill. When he reached a particular part of the road he suddenly halted the regiment, so that at the appointed time for the revolt the corps was not at the appointed place. Before the hour arrived he held a durbar of the native officers, whom he engaged in acts of courtesy and well-assumed confidence. The men *could* not act according to the concocted plan, the expected signal, of course, never reached the 34th at Barrackpore; and thus, by the presence of mind, good sense, and cool resolution of Colonel Mitchell, the scheme of the mutineers was frustrated, and scenes of blood and horror averted, similar to those which soon afterwards took place in so many parts of India. The 19th was marched to its destination, and the arrangements of the government were completed for breaking up the corps. It is but justice to say, that at the core the battalion was loyal, that the men had no disposition to mutinous acts; it was as brave and well-disciplined a body of native infantry as any in the service, as might be expected from its having so efficient a commander. It was only under the suspicion, not at all unreasonable, that the government, either from design or carelessness, had endangered its caste, that it was disposed to any hostile action. The men had been informed by natives actually engaged in the manufacture of the obnoxious cartridges, that their caste was gone; this information had been accompanied with sneers and insults which goaded the men almost to madness, loyal although they were. The reports which reached them from the 34th, about disbanding and massacre, left them, in their own opinion, no alternative but revolt.

While these transactions were taking place, others of a still more formidable nature occurred in the 34th regiment. That corps was cowardly, but still more truculent. One of its number, a desperate fanatic, in a state of intoxication, rushed on the parade-ground on Sunday, the 29th of March, shouting "deen, deen," ("religion, religion,") and taunted his comrades to come forth and fight for their faith against the Ferringhees. The serjeant-major arrived at the moment, the fanatic fired at him, but was too drunk with bhang to hit the mark. This was immediately in front of the quarter-guard, numbering nineteen men, who turned out and enjoyed the sight, crowding around the serjeant-major, and preventing him from taking any decided action against the mutineer, who reloaded his piece, and shot

the horse of the adjutant, who just then rode up to see what was the matter. As the adjutant fell, the mutineer attacked him with his side arms, and the quarter-guard struck the serjeant-major and the fallen officer with the butt-ends of their muskets. Both men would have been murdered in a few moments if General Hearsey had not galloped up, fearing that a revolt was beginning: he ordered the guard to rescue the adjutant and serjeant-major; they refused—their pieces were not loaded. He presented a revolver, declaring that he would shoot the first man who refused to move forward; they obeyed, and rescued the intended victims of assassination. The jemadar gave orders in opposition to those of the general; but the resolution and authority of the latter prevailed. The jemadar and guard were subsequently arrested. The name of the fanatical sepoy was Mungul Pandy, and he has received an unenviable notoriety in India, not only by being the first man who struck a blow for the cause of the mutineers, but from the fact of his name having, from that circumstance, been given to the mutineers and to all sepoys who excite the hostility or contempt of the English.

The evening after this affair with the 34th, the 19th entered from Barrackpore, and the next day they were drawn up on parade to hear the decision of the governor-general and commander-in-chief. It was an imposing sight when the four thousand sepoys of the garrison, the offending regiment, the European artillery and infantry which had arrived for the occasion, and various detachments from other stations, assembled to hear the order of the day. The first part of the document recapitulated the events which led to the situation, the order then declared:—

> The regiment has been guilty of open and defiant mutiny.
>
> It is no excuse for this offence to say, as had been said in the before-mentioned petition of the native officers and men of the regiment, that they were afraid for their religion, and that they apprehended violence to themselves.
>
> It is no atonement of it to declare, as they have therein declared, that they are ready to fight for their government in the field, when they have disobeyed and insulted that government in the persons of its officers, and have expressed no contrition for their heavy offences.
>
> Neither the 19th regiment, nor any regiment in the service of the government of India, nor any sepoy, Hindoo, or Mussulman, has reason to pretend that the government has shown, directly or indirectly, a desire to interfere with the religion of its troops.
>
> It has been the unvarying rule of the government of India to treat the religious feelings of all its servants, of every creed, with careful respect; and to representations or complaints put forward in a dutiful and becoming spirit, whether upon this, or upon any other subject, it has never turned a deaf ear.
>
> But the government of India expects to receive, in return for this treatment, the confidence of those who serve it.
>
> From its soldiers of every rank and race it will, at all times and in all circumstances, enforce unhesitating obedience. They have sworn to give it, and the governor-general in council will never cease to exact it. To no men who prefer complaints with arms in their hands will he ever listen.
>
> Had the sepoys of the 19th regiment confided in their government, and believed their commanding officer, instead of crediting the idle stories with which false and evil-minded men have deceived them, their religious scruples would still have remained inviolate, and themselves would still be, as they have hitherto been, faithful soldiers, trusted by the state, and laying up for future years all the rewards of a long and honourable service.
>
> But the governor-general in council can no longer have any confidence in this regiment, which has disgraced its name, and has lost all claim to consideration and indulgence.
>
> It is therefore the order of the governor-general in council, that the 19th regiment N. I. be now disbanded; that the native commissioned and non-commissioned officers and privates be discharged from the army of Bengal; that this be done at the head-quarters of the presidency division in the presence of every available corps within two days' march of the station; that the regiment be paraded for the purpose; and that each man, after being deprived of his arms, shall receive his arrears of pay and be required to withdraw from the cantonment.
>
> The European officers of the regiment will remain at Barrackpore until orders for their disposal shall be received from his excellency the commander-in-chief.
>
> This order is to be read at the head of every regiment, troop, and company in the service.

The arms were piled, the colours deposited, and the 19th native infantry was erased from the army list.

The men of the 19th received the sentence with regret. They begged to be enlisted in other corps, offered their services anywhere to be led against the enemies of the company, and, finally, besought that if they must be dismissed the service, they would be allowed to attack the 34th regiment, the cause of their disgrace, and punish it at once for its treachery to them, and disloyalty to the government. Some of these requests could not be granted, and all were refused. They dispersed in various directions, some perished of cholera on the road, some were employed as gate-keepers, and retainers of rich natives; none were at any time afterwards found in arms against the government, and several fought bravely, and as volunteers, against the mutineers. The wisdom of disbanding this regiment is open to question. The motives for doing so were, however, stated at length in the sentence already quoted, and which assumes importance as a public document, because it declares the policy of Viscount Canning's government towards the refractory sepoys at the beginning of the revolt. That policy was not, however, consistently carried out, for the conduct of the government towards the 34th regiment was slow and vacillating,

although to it the mischief connected with the 19th was attributable, and the men had attacked and nearly murdered several of their officers. The commander-in-chief remained in the cool sanatorium of the Himalayas; the government at Calcutta had time for all the usual frivolities of a court, but for five weeks it remained undecided what was to be done with the 34th regiment. These rebels and murderers remained all that time unpunished, Lord Canning advocating palliatives, his council urging decision. Meanwhile, Mungul Pandy and the jemadar, who was a high caste Brahmin, were hanged. These men feared the loss of caste more than death. They died in the spirit of martyrs, Pandy exulting in the opportunity afforded him of suffering for his faith, shouting "religion, religion," and urging his brethren to revolt, to the last. The conduct of these men evinced that there was a sincere belief among the sepoys that the government intended to persecute their creed.

Two sepoys of the 70th regiment were transported for conspiring to attack the fort, and one of their officers was dismissed the service for treason. It is obvious that however allowable it might be, taking a merciful view of the subject, to dismiss an officer for neglect of duty, or incapacity, such leniency was inapplicable to high-treason. It encouraged the revolters when they saw that, after all, in case of failure, it might be no worse than dismissal. Lord Canning had imbibed the idea that the honour and advantage of serving the English were so great, that for a sepoy to be deprived of the opportunity was the heaviest punishment that could be inflicted upon him short of death. There were other penalties which the sepoy dreaded much more than either.

With great difficulty, and not until numerous reports of fresh proofs of extensive disaffection had reached them, the government at Calcutta were brought to believe that something decisive must be done. Had not events thwarted the purposes of Lord Canning, the 84th British regiment would have been sent back to Birmah, and the capital of India been left for protection to a wing of the 53rd royal regiment and the doubtful body-guards. All the while the rebellious sepoys were in receipt of their pay, an expense to the empire as well as a danger. The system of disbanding without any punishment, was better than supporting disaffected regiments and paying royal troops to watch them.

On the 6th of May, nearly six weeks after the attempt of the 34th to murder some of their officers, the troops in and around Calcutta were concentrated at Barrackpore, to witness the disbanding of the guilty portion of the 34th. The crime committed was concerted mutiny and attempted murder, the punishment inflicted was as follows: in the presence of the assembled troops, seven companies of the 34th were paraded and ordered to pile their arms, and to strip off their uniforms; having no means of resistance, they obeyed. Means were taken to prevent any outrage or disorder by the disarmed sepoys. An order of the day, or proclamation (it is difficult to give a precise designation to so anomalous a document), was issued by the government, explaining the necessity the government was under to inflict punishment, and threatening certain and speedy penalties upon all military insubordination. The public felt that it was an absurdity to give the name of punishment to the disbanding of a regiment that wished to serve no longer, and the soldiers of which were deserting. A painful impression was left on the minds of all loyal natives as well as Europeans, that the document was rather an excuse for leniency and weakness, than a proclamation intended to vindicate justice. Confidence in the vigour of the governor-general was impaired. The continued absence of the commander-in-chief from the head-quarters of the army was the subject of universal animadversion. Time was consumed in consulting him at so vast a distance, and his counsels were neither very enlightened nor decisive. With the disbanding of the seven companies of the 34th, the government was satisfied that the mutiny was at an end. There had been abundant evidence to the contrary, but the government thought proper to ignore it. The authorities might have known that altogether, irrespective of the discontent of the sepoys, means had been taken to sow disaffection throughout India, more especially throughout Bengal and its non-regulation provinces. These efforts originated in Oude, but a bad state of feeling existed in Mohammedan India for some years preparatory to such an attempt. When the war with Russia broke out, much excitement was created in the minds of the Mohammedan populations of all India, from Cabul to Calcutta and Cape Comorin. When the western allies insisted on reforms in Turkey, an opinion gained ground in India that the allies merely aided Turkey to betray her, and that by a treacherous alliance, the ascendancy of the religion of Mohammed, and of the grand Padisha, was destroyed. Thus the war in Turkey prepared the way for a Mahommedan struggle in India, in Persia, —everywhere. The peoples of these nations were excited by the events in Constantinople, which were told in innumerable tales of exaggeration all over Asia. And when to this excitement was added the persuasion that the time had arrived for a Mohammedan holy

war, the followers of the prophet became frantic with fanaticism. There was also a general feeling that the English sway would only last one hundred years in Bengal. In 1757 Clive completed its conquest; in 1857 it was believed that it would be restored to the followers of the true faith. The Mohammedans found no difficulty in inducing the Brahmins to join them against English power. It had for many years interfered with Brahminical rites and customs, such as suttee, thugism, infanticide, &c., as well as with the operation of Mohammedan law in some respects. A prophecy was circulated, which was to the effect that in 1857 the English would be destroyed. The government seems to have had no intelligence of this state of feeling, although evidence of it was abundant. Tokens of conspiracy and combination, for some purpose or purposes, were visible, but no steps were taken to unravel their meaning. Soon after the annexation of Oude, chappictees were sent all over eastern and north-eastern India, in a manner which excited great surprise, but no adequate means to penetrate the mystery were adopted. From some place, probably in Oude, six cakes of unleavened bread were sent to some other place, and were delivered to the head man of the village, or the chief religious authority of the place, with the intention to distribute them, and to invite each recipient of a cake to repeat the process, and so on. This proceeded until the chappictees were conveyed everywhere, with significant but enigmatical expressions, only to be comprehended by the faithful of either of the creeds allied for the destruction of the foreigner. The agents of this conspiracy corrupted the sepoys, whose minds were prepared by the causes already detailed. It was evident that some communications, secret from the government, were passing among the natives of India, which an active and intelligent government would have risked much to discover. Had the like occurred in the dominions of the Russian czar, the French emperor, or the Austrian kaiser, means would soon have been adopted to check the progress of the mysterious cakes, and find some clue to their meaning. The English government in India is as absolute as that of any of the despotisms named, but was not so vigilant or systematic, and its chief officers were not so responsible. The following very remarkable words were used by Mr. Disraeli, in a speech in the house of commons, made with the design of showing that the government of India had not proved itself vigilant or competent:—"Suppose the Emperor of Russia, whose territory, in extent and character, has more resemblance to our Eastern possessions than the territory of any other power—suppose the Emperor of Russia were told—'Sire, there is a very remarkable circumstance going on in your territory; from village to village, men are passing who leave the tail of an ermine or a pot of caviare, with a message to some one to perform the same ceremony. Strange to say, this has been going on in some ten thousand villages, and we cannot make head or tail of it.' I think the Emperor of Russia would say: 'I do not know whether you can make head or tail of it, but I am quite certain there is something wrong, and that we must take some precautions; because, where the people are not usually indiscreet and troublesome, they do not make a secret communication unless it is opposed to the government. This is a secret communication, and, therefore, a communication dangerous to the government.'"

Many Irish and Scottish officers interpreted the cakes as a token to prepare for war, but they were bantered, or laughed at. In olden Celtic times, the clans of Scotland sent round signals of war in a similar way, and with the words often repeated in India when the cakes were left, "To be kept until called for." The very same language and the very same plan of procedure has been adopted in Ireland in the case of insurrection or agrarian disturbance in the memory of living men: "the holy straws," and "the holy turf," sent round during agitations of comparatively recent occurrence, exemplify this. Many in India who expressed a sense of insecurity, were censured by their superiors, civil and religious, until men were too much discouraged to express their minds; a false security, having its birth in pride and arrogance of race, stultified the chief officials, and led them to "pooh-pooh" all efforts to call attention to the real condition of India. In England, among the chief persons in the houses of legislature, in the cabinet, and in a lesser degree among the directors of the East India Company, a similar state of mind existed. India was supposed to be completely at the feet of England, incapable of making a hostile effort. When tidings of the mutiny reached England, even at a later period than that of the disbanding of the 34th native infantry, and when at Meerut a far more serious revolt occurred, and even when Delhi was in arms, and the effete king used his property and influence against the company, the government, parliament, and to some extent the press, of England, refused to believe that the people of India had any sympathy with the revolt. It was supposed that they were too contented and happy under English rule to desire to escape from it. The rebellion in India was called "a mutiny," a "sepoy re-

volt," a "disturbance created by pampered sepoys, and some of the vagabond population of the cities;" but a great rebellion of native princes and peoples, over a large portionof India, as well as a revolt of the Bengal native army, few would allow it to be considered. Even when the native contingents in the service of certain allied or tributary princes deserted, and made war against the company, and when the whole people of the kingdom of Oude were in arms, officials and newspapers, and the people of England generally, persisted in regarding it as a sepoy revolt. There was an extraordinary disposition among men, both in India and in Great Britain, to shut their eyes to the real facts of the case.

Such was the state of affairs in the military condition of Bengal, and as to the state of mind in reference to it among the English in India and at home, when the next episode in the sad history of the revolt occurred. Before relating it, some account of the forces in India at that moment will be acceptable to the reader. In the chapter on the military affairs of the East India Company very full information is given concerning the numbers, equipments, and character of its army. Captain Rafter furnishes the following statement of the force when the revolt broke out:—

*Bengal presidency.*—Queen's troops: Two regiments of light cavalry, fifteen regiments of infantry, one battalion of 60th rifles. Company's regular troops: Three brigades of horse artillery, European and native, six battalions of European foot artillery, three battalions of native foot artillery, corps of royal engineers, ten regiments of native light cavalry, two regiments of European fusiliers, seventy-four regiments of native infantry, one regiment of sappers and miners. Irregular and contingent troops: Twenty-three regiments of irregular native cavalry, twelve regiments of irregular native infantry, one corps of guides, one regiment of camel corps, sixteen regiments of local militia, Shekhawuttie brigade, contingents of Gwalior, Joudpore, Malwa, Bhopal, and Kotah.

The European troops here mentioned in the company's regular army were those who were enlisted in England or elsewhere by the company's agents, quite irrespective of the royal or queen's army. The above forces, altogether, amounted to somewhat over 150,000.

*Madras presidency.*—Queen's troops: One regiment of light cavalry, five regiments of infantry. Company's regular troops: One brigade of horse artillery, European and native, four battalions of European foot artillery, one battalion of native foot artillery, corps of royal engineers, eight regiments of native light cavalry, two regiments of European infantry, fifty-two regiments of native infantry.

No irregular or contingent troops appear in this entry.

*Bombay presidency.*—Queen's troops: One regiment of light cavalry, five regiments of infantry. Company's regular troops: One brigade of horse artillery, European and native, two battalions of European foot artillery, two battalions of native foot artillery, corps of royal engineers, three regiments of native light cavalry, two regiments of European infantry, twenty-nine regiments of native infantry. Irregular and contingent troops: Fifteen regiments of irregular native troops.

The European and native troops in the service of the company are not marked with sufficient distinctness by Captain Rafter.

"The European element in the armies has been regularly augmenting. In 1837 there were 28,000 European troops in India; in 1850 the number was 44,000, comprising 28,000 queen's troops, and 16,000 belonging to the company; while the new charter of 1854 allowed the company to raise 24,000, of whom 4000 were to be in training in England, and the rest on service in India. What was the number in 1857 becomes part of the history of the mutiny. In the whole Indian army, a year or two before this catastrophe, there were about 5000 European officers, governing the native as well as the European regiments; but of this number so many were absent on furlough, or leave, so many more on staff appointments, and so many of the remainder in local corps and on civil duties, that there was an insufficiency of regimental control—leading, as some authorities think, in great part to the scenes of insubordination; for the native officers were regarded in a very subordinate light."

Such was the condition of the Anglo-Indian army when the suppression of revolt at Dum-Dum, Berampore, and Barrackpore, led the government to believe that India was safe from her own sepoys. It is the more surprising that the suppression of open revolt near Calcutta should have inspired such security, because all the while the government was receiving intelligence, and even official reports, of evidences of sedition among the troops of the distant garrisons. During the whole period from the revolt of the 19th to the disbanding of the 34th, incendiary fires occurred in the military cantonments of the Punjaub, occupied by Bengal troops; and in the Cis-Sutlej territories they were as open and daring as the conduct of the government was unaccountably inert and time-serving. It is impossible to acquit the government of

the charge of not having taken proper precautions on the ground of being unable to obtain information as to the state of feeling of the troops, or the cause of that state of feeling, after the perusal of the following report made by Captain Howard, magistrate of the Umballah cantonment, when, at the close of April, an appalling list of incendiary acts alarmed that officer, and caused him to address the government with marked earnestness on the subject:—"The emanating cause of the arson at this cantonment I conceive originated with regard to the newly introduced cartridges, to which the native sepoy shows his decided objection; it being obnoxious to him from a false idea—which, now that it has entered the mind of the sepoy, is difficult to eradicate—that the innovation of this cartridge is derogatory both to his caste and his religion. . . . . That this has led to the fires at this cantonment, in my own private mind I am perfectly convinced. Were it the act of only one or two, or even a few persons, the well-disposed sepoys would at once have come forward and forthwith informed, but that there is an organised, leagued conspiracy existing, I feel confident. Though all and every individual composing a regiment may not form part of the combination, still I am of opinion that such a league in each corps is known to exist; and such being upheld by the majority, or rather connived at, therefore it is that no single man dared to come forward and expose it."

An investigation was instituted early in May as to whether any efforts were making to create sedition among the soldiery or people by native princes or ecclesiastics, or by foreign influence. The last source of evil influence was suspected, but could not be proved. The native press had been extremely anti-British and bigoted. Many of its conductors were notorious atheists, and these were amongst the most violent in calling upon the people to defend their religion. It was discovered that the largest influence in unsettling the minds of the people was that of wandering Brahmins and fakeers, both having united to stir up the people against English power. That most of the native princes and rich native landholders knew this, and sympathised with it, could not then be discovered, but was soon made plain by their appearing with arms in their hands wherever there was a chance of success. At all times the English had to contend in India with the use of the wandering and mendicant religious classes by disaffected or deposed princes, to stir up fanaticism against British authority. More than thirty years since, Sir John Malcolm described a state of things in his day identical with that which, with larger influence and more decided energy, operated in 1857. Sir John then wrote:—"My attention has been during the last twenty-five years particularly directed to this dangerous species of secret war against our authority, which is always carrying on by numerous though unseen hands. The spirit is kept up by letters, by exaggerated reports, and by pretended prophecies. When the time appears favourable, from the occurrence of misfortune to our arms, from rebellion in our provinces, or from mutiny in our troops, circular-letters and proclamations are dispersed over the country with a celerity almost incredible. Such documents are read with avidity. The contents in most cases are the same. The English are depicted as usurpers of low caste, and as tyrants who have sought India with no other view but that of degrading the inhabitants and of robbing them of their wealth, while they seek to subvert their usages and their religion. The native soldiery are always appealed to, and the advice to them is, in all instances I have met with, the same—'Your European tyrants are few in number—kill them!'"

That the native princes and landholders throughout the Bengal provinces and Central India were in concert with the religious incendiaries of 1857, many documents showed, when, during the conflict, such papers fell into the hands of the conquerors; among these, none was so remarkable as that which was addressed to the Rajah of Nepaul by the King of Oude while the insurrection was raging. Jung Bahadoor showed the letter to the British resident, to whom also he furnished a copy of his reply. Lord Canning expressed to the maharajah his cordial thanks for the proof of his loyalty and good faith thus evinced.

*Abstract translation of a letter from Ramzan Alee Khan Mirza Birjees Kudder Bahadoor to his highness the Maharajah of Nepaul, dated 7th of Jeth Sumvut,* 1915, *corresponding with* 19*th May,* 1858.

After compliments—It is known to every one that my ancestors brought the British into Hindostan, but Bulvunt Sing, the Rajah of Benares, was a cause of much annoyance to them, and therefore the province of Benares was given to them. A treaty was then signed by the British, in which they wrote that they would never act treacherously as long as the sun and moon should exist. But they have broken that treaty; and, dethroning my father, Wajid Alee Shah, have sequestrated his state palaces, and everything he had. Every one is acquainted with this event as it took place only in Sumvut, 1912.

After taking Lucknow they intended to make war with you, for which purpose they collected a large force and magazine at Colonelgunj, which is situated below the Hills; perhaps you are aware of this event.

In former years great intimacy existed between our houses, insomuch that your forefathers built a bungalow

for my ancestors, for shooting and hunting purposes, in Bootwal.

The British some time ago attempted to interfere with the faith of both the Hindoos and Mohammedans, by preparing cartridges with cows' grease for the Hindoo, and that of pigs for the Mohammedans, and ordering them to bite them with their teeth. The sepoys refused, and were ordered by the British to be blown away from guns on the parade ground. This is the cause of the war breaking out, and probably you are acquainted with it.

But I am ignorant as to how they managed to get your troops, which they brought here, and began to commit every sort of violence, and to pull down temples, mosques, imambarras, and the sacred places.

You are well aware of the treachery of the British, and it is proper you should preserve the standard of religion, and make the tree of friendship between you and me fresh.

*Translation of a letter from his excellency the maharajah Jung Bahadoor to Birjees Kudder Bahadoor, of Lucknow.*

Your letter of the 7th, Jeth Soode, Wednesday, corresponding to the 19th of May, 1858, to the address of his highness the maharajah of Nepaul, and that of 13th Jeth Vudee of the present year, Tuesday, corresponding to the 11th May, 1858, to my address, have reached their respective destinations, and their contents are fully understood. In it is written that the British are bent on the destruction of the society, religion, and faith of both Hindoos and Mohammedans.

Be it known that for upwards of a century the British have reigned in Hindostan, but up to the present moment neither the Hindoos nor the Mohammedans have ever complained that their religion has been interfered with.

As the Hindoos and Mohmamedans have been guilty of ingratitude and perfidy, neither the Nepaul government nor I can side with them.

Since the star of faith and integrity, sincerity in words, as well as in acts, and the wisdom and comprehension of the British, are shining as bright as the sun in every quarter of the globe, be assured that my government will never disunite itself from the friendship of the exalted British government, or to be instigated to join with any monarch against it, be he as high as heaven; what grounds can we have for connecting ourselves with the Hindoos and Mohammedans of Hindostan?

Be it also known, that had I in any way been inclined to cultivate the friendship and intimacy of the Hindoo and Mohammedan tribes, should I have massacred five or six thousand of them in my way to Lucknow?

Now, as you have sent me a friendly letter, let me persuade you, that if any person, Hindoo or Mohammedan, who has not murdered a British lady or child, goes immediately to Mr. Montgomery, the chief commissioner of Lucknow, and surrender his arms, and make submission, he will be permitted to retain his honour, and his crime will be pardoned.

If you still be inclined to make war on the British, no rajah or king in the world will give you an asylum, and death will be the end of it.

I have written whatever has come into my plain mind, and it will be proper and better for you to act in accordance with what I have said.

When General Anson, the commander-in-chief of the forces in India, heard of the state of excitement in which the Bengal troops in the Cis-Sutlej and Trans-Sutlej territories, more especially the former, had continued, and the alarming fires which had spread around the cantonments, he hastened to Umballah, and issued an order of the day, intended to appease the discontent of the soldiery, but its effect was to encourage them to feel their importance, and believe that the government of India was afraid of them. The decisive step on the part of the sepoys, that which set all the Bengal provinces in a flame of revolt, was the mutiny at Meerut.

## CHAPTER CXXVIII.

REVOLT OF THE SEPOYS AT MEERUT—MASSACRE OF OFFICERS, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN—FLIGHT OF THE MUTINEERS TO DELHI—REVOLT OF THE GARRISON THERE, AND INSURRECTION OF THE PEOPLE—MEASURES OF GOVERNMENT PREPARATORY TO AN ADVANCE OF THE BRITISH FORCES UPON DELHI.

DURING the latter weeks of April the sepoys at Meerut showed much excitement, and incendiary fires, such as have been noticed in the last chapter as occurring elsewhere, were frequent; no room was left for doubt that they were the work of the soldiery. It so happened that the European force at that station was very powerful in proportion to the native troops. This was the more remarkable, as at most of the stations in the Bengal provinces there were scarcely any European soldiers. The English regiments were chiefly in the Punjaub upon the Affghan frontier, and in a few other places, where, as in Meerut, they were in comparatively considerable number. This arrangement was singularly inappropriate to the normal condition of India, as well as to its especial requirements at that time. The Punjaub and Pegu were supposed, as newly annexed provinces, to require European garrisons; yet Oude, the most recently annexed, the annexation of which excited so much ill-will amongst the natives not only of Oude itself, but of all Bengal and of the Bengal sepoys, was guarded chiefly by troops discontented by the annexation. At Meerut, the English force consisted of the 6th dragoon guards (carbineers), 600 strong. These troopers were only in part provided with horses, and these were of a very inferior description; a battalion of the 60th rifle regiment, 1000 strong; a troop of

horse artillery, and 500 artillery recruits; the whole numbering about 2200, exclusive of staff officers, and the officers and other Europeans connected with the sepoy regiments. The force of natives, which only outnumbered the Europeans by a few hundreds, consisted of the 3rd Bengal cavalry, and the 11th and 20th Bengal infantry.

Under such circumstances no apprehension of revolt was entertained, and it is nearly certain that none would have taken place had the sepoys been engaged in a dynastic or political conspiracy merely, or were they discontented about batta, severity of discipline, or any of the ordinary causes of complaint with Indian soldiers. The conviction had seized their minds, beyond all hope of eradication, that the cartridges were ceremonially unclean to both Hindoo and Mussulmans. Some of them undoubtedly were; the general suspicion rested upon a partial fact, sufficient to justify resistance. The prejudices of the sepoy and the good faith of the government had not been kept in view by the officials charged with the duty of preparing the ammunition; and when the sepoy discovered that in any instance he had been trifled with on the all-important subject of religion, his faith was gone for ever. Had not this been the reality of the case the native soldiers would not, as in many cases, have precipitated themselves upon certain death as the alternative of using the hated cartridge. It has been alleged that the plea of caste must have been only a pretence, as the same cartridges were used against the English, which they refused to use in their service. Those who use this argument overlook the casuistry which in false religions justifies to the consciences of their professors the most contradictory conduct. In using the cartridges against the English the end sanctified the deed in the opinion of those men; and many, believing that they had already lost caste, in sheer despair and vengeance resorted to them.

On the 23rd of April it was determined by the English officers at Meerut, to put an end to all uncertainty by testing the spirit of the sepoys. Colonel Smyth, of the 3rd Bengal native cavalry, ordered out a portion of his regiment for parade on that day, to teach them the mode of loading adopted under general orders in deference to the prejudices of the troops against biting cartridges which might be glazed with forbidden substances. The previous evening he instructed the havildar-major and his orderly in the new system, and the latter having fired off a carbine, the colonel believed that the regiment would entertain no objection upon the following morning. That night, however, the orderly's tent was set on fire, and also a veterinary hospital close to a magazine. These circumstances caused uneasiness as to the issue of the next day's experiment. When that day arrived, the appointed parade was held, and the havildar-major fired off a carbine without biting the cartridge. The men refused to receive the cartridges. It was pointed out to them that they were not new cartridges, but the old ones, to which they had been accustomed; still they refused. This was a new phase of the spirit of mutiny, more dangerous than had been displayed elsewhere, for if the troopers would neither use cartridges new nor old, upon a plan which did not require them to be pressed with the teeth, how was it possible for them to serve as soldiers? On the 25th an investigation took place before the deputy judge-advocate, and the men admitted that there was no evidence of any impure substance being in the cartridges, but they were told that they were unclean, and they believed their informants, and refused to accept the declarations of their officers. The judge assured them that the cartridges were such as had always been in use, and his assurances appeared to satisfy their scruples, for they expressed contrition, and promised to use the cartridges whenever called upon.

On the 6th of May the general in command of the station, Major-general Hewitt, deemed it necessary to prove the sincerity of the men. He ordered a parade for the 6th of May. On the 5th cartridges were distributed; eighty-five of the sowars, as the native cavalry of Bengal are called, refused to receive them. The general ordered their arrest. They were tried by court-martial, found guilty of mutiny, and sentenced to imprisonment and hard labour for different periods varying from six to ten years. In presence of the whole of the troops in cantonment, they were stripped of their uniforms, ironed, and marched away to the common jail two miles distant, in the village of Meerut. The native troops looked on in silence upon these proceedings, but with scowling countenances.

Then began a series of blunders on the part of the chief military authorities, but for which the terrible results which followed could not have happened. The convicted "sowars" were handed over to the civil authorities, and guarded only by police. This would of course have been quite proper under ordinary circumstances, but the occasion demanded peculiar precautions. These events occurred on the 9th of May. When the native soldiers were dismissed from parade, they went to their lines in a state of

intense excitement and resentment. The punishment inflicted on them had deprived the sufferers of caste,—they were manacled as felons, and degraded. Measures were instantly taken by the whole native force to mutiny; their plans were well laid, and were executed with fatal facility. Notwithstanding the menacing behaviour of the men as they left the parade ground, the general took no precautions against outbreak, not even to have their conduct kept under observation. The regimental officers were as incautious as the staff. They retired to their bungalows in different directions near the lines. The native officers alone held intercourse with the men, and they also were disaffected. It is probable that the mutineers opened communications immediately with the native troops in Delhi, inciting them to revolt, and informing them of their own intention to march thither when they had executed the work of vengeance at Meerut.

On Sunday, the 10th of May, between five and six o'clock in the evening, when the European portion of the garrison were proceeding to church, or preparing to do so, open revolt began. In choosing the hour of religious service, the mutineers selected a time when the chance of resistance to themselves, or escape by their intended victims, was less than at any other time, even than at night, when sentinels might give alarm, and persons would in its silence be more likely to catch the first sounds of the movement. Throughout the day indications of great restlessness were shown by the sepoys; it was noticed by the Europeans, even by ladies and children, but no precautions were taken; the officers remained confident in their comparatively strong force of Europeans, and boldly careless of what the sepoys thought or did. It was strange that he upon whom the chief responsibility devolved, should not have proved more vigilant than others.

Suddenly the native troops turned out and set fire to their cantonments, attacking first the bungalow of Mr. Greathead, the civil commissioner, who and whose lady, by concealing themselves upon the roof, found means to elude their pursuers, and ultimately escape. As soon as the disturbance burst forth, Colonel Finnis, of the 11th native infantry, rode to meet his men, and recall them to a sense of their duty. He was shot down. He was the first who fell in resisting the great sepoy revolt—the first murdered Englishman of the many who thus perished. Various officers were shot as they attempted to curb the violence of their men; officers, ladies, and even children, were shot or bayoneted, as they returned from worship. While the infantry were engaged in firing the cantonments, the 3rd cavalry hastened to the jail, where they were joined by the police, and released the eighty-five sowars, and with them one thousand two hundred criminals, the vilest refuse of a truculent and dishonest population. Troopers, police, and convicts, all fraternised, and hastening to the lines, joined the revolted infantry in the work of destruction; the villagers of Meerut, and the populace generally, abetted the work. Then commenced the worst horrors of the occasion. Deeds of infamy were perpetrated too vile to describe; the victims of assassination were hacked with swords, perforated with bayonets, or riddled with balls; every indignity was offered to the dead, every cruelty to the dying. To particularise instances of suffering on the part of Europeans, and deeds of desperate atrocity on the part of the revolters, would be impossible within the limits of any work not exclusively devoted to a history of the mutiny. During two hours this havoc raged, and throughout that time no opposition was offered by the European portion of the troops. The general seems to have been paralysed by surprise; for until the work of destruction and massacre was accomplished, the European troops did not arrive in the cantonments of the sepoys. The rifles did arrive in time to open a fire upon the retreating enemy, who returned it; a few sepoys fell under the shots of the rifles. The carbineers were sent several miles on a wrong road; went astray; came back when it was too dark to see what was to be done, or how to do it. A civilian might well suppose that troops quartered a couple of miles from other troops of the same army would know the way to their lines. The sepoys marched to Delhi. The road was good, the moon soon rose; but no pursuit was instituted. The general pleaded, in excuse for this omission, that it was necessary to protect the European cantonments from the vagabonds who had escaped from prison. There were men enough for both objects; a few hundred infantry would have kept off the marauders, while the carbineers, rifles, and horse-artillery might have pursued the fugitives. Some of the carbineers only had lances; these did follow a few miles on the Delhi road, and cut down some stragglers. The open mutiny of the Bengal army began with a great success. The mutineers burned down a camp, and murdered officers, ladies, and children, literally in the presence of a superior force of European soldiers. When tidings of the scandalous incompetency which marked the management of the whole transaction reached Calcutta and London, the council and the cabinet, the Europeans of the

Indian capital and the people of England were indignant and astonished. The governor-general of India seems to have thought that his first duty was conciliation. He put forth a proclamation, in which the reader will see that all was done in the way of reconcilement that could be done, after the revolt at Meerut. Whatever were the errors there—whatever the want of vigour at Calcutta, the following proclamation shows that his excellency did not evince a vindictive spirit, but one of great forbearance and clemency.

*Caste Proclamation.*

Fort William, Home Department.
*May* 16, 1857.

The governor-general of India in council has warned the army of Bengal that the tales by which the men of certain regiments have been led to suspect that offence to their religion or injury to their caste is meditated by the government of India are malicious falsehoods.

The governor-general in council has learnt that this suspicion continues to be propagated by designing and evil-minded men, not only in the army, but among other classes of the people.

He knows that endeavours are made to persuade Hindoos and Mussulmans, soldiers and civil subjects, that their religion is threatened, secretly as well as openly, by the acts of government, and that the government is seeking in various ways to entrap them into a loss of caste for purposes of its own.

Some have been already deceived and led astray by these tales.

Once more, then, the governor-general in council warns all classes against the deceptions that are practised on them.

The government of India has invariably treated the religious feelings of all its subjects with careful respect. The governor-general in council has declared that it will never cease to do so. He now repeats that declaration, and he emphatically proclaims that the government of India entertains no desire to interfere with their religion or caste, and that nothing has been, or will be, done by the government to affect the free exercise of the observances of religion or caste by every class of the people.

The government of India has never deceived its subjects, therefore the governor-general in council now calls upon them to refuse their belief to seditious lies.

This notice is addressed to those who hitherto, by habitual loyalty and orderly conduct, have shown their attachment to the government and a well-founded faith in its protection and justice.

The governor-general in council enjoins all such persons to pause before they listen to false guides and traitors, who would lead them into danger and disgrace.

By order of the governor-general of India in council,
CECIL BEADON,
*Secretary to the government of India.*

After the terrible havoc at Meerut, the first idea of the general of the cantonments was to march at once and attack Delhi, but news arrived thence that the whole city was in arms, that the garrison had revolted, placed the king at the head of the insurrection, and that armed men in numbers had flocked at once to his standard from the surrounding country. Efforts to obtain advice or aid from the commander-in-chief had been unavailing. Notwithstanding the disorderly state of the Bengal army for so long a time, his excellency had gone on a shooting party in the Himalayas, and could not be found: he was at last heard of at Umballah. No adequate means of obtaining information of what was passing in and around Delhi, were put forth—time was lost, the commander-in-chief was dilatory, the counsels of Calcutta were confused. There were no proper means for moving an army, there was no commissariat, there were no camels, no elephants, no draft horses, not horses sufficient for the European cavalry; there were no depots of provisions for troops in the field, no medicine chests. The commander-in-chief was as helpless as if he had been suddenly set down in the middle of Africa. He had been appointed to his high office, not for his fitness, but on account of his connexions. He was old, took no thought of the state of India, was not a man capable, intellectually, of comprehending a large subject; physically, he was ill and enervated, utterly unfit for any command whatever. He lingered, unable to do anything, although his courage, which was well known, urged him to advance, and he desired to do so without guns or provisions; but so disorderly and distracted was the whole commissariat system, that he was unable to march at all. He remained at Kurnaul until the 27th of May, when he died of cholera.

During all that period the rebels and mutineers were strengthening themselves at Delhi, having first massacred every man, woman, and child upon whom they could lay their hands. News of these terrible excesses, and of the formidable preparations for resistance made in Delhi, continued to arrive at Meerut, Agra, and Calcutta, during the period of inactivity. From day to day tidings more and more dark and sanguinary reached Meerut and Agra, borne by fugitives who had escaped the slaughter, and wandered wounded and exhausted, hiding in the jungle by day, and travelling through by-ways at night. Very little information could be gained from the natives, who were in league with the mutineers, and the whole police of the province went over to them. Delhi, and the province of which it was the capital, were in revolution, and the descendant of the Moguls, bearing the title of King of Delhi—a pensioner of the English government—had been proclaimed king, emperor, and padishaw. At Meerut, executions took place, by hanging or blowing away from guns, of the miscreants who had perpetrated outrages at that station. A few of the fugitive sepoys, who had dropped behind wounded on the night of the 10th of May, were found in the neighbourhood, convicted, and executed.

On the 11th of May, Mr. Colvin, the lieu-

tenant-governor of the upper provinces of Bengal, received at the capital of these provinces, Agra, correct intelligence of the events which had taken place at Meerut. He immediately telegraphed to Calcutta. On the 12th, the lieutenant-governor sent a telegram announcing that emissaries from Delhi were passing to the other stations to excite revolt. On the 13th he used the telegraph to inform the government that all passengers between Meerut and Agra were molested and robbed by the inhabitants, and recommended that the troops employed in Persia should be sent up the country to Agra. Mr. Colvin was obliged to collect information without any assistance from the general at Meerut during the first three days after the mutiny. On the 14th Mr. Colvin sent a telegram to the governor-general that he had received a letter from the King of Delhi, informing him that the mutineers had taken possession of his person, court, and palace; that he had received news of a probability of revolt at Muttra, the sepoys having been persuaded that the government had mixed ground bones with their flour; and that Scindiah had offered the services of a battery and of his body-guard. The communication of the lieutenant-governor contained intelligence of the murder of the English commissioner, and of Miss Jennings and Mr. Cohen. In this telegram, Mr. Colvin, notwithstanding his former appeal for the help of the army of Persia, stated that he had no need of troops. The next day he sent a telegram to Lord Canning, announcing the slaughter of thirty persons at Delhi, the proclamation of the heir-apparent as king, the plunder of the Delhi treasury, containing half a million sterling, the loyalty of Bhurtpore and Gwalior, the satisfactory condition of affairs at Agra,—and the lieutenant-governor's conviction that proclamations and assurances from the governor-general and himself, would prevent the extension of the mutiny! The conduct of Lord Canning and his council was supine, and the assurances of Mr. Colvin rendered it more so than it otherwise would have been. Lord Elphinstone informed his lordship, from Bombay, that he had means of at once communicating to London the state of affairs. It had been well if the governor of Bombay had done so on his own responsibility. Lord Canning saw no occasion for any unusual effort to send home any communication. On the 19th of May he wrote to the directors, at which date he had information from Lucknow of the threatening aspect of affairs there. The despatch to the company showed that the governor-general had no real appreciation of the state of India, or of what was requisite for the suppression of sedition. It seems utterly incredible that any educated man in the position of Lord Canning should have sent home so ordinary a despatch in a crisis so terrible, after the destruction of the cantonments of Meerut, the massacres there and at Delhi, and while the capital of Hindostan, with its treasures and munitions of war, were in the hands of a rebel people, and a revolted army.

"The necessity for an increase of the substantial strength of the army on the Bengal establishment, that is to say, of the European troops on this establishment, has been long apparent to us; but the necessity of refraining from any material increase to the charges of the military department, in the present state of our finances, has prevented us hitherto from moving your honourable court in this matter. The late untoward occurrences at Berhampore, Fort William, Barrackpore, and Lucknow, crowned by the shocking and alarming events of the past week at Meerut and Delhi, and taken in connection with the knowledge we have lately acquired of the dangerous state of feeling in the Bengal native army generally, strange, and, at present, unaccountable as it is, have convinced us of the urgent necessity of not merely a positive increase of our European strength, but of a material increase in the proportion which our European troops bear to the native regular troops on the establishment. We are of opinion that the latter is now the more pressing necessity of the two.

"We believe that all these objects, political, military, and financial, will be immediately attained in a very material degree by taking advantage of the present opportunity in the manner we have now the honour respectfully to propose; and we see no other way in which all the same objects can be attained in any degree, now or prospectively. We recommend that the six native regiments, which are in effect no longer in existence, should not be replaced, whereby the establishment of regular native infantry would be reduced to sixty-eight regiments; and that the European officers of these late regiments should be used to officer three regiments of Europeans to be added to your establishment at this presidency.

"We confidently affirm that the government will be much stronger, in respect of all important internal and external purposes, with three additional European regiments of the established strength, than it would be by embodying six native regiments of the established strength; and we anticipate no inconvenience in respect of minor objects, in time of peace and tranquillity, from the consequent numerical reduction of regular troops. Indeed, the financial result of the measure, if carried out as we propose, will leave a con-

siderable surplus available, if it should be thought fit so to employ it, for an augmentation of irregulars, who, for all such minor objects, are much better, as well as much cheaper, than regulars of any description."

The policy of the government at Calcutta was adopted in London. The "outbreak" was treated by the board of control as of no great consequence, in fact, as a means of effecting a pecuniary saving in the military department. The more experienced members of the India-house knew better, but their opinions were overruled by official personages, and Mr. Mangles "ran a race" with Mr. Vernon Smith in confidential assurances to parliament and the public, that the thing was of no moment at all. Lord Palmerston seems to have taken up the views communicated to him by the president of the board of control and the chairman of the court of directors; but the more sage men in Leadenhall Street shook their heads and uttered words, few but ominous, which found their way into society, and caused uneasiness among the English public. The London press generally, especially the *Times* newspaper, treated the matter in the light Lord Canning placed it. The *Sunday Times*, the *Morning Advertiser*, and a few other journals, sounded alarm, and so far influenced public opinion, as to prevent the government from altogether ignoring the idea of danger.

At Calcutta, Lord Canning concealed the information which he received from Agra and other quarters from the European public. Whatever was gleaned by it was from the native merchants, who were early informed of everything, and informed their European friends that the statements of the government press were efforts official and semi-official to conceal disaster and massacre. The Europeans at Calcutta and the independent press became hostile to Lord Canning and his policy of concealment, and of taking things easy, and from that moment his lordship became the enemy of a free press. When Lord Canning wrote the despatch last quoted, there was not a single European soldier, except the officers attached to the native regiments, at Cawnpore or Allahabad; and the same state of things existed at a great number of inferior stations. When the mutineers marched from Meerut to Delhi, there was not a European soldier there, although it contained the chief treasures and munitions of war for northern India. On the 18th of May, the day before Lord Canning wrote, the general at Meerut reported that the reinforcements for an advance upon Delhi were unable to move for want of carriage. Benares, the great native capital of Bengal, had no fortifications, and no cannon except "half a bullock battery." Barrackpore had no artillerymen, and but six guns, to man which sailors had been sent from Calcutta. Matters continued to remain in this state for a long time, from the incompetency of those in high office, and the confusion which prevailed in the direction and arrangement of the army *materiel*. On the 16th of May, three days before Lord Canning's despatch, Sir Henry Lawrence telegraphed from Lucknow—"All is quiet here, but affairs are critical; get every European you can from China, Ceylon, and elsewhere; also, all the Goorkhas from the hills; time is everything." Lord Canning, to his credit, acted upon the advice of Mr. Colvin, concerning the troops in the Persian Gulf, and that given by Sir Henry Lawrence was also followed. Lord Elphinstone offered aid from Bombay on the 17th, which was accepted. At the same date, Sir John Lawrence suggested that he could raise five thousand from the police and guides in the Punjaub, to be followed by one thousand more: this proposal was accepted. From every quarter offers of timely aid and wise counsel were given to the governor-general, all of which he accepted, on the grounds upon which they were offered—the imminence of the danger and seriousness of the crisis. Yet, *after all*, he wrote a despatch to the directors underrating the danger, suppressing the worst features of the revolt, and suggesting weak palliatives!

When his lordship recommended a few European regiments, on a plan of cheap substitution for the usual forces, there were at Calcutta, at Barrackpore, and Dum-Dum, in its neighbourhood, at Dinapore, and in all Bengal, from Fort William to Agra, not three thousand European soldiers! The following statement of forces, native and European, appeared in an official source of information:—"At the outbreak of the mutiny there were in Calcutta, and the adjoining stations of Dum-Dum and Barrackpore, two regiments of European infantry, the 53rd and 84th, mustering about 1,700 effective men. These, with the 10th at Dinapore, and a company of artillery at Fort William, comprised the whole English force between the capital and Agra, nine hundred miles distant. The native corps consisted of the 2nd grenadiers, 43rd and 70th native infantry, the Calcutta militia, and the remnant of the 34th, in all 4,000 men, stationed within the limits of the presidency division. At Berhampore there was the 63rd native infantry; at Dinapore, the 7th, 8th, and 40th, together with a regiment of irregular cavalry. Benares was occupied by the 37th and the Loodianah regiment of Sikhs. The 6th were at Allahabad; the 65th at Ghazepore; the 2nd cavalry, 1st and 53rd

native infantry, at Cawnpore. The total available force of Europeans throughout this great extent of country was not more than 2,500, against 14,000 native troops. A thousand English volunteer infantry, 400 cavalry, and 1,500 sailors, were at the disposal of government a week after the revolt became known."

In reference to the volunteers, the editor of the *Friend of India* observed :—"It only needed the utterance of a few words of ordinary sympathy and encouragement to draw out the entire available European population : no great price to pay for such service as they were able and willing to perform ; but small as was the estimated cost, Lord Canning grudged it. It was not until the 12th of June that he consented to the enrolment of a volunteer corps ; and only then, after much misgiving as to the propriety of showing special favour to any particular class of the population. The use that might have been made of such auxiliaries was pointed out at the time with sufficient clearness ; but at this moment we can see that it would have been literally invaluable." As troops arrived from the sister presidencies, from the outlying provinces on the Bay of Bengal, &c., there was no proper provision made for them. They suffered hunger and thirst, inconvenience the most oppressive from unsuitable clothing, improper, and even unhealthy quarters, and contemptuous neglect. Instead of assembling the troops, as Clive, Hastings, Wellesley, or Napier would have done, addressing to them words of encouragement, and showing them how their courage and constancy were the hope of England, they were sent up the country without notice, or any stimulus or hope, save what rested in their own brave hearts and noble sense of duty. Never were British soldiers treated more contumeliously, accustomed as they are to such treatment from men of rank, than the heroes who landed at Calcutta for the salvation of India were by Lord Canning and the members of his government. The author of *Young America Abroad*, who was in Calcutta when Lord Canning arrived there, was justified in the severe comments he made upon the cold, haughty, and insolently imperious bearing which he attributed to him. The sneer of Jung Bahadoor of Nepaul, when subsequent blunders provoked it, was well earned already, "How do the English hope to keep India with such rulers ?"

### DELHI MUTINY AND MASSACRE.

Having shown how the events of Meerut were regarded by the government of India, it is desirable to leave it in the midst of its preparations to avenge the disaster, and to return to the mutineers. In fourteen hours the rebel force reached Delhi, the gates of which were opened to them by their comrades. On the road they met several Europeans travelling by "dâk," who were murdered. On entering, the work of slaughter began : the 3rd cavalry rode about through the city searching for British officers, into whose faces they discharged their pistols. The other mutineers, joined by the Delhi garrison, were less discriminate, revelling in promiscuous slaughter. The 3rd cavalry entertained a peculiar vengeance against the European officers, because of the court-martial at Meerut. It must not be supposed that the officer in command at Delhi, Brigadier Graves, had taken no precautions. He had received information of the events at Meerut before the arrival of the mutineers at the gates of Delhi. He paraded his men, and appealed to their loyalty ; they responded with cheers, but all the while had resolved to betray and murder him. The regiments which composed the garrison were the 38th, 54th, and 74th infantry of the Bengal army, and a battery of Bengal artillery, manned by natives. There were besides many native artillerymen to serve the guns of position in the city, especially at the magazine and arsenal. The 54th and 74th had shown no disposition to revolt ; the 38th was a notoriously insolent and stubborn corps since 1852, when it succeeded in resisting the authority of Lord Dalhousie when he ordered it to Pegu. The whole force occupied cantonments two miles north of the city. Critics have given the opinion that had these troops been marched out against the mutineers when tidings of the mutiny arrived, and had the Meerut European force pursued, that the former would have remained loyal, and the revolters have been killed, captured, or dispersed. Brigadier Graves resolved upon a defensive policy, and selected the Flagstaff tower as a refuge for the women and children. That building was circular in form, built of brick burnt in the sun, and strong ; it was situated on the heights near the cantonments, about a mile and a half north of the Cashmere gate of the city, which was the nearest to it. The resources of Delhi, in ammunition and material of war, were enormous, and had five hundred men remained faithful, including a proportion of artillery, the city might have been defended against twice the number of the Meerut mutineers.

The events which transpired within the city on the arrival of the Meerut battalions, have never appeared in a connected form, and never can be presented in consecutive order, so terrible was the massacre, and so little did those who escaped know of anything which

did not appear before their own eyes. Major Abbot was the senior officer among those who escaped to Meerut, and his account of what occurred was substantially as follows:—He described a few troopers of the 3rd as having first entered by the bridge of boats. Colonel Ripley of the 54th confronted them with a wing of his regiment, but the men refused to fire, alleging that their muskets were not loaded. The guard of the 38th also declared that they had no ammunition. Scarcely had the mutineers made good their entrance, when the troops of the Delhi garrison turned upon their officers; six officers of the 54th immediately fell under the bullets and bayonets of their own men—Colonel Ripley, Captains Smith and Burrows, Lieutenants Edwards, Waterhill, and Butler. Major Abbot addressed the men of the 74th, telling them that the time had arrived to prove their fidelity to him, and calling upon volunteers to follow him to the Cashmere gate, he marched forth attended by a considerable number. On arriving at the gate the men took possession, and seemed disposed to resist any attack. They remained in this state until three o'clock, when they were startled by a heavy firing of guns, followed by a terrific explosion. Lieutenant Willoughby had fired the magazine, to prevent its stores from falling into the hands of the rebels. There were two magazines at Delhi, one at the cantonments to supply the troops there quartered, and one in the city which was the depot of ammunition for northern India. It was situated between the Selingush Fort, and the Cashmere gate, so that the explosion shook the earth under the feet of Major Abbot's party. The magazine contained 300 guns and mortars, 20,000 stand of small arms, 200,000 shot and shell, and large stores of *materiel* of war corresponding with such munitions. When the explosion of the vast mass of powder and shot and shell took place, the men at the Cashmere gate became intensely excited, and showed symptoms of sympathy with their co-religionists, whom they supposed engaged in a fierce and dangerous struggle, the nature of which they could not at the moment comprehend. The native officers stepped forward and advised the major to fly from the city. Shots were whizzing around him, and piercing cries broke upon his ear, the soldiers of the 38th were shooting their officers. Major Abbot begged his men to follow him to attempt their rescue, but they replied, "It is of no use, they are all killed now, we can save no one; we have saved you and are happy, you shall not perish." The men formed a circle around him, and hurried him away towards the cantonments. At that moment several carriages drove up on the road to Kurnaul; the major inquired who they were. The men replied, "They are our officers flying for their lives; follow their example, we can protect you or them only for a little longer—fly!" Major Abbot asked them for the colours, which they gave him, and placing him and Captain Hawkey on one horse, they followed the carriages and escaped. The major's first impulse was, with the captain, to stay and endeavour to the last to check the mutiny, but his regiment declared, "You can do nothing, you can save no one; it is time to fly!" and they urged him forward with every demonstration of affectionate interest in his safety. Those portions of the 74th with which the major was not present, mutinied when the magazine blew up, and shot some of their officers. In this way Captain Gordon and Lieutenant Revley fell, Ensign Elton, Captain Tytler, Captain Nicoll, Captain Wallace, Lieutenant Aislabie, and Farrier-sergeant Law made their escape through extraordinary dangers, and arrived at Meerut after thirty-six hours of perilous wandering. Major Abbot attributed the insurrection to the King of Delhi and his family. His opinion is of importance from his knowledge of the proceedings of the court, and the judgment he displayed in his efforts to check the progress of the mutiny. He thus wrote upon the subject in his report to the government, as the senior surviving officer of the garrison:—"The insurrection was organised and matured in the palace of the King of Delhi with his full knowledge and sanction, in the mad attempt to establish himself in the sovereignty of this country. It is well known that he has called on the neighbouring states to co-operate with him in thus trying to subvert the existing government. The method he adopted appears to have been to gain the sympathy of the 38th light infantry, by spreading the lying reports now going through the country, of the government having it in contemplation to upset their religion and have them all forcibly inducted to Christianity. The 38th, by insidious and false arguments, quietly gained over the 54th and 74th native infantry, each being unacquainted with the other's real sentiments. I am perfectly persuaded that the 54th and 74th were forced to join the combination by threats that the 38th and 54th would annihilate the 74th if they refused; or, *vice versâ*, that the 38th and 74th would annihilate the 54th. I am almost convinced that had the 38th not been on guard at the Cashmere gate, the results would have been very different; the men of the 74th would have shot down every man who had the temerity to assail the post."

While Major Abbot was so gallantly preserving the loyalty of a portion of his regiment, and with them using his best efforts to check the progress of the insurgents, other events were taking place elsewhere, as at the magazine, to which reference has already been made. The palace of the king was, however, the great centre of action. A portion of the 3rd cavalry from Meerut proceeded thither, while the others were galloping about to shoot the officers of the garrison. When they arrived at the palace, they were received by the king and his court as friends and subjects. Had he ordered the gates to be shut, and made his palace the sanctuary of such English as were within it, or might have found their way thither, the insurrection would have been suppressed, or at all events the lives of the English seeking asylum within the walls of the building would have been safe. No mutineers would have dared to violate that sanctuary; every true Mussulman would have defended the person and palace of the king, and all within it at his orders. The excuses made by him of being under constraint were not only not accordant with facts, but were absurd. When Mr. Fraser, the British commissioner, perceived the approach of the mutineers, he, with his assistant, Captain Douglas, hastened to the palace that he might observe the conduct of the king at a moment that would test his loyalty. Mr. Fraser and the captain were attended by several other persons. The moment they entered the palatial precincts they were shot. Soon after, the Rev. Mr. Jennings, the chaplain, was murdered; his daughter and another lady shared his fate, after having been treated with every indignity which a Mohammedan would consider the worst and vilest his own wife or daughter could suffer. Several Europeans who hid in the palace gardens were found tied to trees, and shot or sabred. All the robbers of the neighbourhood were encouraged by the mutineers, as at Meerut, to help themselves. The banks and rich shops were plundered; women were treated with indignity, and tortured to death or hacked to pieces; babies were lifted up and ripped open or hewn by the ferocious troopers in the presence of their parents. The cruelties to women and children were generally inflicted in the presence of husbands and fathers, who were then put to death. No mercy was shown; the troopers pointing to the marks of the irons on their wrists, which had been caused by their punishment at Meerut, thus justified their murder of women and babies. Numbers of European traders, civilians, clerks, half-caste natives, and any natives supposed to be Christians, were butchered. To possess European blood, or be suspected of being a Christian, was sufficient cause for a merciless death to be inflicted.

While these events transpired at the palace and in the streets, the magazine was the scene of a heroic defence, as recorded while noticing the conduct of the 74th at the Cashmere gate. Lieutenant Willoughby, in order to prevent the sepoys from possessing themselves of the military stores and ammunition, blew up a large portion of the magazine, and escaped to Meerut, where he died of his wounds. The success of the mutineers was complete. All the Europeans in Delhi at the beginning of the revolt were slain or fugitives. What happened within the city before the siege cannot be related upon European testimony. The king and the heir-apparent assumed regal power and dignity. The British treasury, of more than half a million sterling, was guarded by the king's relatives for his own use, the city acknowledged his government, and the Mussulmans everywhere proclaimed the Delhi Raj.

## CHAPTER CXXIX.

MUTINY AT BENARES—ITS SUPPRESSION BY COLONEL NEILL—MUTINY AT ALLAHABAD, ALSO SUPPRESSED BY COLONEL NEILL—MUTINY AT CAWNPORE—TREACHERY OF NANA SAHIB—GALLANT DEFENCE BY GENERAL WHEELER—CAPITULATION OF THE BRITISH, AND THEIR MASSACRE—MURDER OF FUGITIVES FROM FUTTYGHUR—MUTINY AT THAT PLACE—ASSUMPTION OF THE MAHRATTA SOVEREIGNTY BY NANA SAHIB.

IT has been already shown that the outbreak at Meerut was preceded by many ominous symptoms of deep-rooted disaffection and contemplated revolt on the part of the sepoys of the Bengal army. Before narrating the siege of Delhi, it is desirable to trace the progress of revolt in other directions. These were undoubtedly encouraged and stimulated by the events at Meerut and Delhi. Towards the latter place the hopes and wishes of the whole native army of Bengal turned. It would require a volume to disclose all the separate incidents of disobedience, mutiny, and open revolt. In a work which comprises the

history of the British empire in India and the East, such minute details would be out of keeping. It will suffice to direct the reader's attention to the grand theatres of mutiny: the outbreaks of discontent beyond these regions were like the effects produced by a storm which has burst in fury over a certain area, and scatters some of its force upon the outskirts of the territory over which it has passed. Before noticing any other of the scenes of action, it is desirable to relate the condition of things at Benares. That city, the grand capital of Indian heathenism, is so situated as to form a great central position, from which the forces of the government could radiate as it were to Oude, to Agra, and the north-west. Lord Canning, although deficient in his plans to push up reinforcements from Calcutta, had shown considerable activity and energy in bringing such reinforcements as were available from the shores of the Bay of Bengal, and his correspondence, by telegrams, with the Madras and Bombay governments was maintained constantly. Lord Harris in the one government, and Lord Elphinstone in the other, seconded the views of the governor-general, and exerted themselves to the utmost. By the end of May the 1st Madras fusiliers, under the command of Colonel Neill, landed at Calcutta. Upon their arrival, the railway train to Raneegunge was about to start: the distance was one hundred and twenty miles, and it was of the utmost importance that the men should be conveyed up the country as quickly as possible, as information arrived from every quarter that the native troops were mutinous—Delhi and the restoration of the Moguls filling every mind. The cartridge question, although still the ostensible occasion of dispute, was in reality lost in questions of nationality, and race, and (in a larger sense than a debate about caste) of creed. Colonel Neill was pertly told by a railway official, that unless he had his men in the train in a few minutes it would proceed without them. His reply was characteristic, he ordered a file of soldiers to arrest the agent; the other officials were secured in like manner. They of course protested, but the colonel wasted no words with them; he was a man of action. He seized the train, placed his men in it, ordered engineers and stokers to steam on, and arrived in due and rapid course at the destination to which the train conducted. Colonel Neill, and a portion of his fusiliers, arrived at Benares just at the crisis of affairs there. The native regiments then stationed at that great city were the 37th Bengal infantry, the Loodianah foot, the 13th Bengal irregular cavalry. The Europeans were the artillery of Major Oliphant's battery, a detachment of the 1st Madras fusiliers, one hundred and fifty men of "the brave Irish of the 10th" (as Colonel Herbert Edwardes described them). Information of a certain nature had been given to the authorities that the 37th native infantry was about to mutiny, that the cavalry would follow their example, and that the Sikhs were doubtful, the Mussulmans and the Hindoos among them being ready to join the mutineers, the pure Sikhs being overawed and afraid for their own safety. The night of the 4th of June was the expected period of the revolt. A parade, without arms, of the native regiments was ordered for that evening. Some companies of the 37th assembled as ordered, other companies piled their arms, and while in the act some of the men turned and fired upon their officers. This example was followed by the rest. The Sikhs, supposing that there was no safety on the side of the government, discharged a volley upon the Europeans. The three guns poured grape into the Sikhs, who charged them, but were repulsed from the very muzzles of the cannon, by devouring discharges of grape. Thrice the gallant Sikhs came up with the bayonet, thrice were they swept away by the close fire of the guns. Lieutenant-colonel Spottiswood, of the 37th, took some port-fires and ignited the inflammable material in the sepoy lines; the flames spread, and threw up such a light as to expose to view the sepoys, who from cover were firing upon the Europeans. In a few minutes one hundred of the mutineers lay dead, and twice as many were wounded; they fled in confusion. Some of the irregular cavalry and Sikhs remained loyal, some neutral; the resolution of the Europeans decided them. Major Guire, of the cavalry, was murdered at the beginning of the mutiny; two ensigns were wounded, and eight men. The Sikhs submitted, and some of the cavalry returned craving pardon, and declaring that they acted under alarm created by the threats of the sepoys. Colonel Neill acted with terrible promptitude and decision, executing the ringleaders, pardoning the seduced, scouring the country and bringing in prisoners, who were at once dealt with as their cases really required. While the colonel was reducing the chaos to order, he was commanded by the governor-general to march to Allahabad. The curt reply of the colonel was—"Can't do it—wanted here."

The most guilty sowars and sepoys were confined in the fort, and when their guilt was made clear, were blown away from guns,—a punishment which they more dreaded than any other.

At Jaunpore the Sikh detachment murdered some of their officers and, joined by the 37th, plundered the treasury.

MUTINY AT ALLAHABAD.

Allahabad, upon which Neill at first refused to march when directed, was in a state of great danger, and was a most important station. There was a large arsenal there, ammunition and arms for forty thousand men, a very large fort; and, situated on the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna, it held a most influential military relation to the lower provinces. The number of cannon at this place was great, of gunners there was not one! The population were all desperate fanatics, and amounted to seventy-five thousand. The condition of the arsenal was such as no discreet government would have allowed. The place was garrisoned by a battalion of Sikhs, and some companies of the 6th native infantry quartered in the fort, and a wing of the 6th in cantonments. Except those working at the magazine, there was not a single European soldier in the garrison. Thus everywhere in the Bengal provinces the strong places were left in the custody of mercenaries, while the Europeans were scattered in remote stations. The treasury was a temptation to the disaffected, as were also the great military stores. On the evening of the 6th of June, a parade of the 6th native infantry was ordered. These men had volunteered to march against Delhi. They were assembled to hear Lord Canning's thanks for their loyalty and devotion. When the paper was read the men gave three cheers, after the fashion of British soldiers. In four hours afterwards they had murdered seventeen of their officers, all the women and children upon whom they could lay their hands, and marched off in a body to Delhi, the band playing "God save the Queen." Scenes of plunder and devastation now occurred at Allahabad, and throughout the whole neighbourhood, which beggar description. The loyal Sikhs were especially dextrous in their work, plundering alike friend and foe. Private as well as public property fell under the hands of the devastators. The houses of Europeans around Allahabad were given to the flames: the railway-stations shared a similar fate, the lines of rails were torn up for twenty miles, the telegraph lines were cut down, the sepoys considering that the "lightning dak" (or post) was magical, and opposed to true religion. The steam-engines were for some time left uninjured, the sepoys fearing to approach them lest they should go off like a gun and blow them away; they fired into them from a distance, riddling them with balls. Robbery, ruin, and violence continued until the 11th of June, when Colonel Neill, and a detachment of his fusiliers arrived. The colonel's reputation for vigour had preceded him, and the poor Europeans, bereft of everything, felt that while he was near life at least would be safe. The colonel's first care was the sanitary state of the fort—fifty died of cholera the day he arrived, and despair brooded over every living heart. He at once adopted measures so skilful, and inspired such confidence, activity, courage, and hope, that the disease abated as if by a miracle, and almost disappeared. He came as a saviour to the suffering Europeans at Allahabad. He at once adopted towards the mutineers and insurgents, the course he took at Benares—rigour before clemency. No time-serving, useless talking, pompous promises, trick, or humbug of any kind marked his proceeding. To all these things the general government trusted, although constant evidence was afforded that the sepoys saw through them. Having, through the mercy of God, by the use of enlightened means, saved the garrison from pestilence, his next care was for the property of the town, and the preservation of order. He put an end to the drunkenness and riot of the soldiery of all classes by simple and efficacious means. He published a proclamation, giving a few hours for the restoration of public property, and declaring that all persons found in possession of the like after the time had expired should be hung. Everybody knew that he said what he meant; property was restored with marvellous rapidity, and some who could not make up their mind to restitution paid the penalty. There was a portion of the town of Allahabad occupied by Brahmins, who were lazy, dishonest, and treasonable. These men, wrapt up in the pride of caste, paid no attention to the colonel's proclamations, and did their best to keep up the general disquietude. He did not send deputations to them, nor tell them he relied upon their loyalty, as the Calcutta officials would have done; he shelled their quarter of the town, and a few hours sufficed to make those whose lives were not sacrificed abject in their submission. He then formed a little movable column of fifty of his fusiliers, a few of the sowars who had remained obedient, the railway officials, volunteers, and three companies of Sikhs. Not far from the town, a fanatical moulvie, and two thousand rebels, had intrenched themselves. Seeing so small a body of opponents, they boldly left their trenches and advanced. Neill delivered a fire of Enfield rifles at five hundred yards, which brought down so many of them that their ranks became disordered, and but for the fanatical exertions of their leader, they would have turned: he, with desperate exertions, led them on, and on approaching to half the distance another volley of Enfield rifles spread

destruction and terror among them; they ran in confusion to their intrenchments, there, well covered, they relied on their guns, which were so numerous and well served that Neill, careful for his troops, held back. Their ammunition having been expended, they cut the electric wire into slugs, and used pieces of the railway and of the engines—these proved to be more formidable than the regulation "charges." Neill burnt down all the houses of the disaffected, capturing or dispersing the inmates; he harassed the moulvie, picking off with his rifles the most forward of his adherents, until he at last fled with his followers from the neighbourhood. His nephew was captured, and, while a prisoner, attempted to murder an officer of the Sikhs; the soldiers trampled the wretch until life was extinct. Neill and his men scoured the country, slaying, dispersing, or capturing predatory bands. The sepoy captives he shot, the non-sepoy rebels he hung. The terror of his name spread through all the Bengal provinces, and fabulous accounts of his bravery formed the staple of the stories at the bivouacs of the rebels. Allahabad was saved, and its neighbourhood cleared of insurgents.

### MUTINY AT CAWNPORE.

Throughout the month of May the regiments in the garrison of Cawnpore showed symptoms of disaffection. The officer who commanded was one of the most skilful and gallant in the company's service, Major-general Sir Hugh Wheeler. Many Europeans whose bungalows were burned, or who were insulted in the bazaar, left the station. The place was crowded with the families of officers and civilians serving in Lucknow and other stations in the upper provinces. General Wheeler did not fail to communicate to his government the precise state of things; he received advice which was worth nothing, but the supplies which competent management might have provided, did not arrive. The general moved to intrenchments the public records, and such portions of his garrison and people as his wisdom deemed best. He was anxious for the safe keeping of the public treasury, which the sepoys guarded and refused to leave, making the usual protestations of loyalty. Wheeler knew well the value of such professions, but it was prudent to give an apparent acquiescence for the moment. He, however, immediately took measures which he felt certain would secure the safety of the treasure. He applied to the Rajah of Bithoor to send him a guard; the rajah being a warm friend of the English, as they universally thought, the expedient seemed discreet. His highness sent two hundred Nujeebs, armed with matchlocks, and two pieces of cannon. The residence of the rajah was within a few miles of Cawnpore, and he was strong in influence, wealth, and armed retainers. This person was the infamous Nana Sahib, whose protestations of sympathy were lavishly bestowed, while he watched the opportunity for vengeance. He was naturally a brutal voluptuary, and bloodthirsty; his relations to the English were such as made him utterly vindictive to them. When the Mahratta empire was dissolved, and the Peishwa was dispossessed of his last remnant of power, he was allowed to live at Bithoor, and take the title of rajah from that place. Having no legitimate children, he adopted Nana Sahib, and left him property amounting to four millions sterling. A pension, allowed to the Peishwa by the English government, lapsed, according to English usage, from failure of heirs male. Nana Sahib pleaded oriental usage and law, and, as the adopted son of the Peishwa, claimed the pension, which the English refused to grant. From that hour he became their deadly enemy. He, however, concealed this enmity under the mask of an admiration for European civilization, and a taste for English manners. He accordingly entertained, *à la Anglais*, English civil and military officers at his palace at Bithoor. It appeared to be his ambition to be regarded as an English gentleman: he spoke the English language, filled his palace with English furniture and pictures, used horses and carriages caparisoned and equipped in English fashion, but professed withal to be a profound Hindoo devotee. In the chapters on the social condition of India, the habits of life of this chief were described in illustration of the manners and customs of a high-bred native of the Anglo-Indian type.

Sir Hugh Wheeler's force for the defence of Cawnpore consisted of two companies of Europeans, and eight guns. The supply of provisions was short. The sepoys in garrison were numerous. On the morning of the 5th of June, the whole of the native troops mutinied. They first set fire to their lines, then marched on the treasury, where they were joined by the guards lent by the Nana. £170,000 was packed on elephants and carts, and the whole force marched out with the intention of proceeding to Delhi. The Nana, however, placed himself at the head of the mutineers, and brought up six hundred retainers, with four guns, from Bithoor, and the force halted. On the afternoon and night of the 5th, he was irresolute what course to take, but early on the morning of the 6th, he made hostile demonstrations against Cawn-

pore. He sent a body of sowars (irregular native cavalry) into the town to kill all the Europeans, Eurasians, and native converts, whom they could reach, without attacking Sir Hugh Wheeler's intrenchments. The work was done *con amore*. They had also been ordered to set fire to the town, which they performed most effectually. "The wind was blowing furiously at the time, and when the houses were fired, a few moments sufficed to set the whole in a blaze. The noise of the wind, the roaring of the fire, the wild cries of the mutineers, maddened with excitement and raging for blood, these, mingled with oaths, and prayers, and shrieks of anguish, formed an atmosphere of devilry which few of our countrymen would wish to breathe again. A few of the residents fought with the fury of despair; but they were a handful against many thousands of enemies, and silence gradually settled over the place which a few hours previously was fair and flourishing." *

The Nana's next step was to declare himself, by beat of drum, sovereign of the Mahrattas; he planted two standards, one of which was proclaimed as the standard of Mohammed, the other of Huneyman, the monkey god. Around the former the Mohammedans, to the number of several thousands, crowded; around the latter only a few Budmashes and robbers gathered. Thus the two great sovereignties of India were set up again in the persons of the King of Delhi as the Great Mogul, and of Nana Sahib as the Peishwa of the Mahrattas. A position was taken up by the mutineers in front of the intrenchments, which Sir Hugh Wheeler and his little band defended with romantic gallantry, hourly expecting help whence no help came. Various assaults were repelled at great cost to the mutineers, who, at last, cannonaded the intrenchments almost with impunity, as Sir Hugh could only direct against their position, during a portion of the attack, a single gun. Meanwhile, Europeans—men, women, and children—were daily dragged from their hiding-places in the town and surrounding country, and put to death. Before slaying them, torture was resorted to, and every form of indignity. Barbarities at once puerile and disgusting afforded the Nana infinite delight. In some instances he caused the noses and ears of his victims to be cut off and hung round their necks as necklaces. "An English lady, with her children, had been captured by his bloodhounds, and was led into his presence. Her husband had been murdered on the road, and she implored the Nana for life; but the ruffian ordered them all to be taken to the maidan and killed. On the way the children complained of the sun, and the lady requested they might be taken under the shade of some trees; but no attention was paid to her, and after a time she and her children were tied together and shot, with the exception of the youngest, who was crawling over the bodies, and feeling them, and asking them why they had fallen down in the sun. The poor infant was at last killed by a trooper."

One hundred and twenty-six persons escaping from Futtyghur, arrived opposite Cawnpore during the investment of the intrenched position of the English. The Nana brought guns and musketry to bear upon these unfortunate and helpless persons, and gave them the alternative of landing under his protection, or of having the boats sunk. Some got away, refusing to trust him; others accepted his promises of security as their safest chance. He violated his solemn protestations. "When they were collected together, he ordered his men to commence the work of slaughter. The women and children were dispatched with swords and spears; the men were ranged in line, with a bamboo running along the whole extent and passing through each man's arms, which were tied behind his back. The troopers then rode round them and taunted their victims, reviling them with the grossest abuse, and gloating over the tortures they were about to inflict. When weary of vituperation, one of them would discharge a pistol in the face of a captive, whose shattered head would droop to the right or left, the body meanwhile being kept upright, and the blood and brains bespattering his living neighbours. The next person selected for slaughter would, perhaps, be four or five paces distant; and in this way the fiends contrived to prolong for several hours the horrible contact of the dead and the living. Not a soul escaped; and the Nana Sahib thanked the gods of the Hindoos for the sign of favour bestowed upon him by the opportunity vouchsafed thus to torment and slay the Christians." For twenty-two days the garrison held out, hoping against hope. They could not persuade themselves that neither from Lucknow, Allahabad, nor Calcutta, would help arrive. What actually occurred at last can only be gathered from desultory sources of information. These crept out little by little, and the public mind of India, of England, and of all the world, not inhabited by heathen or Mussulmans, was filled with horror at the recital. Lord Canning published the following as the first authentic intelligence given to the natives of India of the event :—

* *The Sepoy Revolt; its Causes and its Consequences.* By Henry Mead. London: G. Routledge & Co.

*Allahabad, July 5th.*

Colonel Neill reports that he had received a note, dated night of the 4th, from Major Renaud, of the Madras Fusiliers, commanding the advance column sent towards Cawnpore, that he had sent men into that place, who reported on their return that, in consequence of Sir Hugh Wheeler being shot through the leg, and afterwards mortally, the force had accepted the proffer of safety made by the Nana Sahib and the mutineers. The Nana allowed them to get into boats, with all they had, and three and a half lacs of rupees; that after getting them into boats fire was opened on them from the bank, and all were destroyed. One boat got away ten miles down the river, was pursued, brought back, and all in her taken back into barracks and shot. One old lady was alive on the 3rd, at Futtehpore.

The rumours which were spread in connection with the treatment of the victims of Cawnpore were innumerable, but rivalling one another in the pictures they gave of the atrocities of Nana Sahib and his followers. Reports that all the women murdered at Lucknow had been first violated, under circumstances of cruelty savage and appalling, influenced the Europeans in India with a desire for vengeance which it was difficult to slake. The floating tales of this nature which circulated so extensively, greatly exaggerated the facts, but enough of the horrible remained true to justify the English community in India in demanding that English honour should be vindicated, and punishment inflicted upon the criminals with a stern hand. When the numbers destroyed by the rebels became more clearly ascertained, the distress of relations and friends, and of the whole English community in India, was beyond the power of pen to describe. The following were certainly known to be in the intrenchments on the 6th of June; of these many fell in dreadful battle, the rest by a more cruel destiny:—First company, 6th battalion, artillery, 61; her majesty's 32nd foot, 84; her majesty's 84th foot, 50; 1st European fusileers, 15; English officers, mostly of mutinied regiments, 100; merchants, writers, clerks, &c., 100; English drummers of mutinied regiments, 40; wives and children of English officers, 50; wives and children of English soldiers, 160; wives and children of civilians, 120; sick, native officers and sepoys, 100; native servants, cooks, &c., 100.

A few of those who had served within these intrenchments escaped almost by miracle. Mr. Shepherd, a gentleman connected with the commissary department, left the trenches, disguised as a native cook, and was imprisoned by Nana Sahib, remaining in captivity while the murders were perpetrated, and, finally, escaping when the rebels retreated. The others who were saved were British officers. They were with the garrison, who, according to the stipulation made with the Nana, were permitted to go down the river in boats. One of these gentlemen published an account of his escape. After describing the embarkation, and the progress of the treacherous attack, Lieutenant Delafosse continues:—"We had now one boat, crowded with wounded, and having on board more than she could carry. Two guns followed us the whole of that day, the infantry firing on us the whole of that night. On the second day, 28th June, a gun was seen on the Cawnpore side, which opened on us at Nujjubgurh, the infantry still following us on both sides. On the morning of the third day, the boat was no longer serviceable; we were aground on a sandbank, and had not strength sufficient to move her. Directly any of us got into the water, we were fired upon by thirty or forty men at a time. There was nothing left for us but to charge and drive the villains away; and fourteen of us were told off to do what we could. Directly we got on shore the insurgents retired, but having followed them up too far, we were cut off from the river, and had to retire ourselves, as we were being surrounded. We could not make for the river; we had to go down parallel, and came to the river again a mile lower down, where we saw a large force of men right in front waiting for us, and another lot on the opposite bank, should we attempt to cross the river. On the bank of the river, just by the force in front, was a temple. We fired a volley, and made for the temple, in which we took shelter, having one man killed and one wounded. From the door of the temple we fired on every insurgent that happened to show himself. Finding that they could do nothing against us whilst we remained inside, they heaped wood all round and set it on fire. When we could no longer remain inside 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 the twelve got into the water, but before we had gone far, two poor fellows were shot. There were only five of us left now, and we had to swim whilst the insurgents followed us along both banks, wading and firing as fast as they could. After we had gone three miles down the stream [probably swimming and wading by turns], one of our party, an artilleryman, to rest himself, began swimming on his back, and not knowing in what direction he was swimming, got on shore, and was killed. When we had had got down about six miles, firing from both sides [of the river] ceased, and soon after we were hailed by some natives, on the Oude side, who asked us to come on shore, and said they would take us to their rajah, who was friendly to the English." The friendly

rajah sheltered Lieutenant Delafosse, Mowbray, and Thompson, with some others, who sought his protection, throughout the month of July, until they exchanged his hospitality for the ranks of their countrymen.

It is difficult to give any correct relation of the fate of the Englishwomen dragged from the boats, not only because the narratives of survivors is so different, but because the scenes in which the relaters substantially agree are too indelicate to place before our readers in their atrocious details.

The first demand of the Nana was that they should all enter his harem; they replied that they preferred death. Amongst these ladies the daughter of Sir Hugh Wheeler has been represented by all narrators as displaying extraordinary courage. Before her capture she is represented as having shot down five sepoys with a revolver. Mr. Shepherd relates that she was taken away by a sowar (trooper), as his particular prize, who conveyed her to his hut, that she then seized his sword, cut off his head, and threw herself into a well to escape outrage. An ayah (native nurse) of a European family says that it was in the hut, after cutting off the trooper's head, that she shot down four other sowars. Another account represents her as having been taken away by the trooper in the retreat of the mutineers. This story has two versions: one describes the conduct of the sowar as generous, the other represents him as carrying her about as his victim.

### THE MUTINY AT FUTTYGHUR.

Futtyghur was a military cantonment higher up on the banks of the Ganges than Cawnpore, and not far from Ferokabad.

At the end of May the troops in those cantonments were the 10th regiment of native infantry (Bengal is always understood, unless especial mention is made of a corps as belonging to Bombay or Madras), and small detachments of other regiments. Unmistakable indications were made of an intended mutiny, so that it was deemed desirable to send the women, children, and non-combatants on to Cawnpore. The communications between these places had been so intercepted that the officers at either station were ignorant of the situation of their comrades at the other.

On the 4th of June boats were freighted with this precious charge, and they were sent down the Ganges.

After a short voyage, the demonstrations of hostility offered by the natives, caused the wanderers to separate into two parties. One of these, headed by Mr. Probyn, the collector, sought refuge with a zemindar, named Herden Buksh, living twelve miles from Futtyghur. The other party persisted in the voyage to Cawnpore. The first party numbered forty persons; the second, one hundred and twenty. It is impossible to judge when these parties separated, or how many of both were slain before the one reached Cawnpore and the other found refuge with the zemindar. Few survived to tell the tale, and their talents for narrative have not been very eminent. Some of them found their way back to Futtyghur, others were arrested and slain at Bithoor.

On the 18th of June, the 10th infantry mutinied, and set fire to the cantonments at Futtyghur: the 41st, from the opposite shore of the Ganges, joined them, the treasure was seized, and the officers menaced. The river by that date had fallen so low that flight by boat was deemed unsafe, and the Europeans resolved to defend a post, which they selected as the most tenable which they could make available. One hundred persons took up this position; thirty were European gentlemen, the rest women and children. They defended this place until the 4th of July, when, several military officers of rank having fallen, and most of the rest being wounded, longer defence became impossible. They took to their boats, under a terrible fire from their enemies. The boats were pursued, with a persistent thirst for blood. Some of the ladies jumped overboard, to avoid capture. Some were shot in their boats. One of the boats stranded; those on board leapt into the water, some were shot down, some drowned, others swam to land, and were captured and mutilated; a few found shelter from compassionate persons while wandering along the shore. One boat only reached Bithoor; Nana Sahib murdered all on board.

The fate of the first arrivals from Futtyghur has been already related.

The monster of Bithoor was not contented with the cruelties he had inflicted, but hearing that a British force was advancing, which he could hardly hope to resist, he resolved to cut off the noses and right hands of all the Bengalee clerks in the pay of commercial firms, or of the civil service, and of all persons who were known to be able to read or write or speak English. Such was the state of things at Cawnpore, when the tramp of British soldiery was heard, and the hour of retribution was nigh.

## CHAPTER CXXX.

THE MUTINY IN OUDE—DEFENCE OF LUCKNOW BY SIR HENRY LAWRENCE—HIS DEATH—MUTINY IN ROHILCUND AND THE DOAB—MUTINY IN CENTRAL INDIA—MUTINY IN THE PUNJAUB, AND ITS SUPPRESSION—UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT AT MUTINY IN SCINDE.

THROUGHOUT the month of May the sepoys displayed a mutinous spirit all over Oude; but it was met with sufficient skill and address to keep it under, so far as open revolt and massacre were concerned. In time the spirit of disaffection increased, and Sir Henry Lawrence, who conducted the government of the province, suffered inconceivable anxiety, and displayed an ability and courage which render his name immortal. About the middle of June, Colonel Neill, then at Allahabad, as seen in the last chapter, received a letter from Sir Henry, announcing that Seetapore and Shahjehanpore, Baraitch, and Fyzabad, were taken by the mutineers, and that the revolters from these places, from Jeypore, and from Benares (where Neill had driven them), were advancing against Lucknow. On the 19th the government of Calcutta learned that cholera had broken out in Lucknow, and that Sir Henry had no hope of reinforcements unless by chance from Dinapore. In Benares, it was learned a few days later that Sir Henry had got rid of all his sepoys by a dextrous piece of policy, and that he was himself ill, and had appointed a provisional council in case of his death, or incapacity by sickness. He held the residency, the cantonments, and commanded the city. He also occupied a fort called Muchee Bhouchan, which he garrisoned by 225 Europeans. This place was three quarters of a mile from the residency, and was strong. The residency and the fort were his chief reliance in case he should be pressed by the enemy. Before the end of June his communications were cut off, and Lucknow surrounded by an immense host, not merely of mutineers, but of rebels, well accustomed to the use of arms, and raging with hatred against the English government.

On the 27th of June he had supplies for two months, during which time he had no fear that the enemy could capture his positions. At the end of June the whole province of Oude was in arms, and the royal family active in the insurrection. There were now three royalties set up in hostility to the English, that of Delhi, Oude, and the Mahratta. On the 30th of June Sir Henry resolved to attack a force of eight thousand rebels, encamped on the Fyzabad road, near the Koobra canal. His force was as follows:—Artillery—Four guns, horse light field battery; six guns, Oude field battery; and one 8-inch howitzer. Cavalry—one hundred and twenty troopers of 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Oude irregular cavalry; and forty volunteer cavalry, under Captain Radcliffe. Infantry—three hundred of her majesty's 32nd foot; one hundred and fifty of 13th native infantry; sixty of the 48th native infantry; and twenty of the 71st. The enemy skilfully planned an ambush, their success in doing so was the more easily achieved as Lawrence bore himself far too confidently. He did not show as signal a military capacity on this occasion as he had always shown capacity for government. The rebels attacked him at Chinhut. The Oude artillerymen in his service cut the traces of the horses, overturned the guns in a nullah, and deserted to the enemy during the first moment of surprise; they were probably aware of the ambush. To this misfortune was added the want of an adequate supply of ammunition, of which he should have assured himself before he set out. He was beaten. It was not a retreat, but a confused flight. The officers and men fell in great numbers, and so wretchedly arranged was the retreat, as well as the advance, that it is wonderful how a single man of the party reached Lucknow. This shameful defeat caused all the subsequent disasters. The enemy gained courage, their enthusiasm rose to the highest pitch, while the English became depressed. Lawrence resolved to abandon the cantonments, the fort, and another strong post, to fortify himself in the residency, and await succour. At midnight on the 1st of July he blew up the fort, containing two hundred and forty barrels of powder, and three millions of ball cartridges. This resolution on the part of Sir Henry has been much lauded, but the fact was obvious to the humblest soldier that it was the only thing that could be done to afford the defence the slightest prospect of success. By his marvellous faculty of administration he collected six months' provision in the residency. His courage equalled his industry. On the night of the 1st of July, a shell was thrown by the enemy, which exploded in the room he occupied, but he declined taking up his quarters in a more secure place. On the 2nd of July a shell also burst in the same place, inflicting upon him a wound which eventually proved fatal. He immediately appointed Brigadier Inglis his military, and Major

Banks his civil successor; and on the 10th of July died. The defence of the residency now devolved upon the gallant Inglis.

It is necessary before returning to the defence of Lucknow, to glance at some of the other stations in Oude and elsewhere. Fyzabad was the scene of incipient mutiny on the 3rd of June. On the 8th it became open and decided. After the most solemn professions of loyalty and devotion on the part of the sepoy garrison, they suddenly rose and made prisoners of their officers. Next morning Dhuleep Singh, the chief of the insurgents, announced that the officers might go away, taking their private property.

The troops quartered at Fyzabad, were—the 22nd regiment native infantry; the 6th regiment irregular Oude infantry; the 5th troop of the 15th regiment irregular cavalry; No. 5 company of the 7th battalion of artillery; and No. 13 horse battery. The chief officers were Colonels Lennox and O'Brien; Major Mill, Captain Morgan, Lieutenants Fowle, English, Bright, Lindesay, Thomas, Ouseley, Cautley, Gordon, Parsons, Percival, and Currie; and Ensigns Anderson and Ritchie. Colonel Goldney held a civil appointment as commissioner. The Europeans were placed in boats and directed to make their way to Dinapore. It was intended to murder them on the river. Some of the fugitives took to the land, leaving all their property behind, and made for Goruckpore. They were attacked by mutineers, and would have been killed, had not Meer Mohammed Hossein Khan rescued them, sheltered them in a zemindar fort, disguised and hid them, and, by a succession of stratagems preserved them until the collector of Goruckpore, at the head of a party, came to conduct them away in safety; they thence reached Calcutta without losing an individual of their number. Of those who went by river, some reached Dinapore, others were slain or drowned. A portion left the boats and perished on land of privation or fatigue. The whole population was against them. One woman was delivered of a baby on the route. A lady, with two children, seven and three years of age, and a baby eight months old, after suffering considerable privations, and losing her infant by death, escaped. A sergeant-major was captured and dragged from village to village as an exhibition, subjected to unheard of cruelties and indignities. He at last escaped.

The mutinies at the other garrisons were similar—slaughter and rapine followed revolt everywhere. Neither Lawrence nor Inglis could obtain any assistance except from Nepaul. Jung Bahadoor was not only willing to render it, but he sent troops. Lord Canning requested him to withdraw them, still labouring under the fatal hallucination that the army was in the main loyal, and that, at all events, the people were so. The Nepaulese chief marched back his troops at a season most trying, many of them perishing on the way by cholera. When his army had reached the capital, a message from Lord Canning arrived, requiring the assistance of ten thousand men. Jung Bahadoor afforded the aid required, but neither he nor his troops entered so heartily into the cause as at first. He expressed his astonishment how the English, with such rulers, could expect to hold India. The Goorkha chief also extended refuge and assistance to such fugitives as reached the confines of his country.

### MUTINY IN ROHILCUND.

All the districts of this province were rebellious, and the Bengal troops stationed in it still more so. Bareilly was one of the most important places of Rohilcund, and it was like other such places, garrisoned wholly by native troops. Two regiments of infantry, the 68th and 18th, one of cavalry, the 8th, and a battery of native artillery, were stationed there. The officers were the only English soldiers in the place. The usual staff of civilians was to be found there, and many women and children. The native population was one hundred thousand. The chief officers displayed the infatuation by which the military authorities were characterized elsewhere: the sepoys were implicitly trusted; the officers did not know them. Early in May, symptoms of insurgency led to the adoption of some precautionary measures; the ladies and children were sent to the sanitary stations in the hills: Nynee Fal received many of them, where they were comparatively safe. On the 31st of May the sepoys revolted; the too confiding general of the station was one of the first men shot by the mutineers; others were murdered, some escaped, the cantonments were fired, and rapine ruled in Bareilly. Nineteen native troopers remained faithful, and escorted a number of their officers to Nynee Fal. The rebels, headed by a very old chief, Khan Bahadoor Khan, were completely successful. The khan, like others of the rebel chiefs, had been in receipt of a pension from the company, a mode of securing their loyalty, which always failed, as the pension was regarded as a right, and a sense of injury experienced, whatever its amount, because it was not more. This man, like Nana Sahib, was the associate of the English, assuming their manners, and affecting their tastes. These men everywhere were the

bitterest enemies of the British. Intimate intercourse, and close knowledge of us, seemed to exasperate the educated natives against both our race and rule. This old chief of the Bareilly mutineers imitated our manners so closely, that he had the captive Europeans arraigned as rebels against the King of Delhi, tried by law, found guilty, and hanged.

Moorshedabad is half way between Bareilly and Meerut, and was, as to the insurrection, a place of importance from that circumstance. Here, as elsewhere, the treasury was captured in June, but the European population were enabled to make a timely escape to Meerut.

At Shahjehanpore the mutiny was marked by a peculiar activity. The troops rose on the 31st of May, a day on which so generally the sepoys revolted. It was the Sabbath. The mutineers, as elsewhere, selected the hours of worship. They surrounded the church, and put nearly the whole of the congregation, and the Rev. Mr. M'Collum, to death within the building. Those who escaped were hunted through the country, shot at, and sabred, until only one or two remained of all who had joined in Christian worship on that last Sabbath in May at Shahjehanpore. All Rohilcund, like Oude, fell to the rebels. One by one, and in small parties, fugitives reached Nynee Fal, where the neighbourhood of the Goorkhas deterred the enemy from pursuing, although the prize was much desired. The slaughter of such a large number of women and children as the most vindictive visitation to the whites, was eagerly expected. Bands of mutineers watched in the neighbouring jungle for many a day in the hope of accomplishing this exploit. All around Rohilcund and Oude the insurrection grew and spread. In the Doab blood and fire marked the rebel track in every direction. From Allahabad, where Neill was victorious, to Ferokabad, and far beyond it to the upper country, all was desolation and vengeance. Futtyghur and Muttra obtained notoriety among the places in these districts where rebellion signalized itself. Allyghur was held by a few faithful native soldiers, under the command of a gallant young officer, named Cockburn; and by this means the road between Meerut and Agra was kept tolerably open. Agra itself, however, was doomed to experience the force of the wide-sweeping storm. The garrison there consisted of two regiments of native infantry and the 3rd Europeans, with a small detachment of artillery. On the 1st of June there was a disarmament of the natives. This was timely, for a conspiracy to murder all the officers was afterwards discovered. Most of the disarmed sepoys escaped and made their way to Delhi, or into Oude; the remainder were a source of anxiety and alarm, although deprived of their weapons. The police and jail-guard deserted, and the population showed deadly hatred to the Europeans of every class. Mr. Colvin held Agra well, and threw out parties in every direction, who chastised rebel bands.

### THE MUTINY IN CENTRAL INDIA.

Nagpore had a strong garrison of native troops. Mr. Plowden, the commissioner, by address and courage, succeeded in inducing them to surrender their arms, in which he was aided by the loyalty of the Madras native cavalry. By the end of June he had quieted every symptom of disturbance.

Further north, in Central India Proper, Major Erskine showed similar qualities to those employed by Mr. Plowden at Nagpore. The Saugor and Nerbuddah districts were intensely agitated, but skilful management, civil and military, averted many disasters.

The Bundelcund territory suffered much, and Jansi was the capital of revolt and outrage. The native troops mutinied on the 4th of June, seized the Star Fort, and massacred many of the officers in the cantonments, the rest escaping to the Town Fort, where they barricaded themselves, and offered resolute resistance. After a long and desperate fight, the garrison, no longer able to hold out, surrendered, on condition of having life spared, to which the mutineers, by the most sacred oaths known to their religions, pledged themselves. Those oaths were violated at Jansi, as everywhere else. The perjured horde bound the captive men in one row, and the women and children in another. The men were first slaughtered, and then the women and children; the children being first hewn in pieces before their mothers' eyes. In this case the women were neither tortured nor violated; a speedy death accomplished the bigoted vengeance of their persecutors. Nineteen ladies, twenty-three children, twenty-four civil servants and non-commissioned officers, and eight officers, were the victims of the massacre. It was afterwards proved that the inciter to this deed of blood was the Ranee of Bundelcund, a chieftainess ambitious of ruling that province.

Lieutenant Osborne, at Rewah, hearing of these things, had the address to induce the maharajah to place his troops at the disposal of the company. With indomitable energy and ceaseless activity he provided for the security of a vast district, surrounded by others in which mutiny and rebellion waved their red hands triumphant.

In various places besides these noticed, the

same scenes occurred—successful insurrection, murder, and the flight of such as escaped, under all the circumstances of privation and suffering which might be supposed endurable by human beings.

At Nusserabad there were a few squadrons of Bombay lancers, who charged the Bengal artillery when in mutiny, and stood by their officers to the last, but the station was lost. At different periods of the mutiny symptoms of disaffection were shown in the Bombay army, but as a whole it remained stanch.

At Neemuch the insurgents were also successful, but most of the garrison escaped. The wife and three little children of a sergeant remained behind, and, although alone amidst soldiers, they were murdered.

The dominions of Holkar caught the infection. The maharajah himself remained the ally of the company. His troops revolted. The loss of life to Europeans was great at Mhow and Indore, as elsewhere. In July all the dominions of Holkar were filled with revolt. Mhow was held by a handful of Europeans, until the arrival of troops from Bombay quelled the insurrection in Central India.

The conduct of Scindiah, the old rival of Holkar among the Mahratta chieftains, from generation to generation, was also faithful. In Holkar's dominions the revolt did not begin until July. In Scindiah's it commenced in the middle of June. The whole of the Gwalior contingent mutinied, comprising several thousand choice native soldiers. Finding that they could not induce their chief to lead them against the English, they marched forth to join the insurgents on other fields of enterprise.

### MUTINY IN THE PUNJAUB.

During the revolt in other directions the preservation of order in the territory of the Punjaub was of the utmost importance. It was the government of Sir John Lawrence that found the means of reducing Delhi. Lord Stanley, in his place in the house of commons, when minister for Indian affairs, declared that had the mutiny been successful in the Punjaub, India would have been lost.

When the mutiny at Meerut was heard of at Lahore, the excitement among the sepoy regiments was intense, and every evidence that could be afforded of a determination to revolt was supplied. Sir John Lawrence was not at the seat of government, he was at a place called Rawul Pindee, partly for the purpose of recruiting his health. When tidings of the events at Meerut reached the other authorities, they took prompt methods to avert similar catastrophes in the Punjaub, and more especially in the neighbourhood of Lahore, Umritsir, and Umballah. The gentlemen in authority at and near Lahore were Mr. Montgomery, Mr. McLeod, Mr. Roberts, Colonel Macpherson, Colonel Lawrence (a member of Sir John's family), Major Ommaney, and Captain Hutchinson. These officials formed a council, and deliberated upon the plans best to be adopted to preserve the Punjaub from mutiny and massacre. Apprehensions were chiefly entertained concerning the station of Meean Meer. It was resolved by the council to disarm the sepoys, and introduce additional troops, Europeans, within the fort. On the 13th of May a parade was ordered, when, after some skilful manœuvres, the native corps were brought into a position by which the European infantry and artillery could, in case of a conflict, act with great advantage. The native regiments were the 16th, 26th, and 49th Bengal infantry, and the 8th Bengal cavalry. When the moment arrived for giving such a command, with the least prospect of enforcing its obedience, the order to pile arms was given to the infantry, and the order to unbuckle swords (the troopers were dismounted) given to the cavalry. The command was obeyed with the greatest reluctance, and not until the European artillery and infantry were about to open fire. Arrangements were then made as to the discipline and quarters of the disarmed sepoys, which were effectual in preserving order. The capital of the Punjaub was in this manner secured. Umritsir was the next important place in the territory administered by Sir John Lawrence. Immediately after the disarming at Lahore, a detachment of the 81st regiment was sent there. The fort of Govindgurh and certain cantonments contained the garrison by which the second city of the Punjaub was defended. The troops stationed there were the 59th native infantry of the Bengal army, a company of native artillery, a company of European artillery, and a light field battery. The native troops offered no opposition to any arrangements made concerning them, and the opposition on the part of the Sikh population to the Mohammedan population and sepoys was so strong that security was assured in Umritsir. Next to Umritsir, Ferozepore became the object of consideration. That place is situated in the Cis-Sutlej provinces of the empire of old Runjeet Singh. It was important only for its garrison, and its position near the west bank of the Sutlej. At the time of the mutiny the cantonments of Ferozepore contained the 45th and 47th Bengal native infantry, the 10th Bengal native cavalry, her majesty's 61st regiment, 150 European artillerymen, one light field battery of horse artillery, and six field guns besides. When the news of the mutiny at Meerut was received, the men of the native regiments mani-

fested uneasiness, but when tidings arrived that Delhi was in their hands, an enthusiastic sympathy for the cause of the king was manifested in every way short of open revolt in his name. Brigadier-general Innes, commanding the station, endeavoured to effect a different arrangement of the troops in quarters, but was resisted, and scenes arose similar to those recorded elsewhere. The two native infantry regiments and the chief part of the sowars escaped from the cantonments with their arms, after having fired the bungalows of their officers, the church, and other buildings: but for the heroism of a few Europeans their attempt to seize and ignite the magazine would have been successful. The 61st European regiment remained all the while in forced inaction, the position which they occupied in reference to the native regiments not affording, in the general's estimation, the prospect of a successful attack. Thus in consequence of mal-arrangements on the part of the superior officers, the native corps were allowed, almost with impunity, to plunder and burn an important station. The consequence of this mismanagement was that the stations of Jullundur, Jhelum, and Sealkote became at once disturbed. At Jullundur were stationed the 6th Bengal native cavalry, the 36th and 61st native infantry, a troop of horse artillery, and the 8th or Queen's own Irish. As soon as the first symptoms of disturbance were manifested, arrangements of an effective character were made, and the Rajah of Jullundur, who exercised the suzerainty of a small territory in the neighbourhood, remained loyal and gave the aid of his troops. The result was that the native regiments were overawed, and overt acts of riot and shouting ceased, although a brooding gloom hung upon the faces of the sepoys, and foreboded that if an opportunity for insurrection arose, it would not be lost.

In the eastern portion of the Punjaub the town of Phillour was regarded as important. It was intended by the sepoy garrison to rise on the 15th and secure its vast magazines, but succour arising from Jullundur, by a detachment of the Queen's Irish, the place was saved. It was afterwards discovered that all the sepoy garrisons in the Punjaub, especially in the Eastern Punjaub, had agreed to rise on the 15th, murder their officers, and the families of married officers, to kill all Europeans, civil and military, and to make Phillour their rendezvous and depot, calculating upon the possession of its large military stores. The premature outbreak at Meerut, on the 10th, baffled all the plans of the mutineers, put the English on the *qui vive*, and laid a train of consequences which prevented the success of the mutiny, not only in the Punjaub, but over all the provinces of Bengal. At Jhelum, on the right bank of the river bearing the same name, about six companies of the 24th native infantry were stationed. They showed some symptoms of sedition, and it was deemed necessary to disarm them. For this purpose, three companies of her majesty's 24th were sent from the hill station of Rawul Pindee, accompanied by a detachment of horse artillery. The 14th native infantry received the Europeans, on parade, with a volley of musketry, to which the latter replied, but the sepoys maintained a well-directed fire, beneath which many Europeans fell. Had the 24th been ordered to charge with the bayonet, many British lives would have been spared, for the sepoys seldom awaited the charge of the English. The 14th were, however, allowed to get under the cover of their cantonments, where they had loopholed their huts and walls, firing from which they kept the 24th at bay. It was not until three pieces of cannon opened upon their position, that they abandoned it and fled. The 24th were not in a condition to pursue, so the mutineers succeeded in effecting their escape to Delhi. At Sealkote, the sepoys professed loyalty up to the very moment of revolt. The officers trusted to their professions—as they did generally. On the 9th of July, the 46th native infantry, and a wing of the 9th native cavalry, rose, set fire to the cantonments, and made open revolt; they were joined by the 14th, driven from Jhelum. After murdering many persons, and blowing up the magazine, they marched for Delhi. A flying column was organized at Jhelum to pursue them. Brigadier Nicholson, at the head of another column, made arrangements for intercepting them. The fugitives were hemmed in between both forces, and, fording the Ravee, took up a position on an island, where nearly all perished under the fire and steel of their pursuers.

There were various risings of the disarmed regiments in the Punjaub, some so desperate that they would be utterly unaccountable except that fanaticism drives men to madness. The most remarkable of these outbreaks was one which excited excessive attention in Europe, and engaged the press of England in fierce discussions. The British parliament was also made the scene of debate in connection with it, by a motion introduced to the house by Mr. Gilpin, in March, 1859, a year and seven months after the event. The revolt and destruction of the 26th native infantry caused these prolonged discussions. Mr. Cooper, a civil officer in the service of the Honourable East India Company, was the person chiefly concerned in suppressing the

revolt and punishing the revolters. His own account of the transaction, although of some length, is given, because no abstract or abridgement of an event which caused such angry controversy in society and in the senate at home, could do justice to all the parties concerned. Mr. F. Cooper, deputy-commissioner of Umritsir, published a work entitled *The Crisis in the Punjaub*, in which he set forth his own doings, and laid the ground for the attacks which were made upon himself personally, and upon the severe policy of the English civil and military officers to whom the government of the Punjaub was committed. "The 26th native infantry, stationed under surveillance at Meean Meer, was disarmed on the 13th of May, 1857. Whether there had been any preconcerted scheme among the disarmed regiments to escape is not known, although it is generally understood that lots had been drawn, and that had the 26th succeeded, the 16th (grenadiers) had engaged to follow in their wake. Some say that the noonday gun was to be the signal of a general rise. Society was shocked, however, on the 30th of July, to hear of another foul murder of a commanding officer, Major Spenser, and the rise of the 26th regiment. Lieutenant Montagu White narrowly escaped. He was enticed into the lines by some sepoys, who affected sorrow at the murder, and was about to dismount, when a warning voice in his ear told him to beware. He galloped off; but not before some hand had aimed a felon stroke at him, and wounded his horse. The sergeant-major was also killed, and the regiment precipitately fled; a dust storm (as was the case at Jullundur when the mutiny arose) raging at the time, favouring their immediate escape, and concealing its exact direction. They were not, however, unmolested; and it is feared that the ardour of the Sikh levies, in firing when the first outbreak occurred, precipitated the murders and frightened all, good, bad, or indifferently disposed, to flight. From subsequent statements, since taken down, it is concurrently admitted that a fanatic of the name of Prakash Singh, *alias* Prakash Pandy, rushed out of his hut brandishing a sword, and bawling out to his comrades to rise and kill the Feringees, selected as his own victim the kind-hearted major. . . . . .

"Another panic arose at Anarkullee, and the thundering of cannon at Meean Meer into the then empty lines of the fugitives spread the utmost alarm. It was taken for granted that the fugitives must flee southwards, and accordingly Captain Blagrave proceeded with a strong party from Lahore to the Hurriki ghat (near to which Sobraon was fought); and from Umritsir, was detached in the same direction, a force (one hundred and fifty Punjaub infantry and some Tawana horse) under Lieutenant Boswell, a rough and ready soldier, who was superior to all hardships. They had to march in a drenching rain, the country nearly flooded. Sanguine hopes warmed their hearts amid the wretched weather. But, alas for their hopes! intelligence reached the deputy commissioner that the mutineers had made almost due north; perhaps in hopes of getting to Cashmere, perhaps to try their luck and by preconcerted plan to run the gauntlet of those districts in which Hindostanee regiments, some with arms, some without arms, still existed. Suffice it to say, that it was reported at midday, on the 31st of July, that they were trying to skirt the left bank of the Ravee, but had met with unexpected and determined opposition from the tehseeldar, with a posse of police, aided by a swarm of sturdy villagers, at a ghat twenty-six miles from the station. A rapid pursuit was at once organized. At four o'clock, when the district officer arrived with some eighty or ninety horsemen, he found a great struggle had taken place; the gore, the marks of the trampling of hundreds of feet, and the broken banks of the river, which, augmented with the late rains, was sweeping a vast volume, all testified to it. Some hundred and fifty had been shot, mobbed back into the river and drowned inevitably, too weakened and famished as they must have been after their forty miles' flight to battle with the flood. The main body had fled upwards and swam over on pieces of wood, or floated on to an island about a mile from the shore, where they might be descried crouching like a brood of wild fowl. It remained to capture this body, and having done so, to execute condign punishment at once. . . . .

"There were but two boats, both rickety, and the boatmen unskilled. The presence of a good number of Hindostanees among the sowars might lead to embarrassment and accidental escapes. The point was first how to cross this large body to the main land, if they allowed themselves to be captured at all (after the model of the fox, the geese, and the peck of oats). This was not to be done under two or three trips, without leaving two-thirds of the mutineers on the island, under too scanty a protection, and able to escape, while the first batch was being conveyed to the main bank; nor also without launching the first batch when they did arrive, into the jaws of the Hindostanee party, who in the first trip were to be left ostensibly 'to take care of the horses' on the main land. From the desperate conflict which had already taken place, a considerable struggle was anticipated before these plans could be brought into operation. The trans-

lation of the above fable to the aged Sikh sirdar, who accompanied, and to the other heads of the pursuing party, caused intense mirth, and the plan of operations after this formula elicited general approval. So the boats put off with about thirty sowars (dismounted of course) in high spirits; most of the Hindostanee sowars being left on the bank. The boats straggled a little, but managed to reach the island in about twenty minutes. It was a long inhospitable patch, with tall grass; a most undesirable place to bivouac on for the night, with a rising tide; especially if wet, dispirited, hungry, without food, fire, or dry clothing. The sun was setting in golden splendour, and as the doomed men with joined palms crowded down to the shore on the approach of the boats, one side of which bristled with about sixty muskets, besides sundry revolvers and pistols, their long shadows were flung far athwart the gleaming waters. In utter despair forty or fifty dashed into the stream and disappeared, rose at a distance, and were borne away into the increasing gloom. Some thirty or forty sowars with matchlocks (subsequently discovered to be of very precarious value) jumped into the shallow water, and invested the lower side of the island, and being seen on the point of taking pot-shots at the heads of the swimmers, orders were given 'not to fire.' This accidental instruction produced an instantaneous effect on the mutineers. They evidently were possessed of a sudden and insane idea that they were going to be tried by court-martial, after some luxurious refreshment. In consequence of which sixty-six stalwart sepoys submitted to be bound by a single man deputed for the purpose from the boats, and stacked like slaves in a hold into one of the two boats emptied for the purpose. Leaving some forty armed sowars on the island, and feeling certain that after the peaceful submission of the first batch (or peck of oats) the rest would follow suit and suit, orders were given to push off. On reaching the shore, one by one, as they stepped out of the boats, all were tightly bound; their decorations and necklaces ignominiously cut off; and, under a guard of a posse of villagers, who had begun to assemble, and some Sikh horse, they were ordered to proceed slowly on their journey back, six miles to the police-station at Ujnalla. Meanwhile the Hindostanees (the geese) had been dispatched to the island back in the boats with an overawing number of Tawana sowars; and it was gratifying to see the next detachment put off safely, though at one time the escorting boat got at a great distance from the escorted, and fears were entertained that escape had been premeditated. However, by dint of hallooing, with threats of a volley of musketry, the next invoice came safely to land, and were subjected to the same process of spoliation, disrobement, and pinioning. At any moment, had they made an attempt to escape, a bloody struggle must have ensued. But Providence ordered otherwise, and nothing on the side of the pursuing party seemed to go wrong. Some begged that their women and children might be spared, and were informed that the British government did not condescend to war with women and children. The last batch having arrived, the long, straggling party were safely, but slowly, escorted back to the police-station, almost all the road being knee-deep in water. Even this accident, by making the ground so heavy —not to mention the gracious moon, which came out through the clouds and reflected herself in myriad pools and streams, as if to light the prisoners to their fate—aided in preventing a single escape. It was near midnight before all were safely lodged in the police-station. A drizzling rain coming on prevented the commencement of the execution; so a rest until daybreak was announced. Before dawn another batch of sixty-six was brought in, and as the police-station was then nearly full, they were ushered into a large round tower or bastion. Previously to his departure with the pursuing party from Umritsir, the deputy commissioner had ordered out a large supply of rope, in case the numbers captured were few enough for hanging, (trees being scarce), and also a reserve of fifty Sikh levies for a firing party, in case of the numbers demanding wholesale execution, as also to be of use as a reserve in case of a fight on the island. So eager were the Sikhs that they marched straight on end, and he met them half way, twenty-three miles between the river and the police-station, on his journey back in charge of the prisoners, the total number of which when the execution commenced amounted to two hundred and eighty-two of all ranks, besides numbers of camp followers, who were left to be taken care of by the villagers. As fortune would have it, again favouring audacity, a deep dry well was discovered within one hundred yards of the police-station, and its presence furnished a convenient solution as to the one remaining difficulty, which was of a sanitary consideration—the disposal of the corpses of the dishonoured soldiers. The climax of fortunate coincidences seemed to have arrived when it was remembered that the 1st of August was the anniversary of the great Mohammedan sacrificial festival of the Buckra Eed. A capital excuse was thus afforded to permit the Hindostanee Mussulman horsemen

to return to celebrate it at Umritsir, while the single Christian, unembarrassed by their presence, and aided by the faithful Sikhs, might perform a ceremonial sacrifice of a different nature (and the nature of which they had not been made aware of) on the same morrow. When that morrow dawned sentries were placed round the town to prevent the egress of sight seers. The officials were called; and they were made aware of the character of the spectacle they were about to witness.

"Ten by ten the sepoys were called forth. Their names having been taken down in succession, they were pinioned, linked together, and marched to execution; a firing party being in readiness. Every phase of deportment was manifested by the doomed men, after the sullen firing of volleys of distant musketry forced the conviction of inevitable death; astonishment, rage, frantic despair, the most stoic calmness. One detachment, as they passed, yelled to the solitary Anglo-Saxon magistrate, as he sat under the shade of the police-station performing his solemn duty, with his native officials around him, that he, the Christian, would meet the same fate; then, as they passed the reserve of young Sikh soldiery who were to relieve the executioners after a certain period, they danced, though pinioned, insulted the Sikh religion, and called on Gungajee to aid them; but they only in one instance provoked a reply, which was instantaneously checked. Others again petitioned to be allowed to make one last 'salaam' to the sahib. About 150 having been thus executed, one of the executioners swooned away (he was the oldest of the firing-party), and a little respite was allowed. Then proceeding, the number had arrived at 237, when the district officer was informed that the remainder refused to come out of the bastion, where they had been imprisoned temporarily a few hours before. Expecting a rush and resistance, preparations were made against escape; but little expectation was entertained of the real and awful fate which had fallen on the remainder of the mutineers; they had anticipated, by a few short hours, their doom. The doors were opened, and, behold! they were nearly all dead! Unconsciously, the tragedy of Holwell's Black-hole had been re-enacted. No cries had been heard during the night, in consequence of the hubbub, tumult, and shooting of the crowds of horsemen, police, tehseel guards, and excited villagers. Forty-five bodies, dead from fright, exhaustion, fatigue, heat, and partial suffocation, were dragged into light, and consigned, in common with all other bodies, into one common pit, by the hands of the village sweepers. One sepoy only was too much wounded in the conflict to suffer the agony of being taken to the scene of execution. He was accordingly reprieved for queen's evidence, and forwarded to Lahore, with some forty-one subsequent captures from Umritsir. There, in full parade before the other mutinously-disposed regiments at Meean Meer, they all suffered death by being blown away from the cannon's mouth. The execution at Ujnalla commenced at daybreak, and the stern spectacle was over in a few hours. Thus, within forty-eight hours from the date of the crime, there fell by the law nearly five hundred men."

The reader of these terrible details will not be surprised that indignation was felt by many in England, and regret and grief by all who perused them. Letters were read in the house of commons by Mr. Gilpin, written by Mr. Montgomery and Sir John Lawrence, approving of the conduct of Mr. Cooper, in terms which were not qualified by any reference to the sanguinary vengeance put forth. General Thompson, in a fierce and withering denunciation of all the commissioners, branded the act of Mr. Cooper as one of the most cruel and vindictive recorded in history. The judgment of these events, and of the chief actors in them, pronounced by Lord Stanley, in the debate brought on by Mr. Gilpin in the house of commons, influenced public opinion in England, and brought the controversy to a termination. His lordship thus pronounced his own verdict, as the minister of the crown, officially connected with India:—"It is impossible to deny that these transactions to which reference has been made, are such as cannot be heard or read, even at this distance of time, without great pain or regret. And I will go further, and say that that pain is greatly increased by the tone and the spirit in which these transactions have been described, both in the despatch written at the time, and in the book subsequently published by the gentleman who gave instructions to the Sikhs engaged in these transactions. There is a tone of flippancy, and an appearance of exultation at that great sacrifice of human life—a sacrifice of life made not in the heat of action, nor after a judicial process—which is utterly at variance with good taste and good feeling. Making all allowances—and we were bound to make the very largest allowances for the circumstances of time and place—it was impossible not to condemn the language in which Mr. Cooper has written of these transactions. What the house has to consider is, not the tone in which Mr. Cooper has written, but of the circumstances which took place at Meean Meer. Now, what were the circumstances? The regiment in question, the 26th native infantry, being strongly suspected of an inten-

tion to join in the mutiny, was placed under restraint. It remained under restraint for a period of about six weeks. I think it was on the 28th of July that the attempt to revolt was made. It has been said, in vindication of that attempt, that it was merely an effort on the part of these troops to escape, and that that effort was made because they were to be sent in small parties among a population that was hostile to them, which was tantamount to committing them to inevitable destruction. Now, I apprehend that this is simply a mistake in fact. It is quite true that at a later period regiments were disarmed and discharged in small parties, but no general disarmament of troops had taken place when this outbreak arose. Escape, then, is not the word to apply to such a transaction; and even if it had been a movement of escape on the part of the troops, though a single fugitive may possibly escape in this way, when a large body of men attempt to escape they must be prepared to resist force by force, and the attempt, therefore, on the part of a regiment under these circumstances to escape from the place where they were kept under surveillance would, in fact, on their part, lead to the inference that they were prepared to meet any force that might resist them. It is said that at the time of this outbreak these troops were not in arms. That is undoubtedly the case; but every one who knows India knows that arms are not difficult to be obtained there. They probably would not have succeeded in making their way any very great distance, but it is impossible to describe them as any other than insurgents. When did they make the attempt? the time that Delhi was taken. Every man of them, if they had escaped, would have gone to swell the ranks of the insurgents. At the time of the attempt there was already arrayed against the imperial forces an enormously disproportionate force of sepoys. I say, then, that whatever may have been their motive at the moment of this outbreak, it is impossible to treat it as anything but mutiny and insurrection. Then, it is said that the Sikhs fired upon these troops before the murders were committed. Now, we have not, and probably we never shall have, full and circumstantial evidence of what occurred at the time. But we know this,—we know that an outbreak was expected for some days before. We know that an outbreak actually took place upon that day,—the 30th of July,—and it is only reasonable to suppose that as English officers were present, or, at least, at no great distance, any attack made upon them by the Sikhs was owing to a previous outbreak on their part. But was this outbreak a mere panic, and was it merely by way of self-defence? If that was the case, how came those two European officers to be murdered as they were? It may be said that those murders were the work of an individual only. We do not find that any attempt was made upon that individual by these sepoys, or that they endeavoured to disconnect themselves in any way from the crime which he had committed. But, admitting that the first murder was the work of an individual only, what was the case as regards the murder of the second officer? A plan was laid to entice him within the lines, and when they had brought him there an attempt was made on his life, with which he narrowly escaped. The object in this case could not be to get rid of an inconvenient witness, for the facts must have been public and notorious; nor was it any immediate danger to which the regiment was exposed. It appears to have been, as far as we can judge, a premeditated murder, and this must be borne in mind in coming to any decision on the facts. It is unfortunately true that out of seven hundred men nearly five hundred suffered death, some by execution. These facts were known, and are referred to in a despatch addressed by Lord Canning to Sir John Lawrence, in which the governor-general states that 'great credit is due to Mr. Cooper for his exertions.' We have evidence that every authority in India regarded this punishment as necessary. Two officers had been murdered by these men without any purpose; the result of the escape of the regiment would have been, that it would have joined the insurgent forces; and a severe example appears to have been necessary, to prevent similar risings elsewhere. Reference has been made to a note addressed to Mr. Cooper by Mr. Montgomery. This note is couched in hasty language; it could not have been deliberately employed. In that note it appears there was a large force in the neighbourhood; they were troops of the same garrison; they were similarly disarmed, but under the same temptation to rise, and not unlikely to yield to it. Probably Sir John Lawrence and those in command thought, if a severe punishment were inflicted on the first body, as an example, it might prevent a similar mutiny by other regiments, and, in the end, be the saving of many lives. I have now stated what I apprehend may fairly be stated in vindication or palliation of the course pursued, but in stating my sincere conviction on the subject, I cannot but wish that an indiscriminate execution of these men had not taken place, that some selection had been made, that there had been some previous investigation. But it is one thing to wish that an act of this kind had not been done, and another thing to pass a formal censure upon it. Only

by great exertions—by the employment of force, by making striking examples, and inspiring terror—could Sir J. Lawrence save the Punjaub; and if the Punjaub had gone the whole of India would have been lost with it. Sir John Lawrence has declared this act was necessary; and the governor-general has confirmed the opinion. Taking all this into consideration, and remembering that we, at this distance of time and place, are hardly fair judges of the feelings of men engaged in such a conflict, I hope the house will pass over the transaction with that silence which is sometimes the most judicious comment."

By great determination and decision Sir John Lawrence and his coadjutors, whose co-operation was most efficient, saved the Punjaub, especially by the plans adopted of raising troops and disposing of them. This was more particularly exemplified in the western provinces of Sir John Lawrence's government. Peshawur, bordering on Affghanistan, was at first supposed to be in the greatest danger; but events proved otherwise, by bringing out the administrative talents of the officials, civil and military, in that region. There were fourteen thousand men in the British pay in military occupation of the western frontier province. Three thousand were Europeans, infantry and artillery. Eleven thousand were Bengal troops, of which three thousand were cavalry and artillery. There was also a small force of Sikhs, and of those mountaineers who are half Affghans and half Punjaubees. The hill tribes which inhabited the neighbourhood of the great passes were partly in the pay of Colonel Edwardes, and were ready at that officer's call to serve the government in the field. On the 13th of May, Major-general Reid, commanding at Peshawur, received a telegraphic communication concerning the mutiny at Meerut. He instantly called a council of war, in which he was assisted by Brigadiers Chamberlain and Cotton, and Colonels Edwardes and Nicholson. It was resolved that Major-general Reid should assume the command of all the troops in the Punjaub, that Brigadier Cotton should be placed in command of the forces in the province of Peshawur, and that a flying column should be formed at Jhelum, from which point expeditions were to be undertaken against any part of the territory of the Punjaub menaced by mutiny or insurrection. The troops composing this column it was agreed should be composed of as few sepoys as possible. Europeans, Sikhs, Affghans, borderers, &c., were, as far as procurable, to constitute the force. The following troops were its constituents:—Her majesty's 27th foot, from Nowsherah; her majesty's 24th foot, from Rawul Pindee; one troop European horse artillery, from Peshawur; one light field-battery, from Jhelum; the guide corps, from Murdan; the 16th irregular cavalry, from Rawul Pindee; the 1st Punjaub infantry, from Bunnoo; the Kumaon battalion, from Rawul Pindee; a wing of the 2nd Punjaub cavalry, from Kohat; a half company of sappers, from Attock.

At Peshawur, every military precaution was taken to secure treasury, ammunition, and stores from the hand of the incendiary and from sudden capture. Colonel Edwardes found enthusiastic support among the hill men, who flocked to his banners in great numbers, and supported the authorities, not only with zeal, but enthusiasm.

On the 21st of May, startling news reached Peshawur; the 55th native infantry had mutinied. The 27th (Enniskilliners) had been removed from Nowsherah, to form a portion of the movable column; this encouraged the 55th, stationed at Murdan, to hope that it might revolt with impunity. They placed their officers under arrest. The colonel, Spottiswoode, committed suicide from grief and mortification that his corps, of which he thought so highly, had become rebellious. Immediately on receiving this news, the authorities at Peshawur resolved to disarm the Bengal regiments on the morning of the 22nd. This was effected with great skill, military and political. Three native infantry regiments, the 24th, 27th, and 51st, and one cavalry regiment, the 5th, were compelled to lay down their arms. A subahdar major of the 51st was hanged for treason and mutiny. The disarmed sepoys were placed under guard of European and Sikh troops. This accomplished, relief was sent to Murdan; the 55th was attacked there, two hundred of them killed or taken, and the rest dispersed in flight. The fugitives sought the hills, where they expected help; but the tribes there, under the influence of Colonel Edwardes, seized such of them as escaped the sword and shot of the pursuing English. The captives were brought back to Murdan, and in parties of five and ten were blown away from guns. Four other regiments of Bengal soldiers were disarmed in the fort garrisons, originally placed at the foot of the hills, to keep in check the hill marauders, who had grown so loyal under the clever management of Edwardes. Some of the disarmed regiments were disbanded, and sent away in small parties. Several natives of influence, Brahmin or Mohammedan fanatics, were arrested, and upon proof of their treason from their own letters, hung.

Sir John Lawrence urged upon Viscount

Canning the adoption, east of the Sutlej, of the means of pacification which had been so successful in his own hands; but the governor-general did not approve of recommendations which were as triumphantly successful as they were obviously sensible. Sir John's plan of meeting the difficulty of a free press at such a season was as different from that of Lord Canning as were all his other measures. Sir John arranged to supply the papers with authentic political intelligence, so as to prevent useless alarms and dangerous speculations. The press co-operated with his government, and the advantage was signal. Had Lord Canning adopted measures as rational and liberal, he would not have incurred the hostility of the whole of the English press in India, and of a large portion of it in England.

While Sir John and his gallant and able coadjutors met all difficulties which arose in the Punjaub, they were harassed with care in relation to the regions beyond the frontiers of their own government. Oude and the Agra regions kept them in continual alarm. Delhi being, at first, the grand centre of rebellion, it became necessary to unite all the available forces in the north-west against it. From causes, over which Sir John Lawrence had no control, the reign of insurrection and disorder was permitted to prevail in the once gorgeous capital of Hindoostan for a period which made vengeance slow, and reflected dishonour upon the military management of a people whose courage, perseverance, and enterprise had made them masters of India. While supineness, fickleness, time-serving, and incompetency characterized the proceedings of the English authorities, civil and military, the Delhi raj was active and energetic. The roads were kept open by armed patrols to favour the approach of fresh mutineers, and of armed natives from every quarter, while the communications of the English were cut off. Had Havelock had the men in the cantonments at Meerut, or at Umballah, he would have marched upon Delhi, and swept the city of those hordes of ill-governed men who were without a single leader of military talent. While the English did nothing, and appeared not to know what to attempt, the new government of Delhi adopted bold and efficient means for spreading revolt in the British army, and disaffection in all the populations of Upper Bengal. The following proclamation, which was issued extensively, and by numerous copies, shows the spirit of the ministers of the Delhi ruler, and the earnestness with which his aims and those of his adherents were prosecuted. A Mohammedan native paper in Calcutta daringly published it; wandering dervishes, Brahmins, and fakeers, spread copies of the document from Peshawur to Fort William with extraordinary rapidity, and, finally, circulated it all over India. Merchants, bankers, and men, whose calling and position might well be supposed to attach them to the company's rule, were suspected of multiplying copies of the proclamation, and of wishing at heart for the success of the revolution. This document had great effect among the Punjaubees of the Brahminical and Mohammedan religions, but had not any influence over those of the Sikh faith:—

Be it known to all the Hindoos and Mohammedans, the subjects and servants on the part of the officers of the English forces stationed at Delhi and Meerut, that all the Europeans are united in this point—first, to deprive the army of their religion; and then, by the force of strong measures, to Christianize all the subjects. In fact, it is the absolute orders of the governor-general to serve out cartridges made up with swine and beef fat. If there be 10,000 who resist this, to blow them up; if 50,000, to disband them.

For this reason we have, merely for the sake of the faith, concerted with all the subjects, and have not left one infidel of this place alive; and have constituted the Emperor of Delhi upon this engagement, that whichever of the troops will slaughter all their European officers, and pledge allegiance to him, shall always receive double salary. Hundreds of cannon and immense treasure have come to hand; it is therefore requisite that all who find it difficult to become Christians, and all subjects, will unite cordially with the army, take courage, and not leave the seed of these devils in any place.

All the expenditure that may be incurred by the subjects in furnishing supplies to the army, they will take receipts for the same from the officers of the army, and retain them by themselves—they will receive double price from the emperor. Whoever will at this time give way to pusillanimity, and allow himself to be overreached by these deceivers, and depend upon their word, will experience the fruits of their submission, like the inhabitants of Lucknow. It is therefore necessary that all Hindoos and the Mohammedans should be of one mind in this struggle, and make arrangements for their preservation with the advice of some creditable persons. Wherever the arrangements shall be good, and with whomsoever the subjects shall be pleased, those individuals shall be placed in high offices in those places.

And to circulate copies of this proclamation in every place, as far as it may be possible, be not understood to be less than a stroke of the sword. That this proclamation be stuck up at a conspicuous place, in order that all Hindoos and Mohammedans may become apprised and be prepared.

If the infidels now become mild it is merely an expedient to save their lives. Whoever will be deluded with their frauds he will repent. Our reign continues. Thirty rupees to a mounted, and ten rupees to a foot soldier, will be the salary of the new servants of Delhi.

The intense bigotry of this production shows the grand motive-power of the rebellion. The allusion to the conduct of the British at Lucknow by the annexation of Oude, proved how thoroughly that event sank into the hearts, lived in the memories, and exasperated the fanaticism of the sepoys. This

missive produced much agitation in the Punjaub, and on the hill frontiers, but Edwardes kept his hill men loyal; and the Affghans had too recently tasted the danger of war with the English to try it so soon again. Sir John Lawrence, subduing every element of discontent in the Punjaub, devoted his energies to enable the army before Delhi to subdue that city. The army from Umballah, sent to besiege Delhi, had been augmented on its way by troops from the hill stations, British and Goorkhas, and by troops sent forward from the Punjaub. Among these reinforcements was the corps of guides. This was a local Punjaubee force, raised after the campaigns on the Sutlej, to act either as guides, or as regular troops, as occasion might require. They were recruited from all the tribes of Northern India and its frontiers, but more especially from all the tribes inhabiting the Punjaub, and from contiguous countries, British and independent. They were picked men in stature and appearance, and regard to their intellectual acquirements was also had in their selection. These were marched from the frontiers of Affghanistan to join the army of General Barnard. When Sir John Lawrence, and the other Punjaub commissioners, heard that the insurgents of Meerut marched upon Delhi, they rightly concluded that such a corps as the guides would be of great use, and Sir John so arranged as to send them with the utmost celerity. They marched to Umballah, sixty-eight miles in thirty-eight hours. After resting there until the staff of the army made arrangements for their further progress, they joined the army in the field, after another astonishing display of their marching capabilities by day and night, and under the burning sun of a climate and a season so trying to soldiers. And from that time forth until Delhi fell, Sir John never ceased to conduce to that catastrophe by all the supplies and reinforcements which care, foresight, enterprise, and activity could accomplish.

The Punjaub remained in peace during the further progress of the insurrection in other regions. Scinde, the neighbouring province to the Punjaub, also enjoyed undisturbed repose. The chief commissioner, Mr. Frere, displayed great ability, and General Jacobs preserved the loyalty of the army, more especially of the troopers of the Scinde horse, some sixteen hundred men, who were chiefly Mohammedans. One Bengal regiment in the province entered into a conspiracy to murder the few European officers of the Scinde horse. Captain Merewether, with the alacrity and courage for which he won reputation, seized the ringleaders, executed them, and quelled at once all disposition to disturb the loyalty of the Scinde horse.

Such was the progress of the great Indian mutiny; it remains yet to show how it was extinguished. In the Punjaub and Scinde it will be seen that it was crushed as soon as it showed itself. In Allahabad, and a few other places, it met with a similar fate, as already related; but at Delhi, Cawnpore, and throughout Oude, it was triumphant, and stern conflicts and protracted campaigns were necessary to trample it out. In other chapters the siege and capture of Delhi, the re-conquest of Cawnpore, the defence of Lucknow, and the campaigns in Oude and Central India, will be related. Before approaching those subjects, it is desirable to present the reader with the most recent returns made by the India-house, and the board of control, as to the number and quality of the troops, distinguishing European from native, in India at the time the revolt broke out.

*Bengal Army, May* 10, 1857.

| Military Divisions. | Europeans. | Natives. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Presidency | 1,214 | 13,976 | 15,190 |
| Dinapore | 1,597 | 15,063 | 16,660 |
| Cawnpore | 277 | 5,725 | 6,002 |
| Oude | 993 | 11,319 | 12,312 |
| Saugor | 327 | 10,627 | 10,954 |
| Meerut | 3,096 | 18,357 | 21,453 |
| Sirhind | 4,790 | 11,049 | 15,839 |
| Lahore | 4,018 | 15,939 | 19,957 |
| Peshawur | 4,613 | 15,916 | 20,529 |
| Pegu | 1,763 | 692 | 2,455 |
| | 22,698 | 118,663 | 141,361 |

The above shows the number of men in the military divisions or districts named.

Several of the garrison towns gave name to a military division of territory, but itself contained only a moderate garrison. For instance, the military division or district of Dinapore is represented in the above list as containing 16,660 men, whereas the garrison town or cantonment of that name had only 4000 men. The stations which contained the largest numbers of Bengal troops were the following :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Peshawur | 9,500 | Sealkote | 3,500 |
| Lahore | 5,300 | Benares | 3,200 |
| Meerut | 5,000 | Rawul Pindee | 3,200 |
| Lucknow | 5,000 | Bareilly | 3,000 |
| Jullundur | 4,000 | Mooltan | 3,000 |
| Dinapore | 4,000 | Saugor | 2,800 |
| Umballah | 3,800 | Agra | 2,700 |
| Cawnpore | 3,700 | Nowsherah | 2,600 |
| Delhi | 3,600 | Jhelum | 2,400 |
| Barrackpore | 3,500 | Allahabad | 2,300 |

The number of soldiers in the Punjaub was 40,000. As to the whole of the Bengal provinces, the troops were stationed at 160 cantonments, garrisons, or other places. The Europeans comprised 2271 commissioned

officers, 1602 non-commissioned officers, and 18,815 rank and file; the natives comprised 2325 commissioned officers, 5821 non-commissioned officers, and 110,517 rank and file.

*Madras Army, May* 10, 1857.

| Military Divisions. | Europeans. | Natives. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Centre | 1,580 | 6,430 | 8,010 |
| Mysore | 1,088 | 4,504 | 5,592 |
| Malabar | 604 | 2,513 | 3,117 |
| Northern | 215 | 6,169 | 6,384 |
| Southern | 726 | 5,718 | 6,444 |
| Ceded Districts | 135 | 2,519 | 2,674 |
| South Mahratta | 16 | 375 | 391 |
| Nagpoor | 369 | 3,505 | 3,874 |
| Nizam's | 1,322 | 5,027 | 6,349 |
| Penang and Malacca | 49 | 2,113 | 2,162 |
| Pegu | 2,880 | 10,154 | 13,034 |
| | 10,194 | 49,737 | 59,931 |

These troops were dispersed in about forty stations. Pegu was a non-regulation province of Bengal, but it was, as the list shows, garrisoned by Madras troops. This arose from the convenience of sending them from Madras across the Bay of Bengal. Those sepoys remained loyal. There were 2000 Madras troops on service in Persia and China not enumerated in the above list.

*Bombay Army, May* 10, 1857.

| Military Divisions. | Europeans. | Natives. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bombay Garrison | 695 | 3,394 | 4,089 |
| Southern | 283 | 5,108 | 5,391 |
| Poonah | 1,838 | 6,817 | 8,655 |
| Northern | 1,154 | 6,452 | 7,606 |
| Asseerghur Fortress | 2 | 446 | 448 |
| Scinde | 1,087 | 6,072 | 7,159 |
| Rajpootana | 50 | 3,312 | 3,362 |
| | 5,109 | 31,601 | 36,710 |

About 5000 of the above numbers were Bengal or Madras sepoys. About 14,000 men belonging to the Bombay army were absent, garrisoning Aden or Bushire, in the Persian Gulf. In all India, on the 10th of May, when the sepoys rose in arms at Meerut, there were soldiers, 238,002 in the service of the company, of whom 38,001 were Europeans, and 200,001 natives; 19 Europeans to 100 natives. Such were the military elements amidst which the great struggle began.

## CHAPTER CXXXI.

ADVANCE OF A BRITISH ARMY AGAINST DELHI—SIEGE OF THE CITY—EMBARRASSMENTS OF THE BRITISH FROM DEFECTIVE MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WANT OF INTELLIGENCE—THE SIEGE—BOMBARDMENT—STORM—CAPTURE OF THE KING OF DELHI, HIS BEGUM, AND HER SON, BY CAPTAIN HODSON—CAPTURE OF TWO OF THE KING'S SONS, AND GRANDSON—ATTEMPT TO RESCUE THEM—THEY ARE SHOT BY CAPTAIN HODSON—DEATH OF BRITISH OFFICERS OF TALENT AND DISTINCTION.

ON the death of General Anson, the command in chief of the army devolved upon General Sir H. Barnard, K.C.B., who had served as chief of the staff with the army in the Crimea. He arrived before Delhi on the 8th of June. One of the native regiments deserted in a body, entered the city, aided in its defence, and headed a fierce assault upon the British almost immediately upon their arrival. When Sir H. Barnard arrived before Delhi, he found that his army was unable to effect anything for want of guns. When the guns arrived there were no gunners, and no other men who knew how to fire the cannon; a fresh delay took place in order to obtain a supply of artillerymen. Sir Henry was not permitted to take up a position before Delhi unopposed. When the army was within four miles of the city, it came upon a village called Bardulla Serai. The guides, and some other detachments, remained at different distances in the rear, the force which formed the encampment consisted of—Head-quarters and six companies of her majesty's 60th rifles; ditto, and nine companies of her majesty's 75th foot; 1st Bengal European fusiliers; 2nd ditto, head-quarters and six companies; Sirmoor battalion (Goorkhas), a wing; head-quarters detachment sappers and miners; her majesty's 9th lancers; ditto 6th dragoon guards (carabiniers), two squadrons; horse artillery, one troop of 1st brigade; ditto, two troops of 3rd brigade; foot artillery, two companies; and No. 14 horse battery; artillery recruits, detachment. The British arrived near the place already named before dawn, and descried thence the lines of watch-fires where the sepoy outposts bivouaced. While the advance guard was feeling its way in the darkness, guns and mortars opened upon them; the sepoys had information of the advance, and did not wait to be attacked within the city or the lines, which they had resolved to defend. As dawn began to break the English reconnoitred,

and found the enemy intrenched, the intrenchments armed with heavy guns well manned. It became necessary to attack in force. The assailants were divided into three columns, under Brigadiers Showers, Graves, and Grant. The first was ordered to advance on the main trunk road; the second to take the left of the same road; the third to cross the canal, and stealthily gain the rear of the enemy's position, and upon a given signal to attack. The guns were placed on each side of the main trunk road, but in very exposed situations. The English advanced, and were met by a fire the most steady and well-directed; round-shot and shell, succeeded by grape and canister, caused considerable loss, and it soon became evident that the fire of the English guns was not sufficient to silence that of the intrenchments. The 75th and 1st regiments (Europeans) were ordered to charge the guns, and in doing so, passed at double quick over open ground swept by the cannonade. The guns were reached; such of the gunners as fled not were bayoneted or sabred. The combinations of the British general were carried out by his brigadiers effectively, and the enemy, out-generaled, fled utterly discomfited, leaving all the guns behind them. Colonels Chester and Welchman behaved very gallantly, the former, acting adjutant-general, was killed by a cannon-ball.

The sun was now pouring his rays upon the field so lately contested, and the heat began to be excessive, but Sir Henry believed that the only safe course was to follow up the first blow, and prevent the sepoys from rallying or returning to the ground they had occupied. He advanced his whole force at six o'clock in the morning, ordering Brigadier Showers and Archdale Wilson to proceed by the main road with two columns of the army, while he, with a brigade under General Graves, turned off through the old cantonments, the scene of revolt and massacre the previous month. Both divisions of the army had to fight their way step by step, so determined was the resistance of the mutineers. As the British approached they perceived that a rocky ridge in front of the nothern face of the city was occupied by the rebels in great force, especially of artillery. The commander-in-chief resolved by a flank movement to turn the right of this ridge, and relied for success upon the capacity of his troops to accomplish this movement with rapidity, and a strict preservation of the order of advance. Sir Henry led on the 60th rifles, commanded by Captain Jones, the 2nd Europeans, under Captain Boyd, and a troop of horse artillery, under Captain Money. He accomplished the manœuvre in the most skilful and gallant style, ascending the ridge, turning the enemy's flank, and sweeping the mutineers from the whole line of their position, which was strewn with guns, arms, and accoutrements, as the coasts of Southern India covered with wrecks and surf under the blasts of the monsoon. The enemy lost twenty-six guns, a fine camp equipage, which the military stores of Delhi had supplied, and a large stock of ammunition. Brigadiers Wilson and Showers, advancing along the main road, ascended the ridge when the conquest had been effected. Besides Colonel Chester, already named, the slain in both actions were :— Captains Delamain and Russell, and Lieutenant Harrison. The wounded comprised Colonel Herbert; Captains Dawson and Greville; Lieutenants Light, Hunter, Davidson, Hare, Fitzgerald, Barter, Rivers, and Ellis; and Ensign Pym. In all, officers and privates, there were fifty-one killed and one hundred and thirty-three wounded. Nearly fifty horses were either killed or wounded. Among the captured articles was found a cart, supposed by the captors to contain ammunition, but which when examined was found to be filled with the mangled limbs and trunks of Christians slaughtered during the insurrection within the city and cantonments.

During the conflict several Europeans were seen heading the mutineers. Various speculations were set afloat by this circumstance. A few believed them to be French, more generally they were thought to be Russians; some officers averred that both French and Russians were there, judging from their appearance and bearing—this was the general impression, although the idea that they were British deserters was also entertained. Vengeance was vowed against these men, all resolving to give them no quarter.

The British soon found that Delhi was not to be taken by a *coup*. That might have been done had General Hewett the skill and spirit to have followed the mutineers from Meerut; the massacre had then never taken place, some of the troops would not have revolted, and Delhi would not have become the stronghold of insurrection. On the 8th of June the place was made too strong to be conquered by storm. If the reader will consult Captain Lawrence's military plan of Delhi and its cantonments (the unpublished plans of the Honourable East India Company), the positions of the defences can be better understood than by letter-press description.

The position taken by Sir Henry Barnard's army was that of the former cantonments, not quite two miles from the northern wall of the city. A rocky ridge interposed between it and the city, and this was occupied by English outposts. On the extreme left of the line

of posts established on this range was the Flagstaff Tower; on the extreme right was a house with a square courtyard, and a baugh or garden. This was called Hindoo Rao's house; in the centre was an old mosque. The ridge of elevated ground did not maintain a parallel between the city and the cantonments, the right from the British lines being much nearer to the enemy. From the right extreme of the ridge the ground descended sharply, so that the post of Hindoo Rao's house and garden was regarded as very important, and three batteries were placed there, supported in successive positions by the rifles, guides, and Goorkhas. The house was very strong, the batteries were carefully placed, and the positions of the supporting infantry were well screened. As time wore on, the British were in a situation similar to that which they had occupied before Sebastopol—they were the besieged rather than the besiegers. The city was not invested, reinforcements of rebels constantly arrived, whilst those of the British came up slowly and in small detachments. Sorties were made on a grand scale; the English were obliged to stand on the defensive, and much time was consumed without anything being effected. The result of such a state of things all over India was disastrous. The universal belief of the natives was that the English could not take Delhi, and from all quarters accessions of force reached the Mogul capital, while insurrection was everywhere fomented in the name of the emperor.

Scarcely had the English taken up their new position when they were attacked. On the 9th a strong force advanced against the ridge, and was repulsed promptly and with little loss. Captain Quintin Battye of the guides, an officer of great promise, was mortally wounded. The guides distinguished themselves in driving the mutineers from a position on the ridge, which they attained by the celerity of their movements, and where alone they fought with any obstinacy. The 10th was spent in skirmishing.

On the 12th two columns moved out, one against each flank of the ridge. They were signally defeated, Major Jacobs especially distinguishing himself. Several hundreds of the enemy were put *hors de combat*. The mutineers were strengthened by two regiments, one of cavalry and one of infantry, from Rohilcund, who marched into the city with colours flying and bands playing, the European drummers and fifers having been compelled to play them in. This scene tended to discourage the native troops in the English lines. On the 13th, a place called Metcalfe House, near the British left, was occupied by the rebels, who immediately began to fortify it. They were enabled to do so unmolested. On the 17th a fire was opened by the mutineer artillery against the English right, striking the house of Hindoo Rao, and killing and wounding some officers and men on duty. The enemy were also observed erecting a battery at a large building known as the Eedghal. The rifles and Goorkhas, supported by cavalry and horse artillery, drove out the enemy, but not until after a sharp combat. The 19th of June was a day of intense anxiety. The rear of the British lines was guarded by Brigadier Grant. Information fortunately reached him that two regiments of mutineers, lately arrived from Nusseerabad, had volunteered, supported by cavalry and artillery, to fall upon the rear of the English. Grant reconnoitred, and found the enemy still stronger than his information led him to believe, within half a mile of his position. He attacked them; they fought in the confidence of numbers, and seldom behaved so well when under British command. The contest ended in favour of the English, but not until many gallant men fell killed and wounded. Among the slain was Colonel Yule, of the 9th lancers; he had fallen wounded, and was found next morning with his throat cut, and stabs and gashes all over his person. Lieutenant Alexander was also killed. Captain Daly and six subalterns were wounded; nineteen privates were killed, and seventy-seven wounded. Several, both Europeans and natives, among the common soldiers behaved with signal valour. Sir Henry Barnard displayed remarkable care, caution, and vigilance. He brought in safety his convoys, reconnoitred every movement of the foe, and guarded his lines at every point.

The 23rd of June was a day of importance. It was the anniversary of the battle of Plassey, and the mutineers desired to mark the day, by some desperate effort, as one of humiliation to the English. It was also a Mohammedan and a Hindoo holiday; thus various motives combined to incite the enemy to a grand attack. The columns of the enemy maintained renewed assaults throughout the whole day, and the position of the English was at times critical. A plan had been laid to come upon the English rear, but the previous night the bridges over the canal had been broken down by the English sappers, which frustrated the attempt, and kept a considerable number of the enemy fruitlessly occupied. The heat was so great that many officers and men fell down exhausted, and some were the victims of *coup de soleil*. At one o'clock in the afternoon the mutineers made a fierce attack upon a position occupied by the guides, who were left without ammunition—a common occurrence in British armies. The delay which occurred in pro-

curing a supply for the gallant guides, would probably have proved fatal, but a Sikh regiment opportunely arriving from the Punjaub, advanced to the position, and routed a far superior force of the enemy.

The 1st European regiment was engaged in a desperate contest in the suburbs, where, from house to house, a sanguinary conflict raged. The total loss of the British was thirty-nine killed, and one hundred and twenty-one wounded; among the former were Lieutenant Jackson, among the latter Colonel Welchman, Captain Jones, and Lieutenant Money. The loss of the enemy was very heavy, and they appeared for several days to be discouraged, but their reinforcements were so large that they again gained heart; while the English, scarcely able to maintain their position, sick, exhausted with fatigue, inadequately supplied with the necessaries of an army, were dispirited. There is a tone of despondency in the despatches of Sir Henry, which shows that he was apprehensive of the destruction of his army unless speedy succour arrived. By the end of June, the mutineers had surrounded Delhi with batteries. The English had only fifteen siege guns and mortars, placed in batteries too distant to effect anything. The European troops were only three thousand; the Hindoo cavalry and infantry, few in number, were not trusted, and the guns were worked chiefly by men of that sort, who proved themselves inferior to the artillerymen among the mutineers. The guides, Sikhs, and Goorkhas, taken together, did not amount to five thousand men; but there was confidence in them, and they fought well.

When Sir John Lawrence had suppressed revolt in the Punjaub, he sent up the depots of the regiments before Delhi, and some flank companies, also fresh battalions of Punjaubees, guides, and Sikhs, and what Goorkha corps were in his province and available, also a wing of the 61st European regiment, which was followed by detachments of others; he kept the communications open, and thus provisions and medicines were obtainable. Food became plentiful, and the army was healthy when July began. Sir Henry and his troops felt that the Punjaub was a safe and sufficient base of support, and hope once more brightened the countenances of the besiegers. Notwithstanding that there were so many causes to cheer the English, there were still these two discouraging circumstances,—volunteers and mutineers flocked from all parts to augment the rebel garrison, and so great were the resources of the place, that the enemy had everything required for their defence. It became obvious that Lieutenant Willoughby had not destroyed so much ammunition as was supposed; the explosion, however destructive to life among the marauders, left intact vast resources of guns and ammunition.

On the 1st of July an attack was made upon Hindoo Rao's house by about five thousand sepoys. The officer in command had but 150 men, guides; Major Reid, who commanded the pickets on the extreme right, sent him 150 of the rifles, and these three hundred men maintained for twenty-two hours a combat against nearly twenty times their number, and at last the enemy retired. Animadversions were made throughout the army, upon the arrangements which left a post so important to be defended for so long a time by so few men, against a whole division of the enemy, especially as Brigadier Chamberlain and some reinforcements had arrived that morning.

The next morning Rohilcund regiments of mutineers, from Bareilly, Moorshedabad, and Shahjehanpore, amounting to five regiments, and a battery of artillery, marched into Delhi, with bands playing and flags flying. This reinforcement led the king and the mutineers to believe that they would be able to expel the English from the neighbourhood, and the Bareilly leader was named commander-in-chief. That night the Bareilly force undertook an expedition in the rear of the English, for the twofold object of cutting off their communications with the Punjaub, and capturing their depot at Alipore. Major Pope and a strong detachment attacked them, and drove them back to the city; the major's force with difficulty effected this end, for the rebels fought with confidence and obstinacy, and the English returned utterly exhausted, having suffered severely.

On the 4th of July Colonel Baird Smith arrived to take charge of the engineer staff. On the 5th General Barnard died, worn out with fatigue, and having proved himself a careful and a brave commander, and capable of handling a small force on the defensive against a more numerous enemy with judgment and patience. Major-general Reid assumed the command, to which, from ill-health, he was unequal.

In July the English were exposed to a new danger. There were two Hindoo regiments with the force, and in the Punjaub regiments there were many; suspicion fell upon them; a plot was detected, a Brahmin was hung for attempting to induce the soldiers to shoot their officers; a large portion of the Hindoos joined the enemy when skirmishing, the rest were *paid-up and dismissed the service, and thus allowed to go into Delhi, and swell the ranks of its garrison.*

The English established a picket in the

Sulzee Mundee suburbs; on the 14th of July this was attacked, and the house of Hindoo Rao, in great force. The defenders had to maintain a long and unequal contest, and were left to do so without help for a great length of time; the help at last sent was inadequate, but by sheer dint of hard fighting, Brigadier Showers and his European and Punjaub infantry drove away the enemy. The killed and wounded of the English exceeded two hundred men.

The weather changed, and much rain fell, when sickness came upon the army, and it was found that the hot season was more healthy than the cooler but damp period by which it was followed. By the end of July the sick amounted to twelve hundred men, and the rest were kept perpetually on the alert, although Sir John Lawrence had sent nearly three thousand men during the last fortnight into the north, one third of whom were European fusiliers.

Major-general Reid despaired of the capture of Delhi, and his health no longer allowed of the exertion required from the commander of such an army. He resigned, and the chief command devolved upon Brigadier-general Wilson, who, as a good artillerist and a plodding, painstaking, persevering man, was considered capable for the operation, although not regarded as an officer adapted to the conduct of a diversified campaign. One officer said of him, that "he was born to take Delhi, and for no other purpose." When General Wilson took the command, he and General Showers were the only generals in perfect health. One hundred and one officers had been killed and died of sun-stroke, cholera, wounds, or were then sick or wounded. Only 8000 men remained of the original army and reinforcements, half of whom were European. Of those called artillerymen, were many natives, of little use except for physical strength; and the Punjaub sappers and miners were merely unskilled labourers. The entire force, according to General Wilson's report to Mr. Colvin, was:—

| | Officers and Men. |
|---|---|
| *Infantry*— | |
| H.M. 8th foot head-quarters | 198 |
| H.M. 61st foot ,, | 296 |
| H.M. 75th foot ,, | 513 |
| H.M. 60th Rifles ,, | 299 |
| 1st European Bengal Fusiliers | 520 |
| 2nd ,, ,, ,, | 556 |
| Guide Infantry | 275 |
| Sirmoor battalion, Goorkhas | 296 |
| 1st Punjaub Infantry | 725 |
| 4th Sikh Infantry | 345 |
| | —4023 |
| *Cavalry*— | |
| H.M. Carabiniers | 153 |
| H.M. 9th Lancers | 428 |
| Guide Cavalry | 338 |
| 1st Punjaub Cavalry | 148 |
| 2nd ,, ,, | 110 |
| 5th ,, ,, (at Alipore) | 116 |
| | —1293 |
| *Artillery and Engineers*— | |
| Artillery, European and native | 1129 |
| Bengal Sappers and Miners | 209 |
| Punjaub ,, ,, | 264 |
| | —1602 |
| | 6918 |

Besides these effectives there were as non-effectives 765 sick, 351 wounded—1116.

General Wilson at once adopted means of discovering the numbers and quality of the troops opposed to him, which he thus reported:—Bengal native infantry—3rd, 9th, 11th, 12th, 15th, 20th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 36th, 38th, 44th, 45th, 54th, 57th, 60th, 61st, 67th, 68th, 72nd, 74th, 78th. Other native infantry—5th and 7th Gwalior contingent, Kotah contingent, Hurrianah battalion, together with 2600 miscellaneous infantry. Native cavalry—portions of five or six regiments, besides others of the Gwalior and Malwah contingents. There arrived in the city mutinous regiments from Meerut, Hansi, Muttra, Lucknow, Nusserabad, Jullundur, Ferozepore, Bareilly, Jhansi, Gwalior, Neemuch, Allygurh, Agra, Rohtuk, Jhuggur, and Allahabad. The numbers were estimated by General Wilson at 15,000 infantry, of whom 12,000 were sepoys, the remainder volunteers; 4000 cavalry, well horsed, and well disciplined. The artillery were numerous in proportion, and had every description of supply. The perpetual combats reduced the number of General Wilson's effective troops, notwithstanding the reinforcements which gradually arrived from the Punjaub through the indefatigable industry and good management of Sir John Lawrence and his colleagues. On the 8th of August, Brigadier-general Nicholson arrived with the advance guard of a brigade, organized under his command in the Punjaub, and which in that region had rendered most important services. On the 14th, the main body of the brigade arrived. It consisted of her majesty's 52nd (light infantry), the wing of her majesty's 61st, which had remained in the Punjaub when the other wing had been sent on to Delhi, the 2nd Punjaub infantry, two hundred horse from Mooltan, and some guns. The brigade numbered eleven hundred Europeans, and fourteen hundred Punjaubees. This accession of force was a great relief to the overworked soldiers, wearied with combat and exposure to the sun, but it was too small to enable General Wilson to make any attempt upon Delhi. General Nicholson, however, brought the welcome tidings that Sir John

Lawrence had organized a new siege train at Ferozepore, which was on its way to enable General Wilson to subdue the fire of the city. The arrival of General Nicholson inspired new life in the English camp. He was an officer of extraordinary energy, and of the bravest courage.

On the night of the 14th of August, an occasion arose for putting his military excellence to the test. A detachment of the mutineers were observed by General Wilson to move along the Rohtuk road, with the object, as the general supposed, of reaching Sorreeput, or of disturbing the Jheered rajah, who was faithful to the English, and procured them supplies. Hodson's horse, already a terror to the "pandies," went out after them, and turning aside, by a flank movement, got before their line of march, and after a desperate battle, dispersed them. The escape of a lady, the wife of a civil officer of the company, to the English lines on the 19th, caused great animation among the troops. She was probably the only European that had remained alive in the place up to that time.

### BATTLE OF NUJUFFGHUR.

Soon after Nicholson's arrival, it was his fortune to have an opportunity of showing his ability to command. General Wilson received information that a strong force of mutineers was dispatched by night to Bahadoorghur, for the purpose of intercepting the siege-train from the Punjaub. This force was commanded by Bukhtor Singh, who had distinguished himself in promoting the revolt at Bareilly (to be related elsewhere). General Wilson committed to his newly-arrived and intrepid young brigadier the task of meeting Bukhtor Singh, dispersing his force, and clearing the way for the siege-train. The troops placed at Nicholson's disposal were—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| H.M. 9th Lancers | (Captain Sarrell) | One squadron. |
| Guide cavalry | (Captain Sandford) | 120 men. |
| 2nd Punjaub cavalry | | 80 ,, |
| Mooltan horse | | |
| H.M. 61st foot | (Colonel Renny) | 420 ,, |
| 1st Bengal Europeans | (Major Jacob) | 380 ,, |
| 1st Punjaub infantry | (Coke's) | 400 ,, |
| 2nd Punjaub infantry | (Green's) | 400 ,, |
| Sappers and Miners | | 30 ,, |
| Horse artillery | (Tomb's & Olphert's) | Sixteen guns. |

Captain (now Major) Olphert being ill, the command of his troop was taken by Captain Remington.

With these he sallied forth at dawn on the 25th of August, crossed two swamps, and effected a rapid march through other difficulties, until he reached a place half way between Delhi and the reported destination of the mutineers. Nicholson here learned that they had crossed the Nujuffghur Jheel, and would probably encamp at midday, during the heat, near the town of Nujuffghur. He pursued, the way being covered three feet deep with water. After a harassing march of ten miles, he, at five o'clock in the evening, came in sight of the mutineers. They were astonished, but not daunted, at seeing a British force; for the division of Bukhtor Singh was composed of six regiments of mutineer infantry, three of irregular cavalry, and the pick of their field artillery, numbering thirteen guns; in all, seven thousand men. He immediately took up a good position, the key of which was an old serai on his left centre, where he put four guns in battery. The plan of Nicholson was partially to subdue the fire of the guns, and then storm the serai, and then sweep down their line of guns to the bridge. This he put into execution with extraordinary celerity, routing the mutineers, and capturing all their guns. The village of Nujuffghur was, however, desperately defended, when Lieutenant Saunders invested it, and left no possibility of escape. The gallant lieutenant fell in the successful execution of his duty, the mutineers were bayoneted, the village burned, and the bridge blown up. Lieutenant Gabbet was also killed, and twenty-five rank and file. Major Jacob, Lieutenant Elkington and seventy men were wounded. The mutineer horse were utterly inefficient, or the victory must have been longer contested and more hardly won.

While Nicholson was absent on this expedition, the fact was learned at Delhi, and an attack upon the mask battery was made in great force, in the hope that the weakened English lines would be unable materially to reinforce it. General Wilson repulsed the attack with little loss to himself, and great loss to the mutineers.

Early in September, the long-expected and much-desired siege-train arrived, and with it the 4th Punjaub infantry, the Patan irregular horse, and reinforcements to her majesty's 8th, 24th, 52nd, and 60th regiments. The same day a Beloochee regiment came from Kurrachee. After all these supplies, the army did not number more than nine thousand men, effective for all purposes, including grass cutters, syce bearers, labourers, native infantry, recruits yet undisciplined, &c. More reinforcements were wanted, and they were on their way. The sick and wounded reached the enormous proportion of three thousand and seventy, and there was every likelihood that the number of the wounded would increase, as became actually the case, so that Wilson was still importunate for help.

On the 7th of September, the enemy first perceived the skilful and huge preparations made to cannonade the city The works

proceeded until the 11th, each battery opening fire as it was formed. The enemy formed counter-works, and with skill and courage thwarted the English sappers and labourers, and killed and wounded a considerable number; they incessantly sent forth sorties, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, who showed skill and discipline. Still the work went on, and on the 11th the heavy siege-guns and mortars vomited forth their missiles of destruction. The English were deficient in foot artillerymen, but the gunners and men of the horse artillery volunteered to serve, as did also the officers and men of the infantry and cavalry. The Sikh battery was especially well served, and "won golden opinions from all sorts of men." During the 11th, 12th, 13th, and the morning of the 14th, the bombardment continued, and the mutineers behaved in the most gallant manner, skilfully meeting every emergency as it arose. On the evening of the 13th, breaches appeared to be made in the city wall near the Cashmere bastion, and the Water bastion. Lieutenants Greathed, Home, Medley, and Lang, were ordered to examine and report. This was a perilous undertaking, but was performed in the most intrepid manner; the reports were, that both breaches were practicable. The assault was ordered for the 14th. The assaulting army was thus organized:—

*First Column.*

BRIGADIER-GENERAL NICHOLSON.

| | | *Men.* |
|---|---|---|
| H.M. 75th foot | (Lieut-colonel Herbert) . . | 300 |
| 1st Bengal Europeans | (Major Jacob) . . . . | 250 |
| 2nd Punjaub Infantry | (Captain Green) . . . . | 450 |

*Second Column.*

BRIGADIER JONES.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| H.M. 8th foot | (Lieut.-colonel Greathed) . | 250 |
| 2nd Bengal Europeans | (Captain Boyd) . . . . | 250 |
| 4th Sikh Infantry | (Captain Rothney) . . . | 350 |

*Third Column.*

COLONEL CAMPBELL.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| H.M. 52nd foot | (Major Vigors) . . . . | 200 |
| Kumaon Goorkhas | (Captain Ramsay) . . . | 250 |
| 1st Punjaub Infantry | (Lieut. Nicholson) . . . | 500 |

*Fourth Column.*

MAJOR REID.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sirmoor Goorkhas<br>Guide Infantry<br>European pickets<br>Native pickets | Besides Cashmere Contingent, of which strength unknown . . . . | 850 |

*Reserve.*

BRIGADIER LONGFIELD.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| H.M. 61st foot | (Lieut.-colonel Deacon) . . | 250 |
| 4th Punjaub Infantry | (Captain Wilde) . . . . | 450 |
| Belooch battalion | (Lieut.-colonel Farquhar) . | 300 |
| Jheend auxiliaries | (Lieut.-colonel Dunsford) . | 300 |

The following engineer officers were attached to the several columns.

To the 1st column, Lieuts. Medley, Lang, and Bingham.
" 2nd " " Greathed, Hovenden, and Pemberton.
" 3rd " " Home, Salkeld, and Tandy.
" 4th " " Maunsell and Tennant.
" Reserve " Ward and Thackeray.

The order of attack was as follows:—The first column to assault the main breach, and escalade the face of the Cashmere bastion. This column was to be covered by a detachment of the 60th. The second column to enter the breach at the Water bastion, having a similar detachment of rifles to cover their approach. The third column to attack the Cashmere gate, preceded by a party of engineers, under Lieutenants Home and Salkeld, to blow open the gate with petards and powder. This attempt was to be covered by a party of the ubiquitous rifles. The fourth column to force an entrance at the Cabul gate. A rifle party also covered this approach. The reserves were further strengthened, as a *dernier ressort*, by the remainder of the rifles. The cavalry, under Brigadier Grant, were disposed so as to guard the lines, the sick, and wounded, and prevent the enemy from making a sortie in any direction. At four o'clock on the morning of the 14th, the assault began. The rifles skirmished, and on dashed the columns at the double quick, Nicholson's first. The assailants suffered terribly from the well-directed and soldierly play of the mutineer artillery. The English officers and men, especially the former, covered themselves with glory; no danger daunted, no obstacle remained unsurmounted. The breaches were entered by the first and second columns almost simultaneously, Nicholson leading. The two columns wheeled to the right, and drove the desperate mutineers along the ramparts, captured successively the batteries, the tower between the Cashmere and Moree bastions, the Moree bastion, and the Cabul gate. The Bum bastion and Lahore gate defied every assault, the mutineers meeting the approaching victors with cool and resolute steadiness, and mowing down by volleys of musketry officers and men as they approached. Nicholson led his men along a narrow lane against the Lahore gate; the passage was swept by grape and musketry, and the noble young general fell desperately wounded. The grief and indignation of his soldiers was unbounded; their efforts were fierce, but the lane was swept by bullets, as a tunnel by a fierce wind, or a penetrating torrent. The troops made good their conquests to the Cabul gate, threw up sand-bags for shelter, and turned the vanquished guns against the city. While the first two columns were thus alike successful and baffled, that directed against the Cashmere gate dashed on enthusiastically, under a fire, near, precise, and deadly. The Cashmere gate was of prodigious strength, and a party of marksmen, stationed at a wicket, rendered all approach to it little short of certain death.

It was necessary that this gate should be forced by the engineers. Two parties of these were formed, led by Lieutenants Home and Salkeld, assisted by Sergeants Smith and Carmichael, attended by sappers carrying bags of powder, which they laid. Home was for a moment stunned, but speedily recovered; Carmichael was killed, and a native, named Madhoo, fell with him. How Lieutenant Home and his small party ever reached the gate is almost inconceivable; they had to clamber across a broken bridge in the light of a fine bright morning, under the eye and rifle-range of the mutineers. As soon as the bags were laid, the party slid down into the ditch to make way for the party by whom the powder was to be fired, which was headed by Lieutenant Salkeld. Colonel Baird Smith thus reported the exploit:—"Lieutenant Salkeld, while endeavouring to fire the charge, was shot through the arm and leg, and handed over the slow-match to Corporal Burgess, who fell mortally wounded just as he had successfully accomplished the onerous duty. Havildar Tilluh Singh, of the Sikhs, was wounded, and Ramloll Sepoy, of the same corps, was killed during this part of the operation. The demolition being most successful, Lieutenant Home, happily not wounded, caused the bugler (Hawthorne) to sound the regimental call of the 52nd, as the signal for the advancing columns. Fearing that amidst the noise of the assault the sounds might not be heard, he had the call repeated three times, when the troops advanced and carried the gateway with complete success." Sergeant Smith, fearing that the match had not taken, rushed forward, but saw the train burning, and had barely time to cast himself into the ditch, when the ponderous mass of wood and stone blew into fragments. The third column rushed through the gate, when the bugle-call of Lieutenant Home broke upon their ear. Sir Theophilus Metcalfe guided this body through byways to the great thoroughfare, called the Chandnee Chowk, in hope of gaining the Jumma Musjid. The column was assailed with desperate bravery, and driven before the sepoys for an English mile, near to the gate by which it entered, where, with difficulty, it took up positions of some strength. But for the supports, it would have been beaten out of the city, so determined were the sepoys, and so great their numbers. The reserve pressed on to the support of the third column, and all their help was required. The reserve, as well as the third column, established itself within the gate. The attack under Major Reid on the western suburbs failed, arising from the inefficiency of the Cashmerian contingent, the bravery and numbers of the sepoys, and their contempt for the native force under Captain Dwyer's command. After a fearful conflict for possession of the Eedghah, the whole attack on the western side was abandoned. The English held the posts there, even within the gates; the enemy showed unflinching resolution, and even threatened the English flanks and rear. Night closed over the sanguinary scene, the English having lost eight officers killed, and fifty-two wounded; one hundred and sixty-two English, and one hundred and three native soldiers killed, five hundred and twelve English, and three hundred and ten natives wounded. The first and second columns held all the towers, bastions, and ramparts, from the vicinity of the Cashmere gate to the Cabul gate; the third column and the reserve held the Cashmere gate, the English church, Skinner's house, the Water bastion, Ahmed Ali Khan's house, the college-gardens, and many buildings and open spots in that part of Delhi; while the fourth column, defeated in the western suburbs, had retreated to the camp or the ridge.

On the morning of the 15th, the British dragged fresh mortars into position between the gates of Cashmere and Cabul, so as to command the imperial palace. A battery was also raised in the college-gardens. When day dawned, the advanced posts skirmished, and the work of blood began again. The mutineers loopholed the houses and walls, and thence took patient and efficient aim. The 15th wore away, on the whole, in favour of the defenders. On the 16th, the college-garden batteries breached the magazine—part of which Lieutenant Willoughby had blown up on the 11th of May. It was stormed and taken by the Punjaubees and Beloochees, supported by a wing of the 61st. The loss was slight, and the advantage decisive. The enemy abandoned the western suburb, which was taken possession of by a native battalion, sent down from the house of Hindoo Rao. The 16th ended on the whole in favour of the British.

The 17th dawned upon both parties eager for slaughter, and each resolute to assert its superiority. On this day a series of combats began for the possession of the ramparts, which were continued into the next day. The struggle issued in the interest of the English. Drawing a line from the magazine to the Cabul gate, all north of that line was now in the hands of the English. On the 18th the English threw forth columns of attack against the south part of the city, capturing the great buildings successively. The magazine, now in the hands of the English, supplied mortars, with which they shelled the palace, and the

strong houses occupied by the mutineers. The women and children began to flee, carrying with them the wounded. General Wilson allowed them to escape. Many sepoys took advantage of this indulgence to get away from the city.

Early on the 19th the Bum bastion, before which so many men and officers fell, was taken by surprise, by a party from the Cabul gate. Captain Hodson reconnoitred with his horse along the northern and western face of the city, and took possession of a cavalry camp which the enemy had formed there.

An attack was made upon the palace; the gates were strong, but were blown open by gunpowder. The place was found deserted, except by the wounded, &c., and a body of Mohammedan fanatics, who fought to the last. The city was now conquered, at an expense of four thousand men killed, missing, and wounded, out of about double that number engaged in the actual conflict. The havoc among the sepoys was terrific. No quarter was given on either side. The sepoys in despair shot themselves, or rushed upon the bayonets of the assailants, and perished. Many of the inhabitants cut the throats of their wives and children, believing that the English had hearts like themselves, and would murder the helpless. Their astonishment was as great as their gratitude was feeble when they found that the English spared women, children, and wounded, and regarded every non-combatant enemy as under their protection. The English soldiers slew all the male inhabitants they encountered.

The English lost many men from sickness and fatigue, and nearly six hundred horses fell dead from over work, or were killed by the bullets of the enemy.

The sights which met the gaze of the English when, the enemy being completely vanquished, they had time to look around them, were horrible. Christian women had been crucified naked against the houses, and native women and children, butchered by the sepoys, to avert the same fate at the hands of the English, lay scattered in streets and houses. Shattered ruins, mangled limbs, dead bodies, slain and wounded horses, lay in profusion in every direction. The English found large sums of money on the persons of the dead and wounded. The Sikhs and Beloochees, and most especially the guides, were expert in these discoveries. The English soldiers, breaking the spirit depots, drank to excess; and in this state bayoneted numbers of the inhabitants, who had found temporary security in hiding-places.

The king, and his family and retainers, fled from the city with the multitude. Captain (afterwards Major) Hodson was at that juncture assistant quartermaster-general, and intelligence-officer on General Wilson's staff. On the 21st this officer learned that the king and his retinue had left by the Ajmeer gate, and had gone to the Kootub, a palace nine miles distant. Hodson, ever energetic and enterprising, wished to go in pursuit. Wilson, ever careful and cautious, hesitated. Zeenat Mahal, a begum and great favourite of the emperor, came to the camp, *offering terms to the English*, as if the royal person was too sacred for the victorious English to molest, and as if majesty still belonged to the imperial fugitive. Sepoys and armed retainers were rapidly gathering round the king, and Wilson believed that he could not spare troops to attack them. Hodson, chafing under this timid policy, at a moment when everything was to be gained by daring, and much might be lost by timidity or time-serving, requested permission to go after the king with his horse, and offer him his life on condition of surrender. He started forth, with fifty troopers, to Hoomayoon's tomb, distant from the palace about three miles. He sent a message to the king, who replied that he would give himself up to the captain, if with his own lips he repeated the assurance of his safety from personal violence. To this Hodson assented. The king came forth with his retainers. Hodson met him at the gate of the splendid tomb. The captain was the only white man amidst several thousand natives, but fear for the consequence he had none.

The king, Zeenat Mahal, and her son Jumma Bukt, were brought to Delhi by Hodson, and delivered to the civil authorities.

The next morning Hodson, with his troopers, started again, before any fresh interdict could be laid upon his daring. He went in pursuit of three of the princes, who had been the inciters of the atrocities which had taken place in Delhi, and who had themselves perpetrated disgraceful scenes. These princes were concealed in the tomb of Hoomayoon. Hodson succeeded, by dint of dextrous manœuvre, in getting possession of these royal personages. The tomb was occupied by armed scoundrels from the city. He sternly ordered them to lay down their arms and depart,—they obeyed. He sent a carriage on to the city with the prisoners, and a small escort; he, having dispersed the vagabonds from the neighbourhood of the tomb, followed with his troopers. Overtaking the cavalcade, he found the equipage surrounded by a mob, who were bent upon rescuing the prisoners. An officer of the troop thus relates what followed :—"This was no time for hesitation or delay. Hodson dashed at once into the

midst—in few but energetic words explained 'that these were the men who had not only rebelled against the government, but had ordered and witnessed the massacre and shameful exposure of innocent women and children; and that thus therefore the government punished such traitors, taken in open resistance'—shooting them down at the word. The effect was instantaneous and wonderful. Not another hand was raised, not another weapon levelled, and the Mohammedans of the troop and some influential moulvies among the bystanders exclaimed, as if by simultaneous impulse, 'Well and rightly done! Their crime has met with its just penalty. These were they who gave the signal for the death of helpless women and children, and outraged decency by the exposure of their persons, and now a righteous judgment has fallen on them. God is great!' The remaining weapons were then laid down, and the crowd slowly and quietly dispersed. The bodies were carried into the city, and thrown out on the very spot where the blood of their innocent victims still stained the earth. They remained there till the 24th, when, for sanitary reasons, they were removed from the Chibootra in front of the Kotwallee. The effect of this just retribution was as miraculous on the populace as it was deserved by the criminals."

General Nicholson died of the wounds he received in the capture of Delhi. The Honourable East India Company granted his widowed and bereaved mother the sum of £500 a year pension. Lieutenant Philip Salkeld was one of the best and bravest officers who fell in that memorable conflict. He survived until the 10th of October, when his wounds proved fatal. He was a native of Dorsetshire, and son of a clergyman. He, and his companion, Lieutenant Home, who survived the assault, received the Victoria Cross; but the latter did not live long to wear it, for on the 1st of October he was mortally wounded, while in pursuit of the fugitive rebels.

Having brought the siege of Delhi to a close, our readers must now be conducted to other scenes, partly contemporaneous with, and partly consequent upon, the physical and moral triumph achieved over the capital of the insurrection.

## CHAPTER CXXXII.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE RELIEF OF CAWNPORE AND LUCKNOW—MARCH OF COLONEL NEILL'S COLUMN UPON CAWNPORE—ITS SUCCESS—MARCH OF OUTRAM AND HAVELOCK UPON LUCKNOW—RELIEF OF THE RESIDENCY—ADVANCE OF SIR COLIN CAMPBELL TO LUCKNOW—REMOVAL OF THE GARRISON TO CAWNPORE.

ON the 1st of July Colonel Neill sent off a column of relief to rescue General Wheeler and his little garrison, who were then supposed to be living. The force dispatched by the gallant Neill consisted of two hundred men of the Madras Fusiliers, two hundred of the 84th foot, three hundred Sikhs, and one hundred and twenty irregular cavalry. Major Renaud commanded the whole. It was intended to send another column forward as soon as possible. Before the second column could be prepared for its destination, and indeed only a few hours after the departure of the first, Brigadier-general Havelock arrived at Allahabad, and took the command of all the troops there, the government at Calcutta having given him the direction of the expeditionary forces designed to relieve both Cawnpore and Lucknow. In the chapter on the Persian war the arrival of General Havelock at Calcutta was noticed. Thence he proceeded, as quickly as possible, up country with such troops as he could take, after having dispatched others to strengthen Neill at Allahabad. Two days after Havelock's arrival, and before Neill's second column of relief was organized, Captain Spurgeon was sent forward towards Cawnpore, with one hundred Madras Europeans, armed with the Enfield rifles, twelve artillerymen, and two 6-pounder guns. Land conveyance being unattainable, this party went up the river by the steamer *Brahmapootra*. Its progress was opposed by a fire of musketry and a cannon from the Oude side of the river. The party landed, defeated the enemy, and captured the gun. Major Renaud had to skirmish with rebels day by day, for the whole population was hostile. On the 10th he learned what had occurred at Cawnpore, and the same day the sepoys and insurgents reached Futtehpore, to intercept the relieving troops. The force

of Major Renaud was eight hundred and twenty men and two guns; that of the rebels was three thousand five hundred men and twelve guns. Havelock was anxious to strengthen at once the major's party, but the forces at his disposal were extremely small, and reinforcements arrived only in driblets. Havelock was of opinion that if he had "one thousand Europeans, one thousand Sikhs, and one thousand Goorkhas, he could thrash everything;" but, alas, he could only gather together about two thousand men of all arms.

It was on the 7th of July that Havelock mustered his little army at Allahabad; on the 12th he formed a junction with the advanced column, after a terrible march under the fierce sun of an Indian July. The main body of the enemy occupied strong posts at Futtehpore. The trunk road was alone available for the attacking party, the fields on each side being laid deep under water. The city of Futtehpore was only approachable through a fire directed under the cover of mango groves, enclosures, loopholed walls, and other defences. The British leader, having determined to give battle, sought to draw on the enemy to an imprudent onset against himself. He placed his eight guns across the road, protected by one hundred men of the 64th, armed with the Enfield rifles. The enemy paused; during the hesitation Havelock advanced, his infantry coming on at deploying distance, covered by rifle skirmishers, the few cavalry he possessed on the flanks. The 64th, his own regiment, formed his centre, the Highlanders his right, the 84th and the Sikhs his left. The enemy fled precipitately, awed by the range of the rifles, the rapidity of Captain Maude's guns, and the steady advance of the infantry. Their attempts to defend some hillocks, and high walls bounding garden enclosures, were defeated with the ease and skill characteristic of Havelock. He turned every defence with such celerity and prudence that he incurred hardly any loss in dispossessing the enemy of the strongest posts. Having driven them through the city, capturing their guns, Havelock hoped that the battle was won; but the enemy drew up beyond the city in a well-chosen position. The English were nearly exhausted, and the irregular native cavalry showed symptoms of going over to the foe. The moment was critical, but Havelock was the man for a crisis. He again advanced, using his men cautiously, and throwing forward the skirmishers and guns; the enemy was again routed. Havelock congratulated himself that seldom was a success so great achieved with a loss so small. He did not lose a single European; six native soldiers were killed and three wounded. After alternate marching and repose, most skilfully and judiciously distributed, so as not to exhaust the men, and yet achieving celerity of advance, Havelock again came up with the foe on the 15th. They were posted at the village of Asang, some twenty miles from Cawnpore. The sepoys made little resistance, the fame of Havelock and his army of Persia had reached them, and the previous battle of Futtehpore dispirited them. They retreated precipitately before the advance guard, under Colonel Tytler, leaving guns and baggage as trophies of the easy triumph.

The captured position was within five miles of another intrenched position, at the head of a bridge crossing the Nuddee. This was carried by Havelock in the most gallant style. The action was fought on the same day as that at the village. In both battles Havelock had only twenty-six men wounded, chiefly of the Madras Fusiliers; among the wounded was Major Renaud. One man was killed. The enemy suffered severely. The moral effect of these triumphs was signal; the British became so confident, and regarded the enemy with such contempt, that they were willing to attack against any odds. The enemy was appalled by the celerity of the British, and the skill with which they were handled. The name of Havelock, although little known in England, was regarded with much respect by the sepoys who had fought in the various campaigns where the hero had distinguished himself. So bad had been the conduct of the sowars of the Oude and Bengal cavalry that it became necessary to dismount them.

The next task of General Havelock was to march upon Cawnpore itself. Nana Sahib resolved to confront him, but the sweeping victories of the British general alarmed him, and excited his vengeance to the uttermost. According to the generally received opinion, it was after the passage of the Nuddee by Havelock that the Sahib ordered the massacre of Cawnpore. Having perpetrated that sanguinary act, he advanced with his army to Akerwa, as at that place the road to the cantonments diverges from the road to the town. Five fortified villages, the approaches intrenched, and supporting one another, defended his position. The march from the Pandoo Nuddee to Akerwa was sixteen miles, which was accomplished during the night, but amidst clouds of dust; the night, too, was heavy and sultry, and the men were greatly tired by their exertions. On reconnoitring the position, Havelock saw that to attempt to storm it in front would be destruction; he therefore resolved to make a flank movement, coming upon the enemy's left. The baggage

remained three miles in the rear, at Maharajpore. On the 16th the troops were halted until the heat of the day had subsided, a friendly mango grove affording shade. Clumps of this wood extended along the left front of the enemy's position, and enabled Havelock to execute, unobserved, the flank movement which he had already resolved. When the enemy at last detected the attempt to turn their left, evident signs of astonishment and alarm were indicated; large bodies of cavalry and strong detachments of guns were thrown forward against the advancing British, in the hope even yet of frustrating the manœuvre. It was in vain; the resistless courage of the British, and of their wise and energetic chief, overbore all opposition. The villages were captured, seven guns fell to the victors, a force ten times their number was dispersed, the Nana was humbled on the field of battle in the presence of his retainers and the mutineers, who were discontented with his command. Havelock had only six men killed, but nearly one hundred wounded, among whom were several of his bravest officers. All fought well; if any surpassed, the general's own son, Lieutenant Henry Marsham Havelock, and Major Stirling, of the 64th, were the successful competitors for glory.

The little army of conquerors rested on the field of battle, and on the 17th entered Cawnpore. The battle of Akerwa had given the city to them as their prize: during the night the enemy blew up the arsenal and magazine, and abandoned the place. Havelock had marched one hundred and twenty-six miles, fought and gained four battles, and captured twenty-four guns in ten days. On entering the city, it was the bitter disappointment and grief of the conquerors to find that those whom they fought to rescue were beyond all help.

Havelock followed the enemy to Bhitoor. Four thousand men, chiefly sepoys, defended the post the Nana had chosen. Two streams lay between the assailants and assailed, which could not be forded; there were bridges, but they were fortified. This obliged Havelock to storm the position in front, which was accomplished with chivalrous valour, and the enemy chased for miles, but the English being without cavalry, could not maintain pursuit.

The palace of the murderer was given to the flames, his guns were captured, and his intrenchments levelled.

Havelock sent to Allahabad, where Neill remained in command, urging that officer to come to his assistance with what troops he could collect. Neill hastened forward with less than three hundred soldiers, and was nominated to the command of Cawnpore. This gallant soldier immediately proceeded to secure the place, and to bring to account all persons guilty of any participation in the late atrocities. He caused the high caste Brahmins to wash off the blood from the ensanguined floor where much of the slaughter had been perpetrated. Many he hung, and many more he blew away from guns.

Neill's work at Cawnpore was as effectual as it was in itself revolting to his gallant heart. He avenged the fallen by many a sacrifice, and with his small garrison awed rebellion into stillness. Havelock's task was to advance upon Lucknow, where the brave garrison, under Brigadier-general Inglis, were maintaining a wondrous defence. Havelock surmounted all the difficulties which impeded his passage into Oude. He had scarcely marched six miles from the Ganges when he was met by a messenger from Lucknow, who had made his way through the enemy, and after encountering various perils, reached the general. He brought a plan of the city, prepared by Major Anderson, and various details of an important nature from the pen of General Inglis. A man of less purpose and resource than Havelock must have shrunk from the undertaking before him. He had but fifteen hundred men, after the losses incurred by battles, sickness, and sun-stroke. The number of his guns was ten, and these badly mounted. He could easily have brought with him twice that number, if cattle had been procurable; but he would not have had a sufficient number of artillerymen to work them. He had received information from Lucknow that the enemy was strong in numbers, ordnance, and position. The Nana had again collected his forces, and with three thousand men was preparing to place himself between Havelock and the Ganges, so as to cut off the general's retreat upon Cawnpore. Seldom, if ever, was a commander placed in circumstances more trying and difficult—seldom, if ever, did one snatch victory and honour from fortune with so much glory.

On the 29th of July, at Oonao, the enemy intercepted his march. They occupied a fortified village, protected on each flank, so as to render it impossible to turn either. The position was stormed. The beaten enemy, as if reinforced, drew up in line upon the open plain. Havelock followed, and gained another decided victory, capturing the enemy's guns, and with his invincible infantry putting a host of sowars, as well as sepoys, to flight. During these desperate encounters, Jupah Singh, a lieutenant of Nana Sahib, hung upon the British flank, watching for the least symptom of disorder to fall upon it. Disease now broke out in the British ranks, and carried off numbers. Havelock advanced to Busherunt-

gunge, a fortified place, defended by a numerous and vindictive foe. He captured it before the sun set, thus gaining another victory on that day of glory.

Cholera, dysentery, fever, all now smote the little band. To proceed without reinforcements would be annihilation. His few soldiers were in great destitution of all the requisites of an army. The general gave the reluctant but absolutely necessary order to retire upon Mungulwar. On the 31st they reached that place in their retrograde movement. From his halting-ground he sent back the sick and wounded to Cawnpore. Neill sent forward every disposable man that he had, and swelled Havelock's little band to the number of fourteen hundred Europeans; no natives remained, desertion, battle, sickness, and disbanding had annihilated them. Havelock's volunteer cavalry reconnoitred the surrounding country, and as this corps consisted of officers belonging to disbanded or revolted corps, they were very efficient, and were able to bring in valuable intelligence of the enemy's movements. It was discovered that the Nana's people had blocked up the line of march, and also the line of retreat, and the rebels were full of hope that they would cut off Havelock's entire force. The English chief having learned that his sick and wounded had reached that place in safety, and having received the small reinforcement sent forward by Neill, again advanced, and a second time found the enemy in force at Busheruntgunge. The disparity of force was such that victory could only be obtained by superior generalship. The English chief threw his little force of cavalry in front, disposing of them so as to make their numbers appear much greater than they were, while he sent his guns and infantry to turn the enemy's flanks. The clever manner in which these dispositions were made, and the great celerity of movement characteristic of Havelock, led to signal success. The shells of the English created such havoc in the town that the enemy fled, and in their flight "ran the gauntlet" under a terrible fire of grape and rifle balls. Two guns were captured, and many of the rebels slain. The intelligence now received by Havelock left him no hope that with the force at his command he could force the road to Lucknow, far less conquer his way to the relief of the residency. He again retired upon Mungulwar, and thence telegraphed to the commander-in-chief, Sir Patrick Grant, informing him of the precise condition of affairs.

On the morning of the 11th of August, General Havelock's men numbered one thousand; sickness, sun-stroke, and the late battle, had reduced the force with which his second advance was made by nearly one-third. Neill had only two hundred and fifty men at Cawnpore able to do duty, and death had reduced the invalids to about an equal number. The enemy between Mungulwar and Lucknow numbered thirty thousand; and there were at least three strongly-fortified positions on the road. At Bhitoor they had again collected in considerable numbers. All the zemindars and villagers had joined the sepoys. Such was the position of affairs when the English commander learned that four thousand rebels had advanced to the position of Busheruntgunge, from which the sepoys had been already twice driven by signal battle. It was necessary to dislodge these. During his march, the country people flocked armed to the enemy's lines, so as nearly to double the numbers in occupation of the strong defences which an abundant supply of labour had enabled them to throw up. Havelock found the obstacles greater on this occasion than on the two former instances of combat there. An advanced village, named Boursekee Chowkee, was defended by a strong redoubt. A party of the 78th Highlanders, without firing a shot, or uttering a shout, charged and captured this battery. Lieutenant Crowe was the first man to enter the redoubt, where, for a few moments, he remained unsupported, displaying the most heroic intrepidity. Havelock recommended him for the Victoria Cross, which high honour he obtained. The loss of the enemy was very heavy, that of Havelock slight; but every man by which the number of the British was diminished told terribly upon the little force, and rendered a successful advance against Lucknow more hopeless. Havelock determined to retire on Cawnpore, whither he arrived on the night of the 13th of August. It was well that this movement was executed, for Nana Sahib, with the accession of the greater part of three revolted or disbanded regiments of sepoys, a large body of sowars, and a crowd of Mahrattas, was preparing to attack the diminutive garrison of Cawnpore. Havelock and Neill concocted a plan for dispersing these forces. Neill, with a few hundred men, attacked the extreme left of the Nana's army which menaced Cawnpore, gained a victory, and drove the enemy from the immediate vicinity of the city. Havelock, mustering all the men which he and Neill had at their disposal, marched, on the 16th, to Bhitoor, and once more attacked that place. The Nana had about ten thousand men in a position before Bhitoor, which the experienced Havelock declared was one of the strongest he had ever seen. The brigadier had just thirteen hundred men. The plans laid for the attack were such as

only a man of genius could conceive; they were well calculated to effect great results with little cost of blood. The advance of the 78th Highlanders, and Madras European Fusiliers, upon the principal point of attack, was at once so rapid and orderly, so cautious, and yet fearless, that the enemy were struck with astonishment, yielded to panic, and were utterly defeated. Some of the mutineers fought with greater courage than had been anywhere displayed by them, except at Delhi. Neill now demanded that a body of troops which had been marching and fighting for six weeks without intermission should have rest, or they must sink by sheer exhaustion. Havelock yielded to the opinion of his glorious colleague, and awaited reinforcements. In vain, however, did he telegraph; the incompetency at Calcutta marred everything. Help from Allahabad was impossible; there, and at Benares, the English were in daily alarm of attack or insurrection. The condition of Havelock now became one of the most imminent peril. So far from hoping to reach Lucknow, he telegraphed that he must abandon Cawnpore, as he had only seven hundred men fit for duty, while thirty-seven thousand mutineers and rebels menaced him on every side. He sent his sick and wounded to Allahabad. He could bring into the field eight efficiently mounted guns. The enemy, he knew, had thirty field-guns, well manned, and with all necessary *materiel*. He declared his willingness to "fight anything, and against all odds," but reminded the Calcutta authorities that "the loss of a single battle would be the ruin of everything in that part of India."

On the 23rd of August, he heard from Lucknow that the garrison was suffering to extremity, that there were one hundred and twenty sick and wounded, two hundred and twenty women, and two hundred and thirty children. During the remainder of August, Havelock remained at Cawnpore, which place was almost invested by the rebels.

Major-general Sir James Outram was appointed to a local command, which placed him over Neill and Havelock. Sir James arrived at Dinapore August the 18th. Just then Sir Colin Campbell landed to take the command of the army in India. Outram was finally ordered to advance with such reinforcements as could be brought together from Allahabad to Cawnpore, and thence, with Havelock and Neill, to resume the march upon Lucknow. Outram found that seventeen hundred men had arrived at Allahabad; with about fourteen hundred of these he proceeded to Cawnpore. Outram, on his way, heard of a manœuvre of the enemy to interrupt the communications between Cawnpore and Allahabad. Committing a small body of troops to Major Vincent Eyre, that officer mounted some on elephants, some on horses, and by various expedients accomplished a forced march and a surprise, cutting up nearly the whole.

On the 15th of September Outram reached Cawnpore. He was Havelock's senior officer, and the command of the relieving force devolved upon him. He immediately issued an order of the day, declining to deprive Havelock of the command; that the noble deeds of that officer pointed him out as the general upon whom the honour of relieving Lucknow ought to devolve; that Brigadier-general Havelock was promoted to the rank of Major-general, and that he, Sir James Outram, would accompany the force in his civil capacity as commissioner of Oude, and as a volunteer. He actually assumed the command of the volunteer horse. This noble act on the part of the gallant Outram was appreciated by his country, which was proud of the chivalry and magnanimity he displayed.

On the 19th of September the British crossed the Ganges. On the 21st, they came up with the rebels at Mungulwar; a battle ensued, in which the English displayed perfect knowledge of the art of war, turned with ease the positions, and with little loss drove the enemy headlong, capturing four guns. The soldier whose personal valour on this occasion was most conspicuous was Sir James Outram, who, sword in hand, charged the guns, and set an example of dauntless bravery to the little army. This was the chief struggle on the march.

When the British arrived at Lucknow, they had to fight their way through lanes of streets, and by enclosures, every wall loop-holed, and every defensible spot fortified. Through every obstacle the heroic soldiers forced their way, and arrived wearied, but victorious, at the residency. The joy of the garrison at Lucknow on the arrival of Havelock was such as they alone can feel who have escaped such great and terrible perils. From the death of Sir Henry Lawrence, already recorded, until Havelock forced his way to the residency, the little garrison was exposed to incessant attacks from enemies as cowardly as they were cruel. The state of excitement in which the beleaguered British were, upon the approach of the all-conquering Havelock, forms one of the most romantic and touching stories in a history so abounding in them. On the 22nd of September, spies made their way into the residency, and announced that Havelock was at hand. On the next day they heard a furious cannonade, but distant; the 24th, the cannonade nearer, but still

distant, was renewed, and every ear listened with breathless suspense; the bridge of boats across the river was covered with fugitive sepoys. Still hope was chequered with fear, for the spies had informed General Inglis that the relieving force was small, not much above two thousand men, while it was known that more than fifty thousand rebels were prepared to dispute their entrance to Lucknow. At last the British were heard fighting their way through the streets. One* of those who fought and suffered within the residency, a civilian, thus narrates the events of that exciting and all-important moment:—"The immense enthusiasm with which they were greeted defies description. As their hurrah and ours rang in my ears, I was nigh bursting with joy. The tears started involuntarily into my eyes, and I felt—no! it is impossible to describe in words that sudden sentiment of relief, that mingled feeling of hope and pleasure that came over me. The criminal condemned to death, and, just when he is about to be launched into eternity, is reprieved and pardoned,—or the shipwrecked sailor, whose hold on the wreck is relaxing, and is suddenly rescued, can alone form an adequate idea of our feelings. We felt not only happy, happy beyond imagination, and grateful to that God of mercy, who by our noble deliverers, Generals Havelock and Outram, and their gallant troops, had thus snatched us from imminent death; but we also felt proud of the defence we had made, and the success with which, with such fearful odds to contend against, we had preserved, not only our own lives, but the honour and lives of the women and children entrusted to our keeping. As our deliverers poured in, they continued to greet us with loud hurrahs; and, as each garrison heard it, we sent up one fearful shout to heaven—'Hurrah!'—it was not 'God help us'—it was the first rallying cry of a despairing host. Thank God, we then gazed upon new faces of our countrymen. We ran up to them—officers and men, without distinction—and shook them by the hand, how cordially who can describe? The shrill tones of the Highlanders' bagpipes now pierced our ears. Not the most beautiful music ever was more welcome, more joy-bringing. And these brave men themselves, many of them bloody and exhausted, forgot the pain of their wounds, the fatigue of overcoming the fearful obstacles they had combatted for our sakes, in the pleasure of having accomplished our relief."

Immediately on joining the garrison at the residency Sir James Outram assumed the supreme authority. Generals Havelock and Inglis, who had so nobly distinguished themselves in the responsibility of independent commanders, acted in obedience to the orders of his excellency the commissioner for Oude and commander of the British forces in that and neighbouring provinces. From the death of Sir Henry Lawrence to the arrival of Outram and Havelock, General Inglis defended the residency with indomitable fortitude, and with a skill which raised him to a high place amongst British generals. The defence of the residency of Lucknow by Inglis would require a whole volume to do it justice. Its details, chiefly military, or records of sufferings and faith on the part of the garrison, are alone suitable to an especial narrative of that separate episode of Indian war.

The relieving army did not possess sufficient strength to drive away the rebels. The whole force was hemmed in until a fresh relief, under the command of Sir Colin Campbell, arrived in November. During that interval fierce attacks were made upon the garrison, and much heroism was required for its defence. Provisions ran short, cholera was among the soldiers and civilians, so that brief as was the space of time which elapsed until the arrival of Sir Colin, it was spent arduously and anxiously. As soon as Sir James Outram perceived that he could not withdraw the garrison, he determined to enlarge the space occupied by his troops, both from military and sanitary considerations. Part of the newly-arrived force had maintained a position outside of the enclosure during the night after their arrival; means were taken to secure and even extend that position. It was deemed desirable to include within it the clock-tower, the jail, a mosque, the Taree Kattree, the palace called Fureed Buksh, the Pyne Bagh (or garden), and other buildings, gardens, and houses. The 26th was a day of conflict and toil to secure these objects, to collect the wounded without the residency, and bear them to a place of safety. When the palaces and other buildings were thus brought within the garrison enclosure they were regarded no longer with respect, but their contents were made a spoil by the conquerors, according to the usages of war in such cases. Mr. Rees (already quoted) gives a graphic description of what then occurred:—"Everywhere might be seen people helping themselves to whatever they pleased. Jewels, shawls, dresses, pieces of satin, silk, broadcloths, coverings, rich embroidered velvet saddles for horses and elephants, the most magnificent divan carpets studded with pearls, dresses of cloth of gold, turbans of the most costly brocade, the finest muslins, the most valuable swords

* Mr. L. E. Rantz Rees' *Personal Narrative*, p. 321.

and poniards, thousands of flint-guns, caps, muskets, ammunition, cash, books, pictures, European locks, English clothes, full-dress officers' uniforms, epaulettes, aiguillettes, manuscripts, charms; vehicles of the most grotesque forms, shaped like fish, dragons, and sea-horses; imauns, or representations of the prophet's hands; cups, saucers, cooking-utensils, china-ware sufficient to set up fifty merchants in Lombard Street, scientific instruments, ivory telescopes, pistols, and (what was better than all) tobacco, tea, rice, grain, spices, and vegetables."

Sir James organized a system by which some intelligence might be almost daily learned of the proceedings of friends and foes. His first information was that one of the royal princes, a child eight or nine years old, had been made King of Oude, or viceroy to the King of Delhi, and he was supported by a council of state. Sir James also learned that Sir Mountstuart Jackson, his sister, and other fugitives from Setapore, were prisoners in the city, and that the day of their execution was appointed.

Throughout the month of October there was much fighting; General Inglis commanded in the residency, General Havelock in the outer portion of the defence: his was undoubtedly the post of danger, labour, and anxiety, and the genius which characterized his advance from Cawnpore was displayed in his defence of the Lucknow residency. In order to facilitate the advance of Sir Colin Campbell, Havelock was incessantly engaged blowing up houses and clearing streets, so as to lessen the opposition which the commander-in-chief would receive. About four miles from the residency was a place called Alum Bagh, where Havelock had left a few hundred men on his advance, and with them his stores and baggage, sick, wounded, and camp followers. The enemy got between these two places, cut off the communication, and laid siege to both. The Alum Bagh garrison was enabled, however, to keep open a portion of the Cawnpore road, and the garrison there maintained communication, sending some reinforcements and considerable supplies to the Alum Bagh. Thus on the 3rd of October a convoy arrived of a valuable nature, which three hundred men were enabled to escort. On the 14th a second convoy was dispatched from Cawnpore, but was driven back by the enemy. A third convoy was successful. Colonel Wilson skilfully kept open the communication with such driblets of troops as from time to time reached Cawnpore. The rebels left the Alum Bagh comparatively unmolested, nearly their whole energies being devoted to the subjugation of the residency.

### ADVANCE OF SIR COLIN CAMPBELL.

When Sir Colin arrived in India he found it necessary to remain some weeks at Calcutta to mature his plans, and organize reinforcements and supplies. Troops from various quarters were arriving at Calcutta. They were dispatched at the rate of about ninety a day. Detachments from China arrived, and two war steamers were placed at the service of the governor-general by Lord Elgin, the plenipotentiary of her Britannic Majesty for China. Captain Peel, R.N., was sent up the country with a body of five hundred seamen, and heavy cannon. The mercantile marines at Calcutta gallantly volunteered to serve with Captain Peel. That officer and his sailors, with Colonel Powel and a detachment of troops, were marching from Allahabad to Cawnpore, when they were attacked by two thousand sepoys and two thousand insurgents. A battle was fought, which was severe in its contest, and serious in its consequences. Colonel Powel was shot. Peel took the command, and fought with the skill of a general, defeating and utterly dispersing the enemy, but incurring heavy loss. He had to rest his men, regain fresh force, and then proceeded to Cawnpore. Various detachments made their way thither. The conquest of Delhi had set free a portion of the besieging army, which joined the other reinforcements.

At last Sir Colin reached Cawnpore, and on the 9th November began his march to Lucknow, with the following force: her majesty's 8th, 53rd, 75th, and 93rd foot; 2nd and 4th Punjaub infantry; her majesty's 9th lancers; detachments 1st, 2nd, and 5th Punjaub cavalry; detachment Hodson's Horse; detachments Bengal and Punjaub sappers and miners; naval brigade, 8 guns; Bengal horse artillery, 10 guns; Bengal horse field-battery, 6 guns; heavy field-battery. Total—about 700 cavalry, and 2,700 infantry, besides artillery. The general officers by whom he was assisted were General Mansfield, as chief of the staff; Brigadier-generals Hope Grant, Greathed, Russell, Adrian Hope, Little, and Crawford. Little commanded the cavalry, and Crawford the artillery. Captain Peel commanded the naval brigade; Lieutenant Lennox, the engineers.

Sir Colin arrived with little opposition at Lucknow. He was much aided in his advance and in the plans he formed, by intelligence from the garrison brought by Mr. Cavanagh, a civil servant of the company, who won the Victoria Cross by the heroism he displayed in this adventure. On Sir Colin's side the portion of the combined operation was performed with heavy loss, so desperately was

he resisted by the sepoys in their fortified positions. That loss would have been more heavy but for the extraordinary courage, skill, and adventure of Captain Peel, who laid his great guns "alongside" (as a sailor would say) the Shah Nuzeef, a fortified mosque, and with his heavy shot, at so close a range, swept destruction against everything opposed to them. But for the fire of the Enfields, borne by the Highlanders, Peel and his sailors must have perished before they could have dragged their big guns to so close a position. Campbell resolved not to force his way through the long narrow lanes where Havelock and Outram suffered so severely, but, profiting by their experience, and the information transmitted to him by them, he made his approach by the south-eastern suburb. In order to effect this, it was necessary that Havelock should co-operate in a bold and skilful manœuvre. Havelock's part in the transaction was performed with his usual skill and courage, and was the measure which insured Sir Colin's success. The operations of Sir Colin were a series of isolated sieges and bombardments of palaces, mosques, and huge public buildings. To spare his men he used his cannon deliberately and amply, and thus step by step, but still with heavy loss, conquered his way until he entered the residency. Ten officers were killed and thirty-three wounded; among the latter were Sir Colin himself and Captain Peel. Of the rank and file one hundred and twenty-two were killed, and three hundred and forty-five wounded. The loss of the enemy was estimated at four thousand slain; the wounded and many of the dead were borne away. Once more the joy of the delivered resounded in the residency of Lucknow, and, as on the 25th of September, grateful hearts poured out their expressions of thanksgiving to their deliverers.

Sir Colin resolved to convey the garrison to Cawnpore, and abandon Lucknow, as untenable by so small a force, in the presence of an enemy which, notwithstanding all losses, was estimated at fifty thousand men, for after every defeat numbers still flocked to the standard of revolt. The orders given for departure were, that the wounded should first be removed to the Dil Koosha, four miles distant. The women and children were to proceed the next day to the same place, accompanied by the treasure and such stores as it was judicious to move. It was necessary that this work should be performed in silence and secrecy, to avoid the confusion and sacrifice of life which must ensue if the enemy should be on the alert. There were three places in which the helpless processions must come under the fire of the enemy, which was usually directed upon the defences; some were wounded in passing, and some of the native attendants were killed. Lady Inglis distinguished herself by a fortitude and generosity worthy of her gallant husband. When the non-combatants were safely conducted beyond the perils of the residency, the military evacuation of the place was commenced. The conduct of it was under the guidance of Sir James Outram, and excited the admiration of Sir Colin Campbell and of the whole army. So effectually was the enemy deceived by the arrangements, that the whole force was brought quietly off before the movement was even suspected. One man only was left behind; Captain Waterman, from a mistake of orders, occupied a post when all besides had departed. When he discovered his real situation he sought safety, and reached the common rendezvous in a state of utter exhaustion. Not a soldier perished in this masterly manœuvre, and so well was it executed that, long after the whole army had left, the enemy continued to pour shot and shell into the intrenchments where the English were supposed to be. When the sepoys found that the English had brought off their women and wounded, the children, stores, and treasure, they were filled with fury, and blew away from guns the four Englishmen who had been prisoners in the city. One event threw a gloom over all the glory of this achievement: Havelock, by whom Outram was chiefly assisted in the great undertaking, died of over fatigue, exhaustion, and anxiety. The lamentations of the army were great, and those of his country not less so. He was buried in the Alum Bagh. England lost in him one of the greatest of her warriors and purest of her sons. She failed to recognise his greatness until life was waning, and rendered him posthumous honours.

Immediately after the sad event of Havelock's death, Sir Colin commenced his march for Cawnpore. He intended to rest his weary charge at the Alum Bagh, but on the 27th he heard heavy firing in the direction of Cawnpore, which, fearing some disaster, led him to hasten the march. On the 28th, leaving Outram in charge of a part of the force at the Alum Bagh, he hastened forward, messengers having arrived to assure him that General Windham, who had been left in Cawnpore, had been beaten by the Gwalior contingent, which, after it had mutinied, hung around that neighbourhood. The events at Cawnpore which led to these disastrous tidings, and which were subsequently connected with Sir Colin's advance, were described by Captain Monson as follows:—

"On the 26th November General Windham

left his camp near Dhuboulee with 1200 infantry, 100 sowars, and eight guns, and marched against the Gwalior mutineers approaching from Calpee. He met the advanced body of the enemy in a strong position, on the other side of the dry Pandoo Nuddee, carried it with a rush, and cleared the village (Bowsee), half a mile in rear. The appearance of the main body of the rebels, however, induced him to repair towards Cawnpore, and he encamped on the Jooee plain, in front of the town, with the copse and canal on his left flank.

"About noon, on the 27th, the enemy attacked his camp, and after a resistance of five hours, at length compelled him to retreat through the town. On the morning of the 28th, the enemy, having been reinforced from Sheorajpore and Shewlee, advanced, took possession of the town, and erected batteries. Colonel Walpole, on the south side of the canal, gained some advantage, and captured two 18-pounders; but our outposts, between the town and the Ganges, were driven back, the church and assembly rooms were occupied by the mutineers, and a battery erected between the two. A few of the enemy's guns were spiked in the course of the day; but this exploit entailed heavy loss.

"Sir Colin Campbell arrived at the intrenchment at dusk on the 28th, and his troops began to cross the Ganges at 10 A.M., on the 29th; the enemy's fire on the bridge being kept down by heavy guns placed on the left bank of the river, whilst the march of the troops was covered by a cross-fire from intrenchments. At 6 P.M., November 30th, the whole of the troops, baggage, families, and wounded, had crossed over, and the troops occupied a position encircling Sir H. Wheeler's intrenchment. An attack on our outposts, 1st December, was repulsed, and on the 3rd, Sir Colin Campbell, by judicious arrangements, had forced the enemy to slacken their fire. An attempt, on the 4th, to destroy the bridge, by means of a fire-boat, failed; and another attack on our left picket was repulsed on the 5th.

"On the morning of the 6th, General Windham received orders to open a heavy bombardment from intrenchments, so as to deceive the enemy with respect to our intended attack. As soon as the fire began to slacken, Sir Colin concentrated his forces, threw forward his left, and proceeded to attack the enemy's right, crossing the canal thus:—Brigadier Walpole on the right, Brigadiers Hope and Inglis in the centre, and the cavalry and horse artillery, two miles further to the left, threatening the enemy's rear. Driving the enemy before them, our troops reached and captured his camp; the 23rd and 38th were left to guard it. Sir Colin Campbell, preceded by the cavalry and horse artillery, pursued the enemy to the fourteenth milestone on the Calpee road; whilst General Mansfield, with the Rifles, 93rd, and fourteen guns, turned to the right, and drove another body of the rebels, encamped between the town and the river, from their position at the Subadar Tank. The enemy, still in great force, but hemmed in between our intrenchment and the Subadar Tank, retreated towards Bhitoor; not, however, without making several unsuccessful attacks against our positions at the Subadar Tank, the captured camp, and the intrenchment."

Cawnpore was now safe. The non-combatants of Sir Colin's convoy were sent under safe guard to Allahabad, and thence to Calcutta, where they arrived amidst the most extraordinary demonstrations of joy, and amidst many grateful utterances to the heroic men by whom their rescue had been effected.

The further exploits of Sir Colin and his army will be related in another chapter.

## CHAPTER CXXXIII.

### OPERATIONS FROM CAWNPORE UNDER THE DIRECTION OF SIR COLIN CAMPBELL—CONQUEST OF LUCKNOW, SHAHJEHANPORE, AND BAREILLY—SUPPRESSION OF THE MUTINY IN OUDE, ROHILCUND, AND NEIGHBOURING DISTRICTS.

THE first operation of Sir Colin Campbell after the defeat of the Gwalior contingent at Cawnpore, and the escape of the liberated garrison of Lucknow to Calcutta, was to order Brigadier Walpole to take a column of troops to clear the western Doab near the Jumna, of the rebels gathered there. This was an important preliminary to any advance upon Lucknow. On the 18th of December, Walpole left Cawnpore, and as he marched restored order, dispersing armed parties which had been formed by the Gwalior mutineers.

He then marched towards Etawah, for the purpose of sweeping the country around Agra of the rebel bands which infested it. After partially effecting this object, he was ordered to co-operate with Brigadier Seaton and with Sir Colin himself in the capture of Furruckabad. It was important to achieve the capture of that place, from its position being the key of the Doab, Rohilcund, and Oude. In January, 1858, the junction of these officers was formed, and Furruckabad and all the surrounding country subdued. The rebels, however, escaped with very little punishment, owing to their greater swiftness of march, and their being unencumbered with the vast baggage which always attends European troops in India. Other brigadiers, such as Rowcroft, Franks, and Hope Grant, were also engaged in moving by a concerted scheme upon the grand scene of future action.

Sir Colin was better enabled to mature his plans, as they were not likely to be interrupted by any new revolts in the Bengal provinces. The Bengal army was gone, the seditious chiefs were already in arms, the districts which could be affected by their means were already insurgent; whereas Delhi was conquered, the Punjaub was tranquil and loyal, the country between Delhi and the Punjaub was kept in order by the ability and courage of Van Cortlandt; the Bombay and Madras presidencies were able on their own frontiers to menace the mutineers, and also send some help to Calcutta; and troops were arriving fast from England, although in detachments numerically small, and showing that the government in London had formed notions of aid inadequate to the emergency. By the middle of January, 1858, however, the number of troops landed in India from England was estimated at 23,000 men. Some of these were landed at Madras and Bombay, and were necessary to supply the places of other troops already sent to Bengal, or sent up the country; others which had landed at Calcutta were necessary for that city, Barrackpore, Benares, Allahabad, Eastern Bengal, &c., which had all been nearly denuded of troops, that had already become invalided or fallen in battle. Portions of the reinforcements were landed in ill-health, and others immediately succumbed to the climate, consisting as they did of mere raw lads. So that after all, Sir Colin did not receive troops at all approaching the number requisite for the proper accomplishment of the great task before him.

During this period of the inactivity of the commander-in-chief, Jung Bahadoor and his Goorkhas were capturing rebel chiefs, and dispersing rebel hordes along the Oude frontier. That leader, and Brigadiers Rowcroft and Franks, formed a *cordon* from Nepaul to the Ganges, such as they supposed would hem in the rebels of Oude.

Although Sir Colin remained in Futtyghur, his brigadiers were engaged in active operations, for the rebels boldly approached headquarters, and made dispositions as if to shut up the general there. On the 27th, Adrian Hope gained a splendid victory over a superior force. Soon after, he gained a second victory, which was more severely fought. In this, Major Hodson, the gallant cavalier who organized "Hodson's Horse," was fatally wounded.

These different operations had the effect of drawing away or clearing away the rebels from extensive districts beyond, and Agra became again free, and a centre of active operations against the mutineers, many of whom were brought in prisoners and executed. At this time so great was the leniency displayed at Calcutta, that mutineers are alleged to have appeared in its streets selling their uniforms.

On the 11th of February, Sir Colin at last began his march against Lucknow. It was a slow one, especially as the general brought with him 200 pieces of cannon. He was also checked by what might be called a rebel army of observation, which had assembled with remarkable celerity at Calpee.

Sir Colin was now approaching the Alum Bagh. Brigadier Franks had fought his way through the districts of Azinghur, Allahabad, and Juanpore, defeating the rebels at all points, and was approaching the grand army under Sir Colin. When this junction was formed, the "Juanpore field force" formed a fourth infantry division under Franks.

While this bold brigadier awaited on the frontier the orders of Sir Colin, he snatched a glorious victory from the rebels. He crossed into Oude near Sengramow. A rebel army sent from Lucknow, commanded by Nazim Mahomed Hossein, advanced in two divisions, hoping to surprise Franks. The brigadier surprised them, caught the divisions, and beat them in detail, utterly routing the whole force. He captured six guns, and slew 800 men. A desperate race was now run between the nazim and the brigadier as to which should obtain possession of the fort of Badshaigunge, commanding the pass and jungle so notoriously bearing the same name. The generalship of Franks gained the object. The nazim, joined by Bunda Hossein, another distinguished leader of the Oudeans, resolved to attack Franks. More than 6000 of their forces were revolted sepoys and sowars, the rest insurgents, but well accustomed to the

use of arms. Each party endeavoured to out-manœuvre the other, and at last the collision came, not at the fort, but near Sultanpore. The position of the enemy was good, the generalship of Franks better; he, by skilful and intricate manœuvres, such as our generals are not usually expert in employing, totally confused and discomfited the enemy, capturing twenty guns, and all their ammunition and baggage. About 1800 rebels were left killed or wounded on the field, among whom were several rebel chiefs. The day of vengeance had indeed come. The baffled sepoys and insurgents fled to Lucknow, leaving the road open to Franks if he should choose to join the commander-in-chief in that way. In the three battles, Franks lost two men killed, and sixteen wounded.

Jung Bahadoor approached the great centre of conflict more slowly than the commander-in-chief himself.

At the beginning of March, Brigadier Seaton captured, levelled, and burned a number of villages round Futtyghur, slaying and expelling bodies of rebels in every instance. One impediment to the advance of Sir Colin had been the neighbourhood of the Gwalior contingent, who were well equipped, well armed, and, it was believed, well commanded. Brigadier Maxwell encountered their force near Cawnpore, and routed it, having only a few men wounded. Brigadier Hope Grant had severe fighting in driving out the rebels from various small but strong forts and posts which they occupied between Cawnpore and Futtyghur. He slew about fifteen hundred rebels, and did not himself lose twenty men. His skilful combinations and fire saved his men, when every European was so precious. Still the rebels perpetually appeared where least expected, and the presence of the Nana Sahib, or of the Gwalior contingent, now here, then there, as if by magic, kept the English officers much harassed, and continually on the *qui vive*.

The hour was gradually arriving when Lucknow must resist the might of England or perish. The plans of Sir Colin were every day telling. The brigadiers on the frontiers, and the Goorkha chief, were closing in and making narrower the circle within which, apparently, the rebellion must assert its vitality. Sir Colin advanced to Lucknow. Along the right bank of the Goomtee, for five miles, palaces and public buildings stretched away; farther from the river lay a dense mass of narrow streets and lanes. Beyond the building called the Muchee Bhawan, there was a stone bridge over the river. Near the residency there was an iron bridge, and a bridge of boats near the building called the Motee Mahal. The rebels, while in undisturbed possession, had fortified the place, and made it immensely strong. Ditches, earthworks, bastions, batteries, loopholed walls, fortified houses, gardens, enclosures, barricaded streets and lanes, guns mounted on domes and public buildings, piles of rubbish, and rude masonry of enormous thickness,—in fine, all resources which a great city could supply to mutinous soldiery were brought into requisition. The defenders were very numerous, comprising the whole population of three hundred thousand persons, Oude soldiery and retainers of various chiefs to the extent of fifty thousand, and sowars and sepoys, deserters from the army of Bengal, thirty thousand. A moulvie, a Mussulman fanatic, who perpetually incited the Mohammedans to acts of hostility, was supposed to aim at the throne himself.

On the 1st of March, Sir Colin, in his camp at Buntara, considered his plan of attack. He resolved to cannonade the city on each extremity, so as to enfilade the defences. His first preparation was for crossing the river. The enemy had removed the bridge of boats; the iron and stone bridges were commanded by batteries, and vigilantly watched. To invest the city was impossible, from its great extent. Attended by Generals Archdale Wilson, Little, Lugard, Adrian Hope, and Hope Grant, he advanced to the Dil Koosha palace and park on the eastern extremity of the city. This movement was for strategical purposes. The enemy's horse watched and menaced the approach. As the troopers retired, the guns of the defence opened with rapid and well-sustained fire. Sir Colin carried the Dil Koosha and the Mohenud Bagh, and occupied them as advanced pickets. Sir Colin perceived from the summits of the conquered parts that the defences could only be stormed at a terrible sacrifice of life, and success might be doubtful; that the conquest of the place must be effected by artillery. He sent for his siege-train, and other heavy guns, and placed them in position. His army lay with its right on the Goomtee, and its left extending towards the Alum Bagh, covering the ground to the south-east of the city. The Dil Koosha was head-quarters. On the 4th, the English lines were extended to Babiapore, a house and enclosure further down the right bank of the river. The inhabitants began to flee from the city, to the annoyance of the court and the mutineers, who calculated upon the townspeople making a desperate resistance. On the 5th, General Franks, after his splendid victories, joined the commander-in-chief. The army under Sir Colin was now about twenty-three thousand. He had cal-

culated upon having a force exceeding thirty thousand, as the least which afforded a prospect of complete success. The engineers had been preparing, since the 1st, the means of forming two bridges near the English advanced post of Babiapore, so as to operate upon the left as well as the right bank of the river. The bridges were completed in spite of the attempts of the enemy to obstruct them; and to Sir James Outram was entrusted the command of the forces destined to operate on the opposite bank of the river. A remarkable exemplification of the power of science and modern scientific discovery in war, was shown in the use of the electric wire. Lieutenant Stewart followed Sir Colin Campbell, in the novel capacity of chief of his electric staff, with his wires, galvanic batteries, poles, &c. These were laid along from Allahabad, where the governor-general was, to Cawnpore, thence to the Alum Bagh, thence to Sir Colin's head-quarters, and thence over the river to the head-quarters of Sir James Outram, when that officer and his *corps d'armée* crossed the newly-made bridges.

On the 6th, the first important combat commenced; previous conflicts were mere skirmishes. Sir James was then attacked in force, but with little loss repelled assaults which were continued all day. On the 7th, these assaults were renewed with still more energy, and yet less success.

On the 9th, Sir James opened his batteries upon the key of the enemy's position in that quarter, the Chukhur Walla Kathee. He drove the enemy from their positions by the resistless fire of his guns; they abandoned strong posts which might have been easily defended, and which Outram seized, advancing his infantry as that of the enemy receded. Crossing a bridge over a nullah, he advanced his right flank to the Fyzabad road. Some Mohammedan fanatics barricaded themselves in the Yellow House, and were with difficulty conquered; some fled, but most of them perished. Several villages were seized by the conqueror, and he advanced to the king's garden or Padishaw Bagh, opposite the Fureek Buksh palace. These conquests enabled him to open an enfilade fire on the defences of the Kaiser Bagh. When the Yellow House was captured by Outram, Campbell ordered a cannonade against the Martiniere. This was chiefly conducted by Sir William Peel and his sailors, and so skilfully did he cast ball, red-hot shot, shell, and rocket into the enclosures occupied by the sepoys, that great destruction of life was caused. Captain Peel received a musket-ball in the thigh, which was extracted immediately, and he insisted on returning to his duty. Sir Edward Lugard, and a body of Highlanders and Sikhs, stormed the Martiniere without firing a shot; the loss was small. All these successes had been planned by Sir Colin himself, who issued his orders with minute particularisation.

On the 10th, Outram's heavy guns raked the enemy's outer line of defence, while vertical shot fell among the groups of infantry whenever collected near that line. He conquered by his fire the head of the iron bridge completely, and nearly subdued the defence at the head of the stone bridge. General Lugard captured Banks House, and mounted guns there—an important object to the attack.

The first or outer line of defence was now conquered. Outram on the 11th took possession of the iron bridge leading from the cantonment to the city, and drove the rebels out from all their positions between that bridge and the Padishaw Bagh on the left bank of the river. On Sir Colin's side, Brigadier Napier, using the blocks of buildings for approaches, sapped through them, bringing up guns and mortars as he advanced his works, and bombarded the palaces of the Begum Kotee. When a breach was made, Lugard and Adrian Hope, with their Highlanders, Sikhs, and Goorkhas, stormed the place. The resistance was desperate, and the conflict sanguinary, but the British were victors. Napier continued to sap on through houses, garden walls, and enclosures, turning them all to account for cover, and again brought up the artillery to open its destructive charges upon the next interposing defence. While the attack on the Begum Kotee was going on, Jung Bahadoor arrived. His force was directed to cover the left wing of the British as its allotted task. The capture of the Begum Kotee was one of the most sanguinary scenes of war. The rooms of the palace were strewn with dead sepoys, while fragments of ladies' apparel, and other tokens of oriental grandeur, rent and blood-stained, lay around. Mr. Russell declared that the horrid scenes in the hospital of Sebastopol, were inferior in appalling aspect to the rooms of that gaudy palace filled with the festering dead, and slippery with gore. From this building the sapping was continued to the Eman Barra, in the same way as before, through buildings and enclosures. So intricate were the passages, that it was the 13th before the guns and mortars for battering and breaching the Eman Barra could be brought forward. On that day Jung Bahadoor and his Nepaulese seized many out-buildings, and circumscribed the limits of the enemy. On the 14th the Eman Barra was breached and taken. The Sikhs,

pursuing the enemy from the captured post, turned the third or inmost line of defence, entered the Kaiser Bagh, and, followed by supports from Franks' brigade, a number of the most important public buildings, loopholed and defended by cannon, were taken without a shot. Sir James Outram, from his side, with cannon and rifle aided the work of the 14th.

On the 15th Sir Colin perceived that the defences were untenable, and that final victory must soon crown his efforts. The enemy also perceived this; crowds of the people were fleeing from the city, and the sepoys were with difficulty kept in the defences. The plunder of the palaces followed their capture: costly garments, Indian jewellery, precious stones, gold and silver, lace and specie, were the prizes of the conquerors. Luxuriant viands also gratified the hungry and refreshed the weary.

On the night of the 14th and the morning of the 15th many of the sepoys fled towards Upper Oude and Rohilcund. Sir Colin does not appear to have been prepared for this, and in consequence many desperate characters got safely away to rob and murder elsewhere. On the 16th Outram crossed the engineers' bridge, and marched right through the city to intercept fugitives if possible. He then received a proposition from the begum, offering to compromise matters. Outram refused any terms but those of unconditional surrender, and conquered his way to the residency, of which he took possession. Hard fighting began near the iron and stone bridges, and a great slaughter of rebels ensued. Their ingenuity and local knowledge enabled many to escape by means which the English could not frustrate. On the 17th the British were completely masters of the city. The enemy gathered in force outside its precincts and fought a battle, but Outram and Jung Bahadoor routed them with slaughter, capturing their guns. So bold were the rebels that in their retreat they attempted the Alum Bagh. Here Jung Bahadoor fought several severe combats, defeating the assailants. During the final day of combat in the city Mrs. Orr and Miss Jackson were rescued from an obscure house, where they had been imprisoned. After the city was subdued it was discovered that the moulvie and a strong body of followers were concealed in one of the palaces: the place was stormed, the prime-minister was slain, but the moulvie escaped; shot and sabre left few of this strange garrison to become fugitives. Sir Colin lost nineteen officers killed, and forty-eight wounded, and more than eleven hundred men. The loss of the enemy was many thousands, but the great majority escaped from indifferent pursuit. An earlier flight than could have been expected, according to the ru es of war, baffled the general. Lucknow was taken, but the rebel army was in the field.

### CAMPAIGN OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AFTER THE FALL OF LUCKNOW.

When the Europeans in Calcutta, and when the people of England, heard that the rebels had been allowed to escape from Lucknow with impunity, there was severe criticism upon the strategy of the British chief, and much discontent. This was increased when it was learned that Sir Colin lingered at Lucknow until the hot season, in all its fury, fell upon the plains of India. It was certain that no prompt energetic action, no bold and enterprising undertakings, followed the conquest of Lucknow. Mr. Montgomery, the colleague of Sir John Lawrence, was appointed civil commissioner in the room of Sir James Outram, for whom other work and other honours were reserved. He was appointed military member of the council at Calcutta.

In Rohilcund the chiefs of rebellion were now congregated; Khan Bahadoor Khan assuming the sovereignty. Among the chiefs collected around him was Nana Sahib, who fled to Bareilly with four hundred troopers. He took part in the defence of Lucknow, but did not distinguish himself by his courage. It was rumoured that, failing in Rohilcund, the rebels would try their fortunes in Central India. Sir Colin, acting upon this supposition, so disposed his forces as to guard as many as possible of the ghauts on the Jumna and the Ganges, and so prevent the rebels accomplishing that object, and enclose the war within Rohilcund, leaving the actual disturbances in Central India to be dealt with by the presidencies of Bombay and Madras. Jung Bahadoor and his Goorkhas returned home, feeling or affecting displeasure with the want of respect shown to them. Sir Edward Lugard was directed by the commander-in-chief to march to Arrah and attack Koer Singh, who, after many wandering depredations, was back again in his own district. Lord Marke Kerr, with a small force from Benares, had confronted this chief, and saved Azinghur, but his troops were too few to expel the rebels. Sir Edward Lugard made for Azinghur. A powerful force of the enemy got into his rear; Lugard returned and beat them. Lieutenant Charles Havelock, nephew of the hero of Lucknow, fell by an obscure enemy.

On the 15th of April, Lugard reached Azinghur, fought and gained a battle, and captured the place. The enemy, as in most

other instances, escaped. Brigadier Douglas, with a portion of the troops, was sent in pursuit. After five days' chase Douglas overtook, defeated, and wounded Koer Singh. On the 21st, Douglas again came up with him while crossing the Ganges; guns, treasure, and ammunition were captured, but Koer Singh succeeded in crossing the river. He retreated to his own dominion at Jugdespore. Captain Le Grande was then at Arrah, with one hundred and fifty men of H. M. 35th, fifty sailors, and one hundred and fifty Sikhs. He marched out to intercept Koer Singh, who, with two thousand dispirited men, without guns, took post on the skirt of a jungle. Le Grande attacked, but suddenly a bugle sounded retreat in the rear of the British. Le Grande hesitated, his men fell into confusion, and finally fled with dastardly precipitancy, followed by Koer Singh, who cut down and pursued them to Arrah. It was agreed on all hands that the cowardly and incompetent conduct of the men of the 35th caused this disaster. Le Grande and various other officers fell. Koer Singh's followers now became aggressors, and it required the skill of various British officers to maintain their positions. The insurgents fought better than the mutineers had fought. Douglas, after resting his troops, followed Koer Singh into his own region, and thoroughly swept it of rebellion, clearing the jungle, and suppressing the insurrection.

Sir Hope Grant had a column placed at his disposal to follow the rebels northward from Lucknow. He chased for some time the moulvie, and the begum and her paramour; but infamous as were this trio, the people everywhere sided with them, and they out-manœuvred Grant. He was as unsuccessful in this pursuit as he had been in preventing the escape of the rebels from Lucknow, and returned to head-quarters utterly baffled. Rohilcund continued in arms; the great cities and towns, such as Bareilly, Shahjehanpore, and Moorshedabad, were in the hands of the rebels. Khan Bahadoor Khan ruled at Bareilly, and his force was not to be despised. It became apparent to everybody how serious the consequences of the bad generalship which allowed the rebels and mutineers to escape from Lucknow. The plan of the commander-in-chief now was to scour the borders of the province with two columns, which, setting out in opposite directions, should meet at Bareilly, the capital, where two of the Delhi princes had taken shelter with Bahadoor Khan. Brigadier Jones was ordered to advance from Roorkee with what was designated the Roorkee field-force, and to take a direction south-east. The other column was to leave Lucknow, under Brigadier Walpole, and was called the Rohilcund field-force. This was to march north-westward. The Roorkee field-force at once began its operations, under the spirited management of Brigadier Jones. The formation of the Rohilcund force was delayed a little. Following the operations of these forces separately, the Roorkee field-force first requires notice, as first in action. It consisted of three thousand men, eight heavy, and six light guns. It was a perfect little brigade, comprising engineers, cavalry, &c., in due proportion. Having marched from Roorkee, they on the 15th of April prepared to cross the Ganges to the left bank. The enemy was intrenched on the opposite side at the most advantageous ghaut. Jones brought his light troops across elsewhere, surprised the enemy, took his intrenchments in flank, dispersed their defenders, and brought over the heavy guns and baggage at the ghaut. Jones marched on, sweeping all before him, until the 21st, when he was obstructed on the banks of a canal. He again took the enemy's position in flank, captured all his guns and elephants, and sent him away in mad flight, so that pursuit by regular troops was impossible. The loss of the brigadier's force in these transactions was one officer killed, and some men wounded. Moorshedabad was the next important place. The English had friends there among the natives, and the Rajah of Rampore was an ally. On the 21st of April, while Jones was beating the rebels, and capturing their elephants and cannon, the shah-zada (heir of the Delhi throne, or, at all events, one of the princes of that house), named Feroze Shah, marched to Moorshedabad to demand tribute and rations for his forces. He was refused, through the influence of the Rajah of Rampore, and a conflict was the consequence. The shah-zada pillaged the neighbourhood in order to obtain what he required. While his imperial highness was thus engaged, Jones, very much to his astonishment, arrived, attacked him, beat his forces, captured many of his chiefs, saved the town of Moorshedabad, and extended the authority of the Rampore rajah. Jones waited at that place further orders from Lucknow, in connection with the other column, with which he understood he was to co-operate against Bareilly. Walpole marched with six thousand men, and hearing that a body of rebels had sought the protection of one of the country forts situated at Roowah, he resolved to attack them. When he arrived, he, without any proper preparation, or even *reconnaissance*, and although possessing a powerful artillery, ordered his infantry at once to

attack it. The place was strong,—houses encircled by a wall, protected by bastions, every surface loopholed. The infantry were, of course, repulsed with slaughter, and the gallant Adrian Hope, one of the most talented officers in the service, perished. The impossible task had been committed to that officer, who saw the folly of the order assigned to him, but obeyed. The supports were so badly arranged as to be too late, the reserves were sent to a place remote from the attack, and all was confusion on the side of the British, and triumph on the side of the rebels, of whom there were only a few hundreds in the place. Walpole brought up his heavy guns to batter a breach, but the enemy stole away in the night, leaving the English general to batter his way in, or take some shorter method if he chose. The place was easy of investment, but was not invested; the enemy were permitted there, as everywhere else by Sir Colin Campbell and his officers, to make good their retreat with impunity, to unfurl the standard of resistance elsewhere. Walpole redeemed his honour at Sirsa, beating the enemy by the judicious use of his artillery and cavalry, driving them across the Ramgunga with heavy loss. The "Pandies" were too hotly pressed to destroy the bridge of boats, over which Walpole brought his army and equipage, and halted until joined by the commander-in-chief.

Sir Colin, at the head of the remainder of his army, marched towards Futtyghur, where he arrived on the 25th of April, and thence sent for Brigadier Penny, who had commanded in Delhi, and had made various flying expeditions round that territory. He was ordered to bring such troops as he could collect into the combined operations by which Rohilcund was to be conquered. He was to march towards Merumpore Muttra, between Shahjehanpore and Bareilly. The commander-in-chief marched direct into Rohilcund. On the 27th, the junction with Walpole was effected at Zingree, near the Ramgunga. They at once marched to Jellalabad. The moulvie occupied Shahjehanpore with a strong force. Sir Colin's dispositions were made to shut him up there, which he might have done, had he been as active or acute as the moulvie, who completely outgeneraled the general, and departed with his troops to Oude, doubling upon the commander-in-chief. This was most disheartening to his excellency, and to the whole British army. Nana Sahib had been with the moulvie; before retreating, he unroofed all the buildings. He thus deprived the English of shade in the midst of the hot season. Sir Colin found a deserted town of dilapidated houses, where he had hoped to pen up powerful enemies, and bring them to decisive battle, or immediate surrender. His plans so far were costly, cumbrous, slow, and abortive. The death of Sir W. Peel, of small-pox, at Cawnpore, added to the disheartenment of the British army.

The month of April wore away: Bareilly was not captured, Rohilcund was not conquered, although it had been invaded from all quarters by four different armies, numerous, and perfectly equipped. The rebellion proved itself possessed of a vitality for which neither the governor-general nor the commander-in-chief were prepared. In Rohilcund, and all around it, people and chiefs were in arms, and no less than ten distinct columns of British were kept in harassing marches, beneath a burning sun, without being able to produce any decisive effect upon the insurrection. A successful exploit by Brigadier Seaton, at Kaubur, in which he cut up a large number of the enemy, and captured their baggage, and the papers of their leaders, threw light upon the plans of the insurgents generally, showing that they were acting in consort in Central India, Upper Bengal, Oude, and Rohilcund.

On the 2nd of May, Sir Colin Campbell set out from Shahjehanpore to attack Bareilly. On the 3rd he was joined by the column of Brigadier Penny, which had moved thither from their sphere of operations to the west of Rohilcund. *En route*, Penny, by carelessness, allowed his troops to fall into an ambush, and with difficulty his army was saved from destruction; by the dint of hard fighting they beat the enemy and resumed their march. General Penny, who seems to have been the least vigilant officer in his host, was slain, and many officers were wounded through his inadvertence. He was killed by a rush made upon him by a body of fanatics. The beaten rebels marched to Bareilly, and strengthened that garrison. Colonel Jones, of the carabiniers (not to be confounded with the brigadier commanding the Roorkee field-force), brought on the brigade to Sir Colin. Brigadier John Jones marched from Moorshedabad towards Bareilly, operating at the same time with Sir Colin from an opposite direction. Jones was resisted on his march, but drove the rebels headlong before him. Arriving at Bareilly, he won the bridge, which the rebels defended stoutly; and, at the same time, the cannon of Sir Colin thundered tidings of his approach from the opposite side of the place. This was followed by a sudden charge of rebel cavalry upon the baggage in the rear of Sir Colin's army, which created such confusion as to leave further hostile operations

that day impossible. Many had sunk on the march from fatigue, weakness, and sun-stroke. There were, however, plenty of troops fresh enough, and there was time enough to have entered the city and stormed it. Sir Colin, still preserving his dilatory tactics, halted on the plain, and so disposed his forces that, as usual, where either he or his brigadiers commanded, the enemy escaped with impunity. Even on the 6th, Sir Colin spent his time cannonading old houses. It was not until the 7th that he learned that General John Jones was at the opposite side of the city. Sir Colin *then* entered, ordering the brigadier to do the same. The rebels had fled, taking with them such portable things as were of most value.

Scarcely had Sir Colin Campbell left Shahjehanpore to march upon Bareilly, than the rebels, numbering eight thousand men, returned. Colonel Hall, and a few hundred men, had been left behind as a garrison. These for eight days defended themselves, a defence which would have proved utterly unavailing had not Hall, with more foresight than his general, laid up provision and ammunition behind a strong and intrenched position. After suffering suspense, and continually fighting for nine days, the little band was saved. Sir Colin hearing at Bareilly of Colonel Hall's situation, sent back Brigadier Jones, with a well-appointed force, who beat the rebels in a pitched battle and relieved the place.

Brigadier Jones soon found that he had not defeated the grand force of the enemy, and that future struggle was in store for him. The Moulvie of Fyzabad, the Begum of Oude, the Shah-zada of Delhi, and Nana Sahib, uniting their forces, attacked Shahjehanpore on May 15th. The English general fought for very life throughout the day, so numerous, powerful, and persistent were his enemies. Of the four chiefs named, all displayed great courage, even the lady termed the begum, except the Nana, who kept out of range, being a notorious coward. When Sir Colin heard this news, he hastened back with a portion of his forces. On the morning of the 18th, he arrived at Shahjehanpore. He was attacked the same day by a force, chiefly consisting of newly-raised Rohilla cavalry, splendidly mounted, good riders, expert swordsmen, and exceedingly gallant. Their cannon were numerous and well appointed. Sir Colin with difficulty repulsed the enemy, his own troops, wearied with marching, and suffering from heat, having been the portion of the army engaged. Campbell ordered Brigadier Coke to join him. On the 24th, Sir Colin and Coke marched to the place (Mohumdee) which the chiefs had occupied as head-quarters, and whence they had issued to attack Shahjehanpore. They were gone. In the abandoned forts guns and treasure were found buried.

While the commander-in-chief was in Rohilcund, Sir H. Grant was engaged around Lucknow. Large bodies of rebels sprung up as if by magic. He gained battle after battle, but not until the hot season was over was any quiet ensured around the capital of Oude. Active operations by the brigadiers of the various movable columns in the north-western provinces also continued through the hot season. In the central region of the Ganges, Sir Edward Lugard maintained a career of heroic exploits until the provinces there were controlled, and insurrection quelled. Sir Colin broke up the Rohilcund field-force, and considered the rebellion in that province and Oude subdued.

## CHAPTER CXXXIV.

VARIOUS MUTINIES AND INSURRECTIONS, AND THEIR SUPPRESSION—CAPTURE OF JHANSI AND CALPEE BY SIR HUGH ROSE—REVOLUTIONS IN GWALIOR—SURRENDER OF THE CITY TO TANTIA TOPEE—FLIGHT OF SCINDIAH—CAPTURE OF THE CITY AND FORTRESS BY SIR HUGH ROSE—RESTORATION OF SCINDIAH—DEATH OR CAPTURE OF THE CHIEF LEADERS OF THE REVOLT—DISPERSION OF THE REBEL BANDS—END OF THE MUTINY AND INSURRECTION.

DINAPORE was one of the most important stations in India. A vast district of country belonged to that military division. It is situated in the very populous province of Behar, between Oude and Bengal proper. The eastern portion of northern India would necessarily, at such a crisis, be much influenced by the loyalty or defection of the district of Dinapore. That district comprised the rich and populous city of Patna, which is within a short distance of the military station. The country around is fertile and cultivated, and remarkable for the number of rich indigo plantations. The chief civil au-

thority, Mr. Taylor, resided at Patna; the chief military authority was Major-general Lloyd, who resided at the cantonments. So feeble was he at the time of the mutiny, that he had to be lifted on his horse, and was incapable of using any exertion such as the superintendence of a large military station required. He had been a brave and efficient officer before his powers failed through age and exhaustion. The troops at the station were three regiments of Bengal native infantry—7th, 8th, and 40th. The European troops were a wing of her majesty's 10th foot, two companies of her majesty's 37th, and two troops of horse artillery. Evidence of the sedition of the native regiments was abundantly afforded through the months of May, June, and July. The officers declared that it would be easy for the European force to disarm the native regiments, but General Lloyd doubted their power to do so, and besides declared against the necessity of it, as *his* sepoys were loyal.

On the 24th of July, General Lloyd was at last convinced that some precautions should be adopted. He ordered the percussion-caps to be taken out of the magazine which the sepoys guarded. This was done amidst turbulence on the part of the 8th regiment, but only a feeble attempt was made to interrupt the proceeding. The general, instead of at once disarming this regiment, gave the sepoys until four o'clock to consider whether they would give up the magazine quietly, which contained a large store of ball-cartridges. He then went on board a steamer on the river, without empowering any one else to act. While the general was absent, the sepoys revolted; they filled their pouches with ammunition, removed their families, and set things in order for the march to Delhi. The 10th and 37th Europeans stood to their arms, but it was not known that the general was asleep on board a steamer, and the second in command lost much time in looking for him. The sepoys began to shoot at their officers, but none were killed. The sick European soldiers and their guard mounted on the hospital, and opened fire into the masses of the sepoys, who broke and fled. The European troops, without orders, attacked the mutineers, who fled at the first discharge, leaving apparel, cooking utensils, and numbers of their families behind them. A squadron of cavalry would have succeeded in dispersing or cutting them up. The mutineers proceeded to Arrah, fourteen miles off. Pursuit was possible, as there were elephants at Dinapore by means of which it could have been instituted. The rebels went along at leisure, burning and plundering as they proceeded. Intelligence of their devastations, and the leisurely way in which they were committed, reached Dinapore hour by hour, but the general would give no orders. He was entreated to save Arrah, but still issued no commands. *On the evening of the 27th*, one hundred and ninety men of the 37th were sent by steamer to relieve the few Europeans at Arrah, who were bravely defending themselves. The vessel soon grounded, and remained fast until the afternoon of the 29th, when another steamer was dispatched, which took them on board: it also bore seventy Sikhs, and one hundred and fifty men of the 10th. These troops disembarked twelve miles from Arrah, and marched towards it. Captain Dunbar, who commanded the party, believed native testimony as to the condition of things at Arrah: he was informed that the sepoys had abandoned the place; he therefore pushed on, although ignorant of the road, and in the darkness of rapidly-falling night, without throwing out an advanced guard, or making any dispositions to prevent surprise. When he arrived at a mango tope, through which the road passed, a fire of musketry was opened from both sides of the way. The sepoys were in ambush, having previously sent native emissaries for the purpose of deceiving the English captain. The British were thrown into confusion by the suddenness of the attack. Volley after volley swept down their numbers, and no orders were given to advance or retreat. Incredible as it may seem, this European force remained through the night exposed to this fire, from which darkness and the timidity of their enemies were the only protection. When morning dawned, half the force lay dead or wounded. Dunbar ordered a retreat; the wounded remaining behind were shot or bayoneted by the sepoys, who followed closely, throwing themselves with great rapidity upon the British flanks, and firing wherever there was cover. Captain Dunbar, Lieutenant Sale, Ensign Erskine, Lieutenants Ingleby and Anderson, volunteers, the mate of the steamer, and railway-engineer, also volunteers, and one hundred and fifty soldiers, were killed; scarcely a man of the remainder escaped being wounded.

General Lloyd was now more helpless than ever—he neither performed nor attempted anything. Tidings of this disgrace filled all the surrounding country, and men everywhere prepared for revolt. Meerut, Delhi, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Dinapore, were words of encouragement and hope to all the disaffected. Every disaster was made known far and near, while news of English successes travelled with comparative tardiness.

Major Vincent Eyre was at Buxar, and rightly judged that General Lloyd was incapable; that the *prestige* of the English name would be ruined all over Behar and Bengal; and that the fatal news would penetrate to Oude, and to the upper provinces, and everywhere strengthen disaffection, unless speedy relief was given to Arrah. He left Buxar with one hundred and fifty of her majesty's 5th Fusiliers, and three guns. As soon as he arrived within range, he opened fire upon the besieging sepoys, who fled without resistance, and the little garrison was at once and with ease relieved. When Eyre arrived, the loyal residents were in great straits. They numbered fifteen Europeans and fifty Sikhs. The Europeans were chiefly composed of railway clerks and indigo-planters. Fifty of the mutineers had fallen under the fire of the garrison, but not one of the little band had been hit. The rebels were mining the defences, and would have succeeded in blowing them up had not Eyre arrived with his Northumbrian Fusiliers. All the property, private and public, in the neighbourhood had been destroyed by the rebels.

The danger of Patna being looted was now apparent. The opium godowns contained property to the amount of two millions sterling. Its defenders were Rattray's Sikhs, without guns. The defence proved sufficient to deter the fugitive mutineers.

In August, all Behar was disturbed, confusion and disorder reigned everywhere.

When Vincent Eyre relieved Arrah, two hundred Europeans of the 10th were sent to him from Dinapore upon his urgent demand, and that of Mr. Taylor, the civil commissioner at Patna. One hundred Sikhs arrived from Patna, so that the major had a force of five hundred men. With the greater portion of this body he set out for Jugdespore, where the Rajah Koer Singh, who had assisted the mutineers at Arrah, was in arms with his retainers, and a large body of sepoys. The fort at Jugdespore was strong, and the roads thither were cut up and flooded. Eyre arrived at the place through all difficulties. The 10th foot begged for leave to avenge the ambuscade on the Arrah road. Permission was given; led by Captain Patterson they rushed upon the enemy with a shout, and fell upon them with the bayonet in the utmost fury, slaying all who resisted, and driving the sepoys in panic before them. Jugdespore surrendered, Eyre killing three hundred of its defenders; of his own force six men were wounded. Koer Singh fled to the jungle, where he had a house tolerably fortified. Captain L'Estrange was dispatched thither; he destroyed some of the houses of the Koer Singh family, and swept the country of its adherents.

All through the month of August the Dinapore mutineers wandered about looting. Koer Singh collected various bands of marauders and marched into Bundelcund, spreading devastation as they went. Isolated corps and detachments of sepoys mutinied and murdered their officers all along the course of the Ganges. Amidst so much weakness and confusion Mr. Money, the magistrate at Gayah, showed great activity and intelligence, tracing rebel sepoys to their villages, and arresting them suddenly, the reluctant police being awed by his firmness, boldness, and air of authority, as well as by surprise at his extraordinary intelligence. Some of the military officers, as Major Horne, assumed local authority, and by dash and decision kept all quiet in their neighbourhood, proclaiming military law.

In September all Behar and Lower Bengal were afflicted by roving bands of robbers and mutineers; thirty millions of people were agitated by the results of the revolt at Dinapore. In Eastern Bengal the agitation was intense. Complications arose in Assam. Native pretenders were disposed to call the people to arms. There were no troops to send eastward from Calcutta, but a body of sailors, by some severe fighting and hard toil, kept the rebellious in awe.

### INSURRECTION IN AND AROUND AGRA.

Agra, as the seat of government for the north-western or upper provinces of Bengal, and the residence of a lieutenant-governor, was a place of prime importance. To this place fugitives from Central India, from Bareilly, from Oude, and other regions made their way, until two thousand children, and nearly four thousand adults, chiefly noncombatants, occupied the fort. The sepoys gradually revolted or deserted; even those who had previously assisted in disarming mutineers, or attacking insurgents, caught the prevailing epidemic of disaffection, and mutinied. Various actions took place in the neighbourhood; the garrison sallying out against hordes of rebels twenty times their number. Brigadiers Polliale and Cotton rendered good service, but the former officer, although efficient in the field, was not gifted with talents for organization, and was less enterprising than skilful in battle. The people of Agra, especially the Mohammedan rabble, aided by mutineers, destroyed the city, consuming the buildings and plundering all property, private and public. During the summer and autumn of 1857, the fort of Agra,

with its numerous refugees and children, held out unaided. The Kotah contingent, comprising seven hundred men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, upon which much reliance had been placed, mutinied, and added to the horrors that filled the once imperial city during three months of trial and suffering.

THE MUTINY BETWEEN DELHI AND FEROZEPORE DURING THE AUTUMN OF 1857.

In this vast district energy and ability were displayed by General Van Cortlandt, which entitled him to the gratitude of the British nation. The general was a native of India, and had been in the service of Runjeet Singh. He was received into the service of the company, and distinguished himself at Mooltan and elsewhere during the Sikh war. He assembled a small force of Sikh irregulars, and moved on Sirsah, where, as well as in the Hissar, Hansee, and Rohtuck districts, the rising had been universal. Within ten days these newly raised troops defeated vastly superior bodies of men in actions at Odhwala and Khyrakay, and retook Sirsah. Here he was reinforced by a large body of Bikaneer troops, and advanced on Hissar. The walled town of Hansee being attacked by the rebels in force, the general threw forward one thousand Rajpoots, who relieved the town, and held it till his arrival with the remainder of his forces. From Hansee he detached a large body of troops to Hissar to repel a threatened attack. Two thousand five hundred rebels advanced up to the very gates on the 19th of August, but were repulsed and completely routed, with a loss of upwards of three hundred men. At Mungalee, early in September, another action was fought with the rebels, in which they were completely routed. General Van Cortlandt then advanced with his whole force, and drove the enemy from Jumalpore, where they had taken up a strong position, and cleared the whole country to Rohtuck, within a few miles of Delhi. The whole of the country from Sirsah to Delhi was utterly hostile; and massacres occurred at Sirsah, Hissar, and Hansee. Its importance, both politically and strategically, was immense, interposing between the Punjaub and Delhi. Van Cortlandt, with a force entirely native, and composed of most heterogeneous materials, with but nine European officers, reconquered these districts, collected the revenue, retook the stations of Sirsah, Hissar, Hansee, and Rohtuck, re-established the custom's line, diverted from Delhi a considerable force under Shah-zada Mohammed Azeem, whom he afterwards compelled to evacuate the country, and, with his lieutenants, totally routed the rebels in four hardly-fought actions.

MADRAS AND BOMBAY.

In Madras the troops remained loyal, although for the most part Mohammedans. This arose from the peculiar system of the Madras army, from the remoteness of the presidency from Delhi and Oude, the great traditional centres of native power, and from the large population of native Christians scattered through the presidency and connected with some of the native corps. There were agitations, arrests made by the sowars and sepoys themselves when emissaries from Bengal tampered with them, and some few disturbances, but the presidency remained loyal, its troops served in Central India against the rebels, and supplies of men and munitions were spared from Madras for Calcutta and other portions of Bengal.

In Bombay also the army was in the main loyal, although it excited much apprehension. The irregular troops in the north-west of the presidency were disposed to revolt, some deserted, and were captured and hung. At Kolapore, however, mutiny displayed itself. The 27th Bombay native infantry, without the slightest indication of dissatisfaction, suddenly rose on the 1st of August, the festival of Buckree Eed. Three of their officers were instantly murdered. They plundered the treasury, murdered a native woman, the mother of their own jemadar, performed sundry acts of religious devotion, and left the station in a body; the native officers of the corps remained loyal. Immediately, as in other cases, the surrounding country for a vast distance became agitated and disturbed. Vigilance, circumspection, and activity characterised the proceedings of the English authorities, and a Mohammedan conspiracy was discovered which had its ramifications throughout the presidency, its chief strength being in Poonah, Sattara, Belgaum, Dharwar, Rectnagherry, and Sawunt Waree. The Rajah of Sattara and his family were implicated. Mr. Rose, the commissioner, arrested him and placed him and the ranee under surveillance at Poonah. The religious leaders of the Mohammedans at that place had drawn up a plan for the massacre, not only of the Europeans, but of the native Christians at Poonah, Sattara, and Belgaum, which would have been put into execution but for the detection of the scheme. The first step of the proposed measures of revolt, was the blowing up of the arsenal at Poonah. The native regiments were disarmed, the leading Mohammedan devotees arrested, and the disaffected awed by the display of vigour. Numbers of the captured 27th were blown away from guns at Kolapore and Rectnagherry. One of the chief conspirators at Belgaum was a moonshee, who

received one hundred and fifty rupees a month for teaching the officers Hindostanee.

The uneasiness at Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, was very great as to how the Nizam of the Deccan would act at this juncture. He and his court happily remained faithful, as did also his troops. The populace of Hyderabad broke out into tumult; they were fanatical Mohammedans. Grape-shot from the guns of the horse artillery tamed their fanaticism, and there was no more insurrection. The irregular and some regular troops of the Bombay army in several instances refused to obey orders, and openly said that the King of Delhi was their rightful sovereign. Some deserted, but most were reduced to obedience.

ARRIVAL OF REINFORCEMENTS FROM ENGLAND AND NEPAUL—EXPEDITIONS OF THE CONQUERORS OF DELHI.

At last, in November and December, troops arrived at Calcutta from England in such numbers as to inspire hope. Had it not been for the aid derived from China, from the army returning from Persia, from Madras, Bombay, and the Cape of Good Hope, the troops arriving from England would have found all the Bengal provinces in the hands of the sepoys and insurgents. At the close of November, four thousand five hundred newly-arrived troops were collected at Calcutta, and eleven men-of-war were anchored in the Hoogly. As the forces arrived, they were sent up the country, especially to the head-quarters of the commander-in-chief.

Jung Bahadoor, with nine thousand Goorkhas, descended from the hills, and in the month of December appeared upon the theatre of conflict. He drove the Oude rebels from Goruckpore and Azimghur back into Oude. This movement enabled various officers in Northern India to co-operate with Sir Colin Campbell in his plans for the reconquest of Oude. Sir James Outram, with about four thousand men, held post at the Alum Bagh, between which and Cawnpore the communications were kept open with difficulty. Colonel Seaton, at the head of a portion of the force which conquered Delhi, marched south-eastward between the Jumna and the Ganges. His first object was the subjugation of the Rajah of Minporee. On his way, Seaton had to fight several actions, in which Captain Hodson, and his Horse, performed prodigies of valour. He captured guns, cut up the enemy, dispersed rebel hordes, and slew in battle, or executed many zemindars, leaders of revolt. Brigadier Showers commanded another column of the conquerors of Delhi, and with it swept a circle of extensive radius over the disturbed districts from Delhi to Agra, slaying and dispersing rebels; he then returned with his column to Delhi.

SUPPRESSION OF THE MUTINY IN CENTRAL INDIA, RAJPOOTANA, AND BUNDELCUND—CONQUEST OF JHANSI AND OF CALPEE.

Sir Hugh Rose was placed in command of a body of Bombay troops, called the Central India field-force, and with this, as a flying column, he preceeded to restore order in those provinces where, in a former chapter, mutiny was described as having gained ascendancy. He was ordered to fight his way northward to Jhansi, and subdue the rebel garrison of that place. His force was divided into two brigades, which sometimes acted far apart. The actions fought were generally in the open field, or in the vicinity of jungles and passes; and everywhere Sir Hugh rolled away, or cut through the living ramparts that obstructed his progress. The Rajah of Shagur, an independent district, joined the rebels. Rose and Sir Robert Hamilton, seized and confiscated his territory. Nana Sahib's brother, at the head of a vast mob of looters, was plundering various districts, and threatening the flanks of Sir Hugh's division. Brigadier Stuart, with one of Sir Hugh's brigades, operated to the south of Jhansi, and swept through Malwa, beating the rebels everywhere.

A body of troops, called the Rajpootana field-force, was collected in the Bombay presidency. It was strong in European cavalry, infantry, and artillery, as well as in good native troops. General Roberts commanded it, and Brigadier General Lawrence attended it as political agent. On the 10th of March, this force marched from Nusserabad against Kotah. The rajah was faithful; the contingent had mutinied. The rajah held a portion of the city, and co-operated with General Roberts, who, by skilful generalship, captured the place without the loss of an officer, and losing only a few men; fifty guns were captured. The rebels, as usual, got away with no loss after that which they suffered in the bombardment and advance.

General Whitlock, in a direction east of Jhansi, pursued wandering bands of rebels with such celerity as to leave them no rest, cutting up and dispersing them in every direction.

Sir Hugh Rose, having laid siege to Jhansi, maintained it with vigour. On the 1st of April, an attempt was made to raise the siege by a rebel army, under a Mahratta chief, named Tantia Topee, a relative of Nana Sahib. This chief proved to be a braver man and better general than his kinsman, the Nana. He fought with courage,

manœuvred with skill, and was very expert in choosing his field of battle. In his efforts to raise the siege of Jhansi, or make his way into the fortress, Tantia fought a pitched battle with Sir Hugh Rose. Victory rested, as usual, with the arms of the British general. He pursued Tantia two miles beyond the river Betwa, taking eighteen guns, and slaying fifteen hundred of his followers. Two of the mutineer regiments of the Gwalior contingent were in the ranks of Tantia; these fought with fury and obstinacy, and suffered severely.

The result of this battle was of great importance. The Ranee of Jhansi saw from the walls the defeat of her confederates. She effected her escape that night with a chosen band of her followers. The city was taken by storm. The garrison endeavoured to escape when they saw that the English had made secure their entrance, but Rose had taken measures to prevent this, and the slaughter of the enemy was signal. As the town people had aided the garrison they were made partakers of the vengeance.

Possessed of Jhansi Sir Hugh found his difficulties great. The Kotah rebel contingent infested the roads, the country people were in arms, and Tantia Topee was recruiting his forces at Calpee. The number of sick and wounded was great. While he remained at Jhansi settling affairs in that city, and reorganizing, he threw out parties in every direction, which scoured the country, dispersing bands, chastising rebel rajahs, razing forts, and defeating mutineers. Major Gall in one of these excursions captured a fort belonging to the Rajah of Sumpter.

While Sir Hugh Rose and Whitlock were leading their troops to victory, more than a thousand faithful sepoys of the Bengal army, with an equal number of Madras thrown into it by Whitlock, maintained the safety of Saugor, and kept at bay a country swarming with rebels.

Scindiah cut up the Kotah mutineers who sought shelter in his territory from the sword of General Roberts, and captured or destroyed ten guns. This band was accompanied by a large number of fugitive women and children, who now in their turn suffered the hardships and perils of flight, which had been in so many cases imposed upon the families of the English.

The Rajpootana field-force performed numerous desultory exploits, and dispersed many bands of Rajpoot and Mahratta rebels. The Gujerat field-force disarmed the country, and hung or blew away from guns rajahs and native officers of the Bombay army detected in treasonable correspondence with Tantia Topee, Nana Sahib, and other rebel leaders.

While these events were occurring under General Rose, General Whitlock with his Madras troops was engaged successfully in the troubled district of Bundelcund. On the 19th of April he defeated seven thousand rebels, under the command of the Nawab of Banda. He captured the Nawab, and his guns, slew five hundred of his retainers, and dispersed his whole force.

The rebels now became exceedingly anxious for Calpee. Ram Rao Gohind, a Mahratta, had collected three thousand men of his race, and three guns. Tantia Topee had made up his force to ten thousand men, composed of mutinous sepoys and sowars, about one thousand Mahratta horse, and not much less than seven thousand Ghazees, or fanatics. Calpee is on the right bank of the Jumna, and derived importance from being a place of support for the insurrection, and from being on the main road from Jhansi to Cawnpore.

On the 9th of May Sir Hugh Rose, on his way to Calpee, had arrived at Kooneh, where Tantia Topee and the Ranee of Jhansi intercepted his march. The enemy was intrenched; Rose beat them out of their intrenchments, captured the town and several guns, and made much havoc, especially in the pursuit. The British, and the general himself, principally suffered from exposure to the sun. His advance to Calpee was resisted perpetually, but in vain: as the torrent bears away the branch which falls across its course, so the forces of the rebels were swept away in his progress. Maxwell, from Cawnpore, Whitlock, from the south, Riddell, from Etawah, were all acting in a combined system of operation with Sir Hugh Rose. As he approached Calpee, skirmishes were frequent, occurring daily, almost hourly. A nephew of Nana Sahib was the most active chief in obstructing Sir Hugh's approach. On the 18th Rose shelled the earthworks which had been constructed by Nana Sahib some time before. On the opposite bank of the Jumna Maxwell opened fire next day, which was a surprise to the rebel chiefs, who believed him to be at Cawnpore. On the 20th a sortie was made in force and with skill; the enemy after fighting with energy were beaten in. On the 22nd the rebels, galled by the fire of Maxwell's heavy guns, attacked Sir Hugh Rose's position. Rose drove back a force of fifteen thousand men. The enemy evacuated Calpee in the night with silence, caution, and celerity. It was difficult, perhaps impossible, to prevent this, as long nullahs and scattered topes favoured a concealed flight. They left all their guns behind. Rose found a well-stocked arsenal, foundries, and material of all kinds, vast in quantity, and of great value.

The enemy had retreated chiefly by the road to Gwalior, which Rose had least guarded. Sir Hugh sent a flying column in pursuit, but the fugitives were too nimble, and far outstripped their pursuers.

### REVOLUTION IN GWALIOR.

Sir Hugh Rose having captured Calpee, like Sir Colin Campbell when he had captured Bareilly, believed that the rebellion in that part of India was subdued. He did not even yet know the people among whom he was, nor the troops he had so often conquered. Like Sir Colin Campbell he issued a glowing address to his troops, congratulating them on the end of their labours, and, again like Sir Colin, he had scarcely done so when new and great alarms called him to the field. On the day Sir Hugh addressed his soldiers the fugitives from Calpee entered Gwalior, drove Scindiah from his throne, and convulsed all Central India by their success. This was on the 1st of June.

When Tantia Topee encamped near Gwalior, Scindiah sent to Agra for succour, but none could be given; he himself fled thither, after having in vain appealed to his troops to meet the enemy. Three thousand cavalry, six thousand infantry, and artillery, with eight guns, went over to Rao Sahib, nephew to Nana Sahib. The body-guard fought until nearly cut to pieces; their remnant, with persistent bravery, escorted their sovereign off the field.

Nana Sahib was proclaimed as Peishwa of the Mahrattas, a title which he had proclaimed for himself at Cawnpore. Rao Sahib was made chief or sovereign of Gwalior. Scindiah had immense treasures which were seized, all the royal property was confiscated, and the rich citizens plundered. The escape from Calpee was the ruin of Gwalior. The surrounding rajahs flocked to the capital, bringing their retainers. A large army was thus organized, and with ample resources in money and stores to supply it.

Sir Hugh Rose was ill when he conquered Calpee. Probably to that circumstance it was owing that the rebels escaped thence. When the tidings reached him of the fall of Gwalior, he hastened to repair the disaster. Collecting all the forces he could bring together from every quarter, he marched upon the place. On the 16th of June, he arrived near the old cantonments. Rose reconnoitred the place, and immediately resolved to attack the cantonments. The attempt was successful: the slaughter of the fugitives frightful,—some of the trenches formed beyond the cantonments were nearly choked with the dead. Sir Hugh encamped within the vanquished lines.

The Ranee of Jhansi organized forces to intercept Rose's reinforcements, and in doing so fought a battle with Brigadier Smith, in which she fell. Tantia Topee assumed the direction of those operations which she had guided, and fought with skill and energy. Smith, however, was victorious. His contingent was joined by the general-in-chief, who effected a flank movement to that side of the city. The next day he stormed the chief of the fortified heights held by the enemy, who, finding that no obstacles impeded the English, became panic-struck, and fled out of the place. The British cavalry pursued the broken fugitives, cutting them down in vast numbers, until the plains were strewn with their dead.

All was conquered except the great rock fort, into which some of the rebels had retired. Two young officers, who were appointed with a small party to watch a police-station near the fort, resolved to surprise it in the night. Aided by a blacksmith, they, with their few soldiers, forced their way in, and, after desperate fighting, won the place. The attempt was planned by Lieutenant Rose, who perished in executing it. His companion, Lieutenant Waller, secured the prize. Soon after, Scindiah was reinstated upon his throne.

### SUPPRESSION OF THE MUTINY.

The main body of the rebels had retreated to Kurawlee. Thither Rose sent light troops in pursuit. Brigadier Napier took the command. On arriving at Jowla Alipore, he observed the enemy in great force, with twenty-five guns. After all their signal defeats and losses, they had an ample command of *matériel* of war. Napier had not a thousand men; the enemy counted ten times that number. The gallant brigadier, worthy of his name, achieved a swift, glorious, and complete victory, capturing all their guns. After a vain pursuit of the nimble fugitives, the conqueror returned to Gwalior.

Tantia Topee, with another body of about eight thousand in number, directed his way to Geypore, the chief of the Rajpoot states. He carried with him the crown jewels, and the treasure of Scindiah. This daring and active chief now kept Central India in agitation.

Sir Hugh Rose, worn out with toil, retired from his command, and the Central India field-force was broken up. Sir Edward Lugard soon after also retired, worn out with fatigue and anxiety. In this way almost all the eminent men which the mutiny had called forth as able commanders dropped away gradually, and gave place to others who followed

up with success the work of pacification. The neck of the Indian rebellion was now broken. Proclamations of amnesty and pardon were issued by the government to all who would seek mercy—exceptions in cases of actual murder, and of the great ringleaders of insurrection, being of course made. These proclamations told upon vast numbers, but many remained contumacious to the last.

After the hot season of 1858, the rebellion became a guerilla war, and a pursuit of bandits. The great leaders were discomfited, the minor rajahs and chiefs were captured, hung, blown away from guns, or, submitting, were pardoned. The moulvie was killed in an encounter with one of the Rohilcund rajahs, who deemed it his interest to side with the English. The moulvie was a sincere zealot, and was probably the man who devised the scheme of the revolt, and created the rebellion. Nana Sahib's cowardice kept him from the path of danger, and he escaped capture. He ultimately fled into the Nepaul dominions, with a band of followers. The Nana's nephew fell in one of the combats in Central India, after the flight of the rebels from Gwalior. Tantia Topee for some time eluded pursuit, and wandered about, a wretched, but gallant fugitive, until at last he became a prisoner, and paid with his life the penalty of his misdeeds. With the removal of that remarkable man from the scene of so many horrors, so great struggles, and so much bloodshed, the last spark of rebellion expired.

In the summer of 1859, thanksgiving was offered for the entire suppression of the insurrection, but it was in fact subdued at the close of the campaign of 1858, with the exception of roving bands of marauders, for the suppression of which the police were adequate.

## CHAPTER CXXXV.

### PRINCIPAL HOME EVENTS CONNECTED WITH INDIA AFTER THE ENACTMENT OF THE LAW OF 1854, TO THE ABOLITION OF THE COMPANY'S POLITICAL CONTROL, 1858.

THERE were few events occurring immediately after the new constitution of the company, in any way calling for notice in a general history of our empire in the East. The new act of 1854 came into operation on the day nominated, but some time elapsed before it worked with facility in the India-house. In 1855, the policy of Lord Dalhousie was much discussed by the English public, and from that time to the close of his career, the directors were constantly engaged with difficult subjects which he brought before them, or in discussions arising from his measures; and when the mutiny began, his annexation of Oude proved to be the grand difficulty of India.

Without any formal reversal of the policy of Lord Dalhousie, Lord Canning was nominated as his successor. On other pages of this history his arrival in Calcutta, the spirit in which he assumed the government, and the policy which he pursued, have been brought before the reader. That policy was viewed in England from the standing-point of party politics.

When the news of the revolt arrived in England, with the opinion of Lord Canning as to its partial and temporary nature, the board of control and the court of directors discussed, in the usual tedious way, the propriety of sending out reinforcements. The fatal words of Lord Canning, making light of the mutiny, checked the zeal of the English authorities upon whom the duty devolved of sending aid. The long sea route was preferred to the overland route; and heavy sailing-vessels, some of them the worst sailers in Europe, and hardly sea-worthy, were preferred to swift steamers. Lord Palmerston implicitly trusted to the opinions of Lord Canning, who was his nominee and friend.

A great conflict of parliamentary opinions, concerning the administration of Lord Canning, arose in connection with a proclamation intended to encourage the submission of such insurgents as were disposed to lay down their arms, and to deter the continuance of revolt on the part of the obstinate, by threatening consequences the most formidable which, in the opinion of the governor-general, he could hold out.

The government of Lord Palmerston having been displaced, and Lord Derby at the head of the tory party having assumed office, Lord Ellenborough was nominated to the presidency of the board of control, instead of Mr. Vernon Smith. Lord Ellenborough disapproved of the proclamation, or thought it a good occasion for a party move. He wrote a despatch which was almost vituperative, and caused it to be circulated amongst the adherents of government in parliament, some of whom published it. The document was so indiscreet, and the party motive of

the writer so obvious, that irrespective of the merits of the proclamation, a strong feeling arose in the country against the administration of Indian affairs by Lord Ellenborough. The house of commons were prepared to give an adverse vote, which would have compelled Lord Derby's government to retire, but the resignation of Lord Ellenborough at once relieved India of the danger of his further connection with it, and the cabinet from being displaced. The general opinion in England was that Lord Canning's proclamation was too severe to be politic, but those who raised the outcry against it, were the very men who had heaped upon him continued censure for his lenity. Lord Canning prudently gave discretion to those by whom the proclamation would have to be carried out. The opinions of Mr. Montgomery and Sir James Outram harmonised with those of the English public, and Lord Canning was influenced by such experienced councillors. Mr. Vernon Smith, the ex-president of the board of control, placed his party and Lord Canning in much disadvantage by concealing letters written by the governor-general to the board of control, which Mr. Smith ought, as a matter of public duty, to have handed to Lord Ellenborough. This circumstance much irritated the liberal party in parliament.

At last, public opinion seemed to demand that the government of the East India Company should cease. Bills to effect this were brought in by the great opposing parties. The views entertained by Lord Stanley and Lord Palmerston were more nearly allied than those of other members on opposite sides of the legislature. After long discussions, needlessly protracted, intolerably tedious, developing but little wisdom on the part of our legislators, a bill passed the legislature for the future government of India, depriving the East India Company of all political connection with the country, and governing it by a minister of the crown responsible to parliament, aided by a council. The Act, which passed the legislature August 2nd, 1858, was entitled, "An Act for the better Government of India."

With the abolition of the East India Company's political existence, this work appropriately closes. Perhaps the time had arrived when that political anomaly, brilliant as it was, should cease to exist; but the unprejudiced historian cannot fail to admit that, as a governing power, it was the most unique and remarkable in the world. Granted that faults have been committed, and much left undone that ought to have been done, still what has been accomplished fairly deserves the admiration of posterity. That an association of merchants, almost unaided by the home government, should have established the basis of an Eastern empire fifteen thousand miles from home, is a remarkable phenomenon. Aided by a long roll of eminent servants, of their own rearing, they extended their dominions to their present dimensions, and gradually introduced the institutions of civilized communities.

Under the company's later auspices, private property was protected; barbarous customs restrained; justice equitably administered; native chiefs and princes compelled to observe the law; an efficient police established; toleration of religious opinions ensured; and industry protected.

It is to be hoped that with the gentle sovereignty of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, the country may enter on a new era of peace and prosperity. European colonization—much neglected by the company—should be zealously promoted. Wherever the experiment has been made, it has been successful; and a marked improvement has been observed in the neighbourhood.

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THE END.

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OF

# THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA

AND THE EAST,

FROM THE

Earliest Times to the Suppression of the Sepoy Mutiny in 1859.

BY

E. H. NOLAN, Ph. D., LL. D.,

AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF THE WAR AGAINST RUSSIA."

ILLUSTRATED WITH STEEL ENGRAVINGS AND MAPS.

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TO

# JOHN HOLLYER, ESQ.,

CADET DEPARTMENT, INDIA OFFICE.

DEAR SIR,

Having received from you much valuable information, and many important introductions, by which my composition of this large and laborious Work has been facilitated, and having from my youth enjoyed your generous, enduring, and faithful friendship, it is appropriate that this Book should be dedicated to you, as a token and tribute of that esteem which shall ever be cherished by

Your obliged and faithful friend,

EDWARD H. NOLAN.

KENSINGTON.

# PREFACE.

THE Introduction to this Work is so written as to render a long preface neither necessary nor desirable. Probably, a *History of the British Empire in India and the East* is one of the most laborious works which could be undertaken, however popular the form which may be given to it. This circumstance, so well known, furnishes the Author with a plea for the indulgence of his readers, whose support has been so extensively given to his productions.

The Author will merely use this Preface as the medium of expressing his obligations to those whose assistance he has found so valuable. He is indebted to Mr. J. EUGENE O'CAVANAGH for his aid in the portion which treats of India in the heathen and Mohammedan periods. To JOHN HOLLYER, Esq., of the India House, to whom this Work is dedicated, the Author is especially under obligations for counsel and aid in various ways, although entertaining, on many points, differences of opinion in reference to Indian affairs. The advice of H. T. PRINSEP, Esq., of the Council for India, and the courtesy of Sir PROBY CAUTLEY, also of the Council, claim the Author's grateful thanks. In the selection of the best books as guides and text-books, and for the enunciation of important critiques, he expresses his acknowledgments to Dr. HAYMAN WILSON, Professor of Sanscrit in Oxford University, and Librarian to the India House. From every person connected with the Company's Library attention and courtesy have been received. The Author is also much indebted for the opinions expressed to him in reference to India and Indian affairs by Major-General Sir FENWICK WILLIAMS, Bart., of Kars, and BEHRAM PASHA (Lieutenant-General Cannon), when, in the earlier period of his labours, the judgment of men of eminent parts and experience was of the highest value.

Throughout this Work, as in all his other historical labours, the Author has been guided simply by a love of truth, and has held himself uninfluenced by party, political, or personal considerations. He has written neither in the interest of the Board of Control, the East India Company, nor of any other class either in England or India. His patrons are exclusively the Public, to whose good opinion he aspires, and to whom he now commends this Work,—whatever its merits or defects,—as an impartial *History of the British Empire in India and the East.*

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