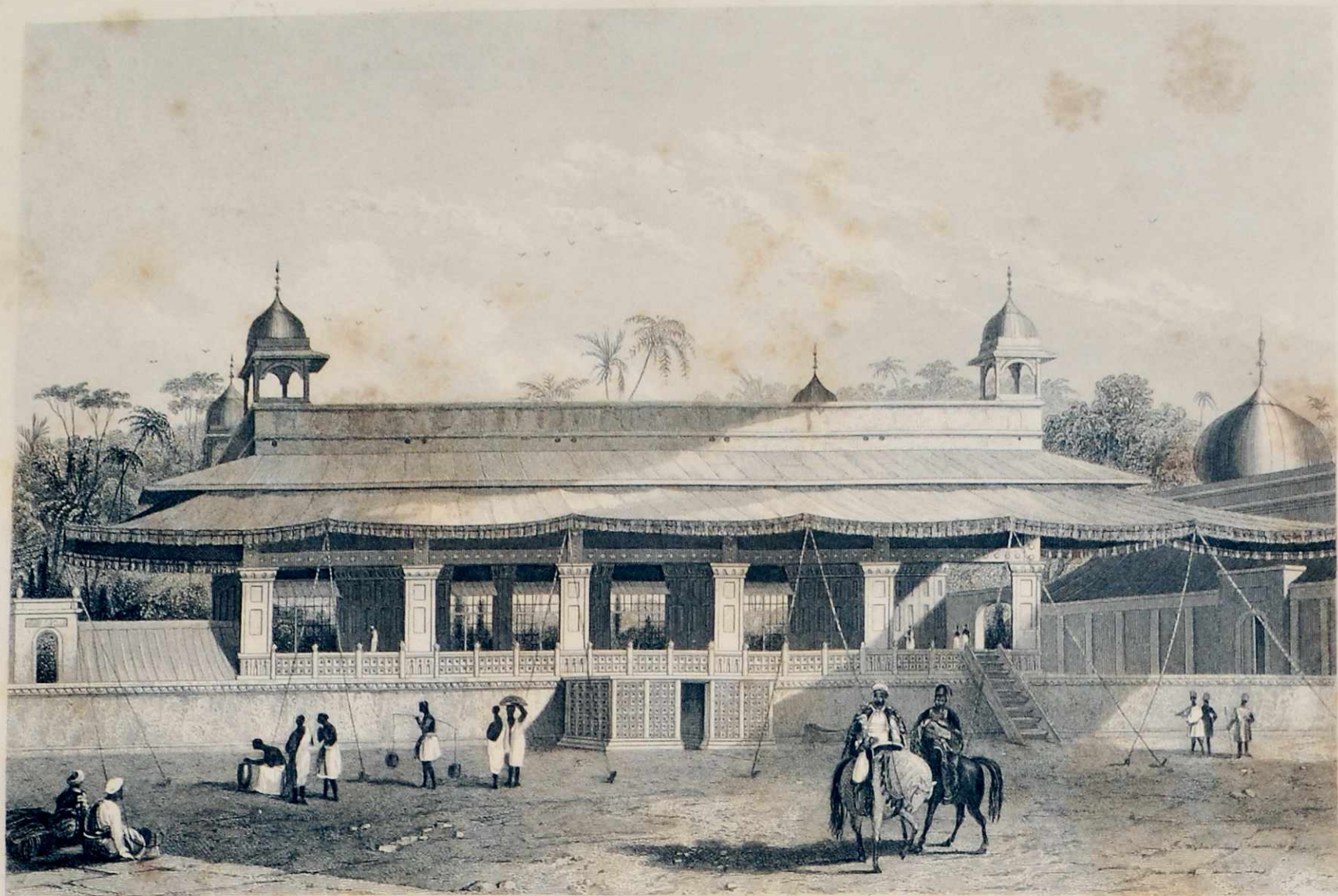


THE INDIAN EMPIRE



VIEW OF DELHI, FROM THE PALACE GATE.



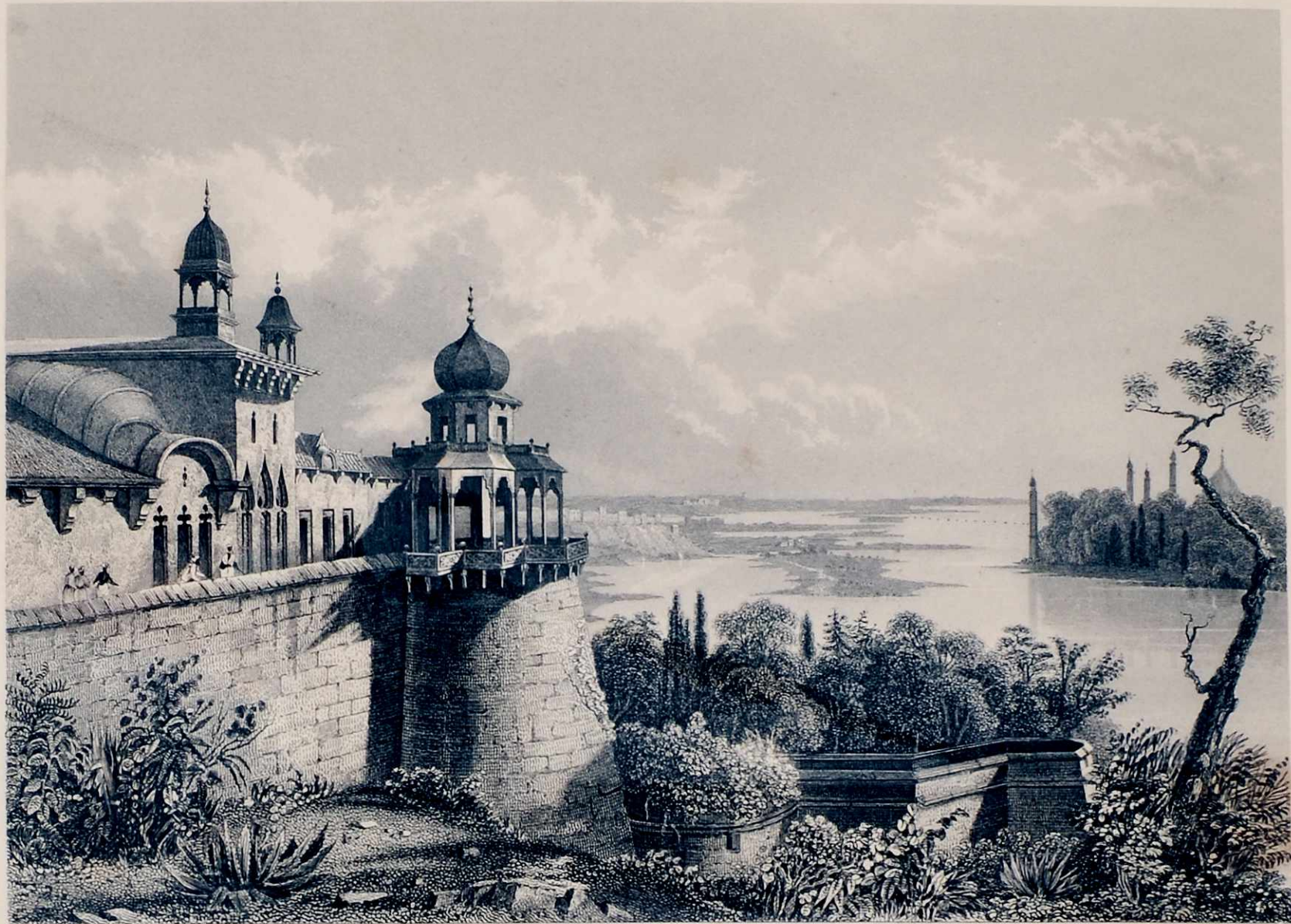
THE DEWAS KHAN, OR HALL OF AUDIENCE - PALACE OF DELHI.



THE RESIDENCY, LUCKNOW.



AGRA - VIEW OF PRINCIPAL STREET.



THE PALACE AT AGRA.



THE HILL FORTRESS OF GWALIOR.

Gwalior is the Capital of the dominions of the Maharajah Scindia, the fortress was taken by British troops under Major Popham Aug^r 3rd 1780. Seized by the Rebels June 1st 1858. Recaptured by Sir H. Rose and restored to the Maharajah June 19th 1858.



VIEW OF CALCUTTA FROM THE ESPLANADE.

NO 1



VIEW OF CALCUTTA FROM THE ESPLANADE.

No. 2.



SIKH TROOPS DIVIDING THE SPOIL TAKEN FROM NUTINEERS.



DEATH OF BRIGADIER ADRIAN HOPE,
IN THE ATTACK ON THE FORT OF ROODANOW, APRIL 15TH 1858.



THE NANA SAHIB WITH HIS ESCORT
LEAVING LUCKNOW TO MEET THE REBEL FORCE ADVANCING FROM MAIWA.



MUTINOUS SEPOYS DIVIDING SPOIL.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‡ The Bombay correspondent of the *Times* states that this chief was Rao Bhossah Sing, of Burtowlee,

out of the village, where he was tried. We reached it in half-an-hour, when he was tried and hung for rebellion.

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

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

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

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

and that the volunteers were led by Mr. Watson, magistrate of Alighur, and Lieutenant Greathed.—*Times*, July 15th, 1857.

§ *Times*, July 14th, 1857.

|| Quoted in *Times*, June 29th, 1857.

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

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

The stations of *Nusseerabad* (near Ajmeer) and *Neemuch*, usually garrisoned from Bombay, had been, at the beginning of the year, drained of the infantry and guns of the army of that presidency by the pressure of the Persian war. There remained a wing of the 1st Bombay light cavalry (Lancers) cantoned at Nusseerabad; but that station received for infantry the 15th Bengal Native regiment from Meerut, and the 30th from Agra; and for artillery, a company of the 7th Bengal battalion. To Neemuch, the 72nd Native infantry, and a troop of Native horse artillery, were sent from Agra, and a wing of the 1st Bengal light cavalry from Mhow. Great excitement had been caused at both stations by the tidings from Delhi and Meerut; and at half-past three in the afternoon of the 28th of May, the 15th Native infantry, at Nusseerabad, broke into open mutiny by seizing the guns of Captain Timbrell's battery, while the horses of the troop, with the men, had gone to water. Captain Hardy, and the other officers of the lancers, hastened to their lines, and, in a few minutes, the troopers were mounted, formed into open column, and led against the mutineers, who opened the guns upon their assailants. Captain Spottiswoode was killed at the head of his troop, after getting into the battery. Cornet Newberry was also shot while in the act of charging; and Captain Hardy was wounded, with several officers. Other charges were made, but without success, until Colonel Penny ordered the troops to desist, and form in readiness to act upon the mutineers, in case they should leave their lines and come into the plain. About five o'clock the officers of the 15th Native infantry took refuge in the lines of the Lancers, having been expelled by their own

men, but not injured, though they are reported to have been fired at. The 30th Native infantry [remained neutral, neither obeying orders nor joining the mutineers. The aspect of affairs seemed so alarming, that the immediate evacuation of the station was resolved on, and the ladies and children were moved out while light remained. The party retreated towards Beawur, halting half-way at midnight, to rest and let stragglers assemble; and here the dead body of Colonel Penny was brought in. The colonel had been too ill on the previous night to give orders for the retreat, and had apparently fallen off his horse and died on the road from exhaustion. The other fugitives reached Beawur in safety. Eleven of the Lancers joined the rebels; the conduct of the remainder was most exemplary. "Cantoned with two mutinous regiments, the regiment has," Captain Hardy reports, "been nightly on duty for a fortnight past, and entirely responsible for the safety of the cantonment. They have been constantly assailed with abuse, with no other result than telling their officers. They turned out in the promptest way to attack the mutineers; and they marched out of camp, when ordered, as they stood, leaving their families and everything they had in the world behind them. They are now without tents in a hot plain, and without any possibility of being comfortable; but up to this time all has been most cheerfully borne, and all duty correctly performed."*

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

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

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

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

On the morning of the 2nd of June, Colonel Abbott received information of the state of feeling in the Native lines, and warned Captain Lloyd, the superintendent, that the outbreak could not be delayed beyond a few hours. Captain Lloyd made arrangements for securing a few of the most valuable records, and for insuring a line of retreat for fugitives by the Oodipoor road, by means of a detachment of mounted police. Meanwhile, Colonel Abbott assembled the Native officers, and, after some discussion, induced them to swear (the Mohammedans on the Koran, the Brahmins on Ganges-water) that they now trusted each other (want of mutual confidence having been previously believed to exist), and would remain true to their salt. The commanding officer was requested to take an oath of faith in their good intentions, which he did; and the meeting was thus concluded, apparently to the satisfaction of all parties. That day, and the following one, passed quietly; but, on the second night, symptoms of mutiny were shown by the Native artillerymen; and at eleven o'clock several of them rushed to the guns, and, loading them, fired two off, evidently as a preconcerted signal. The cavalry rushed from their lines, and the 72nd followed the example. The wing of the 7th Gwalior regiment was marched inside on the report of the guns, and rewards of 100, 300, and 500 rupees each were offered to the sepoy, naiks, and havildars respectively, on condition of their successfully defending the fort and treasury. For nearly three hours the garrison remained firm, watching the mutineers thrusting lighted torches, fastened to long poles, into the thatch of the bungalows. At the expiration of that time two more guns were fired; when an old Rajpoot, of fifty years'

standing in the service, ordered his men to open the gates, desired the officers to save themselves, and eventually caused them to be escorted to a place of comparative safety. Captain Macdonald and his companions resisted, but were told, that if they did not hasten to escape, they would assuredly be massacred by the sepoys of other regiments, and those of their own would be unable to defend them. The manner of the flight which ensued was not unlike that from Delhi, only the number of the fugitives was far smaller, and the road shorter and less perilous. Mrs. Burton (the wife of the commanding officer of the Kotah force) states, that having timely notice of the mutiny, she quitted Neemuch immediately before the outbreak, and took refuge at the small fort of Jawud, which was under the charge of her eldest son. The next morning fifteen officers, three ladies, and three young children came to the gates, having escaped on foot from Neemuch. An hour later, Major Burton and two of his sons arrived, having preceded the force under his charge, consisting, according to Mrs. Burton's account, of 1,500 men, who had already marched "ninety miles in three days," and, being quite exhausted, were left to rest by their leader, while he proceeded to Jawud, to provide for the safety of his wife and other children. A report came that the rebels were advancing to attack Jawud, attended by a retinue of convicts released from the Neemuch gaol; and Major Burton, considering the fort utterly incapable of resisting guns, abandoned it, and marched off with the small garrison and the Europeans who had taken refuge there, to his own camp, sixteen miles distant. The next morning the major advanced against the mutineers; but they had learned his intention, and were gone with the guns in the direction of Agra.

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

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

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

child are stated to have been injured. The rana of Oodipoor dispatched a force of his best troops against the mutineers, under Captain Showers, the political agent for Mewar; and behaved with princely generosity to the fugitives who took refuge in his dominions. He sent escorts to meet them; gave up a palace at Oodipoor for their reception; supplied them with food and clothing as long as they chose to stay; furnished them with escorts to the different stations they desired to reach; and even visited them in person—a very unusual compliment from the representative of a most ancient and haughty Hindoo dynasty. The chivalry of the Rajpoots was manifested equally in the villages as in the capital of Mewar. One of the fugitives, Dr. Murray, surgeon of the 72nd Native infantry, has given a graphic account of his escape with Dr. Gane to Kussaunda. It was a bright moonlight night, and the distance from Neemuch only five miles; but the ground was heavy; and beside being wearied with previous excitement, the two Europeans were parched with thirst. They therefore awakened the villagers, and asked to be taken to the head man, which was immediately done; and they found him in a small fort, with some half-dozen companions. He received the wanderers with great courtesy; had a place cleared for them in his own house; set milk, chupatties, dhol, rice, and mangoes before them; after partaking of which they lay down to rest. About nine o'clock next morning, a party of the 1st light cavalry, who were scouring the country, arrived, and shouting

“Death to the Feringhees!” insisted on their surrender. The two doctors thought their case hopeless; but the Rajpoots put them in a dilapidated shed on one of the bastions, saying—“You have eaten with us, and are our guests; and now, if you were our greatest enemy we would defend you.” The troopers threatened to attack the village; but the Rajpoots replied—“Kussaunda belongs to the rana; we are his subjects; and if you molest us he will send 10,000 soldiers after you.” On this, the troopers went away much enraged, threatening to return with the guns in the evening, and blow the little fort to pieces. The fugitives, fearing the rebels might keep their word, did not await their threatened return, but started afresh on their journey, escorted by several Rajpoots. At a Bheel village named Bheeliya Kegaon, situated in the heart of the jungle, great hospitality was evinced. On reaching Burra Sadree, on the 5th of June, the adventurers found the majority of the officers of the 7th Gwalior contingent of the 1st cavalry and artillery, assembled there in safety with their wives and children. The party moved from Burra Sadree to Doongla on the 7th, and, on the 9th, were joined by the Oodipoor force under Captain Showers, who was proceeding in pursuit of the mutineers. The officers (now “unattached” by the mutiny of their men) accompanied the expedition, except a few who went with the women and children to Oodipoor, where they remained, from the 12th to the 22nd of June, in perfect safety, until they were able to rejoin their countrymen.*

CHAPTER VII.

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

LAHORE.—A telegraphic message reached the great political capital of the Punjab on the morning of the 12th of May, conveying an exaggerated account of the massacres which had taken place at Meerut and

Delhi; and declaring that, at the latter place, every man, woman, and child, having the appearance or dress of a Christian, had been massacred. The troops stationed at Lahore and at *Meean-Meer* (the large

* The government return published on May 6th, 1858, of all Europeans killed during the rebellion, gives the wife and three children of Sergeant Supple as having been “burnt to death in boxes.” They

appear to have been the only victims of the outbreak at Neemuch; and it is therefore probable that they had hidden themselves, and perished in the general conflagration.

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

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

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

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

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

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

All concurred in the necessity for prompt

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

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

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

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

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

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

‡ Letter of *Times*’ correspondent, dated “Lahore, May 28th.”

§ Blackwood’s *Edinburgh Magazine*, January, 1858: article entitled “Poorbeah Mutiny.”

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

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

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

Civilians and soldiers—all were there. The real point at issue was one on which the lives of themselves, their wives and children, depended; but even the avowed cause of the parade was an important and an anxious one. The Europeans had long viewed the sepoy army as the bulwark of British power in India; and its continued allegiance was confidently expected, as ensured by the mutual interest of the employers and the employed. Now that a new light

was thrown on the subject, the officers looked with strangely mingled feelings upon the men they had trained and disciplined, as they marched up and stood in order, to hear the general order for the disbandment of a portion of the Native infantry at Barrackpoor.

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

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

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

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

a company of foot artillery), as also on the state of feeling among the population; and to take every possible precaution, "so as to be ready in case of a row."

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

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

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

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

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

The *Peshawur Valley* was a point the security of which was of extreme impor-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

General Anson, on relinquishing his idea of marching immediately on Delhi, seriously

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

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

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

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

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

§ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

|| See Introductory Chapter to narrative of Mutiny, p. 111.

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

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

brought most of them in to the government, with their money all safe. The conduct of the Punjab infantry (the 5th) in this first encounter was very satisfactory; it seemed like a pledge of the fidelity of the whole Punjab force.

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

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

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

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

General van Cortlandt is another commander of irregular troops, whose name will

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

CHAPTER VIII.

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

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

Encounter at the Hindun.—The small detachment of troops from Meerut, under Brigadier Wilson, marched thence on the 27th of May, to join the main body, and, on the morning of the 30th, encamped at Ghazi-u-deen Nuggur, a small but strongly fortified position on the river Hindun, about ten miles from Delhi. The troops were weary with night marches, and enfeebled by the intensity of the hot winds. No one entertained any suspicion of the vicinity of the enemy. At about four o'clock in the afternoon, when officers and men were for the most part asleep, a picket of

irregulars, stationed beyond the suspension-bridge, gave the alarm of an approaching foe. The bugles sounded, and the Rifles had scarcely formed before an 18-pounder shot burst into the British camp, and took one leg from each of two native palkee-bearers, who were sitting at the tent door of the Carabineers' hospital. The attacking force consisted of a strong detachment of mutineers from Delhi, who had succeeded in bringing their heavy guns to bear on the British camp before even their vicinity was suspected. Two 18-pounders were speedily opened to meet the hostile fire; the Rifles crossed the bridge, and were soon actively engaged in front; while the horse artillery, under Lieutenant-colonel Mackenzie, turned the left flank of the enemy, who thereupon commenced a retreat, leaving behind them five guns (two of large calibre),† and carts full of intrenching tools and sand-bags. The long delay of the British had evidently given time to the rebels to plan, but not to execute, the occupation of a fortified position on the Hindun. The numbers engaged are but vaguely stated. The chaplain who accompanied the expedition, speaks of 700 Englishmen attacking a force seven times their number.‡ The loss on the British side, in killed and wounded, did not exceed forty-four men; and was chiefly occasioned by the explosion of a cart-full of ammunition near the toll-bar, which a havildar of the 11th (a Meerut mutineer) fired into when the rout began. He was instantly bayoneted. Captain Andrews, of the Rifles, was killed

* *Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India*, p. 7.

† *Greathed's Letters*, p. 6.

‡ *The Chaplain's Narrative*, p. 26.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

put on guard over and in the bank, in which lay some 80,000 Company's rupees. "The critical state of affairs," Mr. Cooper states, "may be judged not only from the audacity of their demands, but the undisguised audacity of their bearing. They demanded to be shown the actual treasure; and their swarthy features lit up with glee unpleasant to the eye of the bystander, when they saw the shining pieces. One sepoy tossed back the flap of the coat of a gentleman present, and made a queer remark on the revolver he saw worn underneath."* At Kussowlie, just above Umballah, a party of Goorkas actually robbed the treasury, and the rest broke into open bloodshed. Captain Blackall was about to order a party of H.M.'s 75th to act against the Goorkas; when Mr. Taylor, the assistant-commissioner, represented to him, that the safety of the helpless community of Simla depended on the avoidance of an outbreak. Captain Blackall acknowledged the force of the argument, and contented himself with adopting purely defensive measures, although actually surrounded by the Goorkas, and taunted with such expressions as "Shot for shot!" "Life for life!" In fact, the wise counsel of Mr. Taylor, and the address and temper evinced by Captain Blackall, proved the means of preserving Simla from being the scene of "horrors, in which, in enormities, perhaps Cawnpoor would have been outdone."† The wisdom of the conciliation policy practised at Kussowlie, was not at first appreciated at Simla; and the replacement of the government treasury under the charge of the Goorkas, was viewed, naturally enough, as a perilous confession of weakness. "The panic reached its climax, and general and precipitate flight commenced. Officers, in high employ, rushed into ladies' houses, shouting, 'Fly for your lives! the Goorkas are upon us!' Simla was in a state of consternation: shoals of half-crazed fugitives, timid ladies, hopeless invalids, sickly children hardly able to totter—whole families burst forth, and poured helter-skelter down on Dugshai and Kussowlie. Some ran down steep khuds [ravines] and places marked only by the footprints of the mountain herds, and remained all night. Never had those stately pines looked down upon, or those sullen glens and mossy retreats

echoed with, such a tumult and hubbub. Ladies, who are now placidly pursuing ordinary domestic duties, wrote off perhaps for the last time to their distracted husbands in the plains: then, snatching up their little ones, fled away, anywhere out of the Simla world. Extraordinary feats were performed; some walked thirty miles! Some, alas! died from the effects of exhaustion and fear." The Mohammedan servants exulted in the belief that the European raj was about to close; and among the many anecdotes current during the panic, was one of a little boy being jeeringly told that his mamma would soon be grinding gram for the King of Delhi!‡

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

* Cooper's *Crisis in the Punjab*, p. 103.

† *Ibid.*, p. 104.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

§ See page 107, *ante*.

Europeans. Yet they never showed any symptoms of disaffection. "The men," says Captain Chester, writing on the 17th of June, "have marched double marches; from their small numbers, every man, in addition, has been on daily duty. They have suffered severely from fever and cholera without a murmur." In fact, it was deemed politic to dwell exclusively on the bright side of the Goorka character. The Simla panic was talked of as if there had been no reasonable ground for any apprehension whatever; and the case being now changed, the "savage little demons," who had been conquered in a recent war by our "faithful Hindoostanee sepoy," became recognised as the "gallant hardy mountaineers," whose inveterate hatred to the "treacherous Poorbeahs" was alone a virtue calculated to counterbalance every less desirable characteristic. More unscrupulous auxiliaries in offensive warfare could scarcely have been found; no Pindarree of olden times ever loved pillage better than a modern Goorka, and probably none had so keen a zest for the work of destruction. No pen has traced, or perhaps ever can trace, even a sketch of the misery which must have been inflicted by the British army, and its hasty heterogeneous assemblage of irregular troops—with its terrible requirements of compulsory, and often unpaid, always ill-paid, labour from man and beast, and its other almost inevitable accompaniments of violence and pillage—on the helpless population of India. It is only an incidental remark here and there, which affords a glimpse of the working of what are termed military operations in a densely populated country. Mr. Greathed, for instance, mentions, that shortly after the second encounter at Ghazi-u-deen, while riding about the scene of action, he noticed that "a party of our people were destroying the village of Urthulla, to prevent the enemy from getting under cover in it in case of another attack. The elephants were engaged in pushing down the walls. The poor inhabitants are certainly to be pitied; but the destruction is a necessity: they were unluckily Jats, who are for the most part our friends."* No compensation appears to have been thought necessary in this case; if it had been, Mr. Greathed, as political agent specially attached to the field force, would hardly have left so important a point unnoticed. On the contrary, he speaks of the

* Greathed's *Letters*, p. 15.

† *Ibid.*, p. 24.

"baggage people" being employed "in plundering the village of Urthulla" quite as a matter of course, not at all requiring the intervention of the provost-marshal, or the sharp correctives the mention of which are familiar to the readers of the Indian despatches of General Wellesley.

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

Sixteen horse artillery guns (Europeans); six horse battery guns (ditto); 9th Lancers; two squadrons Carabineers; six companies 60th Rifles; 75th foot; 1st Fusiliers; six companies 2nd Fusiliers; head-quarters Sirmoor battalion; and the portion of the sappers and miners which had not yet mutinied—about 150 in number. The siege-train consisted of eight 18-pounder guns, four 8-inch howitzers, four 8-inch mortars, and twelve 5½-inch mortars; and had attached to it a weak company of European artillery (4th of 6th battalion), and 100 European artillery recruits.

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

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

The British camp was pitched on the parade-ground, having its rear protected by the canal, with the advantage of bridges on either extreme, which the enemy had previously attempted to destroy with only partial success. Several batteries were established on the ridge; but the nearest of them was 1,200 yards, or upwards, from the walls; deficiency in the number of troops, and character of ordnance, rendering it unsafe to approach nearer.† The main picket was at Hindoo Rao's house, a building which formerly belonged to a rich old Hindoo,

and had verandahs, outhouses, and every other accommodation on a most extensive scale. During the siege it is said to have afforded "a sort of protection to 800 troops, besides 200 or 300 coolies, servants, and camp-followers of all kinds;" and being built in the strong native fashion, it withstood, in the most surprising manner, the constant cannonading directed against it.‡ The picket was commanded from the very first by Major Reid, of the Sirmoor battalion; who never left his post even to come into camp, from the time he assumed command of it till the 14th of September, the day of the storming operations, when he was severely wounded.

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

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

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

* The Chaplain's Narrative, p. 43.

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

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

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

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

Hansi is a strong town, which, towards the close of the last century, was the chief place in the jaghire of the successful adventurer, George Thomas. It is situated eighty-nine miles north-west of Delhi. *Hissar* and *Sirsa* (two military stations of minor importance) lie fifteen and forty-five miles, respectively, further in the same direction. The circumstances of the outbreak have not been officially related; but, from private sources, it appears to have been sudden and unexpected. Mr. Taylor, the assistant in charge of the government cattle-farm at Hissar, was sitting playing chess at noon on the 30th of May, with another European in the civil service of the Company, when a servant rushed into the room, and announced the arrival of some sowars from Delhi. The Native troops and population seem to have risen immediately. The majority of the Europeans sought and found safety in flight. Mr. Taylor received several wounds, but succeeded in effecting his escape. Seven European men and seven women, with fifteen children and two Eurasian women, are stated to have perished in the return furnished by the officiating

* See p. 118, *ante*.

commissioner of Hissar; but Mr. Taylor's list, likewise published by authority, and apparently grounded on more accurate data, gives the total number at fourteen. The magistrate, Mr. Wedderburn, and Lieutenant Barwell, adjutant of the Hurriana light cavalry, fell by the hands of the mutineers; while Mrs. Wedderburn, her child, and Mrs. Barwell, are thought to have been murdered by the customs' peons.†

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In fact, the British troops, instead of the besiegers, became literally the besieged, and were thankful for the shelter offered by the ridge on which the advanced pickets stood, and which enabled them to say—"Here we are in camp, as secure against assaults as if we were in Delhi, and the mutineers outside."‡ Even this was not always the case; for at sunrise on the morning of the 12th of June, the most advanced picket, that at the Flagstaff tower, was fiercely attacked, and nearly carried by surprise, by a large body of mutineers who had contrived to approach unobserved under cover of night, and conceal themselves in the ravines in the compound or grounds attached to Sir T. Metcalfe's late house, situated between the Flagstaff tower and the river. The picket was hard pressed; the two artillery guns were nearly taken; Captain Knox, and several of the 75th foot, were killed: the enemy even descended the camp side of the ridge; and three of the rebels were killed in the sepoy lines, within a short distance of the tents, before rein-

forcements could be brought up to support the disputed position, and drive off the insurgents. To prevent the recurrence of a similar danger, a large picket was sent to occupy Metcalfe's house—a precaution which would have been taken earlier but for the difficulty of providing relief, and which threw up, as it were, a left flank to the British defences, and rendered it almost impossible for the enemy to pass round to attack the camp on that side. The attempt upon the Flagstaff tower had hardly been repulsed, when other bodies of insurgents advanced against Hindoo Rao's house, and through the Subzee Mundee, into the gardens on the right flank of the camp. The first of these movements was inconsiderable; but supports of all arms had to be moved up to oppose the second. Major Jacob led the 1st Fusiliers against the rebels, and drove them out of the gardens with much slaughter.§

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

* Hodson's *Twelve Years in India*, p. 198.

† Greathed's *Letters*, p. 18.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

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§ Norman's *Campaign of the Delhi Army*, p. 13.

|| Hodson's *Twelve Years in India*, p. 203.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

Commissioner Greathed lamented the failure of the scheme, believing that an important opportunity had been lost through "the obtuseness of one individual."* It was, however, a plan which could not be revived after having once been abandoned; for the enemy, though not aware of the near approach of the European troops at the time, must, it was considered, have subsequently heard of it by some channel or other, and would be more on their guard for the future. Moreover, General Barnard probably repented of having sanctioned the attempt; for he is accused of having been induced, by his Crimean experience, to overestimate the amount of resistance to be expected within the walls, and to be "disposed to treat the Pandies as Russians."† From this period almost daily sallies were made from Delhi; the British troops were much harassed, and their losses bore "a sadly large proportion to their successes."‡ The rainy season was approaching; the hospitals were full; some cases of cholera had appeared in camp; and while crippled in all their operations by the deficiency in the calibre and number of their guns, and also of men to work them, the British had the mortification of seeing constant reinforcements arriving, like tributary streams, to feed the great reservoir of revolt. The 60th Native infantry regiment reached Delhi on the 13th of June, having mutinied at Rohtuck. Colonel Seaton and the officers, though fired on by their men, succeeded in gaining the British camp in safety after a ride of fifty miles. Three or four days later, the Nusseerabad brigade joined the rebel garrison, bringing in triumph the Jellalabad field battery, under the charge of the famous company of artillery which, by Lord Ellenborough's decree, was never to be separated from the guns it had once served so gallantly. On the 19th of June, those very guns, decorated (also by Lord Ellenborough's order) with a mural crown, were turned with fatal effect against

the Europeans. An hour before sunset, an attack was made by a strong body of the enemy, consisting chiefly of the Nusseerabad mutineers, on the rear of the British. The action continued some time after dark. The firing on both sides then gradually ceased, and the combatants quitted the field. Our loss was twenty killed, and seventy-seven wounded. Three officers fell, including Major Yule, of the 9th Lancers. His body was found covered with gashes, and four of his men lay dead beside him. Captain Daly, the gallant commandant of the Guide corps, was badly wounded, and Lieutenant Hodson was appointed to supply his place. Brigadier Hope Grant, who led the troops, had his horse shot under him, and was only saved by the devotion of two men of his own regiment, and two orderly sowars of the 4th irregular cavalry. A very serious accident occurred by reason of the darkness, our own guns firing into our own men.§

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

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

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

† Greathed's *Letters*, p. 92.

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

§ Rotton's *Narrative*, p. 92.

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

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

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

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

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

The new adjutant-general, Colonel Chester's successor, reached the camp on the 24th of June, which the annalists of the siege mark as a red-letter day for that reason. Hodson writes—"Neville Chamberlain has arrived, and he ought to be worth a thousand men to us;" but the entry in his diary for ~~that same~~ day, records

* Hodson's *Twelve Years in India*, p. 215

† *Ibid.*, p. 216.

‡ Indian debate, June 29th, 1857.

§ In the debate of June 23rd, Mr. Smith had informed the house that the 19th N.I. had been disbanded on account of its mutinous behaviour, but there was no intention of disbanding any other portion of the Native army. The Calcutta correspondent of the *Times* (June 24th) likewise stated, "The

the arrival of the following telegram from Agra:—"Heavy firing at Cawnpoor; result not known."†

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

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

sepooy army is not in revolt; it does not even appear that it is discontented;" and this in utter contempt of the warning of General Hearsey and of the vicinity to the seat of government at Barrackpoor, where the "greased cartridges" had already produced rampant mutiny, manifested in the act of Mungul Pandey—the first of the Pandies—and the more than tacit approval of his comrades.

CHAPTER IX.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bareilly, the head-quarters of the Rohilcund division, is only 152 miles from Delhi; and the tidings of the assertion of Mohammedan supremacy in the imperial city, travelled fast, and created great excitement among the Rohillas generally. "A very bad and uneasy feeling" was considered, by Brigadier Sibbald, to be prevalent among the Bareilly soldiery; but he attributed its origin to distrust of the intentions of the British government; and on the 21st of May, he ordered a general parade of the troops in

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

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

† *Personal Adventures during the Indian Rebellion in Rohilcund, Futteghur, and Oude*; by William

Edwards, judge of Benares, and late magistrate and collector of Budaon, in Rohilcund; p. 3.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

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

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

No outbreak occurred during this or the following day; but great numbers of the 45th mutineers, from Ferozpoor, passed through Bareilly on both these days, and spread alarm among the yet obedient troops,

by assuring them that a large European force, with artillery, had been concentrated in the vicinity of the station, and that the destruction of the whole of the Native regiments had been resolved on by the "*gora logue*" (white people). The Native lines were a scene of confusion throughout the night of Saturday the 30th; few of the men retired to their own huts; and the Europeans were in a state of extreme anxiety, having received warning of the determination at which the irregular cavalry had arrived—of remaining strictly neutral in the approaching struggle, and neither raising their hands against their countrymen nor the Europeans. The confidence of some of the officers in their men was unbroken to the last. For instance, at nine o'clock on the Sunday morning, Major Pearson, who was in command of the 18th, called on Colonel Troup, and assured him that his men were all right. Two hours later a gun was fired by the artillery, and immediately afterwards the sepoys began firing on the officers' bungalows. Brigadier Sibbald mounted his horse, and rode towards the cavalry lines, but was met by a party of infantry, who shot him in the chest: the brave old soldier rode on till he reached the appointed rendezvous, and then dropped dead from his horse. Ensign Tucker perished while endeavouring to save the life of the sergeant-major. The chief part of the Europeans, civil and military, reached the cavalry lines in safety, and agreed to retire on Nynsee Tal. The troopers were assembled in readiness to join in the retreat, when Captain Mackenzie came up, and asked Colonel Troup's permission to comply with the wishes of the men, who desired "to have a crack at the mutineers." They returned accordingly, and soon came in sight of the rebels. The result may be readily guessed. The sight of the green flag—the symbol of their faith—sufficed to turn the scale with the troopers; and when directed to charge upon their co-religionists, they halted, began to murmur, and ended by turning their horses' heads, and ranging themselves around the same banner. The officers (Captain Mackenzie and Lieutenant Becher), with a faithful remnant of their late regiment,‡ were compelled to rejoin the party proceeding to

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

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

‡ Mohammed Nizam, a Native officer, was told by Captain Mackenzie to go back and look after his

three motherless boys, who were left in the lines of the mutineers. The old man grasped the hand of his commander, and, looking up to heaven with tears in his eyes, exclaimed, "No, I will go on with you,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† Ostensibly by “Orderly Panchkooree Khan.”

‡ Further Parl. Papers, 1857; p. 2.

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

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

"To the large number of these sales during the past twelve or fifteen years, and the operation of our revenue system, which has had the result of destroying the gentry of the country, and breaking up the village communities, I attribute solely the disorganisation of this and the neighbouring districts in these provinces. By fraud or chicanery, a vast number of the estates of families of rank and influence have been alienated, either wholly or in part, and have been purchased by new men, chiefly traders or government officials, without character or influence over their tenantry. * * * The very first people who came in to me, imploring aid, were of this new proprietary body, to whom I had a

right to look for vigorous and efficient efforts in the maintenance of order. On the other hand, those who really could control the vast masses of the rural population, were interested in bringing about a state of disturbance and general anarchy."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Further Parl. Papers, pp. 9—11.

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

CHAPTER X.

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

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

Lucknow itself needed every precaution which Sir Henry Lawrence had the means of taking. It extended along the right bank of the Goomtee for four miles, and its buildings covered an area of seven miles. It contained, according to Mr. Raikes, 200,000 fighting-men, and as many more armed citizens. Sleeman estimated the total population at 1,000,000 persons;† others have placed it at 1,200,000: but no census had been attempted either by the Native or European government. The rising of the Lucknow people was anticipated by the resident Europeans as a very probable event, for the plain reason that, in the words of one of the annalists of the siege, "we

had done very little to merit their love, and much to merit their detestation;" and "the people in general, and especially the poor, were dissatisfied, because they were taxed directly and indirectly in every way."‡ The mutiny of the Native troops was still more confidently expected; and Sir Henry Lawrence was urged to prevent it by disarming them: but he considered that this measure, though practicable and even desirable had the capital only required to be cared for, might precipitate an outbreak at Cawnpoor and at the out-stations of Oude, and therefore ought not to be adopted except in the last extremity. In the distribution of the forces, the chief object had been to station the Europeans where they would suffer least from exposure to the climate; and the natives had been entrusted with the sole charge of several important positions. It became necessary to make a new arrangement, and likewise to reduce the number of stations, that, in the event of an outbreak, the Europeans might not be cut off in detail. "We had eight posts," writes Sir H. Lawrence to Sir Hugh Wheeler, on the 20th of May: "as Sir C. Napier would say, we were like chips in porridge. We have given up four posts, and greatly strengthened three."§

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

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

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

‡ Rees' *Siege of Lucknow*, p. 34.

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

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

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

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

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

The Mohammedan festival of the "Eed," or "New Moon," fell on the 24th of May;

* Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 43.

† *Daily News*, August 23rd, 1857.

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

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

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

‡ Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 27.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

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

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

Both these evils were manifesting themselves at the time when the above paragraph was written. The disorganised condition of the Doab districts was reacting on the Oude border. Up to the 25th of May, no overt act of insurrection occurred; but then several of the dispossessed talookdars began to resume possession of the

villages from whence they had been ejected; and the zemindars of Mulheeabad and its neighbourhood, distant about eighteen miles from Lucknow, evinced undisguised disaffection. These people were the descendants of Afreedees, who came from the Khyber mountains, and are described as "greedy, poor, and idle." They began assembling in their villages, and threatened the local treasury at Mulheeabad. To repress them, a party of police, under Captain Weston, was detached from Lucknow, with temporary good effect.

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

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

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

* Rees' *Siege of Lucknow*, p. 39.

† Raikes' *Revolt in the N. W. Provinces*, p. 22.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

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

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

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

The 48th N.I. likewise assembled on their parade, under Colonel Palmer, who proposed to march to the European camp; but this the men would not do; and when several of the officers proposed going thither themselves to ascertain the state of affairs,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

o'clock, Sir Henry Lawrence and the artillery having returned an hour before.

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

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

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

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

The advisability of disarming the remainder of the Native troops, was warmly discussed at Lucknow. On the night of the 30th of May, less than 500 men had proved actively faithful; but in the course of a short time, about 1,200 had gathered round their colours, some of whom had crept quietly back to their lines; but the greater number consisted of the detached guards stationed at the Residency, and at different parts of the city: and these, although they had not taken part with the mutineers, were believed to have been withheld from doing so, rather by the fear of the European infantry and guns, than by any feeling of duty or attachment. But Sir Henry Lawrence persisted in considering the question as he had already done that of the holding of Lucknow itself, primarily as regarded the maintenance of British supremacy in Northern India. Every disbanded regiment helped to swell the tide of mutiny, to fill the ranks of the Delhi garrison, or, as might reasonably have been expected, to form an army, such as that which Sevajee and his successors had formed, and led against the Mogul emperors. The want of leaders—a deficiency which might at any moment have been supplied—saved us from this imminent danger until we had become strong enough to grapple with it. There was another reason against disarmament. It was a measure which could be taken only in stations which possessed a certain proportion of British troops and artillery. No such resource was available at the numerous outposts, where a few British officers were at the mercy of exclusively Native corps: and such a manifestation of distrust could scarcely fail to aggravate their disaffection, and tempt them to commit the very crime to which they were believed to be inclined. The position of the officers was everywhere exceedingly trying; for, according to a regulation which appears to have been gen-

eral, they were directed to sleep in the Native lines. The object was, of course, to prevent or check conspiracy, and show confidence in the sepoys; but it may be doubted whether this end was answered in a degree at all commensurate with the anxiety occasioned, and actual hazard incurred by the measure. An officer (Lieutenant Farquhar) of the 7th light cavalry, writing to his mother, gives a description of the state of feeling at the Lucknow camp, which is probably applicable to the majority of European officers under similar circumstances. "The officers of each regiment had to sleep together, armed to the teeth; and two of each regiment had to remain awake, taking two hours at a time to watch their own men. We kept these watches strictly; and, I believe, by these means saved our throats. Every officer here has slept in his clothes since the mutiny began."* At the gaol, also, Captain Adolphe Orr, and three other Europeans, slept nightly among the Native police.†

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

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

* Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 442.

† Rees' *Siege of Lucknow*, p. 54.

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

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

The officers generally did not distrust their men. Colonel Birch had such entire confidence in the 41st N.I., that when a cry arose in their lines that the 10th irregulars were plundering the treasury, he called out the two most suspected companies, and led them to the scene of the alleged disturbance. All there was found to be quiet, and the order was given to return, when a sepoy of the guard stepped out of the ranks, and took deliberate aim at the colonel, who fell from his horse dead. Lieutenant Smalley and the sergeant-major were then killed. The adjutant, Lieutenant Graves, escaped wounded. The irregulars were not long in following the example of mutiny; and in the massacre which ensued, Captain Gowan and his wife, Captain Dorin, Lieutenants Greene and Bax,† Surgeon Hill, and Lieutenant Snell, with his wife and child, perished. Mrs. Greene escaped, as did also Mrs. Dorin. The latter, after witnessing the murder

of her husband, fled in the dress of a native, in the company of Mr. Dudman (a clerk) and his family, with several other East Indians. The party were protected by a neighbouring zemindar for more than a fortnight, and then sent on in a native cart to Lucknow, escorted by a few villagers. Mrs. Dorin was received into the house of Commissioner Gubbins; where, on the 20th of July, she was shot through the head by a matchlock ball, which, entering by a window, traversed two sets of apartments before it reached that in which she was standing. The fate of the Seetapoor civilians is thus described by Mr. Gubbins, whose information was derived from the lips of the survivors.

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

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

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

his house, where they remained throughout the siege—(p. 119).

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

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

† Rees' *Siege of Lucknow*, p. 46.

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

§ Mr. Gubbins mentions receiving Mrs. Abthorp and three children, and Mrs. and Miss Birch, into

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

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

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

A buggy and some baggage carts were procured: the ladies were placed thereon;

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

At *Bahraetch* itself, two civil servants were stationed—Mr. Cunliffe, deputy-commissioner, and his assistant, Mr. Jordan, with two companies of the 3rd irregular infantry, under Lieutenant Longueville Clarke. When mutiny appeared, the three Europeans rode off to Nanpara, intending to rest there, and proceed thence to the hills; but, on reaching that place, they were refused admittance. The reason given was connected with the *be-duk-ilee*, or dispossession grievance, which had produced so much disaffection throughout Oude. According to the British view of the question as stated by Mr. Gubbins, the rajah of Nanpara, being a minor, had fallen under the tutelage of a kinsman who had mismanaged the estate and dissipated the property. He had accordingly been removed by the authorities, and a new agent appointed; but when the insurrection commenced, the old administrator killed the government nominee, and resumed his former position. No injury was done to the fugitives at Nanpara. They retraced their steps to Bahraetch,

and disguising themselves as natives, strove to reach Lucknow, where Mr. Cunliffe expected to meet his affianced bride. Unfortunately they rode to the chief ferry, that of Byram Ghaut, which was guarded by the Secroa mutineers, by whom the disguised Europeans were discovered and put to death. Such, at least, was the statement made by several native witnesses, and which, Mr. Gubbins affirms, was believed at Lucknow by all except the betrothed girl, who hoped against hope, throughout the weary siege, that her lover yet survived. She might well do so; for during that terrible time, many persons were asserted to be dead, and details of the most revolting description related regarding their sufferings, who afterwards were discovered to be alive and wholly uninjured, save by fear, fatigue, and exposure to the weather.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Shahgunje, a town twelve miles from Fyzabad, with no fallen majesty or legendary fame to boast of, is, however, a name far more familiar to English ears. It is the chief place in the territories of Rajah Maun Sing, and is surrounded by a mud wall thirty feet high and forty feet thick, and a

ditch three miles round, containing some six or seven feet of water. The wall, built of the mud taken from the ditch, had twenty-four bastions for guns. Horrible tales were told of atrocities committed within the fortress. Sleeman records the current rumour regarding a disgraced court favourite, named Gholab Sing, in the time of Nuseer-oo-Deen; who, having displeased the wayward drunken monarch, was flogged, and made to suffer severe torments by hunger and thirst. The females of his family were likewise cruelly ill-treated; and the British resident was compelled, in common humanity, to interfere; whereupon the king, to rid himself of unwelcome importunities, and yet wreak his malice on his victim, gave the latter into the custody of his foe and rival, Rajah Dursun Sing, the father of Maun Sing, who took him in an iron cage to Shahgunje, and kept him there, with snakes and scorpions for his companions.

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

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

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

* Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 132.

† Sleeman's *Journey through Oude*, p. 137.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 155 to 162.

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

The territory of the young rajah of Bulrampoor was seized in this manner during his absence, the garrison of his little stronghold being taken by surprise. The rajah fled to Nepal, where the minister, his personal friend, gave him a small garden for an

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

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

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

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

Such testimony as this ought to have had great weight with the gentlemen entrusted with the settlement of Oude after its forcible occupation by the British government. It appears, on the contrary, that the notoriously unfit and inexperienced revenue officers, nominated hap-hazard in the multiplication of civil appointments consequent on Lord Dalhousie's series of annexations, treated Maun Sing and his relatives

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

* Sleeman's *Journey through Oude*, vol. i., p. 58.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 156 and 186.

‡ Sleeman's *Journey through Oude*, vol. i., p. 145.

§ See p. 84, *ante*.

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

A man so situated was not unlikely to turn rebel. The Supreme government and the Lucknow authorities received intelligence which they deemed conclusive; and in accordance with a telegram from Calcutta, Maun Sing was arrested at Fyzabad in May, and remained in confinement till the beginning of June, when he sent for Colonel Goldney, warned him that the troops would rise, and offered, if released, to give the Europeans shelter at Shahgunje. Colonel Goldney appears to have rightly appreciated the motives of his interlocutor, which were simply a desire to be on the stronger side—that of the British; to obtain from them the best possible terms; and, at the same time, not to render himself unnecessarily obnoxious to his countrymen. Maun Sing was neither the fiery Rajpoot of Rajast'han (so well and so truly portrayed by Todd), nor the mild Hindoo of Bengal; nor, happily for us, was he a vengeful Mahratta like Nana Sahib: he was a shrewd, wary man, "wise in his generation," and made

himself "master of the situation," in a very wriggling, serpent-like fashion. He had no particular temptation to join either party. The ancient barons of Oude detested him and his family, as adventurers and *parvenus* of the most unprincipled description, who had grown wealthy on their spoils; and Maun Sing, in accordance with the proverb, that "the injurer never forgives," probably entertained a deeper aversion and distrust towards them than towards the English, by whom he had himself been despoiled. The event justified the policy adopted by Colonel Goldney in releasing the chief, with permission to strengthen his fort (which was greatly out of repair), and raise levies: but these measures he had little time to adopt; for before many days had elapsed, the expected mutiny took place, and was conducted in a manner which proved that, in the present instance, the sepoys were acting on a settled plan. On the morning of the 8th of June, intelligence was received that a rebel force (the 17th N.I., with a body of irregular cavalry and two guns from Azimghur) were encamped at Begum Gunje, ten miles from Fyzabad, and intended marching into the station on the following morning. The Europeans now prepared for the worst. The civilians and the non-commissioned officers sent their families to Shahgunje; to which place, Captain J. Reid, Captain Alexander Orr, and Mr. Bradford, followed them. Colonel Goldney, though also filling a civil appointment, remained behind. He had every confidence in the 22nd N.I., which he had formerly commanded; and he maintained a most gallant bearing to the moment of his death. Mrs. Lennox and her daughter (Mrs. Morgan), with the wife and children of Major Mill, remained in cantonments, in reliance on the solemn oath of the Native officers of the 22nd, that no injury should be done them. The European officers went to their respective posts; but soon found themselves prisoners, not being allowed to move twelve paces without being followed by a guard with fixed bayonets.

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

* *Times*, 17th January, 1859.

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

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

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

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

An officer who escaped, gives a different account of the language held to him by a subahdar of his own regiment: but both statements may possibly be true, as the sepoys may have been disposed in favour of the Delhi or of the Oude family, according to their birth and prejudices. The speech of the subahdar was very remarkable. Seeing his late superior about to depart, he said—"As you are going away for ever, I will tell you all about our plans. We halt at Fyzabad five days, and march through Duriabad upon Lucknow, where we expect to be joined by the people of the city." Proclamations, he added, had been received from the King of Delhi, announcing that he was again seated on the throne of his fathers, and desired the whole army to

join his standard. The subahdar declared that Rajah Maun Sing had been appointed commander-in-chief in Oude: and he concluded his communications by remarking—"You English have been a long time in India, but you know little of us. We have nothing to do with Wajid Ali, or any of his relations; the kings of Lucknow were made by you: the only ruler in India empowered to give sunnuds, is the King of Delhi; he never made a King of Oude: and it is from him only that we shall receive our orders."†

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† Letter from an officer of one of the Fyzabad

regiments. Quoted by Bombay Correspondent of *Daily News*, August 17th, 1857.

‡ Long roll and certificate of character, dated July 1st, 1857.—Further Parl. Papers on the Mutinies (No. 4), p. 63.

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

The fortunes of the party in the first boat are described in a report by Sergeant Busher, who succeeded in effecting his escape, as did also Teg Ali Khan. In the course of Busher's wanderings, he met with the officers who had embarked in the fourth boat; but they escaped the rebel force only to perish by the hands of insurgent villagers.† Lieutenants Cautley,

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

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

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

§ Mr. Gubbins, from whom the above statement regarding the fate of Col. Goldney is derived (p. 135), does not give his authority. The government *Gazette*

Ritchie, and Bright, are thought to have met a similar fate.‡ The remainder of the Fyzabad fugitives, whose fate has not been mentioned, escaped, excepting Colonel Goldney, who was, it is alleged, brought to land, and led to the mutineer camp. "I am an old man," he said; "will you disgrace yourselves by my murder?" They shot him down.§

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

The adventures of Colonel Lennox remain to be told. After the officers had left, the moulvee sent the native apothecary of the dispensary to say, that he was sorry that the colonel should be obliged to fly, as, through his kindness, he had been well cared-for while confined for three months in the quarter-guard, and had been allowed mentions the colonel's name among the list of the missing, whose fate had not been ascertained.

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

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

his hookah; and that if the colonel and his family would remain in cantonments for a few days, he would take care of them. The subahdar, Dhuleep Sing, on the contrary, advised their immediate flight before the arrival of the 17th N.I.; and as the sepoy on guard at the bungalow were becoming insolent and riotous, Colonel Lennox judged it best to quit Fyzabad immediately, which he did with his wife and daughter, starting during the intense heat of the afternoon. Two faithful sepoy accompanied them, and were happily on their guard against the danger to be expected at Begum Gunje. At Ayodha, however, they encountered an unexpected difficulty, the place being held by a rebel picket. They were twice compelled to stop, under threats of being fired upon; but after being questioned, were suffered to proceed. At half-past ten they passed the enemy's camp unseen; but on rounding a sand-bank, they came upon another picket. By the advice of the sepoy and boatmen, they went on shore, and crept along the side of the bank for two hours: at the expiration of that time they re-entered the boat, which the native boatmen had risked their lives to bring round. Colonel Lennox and the ladies crossed the river at midnight, and landed in the Goruckpoor district. At sunrise on the following morning, they started on foot for Goruckpoor, with their khitmutgar (steward or table attendant) and ayah (lady's maid), and had walked about six miles, when they reached a village, where, having procured a draught of milk, they prepared to rest during the mid-day heat; but were soon disturbed by a horseman, armed to the teeth, with a huge horse-pistol in his hand, which he cocked and held to the head of Colonel Lennox, desiring him to proceed with his wife and daughter to the camp of the 17th N.I., as he expected to get a reward of 500 rupees for each of their heads. The fugitives wearily retraced their steps; but had not gone above a mile when a lad met them, whom the horseman recognised, and whose appearance made him strive to compel the ladies to quicken their pace. The lad, however, prevailed on him to let them drink some water and rest awhile, near a village; and during the interval he contrived to

send a boy to call friends to their assistance. It appeared that a nazim, named Meer Mohammed Hussein Khan, and his nephew, Meer Mehndee, had a small fort less than a mile distant (in the Amorah district), from whence, on receiving intelligence of the danger of the Europeans, eight or ten men were dispatched to the rescue. The horseman was disarmed, and obliged to accompany his late captives to the residence of the nazim; but one of the party sent to save them, seemed by no means pleased with the task. He abused Colonel Lennox; and, "looking to his pistol and priming, swore he would shoot those Englishmen who had come to take away the caste of the natives and make them Christians."* Meer Mohammed was holding a council when the fugitives arrived. They were ushered into his presence, and he bade them rest and take some sherbet. One of his retainers hinted, that a stable close by would be a suitable abode for the dogs, who would be killed ere long. The nazim rebuked him, and told the Europeans not to fear, as they should be protected in the fort until the road to Goruckpoor was again open, so that the station could be reached in safety.

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

* The adventures of Colonel Lennox and his family, are given, as nearly as possible, in the words of the interesting official statement, drawn up by the colonel himself, and dated July 1st, 1857.—

Further Parl. Papers (No. 4), pp. 46—48. See also the somewhat fuller account, also written by him, and published in the London *Times*, of September 29th, 1857.

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

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

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

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

Sultanpoor.—This station was under the

* Further Parl. Papers (No. 4), p. 47.

† Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 136.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

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

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

Other causes were not wanting to aggravate the natural aversion of the chief towards the government by which he had been so ill-treated; and these will be mentioned in their due order. Meanwhile, many intermediate events require to be narrated. The troops at Sultanpoor rose on the morning of the 9th of June, when Colonel Fisher, in returning from the lines of the military police, whom he had harangued and endeavoured to reduce to order, was shot in the back by one of that regiment, and died in the arms of Lieutenant C. Tucker. Captain Gibbings, the second in command, was attacked and killed by the troopers while on horseback beside the dhooly in which Fisher had been placed. The men then shouted to

Lieutenant Tucker to go; and he rode off, crossed the river, and found shelter in the fort of Roostum Sah, at Deyrah, on the banks of the Goomtee. Here he was joined by the remainder of the Sultanpoor officers, and was, with them, safely escorted to Benares, by a party of natives sent from that city by the commissioner, Henry Carre Tucker.

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

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

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

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

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

† *Times*, December 21st, 1858.

‡ Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 139.

§ Mr. A. Block, C.S., and Mr. S. Stroyan, who had been recently married to a girl of seventeen.

|| *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 140. Mr. Gubbins does not give his authority for this statement regarding the conduct of Yaseen Khan.

at Pershadipoor. The conduct of the regiment is described by its commanding officer as continuing "most exemplary" up to June 9th, notwithstanding the trials to which the men had been subjected, by the false accounts of their friends and relatives in different disbanded and mutinous regiments. On the afternoon of that day, a sowar (trooper), who pretended to have escaped from a body of mutineers, galloped into the cantonments. In the night, he represented to the sepoys, that in the event of their remaining faithful, they would be overpowered by the revolted regiments; and his arguments, added to the impression already produced by the assertions of the 37th, 45th, and 57th N.I., that they had been first disarmed and then fired on by the Europeans, so wrought upon the minds of the Pershadipoor troops, that they resolved on throwing off their allegiance.*

The large sum known to be in the treasury, had probably its share in inciting them to mutiny, which they did on the morning of the 10th, by refusing to obey their officers, and warning them to depart. The Europeans knew that resistance was hopeless, and rode off, a few sepoys accompanying Captain Thompson, and remaining steadily with him; while some native subordinates attended the commissioner, Captain Barrow. As the party passed through the lines, several of the sepoys saluted them, but none uttered any threat. Outside the station, Lall Hunwunt Sing, talookdar of Dharoopoor, was found drawn up with his troopers, in accordance with a promise which he had given to be ready with aid in case of emergency. The whole of the refugees were received into his fort, and remained there nearly a fortnight, treated all the while with the greatest kindness. They were then conducted by their host and 500 of his followers to the ferry over the Ganges, opposite to Allahabad, and they reached the fort in safety. The refugees desired to give Hunwunt Sing some token of their gratitude; "but he would receive no present for his hospitality." The financial commissioner remarks—"The conduct of this man is the more deserving, as he had lost an undue number of villages; and his case, as well as that of Roostum Sah of Deyrah, was one that called for reconsideration."†

* Despatch of Captain Thompson to secretary of government, June 25th, 1857.—Further Parl. Papers, p. 70.

† Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 141.

At *Duriabad*, a station and district of the Lucknow division, the 5th Oude infantry were quartered, under Captain Hawes. There was a considerable amount of treasure here (about three lacs), the removal of which had been attempted in May, but resisted by some of the sepoys. On the 9th of June, Captain Hawes renewed the attempt. The treasure was placed in carts, and the men marched off cheering; but before they had proceeded half a mile, a disturbance took place. The disaffected men refused to convey the treasure any further, fired on those who opposed them, and succeeded in taking back the loaded carts in triumph to the station. The European residents fled immediately. Captain Hawes, though repeatedly fired on, escaped unhurt, galloped off across the country, was kindly received by Ram Sing, zemindar of Suhee, and from thence escaped to Lucknow. Lieutenants Grant and Fullerton placed their wives and children in a covered cart, and were walking by the side of it, when they were overtaken by a party of mutineers, and obliged to turn back. On their way towards Duriabad, messengers from cantonments met them, with leave to go where they pleased, as the regiment had no wish to do them harm. A double rifle, which had been taken from Lieutenant Grant, was restored to him; and the party reached the hospitable abode of Ram Sing, and proceeded thence to Lucknow without further molestation. Mr. Benson (the deputy-commissioner) and his wife took refuge with the talookdar of Huraha; were hospitably treated, and enabled to reach Lucknow.

The mutiny of all the Oude stations has now been told, except those of Cawnpoor and Futtehghur: they have a distinctive character; the massacre which followed them by far surpassing any outbreak of sepoy panic, ferocity, or fanaticism; and being, in fact, an episode formed by the ruthless, reckless vengeance of the wretch whose name is hateful to everybody possessed of common humanity, whether Christian, Mohammedan, or Hindoo.

Lucknow.—On the 11th of June, 1857, the capital of Oude, and Cawnpoor, were the only stations in the province still held by the British.

On the following day, Sir Henry Lawrence resumed his functions, and became as indefatigable as ever. He "seemed almost never to sleep. Often would he sally out in

disguise, and visit the most frequented parts of the native town, and make personal observations, and see how his orders were carried out. He several times had a thin bedding spread out near the guns at the Baillie Guard gate, and retired there among the artillerists; not to sleep, but to plan and meditate undisturbed. He appeared to be ubiquitous, and to be seen everywhere.*

The 12th of June was further marked by the mutiny of the 3rd regiment of military police, which furnished the mail guard, and took most of the civil duties. The sepoy abandoned their several posts, and marched off on the road to Sultanpore, plundering several houses belonging to Europeans in their way. They were pursued by a force under Colonel Inglis. The police superintendent (Captain Weston) outstripped the other Europeans, and endeavoured to bring the natives back to obedience. They treated him civilly, but refused to listen to his arguments, unless permitted to do so by the chief they had elected. The permission was refused, and one of the mutineers levelled his musket at Captain Weston. A dozen arms were thrust forward to strike down the weapon. "Who," said they, "would kill such a brave man as this?" The English officer rode back unharmed.† When the Europeans came up with the mutineers, they turned and fought, killing two of the Seik troopers, and wounding several other persons. Two Europeans died of apoplexy. The loss, on the side of the mutineers, was fifteen killed and fifteen captured. On the return of the pursuers, the deputy-commissioner, Mr. Martin, who had formed one of the volunteer cavalry, urged the execution of the prisoners; but the tacit pledge given by some of the captors, who had held out their open hand in token of quarter, was nobly redeemed by Sir Henry Lawrence, and the prisoners were released. Levies of horse, foot, artillery, and police, were now raised. About eighty pensioned sepoy were called in by Sir Henry from the surrounding districts, and no suspicion ever attached to any of them during the siege. One, named Ungud, a native of Oude, performed some remarkable feats as a messenger. The mingled justice and conciliation of Sir Henry Lawrence's policy was markedly instrumental in obtaining the native auxiliaries, but for whom, Lucknow might have

* Rees' *Siege of Lucknow*, p. 39.

† *Ibid.*, p. 61.

been as Cawnpore. A striking illustration of this fact, is afforded by the circumstance of some hundreds of Native artillerymen, formerly in the service of the King of Oude (who had refused to enter the service of the British government on the annexation of the country), now coming forward under their chief, Meer Furzund Ali, as volunteers. A number of them were enlisted; and Mr. Gubbins, who had sixteen of them in his own fortified house, says they worked the guns, under European supervision, during the whole siege, in which several of them were killed. He adds, that "the mutineers no sooner learnt that Furzund Ali was on our side, than they gutted his house, plundering it of a large amount of valuable property. Unless, therefore, some special compensation has been granted to him, Furzund Ali will not have gained much by his loyalty."‡ It seems strange that the "financial commissioner for Oude," writing in June, 1858, should not have been able to speak with somewhat greater certainty on the subject.

Ramadeen, an old Brahmin, also a native of Oude, was another helpful auxiliary. He had been employed as an overseer of roads; and when the disturbed state of the districts interrupted his labours, he came in to Lucknow with six of his brethren: they worked as foot soldiers; and no men ever behaved better. By night they assisted in constructing batteries; by day they fought whenever the enemy attacked. Ramadeen and two of his men were killed; the others survived, and were pensioned by government. There was a native architect named Pirana, of whom Mr. Gubbins says—"He was an excellent workman; and, but for his aid and that of Ramadeen, we could never have completed the works which we put up. Pirana used to work steadily under fire; and I have seen a brick, which he was about to lay, knocked out of his hand by a bullet."§ Before the siege began, there was an excellent native smith, named Golab, working in the engineering department. Captain Fulton gave him his option to go or stay. He chose the latter; and manifested strong personal attachment to his chief, following him everywhere in the face of great danger, and rendering invaluable service. On the very day on which the relieving force entered the Residency, he was killed by a round shot.

Such are a few among a crowd of

‡ Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 166.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

instances of fidelity even unto death; individual attachment being usually the actuating motive.

Strenuous efforts were now made to strengthen the Residency position, and to throw up defences capable of resisting the assault of artillery. The Residency itself occupied the highest point of an elevated and irregular plateau, sloping down sharply towards the river. On the north side, a strong battery for heavy guns, afterwards called the Redan, was commenced on the 18th of June, by Captain Fulton. The Cawnpore battery—so called from its position commanding the high road from that station—had been begun some days earlier by Lieutenant Anderson.

Among other precautions taken at this period, was the arrest of certain Mohammedans of high family, who it was supposed might be compelled or persuaded to join the rebel cause. One was Mustapha Ali Khan, the elder brother of the ex-king, who had been a state prisoner at the time of our occupation of Oude, and whose claims to the succession had been set aside on the plea of weak intellect. The other captives were two princes connected with the Delhi family—Nawab Rookun-ood-Dowlah, one of the surviving sons of the good old sovereign, Sadut Ali Khan; and the young rajah of Toolseepoor (in the Terai), a very turbulent character, who had previously been under surveillance, and was suspected of having caused the murder of his father.

On the 28th of June, Ali Reza Khan, who had formerly been kotwal of Lucknow under native rule, and had taken service under the British government, reported the existence of a large quantity of jewels in the late king's treasury, in the palace called the Kaiser Bagh; which, if not removed, would probably fall into the hands of the mutineers, or be plundered by some party or other. Major Banks was immediately dispatched with a military force to secure and bring in the treasure, which consisted of a richly ornamented throne, crowns thickly studded with gems, gold pieces from Venice and Spain, and a variety of necklaces, armlets, rings, and native ornaments, enclosed in cases so decayed with age, that they fell to pieces when touched; and the place was literally strewed with pearls and gold. The display was unfortunate; and during the subsequent siege, the receptacle in which these gewgaws were placed was more than once broken into, and "looted."

The men of the 32nd regiment were supposed to be the offenders. "Certainly they got hold of a large quantity of the jewels, and sold them freely to the natives of the garrison."* Deprat, a French merchant, who possessed some stores of wine, received offers of valuable gems in exchange for a dozen of brandy; and Mr. Gubbins writes—"I have myself seen diamonds and pearls which had been so bought." There were twenty-three lacs (£230,000) in the government treasury; and this sum was, in the middle of June, buried in front of the Residency, as the safest place of deposit.

The circulating medium had always been miserably insufficient for the wants of a teeming population; and the neglect of proper provision in that respect had been one of the leading defects of the Company's government. In Oude, early in the month of June, public securities fell to so low an ebb, that government promissory notes for a hundred rupees were offered for sale at half that sum. Confidence was partially restored by the authorities volunteering to buy as much as two lacs of paper at any rate under sixty per cent. The owners hesitated and wavered; and the only purchase actually made was effected by the financial commissioner, on Sir Henry Lawrence's private account, at seventy-five per cent. But during the last half of the month, the demand for gold increased rapidly. The mutinous sepoy at the out-stations had possessed themselves of large amounts of government treasure in silver, which was very bulky to carry about, and they exchanged it for gold at high rates, wherever the latter could be procured. At Lucknow all credit rapidly vanished. Not a native merchant could negotiate a "hoondie," or bill; the government treasury was vainly appealed to for aid; and as there was no longer any prospect of receiving money from the out-stations, it was ordered that the salaries of the government officials should cease to be paid in full, and that they should receive only such small present allowance as might suffice for necessary expenditure.

By this time the heat had become intense, and the rains were anxiously looked for. There had been several deaths from cholera in the Muchee Bhawn, and both cholera and small-pox had appeared in the Residency, where Sir Henry himself lived, in the midst of above a hundred ladies and

* Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 178.

children. The Residency also contained the sick, and women and children, of H.M.'s 32nd. "There are," Mrs. Harris states, "as many as eight and nine ladies, with a dozen children, in one room; and the heat is awful."* A heavy fall of rain on the 28th of June was hailed as a great relief; but the comfort thus afforded was counterbalanced by tidings from Cawnpoor.

At the time of the capitulation of General Wheeler to the Nana Sahib, a large body of mutineers were known to be assembled at Nawabgunje, twenty miles from Lucknow, which city they immediately marched towards. On the 29th of June, an advance guard of 500 infantry and 100 horse, was reported to Sir Henry Lawrence as having arrived at Chinhut (a town on the Fyzabad road, within eight miles of the Residency), to collect supplies for the force which was expected there on the following day. A body of cavalry was sent out to reconnoitre the position and numbers of the enemy, but returned without having accomplished this object, hostile pickets having been posted at a considerable distance from the town. Our intelligence was, perhaps unavoidably, as defective as that of the enemy was accurate. On the night of the 29th of June (and not on the 30th, as the spies employed by Mr. Gubbins, who had charge of the intelligence department, had declared would be the case), the rebel army reached Chinhut. In utter ignorance of this fact, Sir Henry Lawrence planned the expedition which proved so disastrous.

Such, at least, is the statement made by Mr. Rees, whose authority carries weight, because he had access to, and permission to use, the journal kept by the wife of Brigadier Inglis, the second in command; and probably gained his information from the brigadier himself, as well as from other officers engaged in the undertaking. Mr. Gubbins' account is less circumstantial, and is naturally not unprejudiced, because, owing to the unfortunate differences which existed between him and the other leading authorities, he was not even aware of the expedition until its disastrous issue became apparent.

* Mrs. Harris's *Siege of Lucknow*, pp. 23; 54.

† Raikes' *Siege of Lucknow*, p. 67. Mr. Gubbins states, that upon his death-bed, Sir Henry referred to the disaster at Chinhut; and said, that he had acted against his own judgment from the fear of man, but did not mention the name of any individual adviser.—*Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 199.

The force moved out at 6 A.M. on the morning of the 30th, and consisted of about 350 Europeans, including a troop of volunteer cavalry, and about the same number of natives, with ten guns and an 8-inch howitzer. Brigadier Inglis, in his despatch, says that several reports had reached Sir Henry Lawrence, on the previous evening, that the rebel army, in no very considerable numbers, intended marching on Lucknow on the following morning; and Sir Henry therefore determined to make a strong *reconnaissance* in that direction, with a view, if possible, of meeting the enemy at a disadvantage, either at their entrance into the suburbs of the city, or at the bridge across the Kookrail—a small stream intersecting the Fyzabad road, about half-way between Lucknow and Chinhut. Thus far the road was metalled; but beyond it was a newly raised embankment, constructed of loose and sandy soil, in which, every now and then, gaps occurred, indicating the position of projected bridges. The troops halted at the bridge, and Sir Henry, it is said, proposed to draw up his little army in this position, and await the coming of the enemy; but he "unfortunately listened to the advisers who wished him to advance."‡ Raikes adds, there were rum-and-water and biscuits with the baggage; but no refreshment was served out to the soldiers, although the Europeans were suffering severely from the sun, which was shining right in their faces; and many of them had been drinking freely overnight.

Brigadier Inglis does not enter into particulars; but only states that the troops, misled by the reports of wayfarers (who asserted that there were few or no men between Lucknow and Chinhut),‡ proceeded somewhat further than had been intended, and suddenly fell in with the enemy, who had up to that time eluded the vigilance of the advanced guard by concealing themselves behind a long line of mango groves, in overwhelming numbers. Chinhut itself was a large village, situated in a plain, on the banks of a very extensive jheel, or lake, close to which stands a castle, formerly a favourite resort of the kings of Oude in their sporting excursions. The camp of the enemy lay to the left of Chinhut. The

‡ Another of the annalists of the siege, observes, that "Sir Henry was on the point of returning to the city; but, unfortunately, he was persuaded to advance, as it was said the enemy could not be in great number."—*Day by Day at Lucknow*; by the widow of Colonel Case, of H.M.'s 32nd; p. 49. London: Bentley, 1858.

village of Ishmaelpoor, where the action was really fought, lay to the left of the road by which the British were advancing, and was occupied by the enemy's sharpshooters. The howitzer was placed in the middle of the road, and fired with much effect; but the rebels, instead of retreating, only changed their tactics, and were soon seen advancing in two distinct masses of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, evidently intending to outflank the British on both sides. "The European force and the howitzer, with the Native infantry, held the foe in check for some time: and had the six guns of the Oude artillery been faithful, and the Seik cavalry shown a better front, the day would have been won in spite of an immense disparity in numbers. But the Oude artillerymen and drivers were traitors."* They overturned the guns into ditches, cut the traces of their horses, and abandoned them, regardless of the remonstrances and exertions of their own officers, and of those of Sir Henry Lawrence's staff, headed by the brigadier-general in person, who himself drew his sword upon these rebels. The cavalry were now ordered to charge. The European volunteers, few of whom had ever seen a shot fired, instantly obeyed the order; but the Seiks (numbering eighty sabres) behaved shamefully. Only two of them charged with the Europeans; the rest turned their horses' heads and galloped back to Lucknow. From behind the loopholed walls of Ishmaelpoor, a deadly fire was poured forth on the British. The 300 men of H.M.'s 32nd were ordered to clear the village. They advanced boldly under their gallant leader, Colonel Case; but he was struck to the ground by a bullet; whereupon the men suddenly laid themselves down under the shelter of a small undulation in the field, but continued firing at the enemy as fast as they could load their pieces.

The order for retreat was now given. The European artillery limbered up and went to the rear, and Sir Henry Lawrence ordered Lieutenant Bonham to retire with the howitzer. But the elephant which was to have carried it was half maddened by the fire; and while the gunners were striving to attach the trail of the howitzer to its carriage, the mutineers were pressing on. A bullet struck Lieutenant Bonham, who

was carried off by his men, and put upon a limber. The howitzer was abandoned; the rebels seized it, and, in the course of some forty-eight hours, fired from it the shot that killed Sir Henry Lawrence. The retreat had become general, when Captain Bassano, of the 32nd foot, who had been searching for Colonel Case, discovered that officer lying wounded, and offered to bring some of the men back to carry him away. "Leave me to die here," was the reply; "I have no need of assistance. Your place is at the head of your company."† The enemy were at this time in rapid pursuit; the Europeans and the sepooy infantry kept up a brisk fire as they retreated, and many fell on both sides. Colonel Case was last seen lying on the roadside with his eyes wide open, and his sword firmly grasped, in the midst of the corpses of his brave companions in arms.‡ Lieutenant Brackenbury was shot next; and Thompson, the adjutant, was mortally wounded. Captain Bassano was hit in the foot, but succeeded in safely reaching the Residency, by the aid of a sepooy of the 13th N.I., who carried the wounded officer for a considerable distance on his back. Major Bruère, also hurt, was saved in a similar manner. There were no dhoolies (litters) for the wounded. At the very beginning of the action, several bearers had been killed; whereupon all the others fled in dismay, leaving the dhoolies in the hands of the enemy. The water-carriers also had run away; and the European infantry were so exhausted from thirst and fatigue, that they could scarcely drag themselves along; and only did so by the aid of the cavalry volunteers, each one of whom was encumbered with two, three, and even four foot soldiers, holding on by the hand of the officer, or by his stirrup, or by the crupper or tail of his horse. The infantry laboured, moreover, under another disadvantage. Their muskets had been kept long loaded, and had become so foul, that it was not possible to discharge them. During the retreat, one of their officers called upon a private by name, and desired him to turn round and fire upon the enemy. "I will do so, sir, if you wish," said the man; "but its no use. I have already snapped six caps, and the piece won't go off."§ Happily, the Native infantry were better able to endure the heat, and

* Despatch of Brigadier Inglis. The Oude artillerymen here mentioned, are not those recently levied (see p. 236), but an old corps, the loyalty of which, according to Rees, there had been pre-

vious ground for suspecting.—*Siege of Lucknow*, p. 53.

† Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 187.

‡ Rees' *Siege*, p. 72. § Gubbins' *Mutinies*, p. 180.

their weapons were in good order. They are described as having "behaved, for the most part, in the kindest manner to the wounded Europeans; taking up great numbers of them, and leaving their own wounded uncared-for on the battle-field. They had been suspected of being also tainted with the general disaffection, and were, therefore, anxious to regain the esteem and confidence of their European officers. They gave, indeed, the most striking proofs of their fidelity and loyalty on that day, showering volleys of musketry and (native like) of abuse on their assailants."*

On nearing the Kookrail bridge, a new danger presented itself. The road in front was seen to be occupied by a body of the rebel cavalry.† The guns were unlimbered, with the intention of pouring in a few rounds of grape on the enemy; but it was ascertained that not a single round of ammunition remained. The preparatory movement, however, produced the desired effect; the enemy hesitated, and, when charged by Captain Rattray and the handful of volunteers under his command, abandoned their position, and, ceasing to obstruct the road, contented themselves with harassing the rear of the retreating troops, whom they pursued even to the iron bridge near the Residency. Sir Henry Lawrence was seen in the most exposed parts of the field, riding about, giving directions, or speaking words of encouragement amidst a terrific fire of grape, round shot, and musketry, which struck down men at every step. While riding by his side, Captain James was shot through the thigh. Sir Henry remained untouched; but he must have suffered as only so good a man could, in witnessing the scene around him. Forgetful of himself, conscious only of the danger and distress of the troops, at the moment of the crisis near the Kookrail bridge, when his little force appeared about to be overwhelmed by the dead weight of opposing numbers, he wrung his hands in agony, and exclaimed, "My God, my God! and I brought them to this!"

Perhaps that bitter cry was heard and

* Rees' *Siege of Lucknow*, p. 78.

† According to Mr. Rees, the masses of rebel cavalry by which the British were outflanked near the Kookrail bridge, were "apparently commanded by some European, who was seen waving his sword, and attempting to make his men follow him and dash at ours. He was a handsome-looking man, well-built, fair, about twenty-five years of age, with

answered, uttered as it was by the lips of one whose character for Christian excellence stood unequalled among public men in India. At least, the retreat of the exhausted force from the Kookrail bridge to Lucknow, under all the circumstances of the case, is one of the most marvellous incidents in the insurrection. On approaching the suburbs, the natives, men, women, and children, rich and poor, crowded round the weary and wounded fugitives, bringing water in cool porous vessels, which was thankfully accepted, and greedily swallowed.

The news of the disaster had reached the city as early as 9 A.M.; a number of the recreant Seik cavalry, and artillery drivers, having crossed the iron bridge at that hour, their horses covered with foam, and they themselves terrified, but not one of them wounded. The commissioner asked them reproachfully why they had fled. They replied only, that the enemy had surrounded them. Half-an-hour later, a messenger who had been sent to gain information, returned to Lucknow, bearing Sir Henry Lawrence's sword scabbard, and a message that he was unhurt. Shortly after the troops arrived; and then, as the wounded men lay faint and bleeding in the porch of the Residency, the horrors of war burst at once on the view of the British at Lucknow. The banqueting-hall was converted into an hospital; and instead of music and merriment, the wail of the widow, shrieks wrung from brave strong men by excruciating physical suffering, and the dull death-rattle, were heard on every side. The total loss, on the side of the British, consisted of—Europeans, 112 killed, and 44 wounded; Natives—nearly 200 killed and missing: only eleven wounded returned to the city. Besides the howitzer, we lost three field-pieces, with almost all the ammunition waggons of our native guns. No estimate could be formed of the loss of the enemy; but the total number engaged was calculated at 5,550 infantry, 800 cavalry, and 160 artillery.‡ These were the regiments which had mutinied at Fyzabad, Seetapoor, Sultanpoor, Secrota, Gondah,

light mustachios, wearing the undress uniform of a European cavalry officer, with a blue and gold-laced cap on his head." Mr. Rees suggests the possibility of this personage being "a Russian: one suspected to be such had been seized by the authorities, confined, and then released;"—or "a renegade Christian."—*Siege of Lucknow*, p. 76.

‡ Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 189.

Salone, and Duriabad. The odds were fearful; and the cause for wonder is, not that half the British band should have perished, but that any portion of it should have escaped.

It is probable that Sir Henry Lawrence felt that the expedition had been a mistake, even independently of the fatal miscalculation of the strength of the enemy, which led him to advance to Chinhut. It had been undertaken without due preparation, without any settled plan of action; neither had any reserve been provided in the event of disaster. The European garrison, consisting of little above 900 men, was materially weakened by the result of the contest; and the easy victory gained by the rebels, emboldened them, and accelerated the besiegement of Lucknow.

The first effect of the return of the survivors was to produce a death-like silence throughout the city; but the stillness was of brief duration. The foe followed close on their heels, and the terrified ladies had scarcely time to welcome back their relatives, or, like poor Mrs. Case, to discover their bereavement, before the whistling of round shot was heard in the air. Mr. Gubbins went to search for Sir Henry Lawrence, and found him laying a howitzer at the Water gate (so called from its vicinity to the river Goomtee), to command the entrance to the Residency.

The siege of Lucknow had, in fact, commenced. The Europeans went on the terraces of their houses, and could see, through their telescopes, masses of the enemy crossing the Goomtee, at a considerable distance below the city (the guns on the Redan commanding the iron bridge); while troopers of the rebel cavalry were already galloping about the streets. The gaol, nearly opposite the Baillie Guard gate of the Residency, was left unwatched. The prisoners, some of whom on the previous day, and even on that very morning, had been working at the batteries, carrying beams and baskets of mud, were soon seen making their escape, holding-on by ropes (which they fastened on the barred windows), and swinging themselves down the high walls. In the course of the afternoon, Sir Henry Lawrence dispatched a messenger to Allahabad, with a brief notice of what had occurred. "We have been besieged," he states, "for four hours. Shall likely be surrounded to-night. Enemy very bold, and our Europeans very low. * * * We shall be obliged to concen-

trate if we are able. We shall have to abandon much supplies, and blow up much powder; unless we are relieved in fifteen or twenty days, we shall hardly be able to maintain our ground."*

At the opening of the siege, there was, besides the two main posts at the Residency and the Muchee Bhawn, a third at the Dowlutkhana, a spacious mausoleum built in honour of a former King of Oude. The 4th and 7th regiments of irregular infantry, and four companies of the 1st irregular infantry, had not accompanied the force to Chinhut, but had remained at their post, under Brigadier Gray. No reliance had been placed on the fidelity of these men, and the guns had been previously removed from their charge. No surprise was therefore expressed when, on witnessing the return of the defeated troops, the sepoys at the Dowlutkhana broke out into mutiny with loud shouts, and commenced plundering the property of their officers, whom, however, they did not attempt to injure, but suffered to retire quietly to the Muchee Bhawn.

The Imaumbara—a building appropriated by Mohammedans of the Sheiah sect to the yearly celebration of the Mohurram, a series of services commemorative of the sufferings of the Imaum Hussein—was at this time filled with native police, who soon followed the example set them by the irregulars in joining the mutiny. The kotwal fled, and hid himself; but being discovered by the enemy, was seized, and eventually put to death.

The investment at once prevented the continuance of communication by letter between the Residency and the Muchee Bhawn; at least the commissioner could find no means of conveying despatches from Sir Henry Lawrence to Colonel Palmer, the commanding officer at the latter position; but Colonel Palmer managed to send intelligence to the Residency, that he was ill supplied with food, and even gun ammunition, shot, and shell. The total force available for defence had, moreover, been so reduced by the Chinhut affair, that there was barely sufficient to garrison the extended Residency position, in which it was now resolved to concentrate the troops. Telegraphic communication had been previously established,

* Telegraphic despatch from commanding officer at Allahabad, to governor-general, July 10th, 1857. —Further Parl. Papers, 1857; p. 110.

by Sir Henry Lawrence, between the two posts; and, on the evening of the 1st of July, he took this means of ordering the evacuation of the Muchee Bhawn. Captain Fulton (of the engineers), another officer, and a civilian, Mr. G. H. Lawrence (nephew of Sir Henry), ascended to the roof to perform this hazardous service. The machine was out of order, and had to be taken down and repaired—the three Europeans being all the time a mark for the bullets of the enemy; and having no other shield than the ornamental balustrade, in the Italian style, which surrounded the roof. But they accomplished their work surely and safely, each letter of the telegram being signalled in return by Colonel Palmer. The words were few, but weighty. "Spike the guns well, blow up the fort, and retire at midnight."

Much anxiety was felt about the success of the movement by those who knew what was intended; and those who did not, were for the most part panic-struck by the suddenness of the calamity which had befallen them. The "omlah," or writers, who resided in the city; the chuprassies,* or civil orderlies, and the workpeople engaged in the yet unfinished batteries, took to flight; and everything outside the intrenchments fell into the hands of the enemy. On the first day of the siege, musketry alone was fired by the rebel army; but, on the second, they had succeeded in placing their cannon in position, and took aim with precision and effect.

The Residency was the chief point of attack, both from its high position and as the head-quarters of Sir Henry Lawrence. Events proved that the rebels were perfectly acquainted with all the different apartments, their occupants, and uses, and directed their fire accordingly. The building was very extensive, and solidly built, with lofty rooms, fine verandahs, and spacious porticoes. The tyekhana, or underground rooms, designed to shelter the families of British residents at Lucknow from the heat of the sun, now served to shield a helpless crowd of women and children from a more deadly fire. Skylights and cellar windows, contrived with all care, made these chambers the most commodious in the Residency, as well as

the only safe ones. Indeed, in every other part, no building could have been less calculated for purposes of defence. The numberless lofty windows in its two upper stories offered unopposed entrance to the missiles of the foe. Colonel Palmer's daughter, a girl of about seventeen, engaged in marriage to a young officer, was sitting in one of the higher rooms on the afternoon of the 1st, when a round shot struck her, and nearly carried off her leg. Amputation was immediately had recourse to; but, on the following day, the poor girl died, as did every other patient on whom a similar operation was performed during the entire siege.† Sir Henry Lawrence had a narrow escape at nearly the same time. He occupied a room on the first story of the most exposed angle of the Residency. While engaged writing with his secretary, Mr. Couper, an 8-inch shell fell and burst close to both gentlemen, but injured neither. The whole of the staff entreated Sir Henry to leave the Residency, or at least to choose a different chamber; but he refused, observing that another shell would certainly never be pitched into that small room. He then resumed his anxious round of duty, visiting every post, however exposed its position, however hot the fire directed against it;‡ and taking precautions to facilitate the evacuation of the Muchee Bhawn, on which fortress the enemy had already opened a cannonade. Towards night, however, the firing ceased; and the enemy, believing the ancient stronghold to be well-nigh impregnable, had no idea of the necessity of blockading its garrison. The *ruse* of Sir Henry, in directing the batteries of the Residency to open fire shortly after midnight, was therefore completely successful. The guns of the Redan cleared the iron bridge of all intruders. The arrangements for the march had been admirably made by Colonel Palmer, and were as ably carried through by the subordinate officers, who were furnished with written orders. The force, comprising (according to Mr. Gubbins) 225 Europeans,§ moved out noiselessly at midnight, carrying their treasure and two or more 9-pounder guns with them, and, in fifteen minutes, traversed the three-quarters of a mile which separated the Muchee Bhawn from the Residency, without

* *Chuprassies*—so called from the chuprass or badge on their breasts, generally consisting of a broad plate of brass hanging from a handsome shoulder-belt. They are employed in carrying mes-

sages, and in general out-door work.—(Russell).

† *Memoir* of Rev. H. S. Polehampton; p 337.

‡ *Rees' Siege of Lucknow*, p. 115.

§ *Further Parl. Papers*, p. 75.

having had a shot fired at them.* The train for the destruction of the fort had been laid by Lieutenant Thomas, of the Madras artillery: by his calculations the explosion was to take place half-an-hour after the departure of the garrison. Sir Henry Lawrence and the officers stood waiting the event. At the appointed time a blaze of fire shot up to the sky, followed by a loud report, which announced the destruction of 240 barrels of gunpowder, and 6,000,000 ball cartridges, together with the complete dismantlement of the fortress.† Many lacs of percussion-caps, and 250 boxes of small-arm ammunition, were sacrificed at the same time, together with a considerable amount of public stores, and much private property.

Still the measure was, beyond all question, a wise one; and the spirits of the garrison rose immediately at the accession of strength gained by the safe arrival of their countrymen. Very different to this easy entrance to the Residency, was the "Strait of Fire" through which the next British reinforcement had to run the gauntlet. Meanwhile a heavy trial was at hand. After welcoming the troops from the Muchee Bhawn, Sir Henry retired to rest in the same small chamber he had been vainly entreated to leave. The next morning, at half-past eight, he was sitting on his bed, listening to some papers read aloud by Captain Wilson, the deputy assistant-commissary-general, when another 8-inch shell entered by the window, and, bursting in the room, a large piece slightly injured Captain Wilson, but struck Sir Henry with such force as nearly to separate his left leg from the thigh. He was immediately brought over to the house of Dr. Fayrer, the Residency surgeon;‡ which was less exposed to the enemy's fire: but the removal appeared to be speedily discovered by the lynx-eyed rebels, and Fayrer's house became the target for their marksmen. The nature of the wound, and

* One man, however, was left behind, dead drunk. He remained during the explosion—was thrown into the air—fell asleep again, and, on awaking next morning, found himself amid a heap of deserted ruins; whereupon he proceeded quietly to the Residency, taking with him a cart of ammunition, drawn by two bullocks, and astonished the soldiers by calling out, "Arrah! open your gates." Rees, who narrates this anecdote, quotes the French proverb, "Il y'a un Dieu pour les ivrognes;" and suggests, that the serious injury to the adjacent houses, and probable destruction of many of the rebels stationed near the Muchee Bhawn, may account for so extraordinary an escape.—*Siege of Lucknow*, p. 121.

the attenuated condition of the sufferer, forbade any attempt at amputation; but it was necessary to stay the bleeding by applying the tourniquet; and the agony thus occasioned was fearful to behold. The chief persons of the garrison, civil and military, stood round their gallant chief. Heedless of the sound of the bullets striking against the verandah, and of their own imminent danger, they thought only of the scene before them; and, in the words of one of them, found it "impossible to avoid sobbing like a child."§

Notwithstanding his extreme pain, Sir Henry was perfectly sensible, and characteristically unselfish. He appointed Brigadier Inglis to succeed him in command of the troops, and Major Banks in the office of chief commissioner. He specially enjoined those around him to be careful of the ammunition; and often repeated, "Save the ladies." He earnestly entreated that the aid of government should be solicited for the Hill Asylums, established by him for the education of the children of soldiers, and to the support of which, he had, by the most systematic self-denial, contributed at least £1,000 a-year from his official income: he had no other. He bade farewell to the gentlemen round him, pointed out the worthlessness of human distinctions, and recommended all to fix their thoughts upon a better world. Then turning to his nephew, who, he said, had been as a son to him,|| he sent messages to his children, and to each of his brothers and sisters, and tenderly alluded to the beloved wife,¶ dead some four years before, who had so cordially seconded all his schemes of public and private usefulness. He lingered till eight o'clock in the morning of the 4th, and then his paroxysms of anguish terminated in a peaceful, painless death. His last request was, that the inscription upon his tomb should be simply this—"Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to

† Brigadier Inglis's despatch, Sept. 26th, 1857. It is asserted, that the destruction thus occasioned was much overrated.

‡ Brother to the volunteer of the same name, killed with Captain Fletcher Hayes. See p. 193.

§ Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 199.

|| Mrs. Harris's *Siege of Lucknow*, p. 77.

¶ "The late Lady Lawrence shared all his benevolence and all his genius. His article in the *Calcutta Review*, on 'Woman in India,' is descriptive of her character; and the large subscription that was raised for the Lawrence Asylum after her death, was the best tribute to her worth."—*Friend of India*, July, 1857.

do his duty. May the Lord have mercy on his soul!"*

The words are very touching, when considered as the utterance of the man who will go down to posterity as the pacificator of the Punjab,† and to whose prudence, energy, and foresight, despite the disaster at Chinhut, the gallant survivors of the Lucknow garrison consider their success mainly attributable.‡ Indeed (in the emphatic words of Brigadier Inglis), but for the foresight and precautions of Henry Lawrence, every European in Lucknow might have slept in a bloody shroud.

Half-an-hour before Sir Henry's death, his nephew was shot through the shoulder, in the verandah. Mrs. Harris, the wife of the Residency chaplain, writes in her diary—"I have been nursing him to-day, poor fellow! It was so sad to see him lying there in the room with his uncle's body; looking so pale, and suffering." In the course of a few hours it became necessary to remove the corpse; and one of the soldiers called in for the purpose, lifting the sheet from the face, bent over and kissed it reverently. No military honours marked the funeral. A hurried prayer was read amidst the booming of cannon and the fire of musketry; and the remains of the good and great man were lowered into a pit, with several other lowlier companions in arms.

The death of Sir Henry Lawrence was kept secret for many days: he was even

reported to be recovering; but, at last, the truth could no longer be concealed; and the tidings were "received throughout the garrison with feelings of consternation only second to the grief which was inspired in the hearts of all, by the loss of a public benefactor and a warm personal friend."§

A well-known Indian journal (the *Friend of India*) writes—"The commissioner of Oude died, not before he had breathed into his little garrison somewhat of his own heroic spirit. Great actions are contagious, and gladly would they have died for him; but it was not so to be; henceforth they will live only for vengeance." The English at Lucknow happily understood the spirit of their beloved chief much better. They had recognised in him a Christian, not an Homeric hero; and the pursuit of vengeance, "the real divinity of the *Iliad*," was, they well knew, utterly incompatible with the forgiving spirit which Sir Henry uniformly advocated as the very essence of vital Christianity. In fact, his true vocation was that of a lawgiver and an administrator, not a subjugator; his talent lay in preventing revolt, rather than in crushing it with the iron heel of the destroyer. Lord Canning|| showed considerable appreciation of Sir Henry Lawrence, when he dwelt on his loss as one which equally affected the Europeans and natives. This was true when it was written, in the very height of the struggle; but it is more striking now,

* See descriptive letterpress, by Mr. Couper (Sir Henry Lawrence's secretary), to Lieutenant Clifford H. Meham's charming *Sketches of Lucknow*.

† "What the memory of Tod is in Rajast'han—what Macpherson was to the Khonds, Outram to the Bheels, Napier to the Beloochees—that, and more, was Henry Lawrence to the fierce and haughty Seiks."—*Westminster Review*, October, 1858.

‡ See Gubbins, Rees, Polehampton, Case, &c.

§ Brigadier Inglis's despatch, Sept. 26th, 1857.

|| There is not, I am sure, an Englishman in India who does not regard the loss of Sir Henry Lawrence, in the present circumstances of the country, as one of the heaviest of public calamities. There is not, I believe, a native of the provinces where he has held authority, who will not remember his name as that of a friend and generous benefactor to the races of India."—[Lord Canning to the Court of Directors, Sept. 8th, 1857]. Lord Stanley, too, has borne high testimony to the rare merits of Sir Henry Lawrence. At a meeting held to promote the endowment of the schools founded by him for the education of soldiers' children at Kussowlie and Mount Aboo—the "two elder daughters," whose permanent establishment had been one main reason for his prolonged abode in India—Lord Stanley said—"Sir Henry Lawrence rose to eminence step by step, not by favour of any man, certainly not

by subserviency either to ruling authorities or to popular ideas, but simply by the operation of that natural law which in troubled times brings the strongest mind, be it where it may, to the post of highest command. I knew Sir H. Lawrence six years ago. Travelling in the Punjab, I passed a month in his camp, and it then seemed to me, as it does now, that his personal character was far above his career, eminent as that career has been. If he had died a private and undistinguished person, the impress of his mind would still have been left on all those who came personally into contact with him. I thought him, as far as I could judge, sagacious and far-seeing in matters of policy; and I had daily opportunity of witnessing, even under all the disadvantages of a long and rapid journey, his constant assiduity in the dispatch of business. But it was not the intellectual qualities of the man which made upon me the deepest impression. There was in him a rare union of determined purpose, of moral as well as physical courage, with a singular frankness and a courtesy of demeanour which was something more than we call courtesy; for it belonged not to manners, but to mind—a courtesy shown equally to Europeans and natives. Once know him, and you could not imagine him giving utterance to any sentiment which was harsh, or petty, or self-seeking."—*Times*, Feb. 8th, 1858.

when every one capable of looking below the surface, feels that the worst effect of the mutiny is the breach which it has so fearfully widened between the two races. Avengers and subjugators have done their work: we want peace-makers now; but where can we look for such an one as Henry Lawrence?

CHAPTER XI.

CAWNPOOR.—MAY 16TH TO JUNE 27TH, 1857.

CAWNPOOR was selected by the East India Company, in 1775, as the station of the subsidiary troops, to be maintained for the use of the government of Oude. In 1801, the district and city of the same name, with other territory, amounting to half the kingdom, was ceded to the Company, under the circumstances already narrated.*

Cawnpoor is not a place of ancient historic interest. The district had formerly an ill name, as the abode of Thugs and Phansigars, especially the western portion of it, where great numbers of murderous bands were said to have resided, ostensibly engaged in cultivating small spots of land, though, in fact, supported by the more lucrative profession of Thuggee.† These gangs had, however, been completely broken up, and the district freed from their hateful operations. The city appears to be of modern origin: there is no mention of it in the *Ayeen Akbery* (drawn up by Abul Fazil, towards the close of the 16th century); and its name—half Mohammedan, half Hindoo (*Cawn*, or *Khan*, lord; and *poor*, town),‡ speaks its mixed character. The native town contained, before the mutiny, about 59,000 inhabitants; and the population of the cantonments, exclusive of the military, is stated by Thornton at 49,975, giving a total of 108,975. The cantonments extend, in a semicircle, for nearly five miles along the right bank of the Ganges; the bungalows of the officers and residents being situated in richly-planted compounds or inclosures, and having the most productive gardens in India; grapes, peaches, mangoes, shaddock, plantains, melons, oranges, limes, guavas, and custard apples, growing there in perfection, together with most

European vegetables. Assembly-rooms, a theatre, and a race-course were early erected by the Europeans; and, about eighteen years ago, a church was raised by the joint means of a private subscription and a government grant of money and land.

The most attractive feature in Cawnpoor is its ghaut, or landing-place, the traffic being very great. The Ganges, here a mile broad, is navigable down to the sea a distance of above 1,000 miles, and upwards to Sukertal, a distance of 300 miles. Numerous and strange descriptions of vessels are to be seen collected along the banks; and the craft, fastened to the shore, are so closely packed that they appear like one mass, and, from their thatched roofs and low entrances, might easily pass for a floating village.

Many an English lady, during the last half century, has stood at the ghaut, with her ayah and young children by her side, watching the ferry-boat plying across the stream, with its motley collection of passengers—travellers, merchants, and fakirs, camels, bullocks, and horses all crowded together; and may have turned away from the stately Ganges with a sigh, perhaps, for far-distant England, but still without so much as a passing doubt of personal safety in the luxurious abodes, where crowds of natives waited in readiness to minister to the comfort of the privileged "governing race." The evidences of disaffection at Barrackpoor and elsewhere, appear to have had little or no effect in awakening a sense of danger; and at the time when the Meerut catastrophe became known at Cawnpoor, the latter station was unusually thronged with ladies, who had come thither for the

* See Introductory Chapter, page 60.

† Sherwood on Phansigars.—*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xiii., p. 290.

‡ Hamilton's *Gazetteer*. Thornton, however, states, on the authority of Tod, that Cawn is a corruption of Kanh, a name of Crishna.

purpose of being present at the balls given by the officers during the preceding month.

Tidings of the Meerut massacre were circulated at Cawnpoor on the 16th of May, and created a great sensation in the cantonments, where the greased cartridge question had already been discussed. The officer in command, Sir Hugh Massey Wheeler, was one of the most experienced and popular generals in the Company's service. He had spent nearly fifty-four years in India as a sepoy commander, and he had married an Indian lady. He had led Bengal troops, under Lord Lake, against their own countrymen; and they had followed him to Afghanistan, to oppose foreigners. In both the Seik campaigns, Wheeler and his sepoys had been conspicuous: in the second, he held a separate command. Lord Gough had esteemed him highly as an active and energetic officer, singularly fertile in resources. His despatches prove that he was fully alive to the probability of mutiny among the troops, and took his precautions accordingly; but he had not calculated on insurrection among the people, or on the defalcation, much less the treachery, of a neighbouring chief, in reliance on whose good faith he prepared to meet, and hoped to weather, the approaching storm. It has been affirmed, and not without cause, with respect to the proceedings at Cawnpoor, that "if the dispossessed princes and people of the land, farmers, villagers, and ryots, had not made common cause with the sepoys, there is every reason to believe that but a portion of the force would have revolted: the certainty exists, that not a single officer would have been injured."*

The troops at Cawnpoor, at the time of the outbreak at Meerut, consisted of—

The 1st, 53rd, and 56th N.I.—*Europeans*, 46; *Natives*, 2,924. The second light cavalry regiment—*Europeans*, 21; *Natives*, 526. Three companies of artillery—*Europeans*, 88; *Natives*, 152. A detachment of H.M. 84th foot (100 men), including those in hospital.†

On the 16th of May, an incendiary fire occurred in the lines of the 1st N.I., and the artillery were moved up to the European barracks. On the 18th, Sir Hugh Wheeler telegraphed to Calcutta that considerable excitement was visible at Cawnpoor.‡ The

next day he was desired, by the Supreme government, to begin immediately to make all preparations for the accommodation of a European force, and to let it be known that he was doing so.§ This message led General Wheeler to believe that considerable detachments were on their road from Calcutta; and finding the agitation around him rapidly increasing, he dispatched a requisition to Lucknow, for a company of H.M. 32nd to be stationed at Cawnpoor, pending the arrival of the promised reinforcement.

On the night of the 20th, the cavalry sent emissaries to the infantry lines, asking the three regiments to stand by them, and asserting that the Europeans were about to take away their horses and accoutrements; in fact, to disarm and disband them—a course which the Europeans had no immediate opportunity of adopting, being few in number, and heavily encumbered with women and children. A struggle seemed inevitable: uproar and confusion prevailed throughout the 21st of May; and General Wheeler placed the guns in position, and prepared for the worst. The men were addressed and reasoned with, through the medium of the Native officers. They listened, seemed convinced, and retired quietly to their lines at about half-past seven. A few hours later, fifty-five of H.M. 32nd, and 240 Oude troopers, arrived from Lucknow. General Wheeler, after acquainting the Supreme government with the above particulars, adds—"This morning (22nd) two guns, and about 300 men of all arms, were brought in by the Maharajah of Bithoor. Being Mahrattas, they are not likely to coalesce with the others. Once the Europeans from Calcutta arrived, I should hope that all would be beyond danger. I have the most cordial co-operation from Mr. Hillersdon, the magistrate. At present things appear quiet; but it is impossible to say what a moment may bring forth."||

The temper of the reinforcement of Oude irregulars was not deemed satisfactory; and after they had been some days at Cawnpoor, they were dispatched on the expedition which issued in their mutinying and murdering Captain Hayes and two other Europeans.¶ Lieutenant Ashe was sent by Sir Hugh Wheeler, a day or two

* *Mutiny of the Bengal Army*; by One who has served under Sir Charles Napier; p. 126.

† Parliamentary Return, February 9th, 1858; p. 3.

‡ Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny (1857), p. 199.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

|| Telegram, May 22nd.—Appendix, p. 310.

¶ Captain Hayes had a wife and five children at Lucknow. Mrs. Barbor, who had been three months married, was also there.—Polehampton's *Letters*, p. 274.

after the departure of the Oude irregulars, to join them with a half-battery of Oude horse artillery. A few marches from the station he met some Seiks of the irregulars, who had abandoned their mutinous comrades; and they marched to Cawnpoor with Lieutenant Ashe and the guns.*

The presence of the Mahrattas did not exercise any beneficial effect. Rumours were circulated that the polluting cartridges were to be served out on the 23rd, and that the artillery were to act against all who refused them. Much excitement was manifested; and, on the 24th of May (the Queen's birthday), it was deemed advisable to omit the usual salute.

On the 27th, General Wheeler writes—"All quiet; but I feel by no means confident it will continue so. The civil and military depending entirely upon me for advice and assistance just now, I regret I cannot find time at present to compile a detailed account of late occurrences in my division."†

On the 1st of June, he mentions that Enfield rifle ammunition had been detained in the Cawnpoor magazine, and would just do for the Madras Fusiliers.‡ This circumstance would not escape the distrustful and observant sepoys.

On the following day, two companies of H.M. 84th arrived from Allahabad; but, on the morning of the 3rd, General Wheeler, having heard of the uneasiness which prevailed at Lucknow, gave orders for one company of the 84th, made up to its full strength, together with the company of the 32nd, to march thither, retaining, for the defence of Cawnpoor, 204 Europeans—consisting of 60 men of the 84th regiment, 15 of the 1st Madras Fusiliers (armed with the Enfield rifle), 70 H.M. 32nd, invalids and sick, and 59 artillerymen, with six guns.§

The position now taken by Sir Hugh Wheeler can only be accounted for in one way. It is believed, that no officer of his known ability would have made the selection he did, except under the conviction that the Native troops, though they might desert, would not attack him.||

In this view of the case, it followed, that in looking round the overgrown cantonments for a place of shelter for the residents, convenient quarters for a temporary

refuge were desired, rather than such as would best stand a siege. Had the latter necessity been contemplated, the magazine would, in the absence of a fort, have been best qualified for defence, being a very large building, surrounded by a high masonry wall, and well supplied with every muniment of war. But then it was situated seven miles from the new native lines, close to the gaol, and on the Delhi road. To have concentrated the Europeans there, would have been to abandon all prospect of peaceable disarmament, which Sir Hugh Wheeler might have reasonably expected to accomplish by the aid of the European troops, whose arrival he anxiously expected, part of whom were stopped on the way by the mutiny at Allahabad, and the remainder are alleged to have been needlessly delayed at Calcutta by the tardy, shiftless proceedings of the Supreme government. He therefore fixed on two long barracks, standing in the centre of an extensive plain at the eastern end of the station; and, unhappily, commanded on all sides. The depôt of the 32nd, consisting of the sick, invalids, women and children of the regiment, was already located in these two buildings, which were single-storied, and intended each for the accommodation of one hundred men. One of them was thatched, and both were surrounded by a flat-roofed arcade or verandah; the walls were of brick, an inch and a-half in thickness; a well and the usual out-offices were attached to the barracks.

The only defence attempted, or even practicable, in the time and under the circumstances of the stiffness of the soil from drought and the scarcity of labour, was to dig a trench, and throw up the earth on the outside so as to form a parapet, which might have been five feet high, but was not even bullet-proof at the crest. Open spaces were likewise left for the guns, which were thus entirely unprotected. It will be easily understood what slight cover an intrenchment of this kind would furnish either for the barracks or for men in the trenches; and there was plenty of cover both for musketry and guns within a short distance of the barracks, of which the mutineers soon availed themselves.

* These Seiks were immediately dismissed by General Wheeler.—Further Parl. Papers (No. 7), p. 130.

† Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, 1857; p. 325.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

§ *Narrative of the Mutiny at Cawnpoor*; forwarded by governor-general to Court of Directors, apparently as an official statement.—Further Parl. Papers (No. 7), 1857; p. 129.

|| Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 177.

It is evident that the aid by which Sir Hugh and the English hoped to be enabled to tide over the expected crisis, was looked for from the chief, styled, in a foregoing despatch, the Maharajah of Bithoor. It is no small compliment to the native character, that, however little it may have been praised in words; in deeds, great reliance has been placed on allies, whose fidelity has been subjected to severe trials. In the present instance, implicit trust was evinced in the co-operation of one who notoriously considered himself an ill-used and aggrieved person, and who had lavished large sums of money in endeavouring to obtain, in England, the reversal of what he, and probably a large body of his countrymen, considered to be the unjust decision of the Indian government.

Dhoondia Rao Punt, commonly called the Nana Sahib (the son of a Brahmin), was adopted by the ex-Peishwa, Bajee Rao, in 1827, being then between two and three years of age. Bajee Rao died in January, 1851; and Nana Rao claimed from the British government the continuance of the pension of £80,000 a-year, granted as the condition of his adopted father's abdication of the sovereignty of Poona in 1818. The question here is not one of adoption; for had the Peishwa left issue of his own body, male and legitimate, the terms of the treaty of 1818 would not have warranted a demand, as of right, for the continuance of the stipend, of which a singular combination of circumstances had necessitated the concession. The treaty, framed by Sir John Malcolm, stipulated for the surrender of the person of Bajee Rao within twenty-four hours, and for the formal surrender of all political power to the British.

"The fourth article declares, that Bajee Rao shall, on his voluntarily agreeing to this arrangement, receive a liberal pension from the Company's government, for the support of *himself and his family*. The amount of this pension will be fixed by the governor-general; but Brigadier-general Malcolm takes upon himself to engage that it shall not be less than eight lacs of rupees per annum."*

Malcolm was much blamed for having named so large a sum as the minimum, and the Company most reluctantly redeemed the pledge he had given on their behalf:

* *Kaye's Life of Malcolm*, vol. ii., p. 254.

† Letter to Mr. Adam—*Ibid.*, p. 258.

‡ Letter to Sir Thomas Munro—*Ibid.*, p. 257.

but he maintained, that the stipend, "though princely for the support of Bajee Rao, his family, and numerous adherents, was nothing for purposes of ambition;" and that if "he had been reduced to a condition in point of allowances, respectability, and liberty, that degraded him in his own mind and that of others, he might have asked himself, 'Where can I be worse?'"†

Again, Malcolm asserts, that the Peishwa was neither destitute of the means of protracting the contest, nor disposed to throw himself unconditionally on the British government; and, after detailing his position and resources, he adds—"The article I purchased was worth the price I paid; I could not get it cheaper."‡ On various grounds he vindicates the policy of liberal dealing with the dethroned prince—namely, on account of "our own dignity, considerations for the feelings of Bajee Rao's adherents, and for the prejudices of the natives of India. We exist on impression; and, on occasions like this, where all are anxious spectators, we must play our part well, or we should be hissed."

In all the discussions regarding the stipend, it is evident that it was regarded simply as a life pension, and that the question of its continuance to the family was never entertained. But, nevertheless, the Indian authorities of that day—Lord Hastings, Adam, Elphinstone, and, most of all, Malcolm—would have been painfully surprised, could they have supposed that, on the death of the man known to them as the "first Hindoo prince in India," a governor-general would be found to declare that "the Peishwa's family have no claim upon the government, and that he would by no means consent to any portion of the public money being conferred on it." Yet this decision Lord Dalhousie pronounced without reference to the Court of Directors, who had, some years before, in answer to an application from the Peishwa on the subject of his family, simply deferred the consideration of the claim.

It is true that Bajee Rao had enjoyed his princely stipend much longer than could have been reasonably anticipated, considering that he was a man of feeble constitution and dissolute habits, far advanced in years at the time of his surrender. He made considerable savings, and actually assisted the government with the loan of six lacs, at the time of the

siege of Bhurtpoor, when the Cawnpoor treasury was totally devoid of assets, and the march of the troops was delayed in consequence. During his life he supported a multitude of adherents; and, at one time, had no less than 8,000 armed followers at Bithoor. Yet their conduct was so orderly, that the magistrate of Cawnpoor reported, that their presence had occasioned no perceptible increase of crime or disorder in his district. At the Peishwa's death, property said to amount to £160,000,* went to his adopted heir, and his wives and daughters were left in extreme distress; the Peishwa having confidently expected that some provision, more or less satisfactory, would be made for them, if only in deference to popular feeling. It was not, however, poverty only to which these ladies were reduced. The jaghire, or estate, granted to the Peishwa, was specially conceded to preserve the ex-royal family from coming under British jurisdiction: its sequestration at once rendered them liable to be dragged before our law courts—an indignity which natives of high rank have committed suicide to escape. "There was," it is alleged, "proof positive that their alarm on this head was no idle fear, as notices had already been served upon some of them to appear before the Supreme Court at Calcutta."† These grievances had not been borne in silence. The wealth of the Nana secured him plenty of counsellors and advocates. Among the best known of these was one Azim Oollah, who came to London; made himself extremely conspicuous in the parks and Belgravian drawing-rooms, and extremely troublesome at the public offices; lavished some thousands of his employer's money in presents, with a view to gain a favourable hearing in high quarters; and eventually returned to Bithoor, to pour into the Nana's ear his own exaggerated and malicious version of his costly failure in England.

Every guest who visited Bithoor heard the Nana's grievances; and if of any rank, was urged, on his or her return to England, to make an effort for their redress. Who could refuse so munificent a host as the Nana is represented to have been? and how many may have been tempted to overrate the very small influence they possessed,

* *Homeward Mail*, November 30th, 1857.

† *Ibid.* The Nana had been involved in several unsuccessful law-suits; for the younger adopted son of the Peishwa (the Nana's nephew being a minor,

and the efforts they were disposed to make in his behalf? The visitors' book bore the names of hundreds who had been sumptuously entertained at Bithoor for days, and even weeks. Since the tidings of the fearful crime with which his name has become inseparably associated, many descriptions of his person and abode have been published in the public journals. As to character, all who knew him at Cawnpoor agree in describing him as a person of decidedly second-rate ability, only remarkable for the consequence which his position as the representative of an honoured though fallen dynasty gave him with the natives, and his wealth and convivial disposition procured with the Europeans.

A writer in the *Illustrated Times*, who manifests considerable acquaintance with Indian politics and society, says—

"I knew Nana Sahib intimately, and always regarded him as one of the best and most hospitable natives in the Upper Provinces, and certainly one of the last men to have been guilty of the atrocities laid to his charge. As in the case with many natives of India, it may have been that Nana Sahib cultivated the acquaintance and friendship of the sahibs solely in the hope, that through their influence, direct and indirect, his grievances would be redressed. But the last time I saw Nana Sahib—it was in the cold weather of 1851; and he called upon me twice during my stay in Cawnpoor—he never once alluded to his grievances. His conversation at that time was directed to the Oude affair. The following questions, amongst others, I can remember he put to me:—'Why will not Lord Dalhousie pay a visit to the King of Oude? Lord Hardinge did so.' 'Do you think Colonel Sleeman will persuade Lord Dalhousie to seize the kingdom (of Oude)? He (Colonel Sleeman) has gone to the camp to do his best.'

"So far as I could glean, Nana Sahib wished for the annexation of Oude—albeit he expressed a very decided opinion that, in the event of that measure being resorted to, there would be a disturbance, and perhaps a war."

Another visitor, an English officer, gives an anecdote which is very characteristic of the barrier that obstructs the social intercourse of Europeans and natives. On the way to Bithoor, the visitor praised the equipage of his host, who rejoined—

"'Not long ago, I had a carriage and horses very superior to these. They cost me 25,000 rupees; but I had to burn the carriage and kill the horses.'—'Why so?'—'The child of a certain sahib in Cawnpoor was very sick, and the sahib and the mem-sahib were bringing the child to Bithoor for a change of air. I sent my big carriage for them.

the English law courts had stepped in as trustees for his interests. A full and authentic statement of the case of the Peishwa's family, ought, ere now, to have been published by government.

On the road the child died; and, of course, as a dead body had been in the carriage, and as the horses had drawn that dead body in that carriage, I could never use them again.' (The reader must understand that a native of any rank considers it a disgrace to sell property).—'But could you not have given the horses to some friend—a Christian or a Mussulman?'—'No; had I done so, it might have come to the knowledge of the sahib, and his feelings would have been hurt at having occasioned me such a loss.' Such was the maharajah, commonly known as Nana Sahib. He appeared to be not a man of ability, nor a fool."

In person, the Nana was well described by one of his attendants as a *tring admee* (tight man). Corpulent, and of the middle height, with a complexion scarcely darker than the olive-coloured Spaniard; with bright bead-like eyes, a round face, a straight, well-cut nose, and sensual mouth and chin; his appearance would probably have been attractive to an ordinary observer, but for the effect of the caste-mark on his forehead. He spoke little English; neither is there any reason to suppose the British government had ever made any effort to influence Bajee Rao in the education of his adopted son, though brought up under their auspices. The Nana knew but very little English: but Azim Oollah was fluent in that language; and could speak, it is said, some French and German.

In April, 1857, the Nana visited Lucknow, "on pretence of seeing the sights there," accompanied by a numerous retinue, of course including the notorious Azim Oollah. Sir Henry Lawrence received him kindly, and ordered the authorities of the city to show him every attention. The Nana departed very suddenly; and this circumstance, together with his arrogant and presuming demeanour, excited the suspicions of Mr. Gubbins, who, after consulting with Sir Henry Lawrence, wrote, with his sanction, to convey to Sir Hugh Wheeler their joint impressions of the Mahratta chief. But the warning appears to have been totally unheeded. It was then believed that the Nana had a large portion of his inherited wealth, amounting to £500,000, vested in government securities; and it was not known till his treachery was consummated, that ever since the annexation of Oude, he had been secretly and gradually changing the disposition of his property, till only £30,000 remained to be

* He is asserted to have been addressed, in correspondence, as Maharajah Sree Nath Bahadur, and to have been called Nana Sahib, in accordance with the pet name given to him in the seraglio, being the first

sacrificed when he should think fit to throw off his allegiance. Being wholly unsuspected, his arrangements were never noticed; and despite his loudly trumpeted wrongs, he had so much to lose, that no one ever dreamt of his joining in revolt, even at the instigation of the Mephistopheles at his elbow. He continued to live at his castellated palace at Bithoor, a few miles N.W. of Cawnpoor; to keep six mounted guns, and as many followers as he chose. He gave sumptuous entertainments; made hunting parties for strangers of distinction; and was always ready to lend his elephants, and, as we have seen, his equipages also, for the use of the neighbouring "sahibs and mem-sahibs." In return, he was treated with much distinction, and styled the Maharajah—a title to which he had no rightful claim, and which he ought never to have been suffered to assume. Even that of the Nana Sahib* is a term too closely allied to Mahratta sovereignty, to have been a judicious designation for an avowed pretender to the inheritance of the last of the Peishwas. Nana is the Mahratta term for "maternal grandfather;" but recurs constantly in the annals of Maharashtra, in a similar sense to that in which the designations of "Uncles of York," and "Cousins of Lancaster," are applied in our history.† To names and traditions the English have never been inclined to attach much importance; and the present generation have far surpassed their predecessors in contemptuous indifference to the influence which these things exercise on the minds of the natives of India.

Among those who were most completely deceived by the Nana's professions, was Mr. Hillersdon, the magistrate and collector; who, both in his public and private capacity, had many opportunities of knowing him. In one of the painfully interesting letters which describe the crisis at Cawnpoor (published, in deference to public feeling, by the parties to whom they were addressed), Mrs. Hillersdon writes:—

"There does not seem to be any immediate danger here; but should they mutiny, we should either go into cantonments, or to a place called Bithoor, about six miles from Cawnpoor, where the Peishwa's successor resides. He is a great friend of Charles's, and is a man of enormous wealth and influence; and

sound he distinctly articulated. The point has been already more discussed than it deserves. See *Daily News*, September 25th, 1857.

† See Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*.

he has assured Charles that we shall all be quite safe there. I myself would much prefer going to the cantonments, to be with the other ladies, but Charles thinks it would be better for me and our precious children to be at Bithoor.*

A proposition was also entertained, of sending other ladies there for safety;† but some reason, not specified, prevented its being carried into execution. On the 21st of May, a report was circulated that the Native troops would rise that night; whereupon Mr. and Mrs. Hillersdon, with their two children, abandoned their own compound, which was four miles from cantonments, and took refuge with Colonel Ewart, of the 1st N.I. The colonel went at night (as all the officers were subsequently directed to do) to sleep in the midst of his men, with the view of reassuring them by trusting his life with them, and also of aiding the well-disposed to hold the turbulent in check. At the same time, he declared that if his regiment mutinied, it might walk over his body, but he would never leave it.‡ Mr. Hillersdon was soon afterwards called away; and his wife and Mrs. Ewart, with their children and nurses, drove to the barracks, which had been assigned as a rendezvous in case of alarm.

For several days no change took place. In the morning the ladies went to their own houses; in the evening they returned to the "melancholy night quarters," graphically described by Mrs. Ewart, in the letters from whence the following passages are extracted:—

"Oh! such a scene! Men, officers, women and children, beds and chairs, all mingled together, inside and outside the barracks. Some talking, or even laughing; some frightened, some defiant, others despairing; three guns in front of our position, and three behind, and a trench in course of formation all round. * * * The general is busy now, and he has spiked the guns he could not use yesterday (26th May), and laid a train for blowing up the magazine, should any outbreak occur."

After alluding to the reported advance of the rebel force, Mrs. Ewart adds:—

"No outbreak is at present apprehended from any of the troops here; our danger lies now in what may come from outside. The appearance of successful insurgents amongst the regiments, would be the signal to rise; and all we could really depend upon for defence, is our position behind our guns, and the help of about 150 European soldiers, forty

* *Times*, October, 1857.

† Letter to the *Times*, written by Captain Mowbray Thomson: dated September 8th, 1858.

‡ Letter by Mrs. Ewart, dated May 27th, 1857.

railway people and merchants, and a few stragglers. There are two regiments of Oude irregulars; but I am not inclined to put faith in them. There are also some Mahrattas, with the rajah of Bithoor, who have come to our assistance; but I can scarcely feel a comfort at their presence either.

"For ourselves, I need only say, that even should our position be strong enough to hold out, there is the dreadful exposure to the heat of May and June, together with the privations and confinement of besieged sufferers, to render it very unlikely that we can survive the disasters which may fall upon us any day, any hour. My dear little child is looking very delicate; my prayer is that she may be spared much suffering. The bitterness of death has been tasted by us many, many times, during the last fortnight; and should the reality come, I hope we may find strength to meet it with a truly Christian courage. It is not hard to die oneself; but to see a dear child suffer and perish—that is the hard, the bitter trial, and the cup which I must drink, should God not deem it fit that it should pass from me. My companion, Mrs. Hillersdon, is delightful: poor young thing, she has such a gentle spirit, so uncomplaining, so desirous to meet the trial rightly, so unselfish and sweet in every way. Her husband is an excellent man, and of course very much exposed to danger, almost as much as mine. She has two children, and we feel that our duty to our little ones demands that we should exert ourselves to keep up health and spirits as much as possible. There is a reverse to this sad picture. Delhi may be retaken in a short time. Aid may come to us, and all may subside into tranquillity once more. * * * But it is useless to speculate upon what may happen. We can only take the present as it comes, and do its duties and meet its trials in the best spirit we can maintain. We are more cheerful, in spite of the great anxiety and suspense; our family party is really a charming one, and we feel better able to meet difficulties and dangers for being thus associated; at the worst we know that we are in God's hands, and He does not for an instant forsake us. He will be with us in the valley of the shadow of death also, and we need fear no evil. God bless you!"

The tone of Colonel Ewart is very similar to that of his admirable wife. He believed, that unless Delhi were speedily recaptured, little short of a miracle could keep the Native troops at Cawnpoor quiet, or prevent mutiny at other stations. General Wheeler he describes as "an excellent officer; very determined; self-possessed in the midst of danger; fearless of responsibility." He mentions that an attempt was to be made to bring the treasure, amounting to ten or twelve lacs of rupees (£100,000 or £120,000), into the intrenched camp on the following day (June 1st).

In concluding his last letter, Colonel Ewart specially recommends his wife and infant to the protection of his sister, who already had a boy of his under her care. "If the troops," he writes, "should break out here, it is not probable that I shall

survive it. My post, and that of my officers, being with the colours of the regiment, in the last extremity some or all of us must needs be killed. If that should be my fate, you and all my friends will know, I trust, that I die in the execution of my duty. But I do not think they will venture to attack the intrenched position, which is held by the European troops. So I hope in God that my wife and child may be saved."

It appears from the narrative of Lieutenant Delafosse, that the Nana did not proffer, but was asked for assistance; whereupon "he sent some 200 cavalry, 400 infantry, and two guns, which force had the guarding of the treasury."* The Nana either accompanied or followed his troops to Cawnpoor, and took up his residence in a house not far from that abandoned by the collector. Lieutenant Thomson remarks—"His visit was made at the request of the resident magistrate; and such was the confidence placed in this infernal traitor, that the whole of the treasure (upwards of £100,000) was placed under his protection."† It appears, however, that General Wheeler did make the attempt, mentioned by Colonel Ewart as intended, for the removal of the treasure, and that he failed on this and previous occasions, from the determined resolve of the troops not to submit to what they chose to call a mark of distrust.‡ A lac of rupees

* *Times*, October 15th, 1857.

† Letter to the *Times*, dated September 8th, 1858.

‡ See Account of Nerput, opium gomashta, or broker.—Further Parl. Papers, p. 51.

§ Accounts of Nerput and of Mr. Shepherd.

|| See Further Parl. Papers (No. 7), p. 130. The various accounts of the Cawnpoor mutiny and massacre differ considerably, sometimes in material points. The weightiest authorities are of course the telegrams and despatches written by Sir Hugh Wheeler, and the officers serving under him, to the Calcutta and Lucknow governments. The next in value are the testimonies of Lieutenants (now Captains) Thomson and Delafosse, published in letters of various dates in the *Times*. Mrs. Murray, another survivor (the widow of the band-sergeant of the 56th N.I., who perished at Cawnpoor, as did also her brother and two sons), has given a very circumstantial version (see *Times*, September 3rd, 1858) of what she saw and heard, which was "put into shape" for her by a literary gentleman; and is, Mr. Russell declares, "fiction founded on fact." That it is not Mrs. Murray's own inditing, is evident from the stilted and highly coloured style. A sergeant's wife would hardly talk of "Tartaric barbarity," or remark that, on "the arrival of General Havelock, the cowardly miscreants of Cawnpoor disappeared like stars at dawn of day, and the Nana Sour [Nana the pig] disappeared like a comet." In this case, as in most others of mingled fact and fiction, the latter predominates so largely as to neutralise the former:

was, however, obtained and carried away to the intrenchments, under the plea of meeting the salaries of the troops and other current expenses.§

On the morning of the 4th of June, Sir Hugh Wheeler received information regarding the 2nd cavalry and 1st and 56th N.I., which induced him to order the European officers thereof to discontinue sleeping in the lines; but the 53rd N.I. being considered loyal, the officers were to remain at night with that corps. By this time the trenches were finished, the guns in position, and provisions for 1,000 persons, for twenty-five days, were declared to be in store.

It appears, however, owing to carelessness or knavery, that the quantity actually supplied fell far short of the indents. At 2 A.M. on the 6th of June,|| the 2nd cavalry rose together with a great shout, mounted their horses, and set fire to the bungalow of their quartermaster. The main body then proceeded towards the commissariat cattle-yard, and took possession of the government elephants, thirty-six in number; at the same time setting fire to the cattle-sergeant's dwelling. A few of the ring-leaders went to the lines of the 1st N.I., and persuaded the men—who, it is said, "were mostly young recruits, the old hands being away on leave or on command"¶—to join in the mutiny. Either Colonel Ewart

and even independently of the internal evidence of the account, the contradiction given by Lieutenant Thomson to several of Mrs. Murray's most positive assertions regarding matters which she speaks of in the character of an eye-witness, quite invalidates her authority. Then there is the clear and connected account of Mr. Shepherd, an uncovenanted servant of the Company, and probably an Eurasian. His testimony is of considerable value as regards what he actually witnessed; but the value of his statements is diminished by his failing to separate information which he has acquired from personal observation, from that which he has accepted on hearsay. (Further Parl. Papers, No. 4; pp. 174 to 185). The same remark applies to the story of Nerput, an opium gomashta, in the service of the E. I. Company, whose deposition was received by Colonel Neill, and forwarded by him to the Supreme government. (See Further Parl. Papers (not numbered), pp. 51 to 53). The diary of the "Nunna" nawab (a native of rank residing in Cawnpoor), is another document transmitted by the governor-general for the perusal of the home authorities (Further Parl. Papers, No. 7; pp. 133 to 138); together with a "Narrative of the Mutiny at Cawnpoor," drawn up apparently as an official summary, and already largely quoted. (*Ibid.*, pp. 129 to 133). An Eurasian girl, supposed at first to have perished, and one or two others, have likewise furnished some additional particulars.

¶ Mr. Shepherd's *Account of the Outbreak*.

and the other officers had persisted in sleeping in their lines, or else they had proceeded thither on the first sound of disturbance; for they were on the spot, and were earnest in their endeavours to preserve the allegiance of the regiment; but to no purpose: the men begged them to withdraw, and finally forced them into the intrenchment as the sole means of escape.*

The insurgents marched to the treasury and magazine, which the Nana's guards never even made a pretence of defending. They next entered the gaol, set the prisoners at liberty, and burnt all the adjacent public offices and records. Then they marched out to Kullianpoor, the first halting-place on the road to Delhi, where they were joined before noon by the men of the 53rd and 56th N.I.; but their own officers remained behind.

Mr. Shepherd says—

“The Native commissioned officers were then told to take their position in the artillery hospital barrack, opposite to us, on the east side, and to make an intrenchment for themselves there, and endeavour to draw back those of the sepoys and Native non-commissioned officers, who, they said, were not inclined to go, but were reluctantly compelled to join. These officers went away, with one or two exceptions, and we never heard any more about them; but I learnt afterwards that, fearing the resentment of the sepoys, they took the straight way to their homes, and never joined in the rebellion.

“Carts were sent at noon to bring in from the sepoy lines the muskets, &c., of the men on leave, and the baggage, &c., of the Christian drummers, who, with their families, had all come to seek protection in the intrenchment. The sick in hospital were also brought in, and the two barracks were very much crowded; so much so, that the drummers and their families, and native servants, had to remain in the open air at night, and under cover of the cook-house and other buildings during the heat of the day. At five o'clock in the evening, all the uncovenanted (myself and my brother included) were mustered, and directed to arm themselves with muskets, of which there was a great heap. This they did; and after receiving a sufficient quantity of ammunition, were told-off in different sections, under the command of several officers, who instructed us as to what we should have to do when occasion required it.”

The Europeans breathed again; it seemed as if the crisis were over. Probably they considered that, in suffering the treasury to be robbed, the Mahratta guards had submitted to an overpowering force. Lieutenant Delafosse states only, that “next morning, the 7th of June, a letter was received from the rajah of Bithoor, who was

* Mr. Shepherd's *Account of the Outbreak*, p. 175.

† Diary of Nerput, opium gomashtha.

‡ Statement of Lieutenant Thomson.

supposed to be on our side, saying he meant to attack us.”

This was the first intimation of the hostility of the arch-traitor, who, it afterwards appeared, had taken advantage of the revolt to secure the lion's share of the government treasure, and had sent emissaries (probably the practised intriguer, Azim Oollah) to the camp of the rebels, urging them to return to Cawnpoor, destroy the garrison there, and thus perform a necessary act for their own security, and one which would procure them honour and reward from the King of Delhi. These arguments prevailed; the mutineers were lured back to the dastardly and murderous work of attacking their officers and families, with their veteran commander and his wife and children hemmed in, as they knew them to be, within that miserable earth-bank. These men were fitting followers for the shameless traitor who, on their return to Cawnpoor, placed himself at their head, saying—“I came in appearance to help the English; but am at heart their mortal enemy.”†

Directions had been given by General Wheeler for the destruction of the magazine in the event of an outbreak, and a train had actually been laid for the purpose; but Nana Sahib's Mahrattas appear to have prevented the execution of this plan at the time of the mutiny; and after the troops had left the station, it is probable that its preservation was deemed advantageous. The Nana appreciated its value, and told the mutineers that the magazine was “well furnished with guns of all calibre, and ammunition enough to last a twelvemonth.”‡

At ten o'clock A.M., June 7th, the siege commenced; the Nana having, with great speed, brought into position two of his own guns, and two heavy guns which he had procured from the magazine. Before many hours had elapsed, fourteen guns (three 24-pounders, two 18-pounders, seven 9-pounders, and two 6-pounders) were opened in a cannonade, which lasted twenty-two days; and the equal to which, Mowbray Thomson truly remarks, is hardly known in history.

At first the besieged replied briskly to the fire of the rebels, but without any signal success; for there were only eight 9-pounders in the intrenchments; and the dastardly foe did not approach within a thousand yards of the barracks. On the second day of the siege, the green flag was raised in the city (a proceeding in which Azim

Oollah's handiwork is sufficiently evident), and all true Mussulmans were directed to rally round it; and those who hesitated were threatened, insulted, or fined. The Nana's force augmented daily. With ammunition and ordnance in abundance, a full treasury, and the city bazaar in his hands, he soon rendered the position of the Europeans next to hopeless. An incessant fire of musketry was poured into the intrenchment from the nearest cover; guns of large calibre, drawing gradually nearer and nearer, sent their shot and shell, without intermission, against the brick walls of the buildings. On the evening of June 9th, the enemy succeeded, by means of heated shells, in setting fire to the thatched building, in which numbers of sick women and wounded men were huddled together. Many of these were burned alive; and the remainder sought such shelter as could be afforded in the other previously crowded barrack. The hospital stores were almost totally destroyed; the sick and wounded perished in cruel agony; and, to crown the whole, the ammunition was found to be running low, and the besieged were compelled to slacken their fire before the attack had lasted four days. There was a nullah or ditch some distance in front of the intrenchment, from which the enemy pushed on a sap towards the barracks, and by this means poured in a near and deadly fire. On the west of the besieged, an entirely new range of barracks had been in the course of construction; and behind the unfinished walls the rebels posted their matchlockmen, who, however, were dislodged by repeated sallies; and at length two of the barracks were held by pickets from the garrison. But the strength of the besieged was insufficient to prevent the rebels from placing their sharpshooters on other sides. Communication between the barracks became difficult; no one could move out of cover for an instant without becoming a mark for a score of muskets. There was only one well in the intrenchments, which was at first protected by a parapet; but this was easily knocked down; and the enemy kept up such an incessant fire upon the spot, both day and night, that "soon, not a drop of water could be obtained save at the risk of almost certain destruction."* This terrible difficulty diminished after the third day, as the rebels made it a

* Statement sent by Supreme government to Court of Directors.—Further Parl. Papers (No. 7), p. 131.

practice to cease firing at dusk for about two hours; and at that time the crowd round the well was very great. There was no place to shelter the live cattle. Horses of private gentlemen, as also those of the 3rd Oude battery, were obliged to be let loose. A few sheep and goats, as well as the bullocks kept for commissariat purposes, were shot off, and in the course of five or six days no meat was procurable for the Europeans. They, however, occasionally managed to get hold of a stray bullock or cow near the intrenchment at night, which served for a change; otherwise, dholl and chupatties were the common food of all. Several hogsheads of rum and malt liquor were broken open by the enemy's cannon; but of these there was a large quantity, and the loss was not felt.†

The half-destroyed walls of the barracks, or a barricade formed by piling up tents and casks, was the precarious but only shelter that could be obtained; food could not be carried from post to post by day; and the dead were removed at night, and thrown into a dry well outside the intrenchment, near the new unfinished barracks. There was no time to think of coffins or winding-sheets, let the age, sex, or rank of the departed have been what it might. The present agony of the wounded and the dying, the imminent danger and utter wretchedness of all, absorbed every minor consideration. The dead bodies of young and old—of brave men, fair women, delicate children—were laid outside the verandah in the ruins, there to remain until the fatigue party came round at nightfall to collect the corpses. A corner comparatively safe from gunshot was too precious to the living to be spared for the senseless remains of those who, we humbly hope, had passed away to a better life, escaping immediate misery, and the yet more terrible evil to come, which was to crown the sufferings of that fearful siege. Relief, under Colonel Neill, was expected on the 14th of June, but none arrived; and, on the evening of that day, General Wheeler wrote to Lucknow, describing his position. "The whole Christian population is with us in a temporary intrenchment, and our defence has been noble and wonderful; our loss, heavy and cruel. We want aid, aid, aid! If we had 200 men, we could punish the scoundrels, and aid you."‡

It would have been most hazardous at

† Mr. Shepherd's *Account of the Outbreak*.

‡ Gubbins' *Mutinies in Cudh*, p. 443.

that time to have spared 200 Europeans from Lucknow; but Sir Henry Lawrence, writing to Mr. Tucker at Benares (June 16th), says—"I would risk the absence of so large a portion of our small force, could I see the smallest prospect of its being able to succour Sir Hugh Wheeler. But no individual here cognizant of facts, except Mr. Gubbins, thinks that we could carry a single man across the river, as the enemy holds all the boats, and completely commands the river. May God Almighty defend Cawnpoor, for no help can we afford. * * * I have sent the pith of this to Colonel Neill, to urge him to relieve Cawnpoor, if in any way possible."*

On first learning news of the mutiny, Sir Henry had directed Captain Evans, the officer stationed at Onao (twelve miles from Cawnpoor), to secure all the boats he could. But the mutineers had forestalled us by breaking up the bridge at Cawnpoor, and securing the boats which had composed it, as well as those at other ferries on the further side of the stream. Captain Evans, with the aid of a Native officer, named Munsub Ali, and a party of mounted police, maintained his position till near the end of June, and patrolled the high road with unceasing energy, heedless of personal risk, as he well might be; for his wife and two children were within that shot-riddled earth-bank, hemmed in by thousands of pitiless foes.

On the 18th of June, Captain Moore, of H.M. 32nd foot, the officer second in command, dispatched to Lucknow the following official acknowledgment of the refusal of the entreaty for reinforcements:—

"Sir Hugh Wheeler regrets you cannot send him the 200 men, as he believes, with their assistance, we could drive the insurgents from Cawnpoor, and capture their guns.

"Our troops, officers, and volunteers, have acted most nobly; and on several occasions, a handful of men have driven hundreds before them. Our loss has been chiefly from the sun and their heavy guns. Our rations will last a fortnight, and we are still well supplied with ammunition. Our guns are serviceable. Report says that troops are advancing from Allahabad; and any assistance might save the garrison. We, of course, are prepared to hold out to the last. It is needless to mention the names of those who have been killed or died. We trust in God; and if our exertions here assist your safety, it will be a consolation to know that our friends appreciate our devotion. Any news of relief will cheer us."

There can be little doubt of the self-

* Further Parl. Papers, p. 66.

possession of an officer who could write so calmly under the circumstances in which he was placed. Captain Moore, young and energetic, was Sir Hugh's right hand. It was greatly owing to the determined attitude assumed by him, that the mutineers never ventured to attempt carrying by storm the frail barrier which interposed between them and their victims. Though himself severely wounded, he opposed the encroachment of the enemy with unceasing vigilance. Wherever the danger was the greatest, there was he, with his arm in a sling and a revolver in his belt, directing and heading the defence. Scouts, with eye-glasses, were stationed to watch every hostile movement, and, by their reports, the besieged directed an effective fire. The rebels had possession of the first of the three unfinished barracks; and from thence they often attempted to advance and overpower the British picket in the buildings nearest the intrenchment. On these occasions, Captain Moore, who was ever on the watch, would collect a number of volunteers from the intrenchment, and send them out, one at a time, to reinforce their comrades; the space which each man had to traverse being partly protected by carriages, bullock-trains, and such like, arranged as halting-places, between which Moore and his followers ran, exposed to a shower of bullets. Twice this gallant officer, under cover of night, led a party of Europeans, and spiked the guns of the enemy. These, however, were easily repaired or replaced by others from the arsenal.

On the 21st of June, a very great mob, including a number of Oude budmashes, was seen collecting round the intrenchment. The regular infantry corps are described as never coming out to fight in full uniform. This day, some few had on their jackets and caps; but the majority were dressed like recruits. For once, a systematic attack was made, under a recognised leader. The enemy brought forward huge bales of cotton, and attempted to push these on, and thus approach in two parties, under cover from the church compound on the one side, and the unfinished barracks on the other. But the indefatigable Captain Moore had witnessed the preparations, and was enabled to counteract them by a very able distribution of his small force. The rebel leader, "a well-made, powerful man," fell at the onset; and the enemy dispersed, with 200 or 300 killed and wounded.

The loss sustained by the British is not recorded. Several men had fallen from sun-stroke—a calamity of daily occurrence; and all were nearly prostrated by fatigue. At mid-day, when the action was over, one of the ammunition waggons exploded; and the rebels perceiving their advantage, directed a heavy fire against the spot, to hinder the Europeans from approaching to prevent the flames from spreading to the other waggons. In the midst of the cannonading, Lieutenant Delafosse approached the burning mass, laid himself down beneath it, pulled away the loose splinters, and flung earth on the flames. Two soldiers brought him buckets of water, which he threw around him; and, while the vessels were being refilled from the drinking-water of the men close by, he continued to throw earth on the burning waggon, with six cannon directed on the spot. The brave officer and his men accomplished their object, and escaped unhurt.*

The prisoners in the trenches were not the only sufferers. Besides several Europeans captured in the city, and the majority of the Christians (whether Eurasians or natives), many Hindoos and Mohammedans suspected of aiding or serving the British force, were put to death. A list was made of all the bankers, who were mulct of their wealth, and property of every description was plundered or wantonly destroyed.† Any attempt to carry intelligence or supplies to the besieged, was punished with death or mutilation; and, indeed, since the reoccupation of Cawnpoor, about twelve natives have proved, to the satisfaction of government, their claim to a pension, on the ground of having suffered mutilation of the hand or nose (and, in some instances, of both), by order of the Nana or his diabolical lieutenant, Azim Oollah, for bringing supplies to the British camp.‡ Sir Hugh Wheeler, in a letter previously quoted, speaks of all the Christian population taking refuge in the intrenchment; but this could not have been

possible, on account of the extremely limited space. The official, or semi-official, account§ states, that “there was a large number of Europeans resident in cantonments, many of whom were individuals connected with the civil, railway, canal, and other departments. There were, also, nearly the whole of the soldiers’ families of H.M. 32nd, which was stationed at Lucknow. The whole number of the European population, therefore, in Cawnpoor—men, women, and children—could not have amounted to less than 750 lives.” The number of Eurasians, of pensioners and natives attached to the British, within the camp, is nowhere officially stated;|| those who resided in the city, or were excluded from the intrenchment for want of space, were among the earliest of the Nana’s victims.

Lieutenant Delafosse has recorded some terrible scenes, to which he was an eyewitness during the siege; his only consolation under such distressing circumstances being, that he had no relatives, especially no female relatives, to grieve or tremble for. He describes one poor woman, named White, as walking in the trenches beside her husband, carrying her twin infants. The party was fired on, the father killed, and the mother’s arms were both broken. The children fell to the ground, one of them wounded; and the mother flung herself on the ground beside them. Again—an ayah, who had remained with her mistress, was sitting, as she thought, safely under the walls of the barrack, when suddenly she was knocked over by a round shot, and both her legs carried away. The child, though hurled from her arms, was taken up uninjured.

One poor lady was hit by a ball, which entered the face near the nostril, and passed through the palate and jaw. Her daughter, also severely injured in the shoulder, forgetting her own suffering, was seen striving to alleviate the greater agony endured by her mother. They both died from their wounds.¶ Notwithstanding all this misery, we are assured “there was not one

* Mr. Shepherd’s *Account*. Lieutenant Delafosse, in his narrative (*Times*, October 15th, 1857), omits all mention of this heroic and effective service.

† Statement forwarded by Supreme government of India to Court of Directors.

‡ Russell.—*Times*, February 24th, 1859.

§ Statement forwarded by Supreme government to Court of Directors.

|| Mr. Shepherd, writing from memory, gives the following classification of the besieged, whose total number he places at 900. The European

troops (already enumerated) he estimates at 210; officers of the three Native infantry, cavalry, and others, with the staff, 100; merchants, writers, and others, about 100; drummers, about 40; women and children of soldiers, about 160; women of writers, merchants, and drummers, 120; ladies and children of officers, 50; servants, cooks, and others, after a great number had absconded on hearing the enemy’s guns firing, 100; sick sepoys and Native officers who remained with us, 20.

¶ Statement of Lieutenant Thomson.

instance of dejection through cowardice. The very children seemed inspired with heroic patience, and our women behaved with a fortitude that only Englishwomen could have shown.* The pangs of hunger even were not wanting to complete the misery of the besieged. "One poor woman, who was in a wretched state, bordering on starvation, was seen to go out of the protection of the trenches, with a child in each hand, and stand where the fire was heaviest, hoping that some bullet might relieve her and her little ones from the troubles they were enduring. But she was brought back, poor thing! to die a more tedious death than she had intended."†

The sufferings of the soldiers' wives and children must have been fearful. After the burning of the thatched barracks, many of them had to remain in the trenches night and day.

Up to the very last the besieged kept up some communication with Lucknow, through the fidelity and courage of native messengers. Major Vibart, in a letter dated "Sunday night, 12 p.m., 21st June," writes—

"This evening, in three hours, upwards of thirty shells were thrown into the intrenchment. This has occurred daily for the last eight days: an idea may be formed of our casualties, and how little protection the barracks afford to women. Any aid, to be effective, must be immediate. In the event of rain falling, our position would be untenable. According to telegraphic despatches received previous to the outbreak, 1,000 Europeans were to have been here on the 14th. This force may be on its way up. Any assistance you can send might co-operate with it. Nine-pounder ammunition, chiefly cartridges, is required. Should the above force arrive, we can, in return, insure the safety of Lucknow. * * * We have lost about a third of our original number. The enemy are strongest in artillery. They appear not to have more than 400 or 500 infantry. They move their guns with great difficulty on account of the unbroken bullocks. The infantry are great cowards, and easily repulsed."‡

This appears to have been the last official letter received from Cawnpoor. It was conveyed by means of messengers retained by Mr. Gubbins, before the blockade of Lucknow. The men, thirty in number, were all "Passees"—a numerous class in Oude, armed with bows and arrows. They hire themselves out, sometimes singly, sometimes in parties, and have the character of being very faithful servants to their employers, but otherwise arrant thieves.§ The Passees contrived to cross the Ganges at

* Statement of Lieutenant Thomson.

† Statement of Lieutenant Delafosse.

‡ Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 444.

Cawnpoor, though the ferry was strictly guarded by the enemy; and conveyed Sir Henry Lawrence's despatches into Sir Hugh Wheeler's camp, and returned with his replies.¶ Mr. Gubbins states, that it was understood that a private messenger from Sir Hugh, had delivered to Sir Henry, a day or two after the arrival of Major Vibart's letter, a packet containing a memorandum of Sir Hugh's last wishes, written when escape seemed hopeless.¶ Still later, a private letter from Lieut.-colonel Wiggins to Colonel Halford, dated "Cawnpoor, 24th June, 1857," after acknowledging the receipt of the colonel's "most welcome letter of the 21st," and the cleverness of the bearer, proceeds to describe Nana Sahib's attack as having "continued now for eighteen days and nights." The condition of misery experienced by the besieged, is declared to be "utterly beyond description. Death and mutilation, in all their forms of horror, have been daily before us. The numerical amount of casualties has been frightful. Among our casualties from sickness," the writer adds, "my poor dear wife and infant have been numbered. The former sank on the 12th, and the latter on the 19th. I am writing this on the floor, and in the midst of the greatest dirt, noise, and confusion." In conclusion, he urges the immediate dispatch of "*deux cents soldats Britanniques*."**

It is probable that the unvarying confidence expressed by the beleaguered Europeans at Cawnpoor, that 200 British soldiers would suffice to raise the siege, and enable them to disperse thrice as many thousand well-armed and well-supplied foes by whom they were hemmed in, had some effect in inducing Sir Henry Lawrence to proceed on the disastrous Chinhut expedition. Early on the 28th of June, Colonel Master (7th light cavalry) received a scrap of paper from his son, Lieutenant Master, 53rd N.I., conveyed through some private (native) channel. The few lines it contained were these:—

"Cawnpoor, June 25th, 8½ p.m.

"We have held out now for twenty-one days, under a tremendous fire. The rajah of Bithoor has offered to forward us in safety to Allahabad, and the general has accepted his terms. I am all right, though twice wounded. Charlotte Newnham and Bella Blair are dead. I'll write from Allahabad. God bless you!

"Your affectionate son,

"G. A. MASTER."

§ Sleeman's *Journey through Oude*, vol. i., p. 25.

¶ Gubbins' *Mutinies in Oudh*, p. 150.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

** *Ibid.*, p. 445.

It was too true. Sir Hugh Wheeler, with his brave and gentle companions, had indeed given themselves over into the hand of their deadly foe. Sir Henry Lawrence at once anticipated treachery; and, judging by the event, it would have been better to have held out to the last extremity, and to have starved within the trenches, or been shot down or cut in pieces there, than to have capitulated to such pitiless wretches as the besiegers subsequently proved themselves to be. At that time, however, no one had any adequate conception of the ruthlessness of the monster with whom they had to do.

Mr. Shepherd mentions some interesting particulars regarding the crisis of the siege, in the *Account* already quoted.

"Many persons [he states] were exceedingly anxious to get out of the intrenchment and go into the city, thinking, from want of better information, that they would be very secure there: in fact, several went out quietly in the night under this impression, and, as I afterwards learnt, were murdered by the rebels.

"Among others, my own family (consisting of wife and a daughter, my infant daughter having died from a musket-shot in the head on the 18th), two nieces, Misses Frost and Batavia, both of seventeen years of age, a sister, and her infant son, a brother twenty-two years old, and two old ladies, wished very much to leave, but could not do so on account of our large number. It was therefore considered expedient that one should go and ascertain how matters stood in the city.

"With this view I applied to the general, on the 24th of June, for permission to go, at the same time offering to bring him all the current information that I might collect in the city, asking, as a condition, that on my return, if I should wish it, my family might be allowed to leave the intrenchment. This my request was granted, as the general wished very much to get such information, and for which purpose he had previously sent out two or three natives at different times, under promises of high rewards, but who never returned. He at the same time instructed me to try and negotiate with certain influential parties in the city, so as to bring about a rupture among the rebels, and cause them to leave off annoying us, authorising me to offer a lac of rupees as a reward, with handsome pensions for life, to any person who would bring about such a thing. This, I have every reason to think, could have been carried out successfully, had it pleased God to take me out unmolested; but it was not so ordained (it was merely a means, under God's providence, to save me from sharing the fate of the rest); for as I came out of the intrenchment disguised as a native cook, and, passing through the new unfinished barracks, had not gone very far when I was taken a prisoner, and under custody of four sepoys and a couple of sowars, all well armed, was escorted to the camp of the Nana, and was ordered to be placed under a

* Shepherd's *Brief Account of the Outbreak at Cawnpoor*.—Further Parl. Papers (No. 4, 1857), pp. 173 to 185.

† Gram is a coarse kind of grain, commonly used for feeding horses. The word is given in the Blue

guard: here several questions were put to me concerning our intrenchment (not by the Nana himself, but by some of his people), to all of which I replied as I was previously instructed by our general; for I had taken the precaution of asking him what I should say in case I was taken. My answers were not considered satisfactory, and I was confronted with two women-servants who three days previously had been caught in making their escape from the intrenchment, and who gave a version of their own, making it appear that the English were starving and not able to hold out much longer, as their number was greatly reduced. I, however, stood firm to what I had first mentioned, and they did not know which party to believe. However, they let us alone. I was kept under custody up to the 12th of July, on which date my trial took place, and I was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in irons, with hard labour, from which I was released by the European troops on the morning of the 17th idem.*

It is not surprising that the unfortunate besieged should have been anxious to escape from their filthy prison at almost any hazard. The effect of the intense heat was aggravated by the stench arising from the dead bodies of horses and other animals, which could not be removed; and the influx of flies added to the loathsomeness of the scene. Five or six men fell daily beneath sun-stroke; but women and children sickened and died faster still in an atmosphere saturated with pestilential vapours.

Shepherd says that, on the 24th of July, "there were provisions yet left to keep the people alive, on half rations, for the next fifteen or twenty days. Of gram† we had a large quantity, and it formed the principal food of all the natives with us, which they preferred to otta and dhol, as it gave them no trouble as regards cooking; for a little soaking in water was sufficient to make it fit to eat; and many scrupulous Hindoos lived the whole period entirely upon it."

James Stewart, a pensioner, formerly a Christian drummer in the 56th N.I., says, that he and the other drummers of the three regiments were charged with the removal of the dead, and received for their subsistence gram and a glass of brandy daily. "The only article of food was gram, which was steeped in four buckets, and placed in such a position that all could help themselves." He also bears witness to the "hourly encouragement" given to the besieged by General Wheeler.‡

Natives might exist where Europeans would perish of inanition. This was the

Book (Further Papers, No. 4, p. 181), as "grain;" a blunder which involves a material mis-statement as regards the position of the besieged.

‡ Deposition of James Stewart.—*Friend of India*, August 27th, 1857.

case here. Lieutenant Thomson asserts, of his own knowledge, that "two persons died of starvation; a horse was greedily devoured, and some of my men were glad to feed upon a dog. Our daily supply of provisions, for twenty-two days, consisted of half a pint of pea-soup and two or three chupatties (or cakes made of flour); these last being, together, about the size of an Abernethy biscuit. Upon this diet, which was served to all without distinction—officers and privates, civilians or soldiers—the garrison was reduced to a company of spectres long before the period of capitulation; and when this took place there were only four days' rations, at the above rate of supply, in stock."

Lieutenant Delafosse asserts, that the besieged had been on half-rations some days before the close of the siege.*

Thus, the morning of the 25th of June found the besieged hopeless of timely relief, enduring the most complicated and aggravated sufferings in a building the walls of which were honey-combed with shot and shell, the doors knocked down or widely breached, and the angles of the walls shattered by incessant cannonading; while a few splintered rafters alone remained to show where verandahs had once been. Such was the state of affairs when Nana Sahib sent a letter to General Wheeler, some accounts say by an Eurasian prisoner named Jacobi, the wife of a watchmaker; others, by an aged widow named Greenaway, formerly the proprietress of the *Cawnpoor Press*; who, with her sons (merchants), had been seized at their zemindaree at Nujuffghur, sixteen miles from Cawnpoor.† The proposal for surrender was thus worded:—

"All soldiers and others unconnected with the acts of Lord Dalhousie, who will lay down their arms and give themselves up, shall be spared and sent to Allahabad."‡

General Wheeler consulted with his officers how to act. He was himself decidedly unwilling to surrender, and the younger soldiers advocated resistance to the last; but Captain Moore,§ whose fortitude (for it was a higher quality than courage) was unquestioned,

and who was the very life-sinews of the beleaguered band, represented strongly the state of the ladies and others maddened by suffering; reminded the general, that at least half their small force had fallen in the intrenchment; and that out of fifty-nine artillerymen, all but four or five had been killed at their guns.|| These arguments were irresistible; Sir Hugh reluctantly gave way, and empowered Captain Moore to consent to the proffered arrangement. The next steps are not clear. According to one account, Mrs. Greenaway appears to have returned to the Nana, and reported the success of her mission; whereupon she was again sent to the intrenchment, accompanied by Azim Oollah and another ringleader, styled Jowlah Persaud. Colonel Ewart subsequently came to the camp of the Nana, accompanied by other Europeans.¶

It is probable, however, that the meeting was not held within the intrenchment, but in the unfinished barracks outside. Azim Oollah, it is alleged, attempted to open the conversation in English, but was prevented from doing so by some of the Mussulman troopers of the 2nd light cavalry, who accompanied him.**

The treaty, signed on the evening of the 26th, stipulated, "That the garrison should give up their guns, ammunition, and treasure; should be allowed to carry their muskets and sixty rounds of cartridges with them; that the Nana should provide carriage for the sick, wounded, women and children, to the river's bank, where boats should be in readiness to convey all to Allahabad." A committee of officers and gentlemen went to the ghaut to see whether the necessary preparations were being made, and found everything in readiness.†† The besieged were eager to breathe the purer air than that of a prison which had become almost a charnel-house. It appears that, after the capitulation, they were allowed to walk freely out of the intrenchment, and that they strolled about the neighbourhood that evening.‡‡ The thought of their approaching deliverance must have been embittered

* *Times*, October 15th, 1857.

† *Shepherd's Account*; Diary of the Nunna Nawab; and summary of events published in *Times*, October 15th, 1857.

‡ Statement sent by Supreme government to Court of Directors.

§ The wife of Captain Moore was with him in the intrenchment.

|| These and other important facts are enumerated in Captain (formerly Lieutenant) Mowbray Thom-

son's letter to the *Times*, dated Sept. 8th, 1858; written in contradiction of the mis-statements put forward in the name of Sergeant Murray's widow.

¶ Statement of the Nunna Nawab.

** *Shepherd's Account*.—Further Parl. Papers (No. 4), p. 181.

†† Statement of Lieutenant Thomson.

‡‡ Russell mentions this circumstance as having been told him "by Sir John Inglis, on the authority of the excellent chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Moore."

by grief for those whom they expected to leave behind in that terrible burying-place the dry well. They little thought how soon their own bleeding bodies would find a similar destination.

Of those whose names have been mentioned in the course of the narrative, few, if any, but must have lost some dear friend or relative. The son of the general (Lieutenant Godfrey Richard Wheeler, of the 1st N.I.) had been killed by a round shot, while lying wounded by his mother's side;* Mrs. Ewart had seen her husband badly wounded, and her friend (Mrs. Hillersdon) sink, with her child, of fever and exhaustion; Brigadier Jack had died of fever, and Sir George Parker, Bart. (magistrate), of sun-stroke. The total number of those who had perished is not recorded; but Lieutenant Thomson states positively, "we lost 250 men in the intrenchment, principally by shells;" and women and children fell by this means, as well as by disease. Probably, therefore, not half the number of Europeans (750) who had entered the intrenchment, left it on the fatal morning of the 27th of June; and of the number of half-castes and natives who perished with and for the Europeans, no estimate has been formed.† It was about 8 A.M. when the British reached the landing-place, situated a mile and a-half from the station. Breakfast was laid out as had been arranged, and the embarkation was carried on without hindrance or hesitation. The Europeans laid down their muskets, and took off their coats. Some of the boats (thirty in all) pushed off from the shore; and the others were striving to get free from the sand in which they had been purposely imbedded, when, at a prearranged signal, the boatmen sprang into the water, leaving fire in the thatches of the boats; and two guns, before hidden, were run out and opened on the Europeans. The men, says Lieutenant Delafosse, jumped out of the boats; and, instead of trying to free them from their moorings, swam to the first boat they saw loose. A remark in Lieutenant Thomson's narrative shows that the attempt was unsuccessfully made. He states—"When the boat I first took shelter in was fired, I jumped out, with the rest, into the water, and tried to drag her off the sand-bank, but to no purpose; so I deserted her, and made across the river to the Oude side, where I

saw two of our boats." A third boat got safe over to the opposite side of the river; but all three were met there by two field-pieces, guarded by a number of cavalry and infantry. One of these boats was early swamped, and a round shot went through the second of them before it had proceeded a mile down the stream. The passengers were then taken on board the third boat, which, with a freight of fifty persons, continued its way for five or six miles, followed, on the Oude side, by about 2,000 mutineers (infantry and cavalry), with two guns. Captains Moore and Ashe (the leaders of the defence), Lieutenant-colonel Wiggins, and Lieutenants Burney, Glanville, Satchwell, and Bassilico, were killed; Major Vibart, Captain Turner, Lieutenants Thomson, Fagan, Mainwaring, and a youth named Henderson, were wounded. The boat grounded about nightfall; but the Europeans managed to get once more afloat, and to distance their pursuers, who followed along shore with torches and lighted arrows, trying to set the boat on fire; and so nearly succeeding, that the Europeans were compelled to throw overboard the thatched covering which had shielded them from the sun and rain. On the following day the boat again grounded on a sand-bank at Nu-juffghur; and here Captain Whiting, Lieutenant Harrison, and several privates were killed. Captain Turner was hit a second time. Captain Seppings was wounded, as was also his wife (the only female mentioned as having accompanied this party), and Lieutenants Daniel and Quin. A storm came on, and drove the boat down stream, until it again stuck at Soorajpoor, where, at daylight on the Monday morning, the fugitives were discovered and attacked by the retainers of a hostile zemindar. Lieutenants Thomson and Delafosse, with twelve men, went on shore to drive back their assailants, and thus enable their companions to get off the boat. This they did most effectually; but, proceeding too far inland, they were surrounded, and, being hotly pressed, lost sight of the boat, and were forced to take refuge in a small temple on the river-bank. At the door of the temple one of the party was killed: the remaining thirteen, after vainly attempting a parley, had recourse to their firelocks, and several of the enemy were soon killed or put *hors de*

* *Memoir* of Rev. H. S. Polehampton, p. 315.

† "It is reported that the persons who came out that morning from the intrenchment, amounted to

450."—*Shepherd's Account*. How many Eurasians or natives may have been included in the capitulation, is matter of conjecture.

combat. The rebels then brought a gun to bear on the little stronghold; but finding that it made no impression, they had recourse to heaping up firewood before the doorway. Unfortunately the temple was round, so that the party within could not prevent their pushing the wood round to the front. The fire, however, did not have the desired effect; handfuls of powder were therefore thrown upon it; and the smoke thereby produced nearly stifled the Europeans, who determined to sally forth and make for the river. On their charging out of the temple, the enemy fled in all directions. Six of the party (it is supposed because they could not swim) ran into the crowd, and sold their lives as dearly as they could; the remaining seven threw themselves into the Ganges. Two of these were shot ere long; a third, resting himself by swimming on his back, unwittingly approached too close to the bank, and was cut up; and the other four swam six miles down the river, three of them being wounded, till at last the weary Europeans were hailed by two or three sepoy belonging to a friendly chief, who proved to be Maharajah Deeg Beejah Sing, of Byswarrah in Oude. Exhausted by a three days' fast, and conceiving, from the freedom from pursuit that they had experienced during the last half mile of their flight that they were safe, the fugitives at once went to the rajah, who protected and fed them from the 29th of June to the 28th of July, and ultimately provided for their escort to the camp of a detachment of Europeans proceeding from Allahabad to Cawnpoor, to join the force under the command of Brigadier-general Havelock.* Lieutenant Thomson speaks of the avidity with which he and his companions devoured the "capital meal of dhol and chupatties," given them by the friendly rajah; and he remarks, that "to swim six miles is a great feat to accomplish at any time; but, after a three days' fast, it really must sound very like an impossibility. Nevertheless it is true!"

It appears that all the boats were brought back to Cawnpoor: and of the passengers, "many were killed at once; others, the wives and children of the European officers and soldiers, were placed as prisoners in a house in the cantonments: some of these were released from their sufferings by

* Statement sent by Supreme government. † *Ibid.*

† A Lieutenant Brown escaped from another boat, but perished from exhaustion.

§ Galliez' regiment. Introductory Chapter, p. 99.

death; others were suffered to remain alive until the arrival of the force under General Havelock sealed their death-warrant."† Among the persons who escaped from the boats were James Stewart, pensioner, 56th N.I., whose deposition has been already quoted, and who, with his wife and a Mrs. Lett, scrambled to shore from a foundering boat, and contrived to find their way to Allahabad. Mrs. Murray, a sergeant's wife, also escaped.‡

Concerning the actual massacre, much interesting information has been supplied by Myoor Tewarree, a sepoy of the 1st N.I., a man of considerable intelligence and proved fidelity. When the mutiny broke out at Cawnpoor, Myoor Tewarree was with three companies of his regiment at Banda. He had been instructed in the English language by Mr. Duncan, a writer; and, on the outbreak there, he concealed Mr. Duncan and his wife in his hut, and thus saved their lives. This act brought on him the suspicion of his comrades; and when he marched with them into Cawnpoor, he was seized by the Nana, robbed of all he possessed, and imprisoned, with four other suspected sepoys, in the same house with the Europeans.

He declares, that when the Nana's treachery became apparent, the boat with General Wheeler and his family on board, cut its cable, and dropped down the river, followed by two companies of infantry and two guns. At some little distance from Cawnpoor the boat grounded, was overtaken, and fired on. The traitors "could not manage the large gun, not knowing how to work the elevating screw;" but, with the small gun, they fired grape tied up in bags, and the infantry discharged their muskets. The Europeans responded with their rifles so effectually that they drove off the sepoys, and the storm which came on that night floated them off the sand-bank. They had, however, proceeded only a few miles before they were overtaken by several boatsful of Oude infantry, surrounded, and taken back captives to Cawnpoor. Fifty gentlemen, twenty-five ladies, a boy and three girls, were brought on shore. The Nana ordered the "memsahibs" to be separated from the sahibs, and shot by the 1st N.I. But the "Gillies Pultun,"§ the oldest regiment in the service, hardened as it had become in mutiny, refused to take part in the savage butchery. The men said, "We will not shoot Wheeler

Sahib, who has made the name of our Pultun great, and whose son is our quarter-master; neither will we shoot the other gentlemen [sahib-logue]: put them in prison." But the Oude sepoy said, "Put them in prison? No; we will kill them all." The male Europeans were then made to sit on the ground, and two companies of sepoy prepared to fire on them, when one of the ladies (the wife of either the superintending surgeon or medical storekeeper) rushed to her husband, and sitting down beside him, placed her arm round his waist, declaring, that if he must die, she would die with him. The other ladies followed her example; and all sat down close to their husbands, who said, "Go, go;" and vainly strove to drive their wives away. The Nana then directed the sepoy to part them by force, which was done; "but they could not pull away the doctor's wife, who there remained. Then, just as the sepoy were going to fire, the padre [Moncrieff was dead] called out to the Nana, and requested leave to read prayers before they died. The Nana granted it, and the padre's bonds were loosed so far as to allow him to take a small book from his pocket, from which he read; but at this time one of the sahibs, who was shot in the arm and leg, kept crying out to the sepoy, 'If you mean to kill us, why don't you set about it; be quick, and get the work done at once; why delay?' After the padre read a few prayers, he shut the book, and the sahibs shook hands all round. Then the sepoy fired. One sahib rolled one way, and one another; but they were not dead, only wounded. Then they went and finished them with their swords." After this, the whole of the women and children, including those taken out of the other boats, to the number of 122, were taken away to the house formerly used by the Europeans as an hospital, and afterwards inhabited by the Nana.

Myoor Tewarree was asked, "Were any of the women dishonoured?" He replied, "No, none that I am aware of, except in the case of General Wheeler's younger daughter; and about her I am not certain. When the rebels were taking the mem-sahibs out of the boat, a sowar (cavalry man) took her away with him to his house.

She went quietly; but at night she rose and got hold of the sowar's sword. He was asleep; his wife, his son, and his mother-in-law were sleeping in the house with him. She killed them all with the sword, and then she went and threw herself down the well behind the house. In the morning, when people came and found the dead in the house, the cry was, 'Who has done this?' Then a neighbour said, that in the night he had seen some one go and throw himself into the well. They went and looked, and there was Misse Baba, dead and swollen."*

That a young girl should kill two men and two women with a sword, is so glaringly improbable, that the wide circulation of this story, and its repeated assertion as a fact,† only proves the credulity with which all rumours, however wild and improbable, are received when they fall in with the prevailing tone of the public mind. But the evidence of another survivor and eye-witness of the Cawnpoor massacre, corroborates the first part of the story, as regards the seizure of Miss Wheeler by a trooper. Towards the end of the year 1858, a half-caste Christian, named Fitchett, or Fitchelt, presented himself to the local authorities at Meerut, as a candidate for admission into the police levy. The usual inquiries into his antecedents, led to the discovery that, when the mutiny broke out at Cawnpoor, he had been a musician in the band of one of the native regiments, and his life had been spared in consequence of his proclaiming his willingness to embrace Mohammedanism, which he did by an easy process, almost on the spot. He was enrolled in the rebel force, and witnessed the second massacre—that of the women and children—on the 16th of July; which cannot be narrated until the events which precipitated, if they did not cause it, have been told, and likewise the arrival of the Futtehghur fugitives, to swell the list of the Nana's victims. When the Nana fled to Futtehghur, Fitchett accompanied him thither; and he declares that he frequently saw Miss Wheeler; that she travelled with a trooper who had taken her from Cawnpoor; and that he was shown into the room where she was, and ordered to read extracts from the English newspapers, which the rebels received from

* Evidence taken at the Cawnpoor camp, August 15th, 1857.—*Friend of India*, September 3rd, 1857.

† Shepherd states, that a young lady, "reported to be General Wheeler's daughter," had been seized by a sowar, and killed four persons and herself: but

his giving this as a matter of fact, detracts from the value of his general evidence, except regarding matters which he actually witnessed; and he was a prisoner at the time of both the first and second Cawnpoor massacres.

Calcutta; he being employed by them for the purpose of translating the news, in which, particularly that relating to the progress of the war in China, they evinced much interest. She had a horse with an English side-saddle, which the trooper had procured for her, and she rode close beside him, with her face veiled, along the line of march. When the British approached Futtehghur, orders were sent to the sowar to give Miss Wheeler up; but he escaped with her at night, and it is supposed she went with him to Calpee. Mr. Russell, writing in October, 1858, remarks—"It is not at all improbable that the unfortunate young lady may be still alive, moving about with Tantia Toppee, and may yet be rescued."*

Two other girls, British or Eurasian, survived the Cawnpoor massacre. Georgiana Anderson, aged thirteen, received a sword-cut on the shoulder, but was rescued by a native doctor. All her relatives at the station were murdered. She lived among the natives, kindly nursed and cared for, during several weeks; at the expiration of which time she was sent safely into Cawnpoor, then reoccupied by the British, and is now living with her grandmother at Monghyr. The other girl, aged sixteen, was less fortunate; and her name is withheld by Mr. Russell, who instituted inquiries into the truth of her story, as published in the *Times*; the results of which partly corroborated and partly confuted her statements. "She is," he writes, "the daughter of a clerk; and is, I believe, an Eurasian, or has some Eurasian blood in her veins. It would be cruel to give her name, though the shame is not her's. She was obliged to travel about with a sowar; and, to escape persecution, became a Mohammedan."†

This is apparently the person whose narrative was published by Dr. Knighton, of the College, Ewell, Surrey. Her account of her escape is, that after seeing Kirkpatrick (an Eurasian merchant of Cawnpoor) and two little girls murdered in the boat, on the deck of which she was standing, and being herself rudely searched and robbed of the money and jewels she had brought from the barracks, she grew dizzy and fell down. The mutineers flung her into the river; she scrambled on shore, and crept along on her hands and knees till she reached a tree about half a mile inland. Soon, stealthy steps approached the spot. They were

those of Miss Wheeler, who had also been thrown into the river, the murderous sepoy thinking that, being insensible, she would sink to the bottom. In about an hour the fugitives were surprised by a party of the mutineers, and dragged off in different directions. What became of Miss Wheeler does not appear from this narrative, but the other unfortunate was dragged along till her clothes were almost entirely torn off; and her appeal for mercy to the troopers, was answered by a declaration that she had not long to live; but before being put to death, she would be made to feel some portion of the degradation their brethren felt at Meerut, when ironed and disgraced before the troops. After four hours' walking, she arrived at a place very near Bithoor, where some of the enemy were encamped. Here she sank on the ground, overcome with shame and exhaustion, while the heartless sepoy gathered round with mockery and reviling. An African eunuch, who had just brought some despatches from Ahmed-Oollah, the Moolvee of Fyzabad, to Nana Sahib, interfered for her protection; and, throwing a chuddur, or large native veil over her, had her conducted to a tent. She saw no more of him till she went to Lucknow, and was compelled to accompany the rebels in their progress through the North-West Provinces. She was at length released, and found her way to Calcutta, where she is now living with her friends.

And here we may close the record of the first Cawnpoor massacre, and turn to the scarcely less painful examination of the causes which delayed the arrival of forces from Calcutta, to a period when the brave defenders of Cawnpoor, heart-sick with hope deferred, had surrendered to their treacherous foe, with the bitter pang added to their sufferings, that when (as they concurred in declaring) 200 Europeans might have saved them, government had made no effort to send troops with the speed befitting an errand of life or death, but had treated the agonising appeal for "aid, aid, aid!" much in the same tone as that in which Mr. Colvin had been reprov'd for enacting, on his own responsibility, a measure which he thought might arrest, in its early stage, the avalanche of mutiny and massacre; but which the governor-general in council, taking a serenely distant view of the matter, blamed as manifesting "unnecessary haste."‡

* *Times*, Dec. 8th, 1858. † *Ibid.*, Feb. 24th, 1859.

‡ See page 188, *ante*.

In vain the leading men in the North-Western Provinces had combined in reiterating in successive telegrams—"Time is everything." "Spare no expense in sending reinforcements to Allahabad and Cawnpoor." The Supreme government moved with the utmost deliberation, maintaining, to the last possible moment, the position of dignified incredulity with which they had received the information of mutiny at Barrackpoor in the early spring of 1857; treating the most reasonable alarm as "a groundless panic," and being beaten inch by inch off the field of indolent security; even the capture and retention of Delhi by the rebels, being insufficient to rouse them to the conviction of the imminent danger of the Europeans at other stations, especially those most richly stored and weakly defended. The wretched incapacity manifested at Meerut, was at length appreciated at Calcutta, and General Hewitt was superseded. Now, it is pretty generally admitted, that had either of the Lawrences, Montgomery or Colvin, Herbert, Edwardes, or Nicholson—anybody acquainted with the native character, whether pro-native or anti-native in their tone—been in authority at Meerut, that cruel court-martial sentence would never have been ratified; and the presiding officer would not have written to a friend that night—"The court is over, and those fellows have got ten years a-piece. You will hear of no more mutinies."* These flippant words stand out in terrible contrast to the cries for mercy uttered by Englishmen and Englishwomen, and refused on the

plea of the tyrannical sentence, the felon's irons; adjudged as the penalty of what they deemed devotion to religious duty and maintenance of social rights, for both are united in that much misapplied word—caste.

The Calcutta despatches prove that the authorities there were not blind to the infatuation which produced the Meerut outbreak, or the incapacity which prevented its suppression. The "thirty troopers who revolutionised India," became a bye-word; and the Meerut authorities were severely censured for not instantly sending off a portion of the European troops, if not to maintain Delhi, at least to rescue their countrywomen and the children. Yet the Indian journals assert, that the blame attached to the Meerut authorities for having been so panic-struck by the effect of their own act, that they folded their hands quietly, while, as they had every reason to anticipate, a most unequal struggle was taking place within a three hours' ride of them—is equally attributable to the Supreme government, not only for leaving Delhi without so much as a European company to close its gates, but for not sending speedy reinforcements to Cawnpoor, when, by a vigorous effort, 2,000 men might have been dispatched there in time to raise the siege and to deliver the whole beleaguered band, instead of being the immediate cause of a massacre more terrible than that already related.

From the facts enumerated in the following chapter, the reader will judge how far the Supreme government can be justly reprobated for culpable delay.

CHAPTER XII.

CALCUTTA AND BARRACKPOOR.—MAY AND JUNE, 1857.

At Calcutta, the government on the one side, and the European population and press almost unanimously on the other, took an opposite view of affairs. The governor and council disbelieved in the ex-

istence of any general disaffection either among the troops or the people, which was a natural opinion for the party responsible for having caused, or at least not striven to remove, the alleged discontent, to abide by

* See a history of the Bengal Mutinies, dated "Umballah, August, 1857," and introduced in the *Times*, as the production of "a gentleman whose acquirements, experience, and position, admirably qualify him for the work of observation and re-

view."—*Times*, October 24th, 1857. This authority remarks, that the Native officers who composed the court-martial were as obedient as usual, but that every one of them was said to have been murdered during the outbreak.

as long as possible: the European citizens, on the contrary, accepted General Harsey's conclusions to their fullest extent, and went far beyond them, believing that an organised conspiracy had been concocted by the Mohammedans, and assented to by the Hindoos, civil and military (or rather military and civil), for the extermination of the British. The one party exposed the fallacies of the other; while both misinterpreted the signs of the times, being far too prejudiced regarding the cause of the outbreak, to adopt vigorous measures for its suppression at the earliest possible moment, and with the smallest possible waste of gold and silver and of human life.

The public journals advocated the formation of volunteer corps; and the Trades' Association offered their services to government, either as special constables, or in any other manner that might seem desirable for "the preservation of order, and the protection of the Christian community of Calcutta." The Masonic fraternity, the Americans, and French inhabitants of Calcutta, the British Indian Association, with all the leading Mohammedans and Hindoos, followed the example; but the proffered cooperation was refused by government on the ground of its being unnecessary, no general disaffection having been evinced by the Bengal sepoys. Writing on the 25th of May, the governor-general in council avers, that "the mischief caused by a passing and groundless panic has been arrested; and there is every reason to hope that, in the course of a few days, tranquillity and confidence will be restored."*

Another body, the native Christians of Krishnaghur, proffered their services, and begged to be employed, themselves, their carts and bullocks, in carrying stores to the seat of war. Only those acquainted with the miserable deficiencies of the Indian commissariat, can understand the value or full meaning of the offer; yet the volunteers were refused any public acknowledgment of their loyalty by the governor-general, on the ground that they had volunteered as Christians, not as subjects.† With strange perversity, the Supreme government trampled on caste with one foot, and on Christianity with the other. For the needless, heedless offence given to caste, concessions

were made by the governor-general as by the commander-in-chief, long after the eleventh hour, by a proclamation which, in each case, "fell to the ground a blunted weapon." On the 29th of May, the military secretary, Colonel Birch, issued his first and only proclamation to the army on the subject of the greased cartridges. An officer, then at Calcutta, who certainly cannot be accused of advocating undue regard to native feelings or prejudices, says, had this statement been published in January, it would in all probability have been effective; but Colonel Birch and the government were dumb at that time. Yet at the close of May, "when every word falling from government was liable to be misconstrued, a full and complete explanation was offered regarding the substitution of the Enfield rifle for Brown Bess, and the whole question of the greased cartridges!‡ Alas, for that terrible 'Too late!' which attaches itself as the motto of statesmen without prescience or genius, of little men in great positions!"§

Lord Canning certainly deserves credit for the promptitude with which he acted on the suggestions of Sir Henry Lawrence, and all the leading functionaries in the North-West, of gathering together European troops with all speed from every possible quarter. Bombay, Madras, and Ceylon were sent to for troops, and a steamer was dispatched to the Straits of Sunda, to intercept the Chinese expedition. In the latter end of May, and the beginning of June, reinforcements entered Calcutta in rapid succession. The well-known 1st Fusiliers hastened from Madras, the 64th and 78th Highlanders from Persia, the 35th from Moulmein; a wing of the 37th, and a company of royal artillery, from Ceylon. By the 10th of June, 3,400 men were at the orders of the governor-general, independent of H.M. 53rd in Fort William, 800 strong; from 1,500 to 2,000 sailors, and all the European inhabitants who had tendered their services.

The conduct of the authorities was altogether unaccountable. Instead of being glad to notify the arrival of these reinforcements, and to strengthen the hands of the well-disposed, confirm the allegiance of the waverers, and overawe incipient mutiny, the European troops were, it is alleged by

* Parl. Papers on the Mutinies, 1857 (No. 2).

† Asserted by Lord Shaftesbury at Exeter Hall, January 5th, 1858.

‡ For government circular, see Appendix, p. 340.
§ *Mutiny of the Bengal Army*: by One who has served under Sir Charles Napier; p. 73.

the writer recently quoted, smuggled in like contraband goods. "For instance," he adds, "if it were known that the *Auckland*, or some other war steamer, was bringing troops, and the public were in consequence naturally on the tiptoe of excitement respecting her, orders would be transmitted, that on the arrival of the *Auckland*, the telegraph should announce the *Sarah Sands*, or a similar *nom-de-guerre*. The ship thus came up unnoticed; the troops generally landed in the dark, and were smuggled into the fort."*

On the 24th of May, the governor-general informed Sir Henry Lawrence, in reply to his urgent solicitations on behalf of Cawnpoor, that it was impossible to place a wing of Europeans there in less time than twenty-five days.† Sir Henry was far from being convinced of the impossibility of the measure: moreover, he was not silenced by Lord Canning's explicit statement of what could and could not be done; and, on receiving it, he instantly sent off another telegram in the following words:—

"I strongly advise that as many ekka dâks be laid as possible from Raneegunje to Cawnpoor, to bring up European troops. Spare no expense."‡

The director-general of post-offices at Raneegunje, having probably been informed of Sir Henry Lawrence's opinion, sent a telegram to Calcutta on the same day (May 26th), in which he remarks—"Ekkas are not, I think, adapted for Europeans, nor do I think that time would be gained."§

On the 27th of May, the secretary to government sent off two telegrams, each dated 8.30 p.m. One of these conveyed the thanks of the governor-general in council to Sir Hugh Wheeler, for "his very effective exertions," and assured him "that no measures had been neglected to give him aid." The other curtly informed Sir Henry Lawrence—"Every horse and carriage, bullock and cart, which could be brought upon the road, has been collected, and no means of increasing the number will be neglected."||

The special point of the previous tele-

* "One who has served under Sir Charles Napier," gives as his authority, "personal observation, the telegraphic reports, and the notice of the circumstance by the local press."—(p. 99).

† Telegram, May 24th, 1857.—Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 315.

‡ Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 322.

gram—namely, the ekkas—is slurred over; and it appears as if the Calcutta authorities were not a little annoyed by the perpetual jogs on the elbow of their subordinates in the North-West, and were more inclined to accept the dictum of the "post-master-general," which accorded with their own ideas of "possibility," than by strenuous efforts to comply with the earnest appeals of Sir Henry Lawrence and Sir Hugh Wheeler. Yet Lord Canning, in his instructions to the army then only advancing against Delhi, does not fail to enforce the point so vainly pressed on him. "Time is everything," he writes to the commander-in-chief, "and I beg you to make short work of Delhi." The commander-in-chief might, with good reason, have retaliated by entreating the governor-general to strengthen his hands by making "short work" of Cawnpoor.

A considerable portion of the public and press of Calcutta were extremely dissatisfied at the proceedings of the government, and severely censured the supineness to which they deemed the fate of Cawnpoor attributable, notwithstanding the unexpected detention of the Fusiliers at Allahabad.

The then acting editor of the *Friend of India*, has written a small volume on the mutiny, in which he thus states what was probably the popular view of the question:—

"A thousand English volunteer infantry, 400 cavalry, and 1,500 sailors, were at the disposal of government a week after the revolt became known. * * * The waters of the Ganges do not rise until the latter end of June; and it would have been scarcely advisable to push troops up by that route so long as there was a prospect that the vessels might get aground.

"The railway and the road offered the greatest facilities for the transit of men, guns and stores; and both were in the best condition. The line was opened to Raneegunje, 120 miles from Calcutta; and, up to that point, there was no difficulty in sending a couple of regiments by a single train. Whilst the volunteers were learning how to load and fire, and the merchant seamen were being instructed in the use of artillery, government might have placed on the road, from the terminus to Cawnpoor, a line of stations for horses and bullocks, at intervals of five miles, guarded, if necessary, by posts of armed men; the streets and the course of Calcutta could

This telegram is twice printed in the course of three pages. The first time (p. 322), the word "ekas" (country cart) is given incorrectly; the second, it is printed as "extra"—of course entirely altering the meaning. The value of the Papers printed for Parliament is seriously diminished by the frequency of these blunders.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 329.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 324.

have supplied any number of horses. There were 1,600 siege bullocks at Allahabad, and 600 at Cawnpoor; carriages and commissariat stores of all kinds might have been collected, for the use of a division, with seven days' hard work; and had government only consented to do, just a fortnight beforehand, what they were coerced to do on the 14th of June, they might have had, on the first day of that month, a force of 2,000 Europeans at Raneegunje, fully equipped with guns and stores, the infantry capable of being pushed on at the rate of 120 miles a-day, and the artillery, drawn by horses, elephants, and bullocks, in turns, following at a speed of two miles an hour, day and night.*

The *Friend of India* avers, that a column of 500 men might safely have left Calcutta, and reached Cawnpoor, by the 8th of June at latest; and the guns, escorted by half a wing of a European regiment, might have joined them seven days afterwards.

The news from the North-West Provinces at length convinced the Calcutta government, that if they desired to have territory left to rule over, it was necessary to adopt measures for its defence. The Calcutta volunteers were given to understand that their services would now be accepted; but, according to their own testimony, the majority suffered a feeling of pique, at the previous refusal, to outweigh their sense of public duty; and, "in consequence of the discouragement offered by the government, only 800 were enrolled in the Volunteer Guard, horse and foot; whereas, had their first proposition been accepted, the number would have amounted to between three and four thousand."†

On the following day, the unpopularity of Lord Canning was brought to its climax by the enactment of a law involving the re-institution of the licensing system, and a rigid censorship of the press (English and native), for the ensuing twelve months. The reasons for this measure have been already stated,‡ and need not be recapitulated here. Great excitement was occasioned; and the infraction of the liberty of the press—that is, the European portion of it—was loudly denounced. The English journalists were, of course, quite convinced of the necessity of arresting the torrent of sedition poured forth by the native papers; but they could not see the slightest necessity, notwithstanding the imminent danger with which they professed to believe Calcutta menaced, for placing any check upon the abuse which

was daily poured forth on the government, collectively and individually, nor on the fierce invectives against the natives of India generally, which the government foresaw might goad the entire population into rebellion. The angry journalists expected to find great sympathy in England; but, on the contrary, the necessity of the measure was generally appreciated by both parliament and the press.

The Arms Act, passed at the same time, was another and equally unreasonable cause of dissatisfaction. The extreme anti-native party in Calcutta had pressed for the establishment of martial law, which the government had wisely refused. It was then urged that there had been an unusual importation of arms into Calcutta, and that purchases of these had been largely made by natives. An act was therefore passed, empowering the government to demand from the inhabitants of any district a list of the arms each man possessed, with a view to the granting of a licence for the retention of any reasonable amount. Lord Grey, in vindicating the "impartial policy of the Arms Act," intimated that "it had been resorted to from sheer necessity, and to prevent a trade which might, and there was no doubt would, have been carried on between the natives and some bad Europeans, had the latter been allowed to possess arms to any extent." Lord Granville stated, that a suggestion had been made to Lord Canning that Christians should be exempted from the Act; but he had most properly felt that, since many of the native rajahs, zemindars, and their retainers, had exposed their lives and property in order to stand by the cause of the government, any act subjecting them to a disarmament from which all Europeans and Christians were expressly exempted, would have been a most unwise and impolitic measure. In the course of the same debate, Lord Ellenborough likened "our position in India to that of the Normans in Saxon England," and declared that the Anglo-Indians must, for a time at least, "assume the appearance of an armed militia." The comparison and phraseology were altogether unfortunate. The cases are totally dissimilar: and even passing over the anomaly of a so-called armed militia maintaining a military despotism over 180 millions of disaffected subjects, the prospect thus opened is hardly a pleasant one for the British merchants and traders, who look to India for an increased

* Mead's *Sepoy Revolt*, p. 84.

† Calcutta petition to the Queen, for the recall of Lord Canning.

‡ Introductory Chapter, p. 22.

outlet for their commerce, and hope to find their hands strengthened by receiving the valuable products which she could so cheaply and so plentifully supply, provided only her rulers can manage to govern her peacefully, and employ her revenues in developing her resources, and irrigating her fertile plains with the fair water of her noble rivers, instead of deluging the land with blood and tears. An important admission was, however, made by Lord Ellenborough in speaking of a provision of the Press Act, regarding the suppression of any passage in a public journal calculated "to weaken the friendship of native princes towards us." After bearing testimony to the important results which had attended the fidelity of the rajahs of Rewah and Gwalior, the ex-governor-general added, that if the Indian newspapers, "in the spirit which too much animates persons in that country, had expressed a hope that, when our rule was re-established, there would be further and further annexations, I assure you that every part of Central India, chiefs as well as subjects, would have been in arms against us."*

The tone thus denounced had, however, been taken by many journals, and it was most necessary that Lord Canning should possess some counteracting power. The Anglo-Indian papers did not always originate incendiary articles: they occasionally copied articles issued by the London press, written hastily on a very partial and prejudiced view of the subject, and without regard to the effect likely to result from their reproduction in India. It is a fact that the Indian princes study European politics with avidity, and watch their bearing on England. Much more do they examine, through the medium of their interpreters, the language held regarding them in the English papers, and the comments made thereon by the local press.

The first despatches which conveyed to England tidings of the Meerut and Delhi catastrophe, narrated also the admirable conduct of Sindia and Holcar, of the rajahs of Bhurtpoor, Jheend, and Putteeala. An Anglo-Indian correspondent of the *Times*, mentioned the death of the ill-used Nizam,† and the accession to the musnud of his son, Afzool-ood-Dowla, a prince of thirty years of age, "born to the purple of Hyderabad,

and proportionately dull, ignorant, and sensual."

The *Times*, commenting on this information, in evident ignorance of the vital importance to the British government of the policy which might be adopted by the Hyderabad durbar, remarked—"The fact seems to be, that we have arrived at that point in our Indian career, when the total subjection of the native element, and the organisation of all that we have conquered, becomes a matter of necessity. We have gone so far in the conquest of the country, that it is now necessary to complete the task. * * * We would even hope that the death of the Nizam may be the occasion of the Deccan being brought more completely under British sovereignty. We cannot now refuse our part or change our destiny. To retain power in India, we must sweep away every political establishment and every social usage which may prevent our influence from being universal and complete."‡

In the course of another mail or two, when the extent of the danger became better understood, a different tone was adopted, as it was soon seen that the native durbar—that is to say, the Nizam, under the guidance of his able minister, Salar Jung, and his venerable uncle, Shums-ool-Omrah,§ had remained faithful to the British government, in opposition to the desire of the great mass of his fanatical Mussulman subjects.

From this and many similar circumstances, it seems evident that an imperative sense of duty was Lord Canning's motive in placing a temporary restriction on the press. The censorship was enacted only for a year, and expired then without the slightest effort being made for its renewal. Lords Elphinstone and Harris earnestly seconded its imposition; the Calcutta council were unanimous regarding its necessity: yet the great weight of censure was poured out on the governor-general, who, from being, "personally, extremely popular," and praised as "a conscientious, hard-working man, and no jobber (a wonderful merit in that country),"|| became the object of the most sweeping and unqualified animadversion. Lord Canning conducted himself with much dignity, exercising the censorship he had felt it necessary to

* Indian debate, as reported in *Times*, December 8th, 1857.

† See Introductory Chapter, p. 55.

‡ *Times*, June 29th, 1857.

§ *Ibid.*

|| Speech of the Earl of Ellenborough.—*Times*, December 8th, 1857.

assume, without anger and without fear, although aware that a petition was being framed in Calcutta, addressed to the Queen, soliciting his recall, which petition was eventually sent to England by the hand of Mr. Mead, the ex-editor of the *Friend of India*—removed from that office on the ground of his infractions of the conditions of the Press Act.

Among the difficulties which beset the Indian government, not the least pressing was that of finance. This was ever a weak point. In the palmiest days of peace, the revenue could never be made, by British rulers, to meet the expenditure: in war, no better expedient had presented itself than to inflict on the helpless people of India a debt similar to that with which England is burdened. One of the ablest and most eloquent of living statesmen, has repeatedly drawn attention to the unjust expedient to which successive governors-general have resorted, to supply an ever-recurring deficit at the expense of those who are not allowed to have any voice in the levying or expenditure of money which they and their children are heavily taxed to supply.

Mr. Gladstone denounced the Indian debt as being "charged upon a country whose revenues we are drawing in this country by virtue of the power of the sword." But (he added) "apart from that, I say it is most unjust that the executive government should have, for any purpose of its own, or for any purpose of the people of England, the power of entailing these tremendous charges upon the people of India."*

* *Times*, April 27th, 1858.

† Report of Indian debate.—*Times*, July 7th, 1858.

‡ A London journal, the *Press*, November 28th, 1857, has the following remarks:—"Lord Dalhousie's measure sent down the whole public funds of India from ninety-seven, at which they stood at the time, to eighty at a stroke. Every existing fundholder was therefore irretrievably compromised; and no one was thereafter able to realise except at a sacrifice of from seventeen to twenty per cent. It was not, be it observed, the conversion of the five per cents. into fours that the fundholders complained of; for that, by raising the value of the four per cents. to par, was a benefit to the old holders, while those who accepted the conversion had no reason to complain, as they might, if they liked, have taken cash. To the moneyed class in particular, the conversion itself was a thing almost immaterial; for, as mere temporary holders, they cared comparatively little about the rate of interest except in so far as it affected the market price of their stock. It was because the conversion—followed almost imme-

diately by the opening of a new five per cent. loan at par—made this stock absolutely unsaleable, that they with cause complained. It made it unsaleable, at least, except at a rate of discount that was ruin to them; and the consequence has been to close the pocket of the Indian capitalist to the government ever since. The remedy which the Indian government has endeavoured to apply—namely, that of raising the amount of interest without providing for the redemption of the stock that is thus depreciated—only aggravates the evil which it is meant to cure. Because, although the rate now offered be sufficient in itself, it but the more assures the lender of the fact, that his capital, if so invested, will be invested beyond recall; for if the Company can see no way to relief but by constantly raising its interest, a five per cent. loan must very soon be followed by a six per cent., and a six per cent. by a seven per cent., as its wants increase. And with each rise in the rate of interest the stock of the old holders will fall in market value, and be utterly unsaleable except at a price far below the sum which the owner lent."

On a subsequent occasion, he adverted indignantly to the twelve or fifteen millions sterling imposed as a permanent burden on the people of India by the Afghan war.†

The manner of effecting loans in India does not appear to have been calculated to lessen the dissatisfaction which the wealthier natives could not but feel at being denied any voice in their appropriation. An important step taken by Lord Dalhousie, is thus described in his famous farewell minute. After stating several facts which seemed "to promise well for the financial prosperity of the country," his lordship adds—

"A measure which was carried into effect in 1853-'54, was calculated to contribute further to that end. During those years the five per cent. debt of India was entirely extinguished. Excepting the payment of a comparatively small sum in cash, the whole of the five per cent. debt was either converted into a four per cent. debt, or replaced in the open four per cent. loan. The saving of interest which was effected by this operation, amounted to upwards of £300,000 per annum.

"At a later period, by a combination of many unfavourable circumstances, which could not have been anticipated, and which were not foreseen in England any more than by us in India, the government has again been obliged to borrow at the high rate of five per cent. But the operation of 1853-'54 was not the less politic or less successful in itself; while the financial relief it afforded was timely and effectual."

The Calcutta Chamber of Commerce took a different view of the matter,‡ and maintained that the lenders were ill-used. The government, instead of having a large surplus available for the operation, were, they asserted, obliged, not from any unforeseen causes, but in the natural course of things

diately by the opening of a new five per cent. loan at par—made this stock absolutely unsaleable, that they with cause complained. It made it unsaleable, at least, except at a rate of discount that was ruin to them; and the consequence has been to close the pocket of the Indian capitalist to the government ever since. The remedy which the Indian government has endeavoured to apply—namely, that of raising the amount of interest without providing for the redemption of the stock that is thus depreciated—only aggravates the evil which it is meant to cure. Because, although the rate now offered be sufficient in itself, it but the more assures the lender of the fact, that his capital, if so invested, will be invested beyond recall; for if the Company can see no way to relief but by constantly raising its interest, a five per cent. loan must very soon be followed by a six per cent., and a six per cent. by a seven per cent., as its wants increase. And with each rise in the rate of interest the stock of the old holders will fall in market value, and be utterly unsaleable except at a price far below the sum which the owner lent."

(financial difficulty being the chronic condition of the Anglo-Indian government), immediately to open a new loan at five per cent. Money to the amount of four millions was borrowed by government, between the conversion of the five per cent. into a four per cent. debt in 1854, and the close of 1856, chiefly at five per cent., but partly at four-and-a-half per cent.

The four-and-a-half per cent. loan was suppressed, and a five per cent. loan opened in January, 1857—a measure which gave rise to much distrust, and seriously impeded the operations of the executive, when the sudden emergency occasioned by the revolt had to be met.

An officer, describing to a friend in England the state of affairs in Calcutta, 12th of June, 1857, says—"The Company's paper is down very low; the new five per cent. loan few subscribe to, and the four per cents. were yesterday at twenty discount; and I see, by the newspaper, that at Benares it was at forty-two discount. We must have a new loan, and you must give us the money, I expect. Out of the treasuries alone that have been robbed, I should think nearly two millions of money have been taken; and then fancy the expense of the transport of all these Europeans."*

On the evening of the day on which the Arms and Press Acts had been passed, a message from Major-general Hearsey reached Calcutta, desiring the aid of European troops to disarm the Native troops at Barrackpore, as he believed their fidelity could not be relied on. The request was immediately complied with; and, on the afternoon of Sunday, the 14th, the sepoys at Barrackpore, and also all except the body-guard of the governor-general in Fort William, Calcutta, and the neighbourhood, were quietly disarmed. The necessity for this measure must have greatly increased Lord Canning's perplexities. Although "Pandyism" had originated at Barrackpore, it was thought to have been trodden out there, and the government actually intended to dispatch troops from thence to join the force against Delhi, heedless of the opinion expressed by Lieutenant-governor Colvin at Agra, and his policy of "preserving the peace by not permitting Native troops to meet and directly fight their brethren."† It would have

been objectionable on the lowest ground of expediency, as a most dangerous experiment, to send men to fight against their countrymen, co-religionists, and, in many cases, their own relations. Even supposing them to have started for Delhi in all good faith, it was not in human nature to resist such combined temptations as those which would have met them on the road, or on reaching their destination. Sooner or later they would, rather than have fired on, have fraternised with their mutinous comrades. There were excellent British officers at Barrackpore; and they were, perhaps, disposed to overrate their own influence with the men. The accounts sent to England by the Indian government, do not clearly show what intimations were made to the troops to induce them to volunteer to march against Delhi, and to use the new rifle; but it would appear that they were given to understand that, by so doing, they would gain great credit, and place themselves beyond suspicion. For the offer to march against Delhi, the 70th N.I. were thanked by the governor-general in person; and it was subsequent to this that they professed their readiness to use the new cartridges. In an address to government, dated June 5th, and forwarded by the colonel (Kennedy) commanding the 70th N.I., the petitioners aver—

"We have thought over the subject; and as we are now going up country, we beg that the new rifles, about which there has been so much said in the army and all over the country, may be served out to us. By using them in its service, we hope to prove beyond a doubt our fidelity to government; and we will explain to all we meet, that there is nothing objectionable in them."‡

The petition of the 70th N.I. to join the force before Delhi, was read aloud, by Lord Canning's order, at the head of various Native corps, and the effect it produced was apparently beneficial. For instance, the 63rd N.I., at Berhampore, expressed themselves (in very English phraseology, but with very un-English feeling) "prepared and ready, with heart and hand, to go wherever, and against whomsoever you may please to send us, should it even be against our own kinsmen."§ The governor-general in council desired Major-general Hearsey to thank the 63rd N.I. publicly, "for this soldier-like expression of their

* Diary of officer in Calcutta.—*Times*, Aug. 3, 1857.

† Appendix to Papers on Mutiny, p. 188.

‡ Further Parl. Papers, 1857 (not numbered), p. 46.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

loyalty and attachment to the government.”*

The offer may have been honestly made; for the natives are the veriest children of impulse; but few who knew them would doubt that the reaction would be sudden and strong, and that mercenary troops so peculiarly situated, would, when brought face to face—father with son, brother with brother—lose all notion of being “true to their salt” in the natural feelings of humanity. The very expression of being ready to oppose their own kinsmen, suggests that the possibility of being placed in such a cruel position had already occurred to them.

On the 9th of June, a Mussulman of the 70th N.I. came to Captain Greene, and the following very remarkable conversation ensued regarding the intended march from Barrackpoor to Delhi:—

“‘Whatever you do,’ said the sepoy, ‘do not take your lady with you.’ I asked him, ‘Why?’ He said, ‘Because the mind of the natives, *kala admi* (black men), was now in a state of inquietude, and it would be better to let the lady remain here till everything was settled in the country, as there was no knowing what might happen.’ On my asking him if he had any reason to doubt the loyalty of the regiment, he replied, ‘Who can tell the hearts of a thousand men?’ He said that he believed the greater portion of the men of the regiment were sound, and in favour of our rule; but that a few evil men might persuade a number of good men to do an evil deed.

“I then asked him the meaning of all this about the cartridges. He said, ‘That when first the report was spread about, it was generally believed by the men; but that subsequently it had been a well understood thing that the cartridge question was merely raised for the sake of exciting the men, with a view of getting the whole army to mutiny, and thereby upset the English government; that they argued, that as we were turned out of Cabool, and had never returned to that place, so, if once we were entirely turned out of India, our rule would cease, and we should never return.’ Such is the opinion of a great bulk of the people. A Native officer also warned me that it would be better not to take up Mr. ——. He said that if I went he would sleep by my bed, and protect me with his own life.”

Captain Greene adds, that a Hindoo had told him that the Mussulmans generally, in all regiments, were in the habit of talking to the effect that their “‘raj’ was coming round again.”†

It is evident, from the foregoing state-

* Further Parl. Papers, 1857 (not numbered), p. 71.

† *Ibid.*, p. 8.

‡ Letter from Major-general Hearsey to his sister; dated, “Barrackpoor, June 16th, 1857.”—*Daily News*, August 6th, 1857.

ment, that a dangerous degree of excitement existed among the Barrackpoor troops. Matters were brought to an issue by a report being made to Colonel Kennedy, that a man of the 70th N.I. had been heard to say, “Let us go beyond Pultah, and then you will hear what we will do.” General Hearsey made inquiries, and convinced himself that “some villains in the corps were trying to incite the good men and true to mutiny.” He endeavoured to persuade the men to find out and deliver over the offenders: they would not do this; and he resolved on disarming the entire brigade of four regiments.‡ The officers of the 70th strenuously opposed the measure, declaring that “the reported speech must have been made by some budmash, and that Colonel Kennedy, being new to the regiment, did not and could not know the real and devoted sentiments of the Native officers and men with respect to their fealty.”§

The brigadier wisely persisted in a step which must have been most painful to him; and he adds, what will readily be believed, that he spoke “very, very kindly” to the men at the time of the disarming. The officers of the 70th were deeply affected by the grief evinced by their men. They went to the lines on the following day, and tried to comfort them, and induce them to take food. They found that the banyans (native dealers) had, in some instances, refused to give further credit, under the impression that the regiment would soon be paid up, and discharged altogether; while a large number were preparing to desert, in consequence of a bazaar report that handcuffs and manacles had been sent for. Captain Greene pleaded earnestly with Major-general Hearsey in favour of the regiment, which “had been for nigh twenty-five years his pride and his home;” declaring, “all of us, black and white, would be so thankful to you if you could get us back our arms, and send us away from this at once.”||

Of course the petition could not be granted. The safety of such officers as these was far too valuable to be thus risked. Probably their noble confidence, and that evinced by many others similarly

§ Major-general Hearsey to secretary to government, June 15th, 1857.—Further Parl. Papers (not numbered), p. 6.

|| Letters of Captain Greene to Major-general Hearsey, June 14th and 15th, 1857.—*Ibid.*, pp. 6., 7.

circumstanced, will be called sheer infatuation, and no allowance made for circumstances under which zeal might easily outrun discretion. But let it be remembered it was their own lives, nothing more, nothing less, that they were so willing to hazard losing; and the cause, which rendered them heedless of personal danger, was an absorbing desire for the honour of their corps, the welfare of their men, and the service of their country.

And most effective has their devotion been. No mere human wisdom, under whatever specious name it may be disguised—discretion, policy, expediency—could have done what the fearless faith of these gallant sepoy leaders did to break the first shock of the mutiny, to stop a simultaneous rising, to buy, when "time was everything," a few weeks', days', hours' respite, at the cost of their life-blood. It was extreme coercion that lit the fires at Meerut and Delhi; it was extreme conciliation that saved Simla and Lucknow. If some officers carried their confidence too far, and did not see that the time for conciliatory measures had for the moment passed, it must be recollected that they could not know the full extent of the secret influences brought to bear on the minds of their men; far less could they counteract the effect of panic caused, in repeated instances, by the cruel blundering of the highest local authorities, where these happened to be incapacitated for the exercise of sound judgment, by infirmity of mind and body (as has been shown at Meerut), or by the indiscriminating rashness of a hasty spirit (as is alleged to have been the case at Benares).

The panic in the lines of the Barrackpore sepoys, on the evening of Sunday, the 14th, was far outdone by that which seized on the minds of the Calcutta population, in anticipation of the possible consequences of the measure which, after all, was so peaceably accomplished. The fact of the sepoys having allowed themselves to be disarmed without resistance, could not be denied; but the newsmongers and alarmists made amends for having no struggle to narrate, by enlarging on the imminent danger which had been averted. An order had been given by the governor-general to

search the lines, after the disarming should have been accomplished,* for tulwars (native swords), or other weapons. Brigadier Harsey did so, and acquainted the governor-general with the fact of the order having been obeyed. He makes no mention of any weapons having been found; but only adds—"All quiet."† The description of the condition of the troops on the following day, has been shown; as also the entreaty of the officers of the 70th N.I., for the re-arming of their regiment. Yet Dr. Duff, writing to England, says, that "when, after disarming, the sepoys' huts were searched, they were found to be filled with instruments of the most murderous description—huge knives of various shapes, two-handed swords, poniards, and battle-axes; many of the swords being serrated, and evidently intended for the perpetration of torturing cruelties on their European victims—cruelties over which, in their anticipation, these ruthless savages, while fed and nurtured by the government, had doubtless fondly gloated!"‡ Of course, the official statements since laid before parliament, prove all this to be idle rumour; but it is quoted here as showing what fables were accepted as facts, and indorsed as such by men of note in Calcutta. The Europeans, moreover, believed themselves to have escaped, by a peculiar providence, a plot laid for their destruction by some undetected Mussulman Guy Fawkes. The maharajah of Gwalior had been visiting Calcutta shortly before the mutiny, and had invited the whole European community to an exhibition of fireworks, across the river, at the Botanic Gardens. The entertainment was postponed on account of a violent storm; and it was afterwards alleged that a scheme had been thereby thwarted, of seizing that night on Fort William, and massacring the Christian community.§ New rumours of a similar character were spread abroad in every direction. As at Simla, so at Calcutta, nothing was too palpably absurd to be related and received as possible and probable. True, the year 1857 will go down to posterity as one of previously unparalleled crime and disaster. But it will also take its place as a year of "canards."

The native tendency to exaggeration and

* Further Parl. Papers, 1857 (not numbered), p. 52.

† *Ibid.*, p. 59.

‡ See Dr. Duff's *Letters on India*, p. 37.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 2. Dr. Duff speaks very decidedly

on the subject. He states that some of the conspirators underwent the penalty of death. It is strange that other writers have not mentioned so remarkable and important event, if anything of the kind really occurred.

high colouring was well known. Every Englishman in India, every educated European, must have learned in childhood to appreciate the story-telling propensities of the Asiatics. The *Arabian Nights* are a standing memorial of their powers of imagination. In composition or in conversation, they adopt a florid, fervid style, natural to them, but bewildering to Europeans in general, and peculiarly distasteful to the Anglo-Saxon mind. In the limited intercourse between superior and inferior, master and servant, the "sahibs" would cut short the Oriental jargon very quickly; but when, in the fever of excitement, domestic servants, khitmutgars or ayahs, a favourite syce (groom) or some personal attendant, came full of a bazaar report of horrors perpetrated at stations hundreds of miles off, they were listened to as if every syllable had been Gospel truth; and, through similar channels, the newspaper columns were filled with the most circumstantial details of often imaginary, always exaggerated, atrocities.

Strange that the experience of a hundred years had had so little effect in giving the rulers of India an insight into native character, and in enabling them to view the real dangers and difficulties of their position, unclouded by imaginary evils. But no! the tales of mutilation and violation publicly told, and the still fouler horrors privately whispered, though now for the most part denounced and disowned, then made many a brave man pale with alarm, as he looked on his wife and children. Fear is even more credulous than hope; and the majority, while under the bewildering influence of excitement, probably believed in the alleged abominations. It seems likely, however, that some of the retailers of these things must have had sufficient experience of the untrustworthiness of the hearsay evidence on which they rested, to understand their true character. If so, and if, indeed, they promulgated lies, knowing or suspecting them to be such, they committed a deadly sin; and on their heads rests, in measure, the blood of every man who, wild with terror, rushed from the pre-

sence of his fellow-creatures to the tribunal of his God, or proved, in the presence of assembled heathens, his disbelief in the existence of an ever-present Saviour, by destroying his wife or child. Several instances of suicide occurred during the mutiny.* Of wife or child-murder there are few, if any, attested instances; but it is sufficiently terrible to know, that the thought of escaping the endurance of suffering by the commission of sin, was deliberately sanctioned, as will be shown by a subsequent chapter, even by ministers, or at least by a minister, of the Christian religion.

It was well for England and for India, that the governor-general was a man of rare moral and physical courage. No amount of energy could have compensated for a want of self-reliance, which might have placed him at the mercy of rash advisers, and induced the adoption of coercive measures likely to turn possible rebels into real ones, instead of such as were calculated to reassure the timid and decide the wavering, by the attitude of calm dignity so important in a strong foreign government. General Mansfield, then in Calcutta, wrote home, that "the one calm head in Calcutta was that upon Lord Canning's shoulders."† The assertion seems, however, too sweeping. Certainly there was another exception. The viceroy's wife was as little susceptible of panic as her lord, and continued to reside in a palace guarded by natives, and to drive about, attended by a sepoy escort, with a gentle, fearless bearing, which well befitted her position.

Lord Canning was much blamed for not immediately exchanging his sepoy for a European guard: but Earl Granville defended him very happily, on grounds on which the sepoy officers may equally base their justification. "I think," said Lord Granville, "that at a moment when great panic existed in Calcutta, Lord Canning was rash in intrusting himself to troops whose fidelity might be suspected; but it was at a time when he felt, that as our dominion in India depended upon the belief in our self-confidence and courage, it was of the greatest importance that the head of

hardly deserve the sole blame: suicide is usually the termination of the lives of persons who have habitually disregarded the revealed will of God, by sensual indulgence, or what is commonly termed the laws of nature—by long-continued mental effort, to the neglect of their physical requirements.

† Stated by Earl Granville in India debate.—*Times*, December 8th, 1857.

* Mrs. Coopland, in the narrative of her *Escape from Gwalior*, remarks—"We heard of the shocking suicides of the commodore of the *Mary* and of General Stalker. The reason we heard assigned for this, both in the papers and by people who ought to know, is that the climate so upsets people's nerves, as to render them unfit for any great excitement or responsibility."—(p. 76.) The climate can

the Europeans in that country should not be thought to be deficient in those qualities. And I am quite sure, that among Englishmen even, too great an indifference to personal danger is not likely very long to tell against Lord Canning.*

It is probable that the governor-general hoped, by retaining his sepoy guard, to counteract in some degree the dangerous tendency of the alarm manifested by his countrymen. An officer "who witnessed the living panorama of Calcutta on the 14th of June,"† has drawn a lively sketch of the prevailing disorder and dismay.

He declares—

"It was all but universally credited that the Barrackpore brigade was in full march against Calcutta; that the people in the suburbs had already risen; that the King of Oude, with his followers, were plundering Garden-reach. Those highest in office were the first to give the alarm. There were secretaries to government running over to members of council, loading their pistols, barricading the doors, sleeping on sofas; members of council abandoning their houses with their families, and taking refuge on board ship: crowds of lesser celebrities, impelled by these examples, having hastily collected their valuables, were rushing to the fort, only too happy to be permitted to sleep under the fort guns. Horses, carriages, palanquins, vehicles of every sort and kind, were put into requisition to convey panic-stricken fugitives out of the reach of imaginary cut-throats. In the suburbs, almost every house belonging to the Christian population was abandoned. Half-a-dozen determined fanatics could have burned down three parts of the town. A score of London thieves would have made their fortunes by plundering the houses in the neighbourhood of Chowringhee (the patrician quarter of the city), which had been abandoned by their inmates."‡

The writer adds—"It must in fairness be admitted, that whilst his advisers—the patricians of Leadenhall-street—were hiding under sofas, and secreting themselves in the holds of the vessels in port, Lord Canning himself maintained a dignified attitude." The admission is worth noting. It is only to be regretted that other exceptions were not made; for it is scarcely possible but that there were such. Only, to

* Stated by Earl Granville in India debate.—*Times*, December 8th, 1857.

† See also similar statements published in Indian correspondence of *Times*, *Daily News*, and other papers of August, 1857. Dr. Duff says—"The panic throughout Sunday night rose to an inconceivable height. With the exception of another couple, Mrs. Duff and myself were the only British subjects in Cornwallis-square on that night."—*Letters*, p. 24.

‡ *Mutiny of the Bengal Army*: by One who has served under Sir Charles Napier; p. 105.

§ An officer employed on the expedition, remarks, that the 37th wore "the small forage-cap, fit only

have singled them out would have been to stigmatise the unnamed.

At daybreak on the 15th of June, the King of Oude, with Ali Nukki Khan, and other leading adherents, were arrested, and lodged as prisoners in Fort William. The official intimation simply relates the fact, without stating the reason of the arrest, or the manner in which it was performed. Private authorities state that it was accomplished as a surprise. The force employed consisted of 500 men of H.M. 37th foot (which had arrived a few days before from Ceylon, and had been present at the disarming at Barrackpore),§ and a company of the royal artillery. Mr. Edmonstone, the foreign secretary, then went forward to the residence of the ex-minister. He seemed startled by the sight of the soldiers, but surrendered himself to their custody without a word of remonstrance. His house was searched, and his papers secured. The party then proceeded to arrest the king, telling him that the governor-general had reason to believe him connected with the mutiny. Wajid Ali behaved on this occasion, as on that of his deposition, with much dignity. Taking off his jewelled turban, and placing it before the foreign secretary, he said—"If I have, by word, by deed, or in any way whatever encouraged the mutineers, I am worthy of any punishment that can be devised: I am ready to go wherever the governor-general thinks fit." The apartments were then searched; and, in the words of one of the officers engaged, "the king, his prime minister, and the whole batch, papers and all, were seized."||

The Calcutta population viewed this measure, which was simply a precautionary one, as undoubted evidence of a discovered conspiracy. Dr. Duff, writing from Calcutta, and deeply imbued with the fever of the time (as from the nature of his rare gift of popular eloquence he would be likely to be), enters very fully into the subject.¶

for the barrack-square in England, affording no protection whatever from the sun. They had white jackets on, I was glad to see; but even then, the heat was so great that the cross-belt was wet through from perspiration. Stocks of course."—*Times*, August 3rd, 1857.

|| *Times*—*Ibid*.

¶ These letters, addressed to Dr. Tweedie, Convener of the Free Church of Scotland's Foreign Mission Committee, were published in 1858, under the title of *The Indian Rebellion; its Causes and Results*: and "the views and opinions which they embody," are described in the preface as "the ripe result of

"On Monday morning," he writes, "the ex-King of Oude and his treasonable crew were arrested, and safely quartered in Fort William. Since then various parties connected with the Oude family, and other influential Mohammedans, have been arrested; and on them have been found several important documents, tending to throw light on the desperate plans of treason which have been seriously projected. Among others has been found a map of Calcutta, so sketched out as to divide the whole of the town into sections. A general rise was planned to take place on the 3rd instant, the anniversary of the battle of Plassey. The city was to be taken, and the Feringhi Kaffirs [foreign infidels], or British and other Christian inhabitants, to be all massacred. Hereafter, parties who swore on the Koran, and proved that they had taken an active share in the butchery and pillage of the Europeans, were to have certain sections of the town allotted to them for their own special benefit!" All this, and much more of a similar sort, Dr. Duff declares to have been "timeously and providentially revealed." That is to say, all this was firmly believed during the panic; but very little, if any, has been established by subsequent examination, or is now on record.

Time, the revealer of secrets, has brought nothing to light to the disparagement of the King of Oude. On the contrary, many of the accusations brought against him have been disproved. Impartial observers assert, that "there is not a shadow of a shade of evidence to connect him with the rebellion."* Whether from his own convictions, or by the advice of the queen-mother (a woman of unquestioned ability), he appears to have steadily adhered to the policy which alone admitted a prospect of redress—that of submission under protest.

Mr. Russell, writing from Lucknow in February, 1859, remarks—"It is now universally admitted, that it was owing to his influence no outbreak took place at the time of the annexation."† Up to the period of the mutiny, and, indeed, to the present moment, he has firmly refused to thirty years' observation." It is added, that the most fastidious critic will hardly require any apology for the want of the author's revision; because the letters are "tense with the emotions, and all aflame with the tidings of that terrible season." It is not, however, a question of style, but of fact. Misstatements like the one regarding the Barrackpoor sepoys and the King of Oude, with many other stories

accept any allowance from the British government. He may be our prisoner; he will not be our pensioner: but has continued, by the sale of his jewels, to support himself and the royal family. The anomalous position of the deposed king certainly did not strengthen the British government during the mutiny; and when Wajid Ali heard of the fall of Cawnpoor, and the precarious tenure of Lucknow, the magnificent capital of his dynasty (held by a slender garrison of the usurping race, against their own revolted mercenaries), he might well feel that the seizure of his misgoverned kingdom had been followed by a speedy retribution. In the hands of a native government, Oude would have been, as in every previous war, a source of strength to the British government; now it threatened to be like the "Spanish ulcer" of Napoleon Buonaparte. If Wajid Ali yearned for vengeance, he had it in no stinted measure, though a prisoner. Vengeful, however, none of his house appear to have been: their vices were altogether of another order. Perhaps he had himself benefited by the sharp lessons of adversity; and while becoming sensible of the folly of his past career of sensuality and indolence, might hope that the English would profit by the same stern teaching, and learn the expediency of being just.

On the 17th of June, Sir Patrick Grant, the newly-appointed commander-in-chief, arrived at Calcutta from Madras, and with him Colonel Havelock, who had just returned from Persia. Both were experienced Indian officers. Sir Patrick Grant commenced his career in the Bengal army, and had early distinguished himself by raising the Hurrianah light infantry—a local battalion, which he commanded for many years: he subsequently married a daughter of Lord Gough; became adjutant-general; and was from thence raised to the command of the Madras army, being the first officer in the Company's service who had ever attained that position.

Colonel (afterwards Sir Henry) Havelock was a Queen's officer, who had seen service in Burmah and Afghanistan, in the calculated to set the British mind "aflame" against the natives, ought in justice to have been recanted. Dr. Duff is a well-known and respected minister, of unquestioned ability; and his errors cannot, in justice to the cause of truth, be passed unnoticed, even though under the pressure of an important avocation: they may have escaped his memory.

* Russell.—*Times*, March 28th, 1859. † *Ibid.*

Gwalior campaign of 1843, and the Sutlej campaigns of 1845-'6; after which he became quartermaster-general, and, subsequently, adjutant-general of her Majesty's forces in India. In 1829 he married the third daughter of Dr. Marshman, the companion of the apostolic Carey in founding the Baptist Mission at Serampoor; and, in the following year, he openly joined that denomination of Christians, receiving public baptism in the manner deemed by them most scriptural. The step drew on him much ridicule from those who, having never had any deep religious convictions, could not understand their paramount influence on a loftier spirit. It was not, however, a measure likely to hinder his advancement in his profession; although, if it had been, Havelock was a brave and honest man, and much too strongly convinced of the paramount importance of things eternal, to have hazarded them for any worldly advantage. At the same time, it is certain he made no sacrifice of things temporal by allying himself with the once despised but afterwards powerful party, which exercised remarkable influence through the *Friend of India*, of which paper Dr. Marshman was the proprietor. As a boy, he is said to have been called "old Philos" by his playfellows at the Charter-house, on account of his grave, philosophic demeanour. In after years, he delighted in expounding the Scriptures to his men, and in warning them against the besetting sins of a soldier's daily life, drunkenness and its attendant vice. His efforts were crowned with success. At a critical moment during the campaign in Burmah, Sir Archibald Campbell gave an order to a particular corps, which could not be carried out, owing to the number of men unfitted for duty by intoxication. The general was informed of the fact. "Then," said he, "call out Havelock's saints; they are never drunk, and he is always ready."*

Again—when, in 1835, Havelock sought the appointment of adjutant to the 13th light infantry, opposition was made from various quarters, on the ground that he was

a fanatic and an enthusiast. Lord William Bentinck examined the punishment roll of the regiment; and finding that the men of Havelock's company, and those who joined them in their religious exercises, were the most sober and the best-behaved in the regiment, he gave Havelock the solicited appointment; remarking, that he "only wished the whole regiment was Baptist."†

Colonel Havelock's personal habits were simple, even to austerity; and to these, but still more to his habitual trust in an overruling Providence, may be attributed the spring of energy which enabled him to declare, on the morning of his sixty-second birthday—"Nearly every hair on my head and face is as grey as my first charger; but my soul and mind are young and fresh."‡ Military honours he coveted to a degree which appears to have rendered him comparatively insensible to the horrors of war; and it is strange to contrast the irrepressible disgust with which Sir Charles Napier chronicles the scenes of slaughter through which he had cut his way to fame and fortune, with the almost unalloyed satisfaction which Havelock seems to have found in a similar career.

These two veterans (each of whom attained eminence after toiling up-hill, past the mile-stones of threescore years) have left on record widely different opinions. Napier uniformly denounced war as "hellish work."§ Havelock, "having no scruples about the compatibility of war with Christianity,"|| prayed constantly, from his school-days to advanced age, "to live to command in a successful action."¶ This single sentence, which conveys the cherished desire of a lifetime, is one of those utterances that reveal, beyond all possibility of error, the character, even the inner being, of the writer. Lord Hardinge is said to have pronounced Havelock, "every inch a soldier, and every inch a Christian."** And this praise was true in its degree; for Lord Hardinge†† measured Havelock by his own standard of Christianity; and Havelock himself steadily pursued what he believed

* Rev. William Brock's *Biographical Sketch of Sir Henry Havelock*, p. 37.

† *Ibid.*, p. 45.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

§ *Life of Sir Charles Napier*; by Sir William Napier.—Vol. iii., p. 410.

|| Rev. W. Brock's *Biographical Sketch of Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B.*—p. 18.

¶ Letter to Mrs. Havelock; July 13th, 1857.—*Ibid.*, p. 163.

** Brock's *Havelock*.—Preface.

†† Napier writes—"Hardinge is very religious; he had prayers on the field of battle! Thou shalt not kill, is the order; and it seems strange, in the heat of disobedience, to pray and make parade."—*Life*, vol. iii., p. 368. It must, however, be remembered, that to pray to be protected in battle, and to be led into it, are totally different petitions.

to be the path of duty. Still, that a Christian far advanced in years, should, after long experience of offensive warfare (the Afghan campaign for instance), continue to pray to be at the head of a battle, is startling, and would be incomprehensible, had we not daily evidence how apt men are (in Archbishop Whateley's words) to let their opinions or practices bend the rule by which they measure them.

These comments would be superfluous but for the extreme interest excited by the closing passages of Havelock's life, on which we are now entering, and which, from their peculiar character, have thrown an interest round the chief actor, scarcely warranted by the relative importance of his proceedings as compared with those of other Indian leaders, several of whom have been strangely underrated.* It is frequently asserted that Havelock resembled the Puritans of English history: his spare small figure, and worn and thoughtful face, helps the comparison; and it is asserted, in words of more discriminating praise than those previously quoted, that "a more simple-minded, upright, God-fearing soldier, was not among Cromwell's Ironsides."† But it must be remembered that the Puritans fought for civil and religious liberty, for themselves and for their children; and Havelock, employed in repeated foreign wars of conquest and subjugation, might as well be compared to the gallant Baptist missionaries, Knibb and his coadjutors (who struggled so efficiently, amid poverty, calumny, and cruel persecution, for the anti-slavery cause in the West Indies), as to an English Round-head.

The arrival of Sir Patrick Grant may be supposed to have removed from the governor-general the chief responsibility of the military measures now urgently required. Tidings from Neil at Allahabad, told that the course of mutiny, instead of being arrested, was growing daily stronger; and Sir Henry Lawrence continued to urge on the governor-general the extreme peril of the Cawnpoor garrison. When Grant and Havelock reached Calcutta on the 17th of June, there was yet time, by efforts such as Warren Hastings or Marquis Wellesley would have made, to have sent a force

which might have forestalled the capitulation. The regular rate of dawk travelling is eight miles an hour, night and day; and there was no good reason why the 508 miles between the railway terminus at Raneegunje and Cawnpoor, should have been such a stumblingblock. Had Sir Henry Lawrence's suggestion of the *ekkas* been adopted by Sir P. Grant immediately on his arrival at Calcutta, Cawnpoor might still have been saved, the troops might have slept under cover the whole day, with their arms and ammunition by their side, and arrived fresh and strong at the scene of action. It was no fear of their being cut off in detail that prevented the attempt being made; for they went up the country all through June, July, and August, in parties of fourteen, twelve, and, on one occasion, of eight men;‡ yet not a single detachment was ever cut off. Far different was the energy displayed in Northern India, where, as we have seen, the Guides marched 750 miles, at the rate of twenty-seven miles a-day, and went into action immediately afterwards.

The supineness of the Supreme government regarding Cawnpoor, is by far the most serious charge brought against them by the press. The refusal of the co-operation of the Goorkas is a branch of the same subject; but it is not difficult to conjecture the motive of the Supreme government for desiring to dispense with such dangerous auxiliaries. The well-known Jung Bahadur, the first minister and virtual ruler of Nepaul, had, at the beginning of the mutiny, offered to send a force to the assistance of the English. The proposal was accepted; and three thousand troops, with Jung himself at their head, came down from the hills in forced marches, in the highest possible spirits at the thought of paying off old scores on the sepoy, and sharing the grog and loot of the English soldiers. Second thoughts, or circumstances which have not been made public,§ induced the Supreme government to alter their determination with regard to the Goorkas; and the force, after passing through the Terai (the deadly jungle which lies at the foot of their hills), were arrested by a message of recall. They had expected

* One of Havelock's biographers declares, that he set forth to command "the avenging column," having "received his commission from the Lord of Hosts. He had by long training been prepared for the 'strange work' of judgment against the mur-

derous hosts of India."—Owen's *Havelock*, p. 195.

† *Westminster Review*, October, 1858.

‡ Appendix to Parl. Papers, 1857; p. 350.

§ The original offer is said to have been accepted by an unauthorised functionary.

to reach Oude by the 15th of June; but on learning that their services could be dispensed with, they started back to Khatmandoo, the capital of Nepaul; which they reached, after suffering greatly from sickness and fatigue. Scarcely had they returned, before another summons arrived from Calcutta, requesting that they should be again sent to Oude, and the march was recommenced on the 29th of June. When they at length reached British territory, much reduced by death and disease, Lawrence and Wheeler had been dead a fortnight.

Jung Bahadoor is said to have expressed his indignation very decidedly; and in writing to his friend Mr. Hodgson, late of the Bengal civil service, he concluded his narrative of the affair by exclaiming—"You see how I am treated. How do you expect to keep India with such rulers as these?"*

Still, as has been stated, Lord Canning may have had good reason for desiring the recall of the Goorkas; and the very fact of being subsequently compelled to avail himself of their services, would account for his silence regarding the apparent incertitude of his previous policy. The fact, pointed out by Lord Dalhousie, that the Nepaulese government always armed and made hostile preparations when war broke out in Europe, and the strong suspicions entertained of an intimate understanding existing between the courts of Russia and Nepaul, were arguments calculated to increase the repugnance any civilised government must have felt in accepting the aid of a horde of half-civilised mountaineers, whose fidelity in the case of a reverse would be extremely doubtful, and who, in the event of success, would unquestionably prove a scourge to the unoffending agriculturists, whom the British government was bound to protect. The consideration of this point, therefore, only strengthens the conclusion, that want of energy in relieving Cawnpoor, is by far the most important of the errors attributed to the Supreme government during the crisis. The measures recommended by the Lawrences† for the rapid collection of troops at Calcutta, had been taken; but the good to be derived therefrom was neutralised by their apparently unjustifiable detention in Bengal. It is further asserted by Mr. Mead (who, at the time of which he writes, edited the

Friend of India), that a question of military etiquette was another impediment to the dispatch of relief for the protracted agony then being endured in the Cawnpoor trenches. "The fiery Neil," it is asserted, "having quelled mutiny at Benares, and punished it at Allahabad, chafed impatiently till a force of men, properly equipped, could be got together for the relief of Cawnpoor; but he was not allowed, in this instance, to follow the impulse of his daring nature. Colonel Havelock had arrived in Calcutta; and the rules of the service would not allow a junior officer to be at the head of an enterprise, however fit he might be to carry it to a successful conclusion. Time was lost to enable Colonel Havelock to join at Allahabad."‡ There is nothing in Havelock's published letters to show, that on arriving at Calcutta, he himself, or indeed any one round him, felt the intense anxiety which the telegrams of Lawrence and Wheeler were calculated to excite. He writes under date, "Calcutta, Sunday, June 21st," to Mrs. Havelock (then, happily for all parties, far from the scene of strife, educating her younger children "under the shadow of the Drachenfels"), that he had been reappointed brigadier-general, and had been recommended by Sir P. Grant for an "important command; the object for which is to relieve Cawnpoor, where Sir Hugh Wheeler is threatened; and support Lucknow, where Sir Henry Lawrence is somewhat pressed."§

An officer of great promise, Captain Stuart Beatson, came to Calcutta about the same time as Sir Patrick Grant. Beatson had been sent to Persia, on the outbreak of the war, to raise a regiment of Arab horse; but on the conclusion of peace he returned to India, and found that his own regiment, the 1st cavalry, had mutinied. Being thus at liberty, he made inquiry, and saw reason to believe that a corps of Eurasian horse might be raised on the spot; and he accordingly framed a scheme, by which each man was to receive forty rupees (£4) per mensem, nett pay; horse, arms, and accoutrements being furnished by government. The scheme was rejected, and Captain Beatson was informed that "the government had no need of his services." One month later, when the want of cavalry was

* Mead's *Sepoy Revolt*, p. 89.

† Sir Henry begged Lord Canning, on the 24th of May, to get "all the Goorkas from the hills;" but probably he referred to those under our own

rule, not to the Nepaulese.—Appendix to Parl. Papers, p. 315.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

§ Brock's *Havelock*, p. 141.

an acknowledged grievance, and the price of horses had risen enormously, the authorities were compelled to raise a corps on the basis of one hundred rupees per mensem for each trooper, who was not the less supplied with horse, arms, accoutrements, and camp equipage.*

That Captain Beatson was an officer of ability and character, is proved by his being selected by Brigadier-general Havelock for the highest position in his gift, that of adjutant-general. The government having at length issued their tardy orders, Havelock

and Beatson quitted Calcutta on the 23rd of June, leaving the entire population in a relapse of panic—that day being the centenary of Plassy; and there being a prophecy which the Mohammedans were asserted to have resolved on verifying—that the raj of the East India Company would then expire. As on a previous occasion, the day passed quietly; and both Europeans and natives having mutually anticipated violence, were, the *Friend of India* states, equally “rejoiced at finding their necks sound on the following morning.”

CHAPTER XIII.

AZIMGHUR, BENARES, JAUNPOOR, AND ALLAHABAD.—MAY AND JUNE, 1857.

It is necessary to return to the northward, and follow the course of mutiny in what General Havelock, in the letter lately quoted, terms the “disturbed provinces”—a very gentle phrase, inasmuch as the whole country to which he refers was at that time in a state of total disorganisation, the officers of government holding out in hourly peril of their lives, or hiding, with their wives and babes, among the villagers or in the jungle; the native farmers and peasantry themselves pillaged and harassed by mutineers and dacoits; strife and oppression characterising the present state of things, with famine and pestilence brooding over the future.

Azimghur is the chief place of a district in the province of Allahabad, about fifty-six miles north-east of Benares. The headquarters and eight companies of the 17th N.I. were stationed here. There were no European soldiers. The commandant, Major Burroughs, was an experienced officer, proud of his regiment, but quite aware of the trial to which its fidelity would be exposed, and sedulously watchful to remove every temptation. Up to the 18th of May, the most favourable opinion was entertained of the 17th N.I.; and the judge of Azimghur, Mr. Astell, writing to its command-

ing officer, congratulated him on the great love and respect entertained for him personally.† Many sepoy, of various regiments, were in the Azimghur district. The 17th N.I. had been quartered with the 19th and 34th at Lucknow, in 1855; and when the latter regiments were disbanded (at Berhampoor and Barrackpoor), Major Burroughs, fearing the consequence of the renewal of intercourse between them and his own men, issued an order forbidding strangers to visit the lines without special permission. But as communication outside the cantonment could not be prevented, the major addressed his regiment, on the 20th of May, in forcible language. He spoke of his thirty years' connection with that corps; reminded the men that many of them had been enlisted by him during the twelve years he had filled the position of adjutant; and declared that they knew he had never misled or refused to listen to them. Unfortunately (considering the critical position of affairs), he concluded his address by requiring them to be ready to use the new cartridge—by tearing it, however, with their hands, not biting it with their teeth.

Previous to this parade, and, indeed, immediately after the reception of the Meerut intelligence, such measures as were practicable had been taken for the defence of the treasury (which contained £70,000), and for the protection of the ladies and

* *Mutiny of the Bengal Army*; by One who has served under Sir Charles Napier; p. 109.

† Report of Major Burroughs' Return of regiments which have mutinied.—Parl. Papers (Commons), 15th March, 1859; p. 25.

children. The Cutcherry and public offices had been partially enclosed by a breast-work, and "the post guns, under a select guard, had been placed at the treasury for its defence." On the 1st of June, two warnings were secretly and separately given, by a sepoy and a pay havildar, that the grenadiers were arming with the intent of attacking the treasury. The adjutant rode down to the lines, found all quiet, and the report was disbelieved. At sunset on the 3rd, the treasure was marched off towards Benares, by two companies of the 17th, and eighty of the 13th irregular cavalry, under Lieutenant Palliser, sent to Azimghur for that purpose.* It does not seem to have occurred to the officers that the measure was likely to produce excitement or dissatisfaction. According to the statement of one of these (Lieutenant Constable, 17th N.I.), they were all at mess, and had the ladies with them, when nine o'clock struck, and two muskets were fired on parade, evidently as a signal; then, "whirr went the drums—all knew that the regiment was in revolt." The Europeans rushed from the mess-room to the Cutcherry, placed the ladies on the top of it, and directed the gunners to prepare for service. The reply was an unqualified refusal to fire themselves, or let any one fire on their countrymen. The mutineers approached with deafening shouts. The officers went to meet them. There was an interval of intense anxiety; but it was soon over. The men "behaved with romantic courtesy. They formed a square round their officers, and said they not only would not touch, but would protect them, only that there were some of the mutineers who had sworn the death of particular officers; therefore they begged the whole party to take to their carriages, and be off at once. 'But how are we to get to our carriages,' said the Europeans, 'seeing that they are scattered all through the station?' 'Ah! we will fetch them,' replied the sepoys. And so they did; and gave the party an escort for ten miles out of the station, on the road to Ghazipoor,"† which place (forty miles from Azimghur) the fugitives reached quite unmolested. The only blood shed was

that of Quartermaster Hutchinson, who was deliberately shot down by a sepoy.

The doors of the gaol were opened, and about 800 prisoners let loose to plunder the deserted European dwellings, and then to band themselves together as dacoits, and infest the country districts. The gaol and treasury guards, and the Native artillerymen with the two guns, went off with the 17th N.I., in pursuit of the treasure escort, which was soon overtaken. The two companies of the 17th immediately fraternised with the mutineers, who seized the treasure. The Irregulars would not act against their countrymen, neither would they join them, despite the temptation of sharing the plunder: on the contrary, they rallied round their officers, and brought them safely to Benares. There were in Azimghur, as in almost every other scene of mutiny, Eurasians and native Christians who were left at the mercy of the mutineers; while the Europeans, especially of the higher class, having carriages and horses, money and influence, with a numerous retinue of servants, were able to effect their escape. No English missionary was stationed here; but there was a flourishing school under the charge of Timothy Luther, a native Christian of experience, ability, and piety. Mr. Tucker took great interest both in the school and schoolmaster; and it is said that, after the mutiny, he and his family were brought away from Azimghur, where they had lain concealed, "by an escort kindly dispatched from Benares."‡ A temporarily successful attempt was made, by a private person, for the reoccupation and maintenance of the station. Mr. Venables, a wealthy indigo-planter (one of the European "interlopers" for whom the East India Company had small respect), possessed a large estate at Doorie Ghaut, twenty-two miles on the Goruckpoor side of Azimghur. He had, from the nature of his occupation, great influence with the respectable and industrious portion of the agricultural community, who had all to lose, and nothing to gain, from an irruption of revolted mercenaries and escaped convicts. The natives cheerfully rallied round him: he procured arms for their use, marched at their head, and reoccupied Azimghur, which the mutineers had already deserted. A detachment of one hundred men of the 65th N.I., and fifty of the 12th irregular cavalry, were sent to support him; and with these he held his position for some weeks, as a flood-gate against the waves of

* Report of Brigadier J. Christie.—Parl. Papers (Commons), 15th March, 1859; p. 25.

† Statement of Lieutenant Constable.—*Times*, August 6th, 1857.

‡ Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Indian Church during the Great Rebellion*, p. 283.

mutiny; collecting the revenue, and maintaining a certain degree of order.

Benares—the famous seat of Brahminical lore, the holy city of the Hindoos, dear to them as Mecca to the Moslem—occupies an elevated position on a curve of the Ganges, 460 miles from Calcutta, and eighty-three from Allahabad. Its ancient name was *Casi*, or “the splendid,” which it still retains. It was also called *Varanashi*, from two streams, *Vara* and *Nashi*; so termed in Sanscrit: the Mohammedans pronounced the word “Benares,” a corruption followed by the English. Benares is full of structures, which are as finger-posts, marking the various phases of Indian history. They stand peculiarly secure; for the Hindoos assert that no earthquake is ever felt within the limits of the hallowed city. The temple to *Siva* tells of the palmy days of Brahminism; the ruins of a once world-famous observatory, attest the devotion to science of *Rajah Jey Sing*, of *Jeypoor*; and the mosque built by *Aurungzebe*, on the spot where a Hindoo temple had been razed to the ground by his orders, remains in evidence of the only persecutor of his dynasty, and the ruler whose united ambition and bigotry increased the superstructure of his empire, but irreparably injured its foundation.

A few miles distant stands a more interesting, and probably more ancient, monument than even *Siva's* temple. It is the *Sara Nath*—a solid mass of masonry, from forty to fifty feet in diameter, originally shaped like a bee-hive, and supposed to be a Buddhistic structure. Then there is the public college for Hindoo literature, instituted during the residency of the easy, kind-hearted scholar, *Jonathan Duncan* (the “Brahminised Englishman,” as *Macintosh* called him), afterwards governor of *Bombay*. Teachers of Hindoo and Mohammedan law and literature abound. The former trust habitually for their support to the voluntary contributions of pilgrims of rank, and to stipends allowed them by different Hindoo and Mahratta princes. They do not impart religious instruction for money, owing to the prevailing idea that the *Vedas*, their sacred books, would be profaned by being used for the obtainment of pecuniary advantage.

The population of Benares was estimated at about 300,000, of whom four-fifths were Hindoos. It included a considerable number of ex-royal families and disinherited jaghire-

dars. Altogether, the city seemed as well calculated to be a hotbed of disaffection for the Hindoos, as *Delhi* had proved for the Mohammedans. If a fear of conversion to Christianity had been a deep-rooted, popular feeling, it would surely have found expression here. The commissioner, *Henry Carre Tucker*, was a man who desired the promulgation of the Gospel above every other object in life. The Benares citizens knew this well; but they also knew that his views were incompatible with the furtherance of any project for the forcible or fraudulent violation of caste. He was one of those whose daily life bore witness to a pure and self-denying creed; and refuted, better than volumes of proclamations could have done, the assertions of *Nana Sahib* and his followers, that the so-called Christians were cow-killing, pig-eating infidels, without religion themselves, and with no respect for that of others. In his public capacity, *Mr. Tucker* had been singularly just, patient, and painstaking; and his private character, in its peacefulness, its unimpeachable morality, and its abounding charity, peculiarly fitted him for authority in a city the sanctity of which was jealously watched by the Hindoos. When the mutiny broke out, he found his reward in the power of usefulness, insured to him by his hold on the respect and affections of the people: and it is worthy of remark, that while so many civilians perished revolver in hand, the very man who “had never fired a shot in his life, and had not a weapon of any kind in the house,”* escaped with his female relatives and young children uninjured.

In May, 1857, there were at Benares the 37th N.I., an irregular cavalry regiment of *Seiks* from *Loodiana*, and about thirty European artillerymen. Some excitement was manifested in the lines of the 37th, on learning what had occurred at *Meerut* and *Delhi*; but this apparently subsided. *Mr. Tucker*, however, urged on the government the necessity of having “a nucleus of Europeans” at Benares, and 150 of H.M. 10th foot were sent thither from *Dinapoor*. On the 23rd of May, the commissioner reported to the Supreme government—“Every thing perfectly quiet, both in the lines and city of Benares, and in the whole Benares division; and likely, with God's blessing, to continue so. I am quite easy and confident.”† The position of affairs continued

* *Times*, August 18th, 1857.

† Appendix to Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 314.

equally satisfactory until the 3rd of June, when Colonel Neil arrived with a detachment of the 1st Madras Fusiliers. Sixty men of that regiment, with three officers, had reached Benares on the previous day, and four companies were on the road. Colonel Neil was a man of extraordinary energy and determination; but these predominant qualities naturally inclined him to act on general conclusions, with little regard for the peculiarities of the case in point, or for any opinion that differed from his own. Such, at least, is the impression which a review of the public documents regarding his brief career in North-Western India, is calculated to produce; and if the evidence of his coadjutors may be trusted, "the fiery Neil," despite his courage, his honesty, and, above all, his anxiety for the besieged at Cawnpore, was instrumental in lighting flames which he was compelled to stay and extinguish at the cost of leaving Sir Hugh Wheeler and his companions to perish. The charge is a very serious one. It is brought by Major-general Lloyd, not as a personal attack, but indirectly against "the military authorities at Benares;" for proceedings which "caused the instant revolt of the 6th regiment at Allahabad, on the 6th of June, and at Fyzabad on the 8th of June."* The responsibility of that policy is declared by Colonel Neil himself to have been his own, he having taken his measures not only without consulting the civil authorities, but by overruling the judgment of the officer commanding at the station, Brigadier Ponsby.† In fact, from the very outset, Colonel Neil (a Madras officer) manifested a defiant distrust of every regiment of the Bengal army, and evinced very little desire to protect the unoffending agricultural population of the districts through which he passed, from the aggressions of his soldiers and camp-followers. In former wars, it had been the proudest boast of our generals, that the villagers never fled from British troops, but were eager to bring them supplies, being assured of protection and liberal payment. Colonel Wilks, in contrasting the campaigns conducted by Mohammedan conquerors, with those of Cornwallis, Lake, and Wellesley, dwells forcibly on the misery inflicted by the former, and revealed by the existence of the well-known phrase *Wulsa*, which signified the departure of the entire

population of a village, or even of a district; children, the aged and the sick, being borne off to take shelter in the nearest woods or jungles, braving hunger and wild beasts sooner than the presence of an armed force. Great loss of life invariably attended these migrations, which were especially frequent in Mysore in the days of Hyder Ali. The Indian despatches of General Wellesley testify, in almost every dozen pages, to the unceasing forethought with which he strove to maintain a good understanding with the population: and any one who will compare the manner in which his troops were fed and sheltered, with the suffering endured in the campaign of 1857, before the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell, will understand that the indiscriminate burning of villages, and the pillaging of "niggers," was the most costly amusement Europeans in India could indulge in.

Colonel Neil commenced the expedition with what the newspapers called an "example of *zubberdustee*—the phrase for small tyrannies." The term, however, is not fairly applicable to an act which was, in the best sense of the word, expedient, though it seems to have been accompanied with needless discourtesy. While he was preparing to enter the railway with a detachment of Madras Fusiliers, intending to proceed from Calcutta to Raneegunge, one of the officials said that the train was already behind time, and if the men could not be got into the carriages in two or three minutes, they would be left behind. Colonel Neil, without making any reply, ordered a file of men to take his informant into custody. "The man shouted for assistance; and the stokers, guards, and station-master crowded round to see what was the matter, and were each in turn stuck up against the wall, with a couple of bearded red-coats standing sentry over them. The colonel next took possession of the engine; and by this series of strong measures, delayed the departure of the train until the whole of his men were safely stowed away in the carriages." The *Friend of India* related this instance of martial law with warm approbation; adding—"We would back that servant of the Company as being equal to an emergency."‡ Of the details of Neil's march little has been related. He has been frequently compared to "an avenging

* Letter from Major-general Lloyd to his brother, the Rev. A. J. Lloyd, Sept. 3rd, 1857.—*Daily News*, October 30th, 1857.

† Colonel Neil to Adjutant-general.—Parl. Papers, p. 57.

‡ Mead's *Sepoy Revolt*, p. 125.

angel;" and his track was marked by desolation; for Havelock's force, in its subsequent advance, found the line of road almost deserted by the villagers, who had dismantled their dwellings,* and fled with their little property. Colonel Neil reached Benares, as has been stated, on the 3rd of June. He had intended starting with a detachment for Cawnpoor on the following afternoon; but shortly before the appointed time, intelligence was received from Lieutenant Palliser, of the outbreak which had taken place at Azimghur; and, as usual, the affair was greatly exaggerated, four officers being described as killed.† Brigadier Ponsonby consulted with Colonel Neil regarding the state of the Native troops at Benares. The Seiks, and the 13th Native cavalry, were believed to be staunch, but doubts were entertained of the 37th N.I.; and the brigadier proposed that, on the following morning, their muskets should be taken away, leaving them their side-arms. The colonel urged immediate disarmament: the brigadier gave way; and the two officers parted to make the necessary arrangements. At 5 p.m., Neil was on the ground with 150 of H.M. 10th, and three officers; sixty of the Madras Fusiliers, and three officers; three guns and thirty men. At this time no intimation had been received by any officer, of the corps being disposed to mutiny: on the contrary, Lieutenant-colonel Spottiswoode, the commanding officer of the 13th, declares that his European non-commissioned staff, "observed nothing doubtful in the conduct of the men;" but that, "up to the very last moment, every man was most obedient and civil to all authorities."‡ The brigadier came on parade at the appointed hour; but Neil observed, that "he appeared far from well, and perfectly unable to act with energy, or the vigour required on the emergency."§ The account given by the colonel of the ensuing proceedings is too long for quotation, and too general and confused to afford materials for a summary of facts. With regard to his assuming the lead, he says he did so after the firing commenced, by desire of the brigadier, who "was on his back on the ground, seemingly struck by a stroke of the sun, and declared himself

quite unfit for anything."|| Between the incapacity of one commander, and the vigour of the other, the sepoys were driven wild with panic, and the European officers nearly killed by the hands of their own countrymen. Brigadier Ponsonby's private letter recounting the affair, was published by his friends in the *Times*, in vindication of that officer's "foresight and judgment." He does not mention having consulted with Neil at all; but speaks of "Colonel Gordon, my second in command," as having advised the immediate disarmament of the 37th foot; to which the brigadier adds—"After some discussion, I agreed. We had no time (it being between 4 and 5 p.m.) to lose, and but little arrangement could be made (fortunately)." There is no explanation given why the haste and disorder which characterised the proceedings should be termed fortunate. The personal feelings of the military authorities towards one another could not be so called. Ponsonby expressly asserts that he conducted the entire disarmament; and takes credit for the panic inspired "by the suddenness of our attack." "Something very like a *coup de soleil*" obliged him, he says, "to make over the command to the next senior officer, but not until everything was quiet."¶ This statement is, of course, in direct opposition to Neil's assertion, that, during the crisis, the brigadier was "on his back," utterly prostrate in mind and body. A perusal of the official reports of the various subordinate officers, and of the private Indian correspondence of the time, concerning this single case, would well repay any reader desirous of obtaining an insight into the actual working of our military system in India in 1857. Incidental revelations are unwittingly made, which, though of no interest to the general reader, are invaluable to those whose duty it is to provide, as far as may be, against the recurrence of so awful a calamity as the mutiny of the Bengal army. There are other accounts of the affair—a private and circumstantial, but clear one, by Ensign Tweedie, who was dangerously wounded on the occasion; and an official one by Lieutenant-colonel Spottiswoode. Young Tweedie has no leaning to the sepoys; but as the

* *Journal of an English Officer in India*: by Major North, 60th Rifles; p. 13.

† Appendix to Parl. Papers, 1857; p. 372.

‡ Parliamentary Return of regiments which have mutinied (15th March, 1859); p. 28.

§ Lieutenant-colonel Neil to Adjutant-general, June 6th, 1857.—Parl. Papers on Mutiny, p. 57.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¶ Letter from Brigadier Ponsonby; Benares, June 13th, 1857—*Times*, August 18th, 1857.

Meerut authorities considered that their blunder had been the salvation of India, so he thought that, "although the sepoy might have been quietly disbanded, the mistake that provoked the row was a most fortunate one." The disarming, he believes, "might have been effected in perfect peace and quietness, had it been gone about in a less abrupt and threatening manner." The 37th were drawn up in front of their lines, with the cannon pointed at them. The Europeans were posted within musket range, and the Seiks and irregular cavalry within sight. The 37th, seeing themselves hemmed in with musketry and artillery, naturally suspected that they were to be blown to pieces; and all the assurances of their officers proved insufficient to keep them composed. They were ordered to put their muskets into the little stone buildings called kotes, or bells. The majority of their number obeyed at once, and European soldiers were then marched towards the bells of arms, with the view of securing them from any attempt which the sepoy might make to recover them. This movement accelerated the crisis. Ensign Tweedie states—

"The sepoy were beforehand with the Europeans, and, making a sudden rush at the bells of arms, recovered their muskets, and fired at once upon their own officers and upon the advancing Europeans, retiring at the same time within their lines, and thence keeping up a brisk fire upon the Europeans. Up to this time, however, no officer had been hit. The sepoy of the 37th ensconced themselves for the most part behind their huts, some of them behind the bells of arms. The majority of their officers had fallen back at once upon the European column. Major Barrett, however, indignant at the way in which what he believed to be good sepoy had been dealt with, resolved, as he told them, to share their fate, and, along with the European sergeant-major, remained exposed to the fire opened from the half-battery, as also from the European musketry upon the huts. But the sepoy's worst blood was up, and several of their number fired upon him, others attacking him with their fixed bayonets. He was compelled to flee for his life, and a guard of faithful sepoy (principally of the grenadier company) having formed round his person, conducted him in safety to his bungalow in the cantonments. The sergeant-major also was saved by the same faithful escort. In the meantime, Captain Guise, of the 13th Irregulars, was only leaving his bungalow, and rashly attempted to reach the parade-ground, where his troop was drawn up, by riding through the lines of the 37th N.I. His chest was positively riddled with bullets in the attempt. Of course, his death was instantaneous.

"The sepoy still kept up a smart fire upon the scanty Europeans, who were labouring under the great disadvantage of having to deal with an enemy effectually secured behind their huts from obser-

vation. The officers of the 37th were posted with the European musketry, and were exposed, of course, to a smart fire. Several privates were knocked over within five yards of me, and yet not a single officer got touched. For about twenty minutes we remained under this fire. But our brave fellows began to drop off rather fast, and accordingly it was resolved to charge the huts. As a preliminary to this, a party was dispatched to set them on fire; and in the meantime, we officers of the 37th retired, and took our place beside the Seiks, who, we understood, were to take part in the charge. They form an irregular corps, and have only two officers attached to them—viz., a commandant (Colonel Gordon) and an adjutant. As both of these were mounted, there was need of our services in the ranks.

"Here I remained for about ten minutes, in the momentary expectation of the charge being ordered. The brigade-major, Captain Dodgson, then galloped across the parade-ground, and, placing himself at the head of the irregular cavalry, informed them that their commandant, Captain Guise, had been killed, and that he had been sent by Brigadier Ponsonby to supply his place. They flashed their swords in reply, giving vent, at the same time, to a low murmur, which struck me as somewhat equivocal. Captain Dodgson had scarce ceased addressing them when one of their number fired upon him with a pistol. The bullet only grazed the elbow of his sword arm, just at that point where the ulnar nerve passing over a process of bone is so easily irritated as to have gained for that piece of bone the common name of 'funny-bone.' The consequence was complete paralysis of the hand and arm; his sword dropped powerless across his saddle, and the rascal who had fired the shot rushed upon him to cut him down, but another of the troop interfered to rescue him, and, being well mounted, he succeeded in escaping from the *mêlée*."*

These particulars are very striking, narrated as they are by a youth evidently possessed of unusual powers of observation, and on whose mind a scene so novel and exciting would naturally make a lively impression. One point, however, he has possibly mistaken; for an officer of the 13th, writing to inform the widow of Captain Guise of her bereavement, says—"Your dear husband was at his post, as he ever was; and, at the head of his regiment, he entered vigorously on the work of cutting up the rebels. His horse being fleetier than those of his men, he got in advance, and was only followed by Mix Bund Khan, an Afghan. Your husband followed a 37th rebel closely, and came up with him in the Sudder Bazaar, where the miscreant turned round, and fired his musket." The writer proceeds to say that the horse was wounded, and fell; that Captain Guise vainly strove to reach the sepoy with his sword, being

* Ensign Tweedie's Letter.—*Times*, August 25th, 1857.

entangled with the trappings of the fallen horse; that his follower "did his best to get at the man, but, owing to the narrow position they were in, he could not manage it;" and the mutineer found time to reload his musket, and shoot the officer through the heart. The Afghan trooper attempted to follow the perpetrators of the foul deed; but, owing to the intricacies of the place, they quickly escaped. "More than one sepoy came up before the deed of death was completed, and they are also implicated, perhaps, in the murder."* The statement of the unfortunate officer's having got in advance of his men in attacking the 37th, rests on the authority of a brother officer, and would be received without hesitation, but for strong contradictory evidence. The remaining portion of the narrative is highly improbable. Captain Guise would hardly have been so rash as to follow a single rebel into the Sudder Bazaar, leaving the regiment which he commanded to mutiny in his absence. Besides, Ensign Tweedie's assertion of the captain's chest being riddled with bullets, is confirmed by the official record of casualties, which describes the body as bearing the marks of "gunshot wounds in head, chest, abdomen, and both arms; and two very deep sabre-cuts on left side of the head."

Colonel Neil's statement is most positive. He asserts that Captain Guise "was killed before reaching parade, by the men of the 37th N.I."† The circumstance is of some importance, because the death or absence of their leader had evident influence with the irregular cavalry: moreover, the relatives of Captain Guise have publicly repudiated a statement which they consider calculated to injure his reputation.

When Guise fell, Brigadier Ponsonby directed Captain Dodgson to assume command of the 13th.‡ He was, as has been shown, immediately fired on by a trooper, and the others then broke into revolt. At the same moment, the Seiks, who had been watching the Europeans as they knelt and fired into the 37th, suddenly dashed forward, and rushed madly on the guns. A corporal of H.M. 10th writes home—"The Seik regiment turned on the artillery; but you never saw such a sight in

your life: they were mowed down, and got several rounds of grapeshot into them when out of our range."§ In a very short space of time, the whole body of the mutineers, 37th foot, 13th cavalry, and Loodiana Seiks, were dispersed with great slaughter.

A civilian (Mr. Spencer) who was present, says—"The sum total was, that the 37th were utterly smashed, and the Seiks and cavalry frightened out of their wits." He adds—"Many of the officers are furious, and say we have been shedding innocent blood; and the whole thing was a blunder."||

Major-general Lloyd asserts, in the most unqualified terms, "that though the men of the 37th had lodged their arms in their bells of arms, they were fired on with grape and musketry; the Seiks present, and most of the 13th irregular cavalry, joined them in resisting the attack, and it was everywhere stigmatised as 'Feringhee ka Daghah.'"¶

Colonel Spottiswoode offers evidence to the same effect, in his narrative of his own proceedings during the *émeute*. Writing on the 11th of March, 1858, he states—

"Up to this moment I am still not convinced that the 414 sepoy's that stood on parade, and near 400 on detached duty on the afternoon of the 4th June, 1857, were all mutinous, or were not well-disposed towards government; and from what I have since heard from the men that are with the regiment now, that the evil-disposed did not amount to 150; for when I called on the men to lodge their arms in their bells of arms, I commenced with the grenadiers; and so readily were my orders attended to, that in a very short time I had got down as far as No. 6 company, and was talking to one man who appeared to be in a very mutinous mood; so much so, that I was just debating in my own mind whether I should shoot him, as I was quite close, and had my pistol in my pocket: I was disturbed by some of the men, for there were two or three voices calling out, 'Our officers are deceiving us; they want us to give up our arms, that the Europeans who are coming up may shoot us down.' I called out, 'It is false; and I appealed to the Native officers, who have known me for upwards of thirty-three years, whether I ever deceived any man in the regiment; when many a voice replied, 'Never; you have always been a good father to us.' However, I saw the men were getting very excited at the approach of the Europeans, when I told them to keep quiet, and I would stop their advance; I galloped forward, and made signs to the party not to advance, calling out, 'Don't come on.' Fancying they had halted, I went

* Extract of letter published in the *Times*, September 3rd, 1857; by Mr. W. V. Guise, brother to the deceased officer.

† Colonel Neil's despatch, June 6th, 1857. ‡ *Ibid.*

§ Letter published in the *Times*, Sept. 11th, 1857. || *Ibid.*, August 10th, 1857.

¶ Extract of a letter from Major-general Lloyd.—*Daily News*, Oct. 30th, 1857.

back to the lines, and had only just got among my men, when I heard one solitary shot, followed immediately by two others in succession; those three were fired from the 37th lines, and from No. 2 company, and, as I afterwards heard, were fired by the pay havildar of 2nd company: immediately a rush was made at the bells of arms, which were opened by this man; a general fire commenced; while I and all my officers were in the lines among our men, without receiving any insult or molestation; indeed, many of the officers were surrounded and protected by the men of their respective companies, among whom the grenadiers were conspicuous."

Colonel Spottiswoode proceeds to state that, after the firing commenced, he succeeded in joining the guns and European detachment; and seeing there was no chance of clearing the lines by the present proceedings, he offered to fire them, which duty he performed by order of Brigadier Ponsonby, who, on his return, he found incapacitated by a sun-stroke. Spottiswoode then proceeded, with a party of Europeans, to scour the cantonments, and to bring in all the women and children to the Old Mint, a large building previously chosen for the purpose. No sign of mutiny was made by the Seiks on guard at the treasury. While Colonel Spottiswoode was gathering in the civilians and ladies, he had occasion to pass the regimental paymaster's office, where fourteen of his own men were on duty. They immediately rushed to him, and begged that he would enable them to protect the treasure committed to their charge. The colonel spoke a few words of encouragement, and proceeded on his immediate duty, which, having satisfactorily accomplished, he returned to the paymaster's compound, and there found the men in a state of extreme alarm and confusion; for they had been joined in the interim by a party of fugitives belonging to the 37th N.I., who had been burnt out of their lines, "and who seemed to think that our object was to destroy indiscriminately every sepoy we could come across." The result of a long conversation with these men, convinced the colonel that the majority of the men were entirely ignorant of the intentions of the turbulent characters, who were only a very small minority; and he declares, that even those who contrived to join Colonel Neil and the guns, expressed the same opinion as his own fugitive men, of surprise at the fire being opened on men who had surrendered their arms; saying—"You drove away all the good men who were anxious

to join their officers, but could not in consequence of the very heavy fire that was opened, and they only ran away for shelter." A further circumstance adduced by Colonel Spottiswoode is, that a company of the 37th, then on duty at the fort of Chunar, fifteen miles distant, remained there perfectly staunch for six months, at the expiration of which time they returned to headquarters.* After the Benares affair, a party of the men who remained with their officers were sent, under their tried friend Major Barrett, to join their comrades at Chunar.

The Europeans resident at Benares, of course, spent the night in great alarm, as there seemed every probability that the sepoys might return and blockade them. One of the party at the Mint says—

"We slept on the roof—ladies, children, ayas, and punkah coolies; officers lying down dressed, and their wives sitting up by them fanning them; gentlemen in the most fearless *dishabille*, sleeping surrounded by ladies. In the compound or enclosure below there is a little handful of Europeans—perhaps 150 altogether; others are at the barracks half a mile off. There is a large collection of carriages and horses; little bedsteads all over the place; and two circular quick-hedges, with flower-gardens inside, are falling victims to the sheep and goats which have been brought in to provision the place; add to this a heap of more beer-boxes than your English imagination can take in, and throw over all the strong black and white of a full moonlight, and you have the Mint as it looked when the English of Benares had sought refuge in it."†

This writer adds, that there was "a picnicky, gipsified look about the whole affair," which rendered it difficult to realise the fact, that "the lives of the small congregation were upon the toss-up of the next events." Another witness says—"The choice of a sleeping-place lay between an awfully heated room and the roof. The commissioner slept with his family in a room, on shakedown, with other families sleeping round them; and there, from night to night, they continued to sleep."‡ The terrible characteristics of war were, however, not long wanting, for the wounded and dying were soon brought in; and, from the window, the sight that greeted the eye was "a row of gallowses, on which the energetic colonel was hanging mutineer after

* Parliamentary Return regarding regiments which have mutinied: March 15th, 1859; p. 30.

† *Times*, August 10th, 1857.

‡ Letter of the Rev. James Kennedy.—*Times*, August 8th, 1857.

mutineer, as they were brought in."* Besides the casualties already noted, the assistant-surgeon and two men of H.M. 10th had been killed, and two ensigns and nine privates wounded. Young Tweedie was fetched from his bungalow in cantonments at two in the morning. He had dragged himself thither after being severely wounded, a bullet having gone clear through his shoulder and back; two others passing harmlessly through his forage-cap, and three through his trowsers, of which one only inflicted any injury, and that but slightly grazing the thigh.†

Towards daybreak on the morning of the 5th, when the wearied crowd huddled together at the Mint were falling asleep from sheer exhaustion, they were aroused by the news, "The magistrate has just been sent for—the city is rising." The kotwal had sent to ask aid: but the answer was, "Do your best; we cannot spare a man:"‡ and he appears to have succeeded marvellously well in subduing the riots. The nominal rajah of Benares was the representative of the family reduced by Warren Hastings to the condition of stipendiaries, when, after taking possession of the city, the governor-general found himself in such imminent danger, that he was glad to fly by night to the fortress of Chunar.§ The present rajah, on leaving Benares, took refuge in Ramnagar—the fort and palace where Cheyte Sing, the last prince *de facto*, had been assaulted and slain in 1781. The Europeans at the Missionary College,|| being afraid to attempt reaching the Mint, fled to Ramnagar, where they were kindly received and sent on, under the escort of the rajah's sepoy guard, to Chunar.¶ All the natives of rank then in Benares appear to have been true to us; but one of them is mentioned by the judge (Mr. Frederick Gubbins) as having rendered essential service. Rajah Soorut Sing, a

Seik chieftain, under "a slight surveillance" at the time of the outbreak, went to the Seik guard stationed at the Mint, and, by his example and influence, prevented the men from rising against the civilians and ladies collected there, and seizing the treasure—amounting to about £60,000. A writer who enters very fully into the conduct of Mr. Gubbins at this crisis, and appears to possess private and direct information thereon, says, that the rajah's interference was most opportune; for "already the Seiks began to feel that they at least were capable of avenging their comrades; when Soorut Sing, going amongst them, pointed out to them that the attack must at all events have been unpremeditated, or the civilians would not have placed themselves and their families in their power."** The same authority pays a high and deserved tribute to the fidelity of the rajah of Benares; and likewise to that of another Hindoo, Rao Deo Narrain Sing, who, in addition to "great wealth and immense influence," possessed "strong sense and ability of no common order." "After the mutiny, the Rao and the Seik sirdar, Soorut Sing, actually lived in the same house with Mr. Gubbins. The former procured for us excellent spies, first-rate information, and placed all his resources (and they were great) at the service of our government." The rajah, "although not so personally active as the Rao, was equally liberal with his resources, which were even greater; and never, in our darkest hour, did he hang back from assisting us." The name of Mr. Gubbins was, it is said, a proverb for "swift stern justice:"†† and if that phrase is intended to bear the signification commonly attached to it by Europeans in India in the year of grace 1857, it seems certainly fortunate that there were some natives of influence to reason with their countrymen against the panic which a

* Letter from a clergyman, dated "Bangalore, July 4th."—*Times*, August 25th, 1857. The reverend gentleman, in another part of his communication, reverts to the "scores and scores of prisoners" whom the "indefatigable Colonel Neil" was hanging; and is anxious about the state of feeling in England, "lest there should be any squeamishness about the punishment in store for the brutal and diabolical mutineers."

† Ensign Tweedie's Letter (*Times*, August 25th, 1857); and Rev. James Kennedy's Letter.—*Times*, August 8th, 1857.

‡ Kennedy's Letter.—*Ibid.*

§ See *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 361.

|| There were eleven European missionary families

in Benares—six attached to the Church of England Mission, two to the London Mission, and three to the Baptist Mission. The aggregate property of these establishments amounted to upwards of £20,000.—Sherring's *Indian Church*, p. 251.

¶ Letter from the chief missionary in charge of the Benares College.—*Times*, August 6th, 1857.

** *Mutiny of the Bengal Army*; by One who has served under Sir C. Napier; p. 90. The Europeans afterwards subscribed £100 to present Soorut Sing with a set of fire-arms.—Statements of Mr. John Gubbins, on the authority of his brother at Benares.—*Times*, September 2nd, 1857.

†† Rev. James Kennedy.—*Times*, August 21st, 1857.

newly erected row of gibbets (three separate gibbets, with three ropes to each)* was calculated to produce. The people of Benares are described, in the correspondence of the period, as "petrified with fear of our soldiers being let loose on them." Martial law was speedily proclaimed; and on the 29th of June, the Rev. James Kennedy writes—"Scarcely a day passed without some poor wretches being hurled into eternity. Such is the state of things here, that even fine delicate ladies may be heard expressing their joy at the vigour with which the miscreants are dealt with."† The number of sepoys killed on the night of the 4th has not been estimated,‡ neither is there any record of the number of natives executed on the scaffold, or destroyed by the far more barbarous process of burning down villages, in which the sick and aged must often have fallen victims, or escaped to perish, in utter destitution, by more lingering pangs. The dread of the European soldiers, which seized on the people in consequence of the occurrences of the 4th of June, was viewed as most salutary; and the writer last quoted (a clergyman), remarks, that the natives "think them, the European soldiers, demons in human form; and to this opinion our safety is in a degree traceable."

The Europeans at Benares were reinforced by detachments of the 78th Highlanders, a regiment which, from the strangeness of its costume, created great excitement among the natives.

On the 22nd of June, a report was received that a body of mutineers were encamped about thirty miles from the city. On the evening of the 26th, a force consisting of 200 of the 78th Highlanders, the Loodiana regiment, and thirty troopers of the 13th, were sent from Benares in search of them. One of the party, in narrating the expedition, writes—"The rascals, of course, fled for life on the approach of the gallant Highlanders. You will, however, be gratified to learn, that twenty-four of the rebels were cut up by the cavalry and infantry, twenty-three caught and hung on the spot, twenty villages razed to the ground, and from forty to fifty villagers flogged, in order to cool their thieving propensities. A few days before the detachment left, the magis-

trate offered a reward of 1,000 rupees for the head or person of the leader of the rebels, who is well known to the natives."

The villagers did not betray the rebel leader. Indeed, it is remarkable how rarely, in the case of either Europeans or natives, they ever earned "blood-money," even though habitually wretchedly poor, and now almost starving, in consequence of the desolation wrought by the government and insurgent forces. The leader was, nevertheless, captured by the troops, and "hung up on a tree, to keep nine others company that had been hung there the same morning." The Europeans returned to camp "in high spirits."§ The newly arrived soldiers, however, who had not been accustomed to such warfare, had not had their houses burned, and were accustomed to view their lives as held on a precarious tenure, did not set about the task of destruction with quite such unalloyed satisfaction as is displayed in the correspondence of the civil amateurs. There is a lengthy, but most graphic, account of the early experience of a Highlander, which will not bear condensing or abstracting. Perhaps with the exception of Mowbray Thomson's *Story of Cawnpore*, nothing more touching in its simplicity has been written regarding any scene of the mutiny.

Few can read the Highlander's narrative without remembering that he and his detachment ought (if all concerned had done their duty) to have been already at Cawnpore, instead of starting, on the very evening of that fatal 27th of June, on such an expedition as he describes.

The hanging and the flogging, the blood-money and the burning villages; the old man "trying to trail out a bed" from his cottage, at the risk of perishing in the flames; the group of young children standing in the midst of a little courtyard, the decrepit man and aged woman, the young mother in a hot fever, with a babe "five or six hours old," wrapped in her bosom; all waiting together till the fire should consume them, and end their hopeless, helpless misery—these and other cases (of which there must have been hundreds unrecorded), are surely enough to quench the thirst for vengeance in any human breast, or at least to prove the necessity of striving to mitigate, not increase, the miseries of intestine strife;

* *Times*, August 21st, 1857.

† *Ibid.*

‡ The clergyman, whose letter, dated "Bangalore, July 4th," has been recently quoted, states, on the authority of an officer engaged in the Benares affair,

that 100 of the Madras Fusiliers, under Colonel Neil, killed 650 of the mutineers.—*Times*, August 25th, 1857.

§ Letter dated "Benares, June 29th, 1857."

remembering ever, that even without the cruel aggravation of village-burning, every outcast sepoy was punished many times over in his starving family.

"We arrived at Benares on the 25th of June, a distance of 421 miles, in eight days and nine nights. On the evening of the 27th of June, there were 240 of the 78th (I was one of them), 100 of the Seiks, and 30 of the sowars—that is, Native cavalry—went out of Benares in carts, except the horsemen. At 3 o'clock P.M., next day, we were divided in three lots to scour the country. The division I was in went to a village, which was deserted. We set fire to it and burned it to the ground. We were coming back, when a gentleman came to us, and said, that a village over about two miles was full of them, and they were drawn up to give us battle. We marched, or rather ran to them; we got within 300 yards of them, when they ran. We fired after them, and shot eight of them. We were going to the village, when a man came running out to us, and up with his hand and saluted our officer. We shouted, that he was a sepoy, and to seize him. He was taken, and about twelve more. We came back to the carts on the road, and an old man came to us, and wanted to be paid for the village we had burned. We had a magistrate with us, who found he had been harbouring the villains and giving them arms and food. Five minutes settled it; the sepoy and the man that wanted money were taken to the roadside, and hanged to a branch of a tree. We lay on the road all night beside the two men hanging. Next morning, we got up and marched some miles through the fields, the rain pouring down in torrents. We came to another village, set fire to it, and came back to the road. During this time the other divisions were not idle. They had done as much as us. When we came back, the water was running in at our necks, and coming out at our heels. There were about eighty prisoners; six were hung that day, and about sixty of them flogged. After that, the magistrate said that there was a Holdar that he would give 2,000 rupees to get, dead or alive. We slept on the road that night, and the six men hanging beside us. At 5 o'clock P.M. the bugle sounded 'fall-in.' The rain came down in torrents. We fell-in, and off we marched, up to the knees in clay and water. We came to a village and set it on fire. The sun came out, and we got dry; but we soon got wet again with sweat. We came to a large village, and it was full of people. We took about 200 of them out, and set fire to it. I went in, and it was all in flames. I saw an old man trying to trail out a bed. He was not able to walk, far less to carry out the cot. I ordered him out of the village, and pointed to the flames, and told him, as well as I could, that if he did not he would be burned. I took the cot, and dragged him out. I came round a corner of a street or lane, and could see nothing but smoke and flames. I stood for a moment to think which way I should go. Just as I was looking round, I saw the flames bursting out of the walls of a house, and, to my surprise, observed a little boy, about four years old, looking out at the door. I pointed the way out to the old man, and told him if he did not go I would shoot him. I then rushed to the house I saw the little boy at. The door was by that time in flames. I thought not of myself, but of the poor helpless child. I rushed in;

and after I got in, there was a sort of square, and all round this were houses, and they were all in flames; and instead of seeing the helpless child, I beheld six children from eight to two years old, an old dotal woman, an old man, not able to walk without help, and a young woman, about twenty years old, with a child wrapped up in her bosom. I am sure the child was not above five or six hours old. The mother was in a hot fever. I stood and looked; but looking at that time would not do. I tried to get the little boys to go away, but they would not. I took the infant; the mother would have it; so I gave it back. I then took the woman and her infant in my arms to carry her and her babe out. The children led the old woman and old man. I took the lead, knowing they would follow. I came to a place that it was impossible to see whereabouts I was, for the flames. I dashed through, and called on the others to follow. After a hard struggle, I got them all safe out, but that was all. Even coming through the fire, part of their clothes, that did not cover half of their body, was burned. I set them down in the field, and went in at another place. I saw nothing but flames all round. A little further I saw a poor old woman trying to come out. She could not walk; she only could creep on her hands and feet. I went up to her, and told her I would carry her out; but no, she would not allow me to do it; but, when I saw it was no use to trifle with her, I took her up in my arms and carried her out. I went in at the other end, and came across a woman about twenty-two years old. She was sitting over a man that, to all appearance, would not see the day out. She was wetting his lips with some *siste*. The fire was coming fast, and the others all round were in flames. Not far from this I saw four women. I ran up to them, and asked them to come and help the sick man and woman out; but they thought they had enough to do; and so they had, poor things; but, to save the woman and the dying man, I drew my bayonet, and told them if they did not I would kill them. They came, carried them out, and laid them under a tree. I left them. To look on, any one would have said that the flames were in the clouds. When I went to the other side of the village, there were about 140 women and about sixty children, all crying and lamenting what had been done. The old woman of that small family I took out, came to me, and I thought she would have kissed the ground I stood on. I offered them some biscuit I had for my day's rations; but they would not take it; it would break their caste, they said. The assembly sounded, and back I went with as many blessings as they could pour out on anything nearest their heart. Out of the prisoners that were taken, the man for whom the 2,000 rupees were offered was taken by us for nothing. We hanged ten of them on the spot, and flogged a great many—about sixty. We burned another village that night. Oh, if you had seen the ten march round the grove, and seen them looking the same as if nothing was going to happen to them! There was one of them fell; the rope broke, and down he came. He rose up, and looked all around; he was hung up again. After they were hanged, all the others were taken round to see them. Then we came marching back to the carts. Left Benares on the 6th of July, or rather the night of the 5th. We had to turn out and lie with our belts on. On the 6th we, numbering 180, went out against 2,000. We came up close to them; they were drawn up in three lines; it looked too many

for us; but on we dashed, and in a short time they began to run. We set fire to a large village that was full of them; we surrounded it, and as they came rushing out of the flames, shot them. We took eighteen of them prisoners; they were all tied together, and we fired a volley at them and shot them on the spot. We came home that night, after marching twenty miles, and fighting nearly thirty to one. In this country, we are told that we had killed 500 of them: our loss was one man and one horse killed, and one man and one horse wounded."

The news of the disarmed 37th having been fired into by the European artillery, told as it probably was with exaggeration, and without mention of the mutinous conduct of a portion of the regiment, spread rapidly among the Native troops at the neighbouring stations, and placed a new weapon in the hands of the plotting and discontented, by rendering it more easy for them to persuade their well-disposed but credulous comrades, that the breach between them and the English could never be healed, and that their disbandment and probable destruction was only a question of time and opportunity. At Allahabad the effect was sudden and terrible, and likewise at the intermediate post of Jaunpoor.

Jaunpoor is the chief place of a district of the same name, acquired by the East India Company in 1775. It stands on the banks of the river Goomtee, 35 miles north-west from Benares, and 55 miles north-east from Allahabad. There is a large stone fort here, which has been used for a prison. The cantonment, situated at the east of the town, was on the 5th of June, 1857, held by a detachment of the Loodiana Seiks from Allahabad, 169 in number, with a single European officer, Lieutenant Mara.

As Brigadier Gordon declared of the regiment at Benares, so with the detachment at Jaunpoor; the loyalty of the men had "never been suspected by any one, civil or military."* The officer in command at Benares (Glasse), declares that the European guns were turned on the Loodiana corps, without its having given one token of mutiny; that the lives of several officers were in the power of the men, and nothing would have been easier than to shoot them, had the regiment been actuated by a mutinous spirit; but that with the exception of one

man, who fired at Colonel Gordon, and whose shot was received in the arm by a faithful havildar (Chur Sing, who risked his life in the defence of his officer), no such attempt was made. It will be evident, he adds, that after grape had once been poured into the regiment, it would be almost excusable if some men, though conscious of the innocence and rectitude of their own intentions, should be hurried into the belief that the government, conceiving the whole native race actuated by the same spirit of treachery, had resolved to deal the same punishment to all.†

There is reason to believe, that the sole and simple motive of the *émeute* at Jaunpoor, was a conviction that the British had betrayed, at Benares, their resolve to exterminate the entire Bengal army at the first convenient opportunity, without distinction of race or creed—regular or irregular, Hindoo or Mohammedan, Seik or Poorbeah. A similar report had nearly occasioned a Goorka mutiny at Simla, and was counteracted with extreme difficulty. It is possible, that had a true and timely account of what had taken place at Benares been received at Jaunpoor, Lieutenant Mara would have been enabled to explain away, at least to some extent, the exaggerated accounts which were sure to find circulation in the native lines. No such warning was given. A bazaar report reached the residents, on the 4th of June, that the troops at Azimghur had mutinied on the previous evening. On the following morning there was no post from Benares; and about eight o'clock, three Europeans rode in from the Bubcha factory, two miles and a-half from Jaunpoor, stating that the factory had been attacked by a party of the 37th mutineers, and that they had made their escape through a shower of bullets. Mr. Cæsar, the head-master of the Mission school,‡ said to Lieutenant Mara, "The 37th are upon us." The officer replied, "What have we to fear from the 37th; our own men will keep them off."§ The Europeans and Eurasians assembled together in the Cutcherry, and the Seiks were placed under arms, awaiting the arrival of the mutineers; until, about noon, news arrived, that after plundering and burning

* Return of regiments which have mutinied, p. 33.

† *Ibid.*, p. 32.

‡ The Church Missionary Society had a station at Jaunpoor, under the superintendence of the Rev. C. Reuther. They supported a church and five schools, with about 600 scholars in all. The

majority of the people of Jaunpoor were Mohammedans; and the conversions are always more rare among them than among the Hindoos, notwithstanding the barrier of caste.

§ Letter from a gentleman in charge of the Missionary College at Benares.—*Times*, Aug. 6th, 1857.

the Bubcha factory, they had gone along the Lucknow road. The Europeans did not quit the Cutcherry; but being relieved from immediate apprehension, they ordered dinner, and made other arrangements. "About half-past two," Mr. Cæsar writes, "Lieutenant Mara, myself, and some others, were in the verandah, when, as I was giving orders to a servant, a shot was fired, and on looking round, I saw that poor Mara had been shot through the chest." There is no European testimony on the subject, but the deed is assumed to have been done by one of Mara's own men. Mr. Cæsar continues—"We ran inside the building; and just within the doorway, Mara fell on the ground. Other shots being fired into the rooms, we retired into the joint magistrate's Cutcherry, and barricaded the doors: we did this with little hopes of escaping from the mutineers. They were about 140 in number; while the gentlemen in the room (for some were absent) were only nine or ten. We fully expected a rush to be made into the apartment, and all of us to be killed. The hour of death seemed to have arrived. The greater part of us were kneeling or crouching down, and some few were engaged in prayer."

The mutineers were not, however, blood-thirsty. They soon ceased firing, and began plundering the treasury, which contained £26,000; and when the Europeans ventured to fetch the lieutenant from the outer room, and to look forth, they saw the plunderers walking off with bags of money on their shoulders. Two of the planters saddled their own horses and fled. The rest of the party prepared to depart together. Lieutenant Mara was still living, and was carried some distance on a charpoy. Mr. Cæsar, who gives a circumstantial account of their flight, does not mention when the unfortunate officer was abandoned to his fate; but it appears that, being considered mortally wounded, they left him on the road; for Mr. Spencer, a civilian, writing from Benares a few days later, says—"They left poor O'Mara* dying, and got into their carriages and drove away."† This is not, however, quite correct; for the party (or at least most of them) left the Cutcherry on foot; Mrs. Mara, the wife of the fallen officer, having difficulty in moving on with any rapidity on account of her stoutness. The

corpse of Mr. Cuppage, the joint magistrate, lay at the gate. The fugitives hurried on, and were passing the doctor's house, when his carriage was brought out, apparently without orders, by faithful native servants. Five ladies, eight children, an ayah, the coachman, with Messrs. Reuther and Cæsar (the latter, revolver in hand), found room therein, and proceeded towards Ghazipoor. There were also three gentlemen on horseback, and two on foot; but while stopping to drink water by the road-side, Mrs. Mara's carriage overtook the party, the native coachman having brought it unbidden; and all the fugitives were thus enabled to proceed with ease. They crossed the Goomtee at the ferry, with their horses and carriages, observed, but not molested, by a crowd of natives, one of whom asked a European for his watch, saying that he might as well give it him, as he would soon lose it. But this seems to have been a vulgar jest, such as all mobs delight in, and no insult was offered to the women or children. It would be superfluous to narrate in detail the adventures of the fugitives. Mrs. Mara died of apoplexy; the others safely reached Karrakut, a large town on the left bank of the Goomtee. Here Hingun Lall, a Hindoo of some rank and influence, and of most noble nature, invited them to his house. "He stated," says Mr. Cæsar, "that he had a few armed men, and that the enemy should cut his throat first, before they reached us." His hospitality was gratefully accepted, and a "sumptuous repast" was in preparation for the weary guests, when the clashing of weapons was heard, and "the Lalla," as he is termed, placed the ladies and children in an inner room, and bade the men prepare for defence. But although the town was three times plundered by distinct bodies of the enemy, the Lalla's house was not attacked. The mutineers knew that to attempt to drag the refugees from so time-honoured a sanctuary as the dwelling of a Rajpoot, would have been to draw on themselves the vengeance of the majority of the Oude chiefs, who were as yet neutral. The Europeans, therefore, remained unharmed. On the evening of the 8th, a letter was brought them, addressed to "Any Europeans hiding at Karrakut." It came from Mr. Tucker, the Benares commissioner, who was as remarkable for his efforts to preserve the lives of his countrymen, as some of his coadjutors were to avenge their deaths. He offered rewards for the heads of living

* The name is variously spelt, but is given in the *East India Register* as "Patrick Mara."

† Letter published in *Times*, August 10th, 1857.

friends rather than for those of dead foes; and his policy was decidedly the more successful of the two; for the villagers generally proved willing to hazard the vengeance of the hostile forces by saving life, but could rarely, if ever, be induced by threats or promises to earn blood-money.

An escort of twelve volunteers, and as many of the 13th irregular cavalry, arrived on the following day; and, before night, the rescued party joined the Benares community in the Mint. Four persons (either Europeans or East Indians), left behind at Jaunpoor, are said to have perished. These were Mr. and Mrs. Thripland, the deputy-magistrate and his wife, who, after hiding themselves during the night of the outbreak in the house of one of the native police, were discovered and slaughtered by the irregular cavalry; a pensioned sergeant named Bignold; and a Mr. Davis, formerly an indigo-planter's assistant, supposed to have been put to death by the villagers.*

"A life pension of 100 rupees (£10) per mensem," was granted by government to Hingun Lall, with the honorary title of deputy-magistrate; with permission, as the Lalla was an old man, to commute the pension to a life jaghire, to be extended to a second life on easy terms.†

Allahabad is built on a spot which possesses rare natural advantages for the purposes of commerce and defence, and has been, from a very early period, the site of a strongly fortified city. The ancient Pali-bothra is said to have formerly stood here; and the Brahmins still attach importance to the place, on account of the Prayaga, or sacred confluence of three most holy streams, which unite at Allahabad—namely, the Ganges, Jumna, and Sreeswati. By bathing at one favoured spot, the pilgrim is supposed to receive the same benefit that he would have derived from separate immersion in each stream; and this is no mere saving of trouble, inasmuch as the Sreeswati is elsewhere inaccessible to mortal touch, and everywhere invisible to mortal sight: but the Hindoos assert that it joins the other rivers by a subterranean channel. Devotees come here and wait, in boats, the precise period of the moon when, according to their creed, ablutions, duly performed, will wash from their souls the defilement of

sin; and the hopelessly sick, or extremely aged, come hither also, and, fastening three vessels of water round their bodies, calmly step into the water and quit this life, passing by what they believe to be a divinely appointed road, into the world beyond the grave. The emperor Akber, who patronised all religions, and practised none, was popular with both Mohammedans and Hindoos. He built the modern Allahabad (the city of God), intending it as a stronghold to overawe the surrounding countries. The lofty and extensive fort stands on a tongue of land washed on one side by the Ganges, on the other by the Jumna, and completely commands the navigation of both rivers. As a British station, it occupies a position of peculiar importance. It is the first in the Upper Provinces, all to the eastward being called down-country. It is situated on the Grand Trunk road, 498 miles from Calcutta, 1,151 from Madras, 831 from Bombay, and 74 from Benares. Add to these advantages a richly stored arsenal, and a treasury containing £190,000;‡ and it may be easily understood that its security ought to have been a primary consideration: yet, at the time of the Meerut outbreak, there was not a European soldier in Allahabad. The fort, and extensive cantonments some four miles distant, were occupied by the 6th N.I., a battery of Native artillery, and five companies of the Seik regiment of Ferozpoor, under Lieutenant Brasyer, an officer of remarkable nerve and tact.

Sir Henry Lawrence early pressed on the government the importance of strengthening Allahabad with Europeans;§ and seventy-four invalid artillerymen were consequently detached from Chunar, and arrived at Allahabad in the latter part of May. Two troops of the 3rd Oude irregular cavalry were sent by Sir H. Lawrence for the further protection of the fort.|| Several detachments of H.M. 84th marched through Allahabad between the time of the arrival of the Chunar artillerymen and the outbreak of the mutiny; and the officer in command of the station had discretionary orders to detain them if he deemed their presence needful; but there was nothing in the manner of the Native troops to occasion any doubt of their fidelity, or justify the detention of the Europeans. On the

Mutiny at Allahabad.—See *Times*, August 26th, 1857.

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

|| *Ibid.*

* Mr. Cæsar's Narrative. Vide Sherring's *Indian Church*, pp. 267 to 276.

† Parl. Papers on Mutiny, 1857 (No. 7), p. 118.

‡ Lieutenant-colonel Simpson's account of the

contrary, remarkable tranquillity prevailed; and there is no record of incendiary fires or midnight meetings, such as usually preceded mutiny. Two men, who attempted to tamper with the 6th N.I., were delivered up to the authorities, and the entire regiment volunteered to march against Delhi. The governor-general in council issued a general order, thanking the 6th for their loyalty, and directed that "the tender of their services should be placed on the records of government, and read at the head of every regiment and company of the Bengal army, at a parade ordered for the purpose."* The order reached Allahabad, by telegraph, on the afternoon of the 4th of June. It was received with enthusiasm both by officers and men, and a parade was ordered, and carried through apparently to the satisfaction of all parties. But this state of things was of brief duration. On the 5th of June, ominous messages came to Colonel Simpson (the commandant at the fort), of external dangers. Sir Henry Lawrence desired that the civilians should retire within the fort for the present; and Sir Hugh Wheeler likewise sent word from Cawnpoor, "to man the fort with every available European, and make a good stand." Then came the tidings of what had occurred at Benares; the Europeans learning that the sepoys, instead of quietly surrendering their arms, had resisted and fled, and were reported to be marching against Allahabad; while the native version of the story was—that the 37th, after being disarmed, had been faithlessly massacred by the Europeans. There was a certain foundation of fact for both these statements. The well-disposed sepoys, who were the majority, had (as is stated by the best authority) quietly obeyed the order for disarmament: the turbulent minority had resisted; and their revolt, precipitated, if not caused, by what the European officers call the mistake of one commander, and the incapacity of another (disabled by a sun-stroke), involved many loyal sepoys in the mutiny. It does not appear that the officers and men at Allahabad had any explanation, or arrived at any mutual understanding, with regard to the proceedings at Benares; only it was taken for granted by the former, that the latter would be ready to fight, as foes, the countrymen whom they had, until then, regarded as comrades in arms, identified with them in feeling and in interest.

* Appendix to Parl. Papers on the Mutiny, p. 361.

On the night of the 5th (Friday), nearly all the Europeans slept in the fort; and the civilians, covenanted and uncovenanted, formed themselves into a volunteer company about a hundred strong. Two guns, and two companies of the 6th N.I., were ordered down to the bridge of boats, which crosses the Jumna beneath the fort, in order to be ready to play upon the Benares insurgents; the guns of the fort were at the same time pointed on to the Benares road. Captain Alexander, with two squadrons of Oude cavalry, was posted in the Alopee Bagh—a large encamping-ground, under the walls of the fort, which commanded all the roads to the station. The main body of the 6th remained in their lines, in readiness to move anywhere at the shortest notice.

Saturday evening came, and the Europeans were relieved by the non-arrival of the mutineers. Colonel Simpson and the chief part of the officers sat together at mess at nine o'clock; and the volunteers who were to keep watch during the night were lying down to rest, and wait their summons. The volunteers were all safe in the fort; but there were two officers, less prudent or less fortunate, outside the gates. Captain Birch, the fort-adjutant (a married man with a family), had preferred remaining in his own bungalow; and Lieutenant Innes, the executive engineer, lay sick in his, having resigned his appointment on the previous day from ill-health. There were, besides, some Europeans and many Eurasians, merchants' clerks, and such like, in their own dwellings. None of them seem to have entertained any suspicion of what was going on in the lines of the 6th N.I., to which several Benares mutineers had found their way, and succeeded in inducing the 6th to join the mutiny. A Mohammedan, who acted, or affected to act, as an agent of the king of Delhi, was very active in heightening the panic and excitement. He is generally supposed to have been a Moolvee, or Moslem teacher; but some said he was a Native officer; others, that he was a weaver by trade. As the "Moolvee of Allahabad" he subsequently contrived to obtain notoriety.

The discussions in the lines of the 6th N.I. were brought to an issue by a bugler rushing on parade, and sounding an alarm. Colonel Simpson had just quitted the mess, and was walking to the fort, when he heard the signal. Ordering his horse, he mounted, and galloped to the parade, where he

“found the officers trying to fall-in their men.” The colonel had previously ordered the two guns to be brought from the bridge of boats to the fort, under the charge of an artillery officer (Lieutenant Harward) and a Native guard. Instead of obeying the order, the men had insisted on taking them to cantonments. Harward sought the assistance of Lieutenant Alexander, who sprang on his horse, and, hastily ordering his men to follow him, rode up to the mutineers, “and, rushing on the guns, was killed on the spot.”* Harward was likewise fired on; and, seeing that resistance was hopeless, he galloped into the fort, where he found the civilians assembled on the ramparts, listening to what they believed to be the attack of the Benares mutineers. One of the civilians writes—“The firing grew heavier, and we all thought that the insurgents had entered the station, and were being beaten off by the regiment, so steady was the musketry—regular file firing. On, on it continued, volley after volley. ‘Oh!’ we all said, ‘those gallant sepoy are beating off the rebels;’ for the firing grew fainter in the distance, as if they were driving a force out of the station. But before long the sad truth was known.”†

First, Lieutenant Harward rode in, and told what he witnessed. Colonel Simpson arrived shortly after, and narrated the open mutiny of the regiment and the firing on the officers, of whom Captain Plunkett, Lieutenants Stewart and Haines, Ensigns Pringle and Munro, and two sergeants, were slaughtered on parade. The colonel himself had had a narrow escape. A havildar and some sepoy surrounded and hurried him off the field. He rode to the treasury, with the view of saving its contents, but was at once fired on by the sentry, and afterwards “received a regular volley from the guard of thirty men on one side, with another volley from a night picket of thirty men on the other. A guard of poor Alexander’s Irregulars stood passive.” The colonel adds—“I galloped past the mess-house, where the guard was drawn out at the gate and fired at me. Here my horse got seriously wounded, and nearly fell;

* Lieutenant-colonel Simpson’s account.—*Times*, August 26th, 1857.

† Letter of Allahabad civilian.—*Times*, August 25th, 1857.

‡ Lieutenant-colonel Simpson’s account.

§ The “Allahabad civilian” speaks of nine; but the official returns name eight—Ensigns Cheek, Codd, Way, Beaumont, Bailiff, Scott, and two Smiths.—

but I managed to spur him to the fort (two miles) without further impediment. There the horse died shortly after of three musket-shot wounds. On reaching the fort I immediately disarmed the guards of the 6th regiment on duty and turned them out, leaving the Seik regiment to hold it, the only European troops being seventy-four invalid artillery, got from Chunar. The Madras European regiment began to pour in a few days after, and the command devolved on the lieutenant-colonel [Neil] of that corps.”‡

No mention is made by Colonel Simpson of the horrible scene which is alleged to have taken place in the mess-room, after he and the senior officers had left it. Eight unposted ensigns,§ mere boys fresh from England, and doing duty with the 6th N.I., were bayoneted there; and three of the officers who escaped heard their cries as they passed.||

When the poor youths were left for dead, one of them, said to be Ensign Cheek (a son of the town-clerk of Evesham in Worcestershire), although severely injured, contrived to escape in the darkness to a neighbouring ravine, where he concealed himself for several days and nights, taking refuge from the heat of the sun by day, and wild beasts by night, amid the branches of a tree, and supporting life solely by the water of a neighbouring stream. On the night of the mutiny, no Europeans dared stir out of the fort to rescue those outside, or bring in the wounded. Their own position was extremely critical; the personal influence of Lieutenant Brasyer with the Seiks, being chiefly instrumental in preserving their fidelity.¶ The temptation of plunder was very great, and the work of destruction was carried on with temporary impunity. The treasury was looted, the gaol thrown open, and reckless bands of convicts were poured forth on the cantonments and city. Captain Birch and Lieutenant Innes, who had intended passing the night in the same bungalow, fled together towards the Ganges, and are supposed to have been murdered by the mutineers or insurgents. Lieutenant Hicks

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

|| Letter of Allahabad civilian.—*Times*, August 25th, 1857.

¶ Mr. Hay, an American missionary, in Allahabad at the time of the mutiny, and who was personally acquainted with Lieutenant Brasyer, says that he “rose from the ranks.”—*Times*, September, 1857.

and two young ensigns, left with the guns when Lieutenant Harward went to seek the aid of Captain Alexander, were not injured by the sepoys. They did not venture to take the direct road to the fort; but plunged into the Ganges, and, after some time, presented themselves at the gate in safety, having first blackened their bodies with mud, in default of any other covering. Eleven European men (uncovenanted servants, railway inspectors, and others), three women, and four children, are mentioned in the *Gazette* as having perished. No list of the Eurasians or natives murdered is given; but six drummers (Christians) of the 6th N.I. are stated as having been killed, it was supposed on the night of the mutiny, "whilst attempting to bury the murdered officers."* The 6th N.I. quitted the city on the morning after the *émeute*; but the Moolvee had still a considerable host around his standard; and the European garrison, though reinforced by successive detachments of the Madras Fusiliers, had, during the first days after the mutiny, quite enough to do to hold their own within the fort, against the internal dangers of drunkenness and insubordination. Consequently, no efforts seem to have been made, and no rewards offered, for the missing Europeans; and the brave young ensign remained in his tree, with his undressed wounds, sinking with hunger and exhaustion, and listening anxiously, through four live-long days and nights, for the sound of friendly voices. On the fifth day he was discovered by the rebels, and taken to a serai, or sleeping-place for travellers, where he found Conductor Coleman and his family in confinement, and also a well-known native preacher named Gopinath, who had escaped with his wife and family from Futtehpore. When the poor youth was brought in, he nearly fainted. Gopinath gave him some gruel, and afterwards water, to allay his burning thirst. The agony of his wounds being increased by lying on the hard boards, Gopinath prevailed on the daroga who had charge of the prisoners, to give Ensign Cheek a charpoy to lie on. This was done, and the sufferer related to his native friend all he had undergone, and bade him, if he escaped, write to his mother in England,

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

† The authority relied on regarding Ensign Cheek, is the Narrative of Gopinath Nundy, and of the Rev. J. Owen, of the American Board of Missions, a society which has expended a considerable

and to his aunt at Bancoorah. At length the daroga, jealous of the intercourse between the captives, placed Gopinath in the stocks, separating him from the others, and even from his own family. A body of armed Mohammedans came in and tried to tempt or terrify him into a recantation. His wife clung to him, and was dragged away by the hair of her head, receiving a severe blow on the forehead during the struggle. The ensign, who lay watching the scene, heard the offer of immediate release made to the native, on condition of apostasy, and, mastering his anguish and his weakness, called out, in a loud voice, "Padre, padre, be firm; do not give way." The prisoners remained some days longer in hourly expectation of death. At length the Moolvee himself visited them. But they all held their faith; and at length, the approach of Lieutenant Brasyer, with a detachment of Seiks, put the fanatics to flight. The conductor and the catechist, with their families, were brought safely into the fort. The ensign survived just long enough to be restored to his countrymen. Before sunset on the same day (17th June), the spirit that had not yet spent seventeen summers on earth, entered into rest with something of the halo of martyrdom upon it.†

It was well that Colonel Neil had arrived at Allahabad; for martial law had been proclaimed there immediately after the mutiny; and the system adopted by individual Europeans, of treating disturbed districts with the license of a conquering army in an enemy's country, had fostered evils which were totally subversive of all discipline.

Among the documents sent to England by the governor-general in council, in proof of the spirit of turbulent and indiscriminate vengeance which it had been found necessary to check, is an extract from a letter, communicating the strange and humiliating fact, that it was needful to restrain British functionaries from the indiscriminate destruction, not only of innocent men, but even of "aged women and children;" and this before the occurrence of the second, or the publication of the first, massacre at Cawnpore. The name of the

sum of money in Allahabad. Another account, more graphic, but less authentic, was published—as an extract of a letter from an officer in the service of the Company—in the *Times*, of September 7th, 1857.

writer of the letter, and of the persons therein mentioned, are all withheld by government; and the quotation begins abruptly.

"— has adopted a policy of burning villages, which is, in my opinion, the most suicidal and mischievous that can be devised; it prevents the possibility of order being restored; the aged, women and children, are sacrificed, as well as those guilty of rebellion. Cultivation is impossible; a famine is consequently almost certain. The sternest measures are doubtless necessary, and every possible endeavour should be made to apprehend and punish those actually engaged in plunder or rebellion; but here there seems to be no discrimination. A railway officer, whose report you will probably see, did excellent service, and seems to have behaved very gallantly when sent with a small guard to restore the railway where it might have been injured; but, in accordance with the custom, as he met with opposition from some plunderers and mutineers, he burnt ten villages, which he found deserted. The Trunk road now passes through a desert; the inhabitants have fled to a distance of four or five miles; and it seems to me to be obviously the proper policy to encourage all peaceable persons to return, not to destroy the villages and render the return of the people impossible. Some five persons have been invested with the powers of life and death in the station of Allahabad; each sits separately, and there are also courts-martial in the fort.

"You will do the state service if you can check the indiscriminate burning of villages, and secure the hanging of the influential offenders, instead of those who cannot pay the police for their safety."*

In a subsequent letter, written probably by the same person, but evidently by a civilian of rank, the following passage occurs:—"You have no conception of the dangers and difficulties created by lawless and reckless Europeans here. One of them cocked his pistol at Lieutenant Brasyer in the fort. The ruffian was as likely as not to have pulled the trigger; and, in that case, as Lieutenant Brasyer himself observed to me, his Seiks would have slain every European in the fort. This was before Colonel Neil took the command: if it had happened in his time, the probability is that the offender would have been tried and hanged."†

An Allahabad "civil servant"—one of the five persons already mentioned as invested with powers of life and death, and who speaks of himself as having been subsequently appointed by the commis-

sioner, Mr. Chester, as "the political agent with the force," which, from the date of his letter (June 28th) must have been Neil's—gives the following account of the proceedings after the arrival of the Fusiliers, before, and after, the arrival of their colonel. He writes—

"We dared not leave the fort; for who knows what the Seiks would have done if it had been left empty? However, let us not breathe one word of suspicion against them, for they behaved splendidly, though they are regular devils. We lived on in this way till the Madras Fusiliers came up, and then our fun began. We 'volunteers' were parted off into divisions, three in number; and your humble servant was promoted to the command of one, the 'flagstaff division,' with thirty railroad men under his command, right good stout fellows, every one of whom had been plundered, and were consequently as bloodthirsty as any demons need be. We sallied forth several times with the Seiks into the city, and had several skirmishes in the streets, when we spared no one. We had several volleys poured into us; but their firing was so wild that their bullets passed over and around us harmlessly. The 'flagstaff' was always to the front; and they were so daring and reckless, that 'the flagstaff boys' became a byword in the fort. Every rascality that was performed was put down to them; and, in the end, the volunteers got a bad name for plundering. The Seiks were great hands at it, and, in spite of all precaution, brought a great amount of property into the fort. Such scenes of drunkenness I never beheld. Seiks were to be seen drunk on duty on the ramparts, unable to hold their muskets. No one could blame them, for they are such jolly, jovial fellows, so different from other sepoys.

"When we could once get out of the fort we were all over the place, cutting down all natives who showed any signs of opposition; we enjoyed these trips very much, so pleasant it was to get out of that horrid fort for a few hours. One trip I enjoyed amazingly: we got on board a steamer with a gun, while the Seiks and Fusiliers marched to the city; we steamed up, throwing shot right and left, till we got up to the bad places, when we went on shore and peppered away with our guns, my old double-barrel that I brought out bringing down several niggers, so thirsty for vengeance was I. We fired the places right and left, and the flames shot up to the heavens as they spread, fanned by the breeze, showing that the day of vengeance had fallen on the treacherous villains."‡

The luckless British residents (not to speak of the native shopkeepers) were most shamefully treated by their defenders. What the city thieves and sepoys left, was looted by the Europeans and Seiks, who apparently could recognise no difference

* Letter, dated July 6th, 1857.—Parl. Papers (Commons), February 4th, 1857. Moved for by Henry D. Seymour. Showing the proceedings "taken for the punishment of those who have been guilty of mutiny, desertion, and rebellion" in India; and the reason why the country generally was not put under martial law "after the mutinies"—a measure,

the non-adoption of which is stated by the governor-general in council, to have "been made a matter of complaint against the Indian government."—p. 2.

† Letter dated "Allahabad, July 22nd, 1857."—*Ibid.*, p. 23.

‡ Letter of Allahabad civilian, dated, June 28th, 1857.—*Times*, August 25th, 1857.

between friend and foe in this respect. The work of destruction was carried on with impunity under the very walls of the fort. Costly furniture, of no value to the plunderers, was smashed to pieces for the mere love of mischief. These did for private, what the enemy had done for public, property. Drunkenness was all but universal, and riot reigned supreme.

The Rev. J. Owen, a clergyman who had resided many years in Allahabad, and had been the founder of the establishment supported in that city by the American Board of Missions—writes in his journal on the 10th of June—

“Our affairs in the fort are just now in a very bad way. A day or two since, some Europeans went out with a body of Seiks to the godowns, near the steamer ghaut, where large quantities of stores are lying. The Europeans began to plunder. The Seiks, ever ready for anything of the kind, seeing this, instantly followed the example. The thing has gone on from bad to worse, until it is now quite impossible to restrain the Seiks, untamed savages as they are.

“The day before yesterday, a poor man came to me, saying that he had had nothing to eat that day, and had been working hard as a volunteer in the militia. The colonel (Simpson) happened to be passing at the time. I took the man to him, telling him that the poor fellow was working hard, and willing to work, in defence of the fort; but that he and his wife were starving. The colonel went with me at once to the commissariat; and there, notwithstanding many objections on the ground of formality, assisted me in getting for him a loaf of bread. . . . One of the commissariat officers told me yesterday morning, that he did not know how those widows and children who came in on Monday night, could be supplied with rations, for they were not fighting-men! Everything is as badly managed as can be; indeed, there seems to be no management at all.”

The arrival of Colonel Neil changed the aspect of affairs. He had rapidly, though with much difficulty, made his way from Benares, which he left on the evening of the 9th, reaching Allahabad on the afternoon of the 11th, with an officer and forty-three of the Madras Fusiliers. The line of road was deserted; the terrified villagers had departed in the old “Wulsa” style; scarcely any horses could be procured; and coolies, to assist in dragging the dawki carriages, were with difficulty obtained. Colonel Neil (always ready to give praise where he deemed it due) says—“Had it not been for the assistance ren-

dered by the magistrate at Mirzapoor (Mr. S. G. Tucker), we should have been obliged to have marched on and left our baggage. We found the country between this [Allahabad] and Mirzapoor infested with bands of plunderers, the villages deserted, and none of the authorities remaining. Major Stephenson, who left Benares the same evening with a hundred Fusiliers by bullock-van, experienced the same difficulties. Many of the soldiers have been laid up in consequence of the exposure and fatigue; four have died suddenly.”† The officer who accompanied Colonel Neil, says they accomplished “upwards of seventy miles in two nights, by the aid of a lot of natives pushing our men along in light four-wheeled carriages.”‡

Colonel Neil had probably received no adequate information of the state of Allahabad. The telegraphic communication between that place and Benares had been completely cut off. The “lightning dawki” had been speedily destroyed by the mutineers; and at a later stage they had an additional incentive to its destruction, some of the more ingenious among them having discovered that the hollow iron posts which supported the wires, would make a good substitute for guns,§ and the wire, cut up in pieces, could be fired instead of lead. In fact, the whole of the proceedings which followed the Allahabad mutiny, were by far the most systematic of any until then taken by the rebels. Colonel Neil found the fort itself nearly blockaded; and the bridge of boats over the Ganges was in the hands of the mob in the village of Daragunje, and partly broken. “I was fortunate,” he states, “to bribe some natives to bring a boat over to the left bank of the Ganges, in which I embarked part of my men: the people of the fort having by this time seen us, sent over boats some way down. By these means we all got into the fort, almost completely exhausted from over-long nights’ march|| and the intense heat.” The men might rest; but for the colonel, it would seem, there was important work to do, which admitted not of an hour’s delay. Assuming the command (superseding Colonel Simpson), he assembled his staff and held a council of war, at which he determined to

* Sherer’s *Indian Church*, p. 214.

† Despatch from Colonel Neil to government, June 14th, 1857.—Further Parl. Papers relative to the Mutinies, 1857 (not numbered), p. 60.

‡ Letter dated “Allahabad, June 23rd.”—*Times*, August 26th, 1857.

§ Colonel Neil’s despatch, June 17th, 1857.—Further Parl. Papers, p. 57.

|| *Sic in orig.*

attack Daragunje next morning. He then paraded the volunteers, addressed them in very plain language regarding their "recent disgraceful acts of robbery and drinking," and threatened to turn the next transgressor out of the fort. On the following morning, sixty Fusiliers, three hundred Seiks, and thirty cavalry, marched out under his own command. "I opened fire," Colonel Neil writes, "with several round shots, on those parts of Daragunje occupied by the worst description of natives; attacked the place with detachments of Fusiliers and Seiks, drove the enemy out with considerable loss, burnt part of the village, and took possession of a repaired bridge, placing a company of Seiks at its head for its protection."* Thus he reopened the communication across the Ganges.

On the 12th, Major Stephenson's detachment arrived. On the 13th, Colonel Neil attacked the insurgents in the village of Kydgunge, on the left bank of the Jumna, and drove them out with loss. A few days later he sent a steamer with a howitzer to clear the river, some distance up the country—an expedition which, he says, "did much execution." Before, however, he could act with any efficiency against the mutineers, he had found it necessary to reorganise the Allahabad garrison. On the 14th, he writes—"I have now 270 Fusiliers in high health and spirits, but suffering from the intense heat." Yet on that day, he adds, "I could do little or nothing." He accomplished, however, important work within the fort, by checking, with an energy like that of Clive, the prevailing debauchery and insubordination. From his first arrival he had "observed great drinking among the Seiks, and the Europeans of all classes;" and he soon learned the lawlessness which had proceeded even to the extent of the open plunder of the godowns belonging to the Steam Navigation Company, and of the stores of private merchants; the Seiks bringing quantities of fermented liquor, spirit, and wine into the fort, and selling their "loot" at four annas, or sixpence the bottle all round, beer or brandy, sherry or champagne. Colonel Neil did not share the previously quoted opinion of one of the civilians of the hanging committee, regard-

ing the "jolly Seiks;" on the contrary, he thought their devilry dangerous to friends as well as to foes; and was extremely anxious at the idea of their continuing in the same range of barracks with the Fusiliers. They had been, he said, "coaxed into loyalty; they had become overbearing, and knew their power;" and he felt obliged to temporise with them, by directing the commissariat to purchase all the liquor they had to sell. He further sent down the only two carts he had, to empty what remained in the godowns into the commissariat stores, and to destroy all that could be otherwise obtained. The next move was a more difficult one—namely, to get the Seiks out of the fort. They were very unwilling to go; and, at one time, it seemed likely to be a question of forcible ejection—"it was a very near thing indeed." The influence of Captain Brasyer (who, Colonel Neil says, "alone has kept the regiment together and all right here") again prevailed, and the Seiks took up their position outside the fort, and were consoled for being forbidden to loot European property, by constant employment on forays against suspected villages, the prospect of plunder being their spring of action.† Even after their ejection, it was no easy matter to keep them from the fort, and prevent the re-establishment of the boon companionship, which was so manifestly deteriorating the morality and discipline of both parties. The colonel declared that the Seiks had been running in and out like cats; he had blocked up some of their ways, but there were still too many sallyports: and, in writing to government, he states—"There is no engineer officer here; there ought to be; and one should be sent sharp."‡

Colonel Neil now resolved on forwarding the majority of the women and children to Calcutta. The fort was still crowded, notwithstanding the expulsion of the Seiks; and in a state of extreme filth, the native low-caste servants having fled. On the 15th and 17th of June, he sent down, by two steamers, fifty women and forty-six children, "all the wives, children, widows, or orphans of persons (several ladies and gentlemen) who have been plundered of all they had, and barely escaped with their lives." Seventeen men accompanied the

* Despatch from Colonel Neil to government, June 17th, 1857.—Further Parl. Papers, p. 46.

† Despatches of Colonel Neil, Allahabad, June 14th,

17th, and 19th, 1857.—Further Papers for 1857 (not numbered), pp. 46, 48, and 60.

‡ Colonel Neil's despatch, June 17th, 1857; p. 61.

party, the crews of the steamers (Mohammedans) being suspected. The voyage was safely accomplished, and was attended by an interesting circumstance. One of the persons selected to take charge of the Englishwomen and their children, and who performed the office with great ability and tenderness, was a Hindoo convert, named Shamacharum Mukerjea, by birth a Brahmin of high-caste. He had been baptized in early youth by Scotch missionaries, and had from that time pursued, with rare determination of purpose, a most difficult course. He worked his passage to England on board a sailing ship; lauded with a single letter of introduction from Dr. Duff; got into an engineering establishment, for the sake of learning that business; bore up, amid all the discouragements that await an alien with a dark skin and an empty purse; endured the chilling winds and dense fogs of an uncongenial climate, rising at six, and going regularly to his work, till, his object being accomplished, he was enabled to return to India, where he was fortunate in procuring an appointment.*

To return to Allahabad. On the 17th of June, Neil writes—"The Moolvee has fled, and two of his men of rank were slain on the 15th." One of the insurgent leaders was captured, and brought before Captain Brasyer. He was a young man, magnificently dressed, and said to be a nephew to the Moolvee. Some questions were put to him, and he was ordered into confinement. The Seiks were about to take him away, when, suddenly, by a violent effort, he freed his hands, which had been fastened at his back, seized a sword, and made a thrust at one of his captors. Captain Brasyer sprang forward, wrested the weapon from his hand, and flung him on the ground; and "the enraged Seiks, while the chief was prostrate, placed their heels on his head, and literally crushed out his brains, and the body was thrown outside the gates."† Colonel Neil mentions, that "some Christian children" had been "sent in" at this date; but he does not say by whom.

On the 19th of June, he states—"Two hundred bullocks, with drivers, were brought

* *Missionary Sketches in Northern India*; by Mrs. Weitbrecht; p. 97.

† Rev. Mr. Hay's account of Allahabad Mutiny. *Times*, September, 1857.

‡ Telegram from Allahabad to Calcutta.—Appendix to Parl. Papers, p. 327.

in here yesterday: this is all our public carriage at present. Our commissariat officer is away; and that department is, in consequence, inefficient." There was an utter absence of ordinary stores: the commonest articles of food could with difficulty be obtained, and great scarcity of medicine was felt here and at Benares. No information is given regarding the 1,600 siege-train bullocks, which, on the 28th of the previous month, the commissariat officer at Allahabad was ready, "if allowed, to give for the immediate conveyance of Europeans from the river Sone to Cawnpoor."‡ In fact, the state of things at Allahabad, as incidentally described in the public despatches and private correspondence of the period, is most discreditable to those responsible for it. From the middle of May to the 6th of June, the local authorities were totally unmolested. At least, they might have laid in supplies to the fort, and prepared in every possible way for the speedy and easy conveyance of a few hundred British troops, the short distance of 120 miles. Cawnpoor was only thus far off; and this fact makes it more terrible to think of the three weeks' maintenance of the intrenchments, from the 6th to the 27th of June, and the yet more exhausting agony endured by the bereaved women and children, from the 27th of June to the 16th of July. Their condition could not have been known to their countrymen without some immediate effort being made for their relief; and it could scarcely have remained unknown had our system of intelligence been less generally defective. There were some marked exceptions; but at Allahabad they had no system at all. Setting apart Colonel Neil, Captain Brasyer, the magistrate (Mr. Court), and a few others, whose influence may be traced, the majority of the Europeans seem to have concentrated their energies on indiscriminate slaughter. The preservation of their countrymen in scattered stations, and even of British dominion in India; the conciliation and protection of the agricultural classes, as a means of facilitating the advance of the relieving force; the inducing the villagers and itinerant traders of all sorts, especially grain merchants, to come forward fearlessly to our aid, certain of payment and reward for the various services they had it in their power to render, and, above all, of being shielded from the exactions of Seiks and Goorkas, or even lawless Europeans;—these, it is to be feared, were

considerations quite beyond the ordinary class of volunteers. An able military leader anywhere, but specially in India, must needs be also a statesman and financier. Neil's occupation of a separate command was too brief to show to what extent he might have possessed these qualities; and his eager panegyrists have praised his "vigour," and boasted of the panic it inspired among the natives, in a manner which is calculated to detract undeservedly from his fame, when, the thirst for vengeance being assuaged, posterity shall learn to look calmly on the Indian mutiny of 1857, and weigh the deeds of the chief actors with a steadier hand than contemporary judges are likely to possess. Then it may, perhaps, be deemed that Neil's best services were not those which earned him temporary popularity; and that his admirers may be glad to palliate the "village-burning" and "unlimited hanging" system pursued by him before the capitulation of Cawnpoor, as having been, perhaps, a mistaken policy, adopted in the hope of terrifying the wavering into submission, and so bringing the war to a speedy close. The very reverse was the case. The worst massacres occurred after the firing into the disarmed troops at Benares; and, strange to say, a similar cruel blunder is declared by Captain Thomson, in his *Story of Cawnpoor*, to have driven the 53rd N.I. into rebellion. He declares, most positively, that the men were quietly cooking their

* Since the publication of the chapter containing the account of the siege and first massacre of Cawnpoor, Captain Thomson has issued a most interesting work on the subject, reiterating his previous statements, with important additional particulars. The 2nd cavalry were, he says, the first to rise. The old subahdar-major of the regiment defended the colours and treasure in the quarter-guard as long as he could, and was found, in the morning, lying beside the empty regimental chest, weltering in his blood. He recovered, however, but was killed by a shell while defending the intrenchment. "An hour or two after the flight of the cavalry, the 1st N.I. also bolted, leaving their officers untouched upon the parade-ground. The 56th N.I. followed the next morning. The 53rd remained, till, by some error of the general, they were fired into. I am at an utter loss to account for this proceeding. The men were peacefully occupied in their lines, cooking; no signs of mutiny had appeared amongst their ranks; they had refused all the solicitations of the deserters to accompany them, and seemed quite steadfast, when Ashe's battery opened upon them by Sir Hugh Wheeler's command, and they were literally driven from us by 9-pounders. The only signal that had preceded this step was the calling into the intrenchments of the Native officers of the regiment. The whole

food in their lines, when General Wheeler (of whom he speaks as a once admirable, but worn-out, commander), under the influence of some extraordinary misconception, gave the fatal order to Lieutenant Ashe, of the artillery, which caused the 53rd to be dispersed and driven from the station with 9-pounders.* These facts must be borne in mind; because the "esprit de corps," evinced by the mutineers, is to some extent explained by the fact, that several of the revolted regiments asserted, at different periods, each one its own special grievance, and urged it, too, upon the consideration of their own officers, when, as will be seen in subsequent chapters, the fortune of war brought them into communication. The difficulties with which Colonel Neil had to contend at Allahabad, have been very insufficiently appreciated. Disease, drunkenness, and insubordination among the Europeans and Seiks, were more dangerous foes than the Moolvee and his rabble host, though stated to amount to three or four thousand. Cholera appeared among the Fusiliers on the evening of the 18th, when several men came into hospital with the disease in its worst form. Before midnight eight men were buried, and twenty more died during the following day.† All the cholera patients were carried to the Masonic lodge, a short distance from the fort, which had been converted into an hospital; but the want of comforts for the sick was painfully felt. "The barracks,"

of them cast in their lot with us, besides 150 privates, most of them belonging to the grenadier company. The detachment of the 53rd, posted at the treasury, held their ground against the rebels about four hours. We could hear their musketry in the distance, but were not allowed to attempt their relief. The faithful little band that had joined our desperate fortunes was ordered to occupy the military hospital, about 600 yards to the east of our position, and they held it for nine days; when, in consequence of its being set on fire, they were compelled to evacuate. They applied for admission to the intrenchments, but were told that we had not food sufficient to allow of an increase to our number." They were, consequently, dismissed to care for their own safety as they best could; Major Hillersden giving each man a few rupees, and a certificate of fidelity.—*Story of Cawnpoor*; by Captain Mowbray Thomson; pp. 39, 40.

† The American missionary, Owen, notes in his diary, June 19th, the deaths of three ladies on that day—named Hodgson, Purser, and Williams—of cholera; adding, "I predicted that the filth allowed to accumulate about the doors and in the drains, would breed disease of some kind. The authorities have now commenced the work of cleansing and sprinkling them with lime."—*Sherer's Indian Church*, p. 226.

the colonel writes, "are in bad order, followers of any description being almost unprocurable; there are but few punkahs, and no tatties;* the men have, therefore, not the proper advantages of barrack accommodation for this hot season. I regret to add, that the supply of medicines here has failed; there appears to have been little or none kept in Allahabad; and our detachments only brought up sufficient for the march."† On the 19th, he writes—"I hope no time will be lost in sending up here an efficient commissariat department; such should be here. We are most badly off in that respect; and the want of bread, &c., for the Europeans, may no doubt increase the disease."‡ On the 22nd, he announces, by telegram, the decrease of cholera, and the arrival of the head-quarters of H.M. 84th, and 240 more of the Fusiliers; adding—"Davidson, of commissariat, arrived; now hope to get something done. Endeavouring to equip, with carriage and provisions, 400 Europeans, with two guns, to push on towards Cawnpoor."§ Two days later, it was discovered that there were but sixteen dhoolies, or litters, available (although a considerable number of these was a primary requisite for the projected expedition), and that all materials for making others were wanting, as well as workmen: a supply was therefore telegraphed for, and ordered by government, the order being given at Calcutta, on the day of the capitulation of Cawnpoor.

An officer of the Fusiliers writes to England on the 23rd—"He (the colonel) is now hard at work getting his force together to move on to the assistance of Cawnpoor and Lucknow, both places being in the greatest danger, for all the sepoys that have run away are now gathering around Lucknow. Our reports concerning that city and Cawnpoor are most gloomy; but reports in this country and at this time are always against us. You can have no idea of the awful weather, and of our sufferings from the heat; we sit with wet clothes over our heads, but the deaths from sun-stroke continue large: that dreadful scourge cholera has also broken out, and we have lost already seventy fighting-men. We buried twenty, three nights ago, at one funeral; and the shrieks of the dying were some-

thing awful: two poor ladies who were living over the hospital died, I believe, from fright. We have now got about 400 men outside the fort, and the disease is certainly on the decline. Up to to-day we have had little to eat; indeed, I would not have fed a dog with my yesterday's breakfast; but our mess and the head-quarters arrived yesterday, and our fare was much better to-day. All the village people ran away; and any one who had worked for the Europeans, these murderers killed; so if the population was to a man against us, we should stand but a bad chance. A poor baker was found with both his hands cut off, and his nose slit, because he had sent in bread to us."||

The extreme hatred evinced for the English, must have been aggravated by the policy planned by Neil, and carried through by his subordinates without the slightest discrimination. This was to "completely destroy all the villages close to, and forming the suburbs of, the city;" and to make a severe example by "laying the city under the heaviest possible contribution, to save it from destruction also." He expected great service from the gentlemen of the railway engineers, who formed the volunteer corps already alluded to; as these, with the faithful Native troopers, would enable him to strike a few blows against the zemindars and parties of insurgents he could not otherwise reach.¶ The leader of the volunteers, the "civilian" already quoted, undertook the mission with vengeful zest. He writes—"Every day we have had expeditions to burn and destroy disaffected villages, and we have taken our revenge. I have been appointed chief of a commission for the trial of all natives charged with offences against government and persons; day by day we have strung up eight and ten men. We have the power of life and death in our hands, and I assure you we spare not. A very summary trial is all that takes place; the condemned culprit is placed under a tree with a rope round his neck, on the top of a carriage; and, when it is pulled away, off he swings."**

One of the "rank and file" volunteers, a railway official, has also furnished an account of the proceedings of the corps; which entirely agrees with that of its leader.

|| Letter published in the *Times*, August 26th, 1857.

¶ Colonel Neil's despatch, June 17th, 1857.

** Letter of Allahabad civilian, June 28th, 1857.

* *Tatties*, thatched screens wetted to cool the air.

† Further Parl. Papers relative to the Mutinies, 1857 (not numbered), p. 48.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

After relating the outbreak of cholera, he proceeds to state—

“Colonel Neil immediately ordered all us civilians out of the fort. Stern and harsh as the order appeared, I verily believe that it was our salvation. The night we were turned out we slept on the ground on the glacis of the fort, under the shelter of the guns, all the males taking their turn as sentries to guard the women and children. Every native that appeared in sight was shot down without question, and in the morning Colonel Neil sent out parties of his regiment, although the poor fellows could hardly walk from fatigue and exhaustion, and burned all the villages near where the ruins of our bungalows stood, and hung every native they could catch, on the trees that lined the road. Another party of soldiers penetrated into the native city and set fire to it, whilst volley after volley of grape and canister was poured into the fugitives as they fled from their burning houses. In a few hours, such was the terror inspired, that it was deemed safe for us to go up to the station. Of course we never go out unarmed; and all men (natives) we employ are provided with a pass. Any man found without one, is strung up by the neck to the nearest tree.”*

The civilians were, perhaps, naturally more inveterate and indiscriminating in their vengeance than the military; having suffered greater destruction of property; but both combined to scourge the wretched peasantry. The official and private letters of the time have been largely and literally quoted in evidence of facts which would hardly be believed on other authority than that of the chief actors. The reinforcements of Fusiliers marked their way, from Benares to Allahabad, in blood and flame, not following the regular track, for that was almost deserted; but making *dours*, or forays, in the direction of suspected villages. Captain Fraser's detachment was joined by two civilians—Mr. Chapman and Mr. Moore, the magistrate of Mirzapoor. The troops were out some four or five days; leaving Benares on the 13th, and reaching Allahabad on the 19th of June. The account is too long for insertion; but it begins and ends with “burning villages”—a process to which civilians in general (being almost all of them, in some way or other, connected with the collection of the revenue) would probably not have been so partial, had they been fundholders instead of stipendiaries. Two villages near Gopeegunje were first visited with destruction. Their inhabitants were accused of having plundered grain. Captain Fraser and a party of Fusiliers proceeded thither, called on the principal persons to appear, and, finding they had escaped, set

* Letter of railway official, Allahabad, June 23rd. —*Daily News*, August 25th, 1857.

fire to the houses. Next came the turn of three zemindars, accused of having proclaimed themselves rajahs, and of plundering. Lieutenant Palliser, who, with eighty of the 13th irregular cavalry, had joined Fraser near Gopeegunje, went, with fifty of his men and Messrs. Chapman and Moore, to a village three miles off. They captured the zemindars, brought them into camp, tried them by court-martial, and hanged them before eight o'clock the same evening. At daybreak on the 16th, Fraser, with a hundred Fusiliers and the eighty Irregulars, marched in pursuit of “a man named Belour Sing, who, with 1,200 followers, was reported to be in a village five miles from the Grand Trunk road.” For the leader of 180 men to endeavour to apprehend the leader of 1,200 men, would seem somewhat rash; but Belour Sing did not abide the struggle; he fled, leaving his house and village, named Dobaar, to be burned by the Europeans. Everything was found to have been carried off except some grain and a small quantity of gunpowder. A reward of 200 rupees was offered by Mr. Chapman for the capture of the chief.

There was one gratifying incident in this expedition. A zemindar came to the camp one evening with a Native officer. The latter, who was in command of twelve sepoy, said that he and his companions had succeeded in preserving some government treasure, amounting to 12,000 rupees, although they had been attacked by dacoits, and the village burned. Captain Fraser proceeded to the spot, about a mile off the road between Baroad and Sydabad, and there found the faithful sepoy at their post.

There were a few more court-martial sentences, a village burned by the Fusiliers, and two by the irregular cavalry, before the series of murderous raids were brought to a conclusion by the arrival of the party, all unharmed, at Allahabad.† This sort of service may be spirited work for amateurs; but it is doubtful whether it does not materially injure the discipline, which is the soul of efficiency in a regular army. Shortly afterwards, as will be shown, Palliser's Irregulars, to his rage and disgust, refused to follow him in fair fight.

On the 30th of June, Neil states (in a private letter), that, for want of food and

† Captain Fraser's despatch, Allahabad, June 19th, 1857.—Further Papers, 1857 (not numbered), p. 47.

carriage, he had been unable to send a single man to relieve Cawnpoor; for the awful heat rendered it certain death to have moved troops without, or with only a few, tents. Besides, he adds—"I could not leave this, the most important fortress in India, insecure. To cover all, cholera has attacked us with fearful virulence. Within three days there were 121 cases in the Fusiliers alone, and fifty-seven deaths. I was so exhausted for a few days, I was obliged to lie down constantly, and only able to get up when the attacks were going on, and then I was obliged to sit down on the batteries to give my orders and directions."

On the afternoon of the same day, a column marched for Cawnpoor, under the direction of Major Renaud, "a gallant and

most intelligent officer,"* "brave even to rashness."† It consisted of 400 Europeans, 300 Seiks, 100 irregular cavalry, under Palliser, and two guns, under Lieutenant Harwood.

The first day's march was extremely trying, for the troops had to encounter a hot wind, "like the breath of a furnace." They had, besides, hot work to do, for "some villages were fired; and any native found in arms, who could not prove his asserted innocence, was summarily hanged, such being the instructions under which we acted."‡ On the 4th of July, the march was arrested by a brief message from Sir Henry Lawrence—"Halt where you now stand; or, if necessary, fall back."§ The reason was, that Cawnpoor had capitulated, and all the besieged were supposed to have perished.

CHAPTER XIV.

JHANSI, NOWGONG, CHUTTERPOOR, LOGASSEE, CHIRKAREE, KUBRAI, ADJYGHUR, BANDA, FUTTEHPOOR, HUMEERPOOR, JALOUN, OORAI, AND SUMPTER.—MAY AND JUNE, 1857.

ANOTHER district in the Cawnpoor (military) division was destined to take the second rank, amid the dreary scenes of mutiny, in connection with a treacherous, pitiless massacre, perpetrated at the instigation of an angry and ambitious woman, upon all the Europeans placed by the flood of revolt within her reach.

The annexation of Jhansi, and the contempt with which the lately reigning family were treated, have been shown in the introductory chapter. The independence of the little principality was gone beyond redemption, if English supremacy continued; and when the Ranee heard that the vast mercenary army of the Feringhees had revolted, she resolved to cast in her lot with them in a war of extermination. In the prime of life (some years under thirty), exceedingly beautiful, vigorous in mind and body, Lakshmi Bye had all the pride of the famous Rajpoot prince,|| who—

"rather than be less,
Cared not to be at all."

* *Mutiny of the Bengal Army*: by One who has served under Sir Charles Napier; p. 122.

† *Journal of Major North, 60th Rifles*; p. 26.

She was a heathen: the forgiveness of injuries was no article in her creed; and believing herself deeply injured by the infraction of the Hindoo laws of adoption and inheritance, she threw aside every consideration of tenderness for sex or age, and committed herself to a deadly struggle with the Supreme government, by an act, for which, as she must have well known, her own life would, in all human probability, pay the forfeit. Her relatives (that is, her father and sister) fought for and with her; but there is no proof that she had any able counsellor, but rather that she was herself the originator of the entire proceedings which made Jhansi an important episode in the war, from the time when the Ranee flung down the gauntlet by a reckless, ruthless massacre of men, women, and children of the hated usurping race, till the moment when she fell lifeless from her white war-horse, by the side of her dead sister.

Nowhere was the overweening confidence

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

|| The Rana Umra, the opponent of the Emperor Jehangeer.—*Tod's Rajast'han*, vol. i., p. 367.

of the English more remarkable than at Jhansi, which, as the residence of a Native court, had attained some importance for its trade and manufactures. The former rajah had paid great attention to the regulation of its streets and bazaars, which were remarkably clean and orderly.* Sleeman estimated its population at 60,000†—a very large number in proportion to the size of the place, and the state of which it was the capital. Jhansi town is situated among tanks and groves of fine timber trees, and is surrounded by a good wall. The palace was itself a fortress, built on a rock overlooking the town; and the imposing appearance of this lofty mass of stone, surmounted by a huge round tower, was justified by the number of cannon it possessed, said to amount to some thirty or forty pieces. The government had had repeated warning of the bitter discontent which the annexation of any state, however small, caused in the capital, by drying up the main source of income of the citizens, who depended for a livelihood on the expenditure of the court; yet Jhansi was left, fort and all, without a single European soldier.

Jhansi lies on the route from Agra to Saugor, 142 miles south of the former, 130 north of the latter, and 245 west of Allahabad. The troops in the station consisted of—

Detail of Foot Artillery—*Europeans*, none; *Natives*, 27. Wing of the 12th N.I.—*Europeans*, 6; *Natives*, 522. Head-quarters and wing of 14th Irregular Cavalry—*Europeans*, 5; *Natives*, 332.

In all—11 Europeans to 881 Natives.

In the spring of the year the cartridge question had been the pretext, or the cause, of excitement and disaffection; but the infantry at Jhansi and at Nowgong (the nearest military station), are asserted "to have become ashamed at the mention of it;" and the burning of empty bungalows had ceased some time before the outbreak of the mutiny.‡ Captain Dunlop, the officer in command of the station, had no distrust of the troops; and the commissioner, Captain Skene, and the deputy-commissioner, Captain Gordon, concurred, up to the last, in ridiculing the precautions taken at Nowgong. Such, at least, is the

* Thornton's *Gazetteer*.

† Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections*, vol. i., p. 282.

‡ Captain Scot, 12th N.I., to deputy-adjutant-general.—Parl. Papers on Mutinies (No. 4), p. 121.

statement of the case by Captain Scot, of the 12th N.I., then on duty at the latter station.§ Unfortunately, he writes from memory only; for the documents which would have shown, beyond the possibility of doubt, the state of affairs at Jhansi and Nowgong, were destroyed, with the other records, in the conflagration which took place at both places; and the accounts sent to Cawnpoor met a similar fate.

Captain Scot, however, states from his own knowledge, that some days before the mutiny occurred, Captain Dunlop sent over to Major Kirke, the officer in command at Nowgong, letters from Skene and Gordon, declaring that they had learned, from separate sources, that one Luckmun Rao (the servant of the Ranee of Jhansi) was doing his best to induce the 12th N.I. to mutiny; but whether with or without the authority of the Ranee, had not been ascertained. Subsequent letters spoke of spies, or agents of sedition, finding their way to the Native lines, and being strongly opposed by some of the more loyal and zealous sepoys. Of the fidelity of the Irregulars no suspicion appears to have been entertained; and, indeed, both at Jhansi and Nowgong, the infantry revolted first, though "the cavalry were the most bloodthirsty" afterwards.

The only European testimony on record regarding the mutiny, is a brief and scarcely legible note from Captain Dunlop. Concerning the massacre which ensued, there is none; for no European witness survived to tell the tale. The note runs thus:—

"To the Officer commanding at Nowgong.

"Jhansi, June 4th, 1857; 4 P.M.

"Sir,—The artillery and infantry have broken into mutiny, and have entered the Star Fort. No one has been hurt as yet. Look out for stragglers.

"Yours, &c.,

"J. DUNLOP."

This communication reached Major Kirke, by express, at eleven o'clock on the following day.

On the 10th, a letter in English came from Tewarry Hossein, the tehsildar of Mowranee poor (thirty miles from Nowgong), stating that he had heard of the murder of every European at Jhansi, and had received a perwannah, to the effect that the Ranee was seated on the gadi (Hindoo

§ See despatch last quoted; and a long letter published in the *Times*, September 11th, 1857; not signed, but evidently written by Captain Scot, to the wife of Lieutenant Ryves, acquainting her with that officer's escape to Gwalior and Agra.

throne), and that he was to carry on business as hitherto. He added, that he meant to leave the place at once; and he did so. The same afternoon, the mails that had been sent towards Jhansi on the 5th and subsequent days, were brought back in one bag, the runners having feared to enter the station.*

Many weeks elapsed before any authentic statements could be obtained of the proceedings at Jhansi, after the transmission of Captain Dunlop's note. At length Captain Scot ascertained and communicated to government the following account, which he obtained from three natives, one of whom was with the Europeans during the whole of the outbreak. The evidence was given by the three witnesses separately at Nowgong, Mahoba, and Banda; and agreed so nearly as to be received as trustworthy.

Only one company (7th) of the 12th N.I. mutinied on the 4th of June. Headed by a havildar, named Goor Bux, the men marched into the Star fort. This was a small building, where the guns and treasure were kept, close to the infantry guns.

Captain Dunlop paraded the rest of the 12th N.I., with the cavalry; and they all said they would stand by him. Disarming them, of course, was out of the question. Captain Dunlop was an energetic officer, and had been reported, by General Wheeler, a few days before, as "a man for the present crisis." Seeing that all continued quiet, he employed himself, on the 6th of June, in preparing shells at the quarter-guard of the 12th N.I. He then posted some letters; and in returning from the office, with Ensign Taylor, crossed or approached the parade. Here he and his companion were shot dead by some of the 12th. The poor ensign had only arrived at Jhansi a few days before, having made great haste to rejoin his regiment, when the mutiny began. Lieutenant Campbell, 15th N.I., serving with the 14th Irregulars, escaped to the palace-fort, where Lieutenant Burgess, of the revenue survey department, with

several English and Eurasian subordinates, had been for some time residing. On the evening of the 4th of June, they were joined by Captain Skene, his wife and two children; Lieutenant Gordon, Dr. M'Egan, his wife and sister; Lieutenant Powys, his wife and child; Mrs. G. Browne, her sister and child; and the English and Eurasian *employés* in the Civil and Canal departments, and Salt excise. Lieutenant G. Browne, the deputy-commissioner, fled to Oorai, with Ensign Browne and Lieutenant Lamb.† Lieutenant Ryves‡ and another European, named McKellar, escaped to Gwalior. Lieutenant Turnbull took refuge in a tree, but was discovered and shot down. Whether the Europeans in the fort held any communication with the Rance is not known; but they are stated to have remained unmolested till the 7th of June, and to have been employed, during the interval, in endeavouring to get provisions and ammunition into the fort (though with very partial success), and in piling stones against the gates to prevent their being opened. Unhappily there were traitors within, as well as rebels without. Lieutenant Powys was found by Captain Burgess, lying bleeding from a wound in the neck. He survived just long enough to point out the four assassins who had attacked him. These were Mussulmans employed in the revenue survey; they were immediately put to death.§ When attacked, the Europeans are said to have made great havoc among the besiegers with rifles and guns; but to have themselves lost only one of their number, Captain Gordon, who was shot through the head while leaning over the parapet, pulling up a bucket which a syce in the lower enclosure had filled with wheat. The little garrison appears to have been totally unprovisioned for a siege. The letters written by Dunlop to Kirke, before the partial mutiny on the 4th, prove this; and afterwards, it was probably as much as the officers could do to obtain supplies for the party within the walls. Attempts were vainly made to send word to Nagode and

* Further Parl. Papers, 1857 (No. 4), p. 125.

† Statement of Commissioner Erskine.—*London Gazette*, May 6th, 1857; p. 2248.

‡ In the *East India Army List* for 1858, Lieutenant Ryves is mentioned as having been killed on the 6th at Jhansi; but this must be an error. He quitted Jhansi, with a detachment, two or three days before the mutiny; and although he may have returned there, he certainly reached both Gwalior and Agra some time later.—Officer's Letters, in *Times*, September 3rd and 11th, 1857.

§ This is the account given by the native with the Europeans in the fort; but according to the statement of another native in the city at the time, the immediate incentive to the murder of Lieutenant Powys was, that that officer seeing Captain Burgess' *khitmutgar* (table-attendant) attempting to pull down the stones that secured the gates, shot him; whereupon, the brother of the fallen man cut down the officer with his tulwar, and was instantly put to death by Lieutenant Burgess.—Further Parl. Papers, 1857 (No. 4), p. 132.

to Gwalior for help: some of the clerks tried to escape in native clothes, letting themselves down by ropes; but they were caught and killed.

Kala Khan, risaldar of the 14th cavalry, was active in the assault. Ahmed Hossein, the tehsildar of Jhansi, likewise took a leading part, in connection with the adherents of the Ranee. The men employed in the Salt excise joined in the attack. The Europeans felt that the struggle was hopeless, and the Hindoos and Mohammedans are alleged to have induced them to surrender, by swearing that their lives should be spared. Captain Skene opened the gates, and marched out.* The traitors instantly threw their vows to the wind; and, separating the men from the women, tied the former in a row by ropes, took the whole party into a garden in or near the city, and there beheaded them all except John Newton, the quartermaster of the 12th N.I. (a very dark half-caste), his wife, and four little children. This family was spared by the rebels, and carried off by them when they were driven from Jhansi. Lieutenant Powys is thought to have died in the fort. He could not walk out with the rest of the party. His wife was torn from him, and fell in the general massacre. "The men died first," writes Captain Scot; "Burgess taking the lead, his elbows tied behind his back, and a prayer-book in his hands. What a sad end for so kind-hearted and unselfish a man! But to die confessing the faith is a noble death. The rest died in the same way. They tried hard to get the women and children saved." But it was in vain. The Ranee does not appear to have been appealed to; but it is too probable that it was by the orders of this ambitious and childless widow—disinherited herself, and prohibited from exercising the right of adoption—that the ruthless deed was consummated. The women, we are told, "stood with their babes in their arms, and the older children holding their gowns. They had to see the men killed;" but there was every reason to believe "they were spared any violence save death."†

The care bestowed by Captain Scot, in his official capacity, in sifting and collecting evidence from every available source, would, under any circumstances, be very commendable; but is specially satisfactory,

* The day on which the surrender was made, appears to have been the 8th of June.

† Captain Scot's Letter.—*Times*, Sept. 11th, 1857.

as refuting the painful story which went the round of the English and Indian journals at the time, with regard to the fate of Captain Skene and his young wife. Their friends may be sure they joined with their fellow-Christians in "confessing the faith;" and were probably better prepared to meet death by the sword, than many of their countrymen might be to struggle with the great adversary on their beds in England. But the long interval which elapsed before the particulars above related were ascertained, gave room for the wildest rumours. Captain Scot's account was not published until August. In the meantime, the following extract from a letter, said to have been written from India to a relative of the maligned officer, was published far and wide:—

"Frank Gordon, Alic Skene, his wife, and a few peons, managed to get into a small round tower when the disturbance began; the children and all the rest were in other parts of the fort—altogether, sixty. Gordon had a regular battery of guns, also revolvers; and he and Skene picked off the rebels as fast as they could fire, Mrs. Skene loading for them. The peons say they never missed once; and before it was all over they killed thirty-seven, besides many wounded. The rebels, after butchering all in the fort, brought ladders against the tower, and commenced swarming up. Frank Gordon was shot through the forehead, and killed at once. Skene then saw it was no use going on any more, so he kissed his wife, shot her, and then himself."

Information subsequently obtained, regarding the massacre, tended to confirm the evidence adduced against the Ranee. Mr. Thornton, the deputy-collector, writing on the 18th of August, states it as the general impression, that the mutineers, after killing their own officers and plundering the treasury (which contained about £45,000), were going off; and it was wholly at the instigation of the Jhansi princess, with a view to her obtaining possession of the district, that they, together with other armed men furnished by the Ranee, attacked the fort. He adds, that they induced the Europeans to surrender, by solemnly swearing to allow them to depart unmolested; notwithstanding which, "they allowed them to be massacred by the Ranee's people in their presence, in a most cruel and brutal manner, having no regard to sex or age. For this act, the mutineers are said to have received from her 35,000 rupees in cash, two elephants, and five horses. The Ranee has now raised a body of about 14,000 men, and has twenty guns, which had been kept concealed by the former Jhansi chief, by being buried within

the fort, and of which nothing was known to our officers. I am not certain whether she intends to make any resistance in case our troops come to this quarter; but none of the other native chiefs in Bundelcund have as yet turned against our government."*

Leaving the Ranee to possess, for a brief space, the blood-stained gadi of Jhansi, we follow the stream of revolt in the sister-station of

Nowgong.—The troops stationed here were almost the counterpart of those at Jhansi; but happily there was no vindictive princess at Nowgong to urge them on to imbrue their hands in the blood of their officers, or their helpless families. The troops consisted of—

A company of Artillery—*Europeans*, 2; *Natives*, 105. Head-quarters and right wing of 12th N.I.—*Europeans*, 6; *Natives*, 604. Left wing of the 14th Irregular Cavalry—*Europeans*, 1; *Natives*, 273.†

In all—nine Europeans to 982 Natives.

The first symptoms of disaffection were manifested by the burning of empty bungalows, which commenced on the 23rd of April, and was evidently the work of incendiaries, though the guilty persons could not be discovered. The excitement subsided, and matters went on quietly until the 23rd of May, up to which time the Europeans were very imperfectly informed of the fatal events which had occurred in other stations. On that day, the risaldar in command of the cavalry, informed Major Kirke that his corps had learned, by letter from Delhi, the murder of every Christian in that city. He appeared to wonder at the little the Europeans knew of the proceedings in Delhi, while he and his companions were so well-informed on the subject. On the same day, Major Kirke's orderly, a sepoy of the 12th N.I., rushed into the major's house, and told him that he had just got away from a party of twenty or so Poorbeahs and Boondelas, who had asked him to point out the officers' mess-house. They seemed to be disappointed in the non-appearance of an accomplice to guide them. The orderly said he had made an excuse and got away from them. Major Kirke, with his adjutant, his son, and one or two armed sepoys, went to the spot indicated, after having caused it to be surrounded by sowars (under the command of

the risaldar before mentioned), that no person might escape. Only three men were captured: one ran off; and rather than stop, or make a reply, beyond saying he was a sepoy, let himself be fired at three times: the two others found a hiding-place in a hollow tree, till the party had passed, and then darted off towards the artillery lines, which were afterwards vainly searched for the fugitives. The risaldar was believed to have connived at their escape; and he endeavoured to persuade the Europeans that the orderly's story was altogether a fabrication; but Major Kirke considered that the sepoy had made up a story to put the officers on their guard, not choosing to reveal the actual circumstances. From that night the Irregulars, both officers and men, behaved in a most unsatisfactory manner; the former with the "freezing politeness which Mohammedans well know how to assume;" the latter doing duty in a gay, careless fashion, as much as to say, "It will soon be at an end—we are merely amusing ourselves obeying orders;" while even the sick in the hospital were insolent to the doctors, until a few days before the mutiny, when the ill-feeling either subsided or was disguised. The 12th N.I. were most suspected; but the officers slept nightly in their lines; and in the first few days of June, mutual confidence appeared restored. The Europeans, relieved by the altered tone of the sowars, considered that the news of the massacre of the Christians at Delhi, had possibly roused a fanatical feeling, which had subsequently given place to a conviction "that their pay and earthly prospects were not to be despised."‡ This was deemed the case with the risaldar, who had been specially distrusted. He was a grey-headed man, of delicate constitution, and his rank and pay were important considerations; and he evinced much distress on hearing the state of affairs at Jhansi, as communicated in Captain Dunlop's letter, received at 11 A.M. on the 5th of June. The Europeans reminded him that no word had come of the Irregulars mutinying; but he said he much feared they would do so, as they had very few officers, European or Native, and most of the men were very young. Before the Jhansi news reached Nowgong, four out of five companies of the wing of the 12th N.I. (following the example of the 70th N.I.) had volunteered

* Further Parl. Papers (No. 4), p. 169.

† Parl. Return, 9th February, 1858; p. 3.

‡ Report of Captain Scot.—Further Papers, 1857 (No. 4), p. 122.

to serve against the mutineers. Major Kirke, on the reception of Captain Dunlop's letter, ordered a parade; and after addressing the 12th on the subject of their offer, and promising to communicate this evidence of their loyalty to government, he proceeded to announce to the troops the news of partial mutiny just received. "The right wing, 12th N.I., when asked if they would stand by the colours, rushed forward to them as one man, and were enthusiastic in their expressions of fidelity. The artillery company embraced their guns with expressions of devotion. The men of the 14th said at once they would be true to the government. They expressed no enthusiasm."*

The officers were much gratified by the conduct of the men, especially of the artillery. Some few days previously, four of their company had been seized on an accusation of mutiny, and sent off as prisoners to Chutterpoor. On the same evening (June 1st), Major Kirke had the whole of the guns of the battery brought in front of the quarter-guard of the 12th N.I., and the same precaution was continued every night. The artillery company had "been cheerful and well-disposed" until then; but they are described as feeling "affronted and humiliated by this measure."

Early on the 5th, before the parade, forty of the 14th Irregulars, under a Native officer, had been dispatched to Lullutpoor, and a similar party to Jhansi. The latter marched to within ten miles of that place; and then, on learning the mutiny of the infantry, turned back. The first tidings regarding the fate of Captain Dunlop and Ensign Taylor, were brought by the shepherd of the left wing mess. "The 12th men, at Nowgong, seemed horrified at the news:" most certainly (Captain Scot adds) "they were sincerely so;" but the bazaar people were very anxious to send away their women and children, which Major Kirke would not allow them to do. For some time the Europeans had been looking round them for the means of escape; and the government camels, only eight in number, had been called for and examined. Murmurs immediately arose that the camels had been sent for to remove the treasure, and that it was actually being drawn

out in small sums, with the intention of placing the whole under the charge of "the Gurowlee rajah."† The treasure was felt to be "the danger all along." The 12th continued to manifest good-will, attachment, and respect to their officers; and the senior survivor of these (Captain Scot) gives the greater number credit for sincerity, considering that they mutinied under intimidation, and from an infatuated feeling that mutiny was a matter of destiny, Benares Brahmins having predicted it.

All continued quiet till sunset on the 10th of June. The officers had for some time dined at 4 o'clock, with the view of going early to the lines to prevent mischief. On the evening in question, some had left the mess-room; but others remained discussing the engrossing topic of public and private interest. Dr. Mawe (assistant-surgeon) urged on Captain Scot the advisability of abandoning the station, because it "was impossible that the men at Nowgong would stand fast after their brothers at Jhansi had rebelled, and were still so near."

As if in confirmation of this opinion, several musket-shots were heard. Lieutenant Townsend, of the artillery, and Lieutenant Ewart, mounted their horses, and galloped straight to the lines, arriving just in time to see the guns in the hands of the mutineers. Mrs. Mawe, Lieutenant Franks, Mr. Smalley, and other Europeans, had witnessed the outbreak. It occurred at the moment when the six artillery guns were as usual brought to the 12th N.I. brigade, and preparations were being made for relieving guard. "A tall, dare-devil Seik" walked forward, followed by two others. Loading his piece, he took deliberate aim at the havildar-major, a brave and faithful officer, and shot him dead. The three Seiks then rushed on the guns. The artillery sergeant made some attempt to defend them, but none of the gunners stood by him; and when the European officers tried to rally their men, and induce them to follow them in making a dash at the guns, no one would move: all were panic-stricken or mutinous. Major Kirke, finding that about 100 men had assembled at the mess-house, strove to induce them to march with him against the mutineers; and when compelled to relinquish this idea, he insisted on holding the mess-house. The arguments of the officers on the utter hopelessness of such a proceeding, were effectively seconded by the appearance of a 9-pounder, brought by

* Report of Captain Scot.—Further Parl. Papers, 1857 (No. 4), p. 124.

† *Ibid.*, p. 125.

the rebels to expedite the retreat of the Feringhees, not one of whom were injured. The sepoy with Major Kirke showed strong attachment to his person; and several Native officers, with eighty-seven non-commissioned officers and men of the 12th, one artilleryman, and about twenty bandmen and their families, accompanied the Europeans in their flight. Besides these, there were others who would gladly have shared the perils of the fugitives, had they been able to escape with them. One "noble old man," an invalided subahdar of fifty years' service, had willingly remained with his company, and had done everything that lay in his power to avert a mutiny. When the news arrived of the outbreak at Jhansi, he stood beside the guns with spikes and a hammer, ready to render them useless in the event of immediate revolt. Sirdar Khan, a pay havildar, and a private, Seeta Ram (steward of the stores), excited the wrath of the mutineers by their determined loyalty, and would have been killed but that the guns could not be worked without them. Sirdar Khan was taken from Nowgong, tied on a charpoy, by the rebels; and as those guns were subsequently captured at Futtehpour, it is probable that he perished on that occasion—one of the many innocent victims during this fatal epoch.

None of the English officers* at Nowgong had any female relatives to protect—whether from being unmarried, or from having sent their wives away, does not appear; but the sergeants, bandmaster, clerks, and others, had their families with them; so that, altogether, there were forty women and children to be cared for. The number of the male Europeans is not stated by Captain Scot, but it was probably considerably less than that of their helpless companions. At daybreak on the following morning, by means of a scanty supply of horse and camel conveyances, the party reached *Chutterpoor*, the capital of a small Hindoo state of the same name, happily not included in our recent annexations. The experience of the Nowgong officials, contrasts forcibly with that of their ill-fated neighbours at Jhansi. Chutterpoor was governed by the mother of the young heir;

and although the mutineers sent threatening messages to the regent, forbidding her to shelter the Europeans, yet the "Ranee," ruling for her son, did not mind them," but showed the fugitives much kindness, and allotted for their use the handsome serai built by the late rajah for the accommodation of travellers. Before the mutiny, she had sent word to Major Kirke, that her guns and treasury were at his service whenever he might require them; and he now borrowed a thousand rupees from her, there being very little money among the party.† Some of her chief officers being Mohammedans, were displeased at this, and said that the troops had risen for "deen" (the faith), and that the Ranee did wrong in taking part with the Feringhees; but she was firm: and when, during the night, some sepoy coming to join their officers, caused an alarm that the rebels were approaching, a large force turned out to oppose them. Captain Scot remarks—"I mention this to show that the Ranee was determined to defend us." On the 12th of June, Major Kirke sent two officers back to Nowgong, to obtain some mess-stores. The mutineers were gone, the government treasury had been plundered of 1,21,494 rupees, the artillery magazine was quite empty, and the magazine of the 12th N.I. had been blown up.‡ All the thatched bungalows had been burned, but the artillery and cavalry lines were uninjured; and although an attempt had been made to fire the lines of the 12th N.I., little harm had been done, the huts being tiled. Hundreds of villagers were busy stripping the roofs of the public buildings, and carrying off the timber; and although a guard from Chutterpoor had been sent to protect the station, the men contented themselves with watching over some grain in the Sudder bazaar, and did not seem to think it worth while to prevent the plunder of the wood-work, which Captain Scot says they might easily have done; "for Lieutenant Townsend and myself cleared the station by firing a few shots so as not to hurt any one." He adds, however, that "the official in charge thought our rule was over, and the station his Ranee's for the future; and my orders were listened to, but not carried out." Before leaving Nowgong,

* Major Kirke and his son, Scot, Townsend, Jackson, Remington, Ewart, Franks, and Barber.

† Letter written by Mrs. Mawe.—*Star*, Oct. 29, 1857.

‡ The 12th N.I. obtained in the magazines at Nowgong and Jhansi, 1,225 lbs. of gunpowder for

musketry, besides some barrels of coarse powder for cannon; 360,000 percussion-caps; 130,000 ball-cartridges, 20,000 blank cartridges, and about 10,000 carbine ball-cartridges; left by the 6th light cavalry.—*Parl. Papers* (No. 4), p. 131.

the two officers made provision for the necessities of a dying sepoy, whom they found in one of the hospitals; and for an old bedridden woman, the grandmother of a sepoy musician, who had gone off with the rebels. They then proceeded to "the Logassee rajah's, nine miles off;" and there found Major Kirke. He had started with the other Europeans from Chutterpoor; but suddenly losing his senses,* had imagined the sepoys wanted to murder him; quitted the party without giving any warning, and fled alone by night to *Logassee*—the chief place of another small Bundelcund state, on the route from Calpee to Jubbulpoor. In 1808, the then rajah, a chief of ancient Boondela lineage, had been confirmed in possession of his little fort and territory of twenty-nine square miles in extent, on condition of obedience to the British government. The present rajah treated the fugitives "most kindly," and they passed the night under his protection; yet the major could not be soothed, but persisted in imagining all sorts of horrible deeds were being meditated by his host. The three officers left Logassee on the following morning, under a guard furnished by another Bundelcund chieftainess, the Rancee of Nyagong.

Meantime, the Europeans and sepoys had marched on to Mahoba, where they arrived on the 15th, expecting to overtake Major Kirke. The sepoys expressed great dissatisfaction at his prolonged absence, murmuring that all their officers intended leaving them gradually, and declaring that they would not proceed till they had found their major. A pressing letter was addressed to him on the subject;† and it appears to have reached him; for he and his two companions joined the party at Mahoba on the 16th, bringing with them a cartload of wine, tea, and other supplies from Nowgong. The sepoys welcomed their officers most joyfully. They had been distressed by a report of their having been murdered; and "were actually weeping" with suspense and sorrow when the major arrived. The original destination of the party had been Allahabad; but news of the disturbances at Banda and Humeerpoor induced a change of route; and, on the evening of the 17th,

they proceeded towards Kallinger and Mirzapoor. Mr. Carne, the deputy-collector of Mahoba, accompanied the fugitives, making arrangements with the rajah of *Chirkaree* (another Bundelcund dependent state, under the rule of a Rajpoot family) for the charge of the Mahoba district, and obtaining from the rajah a sum of money for the expenses of the journey. A heavy demand was soon made on this fund. At mid-day on the 18th, during a halt under some trees, at a little distance from a pass between two hills, through which the road lay, a message was received from a man called Pran Sing, the leader of a party of dacoits, demanding 1,000 rupees as the price of escorting the fugitives in safety to Kallinger. At first, a refusal was resolved on; but the Native officers and men urged the payment of the money; and, as they had been most obedient and anxious to please, the Europeans let them have their own way in the matter. "The men accordingly paid down 300 rupees to the head of the party, and applied to the officers for 400 rupees, to make up the advance agreed on. It was given them, and the whole paid to Pran Sing," to whom 300 more were promised on reaching Kallinger.

The next morning, before daybreak, as the Europeans were preparing to move on without Pran Sing (who had not appeared), the camp was fired into from a tree between it and the pass. The sepoys began to fire wildly in return; and the treacherous dacoits commenced in earnest. "The major now came to his senses, and was himself, from being a child who spoke of a mango, or something to eat and drink, as if it were his life." He went among the sepoys, striving to induce them to force the pass; but they were utterly disheartened, and complained that their guns could not carry so far; while the matchlockmen were picking them off from the hills. Lieutenant Townsend fell, shot through the heart; and the party retreated towards Mahoba, leaving their buggies and carts in the hands of the robbers. Some of the Europeans fled on horseback; others on foot. Dr. Mawe and Mr. Smalley, the band-sergeant, walked from daylight till past noon, keeping up with the main body. The sepoys remained close to Major Kirke, who, as soon as the excitement of the skirmish had subsided, relapsed into imbecility; and, on reaching the outskirts of a village three miles from Mahoba, fell from his horse, and expired

* Captain Scot says, Major Kirke's "health had been failing; and now, from want of tea, and wine, and beer, he was quite gone."—*Times*, September 11th, 1857.

† Statement of Sergeant Kirchoff.—Further Parl. Papers on Mutiny, 1857 (not numbered), p. 77.

shortly after. Several others perished, but the major only was buried; the sepoy, true to the last, digging his grave with their bayonets, under a tree near the spot where he fell. A sergeant (Raite), overcome with the effects of previous drunkenness, would proceed no further, but went into a deserted toll-house on the road-side to sleep, and was left behind. Sergeant-major Lucas, a very large, heavy man, was suddenly struck by the sun. He fell; then rose; staggered a few paces—fell again, and never stirred more. Mrs. Langdale, the wife of a writer, was lost on the road; she had great difficulty in walking, being extremely stout: at last, Captain Scot says, "her husband left her, and she died or was killed." Captain Scot himself was at one time in the rear, and lost sight of the main body. He sent on Lieutenant Ewart, who was with him, to the front; but Ewart became delirious from the sun, and told the corps that the captain was close to them, when he was, in reality, miles behind. The column, therefore, pushed on, leaving Scot, hampered with women and children, to follow as best he could. He had brought away Lieutenant Townsend's horse, as well as his own; and by this means he was enabled to convey his helpless companions. In his official report, he scarcely refers to his own doings; but, writing privately to England, he says—"My work that day was terrible. I had to try to lug along two fat old women, while I carried three children on my horse, and tried to keep back the sepoy who were with me. The senior havildar got more and more savage, and wanted me to leave the children and the women; but I would not; and, thank God, they did not leave us. I came at last to Mr. Smalley, sitting beside his wife. She seemed dead, but it was doubtful; so I took her up before me, and gave a boy (one of the three children before mentioned) to my writer, who had got hold of my horse. It was a most arduous task to keep the utterly inert body on the horse, as I placed her as women ride; but after a while she seemed dead. I held a consultation about it, and we left the body. I then got on foot. I was lame from an awful kick of a horse, and had only a strip of cloth on one foot;

* Letter dated June 24th.—*Times*, September 11th, 1857.

† Letter from commissioner of Allahabad, July 4th.—Further Parl. Papers on Mutiny, 1857 (not numbered), p. 130.

but poor Smalley was worse off, and he got on my horse, and Mrs. Tierney behind; her two children each got a seat on the two horses; and thus I reached the main body."*

The sepoy had halted at a well, waiting for the arrival of Captain Scot, now their senior officer. At three o'clock the party entered *Kubrai* (a small town in Jaloun), twenty-four miles from Banda, where a "Nana Sahib" had usurped authority; this being supposed to be a title assumed by an agent of the Nana of Bithoor. The tacit ill-will shown in several villages through which the fugitives had passed, led the sepoy to request their officers to deliver up their arms, and to suffer themselves to be escorted as prisoners. This they did; and the sepoy described themselves as rebels, and bade the townspeople bring food for the captives, and forage for the horses, on pain of incurring the displeasure of the King of Delhi, by whose order the Europeans were being taken to the nawab of Banda. The townspeople assented, and brought chupatties and sweetmeats for the Europeans, who sat on the ground surrounded by hundreds of natives. "Not one said an uncivil word. Some," Captain Scot writes, "said our rule had been very just; some expressed sorrow; some, it struck me, did their utmost to get a few of us killed for the amusement of the city." When it grew dark the crowd dispersed; and the sepoy, being alone with the Europeans, told them that the trick of their pretended hostility had been discovered; that the Christian drummers had been seized and taken into the town by a rebel moonshee and a Mohammedan officer; and that, as the whole country was against the Europeans, it would be better for them to separate and shift for themselves. They spoke "sadly and respectfully." Their plan was adopted; certificates of loyalty were given to the whole of the eighty-seven sepoy, and they all made their way to Allahabad, thirty-five of them meeting Mr. Corregan (superintendent of roads) with a party escaping from Futtehpour, and escorting them to Allahabad.†

The original Nowgong fugitives had considerably diminished before reaching *Kubrai*. Mr. Carne had quitted them, and sought and found refuge with the rajah of Chirkaree. A writer, named Johnson, preferred remaining to take his chance at *Kubrai*; and the Mrs. Tierney, before mentioned, was also left behind with

her two children. "She was," Captain Scot remarks, "the wife of some sergeant that she had deserted for our sergeant-major:" "she had no chance of her life with us; and I had good hopes she would not be injured at Kubrai." Mrs. Tierney made her way to Mutoun, a large place between Kubrai and Banda. Sergeant Raite did the same. Mr. Langdale and another writer, named Johnson, also proceeded thither, and were protected, and most kindly treated, by an influential zemindar.

The other Europeans resumed their flight, in accordance with the advice of the sepoys. There were eleven adults and two children, and only nine horses. A Sergeant Kirchoff, who had been employed in the Canal department, under Lieutenant Powys, had joined them at Mahoba, with his wife, on foot; and their arrival increased the difficulties of the journey. On the following morning, while moving along the Banda road, the villagers came out, armed with long bamboos, and attacked the fugitives. Captain Scot was bringing up the rear, with Lieutenant Ewart; and they turned, and fired their pistols at the yelling mob, but without effect. At last two troopers and some armed foot joined the rabble, and Mrs. Kirchoff fell from the horse on which she had been placed. Her husband "seemed quite unable to put her on again;" and Captain Scot, feeling that they could not desert her, strove to dismount and fight on foot, being unable to do anything on horseback, hampered as he was with Mr. Smalley behind him, and "little Lottie," a girl of two years old, in his arms. He had just taken the poor child from her parents, Dr. and Mrs. Mawe, who were riding together on one horse, and scarcely able to support themselves. His intention of dismounting was frustrated. His horse, a runaway by habit, being pierced by a spear flung by one of the assailants, galloped off at full speed, with the weapon sticking in its right hock, and stopped only on reaching a water-course it could not leap. Lieutenant Franks soon came up: a loose horse had attacked him and his mare, and, after chasing him round the combatants, had compelled him to gallop off. Lieutenant Remington had followed. The four took counsel, and, believing that their late companions had perished or escaped in another direction, they went sadly on their way. Little Lottie was safe; her preserver had thrown away his pistol in order to hold her fast.

As they proceeded, they continued to find "the villagers in the British territory most hostile," with one exception—that of a very poor man, named Ferukh Khan, who sheltered and fed them. At noon on Sunday, the 21st, while lying under some trees, they became aware of the vicinity of a concourse of armed men. Captain Scot snatched up the child, but, knowing that his horse was worn out, made no attempt at escape. The other Europeans had mounted, and got off a few yards: he entreated them to ride away, but they returned to share his fate. They were all taken to a village, where, Captain Scot says, "one old rascal looked at me maliciously, and made a hacking movement with his hand against his throat, as a suggestion of what we deserved, and what we should get." On reaching Banda, they fully expected to be put to death, having "only a very faint hope that God might spare them." They went through thousands of zealous Mohammedans to the nawab's palace; and then, to their inexpressible relief, were "pulled inside the gate," and assured they were safe.

The rest of the party were at first more fortunate than had been anticipated, for they succeeded in driving off the villagers, and escaping uninjured. Lieutenant Jackson shot the man who speared Captain Scot's horse; and Mrs. Kirchoff's horse having run off, he took her up behind him, and rode away, followed by the other Europeans; she sitting astride, and being tied to him, from the 20th to the 24th, when they reached Adjyghur. The fatigue must have been excessive, for they went forty miles one day.* By the 21st they had crossed the river Cane, five miles below Banda, and were resting near a nullah in that neighbourhood, when, being threatened by some villagers, they remounted and resumed their flight. Dr. and Mrs. Mawe were left behind: they fell together from their horse; and Sergeant Kirchoff, who had been previously holding it while they mounted, let the bridle go, having to attend to his own wife. Lieutenant Barber soon afterwards fell from his horse as if shot, and was left by the way, dead or dying. Lieutenant Ewart was struck by the sun on the 22nd, and lay senseless on the ground. He was "the most fearless of men;"† and even in their extreme peril and exhaustion, his companions made an effort to save him.

* Captain Scot.—*Times*, September 11th, 1857.

† *Ibid.*

Harvey Kirke (the son of the late major) went to a village for some water, but came back with a hooting rabble at his heels, and the Europeans were compelled to leave their brave comrade to breathe his last among foes. Shortly after this they alighted at a village to rest; but Lieutenant Jackson having observed something suspicious in the manner of the natives, passed the word to mount and ride off. Kirchoff, after helping his wife to her seat behind Lieutenant Jackson, and lifting a little child of Mr. Smalley's into the arms of Harvey Kirke (who had taken charge of it), went to loose his own horse; but before he was well in his saddle, several blows from lattees, or long sticks, caused him to fall to the ground. The other three adults escaped, and entered a village in the Adjyghur territory; but the child died on the road.

Adjyghur,—is a dependent native state, with an area of 340 square miles; bounded on the north by the native state of Chirkaree and the British district of Banda; on the south and east by the native state of Punnah; and on the west by Chutterpoor. The inauguration of British supremacy, about half a century before, had been attended by one of the terrible tragedies characteristic of the proud Rajpoot race. The fort of Adjyghur was surrendered in February, 1809, by Luchmun Sing Dowra, to the British, on condition of receiving an equivalent in lands in the plain. In the following June, Luchmun Sing proceeded to Calcutta, without giving notice of his intention to the British authorities at Adjyghur: they distrusted him, and resolved on imprisoning in the fort his female relatives, whom he had left at Tirowni, in the immediate vicinity. The father-in-law of the chief, being directed to make arrangements for removing the ladies, entered their dwelling, and fastened the door after him. A considerable time elapsed, yet he did not return. At length, no sound of life being heard, an entrance was effected by the roof, and all the inmates of the house—women, children, and the old man himself, were found with their throats cut. Not a cry or groan had been heard by the listeners outside, who were keeping watch to prevent the possibility of escape. The members of the heroic household, misled by an erroneous creed, had sacrificed themselves with one accord to preserve inviolate the honour of their house and their personal purity. After this catastrophe, Luchmun Sing was pronounced a

usurper, and Adjyghur, after being overrun by British troops, was made over to a chief named Bukht Khan (who claimed to be its legitimate rajah), on condition of the payment to the E. I. Company of an annual tribute of 7,750 rupees.*

Probably the three Nowgong fugitives had little acquaintance with the antecedents of their nation in Adjyghur. At all events they were kindly received there; and after resting some days, were sent on to Nagode, which they reached on the 29th of June. At this place they found Kirchoff, who, after being plundered by the villagers, had been suffered to depart, and had reached another village in Adjyghur, where he had been well treated, and sent on immediately.

It remains only to notice the fate of Dr. and Mrs. Mawe. Their horse having galloped off, they sat down on the ground, expecting to be killed. Dr. Mawe was quite prepared for death, having previously taken leave of his wife, and communicated to her his last wishes respecting their "four little girls in Ireland." Some natives came up and plundered them; and shortly after this, Dr. Mawe died. He had lost his hat, and had suffered fearfully in the head in consequence, until his wife found a sepoy's cap on the ground, and gave it him (being herself bareheaded all the time): but he retained his senses; and his last words were, "Poor Lottie! I am glad to know she is safe with Scot." The new-made widow, scarcely knowing what she did, bound his head and face in her dress—"for there was no earth to bury him;" and then went to the nullah, and sat down in the water on a stone, to cool her burning feet. Some more natives came up, and searched her for money. She got away from them (with her wedding-ring hidden in her hair), and walked barefooted three miles to a village, where she remained that night, and was sent to the nawab of Banda on the following morning, there to be greeted by the child who had been almost miraculously preserved.† Captain Scot remarks, regarding the baby-heroine of his tale—"How that child, two years old, lived, I know not; angels must have had their wings over it. On the 19th and 20th, its head was for hours bare to the sun. On the 22nd, I made a rag into a sort of turban. She,

* Thornton's *Gazetteer*; and *Asiatic Annual Register*, for 1809.

† Narrative of Mrs. Mawe.

aged three years in mind, during her ride, was as healthy as any child in England. She felt more horrified than Leonora after her ride with William, and could not endure my approach after her mother came.”*

The begum of Banda had sent for the child immediately on her arrival, and provided English clothes and other necessities for her use; making her a present of twenty rupees. She extended her kindness to Mrs. Mawe, who remained a fortnight at Banda, and to whom the begum gave, at their parting interview, a pair of earrings, on a little silver plate. Mrs. Mawe and her child went to Calcutta, and thence to England.

Thus ends the history of the escape from Nowgong, in the course of which many Europeans perished; but not one of them by the hands of the sepoys. The only blood shed by the Nowgong mutineers, was that of a Christian drummer named George Dick, an African.

Banda,—is a British district in Bundelcund, bounded by Futtehpour on the north, and Humeerpoor on the west. The nawab, who protected the Nowgong fugitives, was a merely nominal prince, residing at Banda (the chief place of the district), in a handsome and strong palace, with an income of £40,000 a-year, guaranteed to the family by the East India Company in 1812; and maintaining a force of between four and five hundred men, comprising infantry, cavalry, and artillery, dressed and equipped in imitation of the British troops. The cantonments of the latter were situated on the east bank of the river Cane, or Keyn, and were occupied in June, 1857, by about 250 of the 1st N.I. †

The information published regarding the outbreak here, is very defective. The notices scattered through the Blue Books, are few and conflicting; and the Banda officials do not appear to have, either in their public or private capacity, furnished evidence regarding the reason of their sudden evacuation

* Letter of Captain Scot.—*Times*, September 11th, 1857.

† Letter of Major Ellis, from Nagode. The Nagode commissioner, in separate despatches (June and September), asserts that it was two companies of the 50th, at Banda, who “mutinied, and plundered the treasure;” but this seems altogether a mistake.—Further Parl. Papers (not numbered), p. 11; and Further Parl. Papers (No. 4), p. 272. The Parliamentary Return (House of Commons, February 9th, 1858), which gives the number and description of troops at each station at the time of the mutiny at

of the station. The summary of events dispatched to England by the Supreme government, states, that “the civilians and officers were forced to quit the station on the 14th, the two companies of the 1st N.I. having taken possession of the treasury. All had arrived at Nagode. By the latest accounts, the party of the 1st N.I. appear to be still in charge of the treasure.” ‡

On the 16th, the fugitives—civilians, officers, and ladies—reached Nagode in safety; and the nawab of Banda was written to by Major Ellis, the Nagode commissioner, and urged to exert himself to the utmost in recovering all plundered property belonging to either government or private persons. § On the 22nd of June, Major Ellis writes to the secretary of government at Calcutta, declaring that he “cannot get any intelligence from Banda;” but that, according to bazaar reports, only two bungalows had been burnt there, and that the treasure was still all safe; “the two companies of the 1st regiment of N.I. standing sentry over it in the lines.” On the strength of this “bazaar report,” he urges that the nawab of Banda “should be warned that he will be held responsible for it [the treasure], as well as for his conduct in having ordered the Banda officers out of his house, though they do all speak well of him.” ||

It appears, however, that the nawab needed every encouragement that could be held out to induce him to continue in the loyal course he had hitherto held, considering that no European troops could be sent to his assistance, and that the feelings of the Banda population and of the Boondelas in general, were fiercely hostile to the British. The story of the sepoys guarding the treasure, seems doubtful: so also is the fate of the joint magistrate, Mr. Cockerell, who is declared, in one official document, to have been killed at a place called Kirlace; ¶ and in another, to have come into Banda the morning after the other residents had left, and to have been murdered by the troopers

Meerut, does not specify the regiments to which they belonged.

‡ Further Parl. Papers on the Mutiny, 1857 (not numbered), p. 2.

§ Letter of Major Ellis, June 16th, 1857.—*Ibid.*, p. 10.

|| Further Parl. Papers relative to the Mutinies, 1857 (not numbered), p. 54.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 106. Kirlace is evidently a Blue-Book blunder: possibly the same town is intended as the “Kirwee” of the *London Gazette*, May 6th, 1858; where Mr. Cockerell is said to have been stationed.

and armed followers of the nawab, Ali Bahadur, at the gateway of the palace, where the corpse, stripped of its clothing, was exposed in the most ignominious manner, and then dragged away by the sweepers, and thrown into a ditch on the nawab's parade-ground. Several Europeans in the nawab's service—namely, Captain St. George Benjamin and his wife; a Mr. Bruce, with his mother; and a Mr. Lloyd, with two or three of his children—are alleged to have been “killed on the nawab's parade-ground, by his followers and other rebels.”*

It is very strange that Captain Scot and his companions, who were taken to the nawab's palace on the 21st of June, and remained there several weeks, most kindly treated,† should not have heard, or having heard, should not have communicated to government the fate of Cockerell and the other Europeans. Thus much, however, is certain—that the nawab preserved the lives of the Nowgong fugitives, in opposition to the feelings of the Banda population, and to that of his own retainers, who had probably viewed with jealousy the English persons employed by him. The experiences of a member of an Oriental household, as given in the *Life of an Eastern King*, illustrate the jealous feelings with which the natives regard such interlopers; and in times of tumult, these foreign favourites would naturally be the first victims of popular vengeance. Yet Captain Scot, writing to government from Nagode on the 28th of July, and from Rewah on the 16th of August, mentions the request he had made to the nawab of Banda, to send parties to Mutoun in search of Sergeant Raite, Mrs. Tierney and her two children, and the writers Langdale and Johnson, with some native Christians, who had been protected by a friendly zemindar, and to bring them thence to Banda and advance them money.‡ This arrangement he would hardly have made, had he not considered the nawab both able and willing to protect the fugitives. Be this as it may, a long interval elapsed from the time Captain Scot and the other Europeans quitted the nawab, before any certain intelligence was heard from Banda; and the government

reports ceased to give any information under that head.

Futtehpoor,—a British district, named from its chief place, is divided from the Banda district by the Jumna, and is bounded on the east by Allahabad, and on the north-west by Cawnpoor. It was taken by the East India Company from the nawab of Oude, by the treaty of 1801. At the time of the outbreak, Futtehpoor was a large and thriving town, with a population of between 15,000 and 16,000 persons. A considerable proportion of these were Mussulmans, and the district furnished many cavalry recruits. The residents consisted of the judge, the magistrate, and collector; the assistant-magistrate, the opium agent, salt agent, the doctor, and three or four gentlemen connected with the railway. The deputy-magistrate was a Mohammedan, named Hikmut Oollah Khan; and there were the usual number of ill-paid native underlings. There was a flourishing mission here; the number of converts was on the increase in the villages; but, according to Gopinath Nundy (the fellow-captive of Ensign Cheek), “the townspeople, especially the Mohammedans, often raised objections as at other places.” Hikmut evinced a special animosity towards the mission, and instigated several attempts to retard its progress. One of these was the circulation of a report, that the Christians had resolved upon the destruction of caste throughout the town, by polluting the wells with cartloads of the pulverised bones of pigs and cows. Some of the officials told the magistrate of the report; but he laughed at them, and told them that the Christian religion did not allow of compulsory conversion, and that its teachers could not be guilty of such an act.§

This incident tends to account for the excitement manifested by the Futtehpoor population, and the excessive alarm evinced by the Europeans, on hearing of the Meerut catastrophe. The troops at the station were a detachment of fifty men of the 6th, under Native officers: the head-quarters of the regiment was, as will be remembered, at Allahabad; and considerable reliance was placed in its loyalty. It was a popular

* Report furnished by F. O. Mayne, deputy-collector of Banda.—*London Gazette*, May 6th, 1857; p. 2231.

† “Captain Scot and party were all well at Banda on 29th ultimo; he writes in terms of great praise of the nawab's kindness to them.”—Political as-

sistant of Nagode to government: “Nagode, July 8th, 1857.”—Further Parl. Papers, p. 111.

‡ Further Parl. Papers on the Mutiny, 1857 (No. 4), pp. 131; 156.

§ Narrative of Gopinath Nundy.—*Sherer's Indian Church*, p. 187.

outbreak that was dreaded; and for this reason, the European ladies and children were sent to Allahabad, and the native Christians were advised, as early as the 24th of May, to send their families to some safer place. Futtehpoor lies on the high road between Allahabad and Cawnpoor, and is only forty miles from the latter. The heavy firing heard in that direction on the 5th of June, confirmed the fears of the residents; and in expectation of an attack from a body of mutineers (2nd cavalry and 56th N.I.), said to be on their way to Cawnpoor, the Europeans assembled on the roof of the magistrate's house, as the most defensible position at their command. The rebels arrived, and made an attempt on the treasury; but being repulsed by the 6th N.I. detachment, went on to Cawnpoor. On Sunday, the 7th, news arrived of the mutiny at Allahabad, upon which the Futtehpoor detachment marched off to Cawnpoor in the most orderly manner. The Europeans, who were ten in number, hearing a rumour of the approach of a body of rebels and released convicts from Allahabad, resolved on quitting the station; and on the evening of the 9th of June, nine of them mounted their horses, and rode off, accompanied by four faithful sowars. The tenth remained behind. This was the judge, Robert Tucker, the brother of the Benares commissioner, and of "Charlie Tucker," of the irregular cavalry—the young soldier who, when bullets were falling round him at Sultanpoor, had held the wounded Fisher in his arms, cut out the fatal ball, and only complied with the entreaties of his men to ride off, when, after the lapse of half-an-hour, he saw his brave colonel past the reach of human sympathy or cruelty. Charlie lived to return to his young wife;* the Futtehpoor judge died at his post. After the other Europeans were gone, he rode fearlessly about the streets, endeavouring to stem the tide of insurrection, by promising rewards to such natives as should render good service and be true to the government. The circumstances of his death are only known from native report. One of his last remarks is said to have been, "I am going to put myself at the head of my brave legionaries;" meaning the police guard, on which he relied to keep off the

enemy. According to one account, he sent for Hikmut, who, accompanied by the police guard, and bearing the green flag (the emblem of Mohammedanism), entered the Cutcherry compound, and called upon the judge to abjure Christianity and become a Mussulman. This Mr. Tucker, of course, refused; and when they advanced towards him, he fired on them with such deadly precision, that fourteen or sixteen fell before he was overpowered and slain.†

Another account (an official one, but resting equally on native report) says, that the gaol was broken open, and the treasury plundered, at about 9 A.M. on the 10th, and an attack was made on Mr. Tucker in the afternoon, by a number of fanatical Mohammedans, headed by one Seyed Mohammed Hossein. Mr. Tucker took refuge on the roof of his Cutcherry, and was able for some time to keep off his assailants: they, however, eventually set fire to the building, and, under cover of the smoke, succeeded in mounting the roof and dispatching their victim.‡

The *Times*, in commenting on "the chivalrous sense of duty" which actuated Mr. Tucker, spoke of him as one of the most generous and high-minded of the Company's servants; adding, that "it had been his custom, for years, personally to administer to the wants of the poor natives—the sick, the blind, and the leper; and many of those who were fed by his bounty, will have cause to mourn him who has died the death of a hero, animated by the firm courage of a Christian."§

The other Europeans reached Banda in safety; whence, after much fatigue and many hair-breadth escapes, they proceeded to Kallinger, thence to Nagode, thence to Mirzapoor, and thence to Allahabad, which they reached in twenty-two days; having traversed a distance of upwards of three hundred miles.

Humeerpoor,—is the chief place of a British district of the same name, divided from Etawa, Cawnpoor, and Futtehpoor, by the river Jumna, and bounded on the east by Banda, on the south by the native states of Chirkaree and Chutterpoor, and on the west by the British districts of Jhansi and Jaloun. The town of Humeerpoor lies on the route from Banda to Cawnpoor; thirty-six miles from the former, and thirty-nine from the latter. The only troops at the station were a detachment of the 56th N.I., under Native officers. Mr. Loyd, the

* Mrs. Tucker's Letter.—*Times*, August 18th, 1857.

† Sherer's *Indian Church*, p. 183.

‡ Report of officiating magistrate of Futtehpoor (W. J. Probyn).—*London Gazette*, May 6th, 1858.

§ *Times*, August 18th, 1857.

magistrate, distrusted the fidelity of the sepoy's of the treasure-guard; and "entertained a numerous additional police; carefully guarded the ghauts; impounded the boats on the Jumna; gave strict orders for the apprehension of fugitive rebel sepoy's; and got assistance in men and guns from the neighbouring Bundelcund chiefs." After the outbreak at Cawnpoor and Jhansi, the position of affairs at Humeerpoor became very critical; but the magistrate continued to rely on the 330 Boondela auxiliaries, as affording the means of "overcoming the sepoy's and all disaffected men."*

On the 14th of June, Lieutenant Raikes and Ensign Browne sought shelter here. They had been sent from Cawnpoor by General Wheeler, with two companies of the 56th N.I., to reinforce Oorai, a place about eighty miles distant. On the fourth day of their march, the troops hearing that their regiment had mutinied, did the same, and the officers rode off towards Calpee. Before reaching this place they had been robbed by villagers of their weapons and rings. At Humeerpoor they had little time to rest; for, within three hours of their arrival, the sepoy's and the Boondelas fraternised; plundered the treasury, broke open the gaol, and were seen approaching the bungalow where the two officers, with Mr. Loyd and his assistant, Duncan Grant, had assembled. The four Europeans entered a boat moored under the house, and succeeded in crossing the Jumna in safety, though under a heavy fire of musketry and matchlocks. On reaching the opposite shore they fell in with some natives, who plundered them of 300 rupees: after this, they feared to approach the villages, and remained in the jungle, supporting life on a few chupatties they had with them. Ensign Browne, in a private letter to England, states, that for an entire day and night they failed in procuring a drop of water. He adds—"Towards evening, poor Raikes began to lose his senses; and, to cut the sad tale short, we had, when all hope was gone, to leave the poor fellow, and he must have died a pitiable death. After much exertion, we succeeded in getting to the river, and I cannot describe our

joy and thankfulness in getting water. Next day, I left Loyd and Grant, and swam down the river three or four miles; and from the time I parted with them, on the 15th of June, until I joined the English army at Futtehpoor on the 13th of July, I wandered about from village to village in native clothes, and for several days without shoes and stockings.† I am thankful to say that I did not forget my God, but prayed fervently for you all and myself."‡

Messrs. Loyd and Grant are believed to have fallen into the hands of the sepoy's, and been murdered by them. Several other Europeans who were unable to escape from Humeerpoor, perished there, including Mr. Murray, a landholder or zemindar; two clerks, Messrs. Crawford and Banter, with the wife of the latter; and a pensioner, named Anderson, with his wife and four children. The same feature which had distinguished the conduct of the mutineers at Delhi, was conspicuous here. They did not divide the government treasure among themselves, and depart each man to his home, or seek safety in obscurity; but they kept guard over the money, until, on the 20th of June, a troop of rebel cavalry and a company of infantry were sent by the Nana to assist in its removal. They considered themselves bound to abide by the general will of the army, as expressed by just any one who might be enabled by circumstances, whether of position or ability, to become its exponent. The cause to which they had devoted themselves was vague and intangible in the extreme; but their very devotion, together with the power of combination, which was a marked portion of the sepoy character, rendered them dangerous, even though generally without artillery, with few and second-rate gunners, separated from their European officers, and with no native leaders possessing the *prestige* which follows success.

Oorai,—is a small town in Jaloun, on the route from Calpee to Jhansi. *Jaloun* itself is one of our comparatively recent annexations. In 1806, a treaty was made with its Mahratta ruler, Nana Govind Rao, independently of the authority of the Peishwa, and territory was received by the British

* Further Parl. Papers (No. 7), p. 208.

† A subahdar of the 2nd N.I. (Bombay) was mainly instrumental in saving Ensign Browne.

‡ Letter dated "Cawnpoor, July 24th."—*Times*, September 21st, 1857. This officer is evidently the same person as the one who was at first supposed to

have escaped from the Nana. (See Note to p. 261). Mowbray Thomson says, that Ensign Browne joined the volunteers on the arrival of Havelock; shared all the battles of the first advance to Lucknow, came back to Cawnpoor, and there died of cholera.—*Story of Cawnpoor*, p. 227.

government from Jaloun. In 1817, a new treaty was made with the Nana, acknowledging him the hereditary ruler of the lands then in his actual possession.* In 1832, adoption by the widow of the chief was sanctioned, "because it was agreeable to the people."† In 1838, the British government thought fit to take the management of affairs into their own hands. The army of the state was disbanded, and a "legion" formed, with two European officers as commanding officer and adjutant. It appears that the British authorities never seriously contemplated surrendering the sceptre to the heir whom they had acknowledged; but any difficulty on this score was removed by his death. "The infant chief did not live to the period when the propriety of committing the administration of the country to his charge could become a subject of discussion."‡ In 1840, Jaloun was declared to have "lapsed, as a matter of course, to the East India Company as paramount lord;"§ the feelings of the population at the extinction of their small remains of nationality being quite disregarded. As soon as the news of the revolt at Jhansi reached Jaloun, the example was followed; and the towns of Jaloun, Calpee, and Oorai, rose against the Europeans—not, however, imitating the ruthless extermination perpetrated at Jhansi, but quietly expelling the obnoxious rulers.

At the end of May, 1857, there were in Oorai two companies of the 53rd N.I., under Captain Alexander: these were to be relieved, in due course, by two companies of the 56th N.I., which left Cawnpoor for the purpose on the 2nd of June. The deputy-commissioner of Jaloun, Lieutenant G. Browne, had previously received a private letter from Cawnpoor, warning him that the loyalty of the 56th was considered doubtful, and that the men ought not to be trusted with the care of the treasury if it could possibly be avoided. He immediately addressed a remonstrance to General Wheeler regarding the dispatch of suspected troops to guard a large treasury; but, receiving no answer,

* *Treaties with Native Powers*, p. 405.

† Note by J. P. Grant.—*Vide* Parl. Papers on Jhansi, July 27th, 1855.

‡ *Thornton's Gazetteer*: article "Jaloun."

§ *Ibid.*

|| Lieutenant Browne, writing from Jaloun, September 21st, 1857, says—"Lieutenant Tomkinson's fate is unknown."—Further Parl. Papers (No. 7), p. 154. Captain Thomson, writing in June, 1859, states, on the authority of a Gwalior artilleryman

he sent off every rupee he could spare, amounting to £52,000, to Gwalior on the 4th of June, under the escort of Lieutenant Tomkinson and a company of the 53rd N.I. The mission was faithfully performed, and the money delivered over to a guard sent from Gwalior to receive it. Lieutenant Tomkinson, hearing of the mutiny at Cawnpoor, wished to proceed to Gwalior with his men; but this the Gwalior authorities would not permit. He commenced retracing his steps; his company became mutinous, and demanded to be led to Cawnpoor. This he, of course, would not consent to; and the sepoys then told him he must not stay with them, as they could not answer for his life. Lieutenant Tomkinson rode off and left them. His fate was long uncertain; but his name does not appear in the list of casualties in the *Army List* or *Gazette*; and he probably, like many other fugitives supposed to be killed, was found, when tranquillity was partially restored, to be alive in concealment.||

On the 6th of June, news of a partial mutiny among the Jhansi troops reached Oorai, and Lieutenant Browne sent to ask assistance from Captain Cosserat, who was in command of two companies of the grenadier regiment belonging to the Gwalior contingent, stationed at Orya, in the Etawa district.

Captain Cosserat arrived next morning by means of forced marches. The men were suffering from heat and fatigue; it was therefore resolved that they should rest until the following evening, and then proceed to Jhansi, where the Europeans were supposed to be still holding out with a portion of the Native troops. On the 8th of June, a force arrived from the Sumpter rajah, to whom Lieutenant Browne states that he had written (in his own words), "to send me in all his guns, some infantry and cavalry, to go with me to the relief of Jhansi."¶

Sumpter,—is a small native state in Bundelcund, placed under British protection by a treaty made in 1817. It is 175 square miles

who had been taken prisoner, that Lieutenant Tomkinson, when his men mutinied, "put spurs to his horse and rode as far as Jaloun, where he was kept in safety by a Thakoor, from June to November." In the latter month he was seized and put to death by the mutinous Gwalior contingent.—*Story of Cawnpoor*, p. 119.

¶ Despatch from deputy-commissioner of Jaloun, September 21st, 1857.—Parl. Papers relative to the Mutinies, 1858 (No. 7), p. 154.

in extent, with a population of 28,000. The entire revenue, in 1837, was estimated at £45,000; and its ruler cannot, therefore, have been supposed to maintain a very large force; nevertheless he obeyed the commissioner's bidding, by at once placing a field gun, 150 infantry, and sixty or seventy horse, at his disposal. On the afternoon of the 8th, Captain Cosserat started for Jhansi, with his own and the Sumpter troops, leaving Lieutenant Browne to follow at night. It was not deemed safe either to take the 53rd men to Jhansi, or to leave them at Oorai; and Captain Alexander offered to lead them to Calpee, where the deputy-collector, Sheo Pershaud, was striving, with very inefficient means, to keep down insurrection. Captain Alexander had not left the Oorai gate before the 53rd threw off their allegiance, but did not offer to harm the Europeans or plunder the treasury. The official account* is not explicit; but it appears that the men escorted Captain Alexander and his wife to Calpee, and then marched off to join the mutineers at Cawnpoor, and assist in blockading the wretched mud wall, inside which the mother and sisters of Mrs. Alexander (Mrs. Browne and her daughters) were cooped up with their fellow-sufferers. Captain and Mrs. Alexander remained at Calpee until the 13th, and rejoined Captain Cosserat's party on the 15th. They had some difficulty in effecting their escape; for the fort guard, and the whole of the police at Calpee, mutinied on the 12th. Sheo Pershaud held his ground some days longer. Writing to Lieutenant Browne, he declares—"Under your instructions, I had kept my post till the danger pressed very hard. On the night of the 18th of June, when I heard that the jaghiredar and the mutinous troops would arrive early in the morning, I was obliged to leave Calpee, leaving all my property, which, I am sorry to say, has all been plundered; my tables, chairs, almyrahs (?), and all English furniture, were broken to pieces; my buggy and palkee gharry taken away; my valuable library, which you had seen, was destroyed; in fact, nothing was left beyond a suit of clothes, with which

I escaped. The chief, the sepoys, the townspeople, and my own police, plundered me, and did all the mischief they could; the rebels had offered a reward of 500 rupees for my apprehension, but the Great God saved me."†

The jaghiredar mentioned by Sheo Pershaud, is styled by Lieutenant Browne, the chief of Goorseraï—a town between Hummerpoor and Jhansi. The news of the massacre at the latter place did not reach Oorai until after the departure of Captain Cosserat; and an express was immediately sent off to request that officer to return forthwith; but this he could not do, having in the interim received peremptory orders to proceed to Etawa. Lieutenant Browne resolved on quitting Oorai. He therefore wrote to the Goorseraï chief (who held high testimonials from various civil and military officers), to come over to Oorai, and assist in keeping order there, and also in Calpee, Koonch, and other places in the Jaloun district and neighbourhood, till British reinforcements should arrive. Authority for this purpose was delegated in a paper dictated by Browne to a native official; but the clerk is said to have wilfully misrepresented the extent of power to be conveyed; and the deputy-commissioner, being ignorant of the language, signed a letter constituting the Goorseraï chief ruler of the Jaloun district. On discovering the trick or error, Lieutenant Browne at once repudiated the sanction he had unwittingly given, but had no means of coercing the chief.‡ All the police and custom-house chuprassees had risen on hearing of the Jhansi massacre; and Lieutenants Browne and Lamb quitted Oorai on the 10th of June, intending to proceed to Gwalior. On the way they received news of the mutiny at that place, and turned their steps towards Etawa; but, before arriving there, tidings met them of the mutiny of the grenadiers, and the abandonment of the station by the Europeans. They therefore started off towards Agra, where they arrived in safety on the 20th, overtaking the Etawa fugitives, together with an equestrian company

* Mowbray Thomson says, the Native officers declared that they had assumed the entire command; but it was not their intention to injure their old friends. "They provided Alexander and his wife with a camel, and advised them to make their way to Agra, which they did."—*Story of Cawnpoor*. Captain Thomson, as an officer of the 53rd, would be interested in acquiring accurate information re-

garding the mutiny of the different companies, and the fate of their officers. His account of the Oorai outbreak resembles that of the deputy-commissioner's in its general features, but differs widely in particulars.

† Letter from Moonshree Sheo Pershaud, August 26th, 1857.—Parl. Papers (No. 7), p. 151.

‡ Letter from deputy-commissioner Browne.—*Ibid.*, p. 155.

belonging to a Monsieur Jourdain, and other stragglers.

On the 14th, a body of mutineers from Jhansi came over to pillage Oorai, and murdered two Europeans who fell into their hands—Mr. Hemming, an assistant-surgeon; and Mr. Double, Lieutenant Browne's clerk. The former is said to have been trying to escape in native clothes, and was killed by a sepoy of the 12th N.I., while drinking at a well near the cutcherry. Messrs. Passano and Griffiths, deputy-collectors, fell into the hands of the rebels, but saved their lives by becoming Moham-medans; after which, they were allowed to

depart. A female relative of Passano's (either his mother or sister) was killed; but whether she nobly chose martyrdom rather than apostasy, or, like the majority of the victims, had no alternative offered, is not stated.*

Mrs. Hemming and her family appear to have escaped to Calpee, from which place they were sent on to Cawnpoor, after its recapture by the English, escorted by 500 of the Sumpter troops. The rajah was himself faithful to us; and his troops being a feudal militia, not a subsidiary force, were under his control, and proved perfectly trustworthy.

CHAPTER XV.

FUTTEGHUR AND FURRUCKABAD.—MAY AND JUNE, 1857.

FUTTEGHUR is a military station on the Ganges, in the Furruckabad district; three miles from the city from which the district takes its name. Mohammed Khan Bangash, a Patan noble, founded this city, which he named in honour of the reigning emperor, Feroksheer. *Ferok*, or *Faruck*, signifies happy; and *abad*, town. "The happy" was an epithet not in any sense applicable to the ill-fated patron of Mr. Hamilton and the E. I. Company;† but the town merited the appellation, being handsome, healthy, and cleanly; well supplied with provisions by reason of its position in the midst of a fertile and well-cultivated country, and possessing great commercial advantages from its situation within two or three miles of the Ganges, which is navigable thence upwards for 200 miles, and downwards to the sea. Its nawabs are accused of having thought more of war than trade; yet Furruckabad became the emporium, for this part of India, of all commodities from Delhi, Cashmere, Bengal, and Surat;‡ and as late as 1824, it had a mint, and the Furruckabad rupees circulated extensively through the North-West Provinces.

In 1802, according to Mr. Thornton, "the Company assumed actual possession of Furruckabad, liquidating the claims of the tributary Patan nawab by a fixed monthly stipend of 9,000 rupees; in addition to which, an annual sum of nearly 180,000 rupees was bestowed, in pensions and charitable allowances to his dependents." The fact was, that under the Wellesley administration, native princes were so liberally provided for, and so courteously treated, that neither they nor their dependents felt the sting of poverty, much less the deep humiliation which has been their lot since the new system of annexation came into fashion, with its curt official notifications, its confiscation of personal property, and its exposure to sale of "the dresses and wardrobes" of disinherited princesses, "like a bankrupt's stock in the haberdashers' shops of Calcutta—a thing likely to incense and horrify the people of India who witnessed it."§ Under the old system, the nawabs of Furruckabad (although Patan turbulence was proverbial) seem to have submitted quietly to their foreign rulers, and to have found consolation for the loss of

* Letters from commissioner of Saugor; deputy-commissioner of Jaloun; and Sheo Pershaud.—Further Parl. Papers (No. 7), pp. 150—156.

† See *Indian Empire*, vol. i., p. 239.

‡ Tieffenthaler's *Beschreibung von Hindustan*, vol. i.

p. 139. Quoted in Thornton's *Gazetteer*: article, "Furruckabad."

§ Speech of Mr. Bright—House of Commons' debate on second reading of the India Bill, June 24th, 1858.

power in the enjoyment of titular rank and great wealth. Of their recent proceedings little is on record, the Supreme government having become profoundly indifferent to the character and condition of dependent princes, unless, as in the case of Oude, their shortcomings could be construed as affording a reason for the appropriation of their kingdoms. A native prince might be, if it pleased Providence to work a miracle in his behalf, a paragon of sense and discretion; or he might be, as there was every reason to expect, a besotted sensualist. In the latter case, it was usually deemed expedient to reduce him, with his family and dependents, to obscure poverty: in the former, virtue was left to be its own reward; for the ancient policy, of "India for the E. I. Company," like the modern graft of "India for the English oligarchy," was one which rendered natives of rank liable to many degrees of punishment, but debarred them from all hope of honours or rewards, civil or military. When the mutiny broke out, the position of the nawab of Furruckabad was, to the Europeans at Futtehghur, somewhat like that of Nana Sahib, of Bithoor, to the unfortunate people at Cawnpoor. It does not, however, seem that the nawab was viewed as a person likely to become of importance, either as a friend or an enemy. Of his proceedings prior to, and during the meeting at Futtehghur, we know very little: indeed, the only circumstantial account published by government regarding the events at that station, is given in the form of an anonymous and rather lengthy paper drawn up by one of the surviving Europeans. The writer, from internal evidence, must have been Mr. Jones, the younger of two brothers, engaged as planters and merchants. His interesting narrative, after being widely circulated by the London and Indian journals, was published in a Blue Book for 1857; and republished in another Blue Book for 1858, with a little variety in the form of type, and in the names of persons and places. The latter circumstance will not surprise any one accustomed to examine parliamentary papers; for, whereas editors and compilers in general, endeavour to attain, even on Indian subjects, some degree of uniformity and correctness; our public documents, instead of being an authority on these points, abound in glaring blunders. Were the Indian Blue Books to be indexed, the process, besides its direct advantages, would probably induce some improvement

in the arrangement of their contents. If important papers must needs be withheld or garbled, at least unimportant ones, and duplicates, might be weeded out, and the public spared the expense of needless repetition. The nation is greatly indebted to private individuals, for the frank fearlessness with which they have published the letters of their relatives and friends. Without this aid, the chronicles of the mutiny would have been wearisome and painful in the extreme; with it, they are deeply interesting and full of variety. Besides, these private letters bear a stamp of authority which cannot be conceded to anonymous compositions. They are not such; for though unsigned, there are few of any importance which cannot, with a little care and the aid of the *East India Directory*, be traced to their true source. Perhaps some apology is due for the manner in which the names, both of the writers and the persons alluded to, have been sought for and applied, instead of being left in blank, as in the newspapers. But this identification seems to the author indispensable to a correct appreciation of the evidence thus afforded. It is not enough that he should understand the position of the witness: it appears to him needful that the reader should possess a similar advantage, and be able to make due allowance for the bias of the commander of European or of Native troops; the covenanted or uncovenanted civilian; the planter or the railway *employé*; and for that of the wives and daughters of these various persons; for, in many instances, a lady's pen, as at Meerut, has given the first and best account of an eventful epoch.

To return to Futtehghur. The troops stationed there consisted of—

The 10th N.I.—*Europeans*, 16; *Natives*, 1,169. Detail of Native Artillery—no *Europeans*; *Natives*, 28.

There were, therefore, sixteen European officers to 1,197 Natives.

The news of the Meerut mutiny arrived on the 16th of May; and from that time alarm and excitement prevailed. The wife of Lieutenant Monckton, of the Bengal engineers, wrote to England, on that day, a letter intended to prepare her friends for the worst, and which could hardly fail to reconcile them to the mysterious dispensation of Providence, in ordaining the perfection, through suffering, of one already so exemplary. Anticipating

calmly (like Mrs. Ewart of Cawnpore) the speedy and violent death which awaited her, her husband and child, Mrs. Monckton writes—

“We cannot say, ‘Pray for us.’ Ere you get this, we shall be delivered one way or another. Should we be cut to pieces, you have, my precious parents, the knowledge that we go to Jesus, and can picture us happier and holier than in this distant land; therefore, why should you grieve for us? You know not what may befall us here; but there you know all is joy and peace, and we shall not be lost, but be gone before you; and should our lives be spared, I trust we may live more as the children of the Most High, and think less about hedging ourselves in with the comforts which may vanish in a moment. * * * Good-bye, my own dear parents, sisters, and friends. The Lord reigns! He sitteth above the water-flood. We are in the hollow of His hand, and nothing can harm us. The body may become a prey, but the souls that He has redeemed never can.”

A few days later, she describes the terror excited by the report of the breaking open of another gaol besides that of Meerut, and the enlargement of many murderers.

“We went to church; very few people were there, and fear seemed written on every face—it was most noticeable; everybody felt that death was staring them in the face, and every countenance was pale. Mr. Fisher [the Company’s chaplain] preached on the text, ‘What time I am afraid, I will trust in thee.’ * * * We are quite prepared for the worst; and feel that to depart and be with Christ, is far better. The flesh a little revolts from cold-blooded assassination; but God can make it bear up.”

On the 1st of June, she wrote home some last words, which well deserve a place in the history of a great national epoch, as illustrating the spirit of grateful, loving trust in which our Christian countrywomen awaited death, even though the inventions and gross exaggerations current at the time, must have led them to anticipate that their passage through “the dark valley” would be attended by every possible aggravation which could render it terrible to feminine purity, as well as to the tenderest feelings of a wife and a mother.

“I often wish our dear Mary was now in England; but God can take care of her too, or He will save her from troubles to come by removing her to

* Edwards’ *Rebellion in Rohilcund, Futtehghur, and Oude*, p. 67.

† Sherer’s *Indian Rebellion*, p. 138.

‡ The American Board of Missions had a very important station at Futtehghur. The self-supporting Orphan Asylum, established at the time of the famine in 1837, had a tent and carpet factory, and also a weaving department, in which cloth was

Himself. * * * I am so thankful I came out to India, to be a comfort to my beloved John, and a companion to one who has so given his heart to the Lord.”

On the 3rd of June, information was received that the Native troops at Shahjehanpore and Bareilly had mutinied, and that a body of the Oude mutineers, consisting of an infantry and cavalry corps, were marching to Futtehghur. Mr. Probyn, the collector, states, that Colonel Smith and the officers had disregarded his advice to provision the fort, and garrison it with pensioners, and others to be depended on.* Ishuree Dass, a native preacher, connected with the American Mission, likewise remarks, that it was believed, that “had the majority of the old Native officers, who retired on pension only a few weeks before, been there, half the regiment at least would have gone into the fort with the Europeans. The recruits were the ones who were constantly on the point of breaking out, and were only kept down by the elder sepoy. So sure was the commanding officer of the fidelity of these men, that only two or three days before the regiment mutinied, he told us there was no occasion for fear, and that we might make our minds at ease.”† This is quite contrary to the testimony of Mr. Jones, who asserts, that “the 10th were known to be mutinously disposed; for they had given out, that as soon as another corps arrived, they would rise and murder all the Europeans, only sparing their own officers.” Mrs. Freeman, the wife of one of the four missionaries stationed by the zealous and munificent American Presbyterians at Futtehghur,‡ writes home, that “no one placed the least confidence in the 10th; for the men had told Colonel Smith that they would not fight against their ‘bhai logue’ (brethren) if they came, but they would not turn against their own officers.” This lady adds—“Some of our catechists were once Mussulmans; and whenever they have gone to the city for the last two or three weeks, they have been treated with taunting and insolence. The native Christians think, that should they, the insurgents, come here, and our regiment join them,

woven in European looms. A church had been erected in 1856, at the cost of £1,000. The Mission high-school had 250 pupils; there were also two orphan schools (for boys and girls), and seven bazaar schools, in connection with the Mission. Ten village schools, supported by Dhuleep Sing, were likewise under the management of the missionaries.

our little church and ourselves will be the first attacked; but we are in God's hand, and we know that He reigns. * * * He may suffer our bodies to be slain; and if He does, we know He has wise reasons for it. I sometimes think our deaths would do more good than we would do in all our lives; if so, His will be done."*

On the night of the 4th of June, the whole of the European population, excepting the officers of the 10th, with the women and children (in all, 166 persons), resolved on leaving Futteghur. By land they were surrounded by mutinous stations; but the Ganges was still open, and they hoped to escape to Cawnpoor. They started in boats at 1 A.M., and were unmolested during that day and the following night. The next morning they were joined by four officers of the 10th, who reported that the regiment had mutinied, seized the treasure, abused the colonel, and fired on one or two of their officers; and that there was little chance of any of those who had remained behind having escaped.†

This intelligence was untrue. The fact was, that an attempt had been made by the convicts to break out of the gaol: some of them had succeeded, had fired a portion of the station, and advanced towards the cantonment. The four officers, hearing the tumult, and trusting to report for the cause, fled by the river. Had they remained, they would have seen their own men turning out willingly, and beating back the newly escaped criminals, killing several, and securing the others.‡ Soon after being joined by the officers, the fugitives were fired on by some villagers, and one of the party was slightly wounded. The next day they were told that a body of Oude mutineers was crossing one of the ghauts, a few miles below. The man at the ferry denied this. A consultation was held as to

what should be done; and, as the party was very large, it was agreed that it would be safer to separate. Hurdeo Buksh, an old Rajpoot zemindar of influence and remarkable intelligence, had previously offered to receive and protect Mr. Probyn (the collector), and any of his friends, in his fort of Dhurumpoor, about ten miles from Futteghur. Mr. Probyn, with his wife and children; two out of the four officers; Mr. Thornhill, the judge; Mr. Fisher, Mr. Jones and his brother, and other Europeans, with their wives and families, to the number of forty, resolved on seeking shelter with Hurdeo Buksh; the remaining 126 persons went on downwards towards Cawnpoor, where they arrived on the 12th of June. Their fate will be told on resuming the narrative of events at that station.

Mr. Probyn and his companions proceeded towards Dhurumpoor; but learning, on the way, that the 10th N.I., far from having mutinied, had quelled a riot, the collector and the two officers rode to Futteghur, leaving the rest of the party to finish the journey to Dhurumpoor.

On the morning of the 9th of June, the Budaon§ fugitives, Mr. Edwards, and the Messrs. Donald, reached Furruckabad. There they were told all was as yet quiet, the regiment still standing; but that the station had been deserted by the civilians, with the exception of Probyn, who was still at his post. Thither Edwards and his companions proceeded, and found the collector, who told them that he himself placed no dependence on the 10th; but that Colonel Smith was very sanguine regarding the fidelity of the regiment; and Major Vibart|| (of the 2nd light cavalry), who had commanded the party employed in quelling the gaol outbreak, was of the same opinion. Edwards and his companions were most desirous of

* Sherer's *Indian Rebellion*, p. 126.

† Statement of Mr. Jones.—Further Parl. Papers on Mutiny, 1858 (No. 7), p. 138.

‡ *Mutiny of the Bengal Army*; by One who has served under Sir Charles Napier; p. 155. This writer speaks of three officers having fled from Futteghur, deceived by a false report. Jones says there were four; but the names of the officers are not given by either authority.

§ See p. 216.

|| There would appear to have been two officers of the name of Vibart in the 2nd Cavalry. The *East India Register*, and the *London Gazette* (p. 2216), state that Captain and Brevet-major Edward Vibart was killed at Cawnpoor on the 27th of June; but, at another page (2235), the

Gazette gives Captain Vibart, 2nd Cavalry, as murdered at Cawnpoor on the 15th of July. Mowbray Thomson asserts, that Major Vibart was the last officer in the Cawnpoor intrenchment; and that some of the 2nd Cavalry mutineers "insisted on carrying out the property which belonged to him. They loaded a bullock-cart with boxes, and escorted the major's wife and family down to the boats with the most profuse demonstrations of respect."—*Story of Cawnpoor*, p. 165. Mr. Edwards speaks of Major Vibart, of the 2nd Cavalry, as having called upon him at Futteghur on the 9th of June; adding, that this officer, "when on his way to join his own regiment at Cawnpoor, had volunteered to remain with Colonel Smith, who gladly availed himself of the offer." Jones names Capt. Vibart as one of the Futteghur garrison.

proceeding down to Cawnpoor by boat; but the news of the mutiny at that station, reached them just in time to save them from flinging themselves into the power of Nana Sahib and Azim Oollah. On the 10th of June they crossed the Gauges with Mr. Probyn, and joined the refugees at Dhurumpoor. All these persons, including the judge, were extremely dissatisfied with their position. The crowded fort was scarcely tolerable during the intense heat; and the defences were so dilapidated, as to render it hopeless to expect to hold them against any organised attack of the mutineers. The conduct of the 10th N.I., in the matter of the gaol outbreak, determined the Europeans on returning in a body to Futtehghur, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Mr. Probyn, who, with his wife and four children, resolved upon remaining under the protection of Hurdeo Buksh—a decision which the party leaving considered one of extreme foolhardiness. Edwards hesitated, but eventually resolved on remaining at Dhurumpoor.

For some days after the return of the Europeans to Futtehghur, all went well. The 10th N.I. gave a fresh instance of fidelity by handing to Colonel Smith a letter written by the subahdar of the 41st N.I., announcing the march of that mutinous corps from Seetapoor, to a position a few miles on the opposite side of the river, and requesting the 10th N.I. to rise, murder their officers, and seize the treasure. The answer asserted to have been given was, that the 10th had resolved on being true to their salt, and would certainly oppose the mutineers if they persisted in advancing. The 10th cheerfully obeyed their officers in breaking up the bridge of boats, and sinking all other boats at the different ghauts, to prevent the mutineers from crossing to Futtehghur.* They succeeded, nevertheless, in effecting a passage at dawn of day on the 18th of June, and entered the city walls unopposed. A company of the 10th, and the artillerymen with the two guns, stationed on the parade guarding the treasure, are said to have marched to the nawab, placed him on the "gadi" (cushion of sovereignty), laid the colours at his feet, and fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns.† Their next proceedings are not known. It is uncertain

* Account by Mr. Jones.—Parl. Papers (No. 7), p. 138.

† *Ibid.*, p. 139.

‡ *Ibid.*

what reply the nawab made them; but apparently not a satisfactory one; for the sepoys returned to the parade-ground, saluted their colours, shared the treasure among themselves, divided into two parties, and left Futtehghur, after breaking open the gaol, and releasing the prisoners. All this time the Europeans remained unmolested in the fort, where they always slept from the first period of alarm. The few sepoys on guard there, remained obedient to orders until the seizure of the treasure, and then departed quietly, one or two returning at intervals to fetch their lotahs and other articles left behind in the fort. A European officer quitted Futtehghur with the mutineers, trusting to them for safe-conduct to some distant station: at least this seems the meaning of the statement made by Mr. Jones, and published by government without explanation or comment. After mentioning the breaking-up of the regiment, he adds, that "the Poorbeahs crossed over at once to Oude, with intention to make for their homes, accompanied by Captain Bignell. We afterwards learnt that this body had been plundered by the villagers, and Captain Bignell killed: others went off by twos and threes to their homes; and those who remained were killed by the 41st, because they were not allowed a share in the public money. Thus this regiment was completely disorganised and destroyed."‡

The Europeans knew not how to act: some suggested entering the boats; but the river was very low; and it was decided to hold the fort, and prepare for attack. They numbered, in all, upwards of a hundred; but of these only thirty-three were able-bodied men. A 6-pounder, loaded with grape, was mounted over the gateway; and, in the course of the next few days, they succeeded in bringing six more guns into position. The godowns were searched for ammunition for the guns and muskets, and a few (muster) round shot and shells were found, together with six boxes of ball cartridge, and an equal quantity of blank. The latter was broken up and used for the guns; while nuts, screws, hammer-heads, and such like, were collected, to serve as grape and round. The ladies, women and children, were placed in the house of Major Robertson (the head of the gun-carriage agency), inside the walls, where they were comparatively safe. On the 28th of June, the 41st N.I. opened two guns on the fort; and, taking up a position behind trees, bushes, and any cover

available, commenced a heavy fire of musketry.

For four days the enemy's guns and muskets played on in this manner, doing little direct injury to the defences or persons of the besieged, but exhausting their strength and ammunition. Colonel Smith, who was an unerring marksman, killed numbers of the mutineers, with a pea rifle, from his post on the wall, which he never left. Major Vibart was described as being the real commandant of the fort, going about, amid the thickest of the fire, directing and encouraging all.* On the fifth day the assailants changed their mode of attack: a company of riflemen posted themselves on the tops of the houses in an adjacent village; and others found shelter in a small outhouse, about seventy or eighty yards from the fort. They loop-holed the walls, and kept up a harassing fire from them, which rendered the garrison guns useless, as the men dared not lift their heads to fire. Mr. Jones (the elder) was shot while covering Conductor Ahern (the best gunner in the garrison) with his rifle. Colonel Thomas Tudor Tucker (8th light cavalry, then employed in the clothing agency) was killed on the same spot a day later; and Ahern himself was shot through the head while laying a gun.† Mr. Thornhill had been incapacitated for military action from the beginning of the siege, having been severely wounded in the hand and arm by the discharge of his musket, in the act of loading it. While the garrison had been weakened by casualties and fatigue, the rebel ranks had been strengthened by an influx of Patans from Mhow and elsewhere. Among these was Mooltan Khan, the preserver of Mr. Edwards in his flight from Budaon.‡ The assailants succeeded in springing a mine, and considerably injuring one of the bastions. Two attempts were made to enter by the breach. The second storming party was led by Mooltan Khan. He was shot dead on the top of the breach, by Mr. Fisher; and his followers fell back. The enemy commenced another mine, and brought a gun to bear upon the bungalow containing the women and children.

The besieged felt further defence to be hopeless. The river had risen considerably

by the rains, and they had three boats in readiness. Therefore, about 2 A.M., July 4th, they evacuated the fort, having first spiked the guns and destroyed their remaining ammunition. No sooner had they passed the walls than the sepoy caught sight of them, and shouting that the Feringhees were running away, followed them for about a mile along the banks, firing at random and without effect. The fugitives had not proceeded far before they found one of the boats too large and heavy for their management. It was therefore abandoned, and the passengers distributed between the other two. The delay thus occasioned enabled the sepoy to come up with them; but they escaped again, and proceeded as far as a place called Singhee Rampore. Here they were fired on by the villagers: one boat, with Colonel Smith on board, passed on safely; but the other grounded on a sand-bank, and could not be moved. About half-an-hour was spent in fruitless efforts: at the expiration of that time, two boats, apparently empty, were seen coming down the stream. They proved to be filled with sepoy, who opened a heavy fire on the Europeans. Mr. Churcher, senior, was shot through the chest; Major Robertson, Mr. Fisher, and Mr. Jones were wounded. The sepoy came alongside, and strove to board the stranded boat; some of them succeeded. "Major Robertson, seeing no hope, begged the ladies to come into the water, rather than to fall into their hands." Mr. Jones swam on after the other boat, giving a parting look to his late companions. Lieutenant Fitzgerald sat still in the boat—a loaded musket, with the bayonet fixed, in his hand; his wife and child by his side. Mr. Churcher, senior, lay near them weltering in his blood. The others had all got into the water. Major and Mrs. Robertson, with their child and Miss Thompson, were standing close to each other beside the boat; Lieutenant Simpson and Mr. Churcher, junior, at a little distance; Mr. Fisher, who had been shot through the thigh, held his son (a beautiful boy of eight or nine years old) in one arm, and with the other was striving to support his wife, who could not stand against the current, her dress acting like a sail and

* Edwards' *Personal Adventures*, p. 81.

† A native messenger, dispatched by Mr. Edwards to Futtehghur, who succeeded in communicating with Mr. Thornhill, said that Mrs. Ahern had

avenged her husband's death, by killing many of the mutineers with a rifle from the bastion where she stood, until she was herself shot down.—Edwards' *Personal Adventures*, p. 81. ‡ See p. 216.

throwing her down. Major Phillot, Ensign Eckford, and a few others, Mr. Jones did not see, but supposes them to have been killed. After about an hour's swimming he reached the other boat, which had also been fired on, and Colonel Goldie's youngest daughter, a Mr. Rohan, and a native boatman, had been killed, and several others wounded. The voyage was continued that night, without further molestation. Early the next morning a European voice was heard from the shore, hailing the boat. It was Mr. Fisher, who was lifted on board, delirious with mental and bodily suffering; raving about his wife and child, who had been drowned in his arms. In the evening the party reached a village in the territories of Hurdeo Buksh—opposite Koosoomkhore, in Oude. The inhabitants came out, with offers of assistance and protection. After some hesitation, from fear of treachery, the hungry and weary passengers came on shore, and fed thankfully on the chupatties and buffaloes' milk brought them by the herdsmen. A poor Brahmin took Jones with him to his home, and gave him food and a charpoy, or native bed, to rest on. In the course of two or three hours, a message came from Colonel Smith, saying the boat was about to start. The wounded man was, however, unequal to any further exertion, and he persisted in staying with the friendly thakoor native. The Europeans were unwilling to leave their countryman behind, and sent again and again to beg him to join them. At last they started, and nothing more was heard of the boat for several days, till the manjee, or head man, who took her down, returned, and gave out that Nana Sahib had fired upon them at Cawnpoor, and all on board had perished.

The herdsmen, in their dread of the probable consequence of harbouring a European, hid the fugitive so closely, that Hurdeo Buksh was himself many days in ignorance of the fact that Jones was in his territory; but as soon as he became acquainted with it, he took care to provide him with food and clothing. In the meantime the poor young man had suffered terribly from his wound, which threatened to mortify. In his extremity, he thought of the parable of Lazarus. A little puppy came frequently to the shed when he was at his meals, to pick up any crumbs that might fall: he induced it to lick the wound night and morning; the inflammation diminished im-

mediately, and the hurt was nearly healed before the fugitive ventured forth to join his countrymen.* He thought himself the sole survivor from the boats; but this was not the case; Major Robertson, after having had his wife washed out of his arms, swam away with his boy on his shoulder. The child appears to have perished, but the father found refuge in a village, about four miles from that in which Jones lay hidden. Mr. Churcher, junior, had likewise escaped, and was concealed in an "aheer," or herdsmen's village, at a considerable distance from the places in which his countrymen were. Mrs. Jones (the widow of the gentleman killed during the siege) and her daughter, Mrs. Fitzgerald, and a single lady, whose name is not given, had been taken from the boat, and given over to the nawab, who held them in captivity. None of the Europeans sheltered by friendly natives, were permitted to see, or communicate with, each other, except the Probyn family and Mr. Edwards, who refused to separate, even though urged to do so, as a means of increasing their small chance of escape. The record of their adventures affords much insight into the condition of Oude and the feeling of the people. The loyalty of Hurdeo Buksh was greatly strengthened by his personal attachment to Probyn, who, he said, had invariably treated him as a gentleman. Of Mr. Christian (of Seetapoor), he also spoke in terms of respect; but the ill-paid, needy, grasping "omlahs," who were introduced in such shoals in Oude immediately after the annexation, had proved the curse of the country, and, in his plain-spoken phrase, had made the British rule "to stink in the nostrils of the people." The person of the chief accorded well with the manly independence of his character. Mr. Russell has since described him as a very tall, well-built man, about thirty years of age; standing upwards of six feet high, with square broad shoulders; regular features, very resolute in their expression; and dignified and graceful manners.

A body of the 10th N.I., 250 in number, actually crossed the Ganges during the time their comrades were besieging the Futtehghur fort; and it was said that a large number of mutineers would follow, to attack Dhurumpoor, put the Europeans to death, and seize some lacs of government treasure, which, according to a false, but

* Edwards' *Personal Adventures*, p. 138.

very generally believed report, had been placed there for safety. The defensive preparation made by Hurdeo Buksh, initiated his guests into some of the secrets of Rajpoot diplomacy. While sitting in an inner room, anxious to avoid notice (their unpopularity being at its height, as they were viewed as the cause of the expected attack), they heard a knocking and digging at one of the outer walls in their immediate vicinity, which continued for many hours. The noise suddenly ceased; and when suffered to leave their chamber in the evening, they were surprised to see that a fine 18-pounder gun had been dug from the place where it had lain concealed since the proclamation issued in the preceding year by the Lucknow authorities, requiring the talookdars of Oude to surrender all their ordnance. A 24-pounder was simultaneously produced from a field; and the wheels and other portions of the carriages were fished up from wells. Four other guns, of different sizes, were brought in from the chief villages in the neighbourhood; and all six were mounted and in position in the courtyard, ready for service, by nightfall. It was said that more could be produced if need were. Messengers were dispatched in all haste, in different directions, to summon the chief's adherents; and in an incredibly short space of time, nearly 1,000 people, all armed with some weapon or another, had assembled at the fort, for its defence. Hurdeo Buksh now told the Europeans that they must leave him and proceed to a small village across the Ramgunga, three miles off, where some connections of his own would receive and conceal them. Then, if the mutineers really came, they might be shown the interior of the fort, in proof that there were no Europeans there. Edwards, in reply, went up to him, and seizing his right hand, said they would go, if he would pledge his honour as a Rajpoot for their safety. He did so heartily; saying, "My blood shall be shed before a hair of your heads is touched. After I am gone, of course my power is at an end; I can help you no longer." In well-founded reliance on this assurance, the party started. A few weeks before, no European official went on a journey without a numerous body-guard of attendant natives to precede and follow him. Now, fortunate indeed were those whose gentleness in prosperity had attached to them so much as one tried follower in adversity. Towards midnight, the fugitives quitted Dhurum-

poor, Probyn carrying three guns and ammunition, his wife one child, his servant another, Edwards the baby, and the faithful Wuzeer Sing the fourth child, and a gun. They reached the village of Kussowrah, and were very civilly received by "the Thakoors," who were uncles of Hurdeo Buksh, but of inferior rank, as their mother had never been married to their father.

The Thakoors had been great sufferers from the revenue arrangements consequent on annexation. One of them, named Kussuree, declared, that "he had paid a thousand rupees in petitions alone, not one of which ever reached Christian [the commissioner]; notwithstanding which, he had lost the villages farmed by him and his ancestors for many generations, and had been assessed so highly for those he had left, that he had only been able to pay his rent the preceding year by the sale of some of his family jewels, and a mare he highly valued; and this year, he said, he would no doubt have been a defaulter, and been sold up, had not the rebellion fortunately occurred."*

The hiding-place of the Europeans was a cattle-pen. The first intelligence they received was cheering. The sepoy who had threatened Dhurumpoor, had turned off, when within a short distance of that place, towards Lucknow. They had with them three lacs of treasure, which they had contrived to remove from Futtehghur without the knowledge of their comrades, who were deceived by their story that they were only going to Dhurumpoor, and would return the next day. Hurdeo's adherents desired to attack and plunder this party; but he wisely forbade them, because, as he subsequently told the Europeans, he "feared that if once his people got the taste of plunder, he would never after be able to restrain them." The sepoy accordingly passed through his estate without molestation; but as soon as they crossed his border, they were attacked by the villagers of the next talooka, plundered, and destroyed. Edwards, who makes this statement, throws further light on the fate of Captain Bignell, by remarking, that "they were accompanied by an officer of the 10th N.I., whom they had promised to convey safely into Lucknow; and, on being attacked by the villagers, they desired this officer to leave them, as they said it was on his account they were attacked. This he was forced to

* Edwards' *Personal Adventures*, p. 167.

do; and, after wandering about for some time, as we afterwards learned, he received a sun-stroke while crossing a stream, and was carried in a dying state into a village, where he shortly after expired." The wretchedness of the fugitives at Kussowrah was increased by intense anxiety regarding Futtehghur. While sitting, one afternoon, listening to the firing, a note was brought them from the judge (R. Thornhill), written in haste and depression, describing the worn-out state of the garrison, and imploring Probyn to induce Hurdeo Buksh to go to their aid. The messenger who brought the note had eluded the besiegers by dropping from the wall of the fort into the Ganges, and swimming across. The retainers of the rajah, although willing to peril their lives in defence of the refugees under the protection of their chief, or in repelling any attack on Dhurumpoor, were determined not to cross the Ganges, or provoke a contest with the mutineers; and the messenger returned to Futtehghur with this sad reply. At the same time, Probyn advised Thornhill to endeavour to get the assistance of a body of men in Furruckabad, called "Sadhs"—a fighting class of religionists, who were supposed to be very hostile to the sepoys. After the evacuation of Futtehghur, the two subahdars in command of the 41st, appear to have made a mere puppet of the nawab of Furruckabad, and to have compelled him to issue what orders they pleased. A message was sent, in the name of the nawab, to Hurdeo Buksh, informing him that the English rule was at an end, and demanding from him an advance of a lac of rupees, as his contribution towards the expenses of the new raj, or, in lieu of it, the heads of the two collectors, Probyn and Edwards. Several days elapsed, during which the fugitives were kept in constant alarm, by rumours of detachments being on the march to Kussowrah, for their apprehension. At length Hurdeo came to them by night; and, though quite resolved on opposing to the death any attempt which might be made to seize them, he said he had been obliged to treat with the nawab, in the hope of gaining time; as, so soon as the rains should fall, the Ramgunga and Ganges would rise in flood, and the whole country be inundated, so that "Dhurumpoor and Kussowrah would become islands surrounded with water for miles; he might then defy the sepoys, as it would be impos-

sible for them to bring guns against him, and they would not dare to move without artillery." In the meantime his own position was extremely critical, and fully justified his anxiety about his family; for the mutineers threatened, if he did not immediately surrender the Europeans, to take very complete revenge both on himself and his people. Speedy succour could not be expected; the most important stations looked for it in vain. The hearts of the fugitives sank within them, as, pent up in the cow-house, they heard from Hurdeo Buksh, "that Nana Sahib had assumed command of the mutineers at Cawnpoor, where the English had been so completely destroyed, that not a dog remained in the cantonment; that Agra was besieged; that the troops at Delhi had been beaten back, and were in a state of siege on the top of a hill near there; that the troops in Oude had also mutinied, and Lucknow was closely invested."

It was highly probable that the rebels, and especially some of the escaped convicts, to whom Probyn and Edwards had been obnoxious in their capacity of magistrates, would immediately come and search Kussowrah. Near the village there was a tract of jungle, many miles in extent, in the midst of which was a hamlet of some four or five houses, inhabited by a few herdsmen,* and called by the fitting name of *Runjpoora*, the place of affliction. This village, during the rainy season, became a complete island of about a hundred yards square. The only pasturage, on sufficiently high land to escape being submerged, was about three miles distant, and both cattle and aheers proceeded to-and-fro by swimming—a mode of progression which habit appeared to have made as natural to them as walking on dry land to ordinary herds and herdsmen. To *Runjpoora* the party proceeded, after some discussion regarding the advisability of separating, as a means of escaping observation. The Thakoors offered to take charge of the children, promising to do their utmost for them; and urged that, by parting, the lives of all might be saved; but that if, unhappily, "the children did perish, their loss might be repaired—their parents might have a second family; but they could never get second lives, if they

* Edwards mentions a singular fact with regard to this little community. On Sundays, the aheers would on no account part with the milk of their cattle, but always used it themselves.—(p. 116.)

mud wall, and faced to the west several very large houses, subsequently strongly fortified and filled with insurgent riflemen and matchlockmen. The house, a long, commodious lower-roomed building, had a verandah to the east, covered by a sloping pukha roof, and another to the north.

"It consisted of four large and several small rooms fronting the verandahs, and as many opposite them; in a centre room of which was a little staircase leading to the roof, and commanding through a hole in the wall a position to the west. Next there was a sort of courtyard leading to a bath-room, which projected considerably beyond the walls of the main building, in this respect resembling Gubbins' battery. From the outside, the bath-room buildings looked considerably steep. To the left or south of them were several large houses, in front of which was a pond of stagnant water, surrounded by reeds and long grass. To the right was a Mohammedan cemetery, on a very considerable elevation of natural formation, and commanding the outpost from the enemy's side. In front of the house, and in rear of the buildings already alluded to as possessed by the enemy, was an extensive low garden, then even covered with high long grass, plantain trees, and prickly brambles. A stockade protected a portion of the west side of our ground from that which we tacitly allowed to be that of the enemy. To the north an earthen wall separated the compound of Innes' house from the enemy's positions, which consisted of the mound already mentioned, a number of mud huts, and two or three pukha buildings scarcely six yards off, and overtopped by a mosque opposite, but further commanded by several high buildings across the river.

"Still further on were a garden and the ruins of what had formerly been Shirf-ood-Dowlah (Jaggernath's) house and the office of the Central India Horse Company's posts, both which buildings had very wisely been levelled by our engineers. The whole of the north side of these positions was situated on the road leading along the river from the residency water-gate to the iron bridge, in a direction from east to west. Where our mud wall was broken through, two stockades of beams stopped the gaps. At the end of one of these stockades was a mud shed, with a flight of stairs leading to an upper room, known as the cock-loft, and commanding a capital position of the iron bridge, which was scarcely five hundred yards off. A little mosque, which I afterwards made my residence, was in the centre of the compound of this outpost and two or three low sheds or out-offices; a continuation of our earth wall, with stockaded gaps at intervals, formed the only separations from what the enemy could easily have traversed. It was considered a sort of neutral ground.

"Fortunately, this part was completely commanded by the Redan, the best, most strongly fortified, and most complete battery of the whole garrison, erected by Captain Fulton, one of our very best engineer officers, who deserved the greatest praise for the scientific manner in which he constructed it. The whole of the river side, and the buildings on the opposite banks, could be played on with our cannon from here; and in the event of an attack, both the north and east as well as the west sides could be swept with our grape from the two 18-pounders and 9-pounder on it. It was in the form of more than three-quarters of a circle, and was elevated considerably above the street below.

"Along the Redan to the north, in an irregular line, extending as far as the hospital, was a wall of fascines, and of earthwork, above which, and through whose loopholes formed by sand-bags, our men were able to fire with certain effect. A low trench ran within the residency compound so as to give greater shelter to the men. From without, the wall had, however, a much more formidable appearance. This line of earthwork having a battery of two guns—9-pounders—at the entrance called the Water Gate, but now blocked up by a stockade, was known as No. 1 Battery. Along the Redan, past the residency and the hospital, and as far as the Bailey Guard, was a clear space, formerly used as a garden, and bounded by a brick wall to the east, and the buildings known as the Captain's Bazaar to the north, a fine road leading past these boundaries from the Bailey Guard gate towards the iron bridge. This space, at least a thousand yards long by four hundred wide, being exceedingly low, and gradually becoming lower at the entrance opposite the upper Water Gate, formed a glacis for the intrenchments above.*

"The hospital was another extensive building, resembling the residency *par excellence*,

* The residency itself has already been described. See page 134, *ante*.

but having besides the ground-floor only one upper story, and no *tyekhana* below. The front rooms of the ground-floor were made use of for the officers, the interior for the men, and the back part for a dispensary. It was formerly the banqueting hall of the residents, the lower apartments having been made use of for an office. A battery of three guns, an 18-pounder, a 13-inch howitzer, and a 9-pounder, were placed between the Water Gate and hospital. The right wing of the hospital served as a laboratory for making fuses and cartridges, and fronting it was placed a battery of three mortars.

"The Bailey Guard was a continuation of the hospital, but built on ground to which one had to descend considerably. A portion of it was used as a store-room, another as the treasury, a part as an office, and the remainder as the barracks of the native soldiers who guarded this place, commanded by Lieutenant Aitkins. Having on its left only the brick wall surrounding the neutral space of the residency garden, already spoken of, it was by no means a strong position. To the right of these buildings was the Bailey Guard, *par malheur*, the guard-room of the sepoys formerly guarding the residency, but, being without our boundaries, unapproachable by either ourselves or the enemy. The gateway to the right was lofty, and a fine piece of architecture. The gate was, however, to be blocked up with earth, and in the event of an entrance being forced, two 9-pounders, and an 8-inch howitzer between them, could shower grape and canister into the assailants.

"Dr. Fayrer's house, like the Bailey Guard, facing the east, was also commanded by the clock-tower of the Furreed Buksh palace, and the out-offices of the Tehree Kothee and Nakarkhana. It was a fine and commodious lower-roomed house, raised on a considerable elevation, with a terrace, whence there was excellent rifle-shooting. It was commanded by Captain Weston and Dr. Fayrer, who is a first-rate shot, and has sent many a sepoy to answer for his sins in another world. A 9-pounder, loaded with grape, was placed in a north-eastern direction, to command the Bailey Guard gateway, if possible.

"Coming out of Dr. Fayrer's house, and down the road to the left, was the civil dispensary, which, being situated between Dr. Fayrer's, the post-office, the Begum Kothee, and the gaol, was one of the safest places in the whole garrison. It had previously been a portion of the post-office.

"The post-office, during the siege, was one of the most important positions we had—commanding, as well as being commanded by, the Havilath gaol and a mosque to the right, and the clock-tower and out-offices of the Tehree Kothee to the left. It was made the barrack-room of a great portion of our soldiers, and contained two 18's and a 9-pounder pointed in different directions, and protecting in some measure the Financial Office and Sago's garrisons below. Besides these, there were three mortars playing into the Cawnpoor road, the Motee Mahal palaces, and the buildings round about the new palace and the old gaol. There was also a workshop attached to it, for the manufacture of tools and the preparation of shells and fuses. It was the head-quarters of the engineers, whose office and residence it was made, and besides offered accommodation to several families.

"The wall bounding the south side communicated, by breaches made in it, with the gaol, native hospital, school-houses, and the Cawnpoor battery, as well as with the Judicial and Anderson's garrisons.

"The Financial Office outpost, a large two-storied house, was, like Sago's garrison, at first not intended to be within the line of our defences, and was only retained on account of the positions being most probably untenable by the enemy, since they did not command any part of the residency houses, which overtop them, at the same time that they were useful in repelling advances made from the positions of the rebels on a level with it. It was barricaded on all sides with furniture and boxes within, but the out-offices and gateway were apparently very weak. The house itself was large and extensive, and had two verandahs, both well barricaded. It communicated with the residency through the post-office, and was directly below Dr. Fayrer's house. Captain Sanders, of the 13th, commanded this outpost with great ability and courage.

"Sago's outpost, a lower-roomed and comparatively rather small building, was contiguous, being only separated by a wall from it. Both these outposts, during the siege up to the arrival of the first reinforcements, were particularly dangerous; and their

gallant garrisons deserved particular praise for the brave defence they made. Previous to the siege it was the residence of Mrs. Sago, the mistress of a charity-school. Both this and the Financial Office garrison were commanded, not only by those opposite the post-office and Fayrer's battery, but also by a large building known as Azimoolah's Kothee, and a small brick building formerly used as a gambling-house by the Lucknow shodas.*

"A narrow passage, which during the siege proved fatal to many a poor fellow, led up to the judicial office, an extensive upper-roomed house, commanded by Captain Germon, 13th native infantry, situated between Anderson's and the post-office garrisons, and also a very important position, greatly exposed to the enemy's fire from the east, and from a high turret of Johannes' house to the south. It had, in the king's time, been the residence of the late well-known Mr. George Beechey. A wall of fascines and earth protected it from the road-side.

"The gaol, a very fine, airy, and lofty quadrangular building, divided into four equal-sized compartments, with barred doors and four openings, was surrounded by a fine square of comfortable out-offices, and situated between the Cawnpoor battery to the south, the post-office to the north, the judicial office to the right or east, and the school-houses and native hospital to the west. It was used as a barrack-room.

"The native hospital, a square of low out-offices, was situated between the school-houses, the brigade mess, the post-office and civil dispensary, and the gaol. It was a tolerably safe place.

"The Begum's Kothee†—so called from having previously been the dwelling-place of the grand-daughter of Buksh Ally, and whose mother had been Miss Walters—was one of the most extensive buildings within the whole line of our intrenchments. A lofty gateway nearly fronting the road leading to Johannes' house served as an entrance. A double range of out-offices formed a square within a square, one side of which consisted of a fine Emaumbarra, or place of Mohammedan worship. Some of these buildings contained fine and lofty apartments, afterwards made use of by officers' families; others were lower-roomed cook-houses, but having very deep foundations, and appearing from the road leading past the post-office to Dr. Fayrer's, to be considerably high. A fine upper-roomed house, painted green and yellow, served as the commissariat store-rooms. A mosque which, at the desire of the begum, was not made use of, was within this Kothee. The male inhabitants of the place were required, as the Begum Kothee was supposed to be pretty safe, to garrison the Bhoosa intrenchments, being in the very centre of our defences.

"Mr. Sequera's house, and the stabling next to it, then used as a canteen and liquor store-room, were, together with the main guard-house behind, considered as forming part of the Begum Kothee, and were connected with it by a breach in a wall and several narrow passages."

The foregoing description of the residency by Mr. Rees, will be much better understood by a reference to the ground plan which accompanies his *Narrative*, as also by the coloured plan published with the *Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary*, of December 3rd and 11th, 1857. The report of the defence of the residency of Lucknow, transmitted by Colonel Inglis to the governor-general in September, 1857, and the details of the siege and successive battles previous to the final capture of the city by the British forces under Sir Colin Campbell, in March, 1858, related in the *History of the Indian Mutiny*,‡ will supply much interesting detail in connection with the past and present state of the capital of Oude.

* Bad characters.

† Lady's house.

‡ Vol. i., pp. 40; 51; 181: vol. ii., pp. 1; 4; 16; 40—57; 78—100; 235—275.

THE HILL-FORTRESS OF GWALIOR.

THE city or town of Gwalior, capital of the Mahratta state of that name, is situated at the base of a precipitous, isolated rock, about 80 miles S. from the city of Agra, and 772 N.W. of Calcutta, in $26^{\circ} 18' N.$ lat., and $78^{\circ} 30' E.$ long. The celebrated hill-fortress, from which its chief importance is derived, is built upon the rock mentioned, which is one mile and a-half in length, by about 300 yards wide; the elevation from the plain, at the northern extremity of the plateau, being 342 feet. The sides of the rock are precipitous and rugged, and are impossible of ascent but by ladders, or by a single approach on the north-eastern side, where it gradually dips toward the plain. Around the brink of the precipice a stone parapet is erected, within which rises the fort of the Maharajah Sindia, one of the most tried and faithful of the native princes of India.

The entrance to the enclosure within the rampart is near the north end of the east side; in the lower part by a steep road, and in the upper part by steps cut in the rock, wide enough to permit elephants to make the ascent. A high and massive wall protects the outer side of this huge staircase: seven gateways are placed at intervals along its ascent; and guns at the summit command the whole of it. Within the enclosure of an inner rampart is the citadel—an antique palace surmounted by kiosks, with six lofty round towers or bastions, connected by walls of immense thickness and extent. It has been calculated that at least 15,000 men would be requisite to garrison this fortress completely; and it has always been considered of great importance among the native chiefs. Tradition reports it to have been used as a stronghold during more than a thousand years.

Gwalior has, undoubtedly, in all ages been a military post of great importance, as well from its local peculiarity of position, as from its central situation in Hindoostan. Under the imperial domination of Akber and Aurungzebe, it was occupied as a state prison, in which obnoxious branches of the reigning family, or subjugated princes of other states, were confined until death relieved them from the thralldom of captivity. Within the limits of the fortress the royal prisoners were not debarred enjoyment, so far as it was compatible with their safe keeping; and among other expedients provided for their amusement, a numerous menagerie of lions, tigers, and other wild animals, was kept within the fort. On account of its presumed security when it first came into the possession of the Mahrattas (who also retained its use as a state prison), it was made a principal depôt for artillery, ammunition, and military stores.

Upon the dismemberment of the Mogul empire, after the death of Aurungzebe, Gwalior fell into the hands of a Jat chief, known as the rana of Gohud. From him, or his descendants, it was acquired by stratagem by Sindia, the ruling chief of the Mahrattas, in 1779. From the latter it was, however, wrested in the following year by a British force under Major Popham; who, despite its repute for impregnability, escalated the scarpd rock on which it stood, at daybreak on the 3rd of August, 1780, and planted the British colours on the summit of its towers. The storming party on this dangerous exploit was led by Captain Bruce, brother of the great Abyssinian traveller. Three years afterwards the fortress was restored to the rana of Gohud by Mr. Hastings, the governor-general, who soon found occasion to regret the cession; and, changing his policy, sanctioned aggressive measures on the part of Sindia, which eventually again placed the important fortress in the hands of the Mahratta chief. Thus affairs continued until shortly after the commencement of the present century; when, offence having been given to the Company's government by the Sindia family, hostilities again broke out, and the power of the Mahratta received a severe check. At this time, and from the year 1794, when Madhajee Sindia died, the dominions of this important branch of the great robber tribes of India, extended from beyond Delhi on the north, to near Bombay on the south, and from the Ganges to Gujerat; a vast region, acquired and held by means as atrocious as any recorded in the history of India. War having been found inevitable to curb the arrogance and rapacity of the Mahrattas, Sir Arthur Wellesley, on the 21st of August, 1803, inflicted a severe chastisement upon them at the battle of Assaye (a fortified village

near the junction of the Kailna and Juah rivers, 261 miles north-west of Hyderabad). On this occasion, the force of Sindia and his confederates numbered 50,000 men, supported by above a hundred pieces of artillery. The British numbered but 4,500 men; and their victory, though complete, was dearly purchased, for one-third of the conquerors lay dead or wounded upon the field at the close of the sanguinary action. Of the Mahrattas, 1,200 were slain. The bodies of the fallen were scattered around in dense masses, and ninety-eight pieces of cannon remained as trophies of British valour.

After a series of engagements, the result of each being disastrous to the arms of Sindia, he sued for peace, which was granted in December, 1804, upon consideration of an immense cession of territory to the English; and shortly afterwards Bajerut Rao Sindia, the ruling chief, entered the general alliance, of which the British government formed the dominant portion, and agreed to receive into his capital a subsidiary British force, whose expenses were to be defrayed by the revenues of the territories wrested from him. The fortress of Gwalior remained in the possession of Sindia, and the city was then adopted by him as the capital of his states, and the head-quarters of the contingent force, which was commanded by British officers only.

The town of Gwalior is of considerable extent and well populated, running along the base of the eastern and northern sides of the rock on which the fortress is built. It contains a number of handsome edifices, both public and private, chiefly built of stone, which is obtained in abundance from the neighbouring hills, that form an amphitheatre round the town and rock at distances varying from one to four miles. Within the walls of the fort are large natural caverns, descending into the bowels of the hill on which it is built, by which a perpetual supply of excellent water is preserved to the inhabitants of the elevated region.

Besides this famous stronghold, there has always existed at Gwalior a stationary camp of the maharajah, called the Luskur—a poor collection of rude buildings extending to a great distance from the south-west face of the rock, and of secondary importance as regards situation or strength. It was here the greater portion of the contingent troops were stationed; and these, though in the service of a Mahratta state, consisted chiefly of Hindoostanees, like the sepoy of the Bengal army, the Mahrattas forming a very inconsiderable minority of the number. The contingent embraced all three arms of the service—infantry, cavalry, and artillery; and formed of itself a compact army.

We now turn to events connected with the sepoy mutiny of 1857, in which the Gwalior contingent took no inconsiderable part, and the result of which was highly honourable to the good faith and loyalty of the maharajah.

The disasters at Gwalior began on Sunday, the 14th of June; previously to which, however, the resident at the court of Sindia had received information which led him to believe that the contingent, which consisted of seven regiments of infantry, two of cavalry, and four batteries of artillery, were thoroughly disaffected, both in the main body at Gwalior and the detachments on out-service. As a precautionary measure, all the ladies and children of the European civil and military officers were sent in from the cantonment to the residency, on the 28th of May, for protection. Some of the superior military officers, including Dr. Kirk, the superintending surgeon of the contingent, doubted the existence of danger, and declared their entire confidence in the loyalty of the troops; and, through their influence, the ladies, on the 29th and 30th, returned to their homes at the station, much to the apparent delight of the sepoy, who loudly expressed their gratification at the generous reliance thus placed on their fidelity.

Just fourteen days after this exhibition of attachment the mask fell. At nine o'clock on the evening of Sunday, the 14th of June, an alarm was given at the cantonment that the troops were in revolt! Shots were heard, and all was immediately in confusion at the bungalows of the European families; but no one at first could give any details of the outbreak. Startled by the first cry of revolt, people rushed from their houses, and each family found others in a similar state of consternation. The alarm became general as the night wore on, and, in the darkness, families were separated; ladies and children, abandoning their homes, sought hiding-places in the gardens, among the tall grass, or on house-tops and in huts. Then arose the flames from burning bungalows, and then also came gangs of sepoy, their weapons reeking with blood, and yet hunting for their prey, which could not long be concealed from their sight. Among others who fell into the

hands of the murderers were two officers, Majors Blake and Hawkins, who had been conspicuously trustful of their men; and by those men they were slain, with others, on the night of the outbreak. Dr. Kirk, with his wife and child, concealed themselves in a garden during the night; but, in the morning, they were discovered. Mrs. Kirk was robbed, but was not at the time further ill-treated: her husband was shot dead before her eyes. At this miserable sight the poor woman begged the murderers to put an end to her also; but, pointing to the corpse of her husband, they replied with some feeling—"No, we have killed you already!" Such of the Europeans as could get away escaped to Agra; and it is some mitigation of the guilt of the mutinous troops that they allowed the ladies and children to depart without ill-using them, beyond the mere act of plundering such as had any property about them.

The position of Sindia was now a very trying one. As soon as the troops of his contingent had murdered or driven away their European officers, they went to him, placed their services at his disposal, and demanded that he would lead them against the British at Agra: but he not only refused to sanction their previous outrages, but endeavoured to prevent them marching towards Agra; and in this he succeeded until an advanced period of the autumn. In September, however, they could no longer be restrained; and, on the 7th of that month, the native officers of the different corps waited upon Sindia, and demanded to be led either to Agra or Cawnpoor. As the answer to their request was not conformable to their wishes, they seized the means of conveyance, and the main body of them left Gwalior, but without offering violence to their chief.

At length, the disasters that had followed every effort of the rebellious troops when opposed to British valour, compelled them to seek some position in which, at a moment of imminent peril, they might be able to maintain themselves with some prospect of success; and Gwalior being the most important stronghold in Central India likely to be accessible to them, they turned their eyes toward it as a place of refuge in case of extremity. This view being adopted by the chiefs in revolt, the Mahratta and Rajpoot insurgents resolved that, if Sindia would not join them against the British, they would attack and dethrone him, and instal another maharajah in his place. To effect this object, the rebel forces, towards the end of May, 1858, drew near Gwalior, and were met in the field by Sindia, whose whole force then consisted of about 9,000 men and eight guns. The strength of the enemy was somewhere about 11,000 men, with twelve guns. The rebel swere led by the rancee of Jhansi, the nawab of Banda, Tantia Topee, Rao Sahib (nephew of the Nana), and other chiefs of eminence, both Mohammedan and Hindoo; and at 7 A.M. on the 1st of June, they made their appearance before the capital in order of battle. Sindia divided his army into three columns or divisions, the centre of which he commanded in person. The engagement had scarcely commenced, when the whole of the troops of Sindia, with the exception of his body-guard, went over in a body to the enemy. The contest was, however, continued till half the number of the faithful guard had fallen, when the rest fled with their master to seek safety at Agra. Directly the maharajah had thus abandoned his capital, the rebels entered it, and endeavoured to form a government of their own. They chose Nana Sahib as Peishwa or head of all the Mahratta confederacy, and appointed his nephew, Rao Sahib, chief of Gwalior, which arrangement was assented to by the disloyal troops of Sindia, as well as by those belonging to other chiefs in enmity with him. During the rebel occupation of Gwalior, the bulk of the army under the rancee of Jhansi, remained encamped in a garden called the Phoolbagh, outside the city, and all due precautions were taken to guard the approaches: the property of the principal inhabitants was sequestered; the treasures of the maharajah were seized by the connivance of a treacherous servant, named Ameerchaud Batya, who had been his father's treasurer; and a formal confiscation of all the royal property was declared.

The possession of Gwalior by the rebels was not of long duration, for it was considered by the supreme government to be of the greatest importance that the daring act of its seizure should be promptly and effectually chastised. A force, under the command of Sir Hugh Rose, was therefore dispatched for its recovery; and so rapid were the movements of the British troops, that by the morning of the 16th of June they had reached the cantonments. A series of engagements occupied the next three days, which all ended in the discomfiture of the rebels. By the evening of the 18th they had

completely lost heart; and on finding the heights surrounding a portion of the town in the hands of the British, they threw away their arms and fled, pursued by the cavalry, which cut them down in great numbers; and, by four o'clock in the afternoon of the 19th, Sir Hugh Rose was master of Gwalior, to the utter dismay of the whole rebel confederacy. On the 20th, Sindia—who had been sent for from Agra for the purpose—was restored to his throne with as much of Oriental pomp as could be made available under the circumstances—the general and his staff accompanying him in procession through the streets from the camp to the palace; and it was deemed a good augury that such of the inhabitants as lined the streets seemed delighted to welcome Sindia back to his throne.

THE CITY OF DELHI.

THIS celebrated city, built on the western bank of the river Jumna, is situated in lat. $28^{\circ} 43' N.$, long. $77^{\circ} 9' E.$, and is distant from Allahabad 429 miles; from Calcutta 976; 880 from Bombay; and 1,295 from Madras; the three last-named being the European capitals of British India. The origin of the city is carried back by tradition to a period long anterior to the commencement of the Christian era; its existence being recorded in the *Maha Bharat*, a Hindoo poem of remote antiquity. In this epic, it is mentioned as being then under the rule of a Rajpoot line of princes, of whom the last was driven from his capital A.D. 1050. In the year 1206, the emperor Mahmood of Ghuznee, whose predecessor, Shahab-oo-deen, had carefully trained several Turki slaves for the government of kingdoms subdued by him, invested one of them, named Kootb-oo-deen, with the insignia of royalty at Delhi, and thus inaugurated the line named from the seat of their government "the Slave Kings of Delhi."* In 1299, a Mogul invasion wrought great calamities upon the people, which were increased by the tyranny of Mohammed Toghlak (a descendant of the first slave king), who having taken umbrage at the complaints of the inhabitants, determined, in 1309, to transfer the seat of his government from Delhi to Deogiri, 749 miles distant; and commanded the inhabitants of the former to remove at once to the latter place, to which he gave the name of Dowlatabad, and there built the massive fort still existing.† After this, the people were twice permitted to return to Delhi, and again twice were compelled, on pain of death, to abandon it—all these removals being more or less attended with the horrors of famine, occasioning the death of thousands. In 1398, Timur the lame, or Tamerlane—designated the "Fire-brand of the Universe," and the "Apostle of Desolation"—invaded India, and, beating down all opposition, ravaged the country on his way to Delhi, which he took possession of, and put every male inhabitant over fifteen years of age to death, lest they should take part with their countrymen yet in arms against the invaders. The number of the slain upon this occasion, amounted, according to the Mohammedan writers, to more than 100,000. The city, which had been surrendered under a solemn assurance of protection, was then entered by the victor, who was there proclaimed emperor of India. While Tamerlane was engaged in celebrating a feast in commemoration of his conquest, his ferocious soldiery, regardless of the dearly purchased promise of their chief, commenced their accustomed course of rapine and plunder; upon which, the Hindoos, driven to desperation by witnessing the disgrace of their wives and daughters, shut the gates, sacrificed the women and children, and rushed out to slay and be slain. The whole Mogul army now rushed into the town, and a general massacre followed, until several streets were rendered impassable by heaps of the dead. At length the wretched inhabitants, stupefied by the overpowering number and barbarity of the foe, flung down their arms, and submitted, without further resistance, to the slaughter which awaited them.

* It was in the reign of Altemsh (the second of the race of the slave kings of Delhi), who succeeded to the throne in 1211, that the extraordinary column known as the Cootub Minar, near Delhi, was began to be erected.—*Vide* description, p. 59.

† See p. 86.

Delhi yielded an enormous booty in gold, silver, and jewels, especially rubies and diamonds. Ferishta, the historian, declares that the amount stated by his authority so far exceeds belief, that he refrains from mentioning it. Neither does he give the number of persons of all ranks dragged into slavery; among whom were many masons and other artificers competent to the erection of a mosque, in which the sanguinary Timur, previous to his departure from the city he had desolated, offered up thanks for the punishment he had been enabled to inflict upon the inhabitants. For many weeks Delhi remained ungoverned, and nearly uninhabited; and the territory belonging to it became in a short time so reduced by the ravages and aggressions of neighbouring chiefs, that it extended in one direction but twelve miles, and, in another, scarcely a mile from the city.

By the vicissitudes common to Eastern history, Delhi after some time gradually recovered its importance, and became again the capital of an extensive dominion, unaffected by the convulsions around it, until the early part of the sixteenth century, when, after a sanguinary conflict at Paniput, continued to the very walls of the city, it was surrendered to the emperor Baber, sixth in descent from Timur. From this period until the reign of Shah Jehan, which commenced in 1627, little of moment appears on record as regards Delhi; but during the lifetime of that monarch, the city was rebuilt on a magnificent plan, far surpassing the original design; and the imperial establishments being now removed thither, sumptuous edifices were built for the nobles and public offices, and Delhi became in appearance, as it had long been in rank, an imperial city.

During the reign of Mohammed Shah, Delhi was subject to continual alarms from the struggles for power that raged among the nobles of the court, and an attempt to subvert the authority of the emperor by setting up Abdullah Khan as a rival to the throne, in whose behalf a force was collected. The armies of Mohammed and of the pretender met between Agra and Delhi, and the latter was signally defeated and made prisoner. Mohammed Shah entered Delhi in triumph—the empress-mother receiving him at the entrance of the harem, bearing a basin filled with gems and new coins, which she poured over his head as a “wave-offering” of joy and thanksgiving. The reign of Mohammed was marked by weakness, and by the open extravagance and corruption that prevailed among all classes, from the emperor downwards; while the intrigues of the Mahrattas surrounded him with a net from which, ultimately, he found it impossible to escape with life. The kingdom, weakened by incapacity and neglect, at length attracted the notice of Nadir the Persian, an adventurer who had mounted the throne of that kingdom in 1736, under the title of Nadir Shah, the “wonderful king;” and who now, at the head of a formidable army, advanced towards Delhi. After an action with the ill-commanded troops of Mohammed, who were signally defeated, and the king made prisoner, the conqueror marched into Delhi, and established himself in the royal palace, distributing his troops throughout the city, and stationing detachments in various places for the protection of the inhabitants. During the first day strict discipline was maintained, and all was quiet; but, on the second, a rumour spread of the death of Nadir Shah; and the populace immediately rising, slew all the Persians within reach, to the number of 700, including some of those who had been stationed for the protection of private dwellings. The tumult continued during the whole night; and at daybreak Nadir Shah mounted his horse and sallied forth, believing that his presence would at once restore order by proving the error of the current report. Flights of stones, arrows, and bullets from the houses soon undeceived him; and one of his chiefs being killed at his side by a shot aimed at himself, he ordered his troops to retaliate, and not leave a soul alive where they should discover the corpse of a Persian. This command involving license for a general massacre, was eagerly obeyed: the soldiery rushed into the houses, and gave free loose to their revenge, and lust, and covetousness. The streets of Delhi streamed with blood; many thoroughfares were blocked up with carcasses; flames burst forth in all parts of the town, where the wretched inhabitants, distracted by the thought of beholding their wives and children in the hands of the enemy, had preferred sharing with them a fiery death. The shrieks and groans of the dying and the dishonoured pierced the air, overpowering at times the fearful imprecations, or yet more fiendish scoffings of their persecutors; and, from sunrise to broad noon, these horrid sights and sounds continued unabated. Nadir Shah, after issuing the terrible mandate, went to a little mosque in the great bazaar near the centre of the city, and there remained in

gloomy silence until he was aroused by the entrance of his royal prisoner, Mohammed Shah, whose deep distress for the sufferings of the people at length prevailed upon the conqueror to command that the massacre should cease. In this terrible punishment, according to the lowest trustworthy statement, 30,000 human beings were put to the sword; while the native authors compute the number as reaching 120,000; adding, that about 10,000 women threw themselves into wells, to escape outrage; some of whom were taken out alive, after being there two or three days. The wretched survivors of this calamity were so prostrated by the blow, that they appear to have wanted energy even to perform the obsequies of the dead. It is recorded, that "in several of the Hindoo houses, where one of a family survived, he would pile thirty or forty carcasses one on the top of the other, and burn them; and so they did in the streets: notwithstanding which, there still remained so many, that for a considerable time there was no such thing as passing any of those ways. After some days, the stench arising from the multitudes of unburied dead becoming intolerable, the bodies were dragged into the river, thrown into pits, or else collected together in heaps, without distinction of Mussulman or Hindoo, and burnt with the rubbish of the ruined houses, until all were disposed of."*

The sufferings of the people of Delhi were not yet sufficient to expiate their offence. A gift was demanded by the conqueror, which absorbed from twenty-five to thirty millions sterling, exclusive of the plunder already grasped. The exaction of this enormous penalty was accompanied with excessive severity, which grew more intense as the difficulty of compliance became more apparent. Numbers of the nobility, merchants, and traders resorted to suicide, to avoid the disgrace and torture that followed the inability to furnish the amount required of them; while others perished under the cruelties inflicted. In Scott's *History of the Deccan*, the following description by an eye-witness, is quoted from a journal kept by an inhabitant of Delhi during this terrible epoch in its history:—"It was, before, a general massacre, but now a system of individual murders. In every chamber and house was heard the cry of affliction. Sleep and rest forsook the city. The pangs of hunger and sickness were not long absent; and no morning passed that whole crowds in every street and lane were not found dead. The citizens vainly strove to escape these multiplied calamities by flight. The roads were blocked up; and all attempts to leave the city were punished by mutilation of the ears or nose: until at length—the dignity of human nature being subdued by terror—the wretched sufferers slunk away into holes and corners, and cowered down before their oppressors like the frightened animals of the desert."

On the 14th of April, 1739, the Persian invader quitted Delhi after a residence of fifty-eight days, bearing with him plunder in coin, bullion, gold and silver plate, brocades and jewels, to an incalculable extent. The money alone was computed to exceed thirty millions sterling. Numerous elephants and camels were also taken away, with many hundreds of the most skilled workmen and artificers. The desolation of Delhi was for a time complete.

But Delhi, in its ruin, was simply a type of the universal wretchedness that prevailed in India under the sceptre of the Mogul dynasties. So late as the beginning of the eighteenth century, it is recorded in a history of Hindoostan, by a native writer (Golaum Hossein Khan), that "all prisoners of war were murdered, all suspected persons were put to the torture, and the usual punishments were impalement, flaying, and scourging. The people in certain provinces were hunted with dogs like wild beasts, and were shot for sport; the property of such as possessed anything was confiscated, and themselves strangled; no one was allowed to invite another to his house without a written permission from the vizer, or rajah of the place where he lived, and the people were constantly exposed to the most dreadful plunderings and outrages." Such, by native testimony, was the condition of Hindoostan during the latter part of the domination of the Great Moguls: it became still worse when Nadir Shah, like a torrent of fire, spread over the country; and it was yet more intensely miserable when, after the departure of that prince, India was left in the power of the Mahrattas, whose only object was plunder and devastation. Hundreds of examples may be found in the history of those times, of the whole populations of conquered cities and towns being massacred by the victors—Delhi being one only of the instances recorded; and that, as we have seen,

* Fraser's *History of Nadir Shah*, p. 155.

became depopulated through the savage ferocity of its Persian invader in 1739. Fifteen years after this terrible visitation, the city was again given over to pillage and slaughter by the troops of Ahmed Shah, the second in succession from Nadir the destroyer. In 1759, the Mogul power succumbed to the energy and superior tactics of the Mahrattas, who became masters of the territory of India from the Indus and Himalaya on the north, to nearly the extremity of the peninsula on the south; but the pomp and circumstance that had adorned the capital of the Moguls was now transferred to Poonah. Its fading glory did not, however, exempt it from further misfortune; and in a fearful struggle which ensued between the Mahrattas and the Rajpoots in 1767, Delhi was again entered by a hostile force of the former, under Sewdasheo Rao Bhow. The victors, on taking possession of the city, consummated their success by defacing its palaces, tombs, and shrines, for the sake of the rich ornaments which had been spared by the Persians and Afghans. They also tore down the silver ceiling of the Hall of Audience, which was coined into seventeen lacs of rupees (£170,000); seized the throne and all other royal ornaments, and destroyed the male inhabitants without distinction of rank or age. The emperor Shah Alum, who succeeded Alumgeer II. upon the despoiled throne of the Moguls, had been constrained to abandon the capital and take up his residence at Allahabad, under the protection of the English; when, by a sudden revulsion of policy on the part of the Mahrattas in 1770, he was informed, that if he did not choose to accept the invitation given to him to return to his capital, his son would be placed on the throne. Acceding to this necessity, Shah Alum reached Delhi in December, 1771, and entered its ancient gates amid the acclamations of the populace. From this time until his death (some thirty-six years subsequently), his life was a career of uninterrupted misery, through the tyranny of his Mahratta allies and the bad faith of the East India Company and their servants, who were alternately his protectors and his oppressors. At length, on the 10th of September, 1803, he formally surrendered himself and his empire into the hands of the Company, in return for their protection and an annual stipend of thirteen and a-half lacs of rupees,* reserving to himself the nominal title of Emperor of Delhi; and from this time until the outbreak of the revolt in May, 1857, the city of Delhi remained in the uninterrupted possession of its English masters.

The successive invasions by the Persians, the Afghans, and the Mahrattas, and the destruction that invariably followed their conquests, will account for the extensive belt of ruins which, for a distance of some twenty miles, environ the city built by Shah Jehan. For the devastation within its walls, consequent upon its storm and recapture by the British troops under General Sir Archdale Wilson, in September, 1857, we must refer to the following extracts, from details furnished by the actors in the terrible drama of retribution:†—"Without the walls the devastation was widely spread; but ruin had concentrated its fury upon the ill-starred city. From the Lahore gate to the village of Subzee Mundee, on the Kurnaul road, there was an almost continuous line of carcasses of camels, horses, and bullocks, with their skins dried into parchment over the sapless bones. Here and there were remains of intrenchments where battles had been fought on the road. From Badulee Serai, a short distance from the Lahore gate, every tree was either levelled with the ground, or the branches were lopped off by round shot: the garden-houses of the wealthy citizens were, in almost every instance, masses of ruins, with the remains of men and beasts bleaching around them. Here and there might be seen the perfectly white skeleton of one who had shared in the terrible struggle of the siege, and had fallen unnoticed and unremembered by his fellows; while on all sides lay scattered fragments of clothing, cartouch boxes, and exploded shells. Around the Subzee Mundee all foliage was destroyed; the gaily ornamented residences in the vicinity of the Serai were now mere masses of blackened ruins, with broken sand-bags and shattered lopholed walls, that proclaimed the fiery ordeal through which the combatants on either side had passed. With the exception of the Moree bastion and the Cashmere gate (both on the north-east side of the city), the line of defences did not exhibit much traces of injury; but within the walls, the appearance of the city was fearfully desolate. Entering by the Cashmere gate, the first object seen was the Mainguard, now a mass of ruins. St. James's church next appeared, battered with shot even up to the

* See *ante*, p. 129.

† *Vide also History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. i., pp. 498; 520: vol. ii., pp. 166; 170.

ball and cross that surmounted the edifice. Most of the houses from this point to near the palace were mere ruins blackened by fire. A large structure, occupied as the Delhi bank at the time of the outbreak, and formerly the residence of the Begum Sumroo, had nothing but the outer walls and portions of a verandah remaining. In a narrow street, leading thence to the Chandnee Chouk, every house bore visible proof of the showers of musket-balls that were poured upon the defenders of the place, as they retreated, street by street and house by house, towards the palace. In many of the avenues were still to be seen the *débris* of arches which had been built up by the rebels, but were broken into by the advancing troops. The streets had been cut up into furrows by the action of shot and shell, that ploughed up their surface. House-doors and huge gates lay about in all directions, some of which had been strongly backed up by massive stone-work and heavy beams of wood; while the remains of sand-bag defences were passed at every corner. But three of the seven gates of the city were as yet permitted to be opened; namely, the Cashmere gate at the north-east angle, towards the old cantonments; the Lahore gate on the west side, opposite the principal entrance to the palace; and the Calcutta gate on the east, communicating with the bridge of boats over the Jumna, and the road to Meerut—the other four entrances to the place having been blocked up with solid masonry during the siege."

The assault upon the city, on the morning of the 14th of September, has been thus described:—"The signal for the rush of the two columns upon the breaches right and left of the Cashmere gate, was to be the explosion at the gate itself, by which it would be blown open. This was effected by two officers of engineers, Lieutenants Salkeld and Home, accompanied by Sergeants Smith, Carmichael, and Grierson, and Bugler Hawthorne, with ten Punjabee sappers and miners. In the performance of this hazardous duty, nearly the whole party were more or less wounded or killed. They succeeded, however, in affixing the bags of powder to the gate and blowing it open, upon which the assault was given at the breaches. The ladder parties at the head of the assaulting columns suffered greatly; but the principal loss took place after the entrance had been effected. A lodgment being thus obtained, the troops made steady progress on the 14th and two following days, occupying the open space near the church, capturing all the northern wall and gates of the city, and pushing on to and seizing the magazine, until the evening of the 16th, when a line of posts was established across the city, from the Cabool gate to the magazine; and some mortars placed in the magazine compound commenced playing upon Selimghur and the palace. The principal events on the 17th and 18th was the shelling of those edifices. Early on the morning of the 17th, the left wing of the British force was pushed forward from the magazine to the house formerly used as the Delhi bank, which commanded the great gateway of the palace opposite the Chandnee Chouk; and shortly afterwards, the posts along the whole line were advanced as far as the canal. The fire of the enemy at Selimghur was kept down by that of the British, and the resistance in front began to be less vigorous. Throughout the night, and during the whole of the 18th, the fire upon the palace and Selimghur was maintained; the fortress, in return, only firing a few shots, which did no harm. On the left, the position at the bank was strengthened; and, during the night, the sappers penetrated through the houses in their front towards the Burn bastion, which commanded the Lahore gate. During the night between the 18th and 19th, the mortar batteries played upon the portion of the city south of the palace, and bordering on the river; and with the dawn of the 19th, they were turned to the right, upon the Jumma Musjid and its vicinity. The line of posts had then been advanced almost to the Chandnee Chouk. Selimghur was silent, and parties of men, armed and disarmed, were observed crossing from it to the other side of the Jumna by the bridge of boats. The palace was said to be deserted by its inmates, and the whole of the rest of the city to be in process of evacuation. Shortly before dark, the labours of the sappers on the right being completed, the Burn bastion, mounting six guns and one mortar, was carried without loss. On the left, a field-piece, behind a breastwork in front of the great gate of the palace, still maintained a fire on the bank, but without much effect. Throughout the night that followed, a continuous mortar fire was kept up on the southern districts of the city. With daybreak on the 20th came the certainty that the protracted struggle was drawing to a close. The Lahore first, and then the Ajmere gate, with their works, being found deserted, were

occupied and secured. By noon, possession was obtained of the Jumma Musjid. The cavalry that on the previous day had been sent round to the southern face of the city to observe the enemy's camp outside the Delhi gate, returned to report that it appeared to be abandoned; and the explosion of a magazine in that direction, which had been heard early in the morning, seemed confirmatory of the report. The resistance of the mutineers in our front became less and less decided. On the left, by ten o'clock, the gun or guns in front of the palace had been taken and spiked. Then a column was formed for the palace itself. It advanced, blew open the great gates, and occupied the vast piles of building, which were found all deserted. Two hours more, and Selimghur and the bridge were taken. Nothing now remained but the south-western quarter of the town, with its wall and gates beyond the Jumma Musjid; and by five in the afternoon, this also was in the possession of the troops: nor this only, but also the abandoned camp beyond the walls. And thus, by the close of the seventh day of this arduous struggle, the labours of the gallant force were crowned with complete success. The appearance of the once rich and populous city, when the storm of fire and iron that so long had raged over its every street, at last cleared off, bore witness to the vigour with which that storm had been directed and maintained. Under one vast pile of ruins lay festering carcasses of slaughtered rebels. Perhaps no such scene had been witnessed in the city of Shah Jehan since the day when Nadir Shah, seated in the little mosque of the Chandnee Chouk, directed and superintended the massacre of its inhabitants. And if the slaughter that thus attended the righteous vengeance of the British general was less extensive and promiscuous than that which followed upon the sanguinary caprice of the Persian tyrant, yet the ruin of the imperial city was more certain and complete in 1857 than it was in 1739. The excesses of Nadir were to the Mogul sovereignty as a violent but passing attack of illness to an individual, which permanently weakens his constitution, indeed, but from which, though shaken, he yet recovers. The triumph of the English struck the debilitated patient dead. He who had borne the titles of Great Mogul and King of Delhi still lived, it is true; but his sovereignty, long virtually, was now actually at an end. His palace was in the hands of his conquerors. His most inner and sacred apartments became the head-quarters of the English army. In his white marble pavilion—the Dewan Khass, or private council-chamber—was heard, on the evening of the 21st of September, 1857, a sound such as had never before broken the stillness of its early splendour or of the squalid solitude of its later days. It was the cheering with which the head-quarter staff received from the general the name of the Queen of England. Never, surely, was there a more fitting place in which to give the health of that royal lady than in the heart of the palace of the enemy who had defied her power; never a time more fitting than when the majesty of the empire had been so signally vindicated, and the massacre of so many of those who were her sisters as well as her subjects, had been in part, at least, avenged. No wonder that the cheers rang out through the marble arches into the courts and gardens of the palace; no wonder that the escort of Goorkas, loyal as gallant, caught and returned them."

The city of the Moguls was now indeed but little better than one vast and blackened ruin!—its houses and streets deserted, and its defences unmanned; while the sentence of utter demolition hovered over its shattered gates and once defiant towers. The imperial city had now not one hand uplifted in its defence.

But the terrible yet just work of retribution was carried on by British soldiers in a spirit of humanity that contrasted strongly with the practices of native warfare. The women and children found concealed or straggling in the city, were spared all harsh treatment, and were even protected from personal indignity by men fierce with the excitement of war, and burning to avenge the murders and outrages perpetrated upon their own countrywomen: but they were generous as well as brave. Nor were the male inhabitants afterwards molested who had remained passive during the struggle, and had not aided the rebellion by their resources or their sympathy. All such were peaceably allowed to quit the city upon applying for permission to do so; and even those who were suspected of treason, had the advantage of a fair trial; and when death subsequently ensued, it was because previous guilt was clearly established.

An officer, writing from the city a few days after its reduction, says—"The Cashmere gate presented a horrible sight: thirty or forty sepoy, some blown up, and others

bayoneted and shot down, were lying all about. It was the same all along the walls. No quarter was given; but they made very little defence, and retired into the city, where they again made a stand. I went into the bastions. Such a scene of ruin you never saw. Almost every gun was dismounted, or had a great piece of iron knocked out of it, and dead sepoys all around. The troops took up their quarters in the college and church; but the enemy fired on us all night. We then made a battery by the college, and commenced shelling the town and palace. We lost most of our men in the town, as they advanced too far without support, and were fired at from the walls and houses." Another officer, writing from the palace on the 28th of September, says—"It is a frightful drive from the palace to the Cashmere gate—every house rent, riven, and tottering; the church battered, and piles of rubbish on every side. Alas! the burnt European houses and deserted shops. Desolate Delhi! And yet we are told it is clearing, and much improved since the storming of the place. It has only as yet a handful of inhabitants in its great street, the Chandnee Chouk. Many miserable wretches prowl through the camp outside of the city, begging for admission at the various gates; but none are admitted whose respectability cannot be vouched for. Cartloads of balls are daily being dug out from the Moree bastion, now a shapeless battered mass. Every wall or bastion that faced our camp is in almost shapeless ruin; while the white marble pavilions of the palace stand uninjured along the Jumna's bank."

The first idea that appears to have been entertained by the government, in connection with the future state of Delhi, was that of dismantling its walls and fortifications, and leaving it without any means of again becoming a focus of rebellion. With this view, the secretary to the government of India, on the 10th of October, forwarded a despatch to General Wilson, from which the following passages are extracted:—"The governor-general in council desires that you will at once proceed to demolish the defences of Delhi. You will spare places of worship, tombs, and all ancient buildings of interest. You will blow up, or otherwise destroy, all fortifications; and you will so far destroy the walls and gates of the city as to make them useless for defence. As you will not be able to do this completely with the force at present available at Delhi, you will select the points at which the work may be commenced with the best effect, and operate there." Before the above instructions had reached the British camp at Delhi, Major-general Wilson, its captor, had been compelled by ill-health and fatigue to relinquish the command of the gallant army he had led to victory; and was succeeded in his distinguished post by Major-general Penny, upon whom of course the task of demolition now devolved; but from the execution of which he was spared through the interposition of Sir John Lawrence, chief commissioner of the Punjab; who, in a letter to the governor-general of the 21st of October, wrote as follows:—"As regards the fortifications of the town, I should be glad if General Penny would delay their destruction until government can receive and give orders on my despatches of the 9th and 15th of October; I do not think that any danger by delay could arise. If the fortifications be dismantled, I would suggest that it be done as was the case at Lahore. We filled-in the ditches by cutting down the glacis, and lowered the walls, and dismantled the covering works in front of the gates and bastions. A wall of ten or twelve feet high could do no harm, and would be very useful for police purposes. Delhi, without any walls, would be exposed to constant depredations from the Meeras and Goojurs, and other predatory races. Even such a partial demolition will cost several lacs of rupees, and take a very long time. The works at Lahore cost two lacs, and occupied upwards of two years." On the 22nd of the month, General Penny, writing to the secretary to the government, says—"In communication with the engineers, I will get everything in readiness for the destruction of the fortifications; but as the chief commissioner of the Punjab has requested the work to be stopped for a purpose, and as the delay will involve no detriment to the contemplated work, I have consented to his proposition. I solicit early instructions." The result of Sir John Lawrence's interposition was, that the fortifications of Delhi were spared.*

In some graphic sketches by the special correspondent of the *Times* newspaper, the following picture of Delhi is presented, as it appeared some months after the triumphant occupation of it by the avenging army. Mr. Russell, on his way from the camp of the commander-in-chief towards Simla, approached Delhi by the Cawnpoor road, and thus

* See *History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. i., pp. 526, 527: vol. ii., pp. 182, 183.

describes the incidents of his visit to the ruins of the prostrate capital:—"After a time there rose dimly along the horizon a dark ridge, not distant, but hazy and indistinct, so that the eye could not at first distinguish the difference between the trees and cupolas, minarets and battlements, with which they were blended. Then came in sight, beneath this ridge, a wide river, on the other side of which I could now make out the castellated walls of imperial Delhi, crowned with bastion and turret, and the lofty domes of mosques and palaces just reflecting the rays of the sun. The city thus seen has a noble aspect, which becomes more impressive on a nearer approach, till the rifts, the dilapidations, and the decay along the water-face of the works are visible. The river itself protects this side of the city, and therefore the weakness of the wall towards the east is of smaller consequence; but it so happens that the part of the city defences we attacked were the strongest of the whole. However, our ground had good command of portions of the place, and we could not pick and choose. Had we attacked from the south we should have found the walls and bastions inferior in strength, and fewer advantages of position in other respects; but it was impossible to move round the city from the north, even had it been desirable to remove from the ridge, where our left flank was defended by the Jumna, and our right rested on a defensible cliff above a ravine. The river at this period of the year is rather low, and is spread in several channels over a wide expanse of sandy bed, which it forms into islands. The road conducts us to a bridge of boats, moored by bark ropes to anchors up stream, fastened to stakes in the river, and provided with apparatus to suit the rise of the waters. There are actually shaky posts for oil lamps stuck at intervals along the line of boats, and sheds of reeds are erected in the stern of each boat to give shelter from the sun. There is a sentry on each end of the bridge, and no native is allowed to pass without inquiry. The Jumna flows at the rate of two miles an hour or so, in turbid and shallow streams; but higher up it becomes deeper. Notwithstanding large offers of rewards, we never could get this bridge destroyed during the siege, and we could scarce touch it with our guns; so that we had the mortification of seeing the rebels and their convoys and supplies crossing it whenever they chose. They did not often go that way if they found it as unpleasant as I did, for the gharry shook tremendously. The bridge leads to the Calcutta gate; but before one reaches it he sees the grand feudal-looking keep of Selimghur rising on his left out of the waters of the river by which it is surrounded. Although it has seen better days, this fort, built of solid stone-work, with massive walls, deep-set, small-eyed windows, possesses an appearance of real strength, which was honestly refreshing after a long course of stucco and compo. It is only accessible by a very lofty bridge, thrown on high arches from the city wall across the branch of the river which insulates the castle, and it is now occupied by a detachment of English troops. At this point the wall of Delhi sweeps round by the curve of the river, and in front of us is the Calcutta gate. The masonry here dates from the time of Shah Jehan, the Great Mogul, to whom Delhi owes its grandest monuments and works. It bears marks of time here and there; but very little outlay and labour would renovate the fine face, which rises to the height of thirty-five or forty feet before us, pierced with loopholes, and bastioned at intervals for its defenders. Passing by the drawbridge and through the Calcutta gate, which offers nothing remarkable, we enter at once into the streets of an Eastern town, rather cleaner and wider than usual. Our course lay for a short time by the city wall; then through a silent street—the houses closed, but pitted all over with bullet-marks; then through a wider street, with public buildings shattered and half ruinous—English guards and English children looking from the doorless halls. Here the magazines were open, and the native shopkeepers sat in their open stalls; but the marks of bullet and cannon-shot became thicker and thicker at every pace; the trees by the side of the way were split and rent; doors and windows were splintered; the gables were torn out of houses; and walls let in the light at jagged holes, through which shot and shell had heralded its advent long ago. At last all is ruin—house and wall and gate alike crumbled under a tremendous bombardment. Then comes a spot over which the storm has passed more lightly; and in an open space there stands, clean, fresh, and radiant in the morning sun, the restored church of Delhi, not destitute of architectural attraction, surmounted by a cupola and ball and cross; and in those particulars and in the general design, affording some likelihood that the architect had not quite forgotten St. Paul's cathedral when he drew his

plan. It was pleasant to see this Christian type amid the desolation and destruction around, the intensity of which increased as we approached the Cashmere gate. Through this immortal portal we passed, and were once more outside the city walls. A few minutes' drive on a good road took the gharry up to a large house, in a castellated style, which once had been held by the enemy's pickets, and which is now the official residence of the commissioner, Mr. Saunders. It bore many marks of shot. In one of the few trees left standing in the avenue there is stuck a cannon-ball, half buried in the split trunk. The house next the commissioner's is a heap of ruins. Close at hand are traces of our advanced trenches and batteries, and on the left there is the quiet cemetery where lie the remains of the glorious soldiers who fell in the assault, and of him who was foremost among them all—who was confessedly, according to the testimony of every Indian tongue, the first soldier in India—'Nicholson.' His grave is marked by a modest slab, and he rests close to the walls of the rebellious city." * * * * *

"When the sun gave up burning the outer world for the day, and was about setting in a fiery fog, we drove out to visit the city. I followed with intense interest the course taken by the storming columns against the Cashmere gate. The battered face of the Cashmere bastion, where Nicholson, at the head of the 1st Bengal fusiliers, entered by escalade, still shows the force of our fire; but I am certain that the first feeling of every stranger must be surprise at the strength of the defences, at the height and solidity of the curtains, the formidable nature of the bastions, the depth and width of the dry ditch, the completeness of the glacis, and the security of the gates—in a word, he will be astonished to find that Delhi is not only a strong place, but that its fortifications are of very considerable strength. The glacis protects at least four-fifths of the wall, and covers the arch of the gateways. We did our best to enable Delhi to resist a siege or an assault, stored up an arsenal and magazines inside its walls, and then left it without a garrison. And so here is the Cashmere gate, flanked by guns, and with a double way, both exposed to fire; to which advanced, along a few crazy planks left by the enemy to bridge across the ditch, the storming party of her majesty's 52nd, the Kumaon battalion, and the 1st Punjabees, covered by the skirmishers of her majesty's 60th, and preceded by that small band whose deeds and whose fate are never to be forgotten—armed with unromantic powder-bags, and exposed to twofold danger of unresisting death. No vestige of the gate now remains; but the ditch is there, the cold high wall of blue stone, the shattered arch, the bastions, the long line of loopholed defences—all proclaiming how desperate the courage of the men who faced and overcame such obstacles. There, pacing to-and-fro with shouldered musket, lumpy and large-footed, and rather slovenly in gait, without any air of military smartness, according to either the French or the Prussian model—with ill-made coat, preposterous pantaloons, unseemly ankle-jacks, is the stuff out of which such men are made; and you may bet ten to one that yonder red-coated countryman of her majesty's 61st regiment, who is doing duty as sentry on the Cashmere gate, would, if occasion were, emulate the deeds of those who fell before it without one shadow of variableness or turning. Inside the gateway we pass the bullet-marked Mainguard, and houses and walls split and pierced with shot, and enter upon a wide street, lined with trees, in the centre of which there is a stone aqueduct, leading to a noble open reservoir—the work, I believe, of Lord Ellenborough, who forgot in its greatness that the Jumna was not quite dry. This is the Chandnee Chouk, the main street of the city, which reminds us—oddly enough—of the Boulevards, notwithstanding the meanness of the two-storied Oriental houses, the absence of soldiers, *sergens de ville*, and of *cafés*, the presence of a turbaned crowd, and of camels and palanquins, and the open stores of odd merchandise, and shops filled with Oriental fruits and grain. Half of the houses are shut up; and judging by some of the people who looked out from the screens of the first-floors and from the verandahs, some of the present inhabitants might be dispensed with. The shops are poor enough; they are windowless and open in front, like the stalls in a Turkish bazaar. At the sight of the Burra Sahib's outriders (native troopers), the bunneahs, or shopkeepers—a sleek fat race, with shaven faces, yellow and white caste-marks on the forehead and over the eyes, dressed cleanly and amply in snow-white turbans and robes—rise from their haunches, and salaam respectfully, standing till the carriage has passed by. Diverging to the left from this street we see before us the noblest battlemented wall on which my eyes ever rested. It is the wall of the palace

of the Mogul. A grand face of rich red sandstone, darkened by time, crenellated in two rows, rises to a height of fifty or sixty feet above us, and sweeps to the right and left in melancholy grandeur, slightly broken in outline by turrets and flanking towers. The gems of which the casket is so grand ought, indeed, to be rich and precious. The portal is worthy of the enclosure. Except the Victoria gate of our new palace of Westminster, I have seen no gateway so fine in proportion and of such lofty elevation. The massive iron and brass-embossed doors open into a magnificent vestibule in a great tower, which rises high above the level of the walls, and is surmounted by turrets and four cupolas of elegant design. On passing the gates we find ourselves in a sort of arcade, vaulted and running for the length of the tower, in the midst of which there is a very small court, richly ornamented with sculptured stone-work. The entrance is guarded by a soldier, who might be mistaken for a very sunburnt and savage-looking English rifleman. He is dressed in dark green, nearly black, and supposed by the military authorities to be very like foliage in hue, and therefore suitable to riflemen—like one of our brigade; but he wears a dreadful compromise between a Glengarry bonnet and a turban, made of green cloth with a red tartan border, on his head; his eyes are wide apart, his cheek-bones are high, his lips thick, his face round, like his head, and his jaws square. I don't think I ever saw Saxon or Celt or Scottish, or Irish mixture of the two, exactly the same as that man. He is, in fact, one of our Goorkas. The arcade conducts us to an open courtyard, surrounded by houses of excessively poor aspect. At one side there, in the turreted gateway, Mr. Saunders points out to us the room, below a cupola, where two of our countrywomen were brutally murdered. But in the courtyard before us a more terrible scene was enacted. There is a dry stone tank, in which there once played a fountain, in the centre of the court. Above it a venerable and decaying tree casts an imperfect shadow over the stone seats on which, in former times, those who came hither to enjoy the play of the waters and their refreshing music were wont to repose. It was at this spot, beneath this tree, and round the fountain, that the Christian captives, women and children, after several days of painful respite and anxiety, worse than the fate they dreaded, were hacked to pieces by the swords of the ferocious and cowardly miscreants, who in their mad excitement forgot that Mohammed had ordered women and children to be saved from death. There is as yet no other memorial of the tragedy; but lo! '*ex ossibus ultor!*' the dungeon of the captive monarch who permitted the defilement of his palace by such deeds is close at hand—the house of Timour, the descendants of Baber, Shah Jehan, and Aurungzebe, have fallen never to rise; smitten in the very palace of their power, which has become their dungeon. Around the very place where that innocent blood ran like water, are ranged, as grim monuments of retribution, row after row of guns taken from the enemy; our guards are in the gates; and of the many who took part in the murders it is probable few live to dread the punishment which, sooner or later, will strike them. The mouldering walls of the palace buildings, broken lattices, crumbling stone-work, and doors and wood-work split, decayed, and paintless, the silence only broken by the tread of the sentry, or our own voices, rendered the whole place inexpressibly sad and desolate. But sadder still when one thought of the voices, of the cries which resounded within these walls one short year ago. It was with a sense of relief—a deep long-drawn breath—that we proceeded towards another grand gateway, leading by a long vaulted arcade into a courtyard paved like the former, but kept in trimmer order, and surrounded by continuous edifices, some of white marble, all of rich decorations in arabesque, the most conspicuous of which, notwithstanding the attractions of a beautiful mosque, is the Hall of Audience—the '*Dewan Khass!*'”*

The following extracts from letters of individuals personally engaged in the hazardous struggle which resulted in the conquest of the city, will appropriately close this brief sketch of its history. The first are from the correspondence of an officer attached to the staff, dated "Delhi, September 26th, 1857," five days subsequent to its reoccupation by British troops. The writer, after referring to some incidents of the assault, already noticed, proceeds to say—"I think those who called the fortifications of Delhi a garden-wall, have only to walk round them to be satisfied of their mistake. The defences are exceedingly strong; and though the heights, a mile distant, facilitate a siege, they by no means, for practical purposes, give any real command of the

* See *ante*, p. 128.

place. I am told, on very competent authority, that, from a mere artillery point of view, the place is stronger than Bhurtpoor ever was; and yet it proves that our main difficulty was inside, not outside Delhi. The sepoy permitted our heavy batteries to be approached with comparatively little opposition—breaches were speedily and well effected, and our troops got over them with loss, but without serious check. But their task was by no means accomplished; and, street by street, the enemy contested every foot of ground, and occupied position after position with a courage and determination worthy of a better cause. In fact, we may well congratulate ourselves that we did not attempt the storm with an inferior force. There is no doubt, that on our occupation of a part of the city, our army became disorganised to a degree which was highly dangerous when the battle was but half won. Whether the collection in the part of the town which we first assaulted, of vast quantities of wine and spirits (the produce of the plunder of a long line of road on which those articles are the main staple of European commerce), was really the result of deep strategy on the part of the mutineers, I cannot say; but it does seem as if the only common bond which unites the various races fighting under our standard is a common love of liquor; and Europeans, Seiks, Goorkas, and Afghans are said to have all indulged to an extent which might have been disastrous. In truth, the days which followed the first assault were a time of great anxiety. Our progress was slow; the number of men whom we could bring into action curiously small; and the abandonment of the positions held by the enemy was, I believe, a relief to the generals, even though we did *not* exterminate the mutineers. In fact, I believe that the bridge of boats was purposely left intact by our batteries; we were well content to leave a bridge to a flying enemy. I do not think that the enemy were actually forced out by our shells. I was surprised to find how little damage was done by them. The walls of the palace are almost intact; so are by far the greater portion of the buildings inside; and it is quite clear that the chances were yet very much in favour of such as chose quietly to sit in them. In short, I fancy that our mortar batteries were by no means very strong, and not sufficient to do effectually such extensive work; but the sepoy and the king's party had both had enough of it. The fire was, no doubt, hot, and was becoming more so; so they retreated, carrying with them most of their valuables, but leaving all the heavy guns and other bulky articles. As to pursuit, the infantry was simply completely knocked up, and unfit to pursue for a single mile; and the general would not risk the mounted branch alone; so he has contented himself with securing his conquest, and the city of Delhi is completely ours. For the rest, a small party of irregular cavalry appearing at a place a few miles off, where the king's family had taken refuge, obtained possession of the persons of the king and the more important princes—making prisoner the former, killing the latter. Our position is quite secure, but we have yet taken no possession for a single mile south of the city."

The following extract is from the letter of a sergeant of the 61st regiment, whose statement was published in the *Times*, under the initials "M. B." The writer says—"On the 13th of June, an order came to Ferozepoor, where our division had been for more than a month, for the right wing of the 61st to proceed immediately to Delhi. The order reached the colonel at ten A.M., and we had to march at four in the afternoon: everybody was in confusion, trying to find out what companies would have to go. At last it was found that grenadiers Nos. 2, 3, and 7, and the light company, were to march under Colonel Jones that evening. Fancy how fatiguing it must have been to be keeping up forced marches, sometimes as much as twenty-five miles, in the middle of the summer! It was very distressing, I assure you. At all events, we arrived at Delhi on the 1st of July, and then our troubles commenced. In the first place the cholera broke out; and frightful it was to see our poor fellows dying like dogs, sometimes as many as five and six a-day. During all this time the duty was getting heavier every day. We very often went on picket without being relieved for six or seven days, and keeping up a constant firing all the time. The brutes used to come out every day, and we had to drive them up to the walls of Delhi back again. We used to lose a great many of our men that way; for as soon as we retired back to camp, the sepoy opened fire with their artillery. We were too close to them altogether; they played havoc with our poor men: but as regards fair fighting, they are the greatest cowards you ever came across. They won't stand at all; but hide behind brick walls, or get into

houses; and will never show a front. As soon as they hear a cheer from the Europeans they run away like mice. We remained till the night of the 24th of August without progressing, when an order was given out for the 61st and 1st Europeans, and some Seiks, to march at four the next morning to a place called Ruffinjar. It was given out by our spies the day before, that a large body of the sepoy had left Delhi, and proceeded to this place for the purpose of cutting off our supplies. We marched in the morning, and overtook them about four, and a good hard fight took place; but, as usual, we made the scoundrels run. Lieutenant Gabbett, of No. 2, got killed. We lost five or six men, and had several wounded. We captured thirteen guns and all their camp equipage. I forgot to mention that we were losing so many men with cholera, that we had to send to Ferozepoor for the left wing. They also came by double marches, and had to encounter a great deal of trouble on the road. They arrived at Delhi on the 14th of August. The weather was getting a little cooler, but still it was very disagreeable in tents. After they arrived, I am sorry to say, the cholera broke out as fresh as ever. We buried, in one day, nine men; you can't guess how we were situated. We hardly had men enough to relieve the pickets. Things remained that way till the siege-train arrived from Ferozepoor. We were anxiously looking for it every day. At last the artillery and big guns arrived, and then we had harder work. Then we were night after night building batteries and lying in the trenches, and the artillery were bombarding the walls of Delhi and the city day and night. We had a great many men wounded in the trenches. On the night of the 13th, when all our advanced batteries were ready for action, part of the army left camp, and advanced within a hundred yards of the walls, under cover, ready to storm the place, which we did at about daylight the next morning; the remainder of the regiments entering at other parts of the city all about the same time. We managed it beautifully, although there were a great many killed and wounded; I dare say over 1,000. The scoundrels flew in all directions. We entered the city, and halted at the church that night, sending out pickets. We remained in the church until the night of the 16th, when the 61st got the order to fall-in at three the next morning, nobody knowing what for; the colonel telling us at the same time, we had some hot work to do before we dined. We fell-in, and were told-off to four divisions, twenty-two file each—in all, 176. That was all we could muster, we had so many sick and wounded. We marched towards the magazine, stormed the breach without any noise, and got the word 'Charge!' and no doubt our boys did charge with a vengeance, shouting like madmen, and killing every one that came within our reach. I think we took the rascals by surprise, or they would not have given up the place so easily. We had two men killed, and about six wounded. After getting into the magazine, they came down by hundreds; but they could do us very little harm. We being inside and they out, the fools commenced pelting stones at us, and trying to burn down a lot of sheds that were in the place. We captured 148 guns, besides a lot of shot, shell, and ammunition. Our work was now done for that day. I am only writing about our own regiment. Other regiments were doing equally as much good as ourselves. There were the 8th, 52nd, 60th rifles, 75th, 1st and 2nd Europeans, all fighting as hard in other parts of the city; and out of all these regiments they could not form 3,000 men, the army was suffering so much from sickness. We were relieved from the magazine by the 52nd regiment, and then our regiment was divided; some went to the bank, and others to different pickets in the city. On the morning of the 20th, part of our regiment and the rifles took the palace, with very little opposition on the part of the enemy; and that finished the taking of Delhi. A royal salute was fired on the morning of the 21st of September on the walls of Delhi, in honour of the capture of the city, palace, &c. We expected to have taken the king in the palace, but he was too wide-awake for us at that time: he escaped, but he was taken by our people about thirty miles from Delhi, with his sons. They were all brought back. Two of his sons were shot the other day, and the king is now a prisoner, awaiting his trial. A European sergeant-major of the 28th native infantry was taken prisoner, trying to make his escape from Delhi. He is also awaiting his trial. He had given assistance to the sepoy after the mutiny broke out."

MAHOMED SURAJ-OO-DEEN SHAH GHAZEE, LAST KING OF DELHI.

SIX Mogul conquerors in succession sat upon the imperial throne of Delhi, each rivaling the magnificence and the power of the mighty Alexander, before whom nations were bowed as reeds before the tempest. Then came a long period of prostration and decay: the haughty lords of Asia yielded to the arms and arts of a power from the West, and gradually, during two centuries, their glories faded in the spreading lustre of its ascendancy. At length the heir of Timur and of Akber—blind, helpless, and persecuted—delivered himself a pensionary into the hands of a few Englishmen, that, under their protection, the remaining years of his existence might be spent in peace. Yet was he treated right royally by his commercial patrons; and, in a sort of mimic state, was permitted to enjoy a nominal sovereignty in his ancestral palace at the imperial city. There, surrounded by six miles of lofty and bastioned wall, a cluster of gorgeous edifices contained, while it also concealed, his sufferings and his pomp. To the last of the visionary scene, Shah Alum and his descendants were treated with considerate deference, and were saluted by British officers as the sovereigns, *de jure*, of Hindoostan. Coin was yet struck in their names; and the last of the race, although worthless—and it was thought imbecile, from age—enjoyed a royal revenue, and seemed, of all men living, the last to whom suspicion of treachery should attach. Such, in brief, was the state of the three last living descendants of the Mogul emperors, until a wild and reckless desire to exterminate the whole European race found upon the soil of India, smote with sudden madness a number of the hereditary chiefs and princes of the land who; without administrative or military genius, fancied a possibility of enthroning themselves upon ruin, and of once more rioting in the pillage and devastation of India. And so it was that the king of Delhi—instigated by a ravenous horde of dependent relatives, hounded on to his ruin by the acclaims of an excited and rebellious soldiery, and dazzled by those visions of ambition which, dimmed not by fading sight and whitened hairs, are attractive even to the brink of the grave—broke from his sworn allegiance, assumed a lurid and transient show of independence, encouraged the native levies of his protectors and ally in a ferocious rebellion to the hand that fed them, and closed the gates of Delhi against a British army. Such, in a few words, were the incidents of the first scene of the wild drama enacted before the people of India in 1857; and the enemies of the British flag in all quarters of the world, pointed to the new Mogul empire, and rejoiced at the downfall of British supremacy. But the end was yet to come; and before we refer to the consummation of that end, it will be necessary, for the elucidation of the subject, to revert to some phases of the past history of the family whose last representative is now a convict and an exile from the country in which he had enjoyed kingly honours.

On the 11th of September, 1803, the result of a battle between the Anglo-Indian forces, under the command of General Lake, and the confederated troops of the Mahratta and Rohilcund chiefs, opened the gates of Delhi to a British army, and restored to the enjoyments of sovereignty the blind and feeble representative of a once mighty dynasty, in the person of the emperor Shah Alum, who had long been the sport of fortune, and, as it were, the foot-ball of his powerful and merciless enemies the Mahrattas. From this thrall the unhappy monarch was relieved by the valour of British arms; but from that moment his independent rule became a fiction, and his empire but a name. From the 16th of October, 1803, when the final arrangement was concluded, by which the sightless descendant of the magnificent Timur placed himself and his dominions under the protection of the East India Company, until the 11th of May, 1857, Delhi became merely the capital of a territory nominally governed by a Mogul prince, but practically, and in fact, under the supreme control of a British resident, appointed by the governor-general in council. In 1806, Shah Alum escaped, by a peaceful death, from the cares of existence and the mockery of state, and was succeeded by his son Shah Akber in the kingly title, and in the enjoyment of royal honours, but still a pensioner of the Company for the means to support his dignity—an

annual grant of £100,000 being paid to him as an equivalent for his independence; out of which he was required to support the vast retinue of relations and dependents collected within the walls of the imperial residence, who altogether numbered some 12,000 persons. Notwithstanding the degraded position to which this prince had sunk as a mere pensioner on a commercial company, both Hindoos and Mussulmans throughout the vast empire that had bowed to the undisputed sway of his predecessors, still looked up to him as the only representative of the ancient glories of India. Princes still sought from his hands the solemn and legal investiture of their states; he bestowed robes of honour on the native chiefs upon their accession to the musnud, as tokens of his suzerainty; and more than once attempted a similar assumption of superiority upon the appointment of a governor-general of the East India Company. Until the year 1827, it is alleged, that the Company acquired no new province without formally applying to the king of Delhi for his nominal sanction and royal firman to confirm their title. At length, during the administration of Lord Amherst, in 1827, this false position on both sides was corrected, by taking from the powerless occupant of a shadowy throne this last vestige he possessed of independent sovereignty, in exchange for an increased pension of £150,000. The implied vassalage of the Company to the great padishah or ruler of India, was thrown aside as a troublesome fiction; and from that time Shah Akber became utterly powerless beyond the walls of his palace, except in regard to the traditional and historic influences of a race of which he was still the living representative, and, as such, continued to be looked up to by the descendants of the millions who had borne allegiance to the house of Timur.

Shah Akber reigned absolute within the walls of his domestic kingdom until his death in the year 1849, having for some time previous endeavoured to procure the sanction of the governor-general to his choice of a successor to the titular throne of Delhi, which he desired should be occupied by one of his younger sons, thereby setting aside the claims of the eldest-born. This arrangement was not permitted by the Company; and, consequently, upon the death of the Shah, his eldest son, Mirza Aboo Zuffur, became king, assuming the title of Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee. This prince must have been between sixty and seventy years of age upon his accession to the throne, which he occupied until it was shattered into fragments by his connection with the sepoy revolt of 1857.

From the accession of Suraj-oo-deen in 1849, until the month of May, 1857, when the incidents occurred of which he ultimately became the victim, the king resided in Oriental seclusion and barbaric pomp within the boundaries of his palace, without exciting the notice or awakening the jealousies of the stranger race into whose hands the staff of his imperial power had passed. On the morning of Monday, the 11th of May, 1857, a party of mounted horsemen, soiled with dust and blood, and reeking with the foam of hasty flight from the massacre at Meerut, appeared beneath the walls of the palace, proclaiming that the rule of the Feringhee was at an end, and that Hindoostan was again under the independent sovereignty of its native princes, of whom the king of Delhi was chief. After a short parley, the troopers were, by the king's order, admitted within the palace, and announced to him that the whole of Hindoostan had risen to shake off the yoke of the English; that Calcutta, their capital, and other chief towns, were already in possession of the native army, which had risen against their officers; and that it only required that his majesty would unfurl the sacred standard of the Mohammedan empire, and the whole of the warlike millions of India would rally round it, and re-establish the independent throne of Timur by driving the English intruders into the sea, or feeding the vultures with their carcasses. During the conference, some troops of artillery, which had also deserted from Meerut the previous night, reached the city, and, entering by the Calcutta gate near the palace, fired a royal salute in front of it. This incident decided the wavering inclinations of the aged king; and he consented to the demand of the troopers, whose numbers were increased by the accession of the native regiments in cantonment near Delhi. From that moment the sword of destruction was suspended over the head of the king, and but a short time elapsed ere it fell. Meanwhile, the soldiers exulting in their triumph over his scruples, and feeling they had now a rallying-point under any emergency, rushed from the presence of the infatuated monarch, to satiate their thirst for blood by the massacre of such Europeans as fell into their hands.

On Monday, the 11th of November, the Mogul standard was raised over the entrance to the palace, and Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen was proclaimed emperor of Hindoostan and king of Delhi. A throne of silver, which had been preserved in the royal treasury from the year 1843, was placed in the Dewan Khass, or Grand Hall of Audience; and there the phantom monarch took his seat, to receive the homage of his court and people. This ceremony over, the king, surrounded by the paraphernalia of Oriental pomp, amidst the salutes of artillery, the clangour of martial music, and the frantic acclamations of a tumultuous multitude, issued from the gates of his palace in royal procession through the streets of Delhi, to announce by his presence the assumption of imperial power and the restoration of Mogul independence. The cavalcade upon this occasion was led by the Prince Mirza Mogul, one of his sons, whom he had appointed to the chief command of the army. Another son, the Prince Abu Bekr, rode at the head of the body-guard of the aged simulator of imperial power, who presented himself to the gaze of the excited populace in an open chariot; his advanced years incapacitating him from any other mode of exhibiting himself. Surrounded by the members of his household, and thus attended, the king slowly proceeded through the principal streets of the city to the Jumma Musjid, where the standard of the prophet was unfurled, and the empire of Hindoostan proclaimed. His majesty's commands were thereupon issued, that the shopkeepers and inhabitants should immediately resume their ordinary avocations; and the king returned to that palace which he was destined shortly after to leave as a fugitive, and to reoccupy as a dethroned captive, whose very existence depended upon the forbearance of his rashly provoked and justly incensed enemies.

Upon the assumption of the actual sovereignty by Suraj-oo-deen, his first act was to appoint the necessary authorities for the government of the city, within which military guards were posted. The walls were strengthened and the gates secured; a number of guns were brought from the magazine and placed upon the ramparts and bastions; and native gunners were appointed to the park of artillery in Selimghur, the fort attached to the palace. The mutinous troops of the Bengal army chiefly bent their steps in the direction of Delhi; and the native force in and round the city soon became formidable. A camp of 7,000 men was collected, and stationed for the protection of the palace; the pay of the troops was augmented; and rewards were offered for the discovery of any Europeans, or of natives connected with them, that they might be put to death. The treasury belonging to the Company, which contained at the time many lacs of rupees, was removed to the palace, to enable the king to reward the troops.

A native eye-witness of the occurrences at Delhi on the 11th and 12th of May, in a narrative addressed to the vakeel of a Rajpoot chief, says—"Yesterday morning (the 11th of May), some regular cavalry arriving from Meerut, seized the bridge on the Jumna, killed the toll-keeper, and robbed the till. Leaving a guard at the bridge, they proceeded to the Salempoor Chowkee, where they found an English gentleman, whom they killed, and set fire to his house. Then going under the Delhi king's palace, outside the city wall, they made proposals to the king, who told them that was no place for them, but to go into the city. Having entered the Calcutta gate, it was closed. They were preceded, on their first arrival, by ten or twelve troopers, who, on entering the Rajghat gate of the city, assured everybody that they had come, not to trouble or injure the city people in any way, but only to kill the European gentlemen, of whom they had resolved to leave none alive. About ten at night, two *pultuns* (troops of artillery) arrived from Meerut, and fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns. The next day, about three in the afternoon, the empire was proclaimed under the king of Delhi, and the imperial flag hoisted at the *Khotwallee* (chief police-station). The king's chief police officer arrived, and with him all the mutineers, horse and foot, and killed all the Europeans they met or could find. The old chief of police fled; the mace-bearers stood aloof." * * * * *

"The king's sons are made officers to the royal army: thousands of pity for the poor luxurious princes, who are sometimes compelled to go out of the door of the city in the heat of the sun, with their hearts palpitating from the firing of muskets and guns. Unfortunately they do not know how to command an army; and the forces laugh at their imperfections, and abuse them for their bad arrangements. The king sends sweetmeats for the troops in the field, and the guards at the door of the city plunder it like the property of an enemy."

At length, on the 8th of June, 1857, an English force, numbering altogether about 3,000 men, under the command of Major-general Sir Henry W. Barnard, after a sharp conflict with a portion of the rebel army, which vainly attempted to arrest its progress, succeeded in taking up a position upon an elevated ridge about a mile from the city, which it commanded. From that moment the doom of the rebel capital, though for a time deferred, was felt to be inevitable.

The royal troops of Delhi had now other occupation found for them besides eating the king's sweetmeats; but, according to a native account, however valiantly they acquitted themselves behind walls and loopholed buildings, they had little stomach for fighting in the open field. The native writer of a diary kept the first few weeks of the siege, says—"The bravery of the royal troops deserves every praise: they are very clever indeed. When they wish to leave the field of battle, after shooting down many Feringhees, they tie a piece of rag on their leg, and pretend to have been wounded, and so come into the city lame and groaning, accompanied by many of their friends to assist them along." The same writer also says—"The shells have destroyed lots of houses in the city; and in the fort, the marble of the king's private hall is broken to pieces. His majesty is very much alarmed when a shell bursts in the fort, and the princes show him the pieces. Many of the royal family have left the palace through fear." Again, on the 22nd of July, the same writer says—"The other day the king sent for the Subahdar Bahadour, who commands the troops in the fort, and desired him either to remove him out of the fort, or do something to stop the British shelling, which was very destructive. The subahdar begged his majesty to remain in the fort another day, and during that time he assured him he would devise means to put a stop to the annoyance." It is needless to say the subahdar did not keep his word.

At length, on the 18th of September, it was reported to Major-general Wilson, by spies from the city, that the king, with his sons, the three royal regiments, and some other corps of native infantry, and troopers of the light cavalry, had secured themselves in the palace, and were determined to resist to the last man: but almost immediately upon this announcement, indications of a design to evacuate the palace were apparent; and, during the night of the 19th, the king and princes, with their women and attendants, accompanied by a considerable number of the troops, retired from the royal residence to seek a temporary refuge near the palace of the Cootub Minar, about nine miles from the city, whither, on the following day, they were pursued and captured by Captain Hodson and a party of fifty of his irregular horse. The incidents of the occurrence are thus described in a letter to the brother of Captain Hodson, by an officer intimately acquainted with the operations of that distinguished commander, and who had the details at the time from the lips of himself and other eye-witnesses of the facts related. This officer, after some preliminary remarks as to former meritorious services of Captain Hodson, says—"On our taking possession of the city gate, reports came in that thousands of the enemy were evacuating the city by the other gates, and that the king, also, had left his palace. We fought our way inch by inch to the palace walls, and then found truly enough that its vast arena was void. The very day after we took possession of the palace (the 20th), Captain Hodson received information that the king and his family had gone, with a large force, out of the Ajmere gate to the Cootub. He immediately reported this to the general commanding, and asked whether he did not intend to send a detachment in pursuit, as, with the king at liberty and heading so large a force, our victory was next to useless, and we might be the besieged instead of besiegers. General Wilson replied that he could not spare a single European. He then volunteered to lead a party of the irregulars; but this offer was also refused, though backed up by Neville Chamberlain.

"During this time messengers were coming in constantly; and, among the rest, one from Zeenat Mahal (the favourite begum), with an offer to use her influence with the king to surrender on certain conditions. These conditions at first were ludicrous enough—viz., that the king and the whole of the males of his family should be restored to his palace and honours; that not only should his pension be continued, but the arrears since May be paid up, with several other equally modest demands. I need not say these were treated with contemptuous denial. Negotiations, however, were vigorously carried on; and care was taken to spread reports of an advance in force to the Cootub.

Every report as it came in was taken to General Wilson, who at last gave orders to Captain Hodson to promise the king's life and freedom from personal indignity, and make what other terms he could. Captain Hodson then started with only fifty of his own men for Humayun's tomb, three miles from the Cootub, where the king had come during the day. The risk was such as no one can judge of who has not seen the road, amid the old ruins scattered about of what was once the real city of Delhi. He concealed himself and men in some old buildings close by the gateway of the tomb, and sent in his two emissaries to Zeenat Mahal with the *ultimatum*—the king's life and that of her son and father (the latter has since died). After two hours passed by Captain Hodson in most trying suspense, such as (he says) he never spent before, while waiting the decision, his emissaries (one an old favourite of poor Sir Henry Lawrence) came out with the last offer—namely, that the king would deliver himself up to Captain Hodson only, and on condition that he repeated with his own lips the promise of the government for his safety. Captain Hodson then went out into the middle of the road in front of the gateway, and said that he was ready to receive his captives and renew the promise. You may picture to yourself the scene before that magnificent gateway, with the milk-white domes of the tomb towering up from within—one white man among a host of natives, yet determined to secure his prisoner or perish in the attempt.

“Soon a procession began to come slowly out; first Zeenat Mahal, in one of the close native conveyances used for women. Her name was announced as she passed, by the Moulvie. Then came the king in a palkee, on which Captain Hodson rode forward and demanded his arms. Before giving them up, the king asked whether he was ‘Hodson Bahadoor,’ and if he would repeat the promise made by the herald? Captain Hodson answered that he would, and repeated that the government had been graciously pleased to promise him his life, and that of Zeenat Mahal's son, on condition of his yielding himself prisoner quietly; adding very emphatically, that if any attempt was made at a rescue, he would shoot the king down on the spot like a dog. The old man then gave up his arms, which Captain Hodson handed to his orderly, still keeping his own sword drawn in his hand. The same ceremony was then gone through with the boy (Jumma Bukht), and the march towards the city began—the longest five miles, as Captain Hodson said, that he ever rode; for, of course, the palkees only went at a foot pace, with his handful of men around them, followed by thousands, any one of whom could have shot him down in a moment. His orderly told me that it was wonderful to see the influence which his calm and undaunted look had on the crowd. They seemed perfectly paralysed at the fact of one white man (for they thought nothing of his fifty black sowars) carrying off their king alone. Gradually, as they approached the city, the crowd slunk away, and very few followed up to the Lahore gate. Then Captain H. rode on a few paces, and ordered the gate to be opened. The officer on duty asked simply, as he passed, what he had got in his palkees. ‘Only the king of Delhi,’ was the answer; on which the officer's enthusiastic exclamation was more emphatic than becomes ears polite. The guard were for turning out to greet him with a cheer, and could only be repressed on being told that the king would take the honour to himself. They passed up that magnificent deserted street to the palace gate, where Captain Hodson met the civil officer (Mr. Saunders), and formally delivered over his royal prisoners to him. His remark was amusing: ‘By Jove! Hodson, they ought to make you commander-in-chief for this.’

“On proceeding to the general's quarters to report his successful return, and hand over the royal arms, he was received with the characteristic speech, ‘Well, I'm glad you have got him; but I never expected to see either him or you again!’ while the other officers in the room were loud in their congratulations and applause. He was requested to select for himself from the royal arms what he chose; and has, therefore, two magnificent swords, one with the name of ‘Nadir Shah,’ and the other the seal of Jehangeer engraved upon it, which he intends to present to the Queen.

“On the following day he captured three of the princes. I am anxious you should fully understand that your brother was bound by orders from the general to spare the king's life, much against his own will; and that the capture was on his own risk and responsibility, but not the pledge.”

Upon the arrival of the cavalcade at the palace, the king, with his favourite begum, Zeenat Mahal, and her son, a youth of seventeen, were conducted by Mr. Saunders

to a small building in one of the courts of the imperial residence, where, under a proper guard, they remained, with about half-a-dozen attendants, until their final destiny was decided upon.

A letter from the palace, dated the 24th of September, describes a visit to the dethroned and captive majesty of Delhi in the following terms:—"The day after the king was caught, I went to see him with two or three officers. He was in a house in a street called the Lâll Kooa-street—*i.e.*, the Red Wall-street. He was lying on a bed with cushions, &c., a man fanning him, and two or three servants about. He is, and looks very old, being very much wasted; has a very hooked nose, and short white beard, and is by no means regal looking. He seemed in a great fright, and apparently thought we had come to insult him; so we merely looked at him and came away." Another correspondent writes—"We have seen the king and royal family; they are in ruinous little rooms in one of the gates of the palace. The old king looks very frail, and has a blank, fixed eye, as of one on whom life is fast closing. He certainly is too old to be responsible for anything that has been done."

An officer who, in his tour of duty, had charge of the royal prisoner, writes thus:—"I was on guard over the king and his wives and concubines on the 24th and 25th, and was obliged to be much on the alert to prevent rescue or attempts at escape. I was ordered to shoot him if things came to the last extremity. Yesterday I handed him over to a guard of the 60th rifles, and was exceedingly glad to be relieved of so responsible a position."

The requirements of justice had now to be satisfied by the punishment of the royal traitor and his rebellious sons; the latter having also taken an active part in the early massacres at the palace and the Khotwallee. The king himself was reserved, on the ground of his advanced age (eighty-five), for the more formal and deliberate procedure of a military commission; but for his principal agents in the dire work of rebellion and murder, no unnecessary delay was allowed to interpose, and their fate was as promptly decided as the severity of it was merited. Two of his sons and a grandson had already paid the penalty of their crimes by death, at the hands of Captain Hodson; and shortly afterwards, two others of the princes were captured, and, after being tried by a military tribunal, were also shot.

On the 10th of October, a message was transmitted from the governor-general in council to General Wilson, from which the following is an extract:—"If, as has been reported to the governor-general in council, the king of Delhi has received from any British officer a promise that his life will be spared, you are desired to send him to Allahabad, under an escort, as soon as that can be safely done. The escort must be strong enough to resist all attempts at a rescue, and must consist, in part, of some European infantry and cavalry, with field guns. Any member of the king's family who is included in the promise, is to be sent with the king. You will appoint one or two officers specially to take charge of the king, who is to be exposed to no indignity or needless hardship. If no promise of his life has been given to the king, he is to be brought to trial under Act 14, of 1857. The special commissioners appointed for this purpose are, Mr. Montgomery, judicial commissioner of the Punjab; Mr. C. G. Barnes, commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej states; and Major Lake, commissioner of the Trans-Sutlej states. You will summon these officers at once to Delhi, in the event of a trial of the king taking place. Mr. C. B. Saunders will act as prosecutor, will collect the evidence, and frame the charges. Should the king be found guilty, the sentence is to be carried out without further reference to the governor-general in council."

Shortly before the arrival of these instructions at Delhi, Major-general Wilson had resigned the command of the army on account of failing health, and was succeeded by Major-general Penny, who, on the 22nd of the month, wrote thus to the secretary of the government:—"Your message to Major-general Wilson, now sick at Mussoorie, has been sent to him to explain under what conditions the king's life was promised him.* The king, agreeably to instructions, will be sent to the fort at Allahabad as soon as the road shall be freely opened; but that cannot be immediately."

Some time elapsed before any active measures were adopted with regard to the

* The condition was simply that he should surrender without resistance. See preceding page. *Vide* also *History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. i., p. 510.

future destiny of the royal captive; but at length, after a number of the chief actors in the tragedy at Delhi had expiated their crimes by an ignominious death upon the scaffold, the period arrived when it became expedient to determine the course to be pursued with Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen, who still retained his kingly style, though a prisoner in an out-building of his own palace. The capture of the king was effected on the 21st of September; but it was not until the month of January, 1858, that the commission under which he was put upon his trial was made public: at the same time, the charges preferred against him were declared to be as follows:—

“1st. For that he, being a pensioner of the British government in India, did, at Delhi, at various times between the 10th of May and the 1st of October, 1857, encourage, aid, and abet Mahomed Bukht Khan, subahdar of the regiment of artillery, and divers others non-commissioned officers unknown, of the East India Company’s army, in the crimes of mutiny and rebellion against the state.

“2nd. For having, at Delhi, at various times between the 10th of May and the 1st of October, 1857, encouraged, aided, and abetted Mirza Mogul, his own son, a subject of the British government in India, and divers other unknown inhabitants of Delhi and of the North-Western Provinces of India, also subjects of the said British government, to rebel and wage war against the state.

“3rd. For that he, being a subject of the British government in India, and not regarding the duty of his allegiance, did, at Delhi, on the 11th of May, 1857, or thereabouts, as a false traitor against the state, proclaim and declare himself the reigning king and sovereign of India, and did then and there traitorously seize and take unlawful possession of the city of Delhi; and did, moreover, at various times between the 10th of May and the 1st of October, 1857, as such false traitor aforesaid, treasonably conspire, consult, and agree with Mirza Mogul his son, and with Mahomed Bukht Khan, subahdar of the regiment of artillery, and divers other false traitors unknown, to raise, levy, and make insurrection, rebellion, and war against the state; and further to fulfil and perfect his treasonable design of overthrowing and destroying the British government in India, did assemble armed forces at Delhi, and send them forth to fight and wage war against the said British government.

“4th. For that he, at Delhi, on the 16th of May, 1857, or thereabouts, did within the precincts of the palace at Delhi, feloniously cause and become accessory to the murder of forty-nine persons, chiefly women and children, of European and mixed European descent: and did, moreover, between the 10th of May and the 1st of October, 1857, encourage and abet divers soldiers and others in murdering European officers and other English subjects, including women and children, both by giving and promising such murderers service, advancement, and distinction; and further, that he issued orders to different native rulers having local authority in India, to slay and murder Christians and English people whenever and wherever found in their territories—the whole or any part of such conduct being a heinous offence under the provisions of Act 16, of 1857, of the legislative council of India.—FREDERICK I. HARRIOTT, Major,

“Jan. 5th, 1858. Deputy Judge-Advocate-general, Government Prosecutor.”

The trial of the ex-king of Delhi at length commenced on Wednesday, the 27th of January, in the Dewan Khass of the palace; the court being composed of the following officers:—Colonel Dawes, horse artillery, president (in room of Brigadier Showers, about to leave the station): members—Major Palmer, H.M.’s 60th rifles; Major Redmond, H.M.’s 61st regiment; Major Sawyers, H.M.’s 6th carabineers, and Captain Rothney, 4th Seik infantry. Major Harriott, deputy judge-advocate-general, government prosecutor; and Mr. James Murphy, interpreter to the court. The trial was to have commenced at 11 o’clock A.M.; but owing to delays, caused by the sudden change in the constitution of the court, in consequence of Brigadier Showers’ approaching departure, it was half-past twelve before the prisoner was brought in, although he was in attendance, sitting on a palanquin outside, under a guard of rifles, at the appointed hour. He appeared very infirm, and tottered into court, supported on one side by Jumma Bukht (his youngest son), and on the other by a confidential servant, and coiled himself up on a cushion on the left of the president, and to the right of the government prosecutor; Jumma Bukht standing a few yards to his left, and a guard of rifles being drawn up beyond all.

The proceedings commenced by the members of the court, the prosecutor, and inter-

preter taking the customary oaths. The prosecutor then read the charges against the prisoner, and proceeded to address the court in a clear, concise, explanatory manner, observing, that although the prisoner might be fully convicted by the court, no capital sentence could be passed upon him, in consequence of his life having been guaranteed by General Wilson, in a promise conveyed through Captain Hodson.

The prosecutor then put the question, through the interpreter, "guilty or not guilty?" which the prisoner either did not, or affected not to understand; and there was some difficulty in explaining it to him. He then declared himself profoundly ignorant of the nature of the charges against him, although a translated copy of them was furnished and read to him, in the presence of witnesses, some twenty days previous. After some more delay, the prisoner pleaded "not guilty," and the business of the court proceeded. A number of documents, of various descriptions, and of greater or lesser importance, were then read by the prosecutor; these had been translated into English, and consisted chiefly of petitions from all classes of natives to the "Shelter of the World:" they were very curious, some complaining of outrages committed by the sowars and sepoys in the city and suburbs, others bringing forward the delinquencies of his ex-majesty's offspring, who were accused of extorting money and property of all descriptions from the people. Others referred to the appointment of officers to the rebel army, and the disposal of liquor found in the magazine, but not whispered in Mohammedan circles; while some related to more important matters connected with the "new reign"—one and all concluding with a prayer that such reign should be as long as the world lasted. Most of these "state papers" bore the autograph orders and signature of the prisoner, written in pencil at the top, and were sworn to by competent witnesses, thereby affording conclusive proof of the active part taken by him in the rebellion.

The court was occupied the remainder of the day with these documents, during the reading of which the prisoner appeared to be dozing, or contemplating his son, who presented much the appearance of a Massalchee, as he stood by, occasionally laughing and conversing with the attendant. Neither one nor the other appeared to be much affected by their position, but, on the contrary, seemed to look upon the affair as one of the necessities of their destiny.

On the second day, the military commission resumed its sitting at 11 o'clock A.M. The court was mainly occupied in listening to petitions relating to occurrences of small importance, during the prisoner's brief reign; of most of which he pleaded entire ignorance, denied the signatures, and endeavoured, by voice and gesture, to impress the court with an idea of his innocence. Each paper, as it was read, was shown to the prisoner's vakeel; and thus the business of the court proceeded up to about 1 o'clock P.M., when a document, translated into English, was read—apparently a remonstrance from one Nubbee Bux Khan to the prisoner, urging him to reject the request of the army for permission to massacre the European women and children confined in the palace. The writer submitted that such massacre would be contrary to the Mohammedan religion and law; and stated, that unless the army could procure a *futwa*, it should not be put into execution. This document the government prosecutor informed the court, was the only one among the heap before him in which the spirit of mercy and kindness to Europeans could be traced; and it was remarkable, that it was one of the very few upon which the prisoner had not entered some remarks. Soon after the above-mentioned paper had been read, the prisoner, who had been for some time reclining in a lethargic state, commenced to groan and to complain of feeling unwell; and it soon became evident that the court must close its sitting. The prisoner was remonstrated with, through the interpreter, but he begged to be allowed to leave; and, at half-past one o'clock, the president adjourned the court until 11 A.M. on the 29th instant.

The trial of the ex-king commenced, on the third day, at the appointed hour. The prisoner was brought into court in a palanquin, attended by his vakeel, Abbas, and two servants; Jumma Bukht having received a hint to remain in confinement, owing to the manner assumed by him during the first day's trial. Up to half-past twelve the court was occupied in having read to the prisoner the vernacular of the translations read to the court the day previous; a process not very interesting to the

court, and apparently of little moment to the prisoner, who, coiled up easily upon his cushion, appeared lost in the land of dreams; and except when anything particular struck him, continued unmindful of what was passing around. Occasionally, however, when a particular passage was read from any of the documents, the dull eye might be seen to light up, and the bowed head would be raised to catch every word.

The examination of the king's vakeel, Gholam Abbas, then commenced. The evidence he gave principally related to the events which occurred on the 11th of May, as he himself was in company with the king, and witness to all that occurred on that date. He described the first appearance of the mutineers of the 3rd cavalry under the windows of the king's private apartments. He stated that these men clamoured loudly for an audience with the king, exclaiming that they wished him to put himself at their head. The king then went to the Dewan Khass, and, on arriving there, he heard the firing of musketry, and inquired the cause, which afterwards proved to be two companies of sepoys firing a sort of *feu de joie* into the air. The king hearing this, sent for the native officers to inquire the origin of the disturbance; when he was informed that, consequent on the outrage committed by the government on their caste, by the issue of cartridges greased with the fat of pigs and cows, they had slaughtered all Europeans at Meerut, and came to him for the protection of their lives. The king used all his endeavours to prevent their entry into the palace, and dispatched some attendants to tell Captain Douglas to seek protection in his own private apartments, and take whatever precautions he chose; also giving instructions for all the gates of the palace to be closed. Captain Douglas, however, obstinately persisted in going to speak to the cavalry mutineers in spite of all the entreaties of the king, who even went so far as to hold his hand. The captain then, being threatened, returned to his apartments. The commissioner was seen coming down the steps, accompanied by Azeem Abdoolah (believed to have been the king's doctor), with an undrawn sword in his hand. The king, seeing things assume a desperate aspect, became alarmed for the safety of all the Europeans in the palace, and forthwith, therefore, dispatched servants to inform them of their danger, with two palkees for the conveyance of the ladies, viz., Miss Jennings and Miss Clifford (no other lady being known to be in the palace), to convey them by a circuitous route, *viâ* the palace gardens, to the king's zenana, with a view to their being secreted; but, unfortunately, the gentlemen persisting in bearing them company, the party became so conspicuous, that, as before stated, the mutineers who entered the palace became cognizant of their presence, and forthwith pursuing them for some little distance, put an end to their existence. The king at that time was sufficiently well to walk without assistance, further than that of a stick, and this accounted for his having proceeded alone as far as he did. The sepoys were evidently annoyed at the king's willingness to adhere to the British dominion, and expressed great disgust at his partisanship with the English. They threatened his life should he not accede to all their requests; as he being the principal descendant of the house of Timur, and king of all India, was bound to protect and cherish his faithful subjects. A letter was then handed to Major Harriott, from Brigadier Longfield, in which he stated that, having been appointed president of the commission for the trial of the king, he requested to know at what time the court assembled. The court then adjourned. A request was made during the proceedings, by Bahadoor Shah, to be allowed to smoke his hookah; and permission was granted.

The trial opened at the usual hour on the fourth day, and proceedings commenced with a continuation of the examination of Gholam Abbas, the prisoner's vakeel. The witness being one of the *non mi recordo* class, determined to know nothing that could, by recital, criminate the prisoner, his family, himself, or any one connected with the palace; and this soon became so apparent, that he was twice or thrice reminded, through the interpreter, that he was giving his evidence *upon oath*. Nothing, however, was elicited from him, and he was permitted to resume his office of vakeel to the prisoner, after being subjected to a rigid cross-examination by the government prosecutor, who then proposed that the petitions of the late rajah of Bullubgurh, which were translated and read at the trial of that rebel, should be accepted as evidence; which being agreed to, he proceeded to read to the court the English translations; and, on these being concluded, the interpreter read the originals for the benefit of the

prisoner, who up to this time had been sleeping. He was awoke for the purpose, and appeared to listen attentively, making some remark at the conclusion of each, and indicating by signs during the reading, that he knew nothing whatever about them. He appeared in much better health and humour than on any of the previous days, and laughed in great spirits as each successive paper was taken up to be read, as if quite amused at there being so many.

Up to nearly half-past one o'clock on the fifth day, the court was occupied in reading documents in the vernacular; but when these had been disposed of, the translations of the military papers were read, and afforded considerable amusement to the court. These consisted chiefly of petitions, upon various subjects, from "The Lord Sahib, Mirza Mogul, commander-in-chief of the royal army," Bukht Khan Bahadoor, and other traitors. In some, the helpless state of the "infidels" was set forth in the most glowing terms, pointing out how, with very slight assistance and delay, they would be sent to a place even Mohammedan murderers are never to see; others pointing out how certain districts had been brought under the "royal rule," and treasure obtained by the revolt of those whose duty it was to guard its safety; while all were full of hatred to the "infidels," and unbounded love for the king. To most of these documents the prisoner's autograph orders and signature in pencil had been attached.

The sixth day's trial commenced at 11 A.M. of the 2nd of February. The early part of the day was occupied in reading original documents relating to military matters, the English versions of which were read the day previous: at the conclusion of which, the translation of a letter, dated the 24th of March, addressed to the late Mr. Colvin, lieutenant-governor, North-West Provinces, was read, disclosing the fact, that as far back as a year and a-half previous, secret emissaries were sent by the king of Delhi to Persia, through the agency of one Mahomed Hussun Uskeeree, the object of which was evidently to obtain assistance to complete the overthrow of British power in India. The perusal of the letter, which bore both the Delhi and Agra post-mark, excited considerable sensation in court, and led to a severe cross-examination, by the judge-advocate, of Ehsainoolla Khan, the prisoner's hakeem, whose evidence partly corroborated the fact of the emissaries having been sent. The witness further stated, that Hussun Uskeeree was not unknown to him; that he was supposed to possess the art of foretelling events, interpreting dreams, &c.; and that one of the prisoner's daughters, named Nawaub Baigam, had become a disciple of his, and was supposed to be his mistress. There was, however, a decided disinclination, on the part of the hakeem, to implicate the prisoner, the witness always endeavouring to absolve him from all knowledge of, or participation in, the acts deposed to. In one or two instances this was so apparent as to create a smile. When questioned as to the feeling displayed by the native inhabitants of Delhi regarding the war between England and Persia, the witness replied that the feeling was scarcely perceptible, but that it was in favour of the British; the Persians being Sheeahs, and the Mohammedans of Persia Soonnees. He further stated, that the Persian proclamation posted at the Jumma Musjid created little or no sensation, and that its genuineness was doubted. He said that the war between England and Persia was not the subject of conversation among the Mohammedans of Delhi, and that the prisoner had never mentioned it. The whole of his evidence tended to implicate, to a considerable extent, the Shah of Persia; and to lead the court to believe that the prisoner was entirely innocent of any complicity in the intrigues that were going on.

On the seventh day, the court commenced proceedings by the examination, through the interpreter, of a person named Jutmull, formerly news-writer to the lieutenant-governor at Agra. His evidence was most important; and, notwithstanding an apparent desire to criminate the prisoner as little as possible, was most damaging to the royal cause. The witness corroborated the statement regarding the emissaries from the prisoner to Persia, about the time the Persians advanced upon Herat; the time corresponding with that given by the hakeem the day previous. He also mentioned the firm belief of many in the powers possessed by Hussun Uskeeree, and related a remarkable dream of the prophet shortly before the mission left Delhi for Persia. It was thus related. Hussun Uskeeree saw a mighty black storm coming from the west, accompanied by a great rush of water, which increased to such an extent, that the whole country was overwhelmed. In the midst of this storm was the prisoner (the ex-king of Delhi), seated

on a charpoy, borne up by the waters, and supported safely till the flood subsided! This vision was, as a matter of course, turned to account, and interpreted accordingly. The storm from the westward was Persia. The overwhelming waves swept away all traces of British rule, and the "infidels" with them; and the mighty monarch, the ex-king of Delhi, having weathered the storm, was permitted to return to all his former state and dignity as the Great Mogul! During the recital of this dream, and of the powers possessed by Hussun Uskeeree, the prisoner, as though affected by some galvanic agency, suddenly started up, and declared that he firmly believed in all that had been stated respecting the wonderful powers of Hussun Uskeeree. It further appeared from the evidence of Jutmull, that the gifted slave, Hussun Uskeeree, had, with the most unparalleled devotion, cut off no less than twenty years from his own valuable life, for the purpose of prolonging, by that period, the life of his master.

The witness Jutmull then entered into particulars concerning the murders committed in the palace, describing the manner in which Mr. Fraser, Captain Douglas, and other Europeans, were butchered—atrocities in which, if the prisoner took no active part, he was perfectly cognizant of, notwithstanding the manifest exertions on the part of the native witnesses to prove the contrary.

On the eighth day, the evidence of Jutmull, the news-writer, was continued. What was elicited from him related chiefly to the massacre of the European prisoners of all classes and ages, on the 16th of May; and confirmed all before reported concerning the cold-blooded atrocities committed absolutely under the prisoner's own apartments in the palace. The canal water, which ran through the place of execution, was, it appears, used for the purpose of washing away all traces of the bloody deed. Captain Forrest, commissary of ordnance, was then called in, and examined until 4 P.M., when the court adjourned.

On resuming proceedings upon the ninth day, Captain Forrest's examination was continued, and the court was occupied in recording an account of the incidents of the 11th of May, up to the hour when the magazine was exploded.

Mukhun Lall, a chobdar, who formerly attended upon the late Captain Douglas, was then called, having been named by Jutmull as one of those who were present when Mr. Fraser, Captain Douglas, Mr. Jennings, Miss Jennings, and Miss Clifford, were murdered.

The witnesses, Mukhun Lall and Jutmull, were both cross-examined by the prisoner's vakeel, but to no purpose. The evidence recorded was confirmatory of the worst features of these horrible scenes, and implicated the palace people most completely. The court adjourned at 4 P.M.

The tenth day's proceedings commenced at 11 A.M. on Monday, the 8th of February. Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, C.S., was sworn by the government prosecutor, and gave important evidence relative to the state of feeling amongst the natives before the outbreak of the 11th of May. In reply to a question by the prosecutor, he also stated his opinion regarding the object of circulating the chupatties, about which so many and various opinions had been recorded. Sir Thomas further stated, that the proclamation purporting to be from the king of Persia, which was found posted on the walls of the Jumma Musjid a short time before the outbreak at Delhi, could not have been exposed to the public for more than three hours, as, early in the morning succeeding the night it was placed there, he heard that a crowd of natives had gathered round the spot; and, finding such to be the case, he sent his people to remove the paper. He further mentioned the rumour, said to be current, to the effect, that the Cashmere gate of the city would shortly be attacked and taken from the British; which was conveyed to the magistrates' court about six weeks before the outbreak, by an anonymous writer. The witness declared his opinion, that the chupatties so extensively circulated first emanated from Lucknow, and that they were distributed for the purpose of congregating together, when necessary, persons of one class, who partook of one description of food. He does not think they were circulated throughout India, but only in government villages; a significant fact, when taken into account with what followed their circulation. In Boonludshuhur, the witness continued, the inhabitants gave as a reason for circulating them, that they thought it was by order of government, and consequently they passed them on. The witness was of opinion that the war with Persia created great excitement in Delhi,

and was the subject of much conversation during the time it lasted ; and he concluded by stating some facts confided to him by John Everet, a Christian rissaldar of the 14th irregular cavalry, from which it appeared, that the attempt to overthrow the British government was known to be in contemplation before the outrage commenced.

At the conclusion of Sir T. Metcalfe's evidence, the prisoner was asked if he would like to put any questions. He replied in the negative, but wished to know if the Persians and Russians were the same people !

The court adjourned about 1 p.m., to allow time for the "wise man," Hussun Uskeeree, who had been sent for, to appear. On the court reassembling after an absence of about half-an-hour, the soothsayer appeared in court. He did not strike the beholder as a very fascinating sort of fellow ; and it was, therefore, probably the effect of enchantment that led the king's daughter to become his "disciple."

Hussun Uskeeree having been sworn and examined, denied all that had been said of the wonderful powers attributed to him. He said that, whatever others might be pleased to think of him, it was merely a matter of opinion, and that he was not at all answerable for it. That he was an humble individual, content to live in peace without troubling himself about dreams, whether of kings or peasants. He denied that he ever had a dream of a great form from the west ; in fact, he denied everything.

The prisoner was then referred to, and, notwithstanding his recorded statement of his firm belief in the powers attributed to the witness, he denied all knowledge of him or his powers. He was reminded of his statement made but a few days previous ; but all to no purpose : he completely ignored him ; and Hussun Uskeeree was returned to his place of confinement, much to the disgust of those who expected some interesting revelations from him.

The next witness called was Bukhtawur, a peon in the service of the late Captain Douglas. His evidence chiefly related to the occurrences of the 11th of May, from the first appearance of the mutinous troopers to the murder of Mr. Fraser, C.S., Captain Douglas, Mr. Hutchinson, C.S., Mr. Jennings, and the ill-fated ladies of his family. It appeared—and all the evidence on this point tended to confirm the sad tale—that Captain Douglas, Mr. Hutchinson, and Mr. Nixon, were near the Calcutta gate, leading to the bridge of boats, when four or five of the mutineers came up, and that the troopers all fired upon the party, but that only Mr. Nixon was killed and Mr. Hutchinson wounded. The Europeans jumped down from the road into the dry ditch surrounding the palace, Captain Douglas being much hurt in his descent : they ran along the ditch, and gained the gates of the palace, which they entered and closed. Mr. Fraser came soon after, and was admitted ; and, at one period of the attack, he appears to have seized a musket from one of the sepoys at the gate, and shot one of the troopers, upon which the others galloped off ; but being reinforced by numbers, they soon became bolder. At the suggestion of Mr. Jennings, Captain Douglas was taken up to his own apartments above the gateway ; and soon after this, a party of people from the palace came rushing forward, shouting, "Deen ! Deen !" (the Faith ! the Faith !) and a crowd gathering, they, headed by the native officer of the guard at the palace (a company of the 88th light infantry), surrounded and murdered, in the most brutal manner, the whole party. One mob went up one way to the hiding-place of the victims ; another proceeded in a different direction ; so that none escaped. Meantime the work of destruction was going on outside, other troopers having arrived ; and it became necessary for every one to look to his own safety : the witnesses (Hindoos) consequently left, and were unable to relate anything further. Another witness was called, named Kishen, his statement being much the same as that of the prisoner's witness, Bukhtawur. The evidence, so far as it had gone, was conclusive on one point—viz., that the inmates of the palace assisted at the murder of Messrs. Fraser, Jennings, Hutchinson, Captain Douglas, and the ladies ; and, while several witnesses affirmed that the prisoner tried to persuade Captain Douglas from his intention of going among the mutineers, not one attempted to show that he exerted his influence to check the disturbance at its commencement, or to save the Europeans at his gate.

On the eleventh day, the court resumed, and was occupied the whole day with the examination of a person named Chuneer, formerly editor of a native paper, entitled the *Delhi News*. The witness gave some important evidence, and confirmed the

statements of Jutmull and Bukhtawur, regarding the manner in which Mr. Fraser and Captain Douglas met their death; adding, that Mr. Fraser attempted to make a stand near the Grape garden (Ungoorie Bagh) with his personal sowars (supplied by the Jhujjur nawab) and a few of the police who were collected near. As soon, however, as the mutinous troopers fired upon Mr. Fraser and his friends, the Jhujjur sowars and police decamped, having, according to the witness's idea, been scattered by the cry, "Deen, Deen!" raised by the mutineers on their approach. He then stated, in reply to questions by the government prosecutor, that the Mohammedans of the city were in the habit of boasting that the Persians, aided by the Russians, were coming to drive the English out of the country; and gave it as his firm belief, that the Mohammedans were very much excited about the Persian war. The chupatties which were circulated, were, he said, for the purpose of bringing together a large body of men for some business to be explained to them hereafter; and he said they originated at or near Kurnaul—precisely the opposite direction from which Sir T. Metcalfe traced their origin. The witness, in reply to a question by the prosecutor, said, that about five or six days after the city had been in possession of the mutineers, he heard that there was a great disturbance in the palace; and, on going to see the cause, found a number of sepoys and some of the prisoner's armed servants killing Europeans—men, women, and children. There was a great crowd collected, and he could not see distinctly through it; but after the slaughter was completed, he enquired of the sweepers, who were removing the bodies, and heard that, in all, fifty-two persons had been killed; of these only five or six were males, the rest females and children. The bodies were removed in carts, and thrown into the river: when he saw them lying dead, they were in a circle. A number of Mohammedans were on the top of Mirza Mogul's house, spectators of the scene; and the witness heard that Mirza Mogul himself was one of those looking on. These unfortunate people were confined, previous to their massacre, from the 11th to the 16th of May, in a sort of receptacle for rubbish, in which it would have been deemed an insult to confine a person with any pretensions to respectability. There were many better and more suitable buildings, but they were not allotted to the Europeans.

The court resumed its sitting on the twelfth day. There was some delay in obtaining the witness; but, about half-past eleven, "Chunee" came into court, and his examination was continued: it was not, however, of much importance, and he was permitted to retire, one — Ram, a pedlar, taking his place. Having been sworn and examined, the witness deposed that he was in Delhi on the 11th of May last, but left three or four days after the outbreak. He confirmed all that the previous witness had stated; adding, that the prisoner was proclaimed king by beat of drum, and that a royal salute was fired before the palace at midnight of the 11th of May. He said that when the prisoner went out, a royal salute was fired, and the same on his return; but as this was customary on all occasions of the ex-king going out in procession, it is not of much importance either way. A witness named Gholam was then sworn and examined, and gave some particulars of the massacre of the Europeans inside the palace, of which he was an eye-witness. He said that it was known, two days prior to the fearful deed, that the European prisoners were to be slaughtered on that particular day; and a great crowd had, in consequence, collected. They, the prisoners, were all ranged in a line, on the edge of a tank or watercourse, and, at a given signal (unseen by the witness), the mutineers and palace servants, by whom they were completely surrounded, rushed in and hacked them to pieces with swords. Shots were fired at them at the commencement (according to another witness); but one of the bullets happening to strike a sepoy, the sword was resorted to, and the fatal work was soon completed. The confusion was too great for the witness to frame an accurate idea of the number murdered; but it was large, and the majority of them were women and children. Their murderers must have numbered 150 to 200. When the massacre was over, the spectators were turned out of the palace, and the bodies carried away. No one attempted to interfere to prevent this frightful slaughter; no messenger from the king came to stop it; and the witness said he heard nothing which could lead him to believe that the deed was not gloried in by the Mohammedans. He then, in reply to a question by the prosecutor, said he was present at the murder of the Beresford family. Mr. Beresford was, it seems, badly wounded at the onset, one arm being broken by a shot; but, armed with a sword, and his brave

wife with a spear, they contrived to keep the ruffians at bay for some time, Mrs. Beresford killing one and wounding another. They were at length overpowered, and the whole party murdered. With them were, it was supposed, the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, and another missionary, who had gone to the Bank for safety. The house where they were all slaughtered still bore marks of the struggle.

The prisoner's hakeem, Ehsain-oolla Khan, was then called in, and examined on oath. His evidence always broke down when verging to a certain point—namely, criminating the prisoner. He denied that he was in the prisoner's confidence, and said, that many important matters connected with the household were never mentioned to him, instancing, among other things, the prisoner's repudiation of his wife Taj Mahal, after having been regularly married to her. He admitted that the king's armed "servants" numbered about twelve hundred men; and, in reply to a question by the prosecutor, said that they had not been dismissed in consequence of the part taken by them in the death of Mr. Fraser, Captain Douglas, and the other Europeans murdered in the palace. Notwithstanding a severe cross-examination, it was plain to be seen that, beyond mere generalities, nothing could be gained from the witness; and the court adjourned.

The prisoner was more lively than usual on this day; he declared his innocence of everything several times; and amused himself by twisting and untwisting a scarf round his head, and occasionally asking for a stimulant.

On the thirteenth day (Feb. 11th), the prisoner's hakeem was again examined; but his evidence was not of much moment, inasmuch as, notwithstanding the severe cross-examination to which he was subjected, his leaning to the prisoner was strikingly apparent. At the conclusion of the witness's evidence, Mrs. Aldwell was called, sworn, and examined by the judge-advocate. Her evidence consisted mainly of a narrative of hairbreadth escapes in Delhi, extending over a period of near five months' residence in the city—viz., from the day of the mutiny until the reoccupation of the city by the British troops. The main points were as follows:—The witness resided at Duryagunge; and on the arrival of the mutineers, the house where she lived was defended for some time by a few Europeans there assembled; who, failing at last in defending themselves, were captured; the witness, and some children only, escaping in the disguise of Mohammedans to the house of Mirza Abdoolah, a shahzadah, with whom she was previously acquainted. They were well received by the females of the shahzadah's family, and promised protection; but during the night of the 11th of May, they were sent to the house of the Mirza's mother-in-law, for greater security, and considered themselves safe. On Mrs. Aldwell, however, sending to the Mirza's house for some money and valuables left behind, Mirza Abdoolah sent word to say, that if any more messengers were sent to the house, the whole party should be murdered. They were subsequently brought before Mirza Mogul, and ordered for execution; but some sepoy took charge of them, and kept them in confinement. A tailor in Mrs. Aldwell's employ appears to have befriended the family throughout; and, through his influence with a sowar, she and her children appear to have been preserved. Herself and children were taught the kulmah; and, notwithstanding strong suspicions of their being Christians, they were all wonderfully preserved until the 9th of September, just before the assault, and proceeded in a bylee to Meerut. The witness gave some evidence upon interesting points connected with her sojourn in the city; among other things stating, that when in confinement, together with some twenty or thirty other women and children, the sepoy were in the habit of paying them visits; telling them they should all be cut into little pieces to feed the kites and crows! When their fellow-prisoners were sent for to be slaughtered, the order was given to "bring out the Christians," and leave the Mohammedans (meaning Mrs. Aldwell and her children) to be dealt with afterwards. The witness described this scene as heartrending: the unfortunate creatures declared that they were about to be murdered; but the Mohammedan mutineers swore on the Koran, and the Hindoos on the Gunga, that no harm should happen to them. They were then "massed together," and a rope passed round them (after the fashion at present in vogue when conducting rebels to their prison), and thus they were marched off to the place of execution. The witness said, in reply to a question put by the judge-advocate, that there were no disturbances between the Hindoos and Mohammedans during the siege;

that the latter gave in to the former on every occasion; and that not even at the Buckra Eed festival was an ox slaughtered. In reply to a question by the court, the witness said, that the prisoners were, during their confinement, subjected to indignity and insult from the mutineers and rabble of Delhi.

There was a larger number of listeners than usual in court on this day; and the prisoner appeared the least interested person present.

On the fourteenth day (Feb. 12th), Mr. C. B. Saunders, C.S., commissioner of Delhi, having been duly sworn, gave some interesting particulars regarding the circumstances under which the prisoner, Bahadoor Shah, became a pensioner of the British government; stating the amount of pension, &c., allowed, and other facts connected with the ex-king's former position.

Major Paterson, of the (late) 54th native infantry, was then called in, and examined. The evidence of this witness was merely a repetition of facts, already well known, concerning the outbreak on the 11th of May last. Major Paterson deposed to the murder of his brother officers of the 54th native infantry, and his own escape to Kurnaul, when he found that he had no control over the men of his regiment.

The prisoner's secretary, Mukhun Lall, was called in, sworn, and examined. He was admonished by the judge-advocate for displaying a want of respect to the court, in first neglecting to make his obeisance on entering, and then took his place in the usual position for witnesses. He is a short and rather stout Hindoo. On recovering his equanimity, he assumed a very humble attitude, and stood with clasped hands while his statement was read and translated to the court, the president inquiring, at every dozen words or so, whether he adhered to it on oath; to which he generally replied in the affirmative.

The statement was to the effect, that for at least two years before the outbreak the prisoner had been disaffected towards the British government. This he ascribed partly to the discontinuance of the pomp and ceremony to which the inmates of the palace had been accustomed, and partly to the disinclination, on the part of government, to appoint whoever the prisoner pleased as heir-apparent to the throne. The latter circumstance was known to have caused great dissatisfaction and disquiet in the palace. The arrival of some of the royal family (relations of the prisoner) from Lucknow, about this time, the witness believed to be connected with the prisoner's messengers to Persia; for which purpose the late prime minister, Maibhoob Ali, disbursed funds to a certain Abyssinian, named Seedee Kumber, who was entrusted with the mission. For some time previous to the outbreak at Delhi and Meerut, the disaffection of the native army had been the common subject of conversation in the prisoner's private apartments; and even outside, those connected with the palace talked openly of the circumstance. It was also generally believed that the native officers, who went from Delhi to Meerut to form part of the court-martial upon the mutineers of the 3rd cavalry, arranged the whole business of the outbreak; and the witness strengthened this belief by stating that the guards of the palace, changed weekly, from the three regiments cantoned at Delhi, had become adherents of the prisoner. On the arrival of the mutineers at the palace, they came under the windows of the prisoner's private apartments, declaring loudly that all the Europeans at Meerut had been murdered, and that if the prisoner would protect them (the sepoys), and become their king, they would soon make an end of all the Europeans at Delhi. The prisoner is stated to have asked if they would be faithful, and whether they were prepared to encounter the consequences; and on their reply in the affirmative, sweetmeats were distributed to the men, and presents of money, in addition, to the native officers. The prisoner's own armed retainers then went and slew Mr. Fraser and Captain Douglas, the troopers and sepoys killing all Europeans, wherever they could be found, in the city. On their return to the palace the prisoner was proclaimed king; a royal salute was fired; and the next day (the 12th of May), the silver throne, which had been laid by since 1843, was brought out, and placed in the hall of special audience, the prisoner taking his seat upon it as king of Delhi! With regard to the massacre of European prisoners, the witness said, that when the mutineers became clamorous for the slaughter, Mirza Mogul and another villain went to obtain the consent of the prisoner. He was in his private apartments, and they were admitted to an audience, the mutineers remaining outside. After the lapse of about twenty minutes they returned, declaring,

with a loud voice, that the prisoner had given his consent, and the slaughter accordingly commenced. The ex-king, at this stage of the proceedings, looked up at the court, and putting his forefinger into his mouth, made an Asiatic sign, which is interpreted as "plucking his tongue out" if he gave any such consent! The prisoner appeared perfectly indifferent to the presence of his private secretary, and to what he said; and, except on the occasion above noticed, made no remark or sign whatever.

The prisoner was brought into court as usual, on the fifteenth day, and took his position upon the charpoy assigned to him. With the exception of another shawl twisted round his head, his appearance was unaltered. Mukhun Lall was called into court, and his examination continued. He stated, in reply to a question put by the judge-advocate, that the late prime minister, Maibhoob Ali Khan, was the only person he knew of in the prisoner's entire confidence, and that he himself was never admitted to the royal secrets. That at the private conferences, Maibhoob Ali, Hussun Uskeeree, the begum (Zeenat Mahal), and two of the prisoner's daughters, were generally present, and that by their counsel he was generally guided. He said that after the mutineers from Meerut, together with those cantoned at Delhi, had taken possession of the city, he did not remember any attempt being made to induce other regiments at distant stations to join them. And, in reply to a question by the judge-advocate, stated, that two days after the British troops had entered the city, or on the 16th of September, the prisoner went out with the mutineers as far as Khan Ali Khan's house (about 300 or 400 yards from the palace gates) in an open litter, for the purpose of encouraging them in driving the English out again; but that he very soon halted, and his brave army dispersed; or, in other words, came back faster than they went. The court and the prisoner's counsel declining to ask any questions, the witness was allowed to withdraw.

Captain Tytler (late 38th light infantry) was then called into court, and examined. After deposing to the fact of the arrival in cantonments of a dawk carriage, full of natives, the night previous to the mutiny, and to the occurrences on the morning of the 11th of May, Captain Tytler was questioned by the judge-advocate as to whether he had, prior to the mutiny, remarked anything which induced him to believe that his regiment was unfaithful. He replied in the negative, but said that he had since heard certain rumours, from which he inferred that there must have been some secret meetings among the men in cantonments; and a servant, a bearer of his, on taking leave to go to his home, a short time before the outbreak, remarked that he would return to the service if Captain Tytler's choola* still burnt bright! The prisoner was asked by the interpreter, what was the meaning of the above remark by the bearer? and he laughingly replied, that it meant nothing in particular; that the man who made it must have been some hungry fellow, who was always thinking of eating.

Sergeant Fleming, late Bazaar sergeant of Delhi, was then called into court, and, in reply to the judge-advocate (government prosecutor), said that he was Bazaar sergeant at the time of the outbreak. His son, a youth about nineteen years of age, was employed as a writer in the commissioner's office, and had been in the habit, for five or six years, of exercising the horses belonging to the prisoner's son, Jewan Bukht; for which service he received a monthly stipend. That some time in the latter end of April, his son went one morning to the house of Maibhoob Ali Khan, the prime minister, and there met Jewan Bukht; the latter commenced abusing him, declaring that the sight of a Kaffir Feringhee disturbed his serenity—spat in the youth's face, and desired him to leave. Young Fleming obeyed the order, and reported the conduct of Jewan Bukht to the late Mr. Fraser, who told him he was a fool, and should not notice such nonsense! On another occasion, early in May last, the witness's son went to Maibhoob's house to receive his pay; there he again met Jewan Bukht, who abused him in worse language than on the former occasion, and concluded by declaring that he would have his, young Fleming's, head off before many days passed over. "And," added the poor father, "he kept his word, for my son was killed on the 11th of May!"

The witness being allowed to withdraw, the judge-advocate informed the court that it would be necessary to adjourn for a few days, to allow papers to be translated, from which he expected important disclosures. The court was therefore adjourned *sine die*.

* Hearth still burning; meaning literally, "If you and your house continue in existence."

On the sixteenth day the court resumed its sittings at 11 A.M. of the 23rd of February. The prisoner came, as usual, in a palanquin, under a guard of H.M.'s 61st regiment. On alighting from his conveyance at the Dewan Khass, he declined the offer of support from his attendants, and walked to the couch assigned to him, evidently in better health than he was on his last appearance.

There was about an hour's delay, owing to the absence of one of the members of the court; and it was twelve o'clock when the first witness, Captain Martineau, of the commissariat, was called into court. This gentleman was instructor at the Umballah school of musketry; and having left on the conclusion of the practice, was travelling down the Grand Trunk road, when he met Brigadier Graves' party of fugitives from Delhi, and turned back with them towards Kurnaul, after having assisted some ladies who preceded them. In reply to a question by the judge-advocate-general, Captain Martineau stated, that he had heard the "chupatty question" discussed by the sepoys at the musketry depôt; that it was their belief (affected or real) that the cakes were circulated by government; and that the distribution implied, that those who took them were to be of the same faith and purpose. He had heard the sepoys speak openly of the greased cartridges, and frequently heard them declare that something would happen in connection with them; and the very day the first Enfield cartridge was fired, the first incendiary fire in Umballah occurred. The authorities offered a reward for the discovery of the incendiaries, but without effect; a fact also mentioned by the sepoys to witness. A report was made to government on the subject. The witness further stated, that while at Kurnaul as commissariat officer, some of the troopers of the 3rd cavalry, who came with despatches from Meerut, told him that the government had interfered with their rights and prejudices to such an extent, that they had nothing but their religion left, and that, too, was in danger of being interfered with. In short, that there was a wide-spread disaffection in the native army. The witness, in reply to the court, said that the cartridges served out at Umballah were not greased, but that the men used a composition of ghee and bees-wax for the purpose, the ingredients being purchased and supplied by him.

An original diary of events and occurrences at Delhi, from the commencement of the outbreak, was then read to the prisoner by the interpreter. This occupied the court till 2 P.M., when it adjourned.

Upon reassembling at a quarter past 2 P.M., Mrs. Fleming, wife of the late Bazaar sergeant of Delhi, was called in and examined. The witness stated, that about the middle of April she was at the Begum Zeenat Mahal's apartments, with a daughter, Mrs. Scully. That the prisoner's son, Jewan Bukht, was present, and was talking to her daughter. The latter turned round, and said, "Do you hear what this *hayamzadah* is saying?" and on her replying in the negative, her daughter told her that he said all the *Kaffirs* (Europeans) would soon be murdered. She said, in that case, his (Jewan Bukht's) head would first come off; and asked what he meant. He replied that the Persians were coming to kill all the Europeans; but that if she and her family came to him, he would protect them. He said this laughingly, and went away. The witness was cross-examined by the judge-advocate upon the above points, but was positive that such was her daughter's statement. The prisoner appeared slightly affected when the above was translated to him by the interpreter, and muttered something unintelligible, gesticulating all the time he was speaking.

A translation of the before-mentioned diary was then read to the court by the judge-advocate, commencing thus:—

"May 11th, 1857.—At night, Mr. S. Fraser, the commissioner, received a letter from Meerut, containing the news of the rebellion there; but no precautionary measures were taken at that time. In the morning, information was brought in that the 3rd light cavalry and two regiments of native infantry, at Meerut, had mutinied on account of the introduction of new cartridges; and that after having a fight with the European troops there, were on their way to Delhi. Mr. Fraser immediately ordered the vakeel of the nawab of Jhujjur to send for his master, the nawab, as soon as possible; and Sir T. Metcalfe instantly came into the city, ordered the khotwal to close all the gates of the town, and to post the burkandazes of the Khotwallee over them for protection. The khotwal executed these orders without delay. Mr. Fraser, with his orderly sowars, also

came into the city, and was given to understand that some sowars were on the bridge, and had murdered the sergeant at that place, and set his bungalow on fire.

"The rebel sowars, after murdering the sergeant at the bridge, came below the lattice of the palace, and represented to his majesty that they had come to fight for the sake of 'Deen,' and that they required the gate to be opened for their entrance. The king sent information of this to the officer commanding the palace guard, who instantly went to the spot, and said to the sowars that they were scoundrels, and ordered them to go away. In reply, the sowars uttered their revenge on him.

"Mr. Fraser, on hearing of the massacre of the sergeant at the bridge, went to the Cashmere gate, and told the sepoy on the main-guard that some troops, who had acted disloyally at Meerut, had arrived; and that as they (the sepoy) were old servants of the government, he required their assistance to put down the mutineers. The sepoy replied, that they would have no objection to go against a foreign enemy; but, in the present instance, they would not act. At this time, Jewala Sing, jemadar of the commissioner, informed Mr. Fraser that all the Mussulmans of the city were inclined to rebellion, and requested him to go out of the city immediately; but he replied that he would never do so. The shops of the city were all closed. The Rev. Mr. Jennings, and another European, went on the palace guard tower, to inspect the mutineers by the help of a telescope.

"The officer commanding the palace guard, after speaking to the mutineers under the lattice of the palace, went in a buggy to Mr. Fraser, who was at the Calcutta gate—took a letter out of his pocket, and handed it over to him for perusal. The orderly sowars of the commissioner were ordered to be very cautious.

"The Mussulmans of the Khanumka Bazaar went to the Rajghat gate, made some conditions with the rebel sowars, and opened the gate for them. The sowars having thus found their entrance into the city, commenced murdering the Europeans; and after they had murdered some of them at Duryagunge, and burnt their houses, they came to the hospital, and killed the sub-assistant surgeon, Chummun Lall. The Mussulmans of the city informed them that the Commissioner Sahib was on the Calcutta gate. They accordingly galloped there, and fired a number of pistols and muskets at him, but without effect: however, two other European gentlemen were shot on this occasion. The orderly sowars of the commissioner, who were all Mussulmans, made no attempt to oppose the mutineers; but the commissioner himself, taking the musket of a sowar, wounded one of them, and instantly getting in his buggy along with the officer commanding the palace guard, fled towards the palace gate: the latter reached his residence at the top of the palace guard, but Mr. Fraser was attacked and killed on the stairs. The mutinous sowars, after that, went to the residence of the killadar—massacred him, the Rev. Mr. Jennings and daughter, and another European. The Mussulmans of the city plundered all the property found in the houses of the officer commanding the palace guard, and other European residents in the city.

"Sir T. Metcalfe left the city by the Ajmere gate on horseback, with a drawn sword in his hand: some rebel sowars pursued him as far as Bazaar Chaoree, but were unable to catch him. The moochees, saddlers, and shoemakers at the Ajmere gate also took their cudgels, and wished to catch and kill him, but were not successful.

"The three regiments of native infantry, stationed at Delhi, joined the mutineers; and after killing a few of their European officers, entered the city, and murdered all the Christians—men, women, and children—they could find in the houses and bungalows at Duryagunge, Cashmere gate, and Colonel Skinner's kothee.

"The Mussulmans of the city, and even some of the Hindoos, joined the mutineers, and destroyed all the Thadnas and the Khotwallee. They then attacked the Bank, and tried to murder the two gentlemen, three ladies, and two children, who were sitting there; but as the Europeans had their pistols loaded, the mutineers did not venture to come near them. A Mussulman got on a tree, but was shot by them. The mutineers then set the Bank house on fire; and the Europeans, having no means of escape, were overpowered and killed by the rebel sowars and Mussulmans with cudgels.

"The Mussulmans followed the mutineers everywhere with shouts of '*hyderce!*' (usually exclaimed on a victory). All the money in the government treasury was shared by the sepoy of the three regiments of native infantry stationed at Delhi. The Magistrate's,

Commissioner's, Judge's, and all other public offices were plundered and set on fire; and all the bungalows in the cantonment were also burnt at night. The whole of the troops from Meerut and Delhi went into the palace and stood before the king, requesting him to take them under his protection, and saying that they would make him the master of the whole country. The king said he desired, with all his soul and heart, to patronise and support them, and ordered them to stop at Selimghur.

"The mutineers got information that some Europeans—men, women, and children—were in the magazine. They instantly brought two guns from Duryagunge, and filling them with pieces of stone, fired on the magazine. The Europeans inside blew up the magazine (by which several houses around it were thrown down, and several hundreds of the inhabitants killed and wounded), and fled towards the river; but the rebel sowars pursued and massacred them. They also brought alive, before the king, three sergeants and two ladies, who implored his majesty to keep them with him, otherwise the sepoy would kill them: they were accordingly ordered to stop in the mosque.

"In the evening, Rajah Nahur Sing, of Bullubgurh, accompanied by his wife and brothers-in-law, went to Bullubgurh; he also took along with him, secretly, Mr. Munro, his steward (afterwards killed by the mutinous sowars).

"The mutineers attacked the house of Salug Ram, treasurer; but being unable to break the door, they went away. About midnight they returned, broke open the door, and plundered the house.

"A sergeant went away from the cantonment with two guns; but the mutineers pursued him, and brought back the guns. At night, twenty-one guns were fired below the lattice of the palace. The inhabitants were greatly terrified; and all the houses of the Europeans, in the city as well as in the cantonment, were seen in flames all night. Many shops were broken open by the sepoy, and plundered by the Mussulmans.

"12th May, 1857.—His majesty attended the Hall of Audience, and the chiefs paid their respects. The subahdars of the five rebel regiments presented themselves, and applied to the king to appoint a man who would provide them with supplies. Hursaha Mull and Dilvalee Mull, stewards of the king, were accordingly ordered to provide them daily with 500 rupees' worth of dal, ata, gram, &c.

"The rebel sowars got information that Mohumed Ibrahim, son of the late Wallee Mohumed, merchant, had concealed four Europeans in his house, and they instantly went there; murdered the four gentlemen, and plundered the house of the said Mohumed Ibrahim.

"A European woman, who had disguised herself in a native dress, was recognised and murdered by the sowars of the 3rd light cavalry, at the tank near the palace. The shops of all the confectioners, druggists, braziers, and bunyas, were broken open and plundered by the mutineers.

"The king, after prayers, appointed Mirza Moeen-ood-deen Hasun Khan, late thanadar of Pahurgunge, to the office of khotwal of the city—placed under his orders a regiment of the rebel sepoy, and directed him to make the Khotwallee his place of residence, and stop the plunder. The said khotwal, finding himself unable to stop the plunder, attended on the king, and represented the case to him; on which his majesty sent for all the subahdars of the rebel troops, and ordered them to place for service one regiment of infantry at the Delhi gate and at the lattice of the palace, and one company at each of the Ajmere, Lahore, Cashmere, and Furash Khana gates. The king further said to them, that he did not wish to see the inhabitants plundered, and therefore ordered them to station one company of sepoy at Durreebah, for the protection of shops there. The mutineers attacked the Nugur Sayth ka Koocha, with the intention of plundering it; but the inhabitants so pelted them, that they were obliged to flee.

"Some Christian clerks had concealed themselves, with their wives, in the house of the rajah Kullyan Sing, of Kishenghur; but the rebel sowars hearing it, went there, and fired their pistols and muskets at them. Finding that the clerks were also armed with muskets and pistols, they obtained two guns, and again attacked the house; but the clerks by this time had concealed themselves in a tyekhana, so the rebels could not find them.

"His majesty ordered Mirza Mogul Beg to take a company of infantry and stop the plunder; accordingly he went to the Khotwallee on an elephant, and had it notified by

tom-tom in the city, that should any sepoy be caught plundering any inhabitant, his nose and ears should be cut off; and that if any shopkeeper would not open his shop, or declined to provide the sepoys with food, he would be imprisoned and fined. Taj Mahal Begum, who was in confinement, was released. Two Europeans, disguised in native dress, were arrested and killed by the rebel sowars near the Khotwallee.

"The king, attended by two regiments of infantry and a few guns, went out on an elephant, with Mirza Jewan Bukht behind him, into the city, for the purpose of having the bazaar opened. He went as far as Chandnee Chouk, and requested the shopkeepers to open their shops and provide the troops with supplies. Hasun Alee Khan was introduced by Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan. He presented a gold mohur as nuzzur to the king, who ordered him to wait, as he had to consult with him.

"A shawl, for the office of khotwal of the city, was conferred on Mirza Moeen-ood-deen Hasun Khan, who returned thanks with a nuzzur of four rupees.

"13th May, 1857.—Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan and other chiefs attended the durbar, and paid their respects. Nazir Hasun Mirza was ordered to bring Mirza Ameen-ood-deen Khan; accordingly he went out for that purpose. On his return, he informed the king that the Mirza was indisposed, and therefore could not present himself in the durbar. Ordered that Khotwal Moeen-ood-deen Khan be informed, that the troops were unable to get supplies, therefore he must provide for them. Hasun Alee Khan, attending the king, told him that the troops were already assembled in the palace, and he wanted his advice on the subject. The said Khan remarked that the troops were bloody ones; they had murdered their own officers, and it was not prudent to repose any confidence in them. Shah Nizam-ood-deen, the son of the king's spiritual guide, and Boodhun Sahib, son of the late Nawab Mohamed Meer Khan, were taken into the council. Mirza Mogul Beg, Mirza Khedur Sooltan, and Mirza Abdoolah, were made colonels of the regiments of infantry, and ordered to take with each of them two guns, and adopt measures to protect the Cashmere, Lahore, and Delhi gates. Shah Nizam-ood-deen represented, that some Toork sowars having arrested Nawab Hamud Alee Khan, upon an accusation of his concealing some Englishmen in his house, had brought him on foot to the jewel office, before Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan, and that the said nawab declared he had no Europeans in his house. The king requested him (Shah Nizam-ood-deen) to go with the sowars and sepoys, and let them search the house of the nawab. Accordingly, he and Mirza Aboo Bekr went out for that purpose; but finding no Europeans in the house, they obliged the troops to give back the property they had plundered him of, and set him at liberty. Mirza Aboo Bekr was made colonel in the light cavalry.

"Information was received by the sowars, that twenty-nine Europeans—men, women, and children—were concealed in the house of Rajah Kullyan Sing, of Kishenghur. Accordingly they went there; and having caught the Christians, shot them all by a volley of their muskets. After that they went to the house of the late Colonel Skinner; and having arrested the son of the late Mr. Joseph Skinner, brought him before the Khotwallee, and murdered him there. They also, at the instigation of some person, plundered the houses of Narain Dass (banker) and Ramsurn Dass (deputy-collector), under the pretence of their concealing some Europeans in their houses. Kazee Nubboo and his son were killed by the rebel sepoys and sowars. Two Europeans, disguised in native dress, were massacred by the mutineers near the Budur Row gate. The king gave 400 rupees to each of the regiments, for their support. It was notified in the city by Moeen-ood-deen Hasun Khan, khotwal, that all persons wishing to serve his majesty should present themselves with their arms; and that if any person should be found to have concealed in his house any Europeans, he would be punished as guilty. Nawab Hamud Alee Khan and Walleedad Khan, of Malaghur, attended the durbar, and made their obeisance. His majesty ordered them to present themselves daily in the durbar. The head bunyas were sent for, and ordered to settle the rate of corn, and have the granaries opened, that it might be sold for the sepoys. Mirza Moeen-ood-deen Hasun Khan, khotwal, having engaged 200 burkandazes, stationed them at Cureeba and Chandnee Chouk, for the protection of those places. Two watermen were arrested at Láll Kooa for robbing. Kahey Khan, Surfuraz Khan, and many other vagabonds of the city, were also apprehended. Several men were arrested for plundering Subzee Munde and Taleewarah.

"14th May, 1857.—Nazir Hasun Mirza, Captain Deldar Alee Khan, and Hasun Alee Khan, attended the durbar, and paid their respects. Mirza Ameen-ood-deen Khan, Mirza Zea-ood-deen (government jagheerdars of Loharoo), and Moulvie Sudr-ood-deen Alee Khan, principal sudder ameen, also, according to orders, presented themselves. The latter presented a gold mohur in nuzzur, and the king directed him to take the charge of the civil and criminal courts, but he declined to do so. Salugram, treasurer, according to direction, attended the durbar, and presented a gold mohur. His majesty said to him that there must be some lacs of rupees in the government treasury. He replied that he did not know. The king ordered him to send one of his agents to the treasury, and he promised obedience to the order. Rujub Alee Khan presented, through Hasun Alee Khan, a gold mohur. His majesty asked about him, and was informed by Hasun Alee Khan that he was the son of the late Nawab Fyze Mohamed Khan, and also his own nephew. Mohamed Alee Khan, son of Shere Jung Khan, also presented a gold mohur. The king inquired who he was; and, in reply, was told that he was the nephew of Bahadoor Jung Khan, dadreewallah. The agent of Rawul Sheo Sing, of Sawant, Jeypoor minister, attended, and represented to the king, that on account of indisposition, his master was unable to present himself before the king; and that he (the Rawul Sahib) had resolved to go to Jeypoor. Accordingly, a letter for Maharajah Ram Sing, of Jeypoor, directing him to present himself and his troops without delay, was drawn up, and handed over to the said agent of Rawul Sahib. Several shookkas, for Nawab Abdool Rehman Khan, of Jujjus; Bahadoor Jung Khan, of Dadree; Akbur Alee Khan, of Patodee; Rajah Nahur Sing, of Bullubgurh; Hasun Alee Khan, of Doojana; and Nawab Ahmud Alee Khan, of Furrucknuggur, directing them to present themselves before his majesty without delay, were drawn up and issued. Mirza Ameen-ood-deen Khan, and Mirza Zea-ood-deen Khan, were ordered to take charge of the district of Jhurka Ferozepoor. Information was received that the Goojurs of Chandrawul had plundered at night all the shops of the inhabitants of Subzee Munde and Taleewarah, as well as at the cantonments of Rajpoora and Mundursa. Mirza Aboo Bekr was accordingly ordered to look after the said Goojurs. He immediately attended with a regiment of cavalry, went to their village, and plundered and burnt it. Bahadoor Sing, darogah to the ex-king of Lucknow at Delhi, attended, and presented a gold mohur to the king. A European soldier, who was on his way from Umballah to Delhi to get some news, was caught and brought before his majesty, who ordered him to be sent into the armour room. A lady was also arrested and brought before the king. He sent her, too, into the armour room. His majesty was highly exasperated against the sepoys and his own chobdars, for standing before him with shoes on their feet. Mirza Moeen-ood-deen Hasun Khan, khotwal, was ordered to go with a volunteer regiment to the cantonment, and punish the plunderers of that place, and of Subzee Munde and Dheerujkee Paharee. Four persons came from Meerut, and announced that European troops were coming to destroy the rebels. The sepoys were displeased at this information, and confined the persons who gave it. The thanadar of Neegumbode was ordered to have the corpses of the late commissioner and palace guard officer interred in the burying-ground, and all the other dead bodies of the Europeans to be thrown into the river. This order was executed by the thanadar. The Goojurs plundered all the property in the late commissioner's house, and reduced to ashes the office of the agency and of the *Delhi Gazette* press.

"15th May, 1857.—Moulvie Abdool Kadur prepared a list for the distribution of the pay of the troops. His majesty conferred a shawl upon Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan, for the office of a deputyship. The agent of Rawul Sosing (sawutwallah) attended, and presented, on the part of his master, a vessel of the spirit of kaveeah, and a bottle of attar. Ghoolamnubee Khan, darogah of Kaley Mohl, and Meer Akbur Alee, sowar, late orderly of Mr. Fraser, came and informed the king that fifty sowars, sent by the nawab of Jhujjur, had arrived, and that their master was unable to present himself in the presence of his majesty on account of disturbances and disorders in his district. Moulvie Ahmed Alee, agent to Rajah Nahur Sing, of Bullubgurh, attended the durbar, presented a rupee as nuzzur, and gave a petition on the part of the rajah, stating that, on account of plunder and devastation made by the Goojurs in his district, he was unable to present himself before his majesty; but, as soon as all was settled, he would do so. Orders

were sent to present himself soon. Information was received that the collector of Rohtuck had left his post; that the treasure of that place was being plundered; and that at Goorgaon it was already carried off. The king ordered one regiment of infantry and some sowars to be sent to Rohtuck to fetch the treasure. Abdool Hakeem was ordered to entertain 400 Khasburdars at five rupees a-month each, and a regiment of sowars at twenty rupees a-month. Accordingly, 200 men were employed. Abdool Kadur, chatawallah, showed some papers to his majesty, and said that he would be able to make all arrangements they referred to. A letter was issued to the rissaldar of the cavalry, stating that Mirza Aboo Bekr was discharged from the office of commandant of cavalry, and that therefore they (the cavalry men) should act according to the orders of the king. Kazee Fyzoolah presented a rupee in nuzzur, and applied for the office of the Khotwallee of the city, and was accordingly appointed to that situation. A goldsmith, who had killed another goldsmith, was arrested and brought before the king. The Mewattees of Jaysingpoorah having plundered 4,000 rupees in cash, and all the property in the house of a European of the railway company, the sepoy hearing of it, resolved to plunder and blow up Jaysingpoorah, and to apprehend all the Mewattees there; but Lalla Boodh Sing, vakeel of the rajah of Jaysingpoorah, applied for the protection of the inhabitants of that place; and the king ordered that no sepoy be allowed to go there without his majesty's permission.

"It being reported that the sepoy and sowars were in the habit of haunting the city with drawn swords, and that the shopkeepers were afraid to open their shops, the king sent orders to the gates of the palace not to allow any sepoy to go about in the city with a drawn sword. The rissaldar of the nawab of Jhujjur's troops was ordered to pitch his tent at the Mahtab Bagh. Information was received that fourteen boats, laden with wheat, &c., were in the ghaut of Ramjee Dass's, goorwallah. Orders were sent to Dilvalee Mull, to take away the wheat for the use of the troops. Two sepoy, who had plundered 2,000 rupees from the Delhi bank, and deposited the same with Ramjee Dass, goorwallah, to be paid back at Lucknow, quarrelled between themselves; and the fact of their depositing the money being known to other sepoy, a company of an infantry regiment went to the house of the said Ramjee Dass, and obliged him to deliver the money to them. A letter was addressed to the bankers of the city, requiring their presence in the durbar. Rebel sowars and sepoy attended on the king, and complained that they had not as yet been allowed their clothing expenses, and that it appeared to them, that Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan and Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan were in collusion with the British. After that they went to the house of Lall Khan, and accused Shah Nizamood-deen Peerzadah of concealing two European ladies in his house. Peerzadah required them to bring forward their informant; and they produced a man, who said he had only heard so. Peerzadah represented that he had not concealed any European ladies in his house; but if they wished to plunder and kill him on that pretence, they had the power to do so. Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan took his oath on the holy Koran that he had no confederacy with the English. The mutineers plundered all the property in the house of Aga Mahomed Hasunjan Khan, the Cabool name of Mohun Lall.

"16th May, 1857.—Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan, Bukshee, Aga Sooltan, Captain Dildar Alee Khan, Rujub Alee Khan, and other chiefs, attended on the king, and made their obeisance. Rebel sepoy and sowars, with their officers, attended the durbar, and produced a letter, which they said they had intercepted at the Delhi gate. It had on it the seals of Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan and Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan. In this letter they said that the hakeem and nawab had requested the English to come immediately, take possession of the city, and nominate Mirza Jewan Bukht (son of the king by Zeenat Mahal Begum) as heir-apparent, and that they, the hakeem and nawab, would arrest and deliver to them all the mutineers in the city and palace. Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan and Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan inspected the letter, denied their writing it, and asserted that it was a trick of some person, and that the seals were forged by means of 'sayt khurree' (a kind of stone); they took out their own seals, and threw them before the rebel troops; pointed out the difference between them and those on the letter; and took their oaths on the holy Koran, that the letter was not written by them; but still the mutineers did not believe them. A person came and reported that some Europeans were concealed in the drain of the canal: accordingly, Mirza Aboo Bekr, attended by

the rebel sowars and sepoy, went to the spot, and fired their pistols into it; but no European came out of it. After that the mutineers again beset Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan and Ahsunoollah Khan, with drawn swords, and said that there was no doubt that they were in collusion with the English, and that it was on this account that they had spared the European captives, with the intention of restoring them to the British as soon as they could come to destroy them (the mutineers); consequently they took out of the armour room all the Christian prisoners (fifty-two in number, including men, women, and children), and brought them on the reservoir at the Nukar Khanàs (the porch of the palace, where drums are beaten at stated intervals), with the intention of massacring them. Mirza Mujhlay Kheezur Sooltan asserted, that in conformity to the precepts of Mohammed, they ought not to murder the women; but the mutineers were displeased, and wished to kill the Mirza first; however, he ran away to his house. The mutineers having made all the Christians sit down, fired their muskets; accidentally an attendant of the king was wounded, on which two brothers, attending, massacred with their swords all the Christians—men, women, and children. About 200 Mussulmans, who were standing on the reservoir, continued all this time to vent their invectives on the Christians. The sword of one of the two attendants who killed the Christians was broken. The corpses of the Christians were laden on two carts, and thrown into the river. The Hindoos of the city, on hearing this act of treachery towards the English, were very uneasy and afflicted, and were fully convinced that the mutineers would never be victorious, for having acted so very cruelly towards the Christians; and that the anger of God would fall on them. The guards at the gates of the city were relieved. Some person informed the rebel sowars, that some Christians were concealed in the house of Muthra Dass, treasurer, in the street of Chodree; accordingly they went and searched the house and the street, but were not able to get any Christians; neither did they molest or plunder any inhabitant there. Walleedad Khan, the chief of Malaghur, was informed that the Goojurs on the bank of the Jumna had caused great disorders, and that he must adopt measures to punish them.

“Two weavers, who had disguised themselves in sepoy's dress, and were plundering the inhabitants, were caught. The bunyas of the Lahore gate brought a complaint against the thanadar of that place, and represented that he required from them 1,000 rupees in bribery, otherwise he said he would send them as prisoners to the Khotwallee. Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan sent an order to the khotwal to arrest and confine the said thanadar.

“*May 17th, 1857.*—All the chief rebels attended on the king, represented that they had prepared a battery at Selimgbur, and required his majesty to inspect the same. The king accordingly went there, and was highly satisfied. On their return to the Hall of Audience, the king mentioned to the rebel troops that he would support and assist them, and recommended them to trust, without fear, Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan, and Zeenat Mahal Begum; and that whenever they, the sepoy, should catch and bring any Christian before him, he would kill him with his own hand. On hearing this speech of the king, all the rebel sepoy were satisfied, and acquitted Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan and Maibhoob Ali Khan of all the charges they had brought against them.

“A man, who had on him a letter from some European at Meerut, was caught and tied to a gun by the sepoy. All the sepoy stationed at the Hall of Audience were turned out of it, and the Hall of Audience was furnished with floor and purdhas, &c. As ordered, Mirza Ameen-ood-deen Khan and Mirza Zea-ood-deen Khan presented themselves in the durbar. The king ordered them to attend on him every day, but they represented that they were indisposed. They were ordered to enlist troops, and they promised to obey the orders.

“Irtza Khan and Meer Khan, brothers of Nawab Moostfa Khan; Jehangeerabadee Akbur Khan, son of Bungush; Fukr-ood-deen Khan, and others, attended on the king, and presented two rupees each in nuzzur. Consultation regarding the appointment of colonels for the troops, was held for some time.

“A sowar came in from the Hursurookee Ghurree, and gave information that some lacs of rupees, collected on account of the revenue of the southern district, were on their way to Delhi, under the escort of a few sowars and sepoy; but that about 300 Goojurs and Mewattees of the district had made an attack on them, and were fighting to

obtain the money. Mohumed Bekr (editor of the *Oordoo Akbar*), with two companies of infantry and cavalry, was sent to oppose the Goojurs and Mewattees, and bring the treasure under their protection. The sepoy apprehended a furrash, servant of Mirza Mogul Beg, upon a charge of his giving information to the English; but he was released by the orders of Mirza Mogul Beg. A man came and reported that the Mewattees at Jaysingpoorah were wounded in plundering the property of a European at the railway; and it was found out that these Mewattees were lately in the service of the British zemindars of Undhoolie: they attended on the king, presented a rupee each, and said that they were followers of his majesty. The king ordered them to keep peace in their district, otherwise their village would be burnt. Two kossids, who were sent to Meerut for news, returned and said, that about 1,000 European soldiers, and some gentlemen, ladies, and children, had assembled at the cantonment Suddur Bazaar, prepared a dum-dumah on the Sooruj Koond, and mounted an Elephant battery over it, and that the roads from Meerut to Sahajanpoor had been infested by Goojurs, who plundered every one within their grasp, and that they (the kossids) were well beaten and plundered by the Goojurs. His majesty ordered two companies of sepoy to be posted at the bridge for the protection of the passengers.

“Hakeem Abdool Huq attended on the king, and presented five rupees. Five companies of the sappers and miners, who had arrived at Meerut from Roorkee, were requested by the English to stop there and discharge their duties; but the sepoy refused to do so, and therefore had a fight with the European soldiers at Meerut: many were killed, and those who escaped came to Delhi. Shookkas, addressed to Maharajah Nurrundur Sing, rajah of Puttecala, Rajah Ram Sing, of Jeypoor, and rajahs of Ulwur, Joudpoor, and Kotah Boondee, ordering them to present themselves immediately before his majesty, were dispatched to them by sowars. The verandah of Deewan Kishen Lall's house fell down, and two boys were killed under it. Information was received that the troops at Umballah had mutinied, and were on their way to Delhi.

“18th May, 1857.—The bands of the five infantry regiments attended on his majesty, and played. Kheluts, each consisting of a garment of kinkhawb, shawls, goshwara, turban, nosegay of silver and gold threads, sword and shield, were conferred on Mirza Mogul, for the office of general of the army; and on Mirza Kockuck, Mirza Khedur Sooltan, and Mirza Mayndhoo, for that of the colonel of the infantry regiments. A like khelut was granted to Mirza Aboo Bekr, for the colonelship of the light cavalry. Nuzzurs were presented—viz., by Mirza Mogul Beg, two gold mohurs; and other princes, one gold mohur and five rupees each. Hasun Alee Khan attended the durbar, and paid his respects to the king. He was ordered to attend daily and enlist troops; and a large portion of the country, the king said, should be granted to him. The khan replied that he should not be able to enlist troops; but he would wait on his majesty daily. Two sowars, who were sent with a shookka to Ulwur, returned, and said that several thousand Goojurs had infested the roads to rob and plunder the passengers; and that they (the sowars) had been plundered of everything they had, and were allowed to return only by fawning on these Goojurs; the letter they had was torn, and the pieces returned. A camel sowar, who was sent to the nawab of Furrucknuggur with a shookka, returned, and said that the Goojurs on the roads would not allow him to proceed. The officers of the five companies of the sappers and miners attended the durbar, and represented, that on their arrival at Meerut, from Roorkee, they were quartered near the Dum-Dumah, in which all the European soldiers, gentlemen, women, and children, had collected, and by promises of great rewards and higher pay, tried to coax them to remain in their service; but when three-quarters of the night had passed, they fired grape on them, and killed about two hundred men; the remainder of the sepoy then ran away, and they now presented themselves for the service of his majesty. They were ordered to pitch their tents at Selimghur. Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan prepared a list of the bankers of Delhi, and sent it by his own agent to Ramjee Dass, goorwallah, Ramjee Mull, soorwallah, and Salugram, treasurer, with orders to collect from the bankers five lacs of rupees for the expenses of the troops, which he said amounted to 2,500 rupees a-day. The said bankers waited on Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan, and pointed out their inability to pay the amount: they said that they had been plundered of all their cash and property by the mutincers. Ramjee Dass requested the nawab to levy the money

himself. Mirza Aboo Bekr was sent with a regiment of sowars to punish and destroy the Goojurs at Chundrawul, but they had run away.

"19th May, 1857.—Two sowars came from Meerut, and represented that all the regiments of infantry, cavalry, and artillery at Moradabad and Bareilly, had arrived at Meerut with a few lacs of rupees; that the British complained of the treachery of the native troops at Meerut; and the troops replied that they had already revenged it by killing about 300 men of the sappers and miners, and that they themselves expected the same treatment at their hands. On hearing this reply, the English went into the Dum-Dumah and fired on the troops, who immediately erected a battery, and played their guns on the Dum-Dumah; by the will of Providence a shell fell on the spot where the English had prepared a mine, and blew up the Dum-Dumah, and along with it all the Europeans. The king and all the troops were very glad to hear this news, and fired shots of victory from Selimghur. Information was received that the collector of Goorgaon had left his post, leaving 17,000 rupees at Hursurookee Ghurree; a hundred sowars and two companies of infantry went there, and brought the money, depositing the same in the king's treasury.

"A sowar of Bayja Bye came and mentioned that the Bye had heard of the massacre of all the Europeans at Delhi, but would not believe it; therefore she had sent to the court to inquire into the truth. The king replied that all the Europeans at Delhi had been annihilated, and ordered the sowar to go back to Gwalior, with two sowars and a shookka from himself, commanding the Bye to present herself immediately, with all her troops, before his majesty, and display her loyalty.

"The title of Wuzerool Moolk Moomalie Mohroosee (prime minister of the protected country), and a khelut, consisting of a garment of kinkhawb, shawl, goshwara, turban, nosegay of silver and gold threads, ten pieces of jewellery, sword, shield, and a silver pen and inkstand vase, were conferred on Mirza Jewan Bukht, who presented ten gold mohurs to his majesty, in acknowledgment of the favour bestowed on him. Mirza Bukhtawur Shah was made a colonel in the regiment Alexander, and a khelut, consisting of a garment of kinkhawb, shawl, goshwara, turban, and three pieces of jewellery, was conferred on him. The Mirza, on his part, presented the king with two gold mohurs and five rupees. A pair of kettle-drums was granted to each of the princes who were made colonels to the troops. Nazir Mirza Hasun was ordered to present Koowur Ajeet Sing, of Putteala, before his majesty. Accordingly the Koowur attended, and presented a gold mohur. A khelut was conferred on the Koowur, who gave another nuzzur of five rupees to the king. Mirza Ahmud, and the son of Hakeem Abdool Huq, attended the durbar, and presented the king with five rupees each. A rissaldar, sent by Mohumed Akbur Alee, attended, and presented the king with two rupees; he also gave an urzee from his master, representing that as soon as peace was restored in his district, he would present himself before his majesty. A Hindoo tailor had concealed in his house two European gentlemen, three ladies, and one child; but the rebel sowars were informed of it, and they went to the house of the said tailor, and, setting the house on fire, arrested the Europeans, and brought them before the king, who placed them under the custody of the sepoys. His majesty went to Selimghur; the troops there saluted him. The officers of the Bailly regiment stated that they did not believe the two sowars who had brought the news of the blowing up of the Dum-Dumah at Meerut, and therefore they wished to march on Meerut for the purpose of blowing up the Dum-Dumah, and murdering the English. The king answered that he did not think it proper to do so; however, they must be directed by the counsel of their general, Mirza Mogul. Two boats of the bridge on the Jumna having been damaged, Khotwal Kazeer Fazoolah was ordered to send a hundred coolies for the repair of the same. Information was received that some moulvies and Mussulmans of the city had raised a Mohumdee standard at the Jumma Musjid, for the purpose of making a jahad on the British, who, they said, were infidels, and it was a virtuous action to murder them. Many thousands of Mussulmans had already collected there. The king remarked, that all the Europeans had been already murdered, and asked against whom had they raised the Mohumdee standard? Moulvie Sudrood-deen Khan went to the Jumma Musjid, and persuaded the moulvies to take off the standard they had raised. Some hackeries, laden with salt and corn, were brought in."

By the time these documents were read, it was 4 P.M., and the court adjourned until 11 A.M. of the 24th of February.

On the seventeenth day (Feb. 24th), the court assembled at 11 A.M., when the proclamation of the Bareilly traitor, Khan Bahadoor Khan, was read in the original, for the benefit of the prisoner; after which the translation was read by the judge-advocate, for the benefit of the court. The following is the literal translation:—

“*Proclamation.*—Now, all rajahs, bestowers of favours and protectors of religion, be prepared to defend your faith and that of those under you. For the hope of your success I appeal to you. The great God has given you all mortal bodies for the defence of your religion, as is well known to all. For the destruction of the destroyers of religion he has given birth and power to all princes. It is needful, therefore, that all who have the power should slay the destroyers of religion, and that those who have not that power should reflect and devise means to defend their religion. It being written in the Shasters, that it is better to die for one’s religion than to adopt another. This is the saying of God.

“It is manifest to all that these English are the enemies of all religions; and it should be well considered, that for a long time they have caused the preparation and distribution, by their priests, of books for the overthrow of religion in Hindoostan, and have introduced many persons for that purpose. This has been clearly ascertained from their own people. See, then, what measures they have devised for the overthrow of religion.

“1st. That women becoming widows shall be allowed to marry again. 2nd. They have abolished the ancient and sacred rite of Suttee. 3rd. They have proclaimed that all men shall adopt their religion, going to their churches to join in prayer, for which they are promised honours and dignities from the British government. They have further forbidden that no adopted children shall succeed to the titles of the rajahs of the land; while in our Shasters it is so written, that ten kinds of successors are allowed. In this manner will they eventually deprive you of all your possessions, as they have done those of Nagpoor and Oude. To destroy the religion of prisoners even, they have caused them to be fed with food prepared after their own fashion. Many have died rather than eat of this food; but many have eaten, and thus lost their religion.

“Having discovered that this did not succeed, the English caused bones to be ground and mixed with the flour and with flesh, to be secretly mixed with the rice sold in the bazaars, besides many other devices for destroying religion. These, they were told by a Bengalee, would certainly succeed with their army; and, after that, all men would believe. The English rejoiced greatly at this, not seeing in it their own destruction. They then ordered the Brahmin sepoy of their army to bite cartridges prepared with animal grease. This would have only hurt the religion of the Brahmins; but the Mussulman sepoy, hearing of it, refused to use such cartridges. The English then prepared to force all men to use them, and the men of the regiments who refused were blown away from guns.

“Seeing this tyranny and oppression, the sepoy, in defence of their lives and religion, commenced to slay the English, and killed them wherever they could find them. They are even now contemplating the extermination of the few who remain. From all this, it must be known to you, that if the English are allowed to remain in Hindoostan, they will kill every one, destroying all religions. However, certain people of this country are fighting on the side of the English, and assisting them. I ask of these—how can you preserve your religion? Is it not better that you should slay the English and be with us, by which our religions and this country will be saved? For the protection of the religions of Hindoos and Mussulmans, this is printed. Let the Hindoos swear on the Ganges, and on Toolsie Saligram, and the Mohammedans on the holy Koran, that all shall unite and destroy the English, who are the enemies of their religion.

“As it is of importance to the Hindoo religion, that the slaughter of cows should not be permitted, all the Mohammedan princes of India have made a solemn promise, that if the Hindoos will join with them in the destruction of the English, the slaying of cows shall at once be stopped, and the eating of the flesh of the cow shall, to Mohammedans, be forbidden as that of the pig. If, however, the Hindoos do not assist in destroying the English, they shall themselves be made to eat the flesh of the cow. It may be, perhaps, that the English, in order to prevail on the Hindoos to assist them, will make a

similar promise to the foregoing, regarding the slaughter of cows; but no wise man will believe them; for it is known that their promises are full of deceit, and made only to suit their own purposes. They are lying and deceitful, and have always imposed on the people of Hindoostan. We shall never again have such an opportunity as this. Think well on it, and remember that a letter is half as good as a visit. I am hopeful that, having agreed to all above written, you will reply.—Printed for the information of the Pundits and Mussulmans, at the press of the Moulvie Kootub Shah, at Bareilly.”

When the above document had been read, the judge-advocate informed the court, that with the exception of the evidence of two more witnesses, Mrs. Leeson and Rissaldar Everett, of the 14th irregular cavalry, the case for the prosecution was closed; the president, therefore, requested the prisoner to prepare his defence, and inquired how long it would take to do so. A week was asked for the purpose; but a member of the court thought this too long a time, as more than a week had already been allowed him—if he had only taken advantage of it—during the recent adjournment. It was finally arranged that the court should meet on Saturday, the 27th, for the purpose of receiving the evidence of the above-mentioned witnesses, who were expected in Delhi by that date; and that the prisoner's vakeel should then inform the court the precise day on which he would be prepared with the defence. The court accordingly adjourned until Saturday, the 27th of February.

On the eighteenth day (Feb. 27th), the court resumed its sitting. The prisoner was brought into court as usual, supported on either side by a servant, and was understood to be suffering from indisposition. The proceedings commenced by John Everett, rissaldar of the (late) 14th irregular cavalry, being called into court, sworn, and examined. The witness (a Christian) deposed to the outbreak on the 11th of May in Delhi. He was in the city at the time, and had been for some twelve or fifteen days previous. As soon as the firing in the direction of the magazine commenced, he, fearing for his own safety, betook himself to the premises of the late Colonel Skinner, his old employer, and remained there all the night of the 11th with Mr. George Skinner (son of the late Mr. Joseph Skinner). The next day, having considerable doubts of their safety, they went to the house of Mirza Azeem Beg, and claimed his protection. (The Mirza was an old soldier who had served under Colonel Skinner). Mirza Azeem Beg promised them protection, and gave them as much as lay in his power; but fearing that the fact of his having sheltered them would become known, he applied to the palace for a guard to protect his house. This was refused; and soon after a party of rebels came, seized Mr. Skinner and witness, and took them in the direction of the Khotwallee. A party of the troopers (3rd cavalry) coming up, asked what was the use of taking the prisoners to the Khotwallee, and why they should not be at once murdered? Saying this, they seized Mr. Skinner by the hair, dragged him to the aqueduct running up the centre of the Chandnee Chouk, and placing him with his back against the masonry, shot him to death with their pistols. The witness, fearing that his own fate would soon be decided in a similar way, remained quiet, and, to his great relief, saw the murderers ride off in the direction of the palace. He was then taken to the Khotwallee, where he remained a close prisoner, with between twenty and thirty others, for some twenty-five days, when he was released, with his fellow-sufferers, in consequence of one Moulvie Ismael having interfered on their behalf, and stated that most of them were Mohammedans; and those that were not, were willing to become such. From this time the witness remained in the city, harboured and protected by one Majood, an African, formerly in the service of Colonel Skinner, and, at the time of the mutiny, in the service of the king; and when the British troops entered Delhi, he was able to seek their protection.

In reply to the judge-advocate, the witness stated that, on the 9th of May, 1857, two days before the outbreak at Delhi, about 11 A.M., the African above referred to met him, and endeavoured to persuade him to leave the government service, giving as his reason for so doing, that the Persians were coming to Delhi, and would soon murder all Christians, and overrun the city. The witness asked how he knew this; and Majood replied, that Seedee Kumber, another African (mentioned in former evidence), had been sent by the king of Delhi to Constantinople, for the purpose of obtaining assistance to exterminate the English, and that the messenger went with others supposed to be on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but in reality for the purpose above mentioned. The witness

replied to a question put by the judge-advocate, that he had heard the men of his regiment converse among themselves about the chupatties which were circulated, but they did not appear to understand why they were distributed. After the first fight (at the Hindun, or Ghazee-oo-deen-nuggur), the prisoner gave out that he thought his troops (the mutineers) were disheartened, and reminded them that if the British once more set foot in Delhi, they would not leave one of the house of Timur alive. With the exception of what the witness had stated to the court, he does not remember anything occurring in the regiment indicative of a spirit of disaffection. The witness was then allowed to withdraw, and his statement was read by the interpreter, for the benefit of the prisoner and his counsel. Some documentary evidence was then produced, and the court adjourned till Wednesday, the 3rd of March, to allow the interpreter time to translate other documents necessary to the proceedings.

The following is the translation of a proclamation issued by the king of Delhi, on the 26th of August, 1857, and produced during the trial:—

“Seal of Bahadur Shah Badshah Ghazee, Mahammad Dara Bukht, Wali Niamut Khalaf, Mirza Karim Ul Sujah Bahadur.—It is well known to all, that in this age the people of Hindoostan, both Hindoos and Mohammedans, are being ruined under the tyranny and oppression of the infidel and treacherous English. It is, therefore, the bounden duty of all the wealthy people of India, especially of those who have any sort of connection with any of the Mohammedan royal families, and are considered the pastors and masters of their people, to stake their lives and property for the well-being of the public. With the view of effecting this general good, several princes belonging to the royal family of Delhi, have dispersed themselves in the different parts of India, Iran, Turan, and Afghanistan, and have been long since taking measures to compass their favourite end; and it is to accomplish this charitable object, that one of the aforesaid princes has, at the head of an army of Afghanistan, &c., made his appearance in India; and I, who am the grandson of Abel Muzuffer Sarajuddin Bahadur Shah Ghazee, king of India, having in the course of circuit come here, to extirpate the infidels residing in the eastern part of the country, and to liberate and protect the poor helpless people now groaning under their iron rule, have, by the aid of the Majahdeen or religious fanatics, erected the standard of Mohammed, and persuaded the orthodox Hindoos, who had been subject to my ancestors, and have been, and are still, accessories in the destruction of the English, to raise the standard of Mahavir.

“Several of the Hindoo and Mussulman chiefs, who have long since quitted their homes for the preservation of their religion, and have been trying their best to root out the English in India, have presented themselves to me, and taken part in the reigning Indian crusade; and it is more than probable that I shall very shortly receive succours from the west. Therefore, for the information of the public, the present Ishtahar, consisting of several sections, is put in circulation; and it is the imperative duty of all to take it into their careful consideration, and abide by it. Parties anxious to participate in the common cause, but having no means to provide for themselves, shall receive their daily subsistence from me; and be it known to all, that the ancient works, both of the Hindoos and Mohammedans, the writings of the miracle-workers, and the calculations of the astrologers, pundits, and rammals, all agree in asserting that the English will no longer have any footing in India or elsewhere. Therefore it is incumbent on all to give up the hope of the continuation of the British sway, side with me, and deserve the consideration of the Badshahi or imperial government, by their individual exertion in promoting the common good, and thus attain their respective ends; otherwise, if this golden opportunity slips away, they will have to repent of their folly: as is very aptly said by a poet in two fine couplets, the drift whereof is—‘Never let a favourable opportunity slip; for, in the field of opportunity, you are to meet with the ball of fortune; but if you do not avail yourself of the opportunity that offers itself, you will have to bite your finger through grief.’

“No person, at the misrepresentation of the well-wishers of the British government, ought to conclude, from the present slight inconveniences usually attendant on revolutions, that similar inconveniences and troubles should continue when the Badshahi government is established on a firm basis; and parties badly dealt with by any sepoy or plunderer, should come up and represent their grievances to me, and receive redress at

my hands; and for whatever property they may lose in the reigning disorder, they will be recompensed from the public treasury when the Badshahi government is well fixed.

Section 1.—Regarding Zemindars.—It is evident, that the British government, in making zemindary settlements, have imposed exorbitant jummas, and have disgraced and ruined several zemindars, by putting up their estates to public auction for arrears of rent, insomuch that, on the institution of a suit by a common ryot, a maid-servant, or a slave, the respectable zemindars are summoned in court, arrested, put in gaol, and disgraced. In litigations regarding zemindaries, the immense value of stamps and other unnecessary expenses of the civil courts, which are pregnant with all sorts of crooked dealings, and the practice of allowing a case to hang on for years, are all calculated to impoverish the litigants. Besides this, the coffers of the zemindars are annually taxed with subscriptions for schools, hospitals, roads, &c. Such extortions will have no manner of existence in the Badshahi government; but, on the contrary, the jummas will be light, the dignity and honour of the zemindars safe, and every zemindar will have absolute rule in his own zemindary. The zemindary disputes will be summarily decided according to the Shurrah and the Shasters, without any expense; and zemindars who will assist in the present war with their men and money, shall be excused for ever from paying half the revenue. Zemindars aiding only with money, shall be exempted in perpetuity from paying one-fourth of the revenue; and should any zemindar who has been unjustly deprived of his lands during the English government, personally join the war, he will be restored to his zemindary, and excused one-fourth of the revenue.

Section 2.—Regarding Merchants.—It is plain that the infidel and treacherous British government have monopolised the trade of all the fine and valuable merchandise, such as indigo, cloth, and other articles of shipping, leaving only the trade of trifles to the people; and, even in this, they are not without their share of the profits, which they secure by means of customs and stamp fees, &c., in money suits, so that the people have merely a trade in name. Besides this, the profits of the traders are taxed with postages, tolls, and subscriptions for schools, &c. Notwithstanding all these concessions, the merchants are liable to imprisonment and disgrace at the instance or complaint of a worthless man. When the Badshahi government is established, all these aforesaid fraudulent practices shall be dispensed with, and the trade of every article, without exception, both by land and water, shall be opened to the native merchants of India, who will have the benefit of the government steam vessels and steam carriages for the conveyance of their merchandise gratis; and merchants having no capital of their own, shall be assisted from the public treasury. It is therefore the duty of every merchant to take part in the war, and aid the Badshahi government with his men and money, either secretly or openly, as may be consistent with his position or interest, and forswear his allegiance to the British government.

Section 3.—Regarding Public Servants.—It is not a secret thing that, under the British government, natives employed in the civil and military services have little respect, low pay, and no manner of influence, and all the posts of dignity and emolument in both the departments are exclusively bestowed on Englishmen: for natives in the military service, after having devoted the greater part of their lives, attain to the post of subahdar (the very height of their hopes), with a salary of sixty or seventy rupees per mensem; and those in the civil service obtain the post of Sudder Ala, with a salary of 500 rupees a-month, but no influence, jagheer, or present. But under the Badshahi government, like the posts of colonel, general, and commander-in-chief, which the English enjoy at present, the corresponding posts of pansadi, punj-hazari, haft-hazari, and sippah-salari, will be given to the natives in the military service; and, like the posts of collector, magistrate, judge, sudder judge, secretary, and governor, which the European civil servants now hold, the corresponding posts of wezeer, quasi, safir, suba, nizam, and dewan, &c., with salaries of lacs of rupees, will be given to the natives of the civil service, together with jagheers, kheluts, inams, and influence. Natives, whether Hindoos or Mohammedans, who will fall fighting against the English, are sure to go to heaven; and those killed fighting for the English, will undoubtedly go to hell. Therefore all the natives in the British service ought to be alive to their religion and interest, and, abjuring their loyalty to the English, side with the Badshahi government, and obtain salaries of 2,000 or 3,000 rupees per month for the present, and be entitled to high posts in future.

If they, for any reasons, cannot at present declare openly against the English, they can heartily wish ill to their cause, and remain passive spectators of the passing events, without taking any active share therein. But, at the same time, they should indirectly assist the Badshahi government, and try their best to drive the English out of the country. All the sepoys and sowars who have, for the sake of their religion, joined in the destruction of the English, and are at present, on any consideration, in a state of concealment either at home or elsewhere, should present themselves to me without the least delay or hesitation. Foot soldiers will be paid at the rate of three annas, and sowars at eight or twelve annas per diem for the present, and afterwards they will be paid double of what they get in the British service. Soldiers not in the English service, and taking part in the war against the English, will receive their daily subsistence money, according to the rates specified below, for the present; and, in future, the foot soldiers will be paid at the rate of eight or ten rupees, and sowars at the rate of twenty or thirty rupees per month; and on the permanent establishment of the Badshahi government, will stand entitled to the highest posts in the state, to jagheers, and presents:—"Matchlockmen, per day, two annas; riflemen, two-and-a-half; swordsmen, one-and-a-half; horsemen, with large horses, eight; horsemen, with small horses, six—annas a-day.

"Section 4.—*Regarding Artisans.*—It is evident that the Europeans, by the introduction of the English articles into India, have thrown the weavers, the cotton dressers, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the shoemakers, &c., out of employ, and have engrossed their occupations, so that every description of native artisans has been reduced to beggary. But under the Badshahi government, the native artisans will exclusively be employed in the services of the kings, the rajahs, and the rich; and this will no doubt ensure their prosperity. Therefore those artisans ought to renounce the English services, and assist the Majahdeens or religious fanatics engaged in the war, and thus be entitled both to secular and eternal happiness.

"Section 5.—*Regarding Pundits, Fakirs, and other Learned Persons.*—The pundits and fakirs, being the guardians of the Hindoo and Mohammedan religions respectively, and the Europeans being the enemies of both the religions, and, as at present a war is raging against the English on account of religion, the pundits and fakirs are bound to present themselves to me, and take their share in the holy war; otherwise they will stand condemned, according to the tenor of the Shurrah and the Shasters; but if they come, they will, when the Badshahi government is well established, receive rent-free lands.

"Lastly, be it known to all, that whoever, out of the above-named classes, shall, after the circulation of this Ishtahar, still cling to the British government, all his estates shall be confiscated and property plundered, and he himself, with his whole family, shall be imprisoned, and ultimately put to death.—Interior of the Azimghur district. The 16th Mohurram 1275 Hirji, corresponding with Bhadobady Tij 1265 Fusly."

On the 3rd of March, the court assembled for the nineteenth time, for further evidence, and again adjourned until the 9th of that month; when the vakeel of the prisoner declared, in the name of his royal master, that he did not recognise the authority of the tribunal before which he had been brought, and therefore declined to make answer to any charges brought against him. The public prosecutor then summed up the whole of the evidence adduced; by which it was proved, that, in defiance of existing treaties, the prisoner had assumed the powers of independent sovereignty, and levied war against the British government; and, moreover, that the murders of the Europeans in Delhi were perpetrated with the sanction, if not by the positive orders of the king, in the presence of his sons the princes, and other individuals connected with the royal house, and by the instrumentality of the Khassburdars of his own special body-guard. The court, after a short deliberation, adjudged the prisoner, Mirza Aboo Zuffur, alias Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee, guilty of all the charges alleged against him; whereby he became liable to the penalty of death, as a traitor and murderer: but, in consequence of the assurance given to him by Captain Hodson, previous to his capitulation on the 21st of September, 1857, the court, by virtue of the authority vested in it by Act XIV., of 1857, sentenced him to be transported for life to the Andaman Islands, or to such other place as should be selected by the governor-general in council for his place of banishment.

A very considerable delay occurred in carrying the sentence of the court into effect; and in the meantime, the ex-king, with the females of his family and some native attendants, remained in close confinement within the precincts of the palace; in which seclusion he might, probably, owing to his advanced age, have been permitted to linger out the very few remaining years of his existence, but for the injudicious interference of individuals, who availed themselves of his miserable position to create political capital, for the purpose of impugning the policy of the government at Calcutta. Among these busybodies was a late member of the English parliament; who, while itinerating through India, stumbled upon Delhi, and, as a matter of course, among the other lions of the place, was permitted to visit the ex-king in his state of duance; and of which visit he subsequently gave the following detail at a public meeting held at St. James's Hall, London, on the 11th of May, 1858. Upon this occasion, the ex-M.P. for Aylesbury, in the course of a very animated speech on the Indian revolt, expressed himself, in reference to the late king, in the following terms:—"Many persons regret that the king of Delhi has not fallen in just punishment for his offences. I saw the king of Delhi; and I will leave the meeting to judge, when it has heard me, whether or not he is punished. I saw that broken-down old man, not in a room, but in a miserable hole of his palace, lying on a bedstead, with nothing to cover him but a miserable tattered coverlet! As I beheld him, some remembrance of his former greatness seemed to arise in his mind. He rose with difficulty from his couch; showed me his arms, which were eaten into by disease and by flies, and partly from want of water; and he said in a lamentable voice, that he had not enough to eat! I will not give any opinion as to whether the manner in which we are treating him is worthy of a great nation; but is this a way in which, as Christians, we ought to treat a king? I saw his women, too, all huddled up in a corner with their children; and I was told that all that was allowed for their support was 16s. a-day. Is not that punishment enough for one that has occupied a throne?"

This statement excited, as it was intended to do, a large amount of sympathy among those to whom it was addressed, and, for some time, opinion ran strongly against the alleged treatment to which the royal octogenarian captive was subjected; but at length the echo of the speech at St. James's Hall became audible even in the palace at Delhi, whence it promptly evoked a distinct and positive refutation from the individual to whose medical supervision the health of the prisoner and his family had been entrusted by the resident authorities. This gentleman, writing from Delhi on the 25th of June, 1858, quoted the allegations of the ex-member, and proceeded thus:—"I hope that the report of this speech is incorrect; for the words as they stand are likely to mislead. For a man of his years, the ex-king of Delhi is particularly active and intelligent; and I have seldom seen so old a man in England with equal mental and bodily energy. He resides, not in a hole, but in (for a native) a large room, square, with windows looking inwards and outwards. This room is divided about equally by curtains from one side to the other, separating the females from the males. On either side, the centre room opens on to a square court—one reserved for the females of the family, and containing one or two small buildings (or godowns), used for sleeping; the other, or entrance court, provided with temporary dwellings for the male attendants, of whom there are several, besides eunuchs and women for the service of the concealed ones. The whole suite of buildings is elevated some twelve or fourteen feet; and, on the ex-king's side, overlook a garden, in the centre of which reside the officers in charge of the prisoners

"At the season of the year Mr. Layard visited Delhi, no covering further than a sheet is, as far as my experience goes, ever used by the natives of Central India; and the old man has no deficiency either of clothes, pillows, or cushions. There is no limit whatever but the individual's own desire, to the amount of water used for bathing or other purposes. At one time the ex-king was suffering from a disease not uncommon in India, but rarely mentioned in polite English ears; the skin was abraded slightly in one or two small patches about the fingers, arms, &c., from scratching only. Although he has been months under my care, he has not once complained of a deficiency of food, though, as has been his custom for thirty-five years, he usually vomits after every meal. I have, on more than one occasion, seen him superintending the preparation of sherbet by his own attendants.

"The ordinary pay of an inferior workman at Delhi is seven rupees per month—that

is a sufficiency to feed and clothe man, wife, and children. Very few adults consume more than three penny-worth of the common food in twenty-four hours, and that amount covers the charge for flour, rice, dhal, sugar, curry, ingredients, vegetables, butter, and firewood for cooking. I speak advisedly, as the accounts for the lunatic asylums pass through my hands; and, in that institution, the dietary for patients of different social conditions is without stint—speaking of necessaries, of course. Paupers have an allowance of less than one penny a-day for adults.—THE OFFICIATING CIVIL SURGEON, DELHI.”

After this official explanation, the personal grievances of the ex-king ceased to be a stock subject from whence to suggest charges against the authorities, either at Delhi or Calcutta.

For a considerable time, the destination of the ex-king remained undecided. By the sentence of the military commission by which he was tried, the Andaman Isles were indicated as the penal settlement to which he was to be transported, subject to the approval of the governor-general in council; but, as these islands had been chosen for the deportation of the rebellious sepoy and others taken in arms, it was probably not judged advisable to place the ex-king in close proximity to them; and some other, and more distant, locality had to be chosen for his residence. At length, it would seem that British Kaffraria was selected for the purpose, subject, of course, to the approval of the free settlers in that colony; as, on the 10th of March, 1858, Sir George Grey, the governor of the Cape and its dependencies, in an address to the local parliament, said—“A correspondence will be laid before you, detailing the reasons for which it is intended to detain the king of Delhi in confinement in British Kaffraria. You will find, from those papers, that this is an isolated case, and that no intention exists of transporting prisoners from India to her majesty’s South African possessions.”

In October, 1858, it was notified that the supreme government had determined upon the removal of the ex-king from Delhi to Calcutta; upon his arrival at which place, his final destination was to be declared: and accordingly, on the 7th of the month, the aged prisoner and his family commenced the journey, of which the termination was yet to them a mystery. The removal of the unfortunate group was thus described in the *Delhi Gazette* of October 13th:—“The ex-king, his family, and attendants, were brought from their place of confinement at an early hour on Thursday; and, after being placed in their several conveyances, were drawn up in line on the piece of road leading from the Lahore gate of the palace to the Grand Trunk road, where the former guard, of the 2nd Bengal fusiliers, made them over to a troop of H.M.’s 9th lancers, told-off for the duty. This was done in the presence of Mr. C. B. Saunders, commissioner of Delhi, Lieutenant Ommanney, the officer in charge of state prisoners, and some other officers who were present. A squadron or two of the lancers then trotted off as an advance guard, and the *cortège* commenced moving. The first palanquin carriage contained the deposed monarch and his two sons, Jewan Bukht and Shah Abbas (the latter a youth, the son of a concubine), the carriage being surrounded by lancers on all sides. Next followed a close carriage, containing the begum, Zeenat Mahal, with whom were Jewan Bukht’s wife, her mother and sister, and an infant. The mother and sister of Jewan Bukht’s wife were allowed their choice of either going or remaining at Delhi. They preferred the former. The third carriage contained the Taj Mahal begum, another of the ex-king’s wedded wives, and her female attendants. Next followed five magazine store carts, with tilted tops, drawn by bullocks. These contained the male and female attendants, four in each cart, a party of lancers accompanying each. In this order the cavalcade progressed very well, until more than half the distance across the bridge of boats had been accomplished; when, all of a sudden, one of the bullocks in a magazine cart, probably discovering the nature of the load he was assisting across the Jumna, and finding it ‘*infra dig*’ to do so, displayed his sagacity by a violent attempt to deposit his worthless burden in the river. As the companion bullock’s understanding was not of the same calibre, he pulled in the opposite direction, and only one wheel of the cart, along with the refractory bullock, descended into the boat, a lamp-post luckily placed preventing a complete capsizing. This little event delayed the line some twenty minutes or half-an-hour; when, the cart and bullock having been replaced, the cavalcade recommenced its move onwards, and reached the encamping-ground at Ghazee-oo-deen-nuggur, without further accident or delay of any kind. The band of the 2nd fusiliers played the lancers out of Delhi, and

by half-past 3 A.M. they were clear of the city. In camp, the principal prisoner and his two sons occupy a hill tent. A soldier's tent, with kunnant enclosure, is provided for the ladies of the zenana, and two others for the servants; the whole surrounded by a high kunnant enclosure. The prisoners are securely guarded by dismounted lancers, armed with swords and pistols, both inside and outside the enclosure; while pickets from the police battalion are thrown out beyond. The horses of the lancers—a whole troop, actually on duty over the state prisoners—are kept ready saddled; and the enclosed camp is very judiciously pitched between the lancers and Kaye's troop of horse artillery. Lieutenant Ommanney's tent is pitched just outside the enclosure. By all accounts the prisoners are cheerful; and the females may be heard talking and laughing behind their screens, as if they did not much regret their departure from Delhi."

On the 14th of October, the escort had reached Allyghur with its charge in safety; on the 16th, it arrived at Secundra Rao; and, on the 2nd of November, it entered Cawnpore, without any effort whatever, on the part of the rebels yet in arms, to disturb the progress of the march, which, after a short halt, was continued to Allahabad, where the ex-king, with his family and attendants, were transferred to a river flat, for conveyance to Calcutta.

Upon the arrival of the flat at Diamond Harbour, Calcutta, on the 4th of December, her majesty's steam-ship *Megara*, which had recently arrived from the Cape with troops, was found in readiness to receive the royal prisoner, for the purpose of conveying him to his final destination. The whole of the party who had accompanied the fallen majesty of Delhi were now embarked with him, to share his exile, and, by their sympathy, alleviate his punishment; but little feeling was manifested by any of them at the terrible calamity that had fallen upon their house. With true Moslem submission to the fate ordained for them, they even appeared cheerful; and, in the words of an officer of the escort, "were in as good spirits as if they were going on a pleasure excursion." Their actual destination still remained a state secret; but it was believed the governor of the Cape would be charged with the custody of the aged prisoner. The embarkation was conducted without the slightest display of feeling or demonstration of public curiosity: and thus the descendant of the victorious and magnificent Timur, was expatriated from the soil on which the throne of his mighty ancestors had stood, until torrents of English blood, wantonly poured out by their degenerate descendant, washed it from its foundations. A letter from Calcutta, of the 4th of December, gives the following detail of incidents connected with the final removal of the ex-king:—"On the 4th of December, at ten in the morning, the ex-king of Delhi, conveyed in the *Soorma* flat, in tow of the *Koyle* steamer, was taken on board her majesty's good ship of war, the *Megara*, which, for a vessel of the royal navy, presented a curious spectacle at the time, crowded as her main deck was with household furniture, live and lifeless stock in the shape of cattle, goats, rabbits, poultry, rice, peas, chattus innumerable, &c., &c., brought by the royal prisoner and his attendants, for their consumption and comfort. The flat was lugged alongside the gangway of the ship, so that the Delhi gentleman could step on board. Lieutenant Ommanney, of the 59th, who has had charge of him ever since he was taken, conducted him to this, probably the last, conveyance that will ever again serve him in his peregrinations. He had two wives with him, so impenetrably veiled that they were led below by guides. He looked utterly broken up, and in his dotage; but not a bad type of Eastern face and manner—something king-like about his deeply furrowed countenance, and lots of robes and Cashmeres. He was quite self-possessed, and was heard to ask some of the officers what their respective positions were on board, &c. A son and a grandson are with him: and their very first care on touching the deck with their feet, was to ask for cheroots—took things easily, in short. The ex-king, meanwhile, went below, and was said to have stretched himself forthwith upon a couch of pillows and cushions, which his folk had arranged for him in a twinkling. The whole operation of transferring him and his from the flat was quickly effected; and then the guard of the 84th regiment returned to Calcutta, while the *Megara* steamed away down the Hooghly for its destination."

The next intelligence that reached the English public, in reference to the royal prisoner, was by an announcement from Bombay, dated the 11th of January, 1859, which stated—"The ex-king of Delhi has been sent to Rangoon, in British Burmah, instead of

the Cape of Good Hope, the colonists of South Africa having refused to receive him. His majesty arrived at Rangoon on the 9th of December, and was to be sent inland to Tonghoo, a station on the Setang river, 120 miles north of Pegu, and 300 miles from Rangoon, in the vicinity of the Karen territory—a locality declared to be the most desolate and forlorn in British Burmah." Shortly after this announcement, the *Calcutta Englishman* stated, that the ex-king had sent in a petition to the government, to be forwarded to the home authorities, in which his pitiable condition and failing health was represented as a ground for the reconsideration of his case, and for his restoration to liberty, if not to his former state—a request not very likely to be acceded to.

In closing this melancholy detail of the career of a descendant of the Mogul conquerors, it will not be out of place to advert to the following singular occurrence, which took place at Cawnpoor, shortly after the deportation of the unfortunate Suraj-oo-deen. Two of the princes of the royal house of Delhi had, it seemed, been living at Cawnpoor from the earliest period of the mutinous outbreak, in strict privacy, under the disguise of fakirs, subsisting upon the alms of the charitable, without exciting any suspicion as to their lineage. Upon the publication of the amnesty, the two shahzadahs emerged from their concealment, and declared their rank and identity to the government representative at Cawnpoor, at the same time claiming the benefit of the amnesty. This functionary was surprised at the appearance of two princes of whose existence he had not the slightest suspicion, and he immediately referred to the governor-general in council for instructions. As it was clearly shown that neither of these individuals had taken any part in the disturbances, and had in no manner forfeited their right to the provision they had theretofore enjoyed from the annual revenue allowed to the king, Lord Canning at once acceded to their application, guaranteed their safety, and granted a suitable pension to each; thus showing, even in its last transaction with the family of the justly deposed king, that British justice was still accessible to the appeal of misfortune, where guilt was not actually established.

ZEENAT MAHAL (EX-QUEEN OF DELHI).

THE materials for tracing the personal history of a princess, reared, from birth to womanhood, within the jealously guarded seclusion of an Oriental palace, are, it may readily be imagined, but scanty. Fortunately, however, in the present instance, the impediments to a brief consecutive memoir of the begum, Zeenat Mahal (ex-queen of Delhi; for some years the sharer of the fading splendours of the throne of the last of the Mogul emperors, and now the companion of his exile, and mitigator of his regrets), are less difficult to be surmounted, owing to the comparatively familiar intercourse that, for nearly the last quarter of a century, had existed between the British resident at the court of Delhi, and the unfortunate representative of a once mighty dynasty, whose dominion was now bounded by the walls that encircled his palace, and whose subjects were limited to the members of his own family, and their immediate personal dependents. The Princess Zeenat (whose portrait, from a miniature in the imperial palace at Delhi, accompanies this memoir) was a daughter of the rajah of Bhatneer—a territory in the north-eastern division of Ajmere, whose capital of the same name is situated 185 miles W.N.W. of Delhi. The father of the princess had for some years enjoyed the friendship of the Mirza Aboo Zuffur, eldest son of the emperor, Shah Akber, who dying in 1837, was succeeded on the musnud by the Mirza, who thereupon assumed the names and title of Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee, being then between sixty and seventy years of age. The father of Zeenat had long, previous to the accession of his royal friend, held an important position at the court of Delhi, and was known to possess great influence among the princes of Hindoostan; and it is possible that some vague idea of a future struggle for the re-establishment of the independence

of the empire of his ancestors, may have suggested to the prince, Aboo Zuffur, the expediency of strengthening his hands for the possible contingency, by an alliance with a noble whose aid would, in such case, be of the first importance, through the exercise of his influence throughout the Mohammedan states of India. The Princess Zeenat, then in her sixteenth year, was therefore demanded in marriage of the rajah, her father, and was shortly afterwards conveyed, with great pomp, from the fort-palace of the Bhatneer capital to the imperial residence at Delhi. At this juncture the heir-apparent was in his sixtieth year; but the disparity of years appears to have been at all times a question of small significance when the selection of an inmate for a royal zenana was concerned; and the honour of an alliance with the imperial house of Timur was of itself sufficient to counterbalance any objection that might be supposed likely to arise on the part of the young lady or her sire, both of whom were flattered by the prospect thus opened to the ambition of the one, and the girlish aspirations of the other. In due accordance with Oriental ceremony, the youthful princess was speedily introduced to the sexagenarian ruler of her destiny, who at once expressed his admiration of her beauty and vivacity, and designated her Mahal (the Pearl), which name she has thenceforth borne. The royal nuptials were celebrated in 1833; and Zeenat Mahal, the youngest, became also the most beloved of the wives of the future king of Delhi.

A short time after the celebration of the marriage, the father of Zeenat Mahal became an inmate of the palace of the Cootub, the residence of the heir-apparent; and the influence from which so much was expected by his son-in-law, was actively but imperceptibly employed on his behalf. The emperor, Shah Akber, in 1837, was gathered to his fathers; and Mirza Aboo Zuffur, then in his sixty-fourth year, ascended the crystal throne of Delhi.

The tact and assiduities of Zeenat Mahal had by this time riveted the affection which her youth and beauty had first inspired: she had also added the claims of a mother to the attractions of a wife; and the sovereign of Hindoostan, in his old age, became the progenitor of a line of princes, of whom Jumma Bukht, the youngest (born in 1840), is now the only survivor and participator in the misfortunes of his house.

Superior to the petty intrigues and female dissensions of the zenana, the begum, Zeenat Mahal, still maintained a firm hold upon the affections of her aged husband; and, by her prudence, became at last a necessary assistant at his councils, and the confidant of his ambitious but well-concealed designs against the supremacy of the infidel government by which he was held in thrall, and whose domination was a source of undisguised hatred and impatience to all the Mohammedan races of India. With such feelings, it may be supposed, there was no lack of grievances, real or imaginary, to keep a dissatisfied spirit in restless activity within the royal precincts. Among other incentives to discontent was a difficulty that arose respecting the succession to the musnud, which, considering the advanced age of Suraj-oo-deen, became a question of importance, and eventually of much annoyance to the king and his still young and favourite wife. The royal succession had furnished a topic for discussion within the palace, and intrigue without it, from the year 1853; the king having then, as it is alleged, at the instigation of his wife, expressed his desire to name the child of his old age, Mirza Jumma Bukht, heir to the throne; while the government of the Company insisted on recognising the superior, because prior, claim of an elder son, Mirza Furruk-oo-deen. The contention to which this rivalry of interests gave birth, raged with great virulence until 1856, when the elder son suddenly died of cholera, or poison; the latter being a prevalent idea at the time. This opportune removal had not, however, the effect of settling the question, as there were still elder brothers of Jumma Bukht in existence, whose prior right to the succession was recognised by the Anglo-Indian government; while the mother of the latter still persisted in her efforts to obtain the reversion to the musnud for her own son, and declared she would not rest until her object was accomplished. When at length it was formally announced, by the resident at the court of Delhi, that his government had determined that the son of the deceased Prince Furruk-oo-deen, and grandson of the king, should inherit all that yet remained of imperial power at Delhi, as the heir in a direct line of the existing sovereign, the hostility of the begum to British influence became intense; and it thenceforward was a question among her partisans and the personal attendants of the king, whether, by overturning the English *raj*, she might not

obtain for her son the throne she so much desired he should occupy. Such, at least, were among the allegations urged against the begum: but whether correct or not, it would seem there was no proof of her complicity, or, it is natural to suppose, it would have been produced during the trial of her husband.

Of the interior life of the imperial palace at Delhi, little is known; and of the occurrences that are allowed to vary the monotony of the zenana, still less is permitted to transpire beyond the walls that surround the miniature world. Of the begum, therefore, except as above stated, even tradition is silent, until the outburst of the storm which, in its wild fury, levelled the gilded pinnacles of her house in the dust, and drove her forth to share the doom of her dethroned and exiled lord.

The first intimation afforded by the various details which have appeared in connection with the occurrences at Delhi, in which the begum is personally referred to, is supplied in a communication from Mr. Greathed, the political agent of the lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces, in attendance at the head-quarters before Delhi; who says—"On the 21st of August, an emissary came into camp from the begum, proffering her assistance to bring about an accommodation. The messenger was desired to inform her majesty that we were anxious for her personal safety, and for that of all women and children; but that no communication could be received from inmates of the palace."

There is no doubt, from the revelations made by Mukhun Lall, the private secretary of the king, in the progress of the trial of his fallen master, that, during the siege, Zeenat Mahal took an active part in the deliberations of the royal council, and that, upon several occasions, her advice animated and encouraged the princes in their efforts to avert the catastrophe that, nevertheless, was inevitable. At the private conferences of the king, Maibhoob Ali Khan, the prime minister; Hussun Uskeeree, the astrologer; the begum, Zeenat Mahal; and, generally, two of the king's daughters, were present, and by their councils he was understood to be guided.

From this time until it was resolved to provide for the king's safety by flight, we have no trace of the begum's interference in affairs of state. The circumstances attending the departure of the royal party from the palace to the village of Cootub, about nine miles from Delhi, on the 19th of September, and their subsequent capture, have already been related in the memoir of Suraj-oo-deen, the ex-king; and need not be repeated.* We must now follow the unfortunate begum in her captivity and distress; which we are enabled to do, by a communication of Mrs. Hodson, the wife of the gallant officer by whom the royal party was brought back to their prison-palace; and which lady, probably from that circumstance, enjoyed the privilege (if such it may be termed) of gratifying her curiosity by a spectacle which woman, except as a comforter, might have been expected to turn from with emotions of deep regret. This lady, accompanied by Mr. Saunders (the civil commissioner at Delhi) and his wife, appears to have visited the apartment occupied by the captive monarch and his family, in much the same spirit as she might have gone to an exhibition of wild beasts. But her sensations when in the presence of the aged prisoner, are thus noted:—"I am almost ashamed to say, that a feeling of pity mingled with my disgust." Surely apology was not necessary, because the instinct of a kindlier nature asserted its power for a moment in behalf of one so fallen and so wretched. But she proceeds—"Mrs. Saunders then took possession of me, and we went on into a smaller, darker, dirtier room than the first, in which were some eight or ten women crowding round a common *charpoy* (bedstead), on which was a *dark, fat, shrewd, but sensual*-looking woman, to whom my attention was particularly drawn. She took hold of my hand—I shuddered a little—and told me that my husband was a great warrior; but that if the king's life and that of her son had not been promised them by the government, the king was preparing a great army, which would have annihilated us. The other women stood in silence till her speech was finished, and then crowding round, asked how many children I had, and if they were all boys?—examined my dress, and seemed particularly amused by my bonnet and parasol. They were, with one exception, coarse, low-caste women, as devoid of ornament as of beauty. The begum, Zeenat Mahal, asked me to sit down on her bed (a great honour, as I afterwards found, but which I did not appreciate); but I declined, as it looked so dirty."†

After some months of delay, during which the fallen monarch and his family were

* See *ante*, p. 159.

† *Vide History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. ii., p. 169.

kept in close confinement in his desecrated palace, he was put upon his trial, as before stated, and, on the nineteenth day of the proceedings, was declared guilty of the offences charged against him, and sentenced to be transported for life.

The youngest son of the prisoner, Jumma Bukht, whose boyish levity on the first day of his father's trial had excited the displeasure of the court, and deprived him of the miserable comfort of attending to his father's convenience during the remainder of the proceedings, appears to have been the only one of the princes of the royal house who was not, in a greater or less degree, implicated in the sanguinary occurrences of the rebellion. This prince, the youngest and most favoured son of the king, by Zeenat Mahal, was consequently looked upon with some degree of commiseration by the government authorities, and, for some time, was treated with indulgent consideration, as well on account of his youth as of his innocence from blame. This conduct at length awakened a sort of jealous feeling among the Europeans in Delhi; who, in their eagerness for retributive justice, fancied, in the attentions shown to the innocent son, they could discover an undue leaning towards the guilty father. At first, the youth had been allowed to accompany British officers in their evening rides, and to visit them at their quarters; but the current of indignation and hatred had set in against the house of Delhi, and it was not endured that any member of it should be exempt from the penalty which the offences of its head had brought down upon his race. Jumma Bukht, therefore, was subjected to a species of captivity within the walls of the palace enclosure; but, as no charge could be alleged or proved against him, of any complicity in the outbreak of May, or in any of the proceedings that followed, it was conceded to his earnest appeal that, on account of the king's great age and increasing infirmity, the prince should be permitted, under certain restrictions, to accompany his father into exile.

In a case of such importance as that which involved the future destiny of one who had inherited a royal name, and was yet, even in his fallen state, the acknowledged representative of an illustrious line of Eastern sovereigns, it became requisite that mature deliberation should be exercised, and that the highest authority should be afforded an opportunity to reverse or ratify the sentence passed upon the fallen occupant of a throne, by a court composed of three or four British officers. It was also necessary to determine the course to be adopted with regard to the female members of the royal establishment, whose destiny was interwoven with that of the prisoner, to whom the brightest days of their existence had been devoted, and who were now crushed by the blow that had prostrated him. The zenana of the aged king contained a number of females of rank; who, by the result of the insurrection, were now wholly dependent upon the liberality of the British government for the means of even daily subsistence. They were all without resources, and had been spoiled of their jewels and valuable ornaments by the rude grasp of unsympathising victors, or by the treachery of their servants, who had fled from them in the hour of peril. The condition of these ladies was alike pitiable and embarrassing, until the generosity of the government afforded them relief from the distress by which they were surrounded.

The ex-king was himself permitted to choose such of his wives as he preferred, to accompany him in the desolate path that lay between him and the grave; and, having made his selection, the ladies were next consulted as to their willingness to share the rigours of his exile. Of those named by the prisoner, several at once recoiled from the cheerless future to which his partiality had invited them; but Zeenat Mahal, whose girlish attachment had long settled into a calm and enduring friendship for one who, a quarter of a century previous, had placed her by his side on the throne of the Moguls, determined for one to share his fate, and to consummate, in a far-off land, the singular vicissitudes that had accompanied her existence. One other of the wives of the ex-king emulated the example and the fidelity of Zeenat Mahal; and by those only of the royal zenana was the offer of the government to accompany the prisoner accepted.

For these ladies, suitable provision had to be made. They were not criminals; and it was not by their act that the palace-home and royal state of the king of Delhi had become changed to a prison-tent and a convict's fare. To have treated them with harshness or parsimoniously in the alternative they had adopted, would, it was felt, have been unworthy of the government which had established itself upon the ruins of their state. A sufficient allowance was, therefore, promptly granted for their maintenance; and, with a delicacy

that should ever characterise an English gentleman, strict orders were issued by the governor-general, that, as regarded these ladies and their female attendants, the most rigid deference to their habits and customs should be observed by the guard placed over the prison-tents of the exiles, that, as much as possible, every unnecessary wound to their feelings and remembrance might be spared.

The time at length arrived for carrying the sentence of the court into effect; and the ex-king, accompanied by Zeenat Mahal, her son, and one other of the wives of the prisoner, were removed from Delhi to Allahabad, from whence they were conveyed by steamer to Calcutta, and there placed on board H. M.'s ship *Megera*, for transportation to their future home.

Availing herself of the permission granted by government, Zeenat Mahal had, as we have seen, with true woman's fidelity, determined to share the destiny of her husband. Her father had already paid the debt of nature; but the youngest of her sons, Jumma Bukht, remained to her, and, like herself, was free to choose a path through the future intricacies of life; and each made a noble choice, that might atone for many faults. The wife and the son descended from the steps of a throne to the deck of a convict ship, that the few remaining years of him to whom they owed affection and obedience, might not be utterly without solace amidst the desolation that had overwhelmed him.