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A  
SHORT HISTORY  
OF  
LUCKNOW

BY  
Major A. T. ANDERSON,  
Royal Field Artillery

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A  
SHORT HISTORY OF  
LUCKNOW.





## PREFACE.

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So many books have been written about the Indian Mutiny, that it may fairly be asked whether there is any room for yet another work on the subject. My excuse for believing that this question may be answered in the affirmative is that I experienced considerable difficulty myself, when I first came to Lucknow, in making myself thoroughly acquainted with the different phases, and the exact localities, of the fighting which took place here comparatively so short a time ago. Others have told me that they found the same difficulty, and indeed no work has yet been published, so far as I am aware, in which all this information is to be found under one cover. In this little book my object has been to describe concisely, and yet in sufficient detail to interest both the military and the civilian reader, each of the distinct operations into which the fighting was divided; and to describe them moreover in such a way that the reader, who wishes to do so, may find no difficulty in following out the movements on the actual ground. It would of course be absurd to lay claim to any originality in a work of this nature, and I have not scrupled to borrow freely from other books whenever it has suited my purpose to do so. Let me say in conclusion that this does not profess to be a guide book, or in any way to take the place of the excellent "Tourist's guide to Lucknow," written by Mr. E. H. Hilton, who himself if I may be allowed to say so, adds greatly by his presence to the interest of Lucknow, as one of the few survivors of the illustrious and immortal garrison.

A. T. ANDERSON,

MAJOR, R. F. A

*Lucknow, October 1913.*





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# A SHORT HISTORY OF LUCKNOW.

## CHAPTER I.

### LUCKNOW BEFORE THE MUTINY.

THE early history of Lucknow is chiefly legendary and of no great interest to the ordinary reader. Lucknow itself is said to be on the site of a city called Lakshmanpur, and the high ground of the Machchi Bhawan, the oldest part of Lucknow, (now occupied by the fine buildings of the Medical College) is still known as the Lakshman Tila. The story goes that an ancient fort used to stand on the site of the later Machchi Bhawan, called Quila Likhna after the name of the architect who built it; hence the name Lucknow which took the place of the old Lakshmanpur some time prior to the days of Akbar. It was already a wealthy and flourishing town in 1540 A. D. when Humayun passed through it in his retreat from Jaunpur to Kashmir; and during the reign of Jehangir it was described by the traveller De Laet as a *magnum emporium*.

The kingdom of Oudh was founded by Saadat Khan, a Persian merchant from Naishapur, who was made Governor of Oudh in 1732, by the Emperor of Delhi. The Rulers of his line were as follows:—

Saadat Khan.—1732-1739.

Safdar Jang.—1739-1753.

Shuja-ud-Dowlah.—1753-1775.





Asaf-ud-Dowlah.—1775-1797.—He built the Great Imambara, the Residency, and Bibiapur house.

Saadat Ali Khan.—1798-1814.—Built the old Cantonments at Mariaon, Dilkusha house, Kunkar Kothi, Moti Mahal, and the King's Stables (used as European barracks just before the mutiny and now known as Lawrence Terrace.)

✓ Ghazi-ud-din-Haidar.—1814-1837.—Built the canal, the Chuttar Manzil, Khurshid Manzil, and Shah Najaf.

Nasir-ud-din-Haidar.—1827-1837.—Built the Bilati Bagh, the Badshah Bagh, and the Tarawali Kothi.

Muhammad Ali Shah.—1837-1842.

Amjad Ali Shah.—1842-1847.—The iron bridge was erected in his reign.

Wajid Ali Shah.—1847-1856.

It would be out of place to attempt here a detailed history of this dynasty; a few of the main facts will suffice.

On the 22nd October 1764, the battle of Buxar decided the fate not only of Bengal but of Oudh, and the British troops took possession of Lucknow. Shuja-ud-Dowlah, who had been defeated in a skirmish at Korah on the 3rd May 1765, came in on the 19th and threw himself on the British mercy. His territory was guaranteed to him, and he agreed in 1768 not to keep





a larger army than 35,000 men; in 1773 a British resident was first appointed, and the Nawab further agreed to bear the cost, temporarily while required, of a Brigade of two European and six Sepoy Battalions, and a Company of Artillery. This Brigade, which was withdrawn in 1781, was stationed for a few years in Cantonments at Faizpur Kampu, a village  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Bilgram. No traces of the buildings now exist, but curiously enough the names of the fields show to this day where some of those buildings used to stand. Thus there are seven fields called the "Gendkhana" (cricket ground), eight fields known as the "Kabarahar" (cemetery), and others as the "Kamsariat."

Shuja-ud-Dowlah lived in Fyzabad, and it was his son and successor, Asaf-ud-Dowlah, who transferred the seat of Government to Lucknow in 1775. This Nawab applied for and obtained the services of several European Officers for the instruction of his troops. They were not ill received, but soon after their arrival a mutiny broke out, on the discharge of some irregulars. An engagement took place between the Regulars and the Matchlockmen; 2,500 of the latter fought for some time with great spirit against 15,000 Regulars, and the fight was only brought to an end by the explosion of a tumbril. The mutineers lost 600, and the Nawab's sepoy 300 men.

Warren Hastings visited Lucknow in 1781, and again in 1784. In 1799 Marquis Wellesley determined to reduce the Oudh army. Colonel Scott was sent to Lucknow as Resident, and British troops were marched





into Oudh without the sanction of the nominal ruler. Lord Wellesley insisted on not only the reduction of the Oudh army, but also the reception of a force of twelve battalions of infantry, and four regiments of cavalry of the Company's troops. Not a single disturbance took place during the disbandment.

In 1814 the Marquis of Hastings visited Lucknow, and we find an interesting account of the visit in his private journal.

“We proceeded in splendid palankeens to the steps  
“which lead up to the Sovereign's apartments. They  
“are convenient neat rooms in the English style without  
“attempt at grandeur. In one of them which overlooks  
“the Gumti river there was a musnud raised on a plat-  
“form of three steps. The Nawab obliged Lady  
“Loudoun and me to occupy the centre places. The  
“principal persons of the Court were then brought up  
“to be presented to me. Breakfast being announced  
“we proceeded under an awning to the banqueting  
“house. This is a building in the Saracenic taste,  
“light and elegant, and very commodious. Tea and  
“coffee with pilaos, Hindostanee cakes of rare sorts,  
“and ices, formed an excellent repast. Nautch girls  
“sang during breakfast. From the palace we went to  
“the Residency, where we dined with Major Baillie.  
“At night we proceeded to Constantia.”

Next day Lord Hastings shot in the Dilkusha park; the sport was only moderate—a few partridges and peafowl. “The park is scarcely more than three miles





“round. It is thickly wooded, with a quantity of reeds  
“and coarse grass rising to a height of seven or eight  
“feet.” They dined that night at the palace; “dinner  
“excellent, but wine marvellously bad. His Excel-  
“lency used to indulge freely till his father exacted  
“from him an oath to leave off drinking. One may infer  
“from the quality of the liquor that the vow is rigidly  
“kept. . . . The stone bridge over the Gumti though  
“a handsome structure originally was in a state of  
“decay. I expressed my surprise that the Nawab did  
“not repair it. I was told that H. E. had a firm per-  
“suasion that his repairing the bridge would infallibly  
“cause his death within the year. The edifice there-  
“fore, equally an ornament and a convenience to the  
“city will perish through this strange misapprehen-  
“sion. . . . November, 10th. A little son of Saadat  
“Ali, quite a child, is titular head of the judicial  
“tribunal. He was sent according to etiquette to the  
“Resident’s house to escort us to dinner. Lady  
“Loudoun not being quite dressed I made them sit  
“down with me till she should be ready. Unfortunately  
“the Chief Justice fell asleep. The Mentor who had  
“accompanied him immediately roused him in spite of  
“my entreaties and took him out of the room. I  
“concluded he had led the young dignitary on to the  
“verandah for the sake of air, as his sleepiness might  
“well be ascribed to the heat; and I was confirmed in  
“my supposition when I shortly after saw the boy return  
“and resume his chair with infinite gravity. I after-  
“wards learned that he had been conducted into another





“room and whipped, for so gross a breach of ceremonious observance.”

In 1819 the Marquess of Hastings again visited Lucknow, and conferred the title of King on the Nawab Ghazi-ud-din Haidar.

In 1837 a serious insurrection took place, which was however so promptly crushed that it has been almost forgotten. Nasir-ud-din Haidar, the 2nd King of Oudh, died by poison on the night of the 7th July 1837, in the Farhat Baksh palace (now the Ladies end of the United Service Club). Colonel Low the Resident at once proceeded to the palace and sent orders for a strong detachment from the troops in the Mariaon Cantonments, some four and a half miles distance by the old stone bridge, to march in immediately. Meanwhile the new King, Muhammad Ali Shah had been apprised of his succession to the throne by one of the assistant Residents, and arrived in the palace about 3 A.M. on the morning of the 8th. Sentries from the Resident's escort were placed at all the entrances, a corps of Oudh infantry took post near the southern gate of the palace, and preparations were made to crown the new King as soon as possible after daybreak. These steps had hardly been taken, and the Resident was sitting on the verandah overlooking the river with his assistants discussing details of the coming coronation, when news was suddenly brought him that the Queen Mother was approaching with a large armed force with the intention of placing her adopted grandson, Moona Jan, on the throne. Captain Paton, one of the Assistant Residents,





at once rushed to the gate with only four attendants, and found that the excited mob had already arrived there, the police and other guards having done nothing whatever to check the incursion. The rebels demanded admission with loud threats and on this being refused them brought up elephants and soon succeeded in forcing the gate. The mob swept in beating Captain Paton to the ground with bludgeons and butt ends; his chuprassie managed to escape, and meeting an advance party of thirty sepoy from Mariaon brought them to the rescue just in time to save Paton, whom they found insensible from his wounds. In a few minutes the whole palace was swarming with an armed and disorderly crowd. The Resident was placed under a rebel sentry and by him conducted to the Barahdari, which he entered just as Moona Jan was being placed on the throne to the accompaniment of "God Save the King" by the royal band. It was a strange and wild scene; torches, spears, and swords were brandished threateningly round the Resident, and the multitude seemed eager for any excuse to murder him and his other Assistant Captain Shakespeare. They were dragged before the throne on which the boy pretender was seated, and Colonel Low was ordered to present his congratulations on pain of instant death. He however remained perfectly cool, and pointed out to the Begum the hopelessness of her attempt, assuring her that if he were killed Government would exact a heavy penalty. At last the Begum's Vakil, who was wise enough to know how serious the consequences would be to himself and his mistress if





any harm should befall the Resident, seized him by the arm, and loudly calling out that the Begum's orders were that the Resident was to be conducted out, dragged him through the excited crowd, and with great difficulty and danger managed to get him and his assistant into the garden. Here they found the troops from Mariaon, which had just arrived under the command of Colonel Monteith. This force, consisting of five companies of infantry and four guns, were drawn up facing the Barahdari, and the Resident commanded the Begum to surrender herself, and the boy and to direct her followers to disperse, giving her quarter of an hour in which to comply with his orders. The Begum, who clung to the hope of a popular insurrection from without, kept on sending evasive answers, and as she still maintained her defiant attitude at the close of the specified time, Colonel Low turned to the Brigadier and told him that the matter was now in his hands. The guns opened fire with grape on the throne room, and after six or seven rounds, Major Marshall with a party of the (Company's) 35th stormed the building firing upon the affrighted crowd as they advanced, and following up with the bayonet. The palace was soon cleared of the insurgents, 50 of whom were killed and wounded. The British loss was three or four wounded. It is recorded that as the sepoys charged into the hall they saw their own figures reflected in a large mirror behind the throne, and poured their first volley into the mirror, whereby many lives were saved at the expense of the glass. The Begum and the boy pretender were captured, and





subsequently sent to Cawnpore as state prisoners. Strangely enough the new King, who had retired to a small room on his first arrival in the palace, slept through the whole tumult, unnoticed and undisturbed.

From the time of Saadat Ali Khan until that of Wajid Ali Shah, the fifth and last King, the story of the rulers of Oudh is a record of steady degeneration. Secured on their thrones by British bayonets they feared neither foreign aggression nor internal dissensions, and enjoying all the fruits of power with none of its responsibilities they degenerated, with perhaps the single exception of Muhammad Ali Shah, into mere debauched pleasure seekers. Their armies were employed not to protect nor to extend their territories but to extort from their poverty-stricken subjects by the most crushing taxation the vast sums necessary to maintain the pomp and luxury of an oriental court. The degradation of that court is only too sadly exemplified by the architectural deterioration from the spacious grandeur of the great Imambara to the base vulgarity of the Chattar Manzil and the Kaisar Bagh, with their sham Corinthian columns, their false Venetian blinds, and their general futility of proportion.

The following description, written by Sir Henry Lawrence in 1845, gives an interesting picture of the Lucknow of the period :—

“ Lucknow consists of an old and a new city, adjoining each other. The former like other native towns is filthy, ill-drained, and ill-ventilated. The modern city is strikingly different consisting of broad





“and airy streets, and containing the Royal palaces and  
“gardens, the principal Mussulman religious buildings,  
“the British Residency, and the houses of the various  
“English officers connected with the court. This part  
“of Lucknow is both curious and splendid. There is  
“a strange dash of European architecture among its  
“oriental buildings. Travellers have compared the  
“place to Moscow and Constantinople, and we can  
“easily fancy the resemblance. Gilded domes sur-  
“mounted by the crescent, tall slender pillars, lofty  
“colonnades, houses that look as if they had been  
“transplanted from Regent Street, iron railings and  
“balustrades, gardens, fountains and cypress trees,  
“elephants, camels, and horses, gilt litters and English  
“barouches, all these form a dazzling picture. Yet  
“brilliant and picturesque as Lucknow is, still there is  
“a puerility and want of stability about it, characteristic  
“enough of its monarchs. . . . All bespeaks rulers  
“who possess wealth without knowing how to employ  
“it. That this is no vague assertion is proved from  
“the fact that Asaf-ud-Dowlah expended £150,000  
“on double barrelled guns, a million of money on  
“mirrors and chandeliers, and £320,000 on a single  
“taziah.”

As a further example of the Royal splendour (at a time, be it remembered, when the ryots of Oudh were in a state of almost inconceivable poverty and wretchedness) I insert here a description of the King of Oudh's throne, taken from the “Life of an eastern King,” a book now out of print, from which we get a curious





account of the dissolute life of the court. "The throne occupied the upper end of the hall (*i.e.*, the Lal Barahdari) and was a structure of great value. It consisted simply of a platform about two yards square raised several feet above the floor, and approached in front by six steps. Upon three sides of it a gold railing extended. The sides of the platform were of solid silver richly ornamented with jewels. On the platform was placed a splendid chair of gold and ivory. A square canopy hung over the throne, ornamented by precious stones in great numbers. A magnificent emerald said to be the largest in the world was conspicuous in the front of it. The hangings were of crimson velvet with rich gold embroidery and a fringe of pearls. A gilt chair always stood on the right of the throne for the Resident."

Just before the annexation of Oudh the army consisted of about 38,000 men, constituted as follows:—

- |    |                                 |      |     |         |
|----|---------------------------------|------|-----|---------|
| 19 | Regular regiments of infantry   | each | 800 | strong. |
| 32 | Irregular regiments of infantry | „    | 500 | „       |
| 4  | Regular regiments of cavalry    | „    | 400 | „       |
| 2  | Regular regiments of cavalry    |      |     |         |
|    | (African)                       | ...  | ... | „ 500 „ |
| 9  | Irregular regiments of cavalry  | „    | 450 | „       |

Five of the Regular infantry regiments were under European officers and to each of these was attached a battery of six guns.

As has been said these troops were used mainly as tax collectors and it naturally followed that the





villages withheld their taxes till forced to pay and often resisted the hated soldiery by force of arms. Forts sprang up in all directions, and in 1849 there were in Oudh 246 forts mounted with 476 pieces of cannon. The old free-booting Rajas used to keep large tracts of land uncultivated and covered with jungle; in the midst of these were generally one or more mud forts, surrounded by a ditch and a dense fence of growing bamboos, through which cannon shot could not penetrate and a man could only enter by narrow and intricate pathways. The bamboos were too green to be set fire to, and being within range of musket fire from the parapets could not be cut down by an attacking force. Accounts of operations against forts of this nature are to be found in Sleeman's "*Tour in Oudh*," a work which gives a most interesting description of the miserable condition of the farming class in the days before the annexation.

Wajid Ali Shah succeeded to the throne of Oudh in 1847. His chief claims to fame, or infamy, are that he built the Kaisar Bagh— at a cost of 80 lakhs!—and that he possessed 4 wives, 400 concubines, and 29 "muta" wives.\* I do not propose here to enter into the controversies which have since raged over the action which the Government now felt constrained to take. Enough to say that Wajid Ali Shah was entirely useless as a ruler, and that during his reign things went steadily from bad to worse; in February 1856, as law and order

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\* "Muta" is a sort of inferior marriage among Mussalman, which may be binding for 3 hours, 3 days, 3 months, or 3 years.





had ceased to exist throughout the whole of the kingdom, and as all remonstrances had proved of no effect, the British Government annexed Oudh, and the King was deported to Calcutta, where he died in 1887.

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE GATHERING OF THE STORM.

To the European reader the main interest of Lucknow naturally centres in the events of the mutiny, and it is indeed by reason of those events alone that the name of Lucknow has become eternally famous throughout the length and breadth of the English speaking world. The ground over which the operations took place has been so greatly changed by the removal of villages and other landmarks, the construction of a large cantonment, the growth of trees, and the building of the railway, that it is not easy for the reader who only knows the Lucknow of to-day to follow the movements of the troops, even with the aid of maps of the period. It will be well then before proceeding further to endeavour to picture to ourselves what the general nature of the ground was in those days. The modern cantonment was not built till the year after the mutiny and the only roads that existed before, in what we now call Dilkusha, were the Cawnpore, Rae Bareli, and Sultanpur Roads; the Mall as far as the Mahommed Bagh; and the Outram, Clyde, and Dilkusha Roads\*. The Char Bagh garden, of which a small portion only now

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\* *Note* :—There are also Outram and Clyde roads in Lucknow Civil lines. Those here referred to are in Dilkusha.





remains, then spread over the present Railway Station and part of the Government Store barracks. The Mahommed Bagh was a large walled in garden, which included the sites of the present Club, the Presbyterian Church, and the two polo grounds. The Dilkusha palace stood in a large park, the wall of which stretched in a curve from the Bilati Bagh through the north end of the present British cavalry lines until it joined the eastern corner of the Mahommed Bagh near the junction of the Tombs and the Dilkusha roads. There were several villages scattered about, one of which called Ghaili, and famous as the scene of one of Outram's fights on the 22nd December 1857, stood on the north of the Outram road on the site now occupied by the Institutes of one of the British infantry barracks. Another, known as Jamaita, lined each side of the Mall from the Gymnasium and the Brigade Offices as far as the Divisional Offices, and there were two smaller villages in or about the present Royal Artillery lines. As regards Lucknow the changes have not been so numerous; the streets which witnessed most of the fighting still occupy the same positions, though in many cases they have been widened and improved, and the bazars round them cleared away. The building now known as Lawrence Terrace, which was originally the Royal stables, was just before the mutiny occupied as barracks by the British infantry, the officers having their mess at the Khurshid Manzil, now the Martiniere Girls School. Only two bridges spanned the river, the iron and the stone bridges, the latter of which was demo-





lished as unsafe in 1912; and there were four bridges over the canal, all of which still exist, *i.e.*, one by the Char Bagh, one north of the Suddar Bazar, and the two close to and to the east of Government House.

The old Cantonment was at Mariaon, about four miles north of Lucknow on the Sitapur Road, and it is here that the hand of time has been the most busy. Nowadays few people ever visit the spot, and there are probably many even in Lucknow who have never heard of its existence. An occasional horseman will pass over the site in his morning ride, but he may cross and recross it without ever dreaming that it differs in any way from the surrounding country. If however he is of an observant nature, he will notice the peculiar redness of the soil, and on closer investigation will find that the whole area is strewn with small fragments of brick, plaster, and broken crockery; but of the few ruined foundations which still remain, unless he makes a deliberate search for them, or happens to ride over them, he will probably see no trace. And yet for some fifty or sixty years before the mutiny Mariaon was a flourishing cantonment with lines for three native infantry battalions, and some artillery, bungalows for their European Officers and staff, a small church with accommodation for 100 persons, and the Cantonment Residency; this last was evidently an imposing building as Sir Henry Lawrence refers to it in one of his letters as being nearly as large as his town house—*i.e.*, the famous Lucknow Residency. The cantonment was about three miles round and was traversed by good





metalled roads; it boasted a Grand Parade too, and a Company Bagh where the band played every evening, and in all respects no doubt had the same appearance of permanence and stability as any cantonment of the present day. Yet now, little more than fifty years after its evacuation scarcely a trace of it remains. A few years more and unless something is done promptly to mark the places of interest such remains as there are will have vanished for ever.\* All the roads have entirely disappeared, but the foundations of some of the bungalows, one of which is pointed out by natives as the officers' mess, may still be seen to the east of the Sitapur road; and a village, showing its origin by the name Chhaoni, marks the site of the Suddar Bazar. On the other side of the road the foundations of the Residency may be traced, and a mound close by is said to cover the remains of the church. The only building that remains intact is the bungalow which Polehampton the chaplain used to occupy, enlarged since those days and now belonging to a native gentleman. It is especially interesting that this bungalow at least should have survived, as we are indebted chiefly to the memoirs and letters of the chaplain for the little we know of this old cantonment; moreover any place associated with the "honoured name of Polehampton" should be charmed ground.

Sir Henry Lawrence took over the duties of Chief Commissioner in Oudh in March 1857, and in April the

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\*Government has now sanctioned the erection of a Memorial stone on the site of the old Residency.





wave of discontent which was spreading over the native army began to manifest itself in Lucknow. In that month the military force in Lucknow and its environs was as follows :—

European infantry	... H. H's 32nd Foot ...	700 men
„ artillery	... One weak company...	
Regular native infantry	... 13th, 48th, & 71st N.I.	2,400 „
Irregular „ „	... 4th and 7th Regiments	1,600 „
„ „ police	... 3rd Regiment ...	800 „
Native Cavalry	... 7th Light Cavalry ...	600 „
Irregular Oudh cavalry	.. 2nd Regiment ...	600 „
Native mounted police	... 1½ Regiment ...	900 „
„ artillery	... 2 Batteries ...	

Of these the European infantry were in Lucknow, the regular native infantry at Mariaon, the regular cavalry at Moodkipur a mile or two further out, and the remainder scattered about in or close to Lucknow.

On the 2nd May, the 7th Oudh Regiment stationed at the Musa Bagh refused to bite the new cartridge, and became so insubordinate that a force was marched against them the next day and they were disarmed. On the 10th news reached Lucknow of the outbreak at Meerut, followed next day by the evil tidings that Delhi was in the hands of the mutineers. Sir Henry Lawrence now set to work with the greatest vigour to prepare for the coming storm. In a memorandum, dated 18th May, he wrote :—“Time is everything just now. Time, firmness, promptness, conciliation, and prudence; every officer, each individual European high and low





"may at this crisis prove most useful, or even dangerous. A firm and cheerful spirit must be maintained; there must be no bustle, no appearance of alarm, still less of panic, but at the same time there must be the utmost watchfulness and promptness; everywhere the first germ of insurrection must be put down immediately. Ten men may in an hour quell a row which after a day's delay may take weeks to put down." This was the spirit in which Sir Henry worked himself. Firm and conciliatory, encouraging the waverers, punishing the guilty, rewarding the faithful, he faced with a cheerful confidence difficulties which might well have appalled a smaller man. None knew better than he the extent of the danger which threatened not Lucknow alone but the very existence of the British Raj in India, yet he allowed no one to see his anxiety. With an inspired boldness he summoned from their homes two bodies of native pensioners, one of sepoy of the Company's service, and one of Oudh artillerymen; and their staunch behaviour throughout the fiery trial that followed fully justified his confidence. He caused the Machhi Bhawan to be strengthened and the Residency to be fortified, and he disposed his troops as follows :—

In the Machhi Bhawan 400 men (including 100 Europeans) with about 20 guns.

In the Residency 130 Europeans, 200 sepoy, and 6 guns.

At the Dâk bungalow half way to Cantonments, 2 squadrons, 2nd Oudh irregular cavalry, and 6 guns.





At Mariaon the remainder of the troops, with about 340 men of H. M.'s 32nd and a European battery of 6 guns.

The women and children were collected in the Residency position, a piece of ground about 60 acres in extent, close to the Gumti and a good deal elevated above the rest of the city. On the highest point of it stood, and in its battered grandeur still stands, the Residency a strongly built brick mansion, and round it were clustered other large and substantial houses capable of affording shelter to a large number of people. There was an ample water supply from wells, and the ground commanded the river face. Sir Henry himself took up his quarters in the Mariaon Residency.

So they remained throughout May living over a powder mine, but it was not until the 30th that the dreaded explosion took place. Sir Henry Lawrence had some of the members of his staff to dinner with him that night; he had received a warning that there would be a rising at gunfire but false alarms were so frequent that the report was not treated very seriously. After dinner the officers were standing on the verandah by the porch chatting (the spot can still be traced by the curious visitor), when the nine o'clock gun was fired. Sir Henry turned to the Staff officer who had informed him of the report, and said to him with a smile "Your friends are not punctual." The words had hardly left his lips when a rattle of musketry was heard, and a few moments later flames were seen bursting out in all





directions. The horses were called for and as they were being saddled up news arrived that the sepoy had broken out and were burning and pillaging their officers' bungalows. Sir Henry rode with his staff to the camp of the 32nd, where he found the detachment of that regiment drawn up with the European battery in readiness for action. He at once posted one company with two guns on the road south of cantonments to cut the rebels off from Lucknow, and ordered the remainder to take post on the right of the 71st lines sweeping their front. They had no sooner done so than the sepoy of the 71st came pouring out upon their parade ground, and began to fire on our men. The guns replied with grape and the mutineers fled to the rear, murdering one of their own officers, Lieutenant Grant, as they passed the picket which he was commanding in the centre of Cantonments. About 200 men of the 13th, with their colours and treasure, and a small portion of the 71st remained faithful, and fell in alongside the 32nd. In the darkness and confusion nothing more could be done for the time being, and the infantry bivouacked for the night. A few shots were sent amongst them, and Brigadier Handscomb was killed by a stray bullet. Captain Hardinge patrolled the Cantonments with a few troopers and was twice wounded but could do little to prevent the general plunder. As the night advanced however all grew quiet, and Sir Henry was even able to return to his house, which alone had escaped the general destruction. Next morning it was found that about 700 men in all had remained faithful from the three regiments





and the 7th cavalry, and that the rest had made their way to Moodkipur, and had burned down the cavalry lines there. Sir Henry pursued at daybreak with two companies of the 32nd, 4 guns, and 300 horse, and found the mutineers drawn up on a level plain. As soon as the guns opened on them they broke and fled towards Sitapur; they were pursued for about 10 miles, but the cavalry showed no zeal, and in fact many of them deserted to the enemy; 61 prisoners were however captured. The dead body of Cornet Raleigh, a boy of 17, was found in Moodkipur; he had stayed in the lines during the night owing to sickness, and was set upon in the morning while mounting his horse, and brutally murdered.

The troops remained encamped in cantonments while Lawrence removed his headquarters to the Lucknow Residency, and devoted all the energies of his master mind to the one great effort of preparing for, and so far as was possible deferring, the coming catastrophe which he clearly saw was inevitable. Work was carried on with redoubled energy under his constant and unwearying supervision. The Engineers began to construct defences round the Residency position capable of resisting artillery fire; on the north side a strong battery of heavy guns, known as the Redan, was begun, and another on the south side called the Cawnpore battery. The garden walls of the houses embraced within the position were connected by breastworks; ditches were dug in front of them and parapets erected behind them; stakes and palisades were fixed, ramparts





built, roofs of houses were protected by breast high walls, windows and doors were barricaded, and walls loopholed. Cellars were excavated and roofed to serve as magazines, and ammunition from the Machhi Bhawan stored in them. 200 guns discovered in an old arsenal in the city were brought in, and those suitable placed in position. The upper stories of most of the buildings which skirted the position were knocked down, but the lower stories were left to act as a barrier against low aimed artillery fire. Continuous strings of carts and elephants brought in supplies, and the church was filled with grain and the racket court with fodder. On the 3rd June, Sir Hugh Wheeler with a noble unselfishness despatched from Cawnpore 2 officers and 50 men of H. M.'s 84th to reinforce the Lucknow garrison. On the same day the mutiny at Sitapur broke out.

It will not perhaps be out of place to give here a brief account of the rising at that place, closely connected as its fortunes were in those days with those of Lucknow. Sitapur is situated 51 miles north of the latter and was a large and important station. It was garrisoned by the 41st Native Infantry, 250 recruits of the 9th and 330 recruits of the 10th Oudh Irregular Infantry, and 360 men of the 2nd Regiment military police. The outbreak had been long expected and the Commissioner, Christian, who distrusted the 41st, but believed the irregulars and especially the police to be staunch, had collected the civilians and their families at his house. He had also invited the military families





to join his party, but fortunately for themselves they preferred to remain in cantonments. On two sides of Christian's compound flowed the little river Surayan, and there was no means of reaching the high road save through the military cantonments. The 9th and 10th with 4 guns had been posted by the Commissioner's advice between his house and the lines of the 41st, and a strong guard of military police were stationed at the bungalow itself.

On the morning of the 3rd June, the 41st N. I. broke out into mutiny and shot down their Commander, Colonel Birch, at the Treasury, while he was exhorting them to return to duty. Lieutenant Smalley, and the Sergeant-Major were also killed; Lieutenant Graves was wounded, but escaped to the lines in time to warn his brother officers and their families, who at once started for Lucknow. The 41st marched off straight to Fatehgarh. All the irregulars then rose and murdered 5 of their officers with two ladies and several children. The 10th charged right into Christian's garden and being joined by the military guard commenced a general massacre. The little party of Europeans fled out of the bungalow on the opposite side which faced the river, pursued and fired upon by the mutineers. Some were shot down before they reached the stream, others were killed in it, and a few perished on the opposite bank. Some however escaped. Of these one party consisting of Lieutenant Lister and thirteen others, men, women and children, reached Lucknow on the 8th and 10th June. Another party in





which were Sir Mountstuart Jackson, Lieutenant Burnes, Miss M. Jackson, a child of the Christians, and some others, found a temporary refuge with Raja Lone Singh at Mitauli; betrayed eventually by this miscreant, they were taken into Lucknow, and after being subjected to every indignity the men of the party were murdered on the 16th November; the remainder, with the exception of the child Sophie Christian, who died in captivity, were rescued on the 19th March 1858, on the capture of Lucknow by the British. The last party was that of Captain Hearsey who was protected by his police; he succeeded in rescuing Miss G. Jackson, Mrs. Greene, and a few others, and with them escaped to the fort of Mathiari in the territory of the Raja of Dhaurahra, where with some of the fugitives from Shahjahanpore they remained concealed for two months. Forced to fly from thence the party got separated; Hearsey eventually reached Lucknow in safety in February 1858, but the two ladies with three of the Shahjahanpore party were recaptured, taken to Lucknow, and there foully murdered on the 24th September 1857. The refugees from the military cantonment were more fortunate, and found ultimate shelter in the Residency, some arriving there on the 4th June and others as late as the 28th.

Lawrence heard the news of the Sitapur rising on the 4th June, and now fresh tidings of revolt came in day by day; Cawnpore was besieged; the troops had mutinied at Fyzabad, Durreabad, and Sultanpur; by the 10th June, the British power in Oudh had practically





ceased to exist. As the month drew to an end the news from Cawnpore became worse and worse, until on the 28th June, the terrible tidings arrived in Lucknow of the massacre of General Wheeler and his garrison. Next morning scouts reported that the mutineers, who had been for some time assembling at Nawabganj 20 miles from Lucknow, had begun to march on, and that their advanced guard had actually arrived at Chinhut. This intelligence having been confirmed by a reconnaissance all the troops were quietly withdrawn at sunset to the Residency and the Machhi Bhawan. Sir Henry now came to the decision to move out with a strong force, hoping to meet and defeat the enemy before they could enter the suburbs of the city. In order to prevent any notice reaching the rebels of the intended movement the orders were not given out till 3 o'clock on the morning of the 30th, when the following troops were ordered to rendezvous just before daybreak at the iron bridge, under the command of Lawrence himself :—

4 guns European artillery.

6 guns and 1 howitzer Oudh artillery.

36 men, Radcliffe's European volunteer cavalry.

120 men, Oudh irregular cavalry.

300 men, H. M.'s 32nd Regiment.

230 men of the 13th, 48th. and 71st Native infantry.

There was some delay in assembling and it was past six o'clock when the force moved off. After a march of about three miles the column reached the bridge over the Kokrail nullah without adventure and





halted. It was now discovered that the enemy were occupying a strong position in the neighbourhood of Chinhut and it was a question as to whether the advance should be continued. Lawrence was himself against doing so, but allowed himself to be over-persuaded by the ardour of the younger members of his staff, and the word was given to march on. Through some unfortunate mistake no breakfast was served out, as had been intended, and the troops had to proceed with empty stomachs under a burning sun. At about a mile and a half beyond the Kokrail bridge the advanced guard was fired on by the enemy's artillery from a range of 1,400 yards, the first shot killing a driver and several dhoolie bearers. Our line deployed and the 8-inch howitzer came into action on the road, with the European battery and Alexander's 4 guns on the right. The range was too long for the field guns, but the howitzer fired with good effect, and after about twenty minutes the enemy's centre appeared to be retreating. Presently however two large masses of all arms were seen advancing on both flanks, and it became apparent that it was not merely the advanced guard of the enemy, but his whole main body, that our troops had to contend with. As the enemy was advancing on Ismaelganj, Alexander's guns attempted to cross to the north of the road to repulse them, but the going was heavy, and the native drivers used no exertions; many in fact turned traitor, and cutting the traces of their horses abandoned the guns. A cavalry charge was only partially successful owing to the shameful behaviour of the Sikhs,





and the rebels entering Ismaelganj poured a deadly fire on our troops from the shelter of its walls. The command was given for the 32nd to take the village, but in spite of a gallant attempt the attack failed and the regiment fell back with heavy loss, leaving their commander, Colonel Case,\* mortally wounded on the ground. Captain Bassano wished to get him carried away but Case refused to allow the retirement to be delayed for the purpose, and finally silenced the expostulations of his subordinate by a direct order to him to join his company. A general retreat was now ordered and the little force, vastly outnumbered and weak from hunger, thirst and fatigue, soon lost all trace of formation. The elephant attached to the limber of the 8-inch howitzer had bolted with it, and although Lieutenant Bonham, made a gallant effort to remove the howitzer with a wagon limber, the drivers galloped off with it before he could limber up and he was forced to abandon it having been himself wounded in the attempt. The little handful of volunteer cavalry behaved with the utmost gallantry, at one point putting to flight a body of 400 sowars with two guns, and but for their dash and determination it is probable that the whole force would have been annihilated. At the Kokrail bridge Lawrence, who behaved throughout with the greatest intrepidity and coolness, rallied the troops for a last stand, until the column had all crossed in safety. The retreat was then continued and the iron bridge reached at last; here the enemy was stopped by

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\* Colonel Inglis was acting as Brigadier in place of General Handscomb.



the guns of the Redan battery and by a fresh company of the 32nd, and the remnants of the defeated force regaining some semblance of formation marched into the enclosure which they were not to leave again until they had made it for ever famous with their blood, their anguish and their endurance.

Checked at the iron bridge, and also at the stone bridge by the guns of the Machhi Bhawan, the enemy began crossing the river at various places above and below, and seizing the houses round the Residency loopholed them and began to pour a musketry fire into the entrenchments, while the guns opened fire from across the river. The memorable siege had begun.

The strength of the enemy on this disastrous day was computed at 5,500 infantry, 800 cavalry, and 12 guns. The British loss was as follows:—

Europeans:—Killed, 5 officers, 112 rank and file.

Wounded, 8 officers, 46 rank and file.

Natives:—Killed, 5 officers, 170 rank and file.

Wounded, 3 officers, 21 rank and file.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### THE DEFENCE OF THE RESIDENCY.

ON the subject of this chapter many volumes have been written; and rightly so, for the tale of how 1,700 men, held at bay countless hordes of mutineers for 87 days, and saved the 600 women and children, whose lives Providence had committed to their charge, from the





awful fate of the Cawnpore captives is one of the noblest and most thrilling stories in the history of our race. To give a really adequate account of this splendid defence in one short chapter is impossible. All that will be attempted here will be to give a brief description of the nature of the defences, and a general idea of the operations taken chiefly from the report by Brigadier Inglis, dated the 26th September 1857, after the arrival of the reinforcements under Outram and Havelock; this was not only the first, but is also the finest account ever written, and no apology is needed for transcribing it here almost in its entirety. For further details the reader is referred to Hilton's guide to Lucknow and to the numerous diaries and other works that have been published on the subject.

Of all the sacred spots, those lone battlefields and crumbling walls scattered over the world's surface, that speak to successive generations of pilgrims of the might and majesty of England, none perhaps makes so stirring an appeal to the emotions as the Residency of Lucknow. Changed though they are by battle and the hand of time those war-scarred ruins still stand plain enough for the visitor to be able to reconstruct in his mind's eye the scenes of those fateful months, and as with beating heart and moistened eye he roams the haunted ground he can still see by the tablets and pillars erected by the Government the exact line of the entrenchments held by the illustrious garrison, and the exact position of those more famous posts whose names their gallant defence has made immortal.





He may stand close to the spot where Lawrence met his death wound, and to the room where two days later he breathed his last, and in the little crowded cemetery he may gaze on the stone beneath which lies that very perfect gentle knight, who "tried to do his duty." Around him sleep men whose names are like a trumpet of victory: The gallant Banks, the heroic McCabe, Ensign Studdy that dashing young leader of sorties, Polehampton type of all that a christian priest should be, Anderson the "jolly old Major," who with his enfeebled frame worn out by labour and anxiety could still be so referred to by his subaltern only a few days before he succumbed to a wearing disease, that reckless fighter Private Cuney of the 32nd, the brave and chivalrous Bruere, and Fulton good at need. Many others sleep there less known to fame though equal in valour, and there too rest in one common grave those one hundred and more whose names are unrecorded save in the archives of God.

Although the forethought of Lawrence had in some measure made provision for the ordeal the garrison was to undergo, still when the investment commenced the defences were far from complete, and in many places there was nothing deserving the name of an obstacle. The Residency itself was garrisoned by men of the 32nd under Captain Lowe, while the women and children of that regiment lived in the underground rooms. An officer was constantly on look out duty on the tower which stood throughout the siege, though the body of the building was so battered and knocked about





that it had to be abandoned by the middle of August. On the 11th of that month a part of it fell in, burying in its ruins 6 men of the 32nd; every effort was made to extricate them, but only two were saved and the remaining 4 had to be left under the mass of debris. On the north face of the position in a corner of the Residency garden was the Redan, held by men of the 32nd under Lieutenant Sam Lawrence. This was the most strongly fortified and complete battery in the whole defences; it stood at the end of a tongue of slightly elevated ground, and commanded with its three guns the river face and the Captain Bazar (which used to lie along the river bank from a little below the iron bridge to the Chattar Manzil), while it also flanked the whole of the north-east front. The next post to this moving north-west was Innes's house with a garrison of 12 men of the 32nd, 12 of the 13th Native infantry, and a few uncovenanted clerks, under Lieutenant Loughnan, 13th N. I. This was in a most exposed position, and was defended by musketry fire alone, though its south side was flanked by Evans' battery of one 18 pr. and two 9 prs. situated close to the church. The church itself was filled with grain and bhoosa but had no garrison in it, as the ground before it left it dangerously liable to surprise; it was in fact the weakest point in the whole defence and a source of constant anxiety to Brigadier Inglis. The sheep pen and slaughter house came next, held by men of the uncovenanted service under the command of Captain Boileau, 7th Light Cavalry. The dreadful





stench that pervaded this part of the defences, arising from the decayed entrails of the bullock and sheep daily killed by the butchers, of which there was no means of disposing except by throwing them over the parapet, made this the most unhealthy post in the whole entrenchment, and nearly every officer who slept in it was laid up with fever at one time or another. At the south-west corner stood Gubbins' house and battery. Major Apthorp, 41st Native Infantry, commanded this garrison, made up of details of the 32nd, the 48th N. I., and Pensioners; it was here that Major Banks was killed on the 21st July, while watching operations from the roof. The house was occupied by several ladies at first, but the upper story became so unsafe from the number of round shot that had passed through it, that towards the end of August, all but the garrison had to leave it. Nothing now remains of what was a solidly built house with a spacious and handsome portico in front but a part of the foundations—and the swimming bath which, as water was plentiful, was a luxury greatly appreciated all through the siege. Behind, *i.e.*, to the east of, Gubbins' house stood Ommaney's house, which had been put into a state of defence in order that Gubbins' garrison might fall back upon it if unable to hold their position. Fortunately this contingency never occurred. Between Gubbins' house and the Brigade mess were the Sikh squares, where 50 horses of the cavalry and artillery were kept, and which had a mixed garrison of Christian drummers and Sikhs under officers relieved in weekly rotation. Much





anxiety was felt from time to time regarding this post, as the loyalty of the Sikhs was considered open to question. They remained staunch however, and proved invaluable as miners; each man was paid two rupees a day when engaged in this work, which was accordingly very popular among them. The Brigade mess, previously known as the King's Hospital, was a high and spacious building and commanded a good view of the city from its roof. Here were put all the officers of native regiments which had mutinied, under the command of the senior officer, Colonel Master, 7th Light Cavalry, nicknamed the Admiral from his practice of constantly hailing from the roof top. Most of these officers being after the nature of their kind good rifle shots, they were able to inflict considerable damage on the enemy by their sharp shooting, and on the occasion of the 2nd and 3rd great assaults, on the 10th and 18th August respectively, it was in a great measure due to their accurate fire that the enemy was unable to obtain a footing within the entrenchments. The building came in for a large share of the enemy's attention in consequence, and by the end of August, the upper part was a crumbling ruin: on the 7th September, 280 round shot varying in size from a 24 to a 3-Pr. were gathered from the roof of the Brigade mess alone. The Brigadier had his quarters behind, and the small rooms in the inner courts afforded shelter to many women and children. A narrow road divided the Brigade mess from a strongly built single-storied house belonging to a native banking firm; in this the





boys of the Martiniere School were located under their principal Schilling, with a stiffening of 32nd men. It stood opposite to, and only a few yards distant from, a two-storied house outside the entrenchments, which had been the shop of an Armenian merchant called Johannes. It had been intended to utilize this house for the defence if possible, and if not to blow it up at the last moment, but in the temporary demoralisation caused by the Chinhut disaster the enemy were able to occupy it before anything could be done. The consequence was that Johannes house remained a cause of constant danger and annoyance until the 21st of August, when the explosion of a well directed mine brought it down like a pack of cards, burying many of the mutineers in the ruins.

The most dangerous outwork was the Cawnpore battery which came next; it enfiladed the Cawnpore road, but was so exposed to the enemy's fire that it was considered unfair to keep the same garrison permanently in so perilous a post, and the 32nd furnished a daily relief under a Captain. The south-eastern corner of the position was formed by Anderson's post, a small two-storied house situated on rising ground—the only post called by its commander's name during the siege. It was perhaps the most exposed portion of the whole entrenchment, and by the middle of July, the house had been entirely destroyed by round shot. The ruins were however still held by the intrepid garrison, which consisted of 9 privates and a sergeant of the 32nd, 8 volunteers, a subaltern, and Captain





Anderson, 25th N. I., the gallant commander. The Judicial Commissioner's office came next, a large double-storied house greatly exposed to the enemy's fire from the east. It was commanded by Captain Germon, 13th N. I., with a garrison of his own Sikhs and volunteers of the uncovenanted service. A narrow passage, to traverse which was a feat of great danger, led down from this to Sago's house, a small one-storied building somewhat outside of and below the general line of defence, with a garrison of the 32nd, under Lieutenant Clery. Beginning with the two last named posts the eastern front consisted of two tiers; on the upper were the Judicial post, Post Office, and Fayrer's house; and on the lower Sago's, the Financial post, and the Bailey guard. The post office was used as barracks for a great portion of the European soldiers, and also afforded shelter to several families. It was held by a garrison of the 32nd under the gallant McCabe, and enfiling as it did the face of the Bailey guard post was one of the most important positions in the entrenchments. An officer was kept on the roof constantly on look out duty. Fayrer's house was a large oblong building standing on sloping ground; on the Residency side it consisted of one story, and on the city side of two. Many ladies found shelter here throughout the siege, and it was in this house that Lawrence died. It was defended by sepoy pensioners under Captain Weston, of the Oudh police; the flat roof, surrounded by a parapet strengthened by sand bags, gave good cover and command to riflemen, and



there was also a battery of an 18-Pr. gun and a brass 9-Pr. howitzer. Below Fayrer's house was the Financial Commissioner's office, a large two-storied house, held by men of the 32nd under Captain Saunders, 13th N. I., and next to this was the famous Bailey guard gate and the Treasury, defended by the 13th N. I., under Lieutenant Aitken. The gate was filled up with earth and guarded by a battery of two 9-Prs. and an 8-inch howitzer. Above the Treasury stood the Banqueting Hall; its lofty and spacious rooms made it the most suitable building for the hospital, and it was also fairly safe from the enemy's fire, owing to the fact that some political prisoners of the royal houses of Delhi and Oudh were confined in a portion of it. This became known to the mutineers, who were kept well informed by spies of all that went on inside, and although of course a good many random shots penetrated the building from time to time, it was never made the object of deliberate attack. The line, Hospital to the Redan, completed the circle of the defences, and was guarded by the loyal remnant of the 71st, commanded by Lieutenant Langmore, who were entirely without shelter from the weather by night or day. In this section, between the water gate and the Hospital, was a battery of three guns, an 18-Pr., a 9-Pr. and a 13-inch howitzer. In the interior of the entrenchments were the Begum Kothi and the Thug Gaol, the cells of which were occupied by large numbers of women and children.





The total garrison at the beginning of the siege consisted of only 1,720 men, made up as follows:—

British officers	...	...	133
British N.-C. O.'s and men	...	...	671
Christian drummers	...	...	51
Volunteers (all civilians capable of bearing arms)	...	...	153
Indian troops	...	...	712

There were also 1,280 non-combatants, amongst whom were 510 Christian women and children and 50 boys of the Martiniere school. The artillery was not inadequate for the size of the position, consisting as it did of 25 guns, mostly guns of position, and of 11 mortars.

Of the European fighting men only 577 remained alive on the arrival of Havelock's reinforcements on the 25th September. Of the Indian troops 130 were dead, and 230 had deserted.

At daybreak on the 1st July, under cover of a heavy musketry and cannonade, the enemy made their first attack but were repulsed with heavy loss. The untoward event of the preceding day had so far diminished the whole available force that there was not now a sufficient number of men remaining to occupy more than one position, and the order was semaphored to the Machhi Bhawan, "Spike the guns well, blow up the fort, and retire at midnight." Accordingly at 12 midnight the garrison of that post marched into the





Residency with their guns and treasure, and without the loss of a single man; and shortly afterwards the explosion of 240 barrels of gunpowder and six million ball cartridges announced the complete destruction of the fort and all that it contained.

On the 2nd July a shell fired from the howitzer lost at Chinhut exploded in the room in the Residency in which Sir Henry Lawrence was lying, and wounded him mortally. Knowing that his last hour was rapidly approaching he directed Colonel Inglis to assume command of the troops, and appointed Major Banks to succeed him in the office of Chief Commissioner. After two days of great agony he died, with his last accents summarising his career in the sentence he desired should be his sole epitaph. "Here lies Henry Lawrence who tried to do his duty." Brigadier Inglis in his famous despatch tells of the feelings of consternation with which the news of this disaster was received throughout the garrison, and he proceeds as follows:—  
"The garrison had scarcely recovered the shock which it had sustained in the loss of its revered and beloved general, when it had to mourn the death of that able and respected officer, Major Banks, who received a bullet through his head while examining a critical outpost on the 21st July, and died without a groan. . . .  
When the blockade was commenced only two of our batteries were completed, part of the defences were yet in an unfinished condition, and the buildings in the immediate vicinity, which gave cover to the enemy, were only very partially cleared away. Indeed our heaviest





losses have been caused by the fire from the enemy's sharpshooters stationed in the adjoining mosques and houses of the native nobility, the necessity of destroying which had been repeatedly drawn to the attention of Sir Henry by the staff of Engineers. But his invariable reply was, "Spare the holy places, and private property too as much as possible;" and we have consequently suffered severely from our very tenderness to the religious prejudices and respect to the rights of our rebellious citizens and soldiery. As soon as the enemy had thoroughly completed the investment of the Residency, they occupied these houses, some of which were within easy pistol shot of our barricades, in immense force, and rapidly made loopholes on those sides which bore on our post, from which they kept up a terrific and incessant fire day and night, which caused many daily casualties, as there could not have been less than 8,000 men firing at one time into our position. Moreover, there was no place in the whole of our works that could be considered safe, for several of the sick and wounded who were lying in the banquetting hall, which had been turned into a hospital, were killed, in the very centre of the building, and the widow of Lieutenant Dorin, and other women and children were shot dead in rooms into which it had not been previously deemed possible that a bullet could penetrate. Neither were the enemy idle in erecting batteries. They soon had from twenty to twenty-five guns in position, some of them of very large calibre. These were planted all round our post at small distances, some being actually





within fifty yards of our defences, but in places where our own heavy guns could not reply to them, while the perseverance and ingenuity of the enemy in erecting barricades in front of, and around, their guns in a very short time, rendered all attempts to silence them by musketry unavailing. Neither could they be effectually silenced by shells, by reason of their extreme proximity to our position, and because, moreover, the enemy had recourse to digging very narrow trenches about eight feet in depth in rear of each gun, in which the men lay while our shells were flying, and which so effectually concealed them, even while working the gun, that our baffled sharpshooters could only see their hands while in the act of loading.

The enemy contented themselves with keeping up this incessant fire of cannon and musketry until the 20th July, on which day, at 10 A.M., they assembled in very great force all round our position, and exploded a heavy mine inside our outer line of defences at the Water Gate. The mine, however, which was close to the Redan, and apparently sprung with the intention of destroying that battery, did no harm. But as soon as the smoke had cleared away, the enemy boldly advanced under cover of a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry, with the object of storming the Redan. But they were received with such a heavy fire, that after a short struggle they fell back with much loss. A strong column advanced at the same time to attack Innes' Post, and came to within ten yards' of the palisades, affording to Lieutenant Loughnan, 13th Native





Infantry, who commanded the position, and his brave garrison, an opportunity of distinguishing themselves, which they were not slow to avail themselves of, and the enemy were driven back with great slaughter. The insurgents made minor attacks at almost every outpost, but were invariably defeated, and at 2 P.M., they ceased their attempts to storm the place, although their musketry fire and cannonading continued to harass us unceasingly as usual."

On this occasion the enemy's standard bearer was actually shot in the ditch of the Cawnpore battery. Fortunately the British loss was comparatively small, 4 killed and 12 wounded, but the whole garrison was greatly fatigued and worn out, every man having been under arms from eight in the morning until eight at night. "This attack and its complete repulse," wrote Lady Inglis, "raised all our spirits and gave us confidence that with God's help we should be able to hold out till succour arrived. It was the severest assault that the enemy had yet made, and John said the bullets fell like hail. Poor Mr. Polehampton died to-day during the attack. All grieved much for him and his poor widow." He had been wounded in the hospital, but was well on the road to recovery when he fell a victim to cholera.

"On the 10th August," the report goes on, "the enemy made another assault, having previously sprung a mine close to the brigade mess, which entirely destroyed our defences for the space of twenty feet, and blew in a great portion of the outside wall of the house





## *HISTORY OF LUCKNOW.*

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occupied by Mr. Schilling's garrison. On the dust clearing away, a breach appeared, through which a regiment could have advanced in perfect order, and a few of the enemy came on with the utmost determination, but were met with such a withering flank fire of musketry from the officers and men holding the top of the brigade mess, that they beat a speedy retreat, leaving the more adventurous of their numbers lying on the crest of the breach. While this operation was going on, another large body advanced on the Cawnpore battery, and succeeded in locating themselves for a few minutes in the ditch. They were however dislodged by hand grenades. At Captain Anderson's post they also came boldly forward with scaling ladders which they planted against the wall; but here, as elsewhere they were met with the most indomitable resolution, and the leaders being slain, the rest fled, leaving the ladders, and retreated to their batteries and loopholed defences, from whence they kept up, for the rest of the day, an unusually heavy cannonade and musketry fire. On the 18th August the enemy sprang another mine in front of the Sikh Lines with very fatal effect. Captain Orr, Lieutenants Mecham and Soppitt, who commanded the small body of drummers composing the garrison, were blown into the air; but providentially returned to earth with no further injury than a severe shaking. The garrison, however, were not so fortunate. No less than eleven men were buried alive under the ruins, from whence it was impossible to extricate them, owing to the tremendous fire kept up by the enemy from houses situated not ten yards in





front of the breach. The explosion was followed by a general assault of a less determined nature than the two former efforts, and the enemy were consequently repulsed without much difficulty. But they succeeded, under cover of the breach, in establishing themselves in one of the houses in our position, from which they were driven in the evening by the bayonets of Her Majesty's 32nd and 84th Foot. On the 5th September, the enemy made their last serious assault. Having exploded a large mine, a few feet short of the bastion of the 18-Pr. gun, in Major Apthorp's post, they advanced with large heavy scaling ladders, which they planted against the wall, and mounted, thereby gaining for an instant the embrasure of a gun. They were however speedily driven back with loss by hand-grenades and musketry. A few minutes subsequently they sprung another mine close to the brigade mess, and advanced boldly; but soon the corpses strewed in the garden in front of the post bore testimony to the fatal accuracy of the rifle and musketry fire of the gallant members of that garrison, and the enemy fled ignominiously, leaving their leader—a fine-looking native officer—among the slain. At other posts they made similar attacks, but with less resolution, and everywhere with the same want of success. Their loss upon this day must have been very heavy, as they came on with much determination, and at night they were seen bearing large numbers of their killed and wounded over the bridges in the direction of cantonments.





The above is a faint attempt at a description of the four great struggles which have occurred during this protracted season of exertion, exposure, and suffering. His Lordship in Council will perceive that the enemy invariably commenced his attacks by the explosion of a mine,—a species of offensive warfare, for the exercise of which our position was unfortunately peculiarly situated; and had it not been for the most untiring vigilance on our part, in watching and blowing up their mines before they were completed, the assaults would probably have been much more numerous, and might perhaps have ended in the capture of the place. But by countermining in all directions, we succeeded in detecting and destroying no less than four of the enemy's subterraneous advances towards important positions, two of which operations were eminently successful, as on one occasion not less than eighty of them were blown into the air, and twenty suffered a similar fate on the second explosion. The labour however which devolved upon us in making these countermines, in the absence of a body of skilled miners, was very heavy. The Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council will feel that it would be impossible to crowd, within the limits of a despatch, even the principal events, much more the individual acts of gallantry, which have marked this protracted struggle. But I can conscientiously declare my conviction that few troops have ever undergone greater hardships, exposed as they have been to a never-ceasing musketry fire and cannonade. They have also





experienced the alternate vicissitudes of extreme wet and intense heat, and that too with very insufficient shelter from either, and in many places without any shelter at all. In addition to having to repel real attacks, they have been exposed night and day to the hardly less harassing false alarms which the enemy have been constantly raising. The insurgents have frequently fired very heavily, sounded the advance, and shouted for several hours together, though not a man could be seen, with the view, of course, of harassing our small and exhausted force; in which object they succeeded, for no part has been strong enough to allow of a portion only of the garrison being prepared in the event of a false attack being turned into a real one. All therefore had to stand to their arms, and to remain at their posts until the demonstration had ceased; and such attacks were of almost nightly occurrence. The whole of the officers and men have been on duty night and day during the eighty seven days which the siege had lasted up to the arrival of Sir J. Outram, G.C.B.

“In addition to this incessant military duty, the force has been nightly employed in burying dead animals, in conveying ammunition and commissariat stores from one place to another, and in other fatigue duties too numerous and too trivial to enumerate here. I feel however that any words of mine will fail to convey any adequate idea of what our fatigue and labours have been—labours in which all ranks and all classes, civilians, officers, and soldiers, have all borne an equally noble part. All have together descended into the





mine; all have together handled the shovel for the interment of the putrid bullock; and all, accoutred with musket and bayonet, have relieved each other on sentry, without regard to the distinctions of rank, civil or military. Notwithstanding all these hardships, the garrison has made no less than five sorties, in which they spiked two of the enemy's heaviest guns, and blew up several of the houses from which they had kept up the most harassing fire. Owing to the extreme paucity of our numbers, each man was taught to feel that on his own individual efforts alone depended in no small measure the safety of the entire position. This consciousness incited every officer, soldier, and man to defend the post assigned to him with such desperate tenacity, and fight for the lives which Providence had entrusted to his care with such dauntless determination, that the enemy, despite their constant attacks, their heavy mines, their overwhelming numbers, and their incessant fire, could never succeed in gaining one inch of ground within the bounds of this straggling position, which was so feebly fortified, that had they once obtained a footing in any of the outposts, the whole place must inevitably have fallen.

“If further proof be wanting of the desperate nature of the struggle which we have, under God's blessing, so long and so successfully waged, I would point to the roofless and ruined houses, to the crumbled walls, to the exploded mines, to the open breaches, to the shattered and disabled guns and defences, and lastly to the long and melancholy list of the brave and





devoted officers and men who have fallen. These silent witnesses bear sad and solemn testimony to the way in which this feeble position has been defended. During the early part of these vicissitudes, we were left without any information whatever regarding the position of affairs outside. An occasional spy did indeed come in with the object of inducing our sepoy and servants to desert; but the intelligence derived from such sources was, of course, entirely untrustworthy. We sent our messengers daily, calling for aid and asking for information, none of whom ever returned until the 26th day of the siege, when a pensioner named Ungud came back with a letter from General Havelock's camp, informing us that they were advancing with a force sufficient to bear down all opposition, and would be with us in five or six days. A messenger was immediately despatched, requesting that on the evening of their arrival on the outskirts of the city, two rockets might be sent up, in order that we might take the necessary measures for assisting them in forcing their way in. The sixth day, however, expired, and they came not; but for many evenings after officers and men watched for the ascension of the expected rockets, with hopes such as make the heart sick. We knew not then, nor did we learn until the 29th August—or thirty-five days later—that the relieving force, after having fought most nobly to effect our deliverance, had been obliged to fall back for reinforcements, and this was the last communication we received until two days before the arrival of Sir James Outram, on September 25th.





“ Besides heavy visitations of cholera and small-pox, we have also had to contend against a sickness which has almost universally pervaded the garrison. Commencing with a very painful eruption it has merged into a low fever, combined with diarrhoea; and although few or no men have actually died from its effects, it leaves behind a weakness and lassitude which, in the absence of all material sustenance, save coarse beef and still coarser flour, none have been able entirely to get over. The mortality among the women and children, and especially among the latter, from these diseases and from other causes, has been perhaps the most painful characteristic of the siege. The want of native servants has also been a source of much privation. Owing to the suddenness with which we were besieged, many of these people who might perhaps have proved faithful to their employers, but who were outside the defences at the time, were altogether excluded. Very many more deserted, and several families were consequently left without the services of a single domestic. Several ladies have had to tend their children, and even to wash their own clothes, as well as to cook their scanty meals entirely unaided. Combined with the absence of servants, the want of proper accommodation has probably been the cause of much of the disease with which we have been afflicted.

“ I cannot refrain from bringing to the prominent notice of His Lordship in Council the patient endurance and the Christian resignation which have been evinced by the women of the garrison. They have animated





us by their example. Many alas have been made widows and their children fatherless in this cruel struggle. But all such seem resigned to the will of Providence, and many, among whom may be mentioned the honoured names of Birch, of Polehampton, of Barbor, and of Gall, have, after the example of Miss Nightingale, constituted themselves the tender and solicitous nurses of the wounded and dying soldiers in the hospital."

A long list here follows of the officers who most distinguished themselves in the operations, of whom "many of the best and bravest now rest from their labours," and the simple earnest narrative concludes as follows: "Lastly I have the pleasure of bringing the splendid behaviour of the soldiers, *viz.*, the men of Her Majesty's 32nd Foot, the small detachment of Her Majesty's 84th Foot, the European and Native Artillery, the 13th, 48th, and 71st Regiments Native Infantry, and the Sikhs of the respective corps, to the notice of the Government of India. The losses sustained by Her Majesty's 32nd, which is now barely 300 strong, by Her Majesty's 84th and by the European Artillery, show at least that they knew how to die in the cause of their countrymen. Their conduct under the fire, the exposure, and the privations which they have had to undergo, has been throughout most admirable and praiseworthy.

"As another instance of the desperate character of our defence and the difficulties we have had to contend





with, I may mention that the number of our artillerymen was so reduced that on the occasion of an attack, the gunners—aided as they were by men of Her Majesty's 32nd Foot and by volunteers of all classes, had to run from one battery to another wherever the fire of the enemy was hottest, there not being nearly enough men to serve half the number of guns at the same time. In short, at last, the number of European gunners was only twenty-four, while we had including mortars no less than thirty guns in position.

“With respect to the Native troops I am of opinion that their loyalty has never been surpassed. They were indifferently fed and worse housed. They were exposed—especially the 13th Regiment—under the gallant Lieutenant Aitken, to a most galling fire of round shot and musketry, which materially decreased their numbers. They were so near the enemy that conversation could be carried on between them; and every effort, persuasion, promise, and threat was alternately resorted to, in vain, to seduce them from their allegiance to the handful of Europeans, who in all probability would have been sacrificed by their desertion. All the troops behaved nobly, and the names of those men of the Native force who have particularly distinguished themselves have been laid before Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., who has promised to promote them. Those of the European force will be transmitted in due course for the orders of His Royal Highness the General Commanding-in-Chief.





“In conclusion I beg leave to express, on the part of myself and the members of this garrison, our deep and grateful sense of the conduct of Major-General Sir James Outram, G.C.B., of Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., and of the troops under those officers who so devotedly came to our relief at so heavy a sacrifice of life. We are also repaid for much suffering and privation by the sympathy which our brave deliverers say our perilous and unfortunate position has excited for us in the hearts of our countrymen throughout the length and breadth of Her Majesty's dominions.”

So ends the touching and manly report, written at a time when much toil and suffering still remained to be borne; for to the 87 days already spent in the desperate defence of the Residency were now to be added 53 more days of hardly less strenuous fighting, and of even more severe privation. Yet we may well believe that to Inglis and his band of heroes, even if they realised what still lay before them, nothing could now mar the perfect satisfaction of the feeling that they had done their duty, and earned for ever a place in the hearts of their countrymen.

The years pass on. Empires dissolve, and all things material perish; but the memory of true courage and spotless devotion such as this never dies; and who can doubt that, even as now we thrill to the far off tale of Thermopylae, so in ages to come, when the Residency itself shall have long since crumbled to dust, races as yet undreamed of will find an incentive and an inspiration in the triumphant story of Inglis and his illustrious garrison.





## CHAPTER IV.

## THE FIRST RELIEF.

On the 30th June, the day of the disastrous fight at Chinhut, Havelock arrived in Allahabad, and on the 7th July, started from that place with a small force of 1,400 British and 550 Natives to the relief of Lucknow. After defeating, in four pitched battles and sundry smaller combats, an enemy consisting of highly disciplined troops far superior in number to his own little force, Havelock entered Cawnpore on the 17th July, only to find that the captives who had survived the massacre at the Ghat on the 27th June, 5 men and 206 women and children, had been mercilessly slaughtered by order of the infamous Nana Sahib only two days before his arrival. On the same day Havelock heard for the first time of the death of his old friend Sir Henry Lawrence.

On the 20th July, the army began to cross the Ganges; the river was in high flood for a breadth of 1,500 yards, and it took eight days to complete the passage which was effected entirely by the use of ferry boats. On the 25th the following letter was despatched to Inglis by the hands of the pensioner, Ungud:—  
“We have two-thirds of our force across the river, and eight guns in position already. The rest will follow immediately. We have ample force to destroy all who oppose us. Send us a sketch of your position in the city, and any directions for entering it or turning it that may strike you. In five or six days we shall meet.





You must threaten the rear of the enemy if they come out and we will smash them." This was the letter which according to Inglis' report caused such joy in the garrison, only to be turned to bitter despair when the promised relief failed to arrive. For as yet the task was beyond the power of any man. Three times Havelock's force advanced, and three times had to fall back again. Five great actions were fought and won, but so heavy was the loss in battle and from sickness that Havelock could not but realise that his army would be annihilated, at this rate, before it could possibly reach Lucknow. Finally with the greatest reluctance he retired again to Cawnpore on the 17th August, to await reinforcements. Here to his bitter disappointment he learned that reinforcements were indeed being sent to him, but that Sir James Outram had been appointed to the command over his head. An urgent letter arrived from Inglis at this juncture, calling for speedy help, to which Havelock could only reply "Sir Colin Campbell promises me fresh troops, and you shall be my first care. The reinforcements may reach me in about twenty to twenty-five days, and meanwhile I will prepare everything for a march to Lucknow. Do not negotiate, but rather perish sword in hand."

Sir James Outram, who was now on his way to supersede Havelock, was one of the bravest soldiers and truest gentleman that the British army has ever produced. The natives had a proverb, "A fox is a fool and a lion is a coward by the side of Outram





Sahib." He and Havelock were tried comrades, bound together by a friendship of many years, and he was as deeply pained as Havelock himself could have been at the idea of depriving him of the reward of all his efforts. He was not long, therefore, in making up his mind what course to pursue, and he obtained the cordial sanction of the Governor-General to act accordingly. He arrived at Cawnpore, on the 15th September, and on the 16th, all being now ready for the final advance on Lucknow, he published the following famous order, and in so doing furnished one of the finest instances of chivalry and self-denial in our history.

"The important duty of relieving the garrison of Lucknow had been first intrusted to Major-General Havelock, C.B., and Major-General Outram feels that it is due to this distinguished officer, and the strenuous and noble exertions which he has already made to effect that object, that to him should accrue the honour of the achievement. The Major-General, therefore, in gratitude for and admiration of the brilliant deeds of arms achieved by General Havelock and his gallant troops, will cheerfully waive his rank on the occasion, and will accompany the force to Lucknow in his civil capacity, as Chief Commissioner of Oudh, tendering his military services to General Havelock as a Volunteer. On the relief of Lucknow the Major-General will resume his position at the head of the forces."

This offer, worthy of the Bayard of India, was accepted by Havelock with the deepest gratitude.





On the night of the 18th September, the floating bridge across the Ganges was laid, and the next day the force again crossed to the Oudh bank of the Ganges. The little army consisted of 2,780 British and 400 Natives, and was formed as follows:—

The first infantry brigade, commanded by General Neill, consisted of the Madras Fusiliers, the 5th Fusiliers, the 84th Foot, and two companies of the 64th. The second brigade, under the command of Colonel Hamilton of the 78th, was composed of the 78th Highlanders, the 90th Light Infantry, and Brasyer's Sikhs. The artillery brigade was made up of the field batteries of Maude and Olpherts, together with Vincent Eyre's heavy guns and howitzers. Captain Barrow of the Madras army led the small body of volunteer cavalry, which consisted largely of unattached officers, indigo planters, and refugee civilians.

On the 21st September, the first day's march, a large body of the enemy was encountered a short distance from Mungulwar\*; his right rested on a village and walled enclosure, while his centre and left were covered by a breastwork with six guns. Havelock sent his main force to the left, and while his artillery was silencing the fire of the enemy's guns the 90th Light Infantry cleared the village and orchard. A well timed frontal attack completed the business, and the enemy broke and fled. The horsemen took up the pursuit with vigour, and charged on through Unao,

\* Now called Mugurwara.





sabring the flying mass of rebels right and left. In front of Busseerutganj two guns behind an entrenchment barred the way; Barrow, followed by his men, rushed the earthwork, cut down the gunners, and captured the guns. The British loss in this action was trifling, but the rebels left 120 of their number on the field.

The second day's march, which was quite unopposed, brought the column to Bani on the Sai river, and towards the end of the march the soldiers could hear the dull booming of the guns in Lucknow. Cheered by this proof that their countrymen still held their own, the troops crossed the bridge which the rebels in their headlong flight had neglected to destroy, and bivouacked for the night a mile beyond. When the halting ground was reached Havelock ordered a royal salute to be fired, in the hope that the sound of the guns might reach the Residency, and cheer the hearts of the garrison; but the wind was in the wrong direction—the distance was 16 miles—and as it turned out the General's kindly wish was not gratified. At noon on the 23rd, the column came in sight of the Alumbagh, and found the enemy holding it in force, with about 10,000 trained sepoys and a large number of guns. Right across the front for a length of two miles stretched the long line of the hostile array, its centre on high ground, its left resting on the Alum-bagh, and its right behind a swamp. The enemy, trusting to the marshy ground to make their right secure, had concentrated their chief strength in the





Alumbagh. Havelock, seeing that he could not attack this enclosure without greatly exposing his men, the country being very open in that direction, determined to brave the difficulties of the swampy ground, and sent one of his two brigades, the 2nd, to his left front, the route lying through marshy and very heavy ground. Eyre's heavy battery was brought up along the road to crush the fire from guns which had come into action from about the centre of the enemy's position, and the first shot from which had struck down three officers of the 90th Regiment. Major Olphert's battery was sent to the left front to cover the advance of the 2nd brigade. At a stretching gallop the battery dashed up the road past the halted first brigade, which cheered loudly as the guns swept by. On the left of the road there was a deep trench full of water, which had to be crossed somehow. The cavalry escort plunged through, and then halted to watch how the battery would get over the obstacle. Olpherts, or Hell-fire Jack as his men called him, was not the man to be stopped by such a trifle. For a moment, wrote a spectator, there was chaos; a wild medley of detachments, drivers, guns, struggling horses, and splashing water; and then the guns were on the further side, nobody and nothing the worse for the scramble, all hands on the alert to obey Olphert's shout "Forward, Galop." On our left the fighting was done in knee-deep water. Outflanked on their right, and completely surprised by the attack from that unexpected side, the right and centre of the enemy fled in confusion, and the Alumbagh, attacked simul-



taneously by the 5th Fusiliers on the south side, and the 78th against the main entrance was carried with a rush. Outram himself, brandishing the stout malacca stick which formed his only weapon, led the horsemen in pursuit of the flying enemy, and the chase was continued nearly as far as the yellow house, a building which used to stand at about the southern corner of the present Central Post. It was now too dark for further progress, and the troops prepared to bivouack for the night. As Outram was riding back, he received a despatch, announcing the fall of Delhi, and he lost no time in communicating the joyful news to the tired soldiery. As a matter of fact the report afterwards turned out to be a false one, but it was believed at the time and roused a timely enthusiasm in the British camp. And the troops wanted all the cheering they could get, for the rain was falling in torrents, no tents were up, and no food forthcoming. The next day, the 24th, the tents were pitched for the first time since crossing the Ganges, and the troops had an opportunity of drying their clothes, and enjoying such rest as the constant fire from the enemy's guns allowed. The only incident of note this day was a sudden attack on the baggage by hostile cavalry; in the first surprise an officer and several men were killed, but it was not long before the rear guard of the 90th Foot, assisted by two of Olphert's guns, succeeded in driving back their assailants with heavy loss.

Havelock spent some hours of the day in discussing with Outram the arrangements for the next day's





advance. There was a choice of four routes open to him. He might go straight on across the canal, and through the city along the Cawnpore road; this was far the shortest way, but his force was too small for street to street fighting, and would have been crippled, if not completely destroyed, before it could have reached its goal. Or he might go straight across country by a wide movement to the right, cross the Gumti, and move up the left bank as far as the iron bridge, which was within a few hundred yards of the Residency; this had been Havelock's original plan, and he had brought with him all necessary materials for the bridging of the river; but three days of incessant rain had turned the country into a swamp, and, determined as he was not to move without his heavy guns, he reluctantly abandoned the idea. Another route would be to strike across country to the Dilkusha, and, with the Gumti guarding his right flank, to advance *viâ* the Martiniere and the Sikandar Bagh; this too, however, seemed impracticable for the same reason. He decided therefore on the fourth alternative; to cross the canal by the Châr Bagh bridge, then turn sharp to the right and take the road along the bank of the canal (which then existed, but has now disappeared) and follow the road now called the Outram Road to the Sikandar Bagh; thence, turning sharp to the left, to follow what is now called Clyde Road and reach the Residency by way of the Chattar Manzil palace. It was arranged that the sick and wounded, with the baggage and the reserve food and ammunition, were to be left in the Alumbagh in charge of 280





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European troops, under the command of Major McIntyre of the 78th.

At half past eight A.M., on the 25th September, the advance sounded and the column moved off with a cheer, Neill's brigade leading, headed by Maude's battery and two companies of the 5th Fusiliers. No sooner had the brigade passed through the advanced picquets than a murderous fire was poured upon it from front and flanks, and from two guns well concealed in the Yellow House; at the same moment it was found that the rear of the column was not yet ready to move off and the order was passed along to the front to halt. Maude brought his battery into action, and did all he could to keep down the enemy's fire, which however was of so terrific a nature that he lost one-third of his strength in a few minutes. Then came the welcome order to advance, and the infantry drove the enemy back on to the Yellow House, and the brigade pushed on leaving that building on their right. Outram, whose arm had been shot through by a musket bullet and roughly bound up with his handkerchief, led the Fusiliers to the right to clear the Char Bagh, while the rest of the brigade pressed on to within 200 yards of the canal bridge; this was strongly held by the enemy, with a battery of six guns entrenched behind it on the Lucknow side of the canal. There was only room for two of Maude's guns to come into action, and the first discharge of the rebel battery disabled one of them killing or wounding nearly all the detachment. Several volunteers from the infantry sprung forward to





assist in working the gun, but the fire of the enemy increased every moment, and their musketry and artillery mowed down the men as fast as they took their places. For half an hour the unequal contest was maintained, and Maude and his subaltern, Maitland, were each reduced to the necessity of doing the work of a "Number one." Young Havelock, the General's son and A.-D. C., was standing close by, and there is a picturesque story, which however is by no means universally accepted as authentic, that at this crisis Maude called out to him that he could not fight his guns much longer. Then, so goes the story, young Havelock rode across to Neill, the senior officer in sight, and urged on him the necessity for an immediate assault. Neill however would not take the responsibility; "General Outram must turn up soon," he said. Then Havelock turned and rode to the rear, bent on the perpetration of a pious fraud. His father, the general, was far to the rear, with the 2nd brigade, but the son, after a suspiciously short disappearance, came back at a gallop, rode up to Neill, and saluting said, "You are to carry the bridge at once, Sir." According to another, and perhaps more probable account, it was Colonel Fraser Tytler, D.A.Q.M.G. of the force, who induced Neill—and we may well suppose that he required very little persuasion—to take the initiative. Be that as it may, Neill turned to the 1st Madras Fusiliers, and gave the order to assault. At the word, and without waiting for the regiment to rise and form, Lieutenant Arnold, who was a short way in front,





sprang up and dashed on to the bridge, followed by his skirmishers and a few men of the 84th. Havelock and Tytler, as eager as Arnold, set spurs to their horses and were alongside of him in a moment. They were received with a torrent of grape shot and musketry. Arnold dropped, shot through both thighs; Tytler came down with his horse killed under him; the bridge was swept clear, save for young Havelock, erect and unwounded, waving his sword and shouting to the Fusiliers to come on. Before the enemy's guns could be reloaded the Fusiliers were on the bridge in a headlong mass; they were across it, they cleared the barricade, stormed the battery, and bayoneted the sepoy gunners where they stood. This charge won for the column its thoroughfare over the canal. The two hostile guns, which still maintained their position at the Yellow House, now began to play upon the right rear of the column, and General Havelock ordered the 90th to take them; this they did in the face of a heavy fire of grape, aided by Olpherts, who won the Victoria Cross by carrying off the captured guns through a galling crossfire of musketry. The troops now proceeded to march over the bridge, the 78th being told off to hold the end of the Cawnpore road from the city till everything had passed, and then to follow the column as its rearguard. The main body with Outram and Havelock at their head proceeded, slowly and with great difficulty, along the marshy lane which skirted the canal, following the route described above. As the enemy had expected them to march through the city, they met with





no opposition to speak of until they reached the Moti Mahal. Here there was some desperate fighting, the enemy plying them with grape shot from guns posted in front of the Kaiser Bagh, and musketry from the Khurshid Manzil. Eyre's guns answered the fire from the Kaiser Bagh, and the column pushed on through the hail of shrapnel and bullets, and after suffering heavy loss reached comparative shelter in the precincts of the Chattar Manzil palace. Here they halted and waited for the rear guard to close up. Meanwhile the 78th had been resisting furious attacks from the city, and had been engaged for three hours in hand to hand fighting, from which they were unable to extricate themselves until an hour after the main body had crossed the bridge and moved on. This caused them to lose touch with the rest of the force, and when they emerged from the narrow lane by the canal all trace was lost. Here they found two roads, and instead of taking the one leading to the Sikandar Bagh, they turned sharply to the left and entered the street called Hazratganj. To-day this is a wide street lined chiefly with European shops, but at that time it was a narrow road, with tall native houses rising from either side. From these a steady fire rained down upon the highlanders, inflicting heavy loss. As they advanced they could hear the sound of their comrades, heavily engaged on their right, and then they emerged suddenly into a great open area, to find themselves on the flank of an entrenched battery in action in front of the Kaiser Bagh, which was busily engaged in firing at the British soldiers of the main





body, as they advanced between the Moti Mahal and the Khurshid Manzil. In a moment the Highlanders dashed into the battery, killed most of the gunners, and spiked the guns. They then pressed on to the right, and joined the rest of the column near where Bruce's bridge now stands.

The sun was now setting, and Havelock was impatient to reach the long desired goal without further delay. Outram however, knowing the ground, foresaw the terrible sacrifice of life that the forcing of the narrow street, which led from here to the Residency, would entail. He therefore proposed to halt for a short time longer in order to collect the whole column; in comparative safety through the intervening palaces. session, and they could work their way to the Residency in comparative safety through the intervening places. Havelock however would not consent. "There is the street," he said, "we see the worst; we shall be slated, but we can push through and get it over." At last Outram, against his better judgment, gave in. He used to say afterwards that he regretted not having reassumed the command at this juncture, and followed the plan which his cool-headed prudence dictated; this he might fairly have done, for the relief of the Residency was now to all intents and purposes an accomplished fact. However he allowed his temper to get a little the better of him, and crying "Let us on then in God's name" placed himself by Havelock's side at the head of the column.





It may here be pointed out for the better understanding of what followed that the ground to the south of the Chattar Manzil, and in its immediate vicinity, presented a very different appearance from the open space which meets the visitor's eye to-day. From the front of the Kaiser Bagh indeed there was an open field of fire in the direction of the Moti Mahal and the Khurshid Manzil, but the Chattar outbuildings and enclosures extended down the river almost as far as Bruce's, or the Monkey, bridge, and a regular network of lanes and courtyards covered the space where the marble statue of Queen Victoria now stands, surrounded by neat paths and well mown lawns.

Into this zigzag of narrow streets the column entered, the 78th now leading, and found itself at once under a hot fire from every window and balcony. The gallant Neill was shot dead as the troops passed through the Sher Darwaza, now known as Neill's gate, (a pillar marks the exact spot), and on entering the Khass Bazar, a stream of bullets poured on the head of the devoted column. There was little chance of retaliation, as the rebels were under cover, and officers and men fell fast. Sternly and grimly the soldiers pushed on through the cruel ordeal, and turning to the right out of the Khass Bazar the 78th and Brasyer's Sikhs, led by the two generals, followed a road which, leading past the Jail over ground now covered by the Court of the Judicial Commissioner, debouched on the Residency position opposite Saunders' Post. The remainder of the column, on turning out of the Khass





Bazar, was diverted half right across the Paen Bagh, under the guidance of Lieutenant Moorsom, and moved on the Residency by a comparatively sheltered street parallel to Outram's route, now called Neill Road.

And now the battered arch of the Bailey guard gate could be descried through the gathering darkness, and cheering loudly the head of the column made for it with a final rush. But the gate itself had been filled up with earth and sandbags, and the only entrance was a big breach in the wall to the right of it, used as a gun embrasure. The gun was run back by the defenders, and Outram and Havelock rode through, followed by the eager soldiers. "And then," wrote a staff officer of the besieged garrison, "then all our doubts and fears were over; and from every pit, trench, and battery; from behind the sandbags piled on shattered houses; from every post still held by a few gallant spirits; even from the hospital, rose cheer on cheer." Lady Inglis describes the scene in her diary as follows:—"At 6 P.M. tremendous cheering was heard, and we knew that our relief had reached us. I was standing outside our door, when Ellicock rushed in for my husband's sword; a few minutes afterwards my husband came to us accompanied by a short quiet looking gray haired man, who I knew at once was General Havelock. He shook hands with me, and said he feared we had suffered a great deal. I could hardly answer him."

The majority of the wounded, with the heavy guns and ammunition, remained for the night in the Moti Mahal, and it took the whole of the next day, the 26th,





to disengage them from the investing enemy, and to bring them within the shelter of the Chattar Manzil enclosures, which were secured by a gallant charge of some men of the 90th, 5th Fusiliers, and 32nd led by Colonel Purnell of the 90th, and Captain McCabe of the 32nd. On the morning of the same day a most successful sortie was made by 150 men of the 32nd, under Captain Lowe, by which the Tehri Kothi, and the whole river front from the Chattar almost as far as the iron bridge, fell into our hands. There was however one sad misadventure to set off against these successes. A convoy of wounded men, on its way in from the Moti Mahal, went astray, and was intercepted by the rebels in the square where Neill fell; a few escaped, but the large majority, over 70 in number, were brutally murdered.

The total loss during the six days' fighting that followed the crossing of the Ganges, *i.e.*, from the 21st to the 26th September, amounted to 196 killed and 339 wounded.

Although it is customary to speak of this as the first relief, it is more correct to call it a reinforcement. Outram's force was far too small to attempt to withdraw the women and children from the Residency, and all his baggage and supplies had been left in a precarious position at the Alum Bagh. In the matter of food supplies therefore the plight of the garrison was worse than it was before the fresh troops arrived; in fact, during the first few days, Outram formed the project of leaving the 90th, about 300 men, to strengthen the





original garrison, and fighting his way back with the remainder of his force to the Alum Bagh, and thence to Cawnpore to await further reinforcements. Fortunately it was discovered at this crisis that the supply of grain in the Residency was considerably greater than had been supposed, and on the 4th October, Outram decided to abandon this perilous plan, which indeed only the most dire necessity could have justified as a last resource, and to remain where he was with his whole force. He now reorganised the troops into two brigades; Brigadier Inglis, with his own 32nd, the 78th, the Madras Fusiliers, and the volunteer cavalry, remained in command of the Residency and its immediate environs; while the other brigade, consisting of the 5th Fusiliers, the 84th (with the 2 companies of the 64th attached), the 90th, and Brasyer's Sikhs, was allotted to Havelock, and charged with the occupation of the palaces lying to the east of the Residency, with their precincts and gardens. A succession of sorties was made with a view to extending the position, which was finally fixed on October 6th, and included the old Residency position extended down to the river, the Chattar Manzil extension from the Tehri Kothi through the Farhat Baksh to the Chattar and its advanced gardens (down to about 150 yards short of the Monkey bridge), the Paen Bagh, and all the ground now covered by the Judicial Commissioner's court. This new arrangement had the effect at once of enlarging our holding, and of relieving the original position from the constant annoyance its defenders had endured from the hostile tenure of the palaces.





The enemy now adopted a new system of tactics; their guns were withdrawn to a greater distance, and disposed to act not against the defences, but against the interior of the entrenchment; and they kept up incessant mining operations, chiefly against the position of which Havelock had charge. To quote from Outram's despatch, dated 25th November 1857:—"I am aware of no parallel to our series of mines in modern war: 21 shafts, aggregating 200 feet in depth, and 3,291 feet of gallery, have been executed. The enemy advanced twenty mines against the palaces and outposts; of these they exploded three which caused us loss of life, and two which did no injury; seven have been blown in and out of seven others, the enemy have been driven, and their galleries taken possession of by our miners. . . . The reports and plans forwarded by Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B., and now submitted to His Excellency, will explain how a line of gardens, courts, and dwelling houses without fortified enceinte, without flanking defences, and closely connected with the buildings of a city, has been maintained for eight weeks in a certain degree of security; and notwithstanding the close and constant musketry fire from loopholed walls and windows often within thirty yards, and from every lofty building within rifle range, and notwithstanding a frequent though desultory fire of round shot and grape from guns posted at various distances, from 70 to 500 yards. This result has been obtained by the skill and courage of the Engineer and Quarter-master General's department, zealously aided by the brave officers and





soldiers, who have displayed the same cool determination and cheerful alacrity in the toils of the trench and amidst the concealed dangers of the mine, that they had previously exhibited when forcing their way into Lucknow at the point of the bayonet and amidst a most murderous fire. . . . I cannot conclude this report without expressing to His Excellency my intense admiration of the noble spirit displayed by all ranks and grades of the force since we entered Lucknow. Themselves placed in a state of siege,—suddenly reduced to scanty and unsavoury rations—denied all the little luxuries, (such as tea, sugar, rum, and tobacco) which by constant use had become to them almost necessities of life, smitten in many cases by the same scorbutic affections and other evidences of debility which prevailed amongst the original garrison, compelled to engage in laborious operations, exposed to constant danger and kept ever on the alert, their spirits and cheerfulness, and zeal and discipline, seemed to rise with the occasion. Never could there have been a force more free from grumblers, more cheerful, more willing, or more earnest.

Amongst the sick and wounded this glorious spirit was, if possible, still more conspicuous than amongst those fit for duty. It was a painful sight to see so many noble fellows maimed and suffering, and denied those comforts of which they stood so much in need. But it was truly delightful, and made one proud of his countrymen to observe the heroic fortitude and hearty cheerfulness with which all was borne."





Although, as has been said above, there was enough grain to keep the garrison from actual starvation, still two scanty meals a day, barely enough to keep body and soul together, were all that could be allowed from the very first; and on the 26th October, the scale of rations was still further reduced to make it last a month more. Some idea of the general scarcity during this period may be got from the following prices which were current at the time:—Brandy fetched £2-10 a bottle, Beer £7 a dozen, a small tin of soup £2. Eggs sold at the rate of two for a rupee; clothing was almost beyond price, and a flannel shirt was considered cheap at £2. In other respects however the defenders enjoyed considerably more of the amenities of life than had been the case during the first period of the defence. The women and children were now able to take the air occasionally without danger from shot or shell and there was no longer any fear of the position being captured by a sudden assault; moreover servants were again obtainable, a large number of followers having come in with Havelock's force. Communication too with the outer world was fairly frequent (though not for private correspondence), and the beleaguered garrison was cheered from time to time by news of the preparations that were being made for its relief.

The total loss in the second phase of the defence of the Residency, subsequent to that incurred at the entry of Havelock's troops and up to the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell, on the 17th November, amounted to 127 killed and 416 wounded.





## CHAPTER V.

## THE SECOND RELIEF.

It will be remembered that Havelock left a small body of men in a very critical position in the Alum Bagh. It consisted of 280 Europeans, a few Sikhs, and four guns, and had charge of about 130 sick and wounded, the baggage, and about 4,000 native followers. Fortunately no serious attack was made on the position, although the enemy's cavalry were always hovering around ready to cut up any camp followers who might fall in their way, and on the 7th October, a welcome reinforcement of 200 men, and 2 guns, arrived from Cawnpore. A second convoy got through later on in the month with 500 infantry, 50 cavalry, and 2 guns; and on the 30th October, Brigadier Hope Grant crossed the Ganges with a force of nearly 4,000 men, and reached Bani, on the Sai river, the next day. On the 2nd November, he advanced to Banthara, where he met and defeated an advance party of the enemy at a cost of about 30 men killed and wounded. Here he remained encamped while troops were being pushed up from Cawnpore. On the 6th November a strong force was sent to the Alum Bagh, and brought away the sick and wounded from there to Cawnpore. On the 9th Sir Colin Campbell arrived at Banthara; and the following morning a member of the Lucknow garrison, a civilian named Kavanagh, reached the Commander-in-Chief to act as a guide to the relieving force. The romantic story of how this most valiant man, disguised as a native, after swimming across the river from the





entrenchments and recrossing by the old stone bridge, made his way through the heart of Lucknow, through post after post of the enemy, and finally reached the British camp, may be read in his own book, "How I won the Victoria Cross," but is too long to give in detail here.

On the 12th November, the relieving force advanced to the Alum Bagh meeting with no opposition except from a body of about 2,000 infantry with 2 guns, in position near the old fort of Jelalabad; these were put to route and the guns captured by a gallant charge of Hodson's Horse under Lieutenant Gough.

The force now collected under Sir Colin, which was to perform the difficult and dangerous task of rescuing Outram and his little garrison from the grasp of some 60,000 trained soldiers, consisted of about 700 cavalry, 3,400 infantry and 42 guns, and was constituted as follows :—

Cavalry brigade, under General Little. 2 squadrons 9th Lancers, Detachments from the 1st, 2nd and 5th Punjab Cavalry, and Hodson's Horse.

Artillery, under Brigadier Crawford. 1 Battery Royal Horse Artillery, 2 Troops Bengal Horse Artillery, 2 guns Madras Horse Artillery, 2 Companies Royal Artillery, and the Naval Brigade of 6 24-Pr. guns and 2 Howitzers.

Third Infantry brigade, under Brigadier Greathed. The 8th Foot, 2nd Punjab Infantry, and a Battalion





formed from detachments of the 5th, 64th, and 78th Foot.

Fourth Infantry brigade, under Brigadier Adrian Hope. The 93rd, a wing of the 53rd, 4th Punjab Infantry, Detachments of the 84th and 90th.

Fifth Infantry brigade, under Brigadier Russell. Wing of 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, 2 Companies 82nd.

Engineers. 2 Companies Engineers, 2 Companies newly raised Pioneers.

On the 13th November, the 4th Infantry brigade occupied the fort of Jelalabad, which the enemy were found to have deserted, and the same afternoon a strong reconnaissance was pushed towards the Charbagh bridge, with the object of deceiving the enemy as to the real line of advance. Sir Colin had decided not to follow Havelock's route, but to make a detour round to the east, and then advance *viâ* Dilkusha and the Martiniere. At 9 A.M. on the 14th November, the march from the Alum Bagh began. The column struck across country, past where the Jail now stands and over the present British Infantry rifle range; then through the south-east corner of the cantonments of to-day, and on towards Dilkusha House. As the enemy had expected an attack *viâ* the Charbagh, no resistance was offered for the first few miles. The head of the column was then fired at from the village of Banda, which stood on the site of the Field Artillery gun-park; but the rebels were soon driven out, and a few minutes





later the Dilkusha park wall was reached, which ran across the north end of the present British cavalry lines. Here our troops were met by musketry and artillery fire, but an opening was soon made in the park wall, and the enemy were driven headlong out of Dilkusha House. Two batteries immediately came into action just where the ground begins to slope down north-west of the Dilkusha, and, under cover of their fire, the infantry pushed on rapidly and drove the rebels out of the Martiniere at the point of the bayonet. The cavalry completed the route and chased the flying enemy as far as the canal. By noon the British were in possession of both the Dilkusha and the Martiniere. The rest of the day was occupied in making good the position thus won, and by evening our troops held the right bank of the canal up to a point opposite Banks' House (now the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor), the enemy lining the other bank of the canal in great force. The soldiers bivouacked on the ground, Sir Colin sleeping out in the open among his men. Next day, the 15th, no further advance could be made, as through some unfortunate mistake the provisions and ammunition had failed to turn up; but in the afternoon the General ordered a tremendous cannonade to be kept up on the left, against the Begum Kothi (now the general post office), with the object of deluding the enemy into the belief that that was to be the point of assault; this fire was kept up all night. That evening the look out man on the Residency tower spelt out the glad signal, semaphored from the top of the Martiniere, "Advance to-morrow."





At 8 A.M. on the 16th the force moved off. The advance guard, guided by Lieutenant Roberts, Bengal Artillery (now Field Marshal Earl Roberts, V.C.), consisted of Blunt's horse battery, Hodson's Horse, and a company of the 53rd. Sir Colin and his staff rode immediately behind the advance guard, and was closely followed by the main body, consisting of Adrian Hope's brigade and Russell's brigade; the 8th Foot were left to garrison Dilkusha and Greathed's brigade guarded the left flank, with instructions to follow on at noon as rearguard. The whole force that was now to advance numbered little more than 3,000 bayonets, and against these were ranged 60,000 armed men, mostly trained soldiers, and occupying a position of great strength. The risk was tremendous, and by all the rules of war the chances of success were forlorn indeed, but the memory of Cawnpore, and the thought of the women and children whom they had come to save, filled the hearts of all with a high courage that shrank from no danger and feared no odds, and turned the humblest soldier that day into a Paladin, marching forward as to an assured victory. Shortly after leaving the Martiniere the column, passing round by the north of Jiamow, crossed the dry bed of the canal close to its junction with the Gumti, and after following the winding of the river for about a mile struck a narrow lane, which bending sharply to the left led through thickly wooded enclosures into a small village, lying parallel to and about 150 yards from the east face of the Sikandar Bagh. This stronghold, a high-walled





enclosure of strong masonry about 150 yards square, remains to this day much the same as it was at that time, except that a road has now been cut through the middle of it. From it a tremendous fire was opened upon the head of the column; and for a few minutes there was a scene of great confusion, the lane being blocked by infantry and artillery hurrying up to the scene of action, and the cavalry of the advance guard being unable to move forward or backward. Gradually however the 53rd got into position in the mud huts and enclosures on their right, and began to reply to the enemy's fire, while Blunt brought his horse battery with much struggling and tugging up the steep bank and so clear of the lane; once up, the guns galloped forward into the open space between the Sikandar Bagh and a Serai which used to stand opposite to it (in what is now the compound of the Civil Surgeon's bungalow), and opened fire to their right, left, and front. A deadly fire was poured on them from the two buildings, and Sir Colin himself was struck on the thigh by a bullet, which had first passed through the body of one of the gunners, killing him on the spot. Blunt however held his ground, until some companies of the 53rd and the 93rd emerged from the lane and took the Serai with a rush. Pressing close on the heels of the flying rebels, these companies made for the barracks (now Lawrence Terrace), a large fortified building in the form of a cross. The only approach to this building was defended by two guns and a steady fire of musketry, and the troops suffered severely as they advanced to





the attack; Stewart, with great gallantry, led straight on to the guns, captured them with a rush, and drove the enemy helter skelter out of the barracks, which he proceeded to occupy. Meanwhile two of Travers' 18-Pr. guns had been brought forward, and hauled into position about 60 yards from the south-east corner of the Bagh. Two companies of the 93rd lined the bank on their right (a portion of which may still be seen at the corner of Way Road), while the remainder lay down in the open in a curved line stretching from the left of the guns almost up to the Serai; the 4th P. I. came into line on the right of the 93rd. The infantry kept up a lively musketry battle with the defenders of the Bagh, while the guns pounded the south-east bastion, which was of such thickness that it was fully an hour before a breach began to become visible, at a spot now marked by a tablet let into the wall. The guns redoubled their fire; Hardy, the captain of the battery was killed, and the senior subaltern wounded, and there were many casualties, but the combat was maintained, and in about half an hour longer, the hole now being about 3 feet square and some  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet from the ground, Sir Colin directed a bugler of the 93rd to sound the advance. In an instant the 4th P. I., the 93rd, and the 53rd sprang to their feet, and swept forward in a glorious rush, straining nerve and limb to be first in the race. Their officers led like gallant gentlemen, waving their swords in the air. Accounts differ as to who was the first to enter the breach, but the strongest claim to that honour seems to belong to





Captain Burroughs of the 93rd, who, it is said, bent his head, and actually succeeded in jumping clear through the hole; three or four men of the 93rd reached it next, and climbed or were pushed through, followed by Lieutenant Cooper, Colonel Ewart, and Lieutenant Gordon-Alexander, all of the same regiment. The main body of the 93rd and the 53rd made for the gateway, followed by the greater part of the 4th P. I., who found the crowd round the breach so thick that entry by that way was well nigh impossible. A party of rebels had been holding an earth-work just outside the gateway, and as they fled inside and were on the point of closing the heavy doors, a sepoy of the 4th P. I., Mukarrab Khan by name, thrust his left arm between them in order to prevent them being shut; on his hand being badly wounded by a sword cut, he pushed in his other arm, when the right hand was all but severed at the wrist. The delay was sufficient to allow his comrades to come up and the doors were forced open.

When Burroughs got in after his leap into what must have seemed to be certain death, he found himself in a small room with a doorway opening from it into the enclosure. Fortunately the enemy had found it too hot to hold under the fire of Travers' guns, and Burroughs waited until about twenty men had collected; he then rushed into the enclosure, and made for the gate, with the intention of opening it and letting in the main body; the gate house was swarming with rebels, and the small party were at once engaged in a hand to hand fight. In the scuffle Burroughs received a sword





cut on the head, which stretched him senseless, but from which he recovered later on in the day. At the same moment the doors burst open, and the 93rd and 4th P. I., poured in through the gateway. Meanwhile, when Burroughs made for the gate, Ewart and Cooper, with a few Highlanders and Sikhs, took the path to the right, and charged as far as the north-east bastion; here they were joined by Lumsden, who had entered by the main gate. He fell dead in the act of calling out "Come on men, for the honour of Scotland." Ewart engaged in a desperate fight with two native officers; he killed both, and captured the colours which one of them was carrying. The enemy finding escape impossible fought with the courage of despair and the fury of religious hate. With a wrath even more terrible the British soldiers, shouting their dreadful war cry "Remember Cawnpore," pressed on as relentless as Fate, and drove the sepoys back, step by step and with a horrid carnage, into a pavilion which stood, and still stands, in the centre of the square. Here the rebels made a short stand, but they were gradually driven back towards the northern wall. At the north end of the enclosure, exactly opposite the big gateway at the south end, there was a two-storied building, since cleared away; a body of rebels held out here for some time, and all the efforts of our men to break in the strong door were in vain. At last a gun was brought up, the door was blown in, and the staircase stormed. The Highlanders and Punjabis, when they reached the top, made short work of the defenders; many were hurled





down from the roof, many leapt off to perish below, all were destroyed to a man. It was past two o'clock when the troops were drawn off from the interior of the charnel house; our losses had been heavy, but two sepoy regiments had been entirely annihilated, 2,000 rebel corpses lay strewn on the ground, and the British soldier could feel that now at last something had been done to avenge the innocent blood so foully shed at Cawnpore. The corpses of the mutineers were afterwards thrown into one common grave, and the large mound under which they lie can still be seen within a private compound at the corner of the Outram and Clyde roads.

After a short halt the column again pressed forward towards the Residency, and about 400 yards further on, on the right flank, the Kadam rasul barred the way. This was a mosque, now in ruins, situated in a commanding position on the top of a mound; formidable as it looked however it was not very strongly held, and was easily taken by assault by the 2nd P. I., belonging to Greathed's brigade, which had now joined the main body. Another 200 yards further on stood, and still stands, the Shah Najaf. This is the tomb of the first King of Oudh, a building covered by an enormous dome standing in a large walled garden about twice the size of the Sikandar Bagh. It has been repaired since the mutiny days, and its high strong walls show no traces of the struggle which raged so fiercely beneath them. The rebels were holding this post in great strength, and the walls were so massive that even Peel's





naval guns could produce no effect on them. For three hours the bombardment lasted, but no breach appeared, and the enemy kept up a perpetual hail of fire. Sir Colin sitting on his white charger, and utterly ignoring the bursting shell and bullets which were falling all round him, appeared intensely anxious. Suddenly he seemed to make up his mind, and riding up to the 93rd, who had been lying under cover for an hour, he said to them, '93rd, I had no intention of employing you again to-day, but the Shah Najaf must be taken. The artillery cannot drive the enemy out, so you must do it with the bayonet. I shall lead you myself.' The men answered with a resounding cheer, and the battalion proceeded to form for the attack. Meanwhile the general ordered Middleton's battery of Royal Artillery to come into action as close as possible to the Shah Najaf. Middleton gave the signal, and the battery galloped forward, the drivers waving their whips, the gunners their caps, and the officers their swords, and all cheering; the guns were unlimbered within pistol shot of the south end of the eastern wall and poured round after round upon the parapets, while the naval guns continued to pound the wall. And then—in Napier's immortal phrase—then was seen with what strength and majesty the British soldier fights. Led by the old chief, drawn sword in hand, the 93rd swept irresistibly forward. The bullets fell round them in a storm of lead and the soldiers began to drop fast; Sir Colin himself was wounded a second time, and of his staff two were killed and all the rest were either wounded





or had their horses shot under them. But nothing could stop that astonishing infantry, and they moved on without a check until they reached a group of mud huts not twenty paces from the high walls of the enclosure. One of Peel's 24-Pr. guns was now hauled up to within 15 yards of the south-east corner of the wall, Brigadier Hope himself giving a hand at the drag ropes, but the solid wall still resisted all attacks. Many a gallant effort was made to scale it but in vain; men were falling everywhere, and the darkness was fast coming on. The order was now whispered among the officers to collect the wounded and retire, when in the very nick of time Sergeant Paton, of the 93rd, came running up to report that he had found an opening in the wall, about 50 yards to the right; it was an old rent, and being covered with brushwood had up till now escaped notice. A rush was made for the spot, and the men climbed through it one by one into the enclosure. As they entered, the enemy, who had no wish to share the fate of their comrades in the Sikandar Bagh, bolted like rabbits out of the Northern end of the square, and the place was ours. The troops bivouacked for the night in the position they had won, the right of the army resting on the Shah Najaf, and the left in the Barracks.

Meanwhile the beleaguered garrison had not been idle and, a well planned movement, in co-operation with the relieving force, had been carried out by Havelock's division, reinforced by about 150 men of the 78th. What that movement was may be best described in





Havelock's own words, taken from the report written by him on the evening of the 16th:—"The progress of the relieving force was anxiously watched, and it was determined that as soon as they should reach the Sikandar Bagh, the outer wall of the advance garden of the Palace, in which the enemy had before made several breaches, should be blown in by mines previously prepared; that two powerful batteries erected in the enclosure should then open on the insurgent's defences in front, and, after the desired effect had been produced, that the troops should storm two buildings known by the name of the Hiran Khana or Deer house, and the steam engine house. Under these also three mines had been driven. It was ascertained about 11 A.M. that Sir Colin Campbell, was operating against the Sikandar Bagh. The explosion of the mines in the garden was therefore ordered. Their action was, however, comparatively feeble, so the batteries had the double task of completing the demolition of the wall, and prostrating and breaching the works and the buildings beyond it. Brigadier Eyre commanded in the left battery; Captain Olpherts in the right; Captain Maude shelled from six mortars in a more retired quadrangle of the Palace. The troops were formed in the square of the Chatter Manzil, and brought up in succession through the approaches, which in every direction intersected the advance garden. At quarter past three two of the mines at the Hiran Khana exploded with good effect. At half past 3 the advance sounded. It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm with which





this signal was received by the troops. Pent up in inaction for upwards of six weeks, and subjected to constant attacks, they felt that the hour of retribution and glorious exertion had returned. Their cheers echoed through the courts of the Palace, responsive to the bugle sound, and on they rushed to assured victory. The enemy could nowhere withstand them. In a few minutes the whole of the buildings were in our possession."

Early on the morning of the 17th, Sir Colin ordered Brigadier Russell to capture with his brigade the ruined bungalows (once the quarters of the officers of the 32nd), which lay along the north side of what is now the Park road, from the Allahabad Bank to the bridge over the canal. This duty was carried out without a check, and a little later Banks' house was also occupied by a party of the 2nd P. I., specially detailed for the purpose. Meanwhile Peel's guns had been bombarding the Khurshid Manzil, or Mess house, all the morning. This building, now the Martiniere Girls' School, is a solidly built two-storied house, standing on rising ground and surrounded by a ditch 12 feet wide and ten feet deep. At about 3 P.M. the musketry fire from its defenders having slackened down considerably, the order to assault was given. The storming party was commanded by Captain Wolseley, 90th Foot (afterwards Field Marshal Viscount Wolseley), and included a company of his own regiment and detachments of the 53rd Foot, and the 2nd P. I. The Mess house was taken with a rush, and Lieutenant



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Roberts planted, amid a shower of bullets, a regimental colour on one of the turrets, to show Outram how far the force had advanced; it was shot down twice, but Roberts planted it a third time, and fixed it so firmly that the enemy were unable to shoot it down again. Wolseley followed the flying enemy across the open space to the Moti Mahal; here the rebels made a last stand, but, although they fought with great spirit, they were driven from room to room at the point of the bayonet, and finally thrust out of the enclosure. The Tara Kothi, now the Bank of Bengal, was captured simultaneously.

The relieving force and the garrison were now separated only by the 400 yards of open space that lay between the outskirts of the Chattar Manzil and the Moti Mahal; swept though it was by musketry fire from the Kaiser Bagh and by a heavy cannonade from the Badshah Bagh across the river, Outram and Havelock were not to be deterred from crossing it. Six officers and one civilian shared with them the dangers of the perilous crossing; they were Napier, Vincent Eyre, young Havelock, Dodgson, Sitwell, Russell, and the gallant Kavanagh. Young Havelock and Russell were wounded, but the rest got over unscathed, and entered the Moti Mahal at the point now marked by a tablet in the wall. While they were making their way through the passages and courts of the Moti Mahal, Havelock was thrown to the ground by the concussion of a shell which burst at his feet, but he rose unhurt. Another dangerous passage now had to be traversed,





from the Moti Mahal to the Mess house, and here two more staff officers, Napier and Sitwell, were wounded, but the two generals crossed in safety. Sir Colin was awaiting them on the lawn sloping down from the Mess house, and a pillar marks the spot where the three veterans had their historic meeting. "A cordial shaking of hands took place," wrote Hope Grant, who was present at the interview, and it is probable that even in that supreme moment none of the three betrayed the emotion he must have felt. Yet we may well believe that the stern old warrior, who had brought deliverance at last to the sorely tried garrison, had never tasted a purer joy than he did at that moment; that the Bayard of India could have sought no more complete reward than this for all his self denial, his struggles, and his privations; and that Havelock, upon whom the hand of death was already laid, experienced to the full the satisfaction and inward peace that comes to him who can truly say, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith."

The British losses during the operations of the 2nd Relief, from the 12th November, were—

11 officers and 117 rank and file killed.

36 officers and 393 rank and file wounded.





## CHAPTER VI.

THE EVACUATION OF THE RESIDENCY, AND OUTRAM'S  
DEFENCE OF THE ALUM BAGH.

ON the 18th November, Sir Colin communicated to Outram his decision to evacuate the Residency at once, and to leave a strong division in a good military position near the Alum Bagh, which would keep the enemy in check and represent the authority of the British Government in Oudh, until Lucknow could be permanently recaptured. Outram was strongly of opinion that the rebels should be driven out of the Kaiser Bagh, and the Residency position retained, urging that its abandonment would certainly be regarded by the mutineers as a victory to themselves, and would have a most unfortunate political effect. This opinion was shared, though chiefly no doubt for reasons of sentiment, by Inglis and most of the officers of the original garrison, who could not bear to think that the flag which they had so long kept flying was now to be lowered in what they had deemed the very moment of victory. Inglis even went so far as to beg to be left behind with one regiment only, when he would undertake to hold his old post, until the British army should return. But rightly or wrongly the Chief had made up his mind, and was not to be moved by either argument or appeal.

The arrangements for the delicate and difficult operation of withdrawing the troops, and with them the women, and the sick and wounded, were completed by the 19th, and at about 3 P.M. on that day, some hours





after the sick and wounded had been safely carried away, the convoy of women and children set out. It was a melancholy procession, for many of them were leaving behind them all that they held most dear; some were conveyed in carriages or native carts, but a good many had to trudge on foot through the five miles of heavy sand. Passing through the Tehri Kothi and Chatter Manzil they crossed the dangerous space between the latter and the Moti Mahal in safety, though occasionally some of them had to run for their lives from a shower of grape or bullets. On the road beyond the Moti Mahal they were exposed in places to a heavy fire from the enemy's guns on the other side of the river, and it was an hour before they reached the Sikandar Bagh, where Sir Colin was waiting to give them a warm greeting. They had a long rest here, and late that night were sent on in doolies to the Dilkusha, which they reached at last in safety at 2 A.M. on the 20th. Only one woman, and two or three native servants had been hurt on the way by the enemy's fire.

On the 20th and two succeeding days a tremendous cannonade was kept up on the Kaiser Bagh; on the 22nd three wide breaches had been made in the walls, and the enemy naturally enough imagined that an immediate assault was intended, and paid no further attention to the Residency than to keep up the usual desultory fire. That night, a little after 11 P.M., the garrisons of the posts all round the famous entrenchment were silently withdrawn, and assembled beside the Residency. At 12 midnight the order to march





was given, and the illustrious garrison filed past Outram and Inglis, who stood by the Bailey Guard gate. An eye-witness, Mr. Money, describes the final scene as follows :—“ I had passed out of the entrance gate of the Bailey Guard at Outram’s request, and I saw that he held back. The thought struck me at once that he wished to be the last man to quit the garrison; but it was not to be. Brigadier Inglis had observed the move, and at once said, “ You will allow me, Sir, to be the last, and to shut the gates of my old garrison.” Outram yielded, and Inglis closed the gate. The whole movement of retirement was admirably executed, and furnishes a perfect example of how such combinations should be carried out. The garrison moved by the route which had been taken by the convoy of non-combatants, passing through Sir Colin’s advanced posts as far as the Sikandar Bagh. Then each exterior line came gradually retiring through its supports, till at length nothing remained but the last line, consisting of Hope’s brigade and 15 guns, which the Chief himself had drawn up in readiness to crush the enemy if he had dared to follow up. The last to withdraw were the troops holding the barracks, the ruined bungalows, and Banks’ house, who retired by a direct route on to the Dilkusha. When Outram’s force was reported all clear, Hope’s brigade fell back followed by the guns. Sir Colin, who had been watching the retreat with his staff, all mounted, by the gate of the Sikandar Bagh, was the last to go, with a small handful of infantry which he had kept as a rear guard. Shortly before





dawn on the 23rd the whole garrison had been safely withdrawn without molestation in the face of 50,000 enemies, and every soldier was in the position allotted to him, covering the Martiniere and Dilkusha house. Next day a gloom was cast over the camp, to spread later on over the whole of the English speaking world, by the death of Havelock, who had fallen ill on the 20th, and breathed his last in a tent pitched beside Dilkusha house on the morning of the 24th November. Outram visited his dying comrade on the evening of the 23rd. "I had a most affecting interview with him," he wrote afterwards, "His tenderness was that of a brother. He told me that he was dying, and spoke from the fulness of his honest heart of the feelings which he bore towards me, and of the satisfaction with which he looked back to our past intercourse and service together, which had never been on a single occasion marred by a disagreement of any kind, nor embittered by an angry word. How truly I mourned his loss is known to God and my own heart." On the 25th the remains of the deceased general were conveyed to the Alum Bagh, where they were interred on the day following in presence of the Commander-in-Chief and many officers and men. An obelisk now marks the spot where the hero lies.

The 25th and 26th were devoted to a redistribution of the divisions, the arrangement for the transport of the women and children and the sick and wounded to Cawnpore, and for the occupation of the Alum Bagh position by a force strong enough to threaten Lucknow,





until the Commander-in-Chief should be able to return and recapture the city. On the morning of the 27th the long convoy, which stretched to a length of nearly 12 miles, marched off to its first halting place about two miles beyond the Bani bridge. To tell how Sir Colin arrived in Cawnpore only just in time to secure the bridge of boats across the Ganges, and to save Windham's force from destruction at the hands of the powerful Gwalior Contingent, would be beyond the scope of a history which claims only to deal with Lucknow. Suffice it to say that the women and children reached Allahabad in safety on the afternoon of the 7th December and being carried thence on country boats to Benares, and there placed on board a river steamer, were landed in Calcutta, safe at last after their long and grievous tribulations, on the 9th January 1858.

Outram was left in command of the force which was to hold the Alum Bagh position. It was composed of the following troops:—

Artillery—1 Horse and 4 Field Batteries. (Amongst them—to give them their titles of the present day—F. Battery, R. H. A., and the 23rd and 26th Batteries, R. F. A.).

Engineers:—114 Madras Sappers.

Cavalry:—Military Train, Volunteer Cavalry, 12th Irregulars, and Oudh Irregulars.

Infantry:—6th Fusiliers, 75th Foot, 78th Highlanders, 84th Foot, 90th Light Infantry, 18th Madras





Fusiliers, Ferozepore Regiment, 27th Madras Native Infantry.

Few of these units, however, were up to even half their normal strength, and the total number amounted to no more than 3,395 Europeans, and 1,047 Natives. As it was necessary to keep a detachment 540 strong at Bani, 12 miles away, there were less than 4,000 men left to hold a position over ten miles in length; and of these 600 had to be permanently told off to garrison the two posts of Jelalabad and the Alum Bagh. The former of these, an old and ruined fort, constituted the right of the position, and from the village of Mohamdinagar, west of and close to Jelalabad, a line of abattis held by picquets led to Bargawan\* village; this latter was connected by a line of earthworks with the Alum Bagh, about a mile to the north. From the Alum Bagh a line of abattis and entrenchments stretched to the village of Kanasi\* which still stands about a mile and a half due west of that post, and which was known as the Left Front Picquet. From this point the line of defence ran south-west for nearly two miles to the village of Sonahra,\* known as the Left Rear Picquet. The main body was encamped across the Cawnpore road, with its right resting on Bargawan. As the position was liable to be attacked from all sides, a further line of picquets was posted along the rear from the left rear picquet (Sonahra) back to Jelalabad fort. Outram disliked the position for strategic reasons, and would have preferred one nearer to Cawn-

\* These villages may be found on the Lucknow [one-inch] manoeuvre map.





pore, but the Commander-in-Chief, who seems throughout to have strangely underrated the danger and difficulty of the task which he had set to his gallant subordinate, insisted on the necessity of the force remaining close to Lucknow.

It is only of late years that full justice has been done to the manner in which Outram and his division kept in check an enemy numbering at times as many as 90,000 armed men with about 130 guns, and occupying a vast city, the outworks of which were within only a few hundred yards of the British advanced posts. Outram's orders were to act on the defensive, and indeed any damage he could have inflicted by active operations against so vast a horde would have been the merest pin-prick, and could have had no lasting effect whatever. By the nature of the case he was fast tied to his lines, while the rebels could attack when and where they pleased, could occupy excellent cover with their batteries and picquets within easy range, and could retire into the city with ease and safety when they had had enough. Outram possessed exactly the combination of dash and caution that his task demanded. His intelligence department was wonderfully efficient, and he never acted until he had obtained the best possible information of the enemy's strength and plans. When he did act, he struck hard and without hesitation, but he never harrassed his men by calling them out a moment before it was necessary, and when the alarm was given it meant that the matter was urgent, and that the rebels were really attacking; the soldiers soon got





to know this, and learned to turn out promptly at the first sound of the bugle.

During December the enemy were actively engaged in constructing batteries and making hostile demonstrations against the British lines, and skirmishes between the opposing picquets became more and more frequent. On the 20th Outram was informed by his spies that the enemy contemplated surrounding his position, in order to cut off his supplies and intercept his communications with Bani, and on the evening of the 21st he learned that a rebel force, consisting of 4,000 infantry, 400 cavalry and 4 guns, had taken up a position close to Ghaili (on what is now the Brigade Parade ground). At 5 A.M. on the next day Outram moved out in the hope of surprising the enemy, and intercepting his retreat to the city. His force was composed of 190 cavalry, 6 guns and 1,200 infantry; the latter, which was made up of detachments of the 5th, 75th, 78th, 84th and 90th Regiments, and the Ferozepore Regiment of Sikhs, was divided into two columns, the right under Colonel Purnell, 90th Foot, and the left under Colonel Guy, 5th Fusiliers. The right column assaulted the enemy's main position, while the left column made a simultaneous attack on the village of Ghaili; both movements were carried out with the utmost dash, and the rebels fled in confusion, followed up closely by the Volunteer cavalry and the Military train, and handsomely pounded by the guns under Olpherts; all the four guns were captured and 50 or 60 men slain, with hardly a single casualty on our side.





This sharp lesson so discouraged the enemy that they allowed Christmas and the New Year to pass quietly, though a desultory cannon fire was kept up on the outposts, one shot from which on the 9th January, caused the death of Lieutenant Gordon, Bengal Artillery, in the Alum Bagh. On the 11th January Outram received information from his spies that the enemy intended to attack him at sunrise next day, emboldened by the fact that some 500 men were absent from the division, escorting a convoy to Cawnpore. Accordingly he made such dispositions as were necessary, and the troops had breakfasted and were all in readiness by daybreak on the 12th. At sunrise large masses of the enemy, amounting at the lowest estimate to 30,000 men, were descried on the left front, and they gradually spread round the whole front and flanks of the position until their line extended from opposite Sonahra to near Jelalabad, a distance of about six miles. True to his custom Outram waited till the movements of the enemy were well advanced, and then formed his troops in front of their lines in two brigades, each about 750 strong. The enemy's main body was put to flight by a severe artillery fire from the Alum Bagh and from the advanced batteries of the outposts, without even having come within musket range of the defenders, while his attacks on the extreme flanks, although delivered with far more spirit and determination than in the centre were foiled at every point. On the left rear the ever-daring Olpherts moved out his four guns at a gallop, and advancing well to his front drove off and dispersed





a large body of infantry and cavalry which was endeavouring to penetrate to the rear, turning them back on to the city and doing much execution on their masses at a range of 500 yards. By 4 P.M. the whole of the enemy had disappeared, much to the disappointment of the troops, who wished for nothing better than to get into close contact with their slippery foes. Four days later a second and a bolder attack was made on the position. One large body led by a Hindu devotee, representing Hanuman, the monkey god, made a sudden assault on Jelalabad, but was repulsed with considerable loss, leaving its leader on the field. Throughout the day the enemy's skirmishers threatened the left front, but suffered severely whenever they ventured within range. Growing bolder in the falling darkness, they assembled in great strength in front of Kanasi. Major Gordon, 75th, who commanded this post, allowed them to approach within 80 yards, when they were received with discharges of grape from three guns and a heavy rifle fire, and were driven off with great loss. A large body of hostile cavalry showed on the left rear, but was held in check and finally scattered by the watchful Olpherts with his 4 guns, supported by a detachment of the Military train.

A month now passed during which the rebels proceeded diligently with their entrenchments, and continued to harass the British force by constant demonstrations. During this period also reinforcements reached the British camp from time to time, aggregating over 2,000 men. On the 15th February,





a strong body of horsemen supported by infantry were observed moving towards the left rear, with the evident intention of cutting off a convoy which happened to be on the road. They were dispersed by Captain Olpherts, who with great dash galloped forward with two guns and a troop of the Military train, and opened on them with grape at close range. The notorious Fyzabad Moulvie, who was in command of this party, was severely wounded in the action. Next day, the 16th, the enemy assembled in vast numbers and made repeated demonstrations of advancing to attack, but their courage as often failed them, and they retired almost immediately in every case. About 5-30 P.M. they suddenly issued in clouds of skirmishers from their trenches, and opening a smart musketry fire on the outposts of Kanasi, advanced towards that village in large bodies. They were repulsed by the picquet of 200 men of the 90th Light Infantry, under command of Colonel Smith. As soon as it was dark they concentrated a very heavy musketry fire on the north and east faces of the Alum Bagh, which they kept up for about two hours, fortunately without effect; they did not all finally retire until 8-30 P.M. Their losses on this, as on the previous days of fighting, had been very severe, while the casualties in Outram's division, from the beginning of the defence up to this date, only amounted to 4 killed and 16 wounded.

By this time the rebels became aware of the great preparations being made in Cawnpore by Sir Colin for an immediate advance, and realised that if they





were to drive Outram from his position it must be done at once. Consequently they decided to strike the decisive blow on Sunday the 21st February, when as they hoped the soldiers would be on Church parade, and they took a solemn oath, the Hindus on the Ganges and the Musalmans on the Koran, that they would slay the British at the Alum Bagh or perish in the attempt. The attack was made by about 20,000 men and commenced by a simultaneous movement round about the flanks, a threatening demonstration along the whole length of the position, and attacks upon the two posts of the Alum Bagh and Jelalabad. Their efforts however met with the usual want of success, and they were repulsed at every point. A counter attack from the left, made by 120 of the Military train and 4 guns under Major Robertson, completed the discomfiture of the rebels, and they were chased back to the shelter of their own batteries with a loss of over 350 killed and wounded, against only 9 wounded on our side. On the 25th February the enemy made one supreme effort to capture the position which had so long defied them, and the Queen Regent herself, with her son, came out of the city mounted on elephants to witness the triumph. The main attack was made against Jelalabad fort, by 24 regiments of regular and 6 of irregular infantry, 1,000 cavalry, and 8 guns, while large bodies of cavalry with 3 guns simultaneously menaced the British left. Soon after 10 A.M. as the attack was developing Outram moved out with 870 bayonets, 770 cavalry, and 12 guns, with the object of intercepting that portion of the





enemy's force which was attacking Jelalabad, having previously sent Barrows' Volunteer cavalry and Wales horse round *viâ* Aurangabad to make a detour from that village, and co-operate with him from the east. The enemy did not wait for the infantry to come to close quarters, but, as soon as they realised that the cavalry were getting round to their rear, fled in the utmost confusion, losing many men from the fire of Remington's and Olpherts' guns; Barrows and Wales appearing opportunely from an unexpected quarter dashed into the middle of the flying rebels, and captured two of their guns. At the same time the hostile masses on the left melted away after a half-hearted attempt, and by 1 P.M. not an enemy was to be seen. About 4 P.M. however a second attack was made, on the left this time, with more spirit and determination than the enemy had ever up till now evinced. The rebels advanced repeatedly within grape and musketry range, only to recoil each time with heavy loss, and they renewed their fire from time to time during the night. But the attack had failed—the last that they were to make—and though Outram's loss, 5 killed and 35 wounded, was greater than usual, it was not to be compared with that of the enemy, between four and five hundred of whom were killed and wounded throughout the day.

The enemy had done their worst and had failed. Already the main portion of Sir Colin's avenging army was collected along the Cawnpore road at Unao, Buseerutganj, Nawabganj and Bani, and it was now obvious to the mutineers that nothing was to be gained





by further attempts against the Alum Bagh position; henceforward they devoted all their energies to preparation for the defence of the city, and Outram was left unmolested. He had performed a task of which few but he could have been capable, and although his losses had been trifling, this happy result had been simply due to his own skilful dispositions, and to the gallant behaviour of his men who loved and trusted him with an enthusiasm such as few commanders have had the good fortune to inspire. This chapter may fittingly conclude with an account given by a civilian who paid a visit to the camp, as quoted in Goldsmid's *Life of Outram* :—

“ I found the general in the best of health and spirits. The vigorous black-bearded man who welcomed me was a refreshing contrast to the bowed invalid whom I had last seen at this very spot on his way home, beaten down by annexation work. He looked comfortable enough, sitting with his coat off in a small tent, writing busily as usual, and of course with a cheroot in his mouth. If I remember right, his evening was occupied by a stroll about the camp. Races were being got up for the men, and he always took particular interest in what affected their amusement. At the pleasant mess dinner he contributed his full share to the cheerfulness which prevailed. Though not a great talker he used to lie in wait, as it were, with telling remarks or anecdotes, of which he had a large and varied stock available. The keen twinkle of his expressive eye, rather than actual laughter, showed his





quick and thorough appreciation of the ludicrous. At daybreak I accompanied him on his daily round of the pickets. As we rode, at what seemed a studiously slow pace, across the open plain between the centre picket and Alum Bagh, the general received his customary salute of round shot from a heavy gun in the enemys' front battery, which the soldiers had nicknamed Nancy Dawson. Several whizzed by, noticed only by a pariah dog, which had a narrow shave. At the Alum Bagh the site of Havelock's grave was pointed out, and from one of the bastions I saw once more extended before me the gardens and suburbs of Lucknow—a fair scene in which lurked much mischief. Signs of the enemy were discernible within easy range, but Nancy's noisy greeting is all I recollect of them. Jelalabad leaves the impression of a peaceful and picturesque Indian landscape, with its crumbling fort, jheel, and tempting topes of trees. As to the other defences, it seemed to a non-military eye that there were few anywhere, and that for long stretches there was nothing at all to prevent the swarms from Lucknow from walking in where they pleased. Sir James had a cheery word for officers and men at each post, generally some small compliment—such as regret the enemy would not come on, "because you're always so well prepared"—and his visit seemed a welcome one everywhere. As you know he could be uncommonly irate on provocation, but there was nothing to find fault with on that day. I was told that when he did "let out" at anyone, especially a youngster, he was not comfortable until he





had made it up by some kind word or deed, and that as often as not a "wig" ended by the offer of a cheroot—a valuable gift at the Alum Bagh. His holster was stuffed with these luxuries, instead of a revolver, and he dispensed them right liberally. The thought of the general reminds one of his steed. Old Blueskin was, I believe, as well known, and as much respected in his way, as his master. A great raw-boned Australian, of a blue-grey colour, though not handsome to look at, he was by nature a model charger. Steady as a rock under all circumstances, he would complacently go through any amount of work on scanty fare. When hit on the head in the fierce fight to enter Lucknow, all the notice he took of it was to shake one ear, and he duly survived starvation in the Residency. Though made long ago, my Alum Bagh visit clearly recalls cheerful bronzed faces and genial camp life on a dusty plain, with one unpretending thick-set figure as the centre of all; and one universal grumble from general to private, that the enemy could not be induced to come out and be thrashed."

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## CHAPTER VII.

### THE SIEGE OF LUCKNOW.

ON the 2nd March 1858, Sir Colin marched through Outram's position, and occupied the Dilkusha and Mahommed Bagh with no more serious opposition than a heavy cannonade and musketry fire from the line of the canal. By the 4th March, on which date General Franks arrived with his column from Sultanpur, the





## HISTORY OF LUCKNOW.

whole of the army was concentrated. It consisted of about 25,000 men and 160 guns, and was constituted as follows :—

## CAVALRY DIVISION.—

- 1st Brigade.*—9th Lancers.  
2nd Battalion Military train.  
1st Sikh Irregulars.  
2nd Punjab Cavalry.  
Detachments 5th P. C., 12th Irregulars and Oudh Irregulars.
- 2nd Brigade.*—2nd Dragoon Guards.  
7th Hussars.  
Volunteer Cavalry.  
Hodson's Horse.  
Detachment 1st P. C.

## ARTILLERY.—

- Naval Brigade.  
1st troop 1st brigade Bengal H. A.  
(now F. R. H. A.).  
2nd troop 1st brigade Bengal H. A.  
(now 56th R. F. A.).  
3rd troop 3rd brigade, Bengal H. A.  
(now S. R. H. A.).  
F. troop Royal Artillery (now D. R. H. A.).  
5th Co. 12th Battalion R. A.  
3rd Co. 8th Battalion R. A.  
6th Co. 11th Battalion R. A. (now 65th R. F. A.).  
3rd Co. 14th Battalion R. A.  
3rd Co. 5th Battalion Bengal Artillery.





## ENGINEERS.—

Detachments of Royal Engineers.

- „ „ Bengal „
- „ „ Madras Sappers.
- „ „ Punjab Pioneers.
- „ „ Delhi Pioneers.

## 1ST INFANTRY DIVISION.—

*1st Brigade.*—5th Fusiliers, 84th, and 1st Madras Fusiliers.

*2nd Brigade.*—78th, 90th and Ferozepore Regiment.

## 2ND INFANTRY DIVISION.—

*3rd Brigade.*—34th, 38th and 53rd.

*4th Brigade.*—42nd, 93rd and 4th Punjab Rifles.

## 3RD INFANTRY DIVISION.—

*5th Brigade.*—23rd, 79th, and 1st Bengal Fusiliers.

*6th Brigade.*—2nd and 3rd Battalions Rifle Brigade and 2nd Punjab Infantry.

The force under General Franks was composed as follows :—

## CAVALRY.—

Detachments from the Benares Light Horse, Lahore Light Horse, Pathan Horse and 3rd Sikh Irregulars.

## ARTILLERY.—

8th Co. 2nd Battalion, R. A. (now 20th R. F. A.).

6th Co. 13th Battalion, R. A. (now 67th R. F. A.).



4th Co. 5th Battalion, Bengal Artillery (now 54th R. F. A.).

Details of A Co. 3rd Battalion, Madras Artillery (now 46th R. F. A.).

INFANTRY.—

10th, 20th and 97th.

GURKHAS.—

6 Infantry and Artillery Battalions.

The British position now stretched from the village of Bibiapur, through Dilkusha Park and the Mahommed Bagh, towards Jelalabad on the left, but short of that post by two miles. The interval was filled by Hodson's Horse, and Outram's old front was held by the 5th and 78th Foot from the 1st Division. Brigadier Campbell, with the 2nd Cavalry brigade and the horse artillery, secured the extreme left and swept the country towards the north-west. The enemy's works were, briefly, as follows. The series of courts and buildings called the Kaiser Bagh, considered as a citadel by the rebels, was enclosed by three lines of defence of which the outer one was the line of the canal. The second line circled round the Khurshid Manzil and the Moti Mahal, and the first or interior one was formed by the principal rampart of the Kaiser Bagh, the rear of the latter being closed in by the city. These lines were flanked by numerous bastions, and rested at one end on the Gumti, and at the other on the great buildings of the street called the Hazratganj, all of which were strongly fortified. The enemy had not constructed any defences on the north side of the river, but had con-





tented themselves by occupying it with a large force consisting chiefly of cavalry.

Early on the morning of the 6th March a force under Sir James Outram, consisting of the 3rd Infantry division with 3 cavalry regiments and 5 batteries, crossed the Gumti by two bridges of casks which had been constructed the previous day close to Dilkusha house. The whole force was over by daylight, and moved off at once in a northerly direction. On reaching Ismaelganj, the scene of the disastrous battle of Chinhut, a body of hostile cavalry came in view. Our guns opened on them at 1,000 yards, and they broke and fled, pursued by the 2nd P. C. and the 2nd Dragoon Guards. This was the first occasion on which the Bays had been in action in the mutiny, and they pressed the flying enemy with more valour than discretion, over rugged ground intersected by ravines, right up to their infantry posts. Major Percy Smith, who commanded them, was killed, and his dead body had to be left on the field, in spite of several gallant attempts to carry it away; it was found next day, stripped and headless. A few days afterwards it was reported that the head, with plumed helmet, had been paraded on a pole through the streets of Lucknow as the head of the Commander-in-Chief. Outram pitched his camp on the Fyzabad road just west of Ismaelganj, where he was joined the next day by the siege train of 22 guns, howitzers and mortars. On the 8th two entrenched batteries were completed, No. 1L. and No. 2L., near Dilkusha house and the right front of Mahommed Bagh





respectively. Traces of the former of these works may still be found in the neighbourhood of the corner formed by the Clyde and Dilkusha roads; the remains of No. 2L. could also be seen quite recently, but, being included in the compound of the newly built Race bungalow, they have now disappeared. During the night of the 8th-9th Outram caused two entrenchments to be made; one, No. 1R., for eight 24-Pr. guns and three 8 inch howitzers to batter the Chakkar Kothi, and the other, No. 2R., close to Jagaoli village on his extreme left, to hold three heavy guns and a howitzer and to enfilade the canal works. Next morning, the 9th, he attacked the Chakkar Kothi and captured it after a sharp fight, in which three officers and nine men were killed. This building, which stood on the left bank of the river about half a mile east of the Asylum bridge, was the key of the rebel position, and the troops pressing on drove the enemy rapidly through the irregular cavalry lines (the site now occupied by the police lines) up to and beyond the Badshah Bagh, which was seized and occupied by our men. An entrenchment No. 2R. was at once constructed for two 24-Prs. and two 8 inch howitzers on the left bank of the Gumti, on the site of the Government Normal School a few yards north-west of the present Asylum bridge, to fire on the Moti Mahal and the Khurshid Manzil.

Meanwhile, early on that same morning, the batteries, No. 1L. and No. 2L., had opened fire against the Martiniere, and the canal works near Banks' house, respectively. It was during this bombardment that the





gallant Peel received the wound that was later on to be the indirect cause of his death. (At the end of the siege, when on his way down country, he was placed in a doolie which had been used for a small-pox patient. He caught the disease, and died at Cawnpore on the 27th April). At about 2 P.M. Sir Colin, standing on the roof of the Dilkusha, saw the regimental colour of the Bengal Fusiliers flying from the top of the Chakkar Kothi, and sent down the order to assault the Martiniere. The attack was carried out by the 42nd and 93rd Highlanders, supported by the 90th Light Infantry and the 4th Punjab Rifles, and the rebels abandoned the Martiniere hastily, and did not stop until they had put the canal between them and the dreaded "Ghagra-wallas." Sir Colin immediately galloped across to this newly won post, and mounted to the top of the Martiniere. Outram's battery, No. 2-R., had meanwhile opened an enfilading fire on the canal; and at about 3 o'clock, as the enemy's works there seemed to be empty, Lieutenant Butler, an officer of the Bengal Fusiliers who was with the escort to the guns, swam across the river—60 yards wide and running swiftly—and, entering the canal works from the rear, found them to be indeed deserted. Mounting the parapet, and standing exposed to fire from both sides, had managed to attract the attention of the Chief and his staff on the Martiniere, and a detachment of the 4th Punjabis was sent to occupy the position. For this brave act Butler was awarded the Victoria Cross.





Early on the morning of the 10th a battery, No. 3L. (4 guns and 3 mortars) was established under natural cover in the western corner of the Martiniere park, with the object of breaching Banks' house in co-operation with Battery No. 2L. The house was stormed at noon and having been taken with little loss by troops from the 2nd Infantry division was converted into a strong military post. Two batteries were then rapidly constructed, No. 4L. for the naval guns and some mortars about where Messrs. Peake Allen's shop now stands, and No. 5L. at what is now the corner of Wingfield park, about 150 yards east of the civil church; the guns and mortars from these two works now began what was to be a 24 hours' bombardment of the Begum Kothi, which was to be the next point of attack.

Beyond the river Outram occupied this day, the 10th, in strengthening his position, and the Dilaram house, which still stands on the left bank of the river, was seized and occupied by his orders under a heavy fire from the Chattar Manzil on the opposite bank. During the day Hope Grant's cavalry had several little affairs with small parties of the rebels, and it was in one of these that the officer, Captain Sandford, was killed, whose monument stands south of the Fyzabad road, not far from the 3rd milestone.

All through the night and up to 4 P.M. on the 11th the bombardment of the Begum Kothi was kept up. The actual Begum's palace was the building now used as the general post office, but the name "Begum Kothi" was given generally to the whole series of straggling





buildings and courtyards which surrounded the palace, and which covered a large area of ground. The outer wall, along the south-east side of this enclosure, in which the two breaches were finally made, still bounds one side of the Abbott road, from Forsyth road to the Hazratganj. At 4 P.M. these breaches were reported practicable, on each side of the mosque which may still be seen, and the 93rd were ordered to storm the post in two columns, supported by the 4th Punjab Rifles and 500 of Jung Bahadur's Gurkhas.

While this bombardment was going on, it may here be mentioned, Lugard had advanced on the right against the detached posts, and had seized, without opposition, first the Sikandar Bagh, and then the Kadam Rasul and the Shah Najaf. The latter were specially important posts, and their seizure was due to the enterprise of two engineers, Medley and Lang, who, reconnoitring for themselves, found them empty, caused supports to come forward and secure them, and then threw up defences and works against the next forward movement. Thus when the order to assault the Begum Kothi was given, the ground on the right of the attack was already in the hands of the British.

Immediately the guns stopped firing, the storming parties, which had been drawn up under cover of some ruined huts and outhouses near where the civil church now stands, dashed forward with a cheer. A ditch 10 feet wide, with a breastwork on the far side, lay between them and the points of assault, but, so rapid was their advance that, before the rebels had time to reman the





two breaches from which the bombardment had temporarily driven them, the leading men were in and out of the ditch, over the breastwork and within the walls. Captain Middleton and Lieutenant Wood of the Grenadier company were the first inside the right breach, while on the left that honour belonged to Captain Clarke and Lieutenant Macpherson of the Light company. Although the garrison of the Begum Kothi was computed to number at least 5,000 men, they made no attempt to meet our men face to face in the open. The fighting, however, was none the less severe, for large numbers of them found their retreat cut off by the rush of the attacking troops past the rooms, archways, and passages where they were concealed, and being unable to escape fought like rats in a trap. From every loophole, door, and window, and from every dark interior in which a few sepoys lurked unseen, a deadly fire was poured upon our troops. But one barrier after another was forced, and the men, in small parties headed by their officers, took possession of one enclosure after another, pitching bags of gunpowder, with slow matches fixed, into the crowded rooms, and bayonetting the rebels in every nook and corner. For about two hours the blind and bloody fight raged from court to court and from room to room. The order had been given, "Keep well together and use the bayonet; give them the Sikandar Bagh over again"; and terribly was it obeyed. The Grenadier company, after getting clear of the obstructions near the breach, rushed straight through the palace to the gate at the opposite side of





the building nearly capturing the Begum herself, and cutting off the retreat of some eighty ladies of the harem, who were made prisoners, much to Sir Colin's subsequent embarrassment. One company of the left attack, led by Lieutenant Cooper, had missed the breach at the first assault, and on emerging from the ditch had passed round the outside of the palace wall, on the south-west side. The mistake proved to be a fortunate one, for at a point in the wall about 100 yards up the Forsyth road (as it is now called) Cooper's men came upon a hole which the sepoys had made, and from which they were just commencing to escape when the Highlanders arrived. As the hole took the shape of a very narrow and very low outlet, the mutineers had to bend their heads as they came out, and were easily shot or bayoneted as they emerged, crowding one after another to escape from the soldiers inside. Great execution was done at this spot. By the time darkness had set in all opposition had ceased, and the troops bivouacked inside the hard won post. The British loss had been heavy, the 93rd having lost 2 officers and 13 men killed and 2 officers and 45 men wounded, but over 800 rebel corpses were carried out of the enclosure the next morning, and buried in the ditch, which had proved so paltry an obstacle to their avenging foes.

It was during the fighting in the enclosures of the Begum Kothi that the brave and chivalrous Hodson fell. This splendid hero, though regarded in India by all who knew him as the beau ideal of what a soldier should be, was yet the subject of much ignorant abuse





from England during his life, and did not escape the malice of his traducers even after he had died a soldier's death. One of these latter did not scruple to publish, in a book widely circulated and read, the slanderous statement that Hodson was killed in the act of looting a house in Lucknow, and there are probably some even now who believe this to have been the case. That it was not so is, however, absolutely certain. Field Marshal Earl Roberts, V.C., in his "Forty-one years in India," describes the event as follows:—"Hodson was sitting with Donald Stewart in the headquarters' camp, when the signal gun announced that the attack on the Begum Kothi was about to take place. Hodson immediately mounted his horse and rode off in the direction of the city. Stewart, who had been ordered by the Commander-in-Chief to accompany the troops, and send an early report to His Excellency of the result of the assault, had his horse ready, and followed Hodson so closely that he kept him in sight until within a short distance of the fighting, when Stewart stopped to speak to the officer in charge of Peel's guns, which had been covering the advance of the troops. This delayed Stewart for a few minutes only, and as he rode into the courtyard of the palace a Highland soldier handed him a pistol saying, "This is your pistol, Sir; but I thought you were carried away mortally wounded a short time ago?" Stewart at once conjectured that the man had mistaken him for Hodson. In face they were not much alike, but both were tall, well made and fair, and Native soldiers had frequently





saluted one for the other. It is clear from this account that Hodson could not have been looting, as he was wounded almost as soon as he reached the palace." Colonel Gordon-Alexander, who took part in the storming of the Begum Kothi as a subaltern in the 93rd, tells us in his "Recollections of a Highland subaltern" that he himself saw Hodson clambering in over the left breach in company with Brigadier Robert Napier (whom he had evidently met with just after Donald Stewart lost sight of him). Hodson turned to the right directly he had passed the mosque, into a passage that ran behind, *i.e.*, to the western side of it. He then turned into the first doorway he came to on his right, which opened on to the foot of a staircase leading up to the mosque above. Immediately, one or two shots were fired, and Hodson staggered back. Other narrators differ as to details—and indeed in the heat of an action no two men ever see exactly the same thing—but agree as to the main facts. The flight of steps at the foot of which Hodson fell may still be seen; though they are now in a state of complete ruin, and only visible from the raised platform which surrounds the mosque.

Hodson was carried suffering great pain to Banks' house, where he died next morning, the 12th, almost his last words being "I trust I have done my duty." Late the same evening all that could die of that most gallant hero was laid to rest in the garden of the Martiniere. While the attack on the Begum Kothi was in progress, Sir Colin, all impatient at the necessity that kept





him away from the front at such a time, was engaged in holding a durbar at the Dilkusha for the ceremonial reception of Maharajah Jung Bahadur, who had arrived the day before at the head of a Gurkha force of 9,000 men and 25 guns. Great must have been the anxiety of the Chief during the ceremony, for the heavy roll of musketry fire which had succeeded the more regular cannonade had shown that the assault was being delivered, even as the distinguished guest was entering the durbar tent. Any doubts that he may have felt, however, were soon dispelled by the arrival of Captain Hope Johnstone, A.-D.-C., to the Chief of the staff, who strode into the durbar tent in his fighting kit, begrimed with the dust and dirt of battle, and announced the capture of the Begum's palace and its adjoining buildings.

Equally satisfactory reports had come in from the other side of the river. A battery (No. 3R.), where the Colvin Institute now stands, and another (No. 4R.) entrenched at the south-west corner of the Badshah Bagh, had commenced early on the morning of the 11th to bombard the Khurshid Manzil and the Kaiser Bagh respectively. At the same time Outram began his attack, in two columns, on the suburbs in the vicinity of the iron and stone bridges. The left column, consisting of the 23rd Welsh Fusiliers, the 2nd Punjab Infantry, and 5 guns, fought its way along the road skirting the river, and, having occupied the houses down to the river bank, seized the head of the iron bridge, to the east of which two 24-Pr. guns were then placed





in battery (No. 5R.). The right column, composed of the 79th Highlanders, the 2nd and 3rd Battalion Rifle Brigade, the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, and a field battery, took possession of a large mosque, standing in a walled garden, which commanded the approach to the iron bridge. Here the Bengal Fusiliers were left in garrison, and the remainder of the column pushed on as far as the stone bridge, surprising on the way the camp of the 15th Irregular Horse, who fled towards Maroon leaving their standards and 2 guns in the possession of the Rifles. As, however, the ground in the vicinity of the stone bridge was commanded by the enemy's guns across the river, and was too far removed from the rest of the force, Outram withdrew the column before nightfall to the mosque.

During the 12th and 13th the approach was gradually pushed on through the small houses which lay between the Begum's palace and the small Imambara, and two batteries (Nos. 6 and 7L.) were constructed to breach this latter building, which still stands in the centre of a square of out-buildings between the Lal Bagh and the Mission roads. On the 12th the Gurkha force lined the canal to the west of Banks' house, and crossing it the next day occupied the enemy's attention by threatening the city from that direction. Outram meanwhile caused batteries Nos. 6 and 7R. to be erected for the purpose of playing on the Residency works.

On the afternoon of the 13th the troops at the Begum Kothi were relieved, Franks' division being



moved up into their place, and by daylight next morning two practicable breaches had appeared in the south-eastern wall of the Imambara enclosure. The storming party, consisting of two companies of the 10th Foot and about 100 men of the Ferozepore regiment, was drawn up behind a wall with only the breadth of the road (Lal Bagh road) between it and the point of attack, and at about 9 A.M. the order to assault was given. The defence was half-hearted, and the Sikhs, pressing close on the heels of the flying rebels, made their way through the Imambara, and on into an outlying court of the Kaiser Bagh on the left. From the roofs of the houses a party of them, under the personal command of Brasyer, Commanding the Ferozepore Regiment, plied with such a destructive musketry fire the three nearest bastions of the entrenchment below, that the enemy deserted their guns, and Brasyer led his party, swelled by a number of men of the 90th whom Havelock had brought to the spot, into the enclosures on the right of the Kaiser Bagh. Franks hurried up with strong supports, and the excited infantry pressed on until the furthest advanced of them had reached the China Bazar, the mutineers retreating before them in confusion into the Kaiser Bagh. Sir Colin's original intention had been to close the day's operations with the capture of the small Imambara, but at this stage Napier and Franks decided, after a hurried consultation, that the immediate capture of the Kaiser Bagh was perfectly feasible. Thereupon the rest of the division was summoned up; our troops who were holding the





Sikandar Bagh and other posts in front of the enemy's second line were informed that their line of advance was clear; and they forthwith pushed forward and captured the Moti Mahal, the Khurshid Manzil and the other intervening posts. Franks at the same time sent forward his own column into the courtyard of Saadat Ali's tomb, whence they stormed the enclosures and gardens of the Kaiser Bagh itself. Soldiers and Sailors, Sikhs and Gurkhas, intermingled in apparently hopeless confusion but animated by one common purpose, drove the demoralised rebels through the courts and passages of the vast palace. "The masses were broken, but multitudes of armed men found refuge in the buildings, and every palace became a fortress. From the green jalousies and venetian blinds, closing the apertures which pierce the walls in double rows, a stream of bullets was poured into the square, and the marble pavement was stained with the blood of many a Sikh and soldier. Building after building was taken, and blood-thirst, revenge and greed for gold drove the assailants mad. The strong boxes of the Princes of Oudh were burst open, and their gold and silver glutted the avarice of the Sikh and the British soldier. Rough hands tore away the silks, velvets, brocades, laces and gems accumulated by the lights of the Harem. Wrought silver plates were torn from the throne of some favourite mistress or queen; the monuments of western and eastern art were broken to pieces, and fragments of rare China and of crystal vessels strewed the floors. When night put an end to the pillage, the





palace of the Kaiser had become a ruined charnel house." Outram meanwhile was kept fully informed of the progress of Franks' division, and had made all preparations for forcing the passage of the river at the iron bridge, which was held by the enemy in force with a 9-Pr. gun raking it from end to end. At the last moment, however, he received what Lord Roberts describes as the unaccountably strange order from the Commander-in-Chief, that he must not attempt it if it would entail his losing a single man. As the operation must necessarily have been attended with some loss, Outram was reluctantly compelled to abandon a movement, by which the enemy's retreat would have been effectually cut off and his defeat rendered crushing and decisive. As it was, the rebels escaped in large numbers, and, although two brigades of cavalry were sent out in pursuit of them on the 15th in the direction of Sandila and Sitapur respectively, they were too late to be of much use.

On the 16th Outram re-crossed the Gumti by a bridge of casks opposite the Sikandar Bagh, with the 5th Infantry brigade under Brigadier Douglas. Passing through the Kaiser Bagh he marched straight on the Residency, which was carried at the point of the bayonet by the 23rd Fusiliers, who captured in a quarter of an hour this position which a small British garrison had held against enormously superior numbers for four and a half months. A few companies of the 23rd were left here, and the remainder of the brigade pressed on, driving the enemy before them, and seized in rapid





succession the western end of the iron bridge, the Machchi Bhawan, and the great Imambara. The enemy had been flying before Outram all day, and after reaching the stone bridge some crossed by it, and attacked Walpole, who had been left with the 5th Infantry brigade to watch the two bridges. While Walpole's attention was thus diverted, the greater number of the fugitives, some 20,000 men in all, crossed the river in the best way they could higher up, and passing round the flank and rear of the British camp escaped in the direction of Fyzabad. On this same day the enemy endeavoured to retaliate and to interrupt our communications with Cawnpore by a last attack on the Alum Bagh; the movement was made in great force, but the rebels were met with such vigour by the military train and the 7th Hussars backed up by the artillery under Eyre and Olpherts, that they were repulsed without the infantry who were holding the post having been at all seriously engaged.

On the 17th Jung Bahadur with his Gurkhas had taken in reverse all the positions from the Char Bagh bridge up to the Residency. On the same day Outram continued his advance, and occupied the Husainabad mosque and the Daulatkhana without resistance. It now became known that about 9,000 rebels, with many of the more prominent leaders of the rebellion, and the Begum and her son at their head, had taken up a position at the Musa Bagh, and Sir Colin determined to strike a decisive blow. Accordingly on the evening of the 18th he made the following arrangements.





Outram, with a force consisting of 2 squadrons 9th Lancers, Middleton's Field battery, 3 companies of the 20th, 7 companies of the 23rd, the 79th Highlanders, and the 2nd P. I., was directed to attack the Musa Bagh early next morning, supported by the fire of Hope Grant's guns and musketry from the other side of the river. At the same time Brigadier Campbell, with a brigade of infantry, some guns, and 1,500 cavalry, was ordered to take up a position on the left front of the Musa Bagh and to cut off the retreat of the rebels. Outram moved out at 6-30 A.M. on the 19th, and carried out his part of the programme with conspicuous success. Most unfortunately, however, Campbell, who had left his camp near the Alum Bagh at 2 A.M., failed to turn up at the appointed place in time, and though he pursued in a half-hearted manner the vast bulk of the enemy effected their escape to Fyzabad. Not all the fugitives however escaped, for the few troops whom Campbell allowed to follow them, consisting of the 1st Sikhs, the 7th Hussars, and the Military train, kept up a stern chase for several miles and did great execution. It was in this affair that the 1st Sikhs lost their gallant commander, Captain Wale, who was mortally wounded and died two days later. Outram had also detached his two squadrons of the 9th Lancers in pursuit. In spite of the natural difficulties of the country they had to traverse, intersected as it was with nullahs and ravines, they pursued the enemy for four miles, killing more than a hundred of them, and capturing six out of their twelve guns. Outram's field artillery and infantry





too followed in support and did some slight execution amongst the fugitive infantry.

In the meantime the notorious Fyzabad Moulvie, one of the most daring of the rebel leaders, returned to Lucknow with two guns and a large body of fanatics, and occupied a strongly fortified serai in the heart of the city. He was ejected on the 21st March by the 93rd and the 4th Punjab Rifles, after a violent struggle in which 150 mutineers were slain. This time Campbell was more successful, and, pursuing the rebels for a distance of six miles, inflicted heavy loss upon them, though the Moulvie himself unfortunately escaped. Thus ended the memorable siege of Lucknow. The total casualties on the British side were only 127 killed, and 594 wounded, a striking proof of the skill and wise forethought of the great soldier who carried these operations to so glorious and successful a close.





## APPENDIX A

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### MARIAON CANTONMENT.

THE old cantonment of Mariaon lies about three miles from the iron bridge on each side of the Sitapur road. About half way may still be seen the gates—the wall forming a semi-circle on each side of the road—of the building mentioned by Polehampton:—"Halfway we pass a rich Nawab's house. On each side of his gate are two cages with bars open to the road; in one of which is a splendid tiger, in the other three or four small leopards." West of the road about half a mile short of Mohibullapur station stands an old bungalow in a large walled in garden, called locally "Beechy Sahib ka Bungla." This was Polehampton's house, though it has been considerably enlarged since his time. Along the north wall of the garden ran one of the cantonment roads, now a mere track, and north of this road, about 150 yards from the wall, are the ruined foundations of the cantonment Residency; the Government have now sanctioned the erection of a monument on this site, as a permanent memorial of Mariaon. Between it and the road is a mound, said by the local people to cover the remains of the church. The sepoy lines used to stand on the high ground close to the village of Chhaoni (the old Saddar bazar), east of the railway, and the tank made for the use of the sepoys is still in existence. On this side of the railway too,





about a mile to the east of it, is the cemetery; one of the old cantonment roads leads to it from the main road. On this road, just short of the cemetery, stands a village which the natives call the "Bailey Guard." It is as a matter of fact on the site of the old Bail Battery lines, and the name, probably, 'Bail battery ka ganw' at first, appears to have been changed by a curious confusion of ideas into "Bailey Guard" (pronounced by the villagers to rhyme with the English word "highly.") The enterprising visitor may find the foundations of several bungalows scattered about through the cantonment, but practically nothing now stands above the level of the ground surface.





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## APPENDIX B.

### TOMBSTONES AND MONUMENTS IN LUCKNOW AND VICINITY.

#### *In Dilkhusa Garden.*

1. Here lie the remains of Lieutenant W. Paul, of the 4th Punjab Rifles, who was killed in the attack upon Sikandra Bagh with the relieving force under Major-General Sir Colin Campbell, K.C.B., on the 16th of November 1857. Erected by the officers of the 4th Punjab Rifles.

2. In memory of Charles Keith Dashwood, Lieutenant, 18th Regiment, B. N. I., third son of Lieutenant-Colonel A. W. Dashwood. He died at Dilkusha, Lucknow, November 22nd, 1857, aged 19 years.

3. Sacred to the memory of Lieutenant Lovick Emilius Cooper, 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade, who died on the 18th of March 1858, of wounds received before Lucknow, aged 20 years.

4. Sacred to the memory of Major the Hon'ble Barrington R. Pellew, 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade, who died at Lucknow, on the 6th of December 1858. This stone is erected by his brother officers.

#### *Behind Bungalow No. 110.*

5. Sacred to the memory of Captain Charles Willian McDonald, 93rd Highlanders, who was killed





in the assault on the Begum's Palace on the 10th of March 1858, in the 23rd year of his age. This simple inscription is erected by his sorrowing relations in memory of his simple virtues as a Christian, and his noble conduct as a soldier.

6. Sacred to the memory of Charles Warden Sergison, Lieutenant in Her Majesty's 93rd Regiment (Highlanders), who fell in the attack on the Begum's Palace, Lucknow, on the 10th March 1858, in the 24th year of his age. This simple monument has been erected by his heart-broken surviving parent as a testimony of his deep regard and admiration of his son as a brave and noble soldier.

(Both the above were in reality killed on the 11th March).

*Bilati Bagh.*

7. Sacred to the memory of Captain W. Heley Hutchinson, 9th Royal Lancers. Born 5th March 1833, mortally wounded in an attack on the rebels near the Moosa Bagh, 9th March 1858, died, 22nd March 1858. This monument is erected by his brother officers.

8. Here lies Mr. Henry P. Garvey, Acting Mate, Her Majesty's Ship "Shannon," killed before Lucknow, March 11th, 1858. Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.

9. In memory of Sergeant S. Newman, 9th Queen's Royal Lancers, who fell mortally wounded in pursuit of the rebels near the Moosa Bagh, 19th March 1858.



*Sultanpur road. Near the 6th milestone.*

10. Sacred to the memory of Lieutenant Percy C. Smyth of Her Majesty's 97th Regiment, who died on the 4th of March 1858, of a wound received at the attack on the Fort of Dhowrara, on the morning of that day.

*La Martiniere Park.*

11. Here lieth all that could die of William Stephen Rajkes Hodson, Captain and Brevet-Major, 1st E. B. Fusiliers, and Commandant of Hodson's Horse, son of the Ven'ble George Hodson, Archdeacon of Stafford. Born March 19th, 1821, fell in the final assault at Lucknow, March 11th, 1858.

A little while, 2 Cor. 4, 12.

12. Sacred to the memory of Captain L. DaCosta, 56th N. I., attached to Ferozpur Regiment of Sikhs, who fell in the final assault on the Kaisar Bagh, the 13th March 1858, aged 32 years.

13. Here lies the body of Lieutenant Augustus Otway Mayne, Bengal Artillery, killed in action at the relief of Lucknow on the 14th of November 1857, in the 28th year of his age. Waiting the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ.

*Sikandar Bagh.*

14. Sacred to the memory of Lieutenant Francis Dobbs, who was killed in action at the storm of Shah Najaf on the 16th November 1857, and buried here; also of Privates Edward Donaghey, Hugh Gray, Alexander Comb, Patrick Collins, Thomas Kenny, all





of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, who were killed in action on the same day and interred in the same grave.

15. A monument erected in 1911 in memory of the following officers of the 93rd Highlanders :—Brigadier The Hon'ble Adrian Hope, Captain J. Dalzell, Captain C. W. McDonald, Captain J. Lumsden, Lieutenants C. W. Sergison, H. C. Stirling, and J. Gordon.

*Fyzabad road, 3rd milestone. South of the road.*

16. Beneath this monument rest the mortal remains of Charles Sandford, late Captain of the 3rd Bengal Light Cavalry, who, when gallantly leading a body of dismounted Punjab Cavalry in an assault on a fortified place near Lucknow, 10th March 1858, met a soldier's death. Strangers respect the lonely resting place of the brave. Re-erected 1877.

*Fyzabad road, 3rd milestone.*

17. Sacred to the memory of Captain William Frederick Thynne, 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade, killed in action before Lucknow on the 11th of March 1858, aged 23 years.

Sacred to the memory of Captain W. F. Thynne, 2nd Battalion, Rifle Brigade, who was killed at the siege of Lucknow, 11th March 1858. This stone is erected by his brother officers.

*Fyzabad road, 5th milestone.*

18. Sacred to the memory of Major John Percy Smith, 2nd Dragoon Guards (Queen's Bays), who was killed in action near the Kokrail Bridge on the 15th





March 1858. This tablet is erected by his brother officers.

*Mariaon Cemetery.*

19. Sacred to the memory of Lieutenant F. J. MacDonnell, Adjutant, 2nd Punjab Cavalry, who was killed in action at Courci, near Lucknow, March 1858, aetat 23, while gallantly charging at the head of his men. Beloved and respected by all who knew him. Erected by his brother officers.

20. Sacred to the memory of Lieutenant H. E. Richards, 3rd Battalion, Rifle Brigade, who was mortally wounded in the attack on the fort of Birwah on the 21st October 1858. He died at the old cantonment, Lucknow, on the 8th December 1858.

*Lotan Bagh. North of Malihabad road.*

21. Sacred to the memory of Major John Griffith Price, 2nd Dragoon Guards (Queen's Bays), who died of fever at the Musa Bagh, on the 12th of May 1858. This tablet is erected by his brother officers.

*Musa Bagh.*

22. Sacred to the memory of Captain F. Wale, who raised and commanded the 1st Sikh Irregular Cavalry, killed in action at Lucknow, on the 21st March 1858. This monument is erected by Captain L. B. Jones, Acting-Commandant, 1st Sikh Irregular Cavalry, as a token of regard for his officer, whom he admired both as a friend and a soldier. Captain Wale lived and died a Christian soldier.



*Near China Bazar road.*

23. On south face :—Sacred to the memory of (1) Sir Mountstuart Jackson, Bart.; (2) Captain Patrick Orr; (3) Lieutenant G. J. H. Burnes, 1st Bombay European Fusiliers; (4) Sergeant-Major Morton.—Victims of 1857.

On north face :—Sacred to the memory of (1) G. P. Carew, Esq.; (2) Mrs. Greene; (3) Miss Jackson and others, European and Native, faithful servants of Government. Victims of 1857.

*Inside the enclosure of Saadat Ali Khan's tomb.*

24. To the memory of Captain J. Clerke, Royal Engineers; Lieutenant E. P. Brownlow, Bengal Engineers; Corporal Frederick Morgan; Lance-Corporal James Davis; Sapper James Bunting; Sapper George Beer; Sapper Michael Daily; Sapper John Ford; Sapper Andrew Fairservice; Sapper David Northwood; Sapper William Outerson; Sapper William Robinson; Sapper James Slade; Sapper Alfred Smith; Sapper Charles Tucker; Sapper John Yeo, of the 23rd Company of the Royal Engineers, who were killed by the explosion of a quantity of gunpowder abandoned by the mutineers in their retreat from Lucknow, on the 17th March 1858.

*Protestant and R. C. Cemetery.*

25. In memory of Herbert Thomas William Lawrence. Born at Hooshyarpore, Punjab, 2nd July 1831. Died of Cholera on the 15th August 1857, within the besieged position of the British Residency





at Lucknow. His remains were exhumed on the 13th August 1858 and placed under this stone.

26. Sacred to the memory of James Samuel Swinton, Lieutenant, Bengal Infantry, who died here on the 29th October 1858, aged 19, in consequence of severe fatigue and exposure at Cawnpore and Lucknow.

He fought the good fight of faith and trusted in his Redeemer.

*Christ Church. Civil Lines.*

27. In memory of Henry Stedman Polehampton, Chaplain of this station, born February 1st, 1824, died July 20th 1857; also of Henry Allnut, his only child, born December 30th, 1856, died January 3rd, 1857.

Enter thou into the joy of the Lord.—Mat. 25, 21.

28. Sacred to the memory of Colonel Isaac Henley Handscomb, Brigadier-General, Commanding the Oudh Field Force, who was shot by Lucknow mutineers, when in the firm execution of his duty on the night of the 30th May 1857. Aged 52 years. A brave soldier, a loving kinsman, and a sincere friend; he lived and died honoured and beloved by all who knew him. This tablet is erected as a tribute of affection by his nephew, Captain H. T. Bartlett, Bengal Army.

29. To the memory of James Grant Thomason, B.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of Mohumdi, murdered by the mutineers at Aurangabad in Oudh, 5th June 1857. This tablet is erected by George E. L. Cotton, D.D., Bishop of Calcutta, formerly his tutor in Rugby





school, in thankful recollection of his character in boyhood and in sure confidence that he is now with Christ.

30. To the memory of Wellwood George Mowbray, Captain, 7th Regiment, N. I., who fell while gallantly serving with the small body of the Oudh Volunteer Cavalry in the attack against the mutineers at Chinhut on the 30th June 1857. Aged 41. This tablet is erected by Nawab Mohsin-ud-Dowlah, Bahadur, of this city, as a token of his friendship and regard.

31. Sacred to the memory of Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.B., the statesman who administered in succession the great provinces of India; the soldier who died in defending the garrison entrusted to his charge; the Christian who in his last hour humbly trusted that he had tried to do his duty, and committed his soul, in full assurance of faith, to the mercy of his Lord. Born 28th June 1806. Died 4th July 1857. His body rests in the burial ground of the Residency.

32. To the memory of Alexander Bryson, a Volunteer, who was killed on the 9th July 1857, within the Residency defences, while singly building, under a deadly fire, a barricade for the safety of his post, a duty he volunteered to perform. He was honourably mentioned in the official report of that memorable defence. Aged 37 years.

33. In memory of Alfred Parmenter Simons, Captain, Bengal Regiment of Artillery, who died from the effects of his wounds during the siege of Lucknow,





September 8th, 1857, aged 33 years. Also of Lucy Amelia Collingwood, elder child of the above. She died at Naini Tal, August 20th, in the same year, aged nearly three years.

Jesus said, I am the resurrection and the life.

34. To the glory of God, and in memory of Captain Bernard McCabe, H. M.'s 32nd Regiment, who served with conspicuous gallantry in the defence of the Residency of Lucknow. He was mortally wounded when leading his fourth sortie, and died on the 1st October 1857. He obtained his commission when serving with H. M.'s 31st Regiment at the battle of Sobraon for distinguished bravery in planting the Regimental Colours on the enemy's works under a heavy fire.

35. In memory of Lieutenant John Swanson, H. M.'s 78th Highlanders, who died in the Residency of Lucknow, 2nd October 1857, of wounds received on the 25th and 26th September 1857. Aged 22 years.

36. Sacred to the memory of George Sackville Benson, B.C.S., mortally wounded in action at Secundra Bagh, Lucknow, 16th November 1857. Died 18th November 1857, aetat 29 years. A time of war and a time of peace.

37. Sacred to the memory of Thomas Frankland, Esq., Lieutenant, 48th Madras Native Infantry, and second in command of the 2nd Punjab Infantry, who fell at the head of his regiment at the storming of the Alum Bagh during the relief of Lucknow, the eldest





surviving son of Sir Frederick Frankland, eighth Baronet of Thirkely, County York.

I can do all things through Christ who strengtheneth me.

The Lord is my strength ~~and~~ my shield.

("Alum Bagh" above is a mistake for "Sikandar Bagh.")

38. Erected by the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders, in memory of their comrades who fell in action, or died of wounds or of disease caused by fatigue and exposure during the suppression of the mutiny in India in 1857-58. Killed in action:—Officers 5; non-commissioned officers and soldiers 45; Died of wounds:—Officer 1; Non-commissioned officers and soldiers 36. Died of disease:—Officer 1; Non-commissioned officers and soldiers 83.

39. Sacred to the memory of Captain J. T. Lumsden and Lieutenant John Cape, both of the late 30th Regiment, B. N. I., who were killed at Lucknow in the campaigns of 1857-1858. This tablet is dedicated by their brother officers.

40. In memory of Captain George Nicholas Hardinge, late 45th B. N. I., and Commandant 3rd Oudh Irregular Cavalry. He served in the Sutlej and Punjab campaigns; he commanded the Sikh Cavalry and acted as Deputy Assistant Quarter-master General throughout the defence of Lucknow. From the wounds





and privations endured in that memorable siege, he died at the Sandheads, March 16th, 1858. Aged 29 years.

41. Sacred to the memory of Major the Hon'ble Barrington Reynolds Pellew (2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade), grandson of Admiral Viscount Exmouth, who died of dysentery at Lucknow, on the 6th December 1858, in the 26th year of his age, and rests in the burying ground of the Dilkusha. This tablet is erected by his bereaved and widowed mother to a son greatly beloved and deeply mourned by his sorrowing family and friends.

42. In memory of Brigadier-General William Campbell, C.B., Major John Percy Smith, Major John Griffith Price, Captain Orlando Frederick Cavenish Bridgeman, Captain Robert Blair, V.C., Cornet William Agnew, Riding Master Israel Kirk; one Regimental Sergeant-Major; one Trumpet-Major; two Troop Sergeant-Majors; eight Sergeants; seven Corporals; one Farrier; ninety privates of the 2nd Dragoon Guards (Queen's Bays), who were either killed in action, died of their wounds or of disease or exposure during the campaigns of 1857, 1858, and 1859 in India; this tablet is erected by the officers of the regiment.

43. In grateful memory of Lieut.-General Sir James Outram, *Bart.*, G.C.B. This tablet is erected in this city of Lucknow to recall his valour and generosity in the memorable relief and siege and his far-seeing wisdom which reconciled this province to British rule;





in this Christian church, because by thoughtful kindness, he gained the title of the Soldier's Friend and because in simplicity and sincerity he had his conversation in the world. Born 29th January 1803; died 12th March 1863. His body rests in Westminster Abbey.

44. In honour of one whose name should never be forgotten, Thomas Henry Kavanagh, V.C., who, on the night of the 9th November 1857, with the devotion of an ancient Roman taking his life in his hand, went forth from the beleaguered Residency, and, passing through a city thronged with merciless enemies, successfully guided Sir Colin Campbell and his army to the relief of the garrison.

45. In loving memory of William Thomas Johnson, Major, H. M.'s Indian Army. He volunteered for service in the Crimea and was attached to H. M.'s 20th Foot. Took part in the battles of Alma, Balaklava, and Inkerman, and in the trenches before Sebastopol. Served with the 1st Scinde Horse through the Persian campaign, and commanded a squadron of the 12th Irregulars, the only Native Cavalry at the first relief of Lucknow. At the action of the Alum Bagh he gallantly charged and took one of the enemy's guns; and went out with led horses from the Residency to bring in the wounded. He died at Seaford, Sussex, May 31st, 1893, aged 66.

46. To the glory of God and in memory of William Copeland Capper, Bengal Civil Service, second son of Samuel James Capper, of Snaresbrook,





in the county of Essex. As one of Anderson's Garrison he served through the defence of the Residency, and, after filling many posts in the Government of this Province, retired therefrom as Judicial Commissioner. Died at Eastbourne, Sussex, July 8th, 1902, aged 70.

*In enclosure of Cantonment Church.*

47. In memory of the soldiers of No. 3 Company 8th Battalion, Royal Artillery, who were killed or died in India during the campaigns of 1857-1858. They are 48 in number.

Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.

(This battery was reduced in 1871).

*Alum Bagh Cemetery.*

48. Sacred to the memory of Major J. Perrin, Lieutenants V. Grahame, J. J. Nunn, and M. Preston, 90th Light Infantry, who were killed in action near this spot 24th September 1857. Erected by their comrades.

49. In memory of Edwin Haig, Lieutenant and Adjutant of the 5th Fusiliers, who was killed by a round shot at the attack on the city of Lucknow on the 25th September 1857, aged about 20 years. This stone is erected by the Officers, non-commissioned officers and privates of the 5th Fusiliers.


50. Here rest the mortal remains of Henry Have-lock, *Bart.*, Major-General in the British Army, Knight Commander of the Bath, who died at Dilkusha, Lucknow, of dysentery produced by the hardships of a





campaign, in which he achieved immortal fame, on the 24th November 1857. He was born on the 5th April 1795, at Bishop Wearmouth, County Durham, England. Entered the Army 1815, came to India 1823, and served there with little interruption till his death. He bore an honourable part in the wars of Burmah, Afghanistan, the Mahratta campaign of 1843, and the Sutlej of 1845-1846. Retained by adverse circumstances during many years in a subordinate position, it was the aim of his life to prove that the profession of a Christian is consistent with the fullest discharge of the duties of a soldier. He commanded a division in the Persian expedition of 1857. In the terrible convulsion of that year his genius and character were at length fully developed and known to the world. Saved from shipwreck on the Ceylon coast by that Providence which designed him for yet greater things, he was nominated to the command of the column destined to relieve the brave garrison of Lucknow. This object, after almost superhuman exertions, he by the blessing of God, accomplished. But he was not spared to receive on earth the reward so dearly earned. The Divine Master whom he served saw fit to remove him from the sphere of his labours in the moment of his greatest triumph. He departed to his rest in humble but confident expectation of greater rewards than those which a grateful country was anxious to bestow. In him the skill of a commander, the courage and devotion of a soldier, the learning of a scholar, the grace of a high-bred gentleman, and all the social and domestic virtues of a





husband, father and friend, were blended together and strengthened, harmonized and adorned by the spirit of a true Christian: the result of the influence of the Holy Spirit on his heart and a humble reliance on the merits of a crucified Saviour.

I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me that day, and not to me only, but to all those that love his appearance.

His ashes in a peaceful urn shall rest,

His name a great ensample stands to show,

How strangely high endeavours may be blest,

Where piety and valour jointly go.

This monument is erected by his sorrowing widow and family.

51. Resurgam.—In memory of Henry Ayton, H. M.'s 84th Regiment, who died on the 28th November 1857, of wounds received at Lucknow on the 16th November 1857, aged 28 years.

52. Sacred to the memory of Dundas W. Gordon, Lieutenant, Bengal Artillery, killed at his post during General Outram's defence of this garden on the 8th January 1858, aged 28 years.

53. In memory of Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Marshman Havelock-Allan, Baronet, V.C., G.C.B., M.P., son of Major-General Sir Henry Havelock of Lucknow, K.C.B., born the 6th August 1830, killed by





Afridis in the Khyber Pass the 30th of December 1895, whilst watching the military operations. Fought in Persia, the Indian Mutiny, and New Zealand. A true soldier, fearless, heroic, and devoted to his country's service, buried at Rawalpindi by brave soldiers in a soldier's grave.

"My times are in Thine hand."

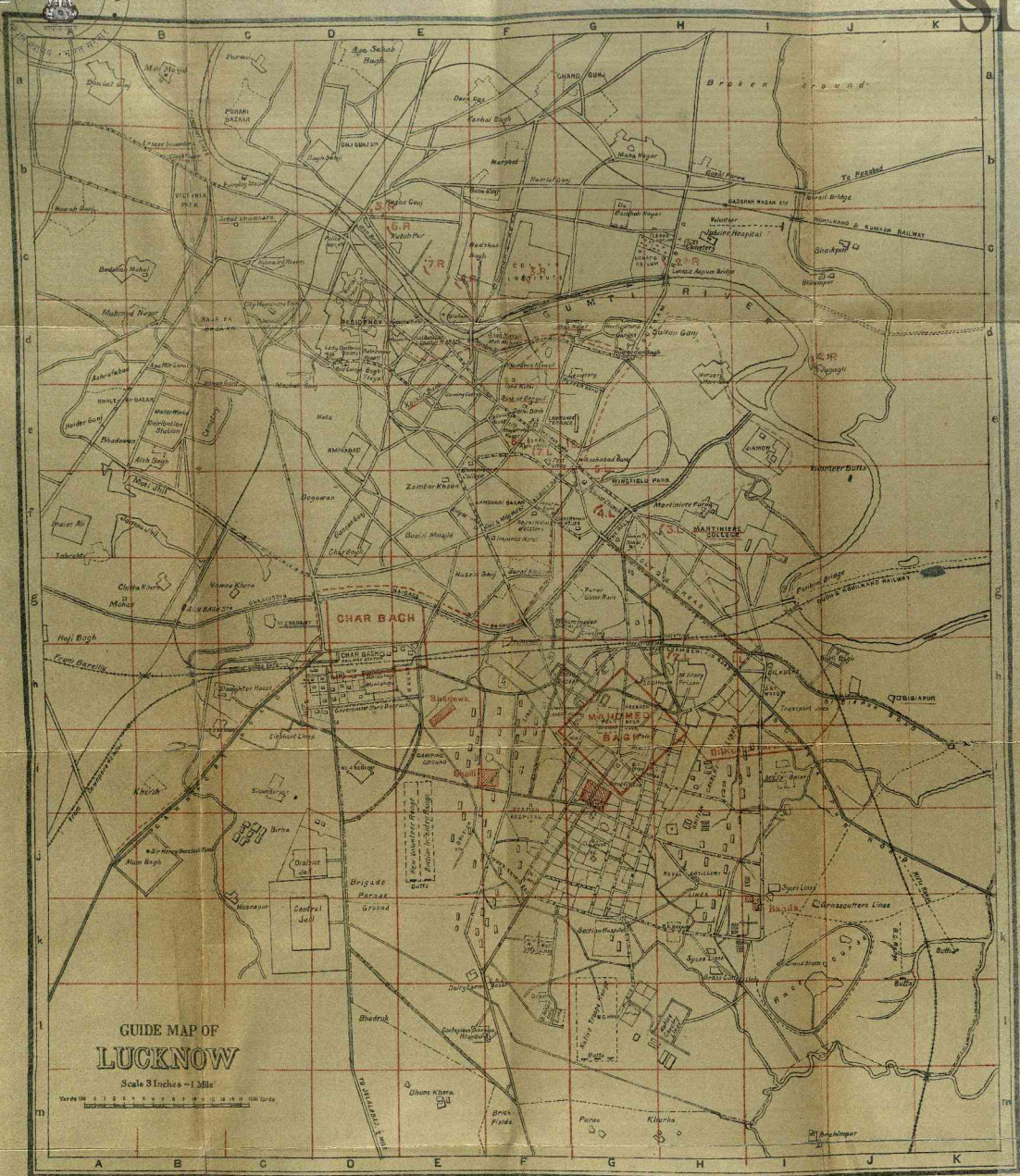
(The above is inscribed on one side of monument No. 50.)

*Near Bargawan. S.-E. of the 5th milestone,  
Cawnpore road.*

54. This column is erected by the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates of the 5th Fusiliers, to their undermentioned comrades who fell during the occupation of the Alum Bagh camp under Sir J. Outram, K.C.B., 1857-1858: Lieutenant J. Brown; Armourer-Sergeant H. Whitnorth; Sergeant W. Walters; Private W. Anderson; Private W. Baldrey; Private T. Hill; Private D. McEvoy; Private H. Wright; Private I. Baker; Private L. Martin; Private W. Chamberlain; Private I. Cleray; Private J. Kelly; Private T. Mora; Private I. Monaghan; Private W. Connolly; Private D. Donnolly; Private R. Preston; Private I. Doughty; Private W. Pottle; Private W. Moran; Private W. Messenger.

NOTE.—For the list of tombs and monuments in the Residency, see Hilton's Guide to Lucknow.





**GUIDE MAP OF  
LUCKNOW**

Scale 3 Inches = 1 Mile

Scale 1:125,000

The uncoloured portion of this map shows Lucknow as it is today  
 Villages, Baghs, and Earthworks which existed in 1857 but have now disappeared are shown in Red.  
 Harelocks Route shown thus: ---  
 Colin Campbell's  
 The floods which alone existed south of the Canal in 1857 are shown in Blue