



THE TABLETS

IN THE

MEMORIAL CHURCH, CAWNPORE,

1857



A Key describing all that is known concerning names recorded on the Tablets.

WITH APPENDICES.

CALCUTTA

THACKER, SPINK AND CO.

1894.



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PREFACE.

THE KEY TO THE TABLETS IN THE CAWNPORE MEMORIAL CHURCH

has been compiled to afford information to the visitor, who, on entering, will see Fourteen Handsome Marble Tablets, giving the names of three hundred and sixty-six residents and their families killed during the forty days of the Nana's reign.

The descriptive return gives against a number of the names, particulars as to

**Who was he,
What did he do, and
Where did he die?**

The Field Service of the Military has been given.

Amy Horne's account of her 21 days in Sir Hugh Wheeler's Garrison is given. She was one of the two young ladies who were made captive on the 27th June at the Ghaut.

The Masonic writing on the wall in Sir Hugh's room is given, with the text as read by the Prinsep of the Craft, Colonel E. K. Money, R. A., of Lucknow in 1862.

A verified account of the Nana's death is here given. This may now be accepted as the final Chapter of the Cawnpore Massacre.

R. MACCREA,
(See No. 311.)

HOWRAH,
15th December 1893.



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Index to names in the Tablets.

Tablet number.	NAME.	Men.	Women.	Children.
362	Ahern, Mrs.	1	...
332	Alexander, Mr. ...	1	...	...
102	Allan, R. D. D., Assistant Surgeon ...	1	1	2
154	Anderson, J. C., Mr. ...	1	1	1
63	Andrew, T., Quarter-Master Sergeant ...	1	1	2
96	Angelo, F. C., Lieutenant ...	1	...	...
68	Armstrong, H. H., Lieutenant ...	1	...	...
16	Ashburner, B., Lieutenant ...	1	...	...
18	Ashe, St. G., Lieutenant ...	1	...	...
A 153	Alone, Mr. ...	...	...	...
95	Battine, C., Lieutenant ...	1	1	...
155	Bayne, J. C., Mr. ...	1	1	1
157	Barlow, Mr. ...	1	...	...
44	Balfour, M., Lieutenant ...	1	...	...
158	Batavia, M. Miss ...	...	1	...
97	Bax, G., Lieutenant ...	1	...	...
66	Belson, H., Captain ...	1	2	...
92	Bell, T., Sergeant-Major ...	1	1	3
104	Berrill, W., Conductor ...	3	1	1
159	Bennett, E., Miss ...	...	1	...
160	Bestall, Mrs. ...	...	1	...
143	Bissett, Miss ...	...	1	...
336	Billington, Mr. ...	1	...	...
133	Blair, Mrs. ...	...	2	1
161	Borthwick, Mrs. ...	...	1	...
52	Boulton, A. T., Lieutenant... ..	1	...	...
91	Bewling, J. P., Assistant Surgeon ...	1	1	1
46	Boyes, W. R., Surgeon ...	1	1	...
70	Bridges, G. S., Lieutenant ...	1	...	...
135	Brightman, Miss ...	...	1	...
162	Brierly, E., Mr. ...	1	...	...
333	Brierly, J., Mr. ...	1	1	3
334	Brierly, R., Mr. ...	1	1	1
335	Brierly, Misses E. and F. ...	...	2	...
109	Brooke, Sergeant ...	1	1	1
164	Burn, Misses ...	...	2	...
21	Burney, F. W., Lieutenant... ..	1	...	...
165	Burney, Mr. ...	1	...	...
320	Byrne, R. S., Ensign ...	1	...	...
163	Brett, Henry ...	...	...	1
	Carried forward ...	30	27	18

Tablet number.	NAME.	Men.	Women.	Children.
	Brought forward ...	30	27	18
167	Caley, Masters ...	...	...	2
134	Campbell, Mr. ...	1	1	...
337	Campbell, D. E. Revd. ...	1	1	2
338	Catania, Mr. ...	1	1	1
339	Cawood, Mr. ...	1	1	3
166	Carroll, Mrs ...	...	1	1
168	Carter, Mr. ...	1	1	1
114	Carmody, Sergeant ...	1	1	...
169	Chandler, E., Miss ...	...	1	...
85	Chalmers, W. A., Lieutenant ...	1	...	...
47	Chalwin, E. G., Vet. Surgeon ...	1	1	...
170	Cheeters, M., Miss ...	...	1	...
171	Christie, H. Mr. ...	1	4	...
49	Cladwell, H., Sergeant-Major ...	1	...	...
175	Clooney, Drummer ...	1	...	...
173	Conway, Miss ...	...	1	...
174	Cousins James ...	...	...	1
152	Collins, J. R., Mr. ...	1	1	...
132	Cockey, H. E., Revd. ...	1	...	...
75	Collyer, N., Surgeon ...	1	...	...
176	Colgan, Miss ...	...	1	...
153	Cooke, R. B., Mr. ...	1	1	3
151	Cox, Mr. ...	1	...	...
179	Copeland, Master ...	...	...	1
177	Cooper, H. R., Mr. ...	1	1	3
178	Copeman, Mrs....	...	1	...
180	Crabb, Mrs. ...	...	1	...
145	Cripps, S. E., Miss ...	...	1	...
181	Cummins, Mr. ...	1	...	...
182	Dallas, Mrs. ...	...	1	...
185	Daley, Mrs. ...	...	1	...
43	Daniell, M. G., Lieutenant... ..	1	...	...
183	Darling, Mrs. ...	...	1	1
184	Dachey, Mrs. ...	...	1	1
142	Darby, Mrs. ...	...	1	1
186	Davis, Mr. ...	1	...	4
15	Dempster, C., Lieutenant ...	1	1	4
190	DeCruze, Miss ...	...	1	...
191	DeRussett, Mr....	1	1	2
187	DeGama, J. X., Mr. ...	1	...	...
189	Duncan, D., Mr. ...	1	1	4
188	Duncan, J., Mr. ...	1	...	...
192	Dupton, Mrs. ...	...	1	3
193	Dundas, Master ...	...	...	1
73	Dawson, A., Ensign ...	1	...	...
	Carried forward ...	56	59	57

Tablet number.	NAME.	Men.	Women.	Children.
	Brought forward	56	59	57
19	Eckford, J. A. H., Lieutenant	1	1	..
55	Elms, E. J., Captain	1	..	..
340	Elliott, Mr.	1	1	5
31	Enmor, Mr., Hospital Apprentice	1	1	..
141	Evans, E., Mrs.	..	1	2
53	Ewart, J., Lieutenant Colonel	1	1	2
54	Ewart, J. H., Lieutenant	1	..	..
86	Fagan, H., Lieutenant	1	..	..
194	Fagan, J., Mr.	1	1	2
196	Fairburn, Mrs.	..	1	..
195	Farmer, Mr.	1	..	..
329	Faulkner, Mr.	1	..	..
197	Fern, Mrs.	..	1	..
342	Finlay, Mr.	1	2	1
198	Fitzgerald, J., Mr.	1	..	5
74	Forman, J., Ensign	1	..	..
199	Forsyth, W., Mr.	1	..	..
140	Fraser, Mrs.	..	1	..
200	Freeman, Mr.	1	..	..
201	Frost, Mrs.	..	3	..
341	Freeman, J. E., Revd.	1	1	..
214	Fulton, Miss S.	..	1	1
100	Garbett, H., Surgeon	1	..	..
206	Garrett, Mr.	1	..	..
207	Galway, Mr.	1	..	..
208	Gee, W. Mr.	1	1	..
209	Gibson, Mrs.	..	1	1
108	Gill, J. Mr.	1	1	4
210	Gilpin, Mr.	1	1	4
33	Glarville, G. J., Lieutenant	1	..	..
137	Glasgow, Misses	..	2	..
84	Goad, C. R. Lieutenant	1	..	..
323	Goldie, A., Colonel	1	4	..
211	Goodwin, Mr.	1	..	..
77	Gordon, W., Quarter-Master Sergeant	1	1	2
120	Green, Mr.	1	1	2
147	Greenway, E. F., Mr.	1	1	5
148	Greenway, T., Mr.	1	1	5
149	Greenway, S., Mr.	1	1	3
212	Grinsey, Mrs.	..	1	..
213	Gun, Mr.	1	..	..
214	Guthrie, Mr.	1	1	..
344	Guise, Mr.	1	1	..
	Carried forward	90	93	101

Tablet number.	NAME.	Men.	Women.	Children.
	Brought forward	90	93	101
40	Harrison, J. H., Lieutenant	1	...	...
101	Harris, H. P., Assistant Surgeon	1	1	1
216	Harkness, Mrs.	...	1	51
80	Halliday, H. L., Captain	1	1	1
131	Haycock, Revd.	1	1	...
217	Haycock, Mr.	1	1	3
218	Hay, J. D., Mr.	1	...	...
219	Hanna, R., Mr.	1	...	...
220	Hampton, Miss	...	1	...
138	Harris—Infant	...	...	1
328	Hammond, Sergeant	1	1	4
23	Hefferan, Mr., Hospital Steward	1	...	...
221	Heberden, A. C., Mr.	1	...	...
107	Heron, Sergeant Major	1	1	2
89	Henderson, J. W., Lieutenant	1	...	...
99	Henderson, R. W., Lieutenant	1	...	...
319	Henderson, D., Lieutenant	1	...	...
222	Henderson, E., Mr.	1	...	...
64	Hillersdon, W. R., Major	1	...	...
124	Hillersdon, C. G., Mr.	1	1	2
62	Hilling, C., Sergeant Major	1	1	1
29	Hill, E. C., Ensign	1	1	...
215	Hogan, Mrs.	...	1	...
223	Holmes, E., Miss.	...	1	...
146	Hollings, Captain	1	...	...
321	Heathcote, T. G., Surgeon	1	1	2
345	Ives, J., Mr.	1	2	...
9	Jack, A., Brigadier General	1	...	...
10	Jack, A. W., Mr.	1	...	...
98	Jackson, P. H., Lieutenant	1	1	...
224	James, Master	1	...	...
225	Jacobi, F., Mr.	1	1	...
226	Jacobi, H., Mr.	2	1	3
227	Jackford, Mrs.	...	1	...
67	Jellicoe, F. G., Lieutenant	1	1	2
37	Jenkins, R. N., Captain	1	1	...
26	Jervis, S. C. Lieutenant	1	...	...
228	Jones, Mr.	1	1	...
229	Johnston, A. R., Mr.	1	1	3
346	Johnson, A. O., Revd.	1	1	...
347	Joyce, J., Mr.	1	1	4
230	Keeler, Mrs.	...	1	...
110	Kelly, Sergeant	1	1	1
	Carried forward	127	122	182

Tablet number.	NAME.	Men.	Women.	Children.
	Brought forward	127	122	182
81	Kempland, G., Captain	1	2	3
363	Kestall, Mr.	1	1	3
348	Kew, J. B., Mr.	1	2	2
231	Kinleside, Mrs.	...	1	2
232	Knight, O., Mrs.	...	1	2
233	Kirk, Mrs. C., Senior	...	3	1
234	Kirk, J. R., Mr.	1	1	1
235	Kirkpatrick, Mr.	1	1	1
236	Latouche, W. D., Mr.	1	...	...
350	Lang, A., Miss	...	1	...
14	Larkins, G., Major	1	1	2
237	Lawrence, Mr. ...	1	1	3
93	Leak, J., Quarter Master Sergeant	1	1	...
238	Leary, Mr.	1	...	2
239	Leath, Miss	...	1	...
240	Lewis, James, Master	...	...	1
6	Lindsay, W., Major	1	2	2
8	Lindsay, C., Ensign	1	1	...
241	Little, Mr.	1	...	...
242	Lyell, L., Miss	...	1	...
366	Lewis, R., Nisbett, C.S.	1	1	2
325	Maltby, S., Assistant Surgeon	1	1	...
126	Mackillop J. R., C. S.	1	...	...
22	MacAulay D., Assistant Surgeon	1	...	...
243	MacCullen, Master	...	...	1
250	Mackintosh, Mr.	1	1	...
351	MacMullin, J., Revd.	1	1	...
252	MacLean, Mr.	1	1	...
353	Macklin, Mr.	1	1	8
354	MacDonald, Mrs.	...	1	3
111	MacEanderson, Sergeant	1	1	1
76	MacMahon, T., Sergeant-Major	1	1	4
245	MacMoran, Misses	...	2	...
355	Madden, J. R., Mr.	1	3	2
244	Mackinnon, Mrs.	...	1	...
69	Master, G. A., Lieutenant	1	...	...
51	Mianwaring, C. Cornet	1	...	...
123	Maloney, B., Mr.	1	...	...
251	Maling, Messrs. J. and Geo.	2	...	...
41	Manderson, J. W., Lieutenant	1	...	...
105	Manville, G. H.	1	1	4
17	Martin, J. W., Lieutenant	1	...	...
246	Martindell, W. L., Miss	...	1	...
247	Mark, E., Miss	...	1	...
	Cared forward	158	160	230

Tablet number.	NAME.	Men.	Women.	Children.
	Brought forward	158	160	230
129	Maxwell, Mr.	1	..	..
253	Marshall, W., Mrs.	..	1	..
130	Miller, A. M., Mr.	1	..	..
248	Morfett, H. J., Mrs.	..	1	..
127	Moncrieff, Revd.	1	1	1
27	Moore, J., Captain	1	1	3
324	Monckton, J. R., Lieutenant	1	1	1
87	Morris, W. L. G., Lieutenant	1	..	..
249	Murphy, Mr.	1	..	..
118	Murray, Drum Major	1	..	..
316	Munro, R., Major	1	..	..
254	Nelson, Mr.	1	..	..
61	Newenhan, A. W. R., Surgeon	1	1	2
255	North, W., Master	1	..	..
256	Norris, Mrs.	..	1	..
257	O'Brien, J., Mr.	1	1	..
258	O'Brien, J. L., Mrs.	..	1	1
259	O'Connor, Miss	..	1	..
260	Ogle, Mr.	1	1	6
261	Osborn, Mrs.	..	1	..
11	Parker, Sir G., Captain	1	..	..
113	Parker, Sergeant	1	..	..
262	Palmer, Messrs, F. and H.	2	..	..
357	Palmer, J. P., Mr.	1	1	9
264	Peake, C., Mr.	1	..	..
263	Pcel, Mrs. G.	..	1	1
106	Peters, A., Mr., Assistant Apothecary	1	3	2
317	Phillott, H. J., Major	1	..	..
265	Pistol, H., Mrs.	..	1	..
266	Pogson, Mr.	..	1	..
71	Prole, W. G., Lieutenant	1	..	..
79	Prout, W. R., Major	1	1	..
268	Probett, W., Mr.	1	1	6
267	Purcell, Mr.	1	1	1
122	Price, Mr.	1	..	..
38	Quin, R. O., Lieutenant	1	..	..
39	Quin, C. W., Lieutenant	1	..	..
83	Raikes, T. A., Lieutenant	1	..	..
358	Ray, Mr.	1	2	..
269	Ramsay, Mr.	..	..	..
59	Redman, F., Lieutenant	1	..	..
	Carried forward	190	184	263

Tablet number.	NAME.	Men.	Women.	Children.
	Brought forward	190	184	263
271	Read, G., Mr. ...	1	1	5
115	Reid, W., Bazar Sergeant	1	1	...
121	Reid, Nixon, Mr. ...	1	...	...
65	Reynolds, J. H., Captain ...	1	1	1
103	Rielly N. Assistant Commissary	1	1	3
270	Rielly, Mr. ...	1	...	...
272	Ricketts, Mr. ...	1	...	...
273	Roach, J. W., Mr. ...	1	...	...
359	Roach, Mr. ...	1	1	...
274	Robinson, Mr. ...	1	...	...
275	Roberts, Mrs. ...	...	1	...
128	Rooney, J., Revd. Father...	1	...	...
276	Russell, Mrs. ...	...	1	...
277	Russell, Mrs. E. ...	...	1	...
116	Ryan, Cattle Sergeant	1	1	3
326	Rohan. W., Conductor	1	1	...
58	Satchwell, R. M., Lieutenant	1	...	...
32	Saunders, F. J. G., Lieutenant	1	...	...
278	Saunders, Mrs. ...	1	...	1
279	Scott, Mrs. ...	...	1	...
280	Schorn, J., Mr. ...	1	...	...
36	Seppings, E. J., Captain ...	1	1	2
285	Shaw, Mr. ...	1	...	...
281	Shearin, J., Mr. ...	1	...	...
286	Sheridan, H., Mr. ...	1	1	2
287	Shepherd, D., Mr. ...	1	...	...
288	Shepherd, E., Mrs. ...	...	1	2
360	Shepherd, Mrs. ...	...	2	3
327	Shiels, Mr. ...	1	1	2
282	Shore, Mrs. ...	...	1	...
283	Sinclair, Mr. ...	1	1	...
284	Simpson, Masters	...	...	2
24	Slane, W., Assistant Apothecary	1	...	...
289	Sliven, Mr. ...	1	...	...
57	Smith, H. S., Lieutenant	1	...	...
290	Smith, Mr. ...	1	...	...
315	Smith, G. A., Colonel	1	1	2
20	Sotheby, G. W. M., Lieutenant	1	...	...
150	Stacey, H. H., Mr. ...	1	...	...
90	Steevens, R. A., Lieutenant	1	...	...
291	Stanley, Mr. ...	1	...	...
45	Stirling, W. A., Cornet	1	...	...
292	Stokes, L, and W. ...	...	...	2
293	Stowell, M., Miss	...	1	...
60	Supple, J, C., Ensign	1	...	...
	Carried forward	225	205	293

Tablet number.	NAME.	Men.	Women.	Children.
	Brought forward	225	205	293
144	Swinton, Mrs. ...	1	1	3
117	Swan, Sergeant	1	...	...
318	Swetenham, C. W., Lieutenant	1	...	...
30	Thompson, J., Assistant-Apothecary	1	...	...
330	Thornhill, M. B., C. S.	1	1	2
294	Tibbetts, Mrs. ...	...	1	...
296	Todd, Mr. ...	1	...	...
72	Tomkinson, F. H., Lieutenant	1	...	...
295	Tomkins, Mrs. ...	...	1	...
297	Tresham, Mrs. ...	...	1	...
298	Tritton, Mr. ...	1	...	...
50	Tress, F., Quarter-Master Sergeant	1	1	...
331	Tucker, J., Mrs.	...	1	3
55	Turner, A., Captain	1	1	1
94	Turnbull, A. M., Captain	1	...	...
299	Vaughan, T., Mr.	1	...	...
34	Vibart, E., Major	1	1	3
35	Vibart, E. C., Captain	1	...	...
300	Virgin, J., Mr.	1	...	...
301	Viscarde, Mr. ...	1	...	...
139	Wade, F. L., Mrs	...	1	...
28	Wainwright, F., Lieutenant	1	2	...
302	Wallet, Miss ...	...	1	...
304	Walsh, Mr. ...	1	1	3
48	Walsh, D. Mr. ...	1	1	...
305	Walker, A., Mr.	1	...	1
364	Waresaw, Mrs.	...	1	...
88	Warde, H. J. G., Lieutenant	1	...	...
303	Warden, G., Master	1	...	...
119	Warren, Sergeant	1	...	...
306	Wells, Mr. ...	1	1	3
307	West, E., Mrs.	...	1	2
1	Wheeler, Sir Hugh	1	2	...
3	Wheeler, G. R., Lieutenant	1	...	...
136	White, Miss, I.	...	1	...
25	Whiting, T., Captain	1	...	...
112	Wheelan, Sergeant	1	1	2
308	Wildep, C. J. & T.	...	...	3
309	Willis, Mrs. ...	...	1	1
78	Willims, S., Colonel	1	2	3
12	Williamson, W. Captain	1	1	1
4	Wiggens, E., Lieut.-Colonel	1	1	2
310	Wilkinson, Mr.	1	1	1
365	Woolger, Mrs. ...	...	1	3
	Carried forward	256	235	330

Tablet number.	NAME.	Men.	Women.	Children.	
	Brought forward ...	256	235	330	
42	Wren, F. S. M. Lieutenant ...	1	...	...
311	Wrixon, R. B., Mr. ...	1	2	1	
322	Wrixen, W. M., Musician ...	1	...	...
314	Yates, Mrs. ...	...	1	...	
	TOTAL ...	256	238	331	
Tab. 2	Non-Comd. Officers and men, Artillery	63	16	20	
" 2	Ditto Depôt H. M's. 2nd	82	41	63	
" 2	Ditto H. M's. 84th	47	...	...
" 2	Ditto 1 Madras Fus.	15	...	...
		466	295	414	
" 3	Musicians 1st Regiment N. I. ...	18	5	9	
" 3	" 53rd " "	10	...	...
" 3	" 56th " "	14	5	5	
	TOTAL ...	508	305	428	
	<i>Add Omissions.—</i>				
	Cooke, J. H., Mr. I. T. Dak ...	1	1	5	
	Twoomy, M., Apoth. Med. Depôt ...	1	1	1	
	GRAND TOTAL ..	510	307	434	1,251

IMPER.



To the Glory of God
AND
In Memory of
MORE THAN A THOUSAND
CHRISTIAN PEOPLE
WHO MET THEIR DEATHS HARD BY
BETWEEN 6th JUNE, AND 15th JULY
1857.

These Tablets
ARE PLACED IN THIS THE
MEMORIAL CHURCH,
ALL SOULS,
CAWNPORE,
BY THE
GOVERNMENT N. W. P.

Staff.

MAJOR GEN. SIR H. WHEELER, K. C. B.
LADY WHEELER AND DAUGHTERS.
LIEUT. G. R. WHEELER, 1ST N. I., A. D. C.
LIEUT.-COL. E. WIGGENS 52ND N. I., D. J. A. G.
MRS. WIGGENS.
MAJOR. W. LINDSAY, A. A. G.
MRS. LINDSAY, AND DAUGHTERS.
ENSIGN C. AND MRS. LINDSAY.
BRIGADIER GENERAL JACK, C. B.
MR. JACK.
CAPT. SIR G. PARKER, 74TH N. I., CANT. MAGISTR.
CAPT. WILLIAMSON, 71ST N. I., D. A. G. G.
MRS. WILLIAMSON AND CHILD.

IMPERIAL
R.V.

1.—Major-Genl. Sir Hugh Wheeler, K. C. B. Who was he ?

Was the son of Captain Hugh Wheeler, by his wife Margaret, second daughter of Hugh, first Lord Massy. He was born at Ballywin, County Limerick in 1789, and entered the service of the East India Company, in the 48th Regiment, Native Infantry—

as ENSIGN	...	...	17th March 1805
LIEUTENANT	...	...	5th April 1805
CAPTAIN	...	...	1st January 1819
MAJOR	...	...	18th July 1829
LIEUT.-COLONEL	...	...	27th June 1835
COLONEL	...	...	1st April 1846
MAJOR-GENERAL	...	...	20th June 1854

Commanding the Cawnpore Division, with a record of 52 years service. He served in the Campaign under Lord Lake, 1805. Doab 1806, Jumourie 1807, Delhi 1809. During the operations in Afghanistan, 1839, 1840 and 1841. Storm and capture of Ghuzni. Medal, 3rd Class Doorani order and C. B. engagement in the Wuzeerah Valley, 2nd Class Doorani order. Commanding a Brigade throughout the Campaign of the Sutlej, present at the actions of Moodki (severely wounded, horse killed under him) and Aliwal. Medal, Clasp and A. D. C. to the Queen. Employed in the capture of Kote Kangra, and commanded a division of Sir Hugh Gough's army of the Punjab, 1848-49. Medal and K. C. B.

Sir John Kaye says:—"That he was an old and distinguished officer of the Company's army. He had seen much good service in Afghanistan and the Punjab, had won his spurs in the second Sikh War in command of a division of Sir Hugh Gough's army. No man knew the sepoys better, and no man was more respected by them. **But, he had known them a little too long.**"

What did he do ? *During May and June 1857.*

- 1.—He took up an indefensible position.
- 2.—He abandoned a first class arsenal.
- 3.—He surrendered 10 lacs of treasure.
- 4.—He sacrificed above 1,200 lives.
- 5.—He met an ignominious death.
- 6.—He for the second time in the annals of India entailed the servitude of Bondage on British women.

* For authority see Appendices.

Where did he die ?

He was cut down at the ghaut by a Sowar of the 2nd Cavalry, who, it would appear, was subsequently hanged by Brigadier-General Neill, at the Slaughter House in July 1857, and whose son Mazar Ali in 1887, as an act of revenge shot Major A. H. S. Neill, Commanding 2nd Central India Horse, Augur.

2.—Lady WHEELER and daughters—

Lady Wheeler and the elder daughter were killed at the ghaut, the fate of the younger Ulrica is involved in obscurity.

3.—Lieut. G. R. WHEELER, 1st N. I. A. D. C.—

Was employed with the force under Brigadier-General Wheeler in the Punjab, 1848-49, Medal.

While lying wounded, a round shot boomed into the room and carried off the young soldier's head; Sir Hugh in his letter of 24th June 1857 to Sir Henry Lawrence says; "Yesterday morning they attempted the most formidable assault, but dared not come on; and after three hours in the trenches cheering the men, I returned to find my favorite darling son killed by a nine pounder in the room with his mother and sisters, he was not able to accompany me, having been fearfully crippled by a severe contusion."

4.—Lieut.-Colonel E. WIGGENS, 52nd N. I.—D. J. A. General—

Served as Major of Brigade throughout the siege and operations before Mooltan, and at the battle of Guzerat, 1848 Medal, Claps and Brevet Major.

In his letter of the 24th June 1857 to Colonel Halford at Lucknow, he says:—"On that date (6th June) they commenced their attack and fearfully have they continued now for 18 days and nights. While the condition of misery experienced by all is utterly beyond description in this place. Death and mutilation in all their forms of horror, have been daily before us, the numerical amount of casualties has been frightful, caused both by sickness and the implements of war, *the latter having been fully employed against our Garrison by the villainous insurgents, who have unluckily been enabled to furnish themselves therewith from the Repository which contained them.*"

He was killed on the 27th June 1857.

5.—Mrs. WIGGENS—Died in the entrenchment on the 12th June 1857.

6.—Major W. LINDSAY, A. A. General, 10th N. I.—
Served in Burmah in 1852-53, Medal.

During the siege a round shot struck up splinters into his face, gashing and blinding him, he lingered in darkness and agony, when death came to his relief on the 16th June.

7.—Mrs. LINDSAY and daughters—

They entered the entrenchment on the 21st May, Mrs. Lindsay died of grief on the 17th June, her daughter Alice died at the Slaughter House on the 9th, while Francis and Caroline were killed on the 15th July.

8.—Ensign C. and Mrs. LINDSAY—

The Ensign was killed on the 27th June and his wife died in the Slaughter House on the 12th July 1857.

9.—Brigadier-General JACK, C. B.—

Served throughout the Campaign on the Sutlej, Commanded the 34th Regiment Native Infantry at the battle of Aliwal, Medal and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, with the army of the Punjab at the passage of the Chenab, actions of Chillianwala and Guzerat, and in the pursuit of the Sikhs and Afghans under General Gilbert, Medal and C. B.

He was the son of the Very Reverend W. Jack, D. D., King's College, Aberdeen, he took an insignificant part in the defence, and died of fever in the entrenchment.

10.—Mr. A. W. T. JACK—

Brother of above, on a visit from Australia, a round shot carried away his left leg, he died in the entrenchment.

11.—Captain Sir G. PARKER 74th N. I. Cantonment Magistrate—

Died from sun stroke in the entrenchment—'tis said, he with some friends, who were unobservant of the coming storm, were lingering over their breakfast, had barely time to fly for their lives to the entrenchment, on the 6th June 1857.

12.—Captain WILLIAMSON, 41st N. I.—D. A. C. General—

Served throughout the Campaign on the Sutlej, including the battle of Sobraon—Medal and Clasp. With the army of the Punjab, present at the skirmish of Ramnuggur, and the actions of Chillianwala and Guzerat. Medal and Clasp.

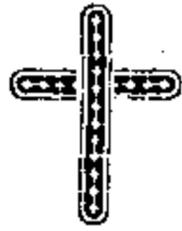
Was the Executive Comd. Officer, it was owing to his indefatigable exertions that any food was stored in the entrenchment. At the last moment while the Rebels were advancing, he brought in a supply of Rum and Malt Liquor from a Canteen close by.

He was killed on the 27th June 1857.

13.—Mrs. WILLIAMSON and child—

Was the daughter of Dr. Chapman, Hawkfield House, Leith, Edinburgh, and with her child killed in the Slaughter House.

IMPERIAL
BY



Bengal Artillery.

MAJOR G. LARKINS, WIFE & CHILDREN.
LIEUT. G. DEMPSTER, WIFE & CHILDREN.
" B. ASHBURNER.
" J. MARTIN.
" ST. G. ASHE.
" J. A. H. AND MRS. ECKFORD.
2nd LIEUT. G. M. W. SOTHEBY.
" F. W. BURNEY.
ASST. SURG. D. MCAULEY, M. D.
HOSPITAL-STEWARD W. HEFFERAN.
ASST.-APOT. W. SLANEY.
63 NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND MEN.
BESIDES WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

Bengal Engineers.

CAPT. F. WHITING.
LIEUT. S. C. JERVIS.

32nd Light Infantry.

CAPT. J. MOORE, WIFE AND CHILDREN.
LIEUT. F. MRS. AND MISS WAINWRIGHT.
ENSIGN E. C. AND MRS. HILL.
ASST.-APOT. I. THOMPSON.
HOSPT.-APPT. W. A. EMMOR AND WIFE.
82 NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND MEN.
41 WOMEN AND 61 CHILDREN.

84th Foot.

LIEUT. F. J. G. SAUNDERS.
47 NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND MEN.

1st G. M. Fusiliers.

15 NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS AND MEN.
LIEUT. C. J. GLANVILLE, 2ND E. B. F.

*

Bengal Artillery.

14.—Major O. LARKINS, wife and children—

Served in Afghanistan, 1842, present at the forcing of the Khyber Pass, and re-occupation of Cabul, Medal.

The general supervision of the Artillery devolved on him, but through illness, he was incapacitated from taking a very active part in the operations.

Lieutenant Delafosse states that Major Larkins, wife and children were killed at the ghaut.

15.—Lieut. C. DEMPSTER, wife and children—

Served with the army of the Punjab, 1848-49, including the actions of Chillianwala and Guzerat, Medal and 2 Clasps.

Held command of the 3-nine pounder battery on the West—fell mortally wounded near Captain Whiting's, battery, his wife and 4 children died in the entrenchment.

16.—Lieutenant B. ASHBURNER—

Was killed when out reconnoitring on the 6th June, by his horse running into the enemy's ranks.

17.—Lieutenant J. MARTIN—

Son of Admiral Martin, killed by a shot in the West battery.

18.—Lieutenant St. G. ASHE, Commandant No. 3 Light Field Battery.

Served with the Burmese Expedition, present at the operations in the vicinity and capture of Rangoon in April 1852, and attack of stockades, 19th March 1853, Medal.

Had charge of the N. E. Battery, consisting of one 24 pounder Howitzer, and two 9 pounder guns.

He was a great scourge to the enemy, in consequence of the surprising celerity and accuracy of firing from his battery, on the 11th June the enemy imagining that all our attention was directed to the burning of the thatched Barrack took occasion to plan an attack—they advanced by hundreds under the shelter of darkness and without a sound from that side,

with the intention of storming Ashe's battery, they were allowed to come within 80 yards of the guns before a shot was fired or a movement made to indicate that they were discovered—just when it must have appeared to them that their success was certain. Ashe opened his 9-pounders upon them with a most destructive charge of grape, the men shouldered successive guns which they had by their sides ready loaded, every available piece was discharged right into their midst, and in half an hour they left 100 corpses in the open.

On the 27th June the third boat got clear from the shallows and floated steadily down the main channel. Whether fortuitously, or by the attraction of like to like, it so happened that the—

Flower of the defence

Was congregated between those bulwarks. There were Vibart and Whiting good at need, Ashe bereaved of his nine pounder, and Delafosse of the burning gun, and Bolton snatched once more from present destruction, there was Moore with his hand slung in a handkerchief, and Blenman the bold spy. Glanville of Barrack No. 2, and Burney of the South East Battery.

Fate seemed willing to defer the hour which should extinguish those noble lives.

Lieutenant Ashe was shot in the heart, while pushing the boat off a sand bank on the 27th June.

19.—Lieutenant J. A. H. and Mrs. ECKFORD—

Had charge of the S. E. Battery, consisting of 3 9-pounder guns assisted by Lieutenants Delafosse and Burney

He was snatching half an hour's repose under the roof of the verandah, when he was struck through the heart by a round shot. Mrs. Eckford died in the entrenchment.

20.—Lieutenant C. W. M. Sotheby—

Was attached to Lieutenant Ashe's battery and died of wounds in the entrenchment.

Of the Officers to whom the charge of the guns had originally been intrusted, few had escaped from the hail of lead and iron, and the hardly less deadly rays of an Indian sun.

21.—Lieutenant F. W. BURNEY—

Was attached to Eckford's battery and killed by a round shot on the 27th June.

22.—Assistant Surgeon D. McAULEY, M. D.—

Was in medical charge of the picquets at the Barracks, he never lacked employment at this outpost.

He was killed on the 30th June.

23.—Hospital Steward W. HEFFERAN—

Killed during the siege.

24.—Assistant Apothecary W. SLANEY—

Should be Slane, died in the entrenchment.

6 Non-Commissioned Officers and men, besides women and children.

Bengal Engineers.

25.—Captain F. WHITING—

Served in the Sutlej Campaign, Medal.

Had the command of the N. W. Side of the entrenchment. He and Captain Moore whom the General consulted reluctantly declared in favour of capitulation. They had no thought of themselves. Had there been only men in the entrenchment they would have no doubt clung to the nobler and manlier course. At the Armistice Captains Whiting and Moore and Mr. Roche went out with full powers to treat to deliver the fortification, the treasure and the Artillery, to the Emissaries of the Nana, Azimolla and Jawalapersad. The Nana required the entrenchment to be vacated on the evening of the 26th or he would re-open fire. The Emissaries were informed that their sepoys, had shewn greater alacrity in retiring therefrom, than in advancing, and the evacuation was fixed for the 27th June. Captain Whiting was in the same boat with Major Vibart and was killed on the 28th June.

26.—Lieutenant S. C. JERVIS—

Was killed while walking over to his battery through a shower of lead with a gait of calm grandeur, as if he were pacing the Eden Gardens beneath the eye glasses of Calcutta beauty. In vain his comrades raised their wonted shout "Run Jervis run." He was shot through the heart.

32nd Light Infantry.

27.—Captain J. MOORE, wife and children—

Was the third son of Captain George Moore formerly Pay Master of the Corps. Present at the surrender of the Fortress of Mooltan and battle of Guzrat. Medal and Clasp ; while on 2 years furlough, took active service in the East, became Major Commandant in the Turkish Contingent and obtained the order of the Medjidi—joined his Regiment at Cawnpore in January 1857.

Trevelyan styles him the “Clearchus” of the garrison while Sir John Kaye speaks of him as its “Agamemnon.” The command of the garrison very soon after the attack devolved on him, he was the life and soul of the defence, through all his harassing duties, he never lost determination or energy, speaking words of encouragement to every one, and by his affable sympathy imparted fresh patience to the suffering women. Soon after the destruction of the Hospital (the thatched Barrack) he determined to make a dash on the enemy’s guns, in the hope of silencing some of these destructive weapons, and thus lessening the severity of the attack. Accordingly with a party of 50 he sallied out at midnight towards the Church compound where he spiked 3 guns. Proceeding thence to the Mess House they killed several of the native gunners asleep at their posts, blew up one of the 24-pounders, and spiked two more, but although it was a most brilliant, daring and successful exploit, it availed little, as the next day fresh guns were in position. This service cost one private killed and four wounded.

Captains Moore and Whiting proposed the acceptance of the capitulation, which Sir Hugh Wheeler reluctantly assented to—the choice between life and death. 16 elephants, 70 to 80 doolees composed the van of the mournful procession, more than 200 sufferers had thus to be conveyed down to the river. The Advance Guard consisting of men of the 32nd Regiment was led by Captain Moore. He was shot while attempting to push off his boat on the 27th June.

Mrs. Edith Moore was the younger daughter of Captain Daniell of the 17th Dragoons, she and the children were killed at the Slaughter House.

It is recorded that when canister could not be driven home in consequence of the damage done to our guns by the heavy Artillery of the enemy, the ladies of the garrison gave up their stockings to improvise the ammunition most needed.

28.—Lieutenant F. Mrs. and Miss. WAINWRIGHT—

Lieutenant Wainwright was killed during the siege, his wife, child and sister died of fever.

29.—Ensign E. C. and Mrs. HILL—

He was killed during the siege and the wife on the 15th July.

30.—Assistant Apothecary J. THOMPSON—

Was killed during the siege.

31.—Hospital Apprentice W. A. EMMOR and wife—

Killed during the siege.

82 Non-Commissioned Officers and men.

41 Women and 61 children.

84th Regiment.

32.—Lieutenant F. J. C. SAUNDERS—

Arrived in charge of a Detachment on the 1st June and killed on 30th.

47 Non-Commissioned Officers and men.

1st E. Madras Fusiliers.

15 Non-Commissioned Officers and men.

33.—Lieutenant C. J. GLANVILLE 2nd B. E. F.—

Held the post at No. 2 Barrack, two hundred yards from the entrenchment, which became the key of the position, after a few days was dangerously wounded. He and Burney were killed in the boat by the same round shot.

2nd Light Cavalry.

34.—Major E. VIBART, wife and children—

Served with the army of the Indus, present at the capture of Ghuzni, Medal, and at Punniar, Bronze Star.

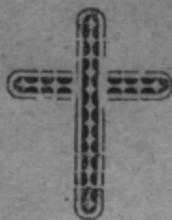
Held the Redan in the entrenchment with Captain Jenkins. On the 27th June while Captain Moore led the van, Major Vibart brought up the rear of this funeral procession. Major Vibart was joined by Captains Moore, Whiting—Mowbray Thomson, Lieutenants Ashe, Delafosse, Bolton and others, their boat was carried by the current to Nujuffghur. At sunset they were overtaken by a pursuing boat with 60 men, and grounded on the same sand bank. Exhausted, famished, sick and wounded as they were, they attacked their pursuers, very few of whom returned to tell the story. On the 29th the boat having during the night drifted into a creek, the enemy poured a shower of musket balls upon the miserable inmates. Then Vibart who lay helpless with both his arms shot through, issued his last orders. The forlorn hope under Mowbray Thomson and Delafosse, 18 or 20 men of H. M's. 32nd and 84th landed and attacked their assailants, the fierce energy of desperation drove them forward. Sepoys and villagers surged around them, whom they attacked. On their return the 14 found the boat gone, when with one more stand in the Temple, but 4 survived, and were sheltered by—
Drigbejay Sing, the loyal Talookdar of Morarmow—

“The story of Cawnpore” was then given by its only Military Historian, Captain Mowbray Thomson.

35.—Captain E. C. VIBART—

He served at the action of Punniar, Bronze Star, and with the army of the Punjab throughout the operations in the vicinity, siege and surrender of Mooltan. Medal, present at the battle of Sooruj Kund, 7th November 1848.

He was on the outbreak at leave in Futtighur paying attention to the daughter of an Indigo Planter, he accompanied the party of fugitives from thence and was killed at Cawnpore on the 10th June 1857.



2ND LIGHT CAVALRY.

Major E. Vibart, Wife and Children.
Captain E. C. Vibart.
„ E. J. Seppings, Wife and Children.
„ R. U. and Mrs. Jenkins.
Lieutenant R. O. Quin. •
„ C. W. Quin • •
„ J. H. Harrison.
„ W. J. Manderson.
„ F. S. M. Wren.
„ M. G. Daniel.
„ M. Balfour.
Cornet W. A. Stirling.
Surgeon W. R. and Mrs. Boyes.
Det. Surg. E. C. Chalwin, and Wife.
Kid. Mr. D. Walsh, Wife and Children.
Sergt. Major H. Cladwell.
Mr. Mr.-Sergt. F. and Mrs Tress.
Cornet C. Mainwaring, 6th L. C.
Lieutenant A. J. Boulton, 7th L. C.

1ST NATIVE INFANTRY.

Lieut.-Col. John Ewart, Wife and Child.
Lieut. J. H. C. Ewart, 12th N I.
Captain A. Turner, Wife and Child.
„ E. J. Elms.
Lieutenant H. S. Smith.
„ R. M. Satchwell.
„ F. Redman.
Ensign J. C. Supple.
Surgeon A. W. R. Newenham, Wife and Children.
Sergeant Major C. Hilling, Wife and Child.
Mr. Mr.-Sergt. T. Andrew, and Family.
Musicians, 5 Women and 9 Children.

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36.—Captain E. J. SEPPINGS, wife and children—

Served with the force under General Whish at the Siege and surrender of Mooltan, Medal, also present at the battle of Sooruj Kund on the 7th November 1848.

On the 30th June about 60 gentlemen, 25 ladies and 4 children were brought in prisoners from Sheorajpore, and when about being shot, Captain Seppings though shot through the arm, sued for a few minutes respite to pray. This was allowed, they all knelt down and prayed the last prayer their mortal lips would ever utter, and now a volley of musketry opened upon them, killing a few and wounding many who were then slain with the sword, among this party were Doctor and Mrs. Boyes, Lieutenant Daniell, Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Cooper of the Railway.

Mrs. Seppings was wounded in the Boat, and with her children killed on the 15th July.

37.—Captain R. U. and Mrs. JENKINS—

Served with the force under General Whish at the siege and surrender of Mooltan, Medal, also present at the battle of Sooruj Kund, 7th November 1848.

Described by Sir John Kaye as one of the bravest and best of the party. He held Barrack No. 2 with the Railway Engineers with unflinching gallantry until disabled by a bullet through the jaw from the musket of a Sepoy who was feigning death, which shortly after brought his services to an untimely end.

Mrs. Jenkins was killed on the 15th July.

38.—Lieutenant R. O. QUIN—

Served with the force under General Whish at the siege and surrender of Mooltan, Medal, also present at the battle of Sooruj Kund on the 7th November 1848. Died of fever.

39.—Lieutenant C. W. QUIN—

Was in the same boat with Major Vibart, was shot through the arm at Sheorajpore, and died on the 28th June.

40.—Lieutenant J. H. HARRISON—

On the 27th June, while on a sand bank was attacked by 3 Sowars, 2 of whom he shot with his Revolver. He was shot in the boat at Nu Fghur on the 28th June.

41.—Lieutenant. W. J. MANDERSON—

Died of wounds in the entrenchment.

42.—Lieutenant F. S. M. WREN—

Was Killed on the 27th June.

43.—Lieutenant M. G. DANIELL—

Had been a great favorite with the Nana at Bithoor, who gave him a valuable diamond ring. While a sortie was being made to clear the adjacent Barracks of some of our assailants, Daniell and Mowbray Thomson heard sounds of struggling in a room close at hand, rushing forward Captain Moore was seen lying on the ground under the grasp of a powerful native, who was on the point of cutting the Captain's throat. Lieutenant Daniell instantly transfixed the sepoy, was wounded while embarking, taken and shot on the 30th June.

44.—Lieutenant M. BALFOUR—

Was killed on the 30th June.

45.—Cornet W. A. Stirling—

Was the hero of the Crow's nest, Captain Mowbray Thomson had this erected some 20 feet from the ground. Through a loop hole the movements of the enemy could be seen; He was very expert with his Rifle and soon proved that a rebel returning home to his dinner was at least as easy to hit as an Ibex in the Himalayan Valley. Ever and anon a fanatic inspired by some vile drug would issue forth in the open, brandishing his sword in order to indulge himself in a dance of defiance. On all which occasion Cornet Sterling took good care that the performance should not meet with an Encore. He was killed on the 27th June.

46.—Surgeon W. R. and Mrs. BOYES—

This Officer and his wife were brought back from the boats, and as Mrs. Boyes would not be separated from her husband, they were both killed on the 30th June.

47.—Vet: Surgeon E. C. CHALWIN and wife—

Was killed in the entrenchment, Mrs. Chalwin at the ghaut.

48.—Riding Master D. WALSH, wife and children—
Killed during the siege.

49.—Sergt.-Major H. CLADWELL—
Killed during the siege.

50.—Quarter-Master Sergt. F. and Mrs. TRESS—
Killed during the siege.

51.—Cornet C. MAINWARING, 6th L. Cavalry—
Was one of the party at Barrack No. 2, made good use of his Revolver in resisting attacks on his post, was eventually killed during the siege.

52.—Lieutenant A. J. BOULTON, 7th L. Cavalry—
Was the only Officer who escaped when the detachment of the 7th Cavalry mutinied at Chowbeypore. He arrived on the 10th June in a most distressed and exhausted condition. After a chase of 16 miles with a bullet hole in his cheek ; he passed through the Nana's camp unobserved, slept out on the plain at night waiting till dawn should disclose to him the outline of the entrenchment. Our sentries astonished by the appearance of a Cavalier riding at the earthwork fired and struck his horse. No one was surprised to find that even a crippled steed could clear those defences at a leap.

He was killed on the 27th June.

1st Native Infantry.

53.—Lieutenant-Colonel JOHN EWART, wife and child—

Served at the siege and capture of Bhurpore, 1825-26, Medal. At a parade on the 4th June in vain he called the sepoys his Babalogue, implored them in parentally affectionate terms not to stain themselves with such wickedness. It was too late, they did not wish to harm their Officers, but they were bent on rebellion. He was prevented from taking an active part, being disabled by a wound in the arm, he lingered through the siege attended by his admirable wife, only to be murdered at the end of it.

On the 27th June, he was being carried in a Doolee, his wife walking beside him, at the Bridge some sepoy's of his own Regiment, seeing his helpless condition, and that he was severed from his countrymen, ordered his Doolee to the ground, mocked and mimicked him saying "is this not a fine parade Colonel, is not the Regiment well dressed up," they fell on him with their swords and killed him and Mrs. Ewart.

See Colonel Ewart's letters published at page 6 Shepherd's narrative.

54.—Lieutenant J. H. C. EWART, 12th N. I.—

Had served throughout the Sutlej Campaign, present at the action of Ferozeshire, where he was wounded, Medal—was on leave at Cawnpore. No account is given of him by Mowbray Thomson.

55.—Captain A. TURNER, wife and child—

Was the senior Officer on the Committee who inspected the boats at the ghaut on the 26th June. Was in the same boat with Captain Whiting, had both his legs smashed by a round shot and died. Mrs. Turner died of fever in the entrenchment.

56.—Captain E. J. ELMS—

Was killed on the 27th June.

57.—Lieutenant H. S. SMITH—

Killed in the Redan, by a round shot carrying off his head.

58.—Lieutenant R. M. SATCHWELL—

Died in the boat.

59.—Lieutenant F. REDMAN—

Killed in the Redan, by a round shot carrying off his head.

60.—Ensign J. C. SUPPLE—

Killed in the Redan, by a round shot carrying off his head.

61.—Surgeon A. W. K. NEWENHAM, wife and children—

Killed during the siege. Mrs. Newenham a sister to Mrs. Blair died in the trenches of fever.



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53RD NATIVE INFANTRY.

Major W. R. Hillersdon.

Capt. J. H. Reynolds, Wife and Child.

„ H. Mrs. and Miss Belson.

Lieut. F. G. Jellicoe, Wife and Children.

„ H. H. Armstrong.

„ G. A. Master.

„ O. S. Bridges.

„ W. G. Prole.

„ F. H. Tomkinson.

Ensign A. Dawson.

„ T. W. Forman.

Sergeon N. Collyer.

Sergeant-Major T. McMahon, Wife and Children.

Qr.-Mr. Sergt. W. Gordon, Wife and Children.

10 Musicians, Women and Children.

56TH NATIVE INFANTRY.

Col. S. Williams, Wife and Daughters.

Major W. R. and Mrs. Prout.

Captain W. L. Halliday, Wife and Child.

„ G. Kempland, Wife and Children.

Miss Kempland.

Lieut. T. A. Raikes.

„ G. R. Goad.

„ W. A. Chalmers.

„ H. Fagan.

„ W. L. G. Morris.

„ H. J. G. Warde.

„ J. W. Henderson.

„ R. A. Steevens.

62.—Sergeant-Major C. HILLING—

Killed during the siege.

63.—Quarter-Master Sergeant T. ANDREW and family—

5 Musicians and 6 Children.

53rd Native Infantry.

64.—Major W. R. HILLERSDON—

He had served throughout the Campaign in Afghanistan 1840, 1841-1842, including the forcing of the Khyber Pass by Sir Charles Wade in 1839. Defence of Jellalabad and defeat of Akbar Khan, 7th April 1842, Medal, and subsequent operations in the Mazeenah Valley Medal.

5th June. All through the darkness and of dawn, the 53rd and 56th Regiments gave no sign of comradeship, their Officers had spent the night with them in their lines, and from 2 in the morning till after sun rise the Regiment had been on parade. Every Officer with his own Company, then they were dismissed, the men took off their uniforms and prepared for their morning meal, the English Officers went, some to the entrenchment, others to their own bungalows. Then the latent fire of mutiny began to spread from man to man, Company to Company. Some Emissaries from the 2nd Cavalry had come in to tempt them. Their share of the spoil might be lost by the delay (the ten lacs of treasure being held by a guard of the Regiment). It might have been that no presence or influence of English Officers could then have kept the Regiment true to their allegiance. The experiment was not tried, but another was substituted for it. Wheeler's entrenched position commanded the parade ground, and a gun was brought to bear upon the sepoy lines, they broke at the third discharge and made their way in wild confusion to Nawabgunge.

Major Hillersdon was wounded in the entrenchment, Mowbray Thomson omits mention of his name, though he was in command of his Corps.

65.—Captain J. H. REYNOLDS, wife and child—

Served in Afghanistan with the force under General Pollock, present at the forcing of the Khyber Pass. Engagement in the Mazeenah Valley, and the previous operations of the Brigade commanded by Brigadier Wild, Medal, and in the Punjab, Medal.

Was killed by a round shot which took off his arm, while Mrs. Reynolds was wounded in the wrist by a musket ball, she died in the entrenchment.

66.—Captain H., Mrs. and Miss BELSON—

Medal for service in the Punjab.

Was killed on the 27th June, Mrs. Belson died of fever 19th June.

67.—Lieutenant F. G. JELLICOE, wife and children—

Medal for service in the Punjab, killed on the 27th June. Wife died of fever in the entrenchment.

68.—Lieutenant H. H. ARMSTRONG—

Medal for service in the Punjab, killed 27th June.

69.—Lieutenant G. A. Master—

Wounded in the boat and killed on the 27th June.

On the 25th June, he wrote to his father at Lucknow "we have now held out for 21 days under a tremendous fire. The Rajah of Bithoor has offered to forward us in safety to Allahabad, and the General has accepted his terms. I am all right thought twice wounded. Charlotte Newenham and Bella Blair are dead, I'll write from Allahabad. God bless you."

70.—Lieutenant O. S. BRIDGES—

Killed during the siege.

71.—Lieutenant W. G. PROLE—

Wounded in the Main Guard and burnt in the boats with the wounded.

72.—Lieutenant H. TOMKINSON—

On out post duty with a detachment of his Regiment at Orai, and killed at Jalaun by the Gwalior Contingent. He had left with an escort in charge of treasure, on approaching Gwalior.



He was prevented from entering by the Resident, as well as proceeding to Agra by the Lieutenant-Governor J. R. Colvin, he stayed with his men, and towards the end of October learning that a party of rebels with a large quantity of ammunition was in the vicinity, thought, that if he could explode the ammunition, it would paralyse their movements. Accordingly on the 23rd October, he crept out, reached the rebel camp and made the effort. He was however discovered and killed.

73.—Ensign A. DAWSON—

Died in the boat from sunstroke.

74.—Ensign T. W. Forman—

Shot in the leg and died in the boat.

75.—Surgeon N. COLLYER—

Died of wounds.

76.—Sergeant-Major T. McMAHON, wife and children—

Killed during the siege.

77.—Quarter-Master Sergeant H. GORDON, wife and children—

Killed on the 27th June.

10 Musicians, women and children.

56th Native Infantry.

78.—Colonel S. WILLIAMS, wife and daughters—

Served during the Burmese War of 1824-25. India Medal, also throughout the siege, operations before Mooltan until the final surrender of the Fortress in January 1849.

Commanded the 8th Regiment, Native Infantry at the battle of Guzerat Medal Clasp and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel.

He was early disabled by a wound, and died of heat apoplexy in the thatched Barrack on the 8th June 1857. At dusk the body was dragged out by a party of 4 soldiers, the head bumping down the steps, it was then cast into the well, the widow and daughters did not accompany, my informant witnessed this. Mrs. Williams died from the effects of a wound, one daughter wounded in the shoulder, died of fever, another killed by the

fall of the ceiling, while the third and a son survived to reach the ghaut, and killed on 15th July.

79.—Major W. K. and Mrs. PROUT—

Served at the battle of Mahrajpore Bronze Star also with the force under Brigadier Hodgson in 1853, against the Hill tribes west of Derajas.

Held the Command of the west battery and died of heat apoplexy on the 18th June. He had recently married a Miss Tubbs of Twickenham and joined the Regiment in 1857. Mrs. Prout was killed on the 15th July.

80.—Captain W. L. HALLIDAY, wife and child—

Served at the battle of Mahrajpore, Bronze Star.

Was shot on the 9th June while taking some horse soup to his wife from Barrack No. 2.

Mrs. Halliday died shortly after of small pox. She was the daughter of Colonel Wyndham of the Close Dorsetshire. A record of this Officer's death was on the wall in Sir Hugh's room.

81.—Captain G. KEMPLAND, wife and children—

Served in the army of the Punjab, present at the battle of Sadoolapore, medal.

Had Command of the south side of the entrenchment. At the end of the first week was prostrated by sunstroke, and killed at the ghaut on the 27th June.

Mr. W. J. Shepherd who was attached to his section, was with his assistance enabled to leave the entrenchment on the 24th June, and escaped to write the second record of the siege.

Mrs Kempland was killed on the 27th June.

82.—Miss KEMPLAND—

Was killed on the 27th June.

83.—Lieutenant T. A. RAIKES—

Was with Ensign Brown on detached duty. At Hamirpore they were joined by Messrs. Lloyd and Grant, and on arrival at the banks of the Jumna they separated. Lieutenant Raikes sank from exhaustion and exposure, Ensign Brown left him to seek for water, and on his return could not find him.





Asst.-Surgn. J. P. Bowling, Wife and Children.
Sergt.-Major T. Bell, Wife and Children.
Qr.-Mr. Sergt. T. and Mrs. Leak.
14 Musicians, 5 Women and 5 Children.

Capt. A. M. Turnbull, 13th N. I.
Lieut. C. and Mrs. Battine, 14th N. I.
„ F. C. Angelo, 16th N. I.
„ C. J. Bax, 48th N. I.
„ P. H. and Mrs. Jackson, 67th N. I.
„ R. W. Henderson, 72nd N. I.

Surgeon C. Garbett.
Asst.-Surgn. H. P. Harris, Wife and Child.
Asst.-Surgn. R. D. D. and Mrs. Allan.

Asst. Commy. N. Rielly and Family.
Condtr. W. Berrill, A. C. D., Wife and Family.
Offg. Sub-Condtr. C. H. Manville, and Family.
Asst. Apoty. A. Peters, and Family.
Sergt.-Major Heron and Family
School Master Gill, Wife and Children.
Sergeant Brooke, D. P. W., Wife and Child.
„ Kelly, D. P. W., Wife and Child.
„ Maclanders, D. P. W., Wife and Infant.
„ Wheelan, D. P. W., Wife & Children.
„ Parker, Overseer.
„ and Mrs. Carmody.
Bazar Sergeant and Mrs. Reid.

84.—Lieutenant G. R. GOAD—

Was a member of the Committee who inspected the boats on the 26th June.

He was killed the following day.

85.—Lieutenant W. D. CHALMERS—

Was killed in the entrenchment.

86.—Lieutenant H. FAGAN—

Was also a member of the boat Committee.

Had his leg shattered by the same ball which killed Lieutenants Burney and Boulton in Captain Moore's boat.

87.—Lieutenant W. L. G. MORRIS—

Was killed during the siege.

88.—Lieutenant H. J. G. WARDE—

Was the son of Admiral Warde. While assisting in the removal of the wounded, accidentally fell and ran his sword through his leg; but still retained the Command of the Main Guard, he perished in the boats with the wounded.

89.—Lieutenant J. W. HENDERSON—

With Mowbray Thomson struck out in the stream for Major Vibart's boat, was wounded in the hand by a grape shot, and died in the boat.

90.—Lieutenant R. A. STEEVENS—

Was killed during the siege.

91.—Assistant Surgeon J. P. BOWLING, wife and children—

Served as a Volunteer in the late Kafir War, Medal.

Was killed during the siege.

92.—Sergeant-Major T. BELL, wife and children—

He died of sunstroke during the siege.

93.—Quarter-Master Sergeant T. and Mrs. LEAK—

Killed during the siege.

14 musicians, 5 women and 5 children.

94.—Captain A. M. TURNBULL, 13th N. I.—

Served throughout the Punjab Campaign, present at the

passage of the Cheenab, and battle of Guzerat, Medal and Clasps.

Held Command of the Main Guard from south to west and killed during the siege.

95.—Lieutenant C. and Mrs. BATTINE, 14th N. I.—

Was killed on the 30th June.

96.—Lieutenant F. C. ANGELO, 16th N. I.—

Superintendent of the 4th Division Ganges Canal, was killed on the 27th June.

97.—Lieutenant C. J. BAX, 48th N. I.—

Wounded in the shoulder and died in the entrenchment.

98.—Lieutenant P. H. and Mrs. JACKSON, 67th N. I.—

Served in Burmah Medal, also Sobraon Medal.

Were killed on the 27th June. Mr. Jackson was shot in the boat at the ghaut.

99.—Lieutenant R. W. HENDERSON, 27th N. I.—

The name given by Mowbray Thomson is J. W. of the 56th N. I., he formed one of the Piequet of 16, with Lieutenant Glanville in Barrack No. 2, was killed by grape in Major Vibart's boat.

100.—Surgeon C. GARBETT—

Was the Superintending Surgeon of the division and died from fever in the entrenchment.

101.—Assistant Surgeon H. P. HARRIS, wife and child—

Was the Civil Surgeon of the station. He escaped the slaughter at the ghaut, was sent in a prisoner by the Zemindar of Pewinda on the 28th and shot on the 30th June. W. J. Shepherd collected the bones of the party and had them buried, they were subsequently removed to the Memorial Church, *vide* his narrative Appendix B.

102.—Assistant Surgeon R. D. D. and Mrs. ALLAN—

Served at Moodki, Ferozeshire and Aliwal, Medal and 2 Clasps, also in the Punjab Campaign, Medal and 2 Clasps.

Was killed during the Siege.

103.—Assistant Commissary N. RIELLY and family—

Was the Warrant Officer of the Ordnance Department in charge of the Magazine.

He had served at the siege and capture of Bhurpore, 1825-26, India Medal. At the assault and capture of Ghuzni, Medal throughout the war in Afghanistan Medal and present during the Sutlej Campaign, Medal.

W. J. Shepherd states, that Sir Hugh was fully informed by this veteran, that with the Native Guard in charge, the Magazine could not be blown up, *vide* the narrative—page 65, 3rd edition.

104.—Conductor W. BERRILL, A Commissariat Department, wife and family—

Brother to Bob Berrill the popular Hotel-keeper of Allahabad.

He was killed on the 27th June—his wife and daughter at the Slaughter House. His son and nephew who survive, have distinguished themselves in the Central India and Oude Police.

105.—Officiating Sub Conductor C. H. MANVILLE and family—

Killed during the siege.

106.—Assistant Apothecary A. PETERS and family—

He with family left the entrenchment on the 10th of June were discovered and all killed.

107.—Sergeant-Major HERON and family—

Killed during the siege.

108.—School-Master GILL, wife and children—

Head-Master, Free School, was lying wounded beside his wife, who was ill, when the thatched Barrack took fire in which they were burnt to death.

109.—Sergeant BROOKE D. P. W., wife and child—

Killed during the siege.

110.—Sergeant KELLY D. P. W., wife and child—

Killed during the siege.

111.—Sergeant MacLANDERS, wife and infant—

Killed on the 27th June.

- 112.—Sergeant **WHEELAN D. P. W.**, wife and children—
Killed during the siege.
- 113.—Sergeant **PARKER**, overseer—
Killed during the siege.
- 114.—Sergeant and Mrs. **CARMOODY**—
Killed on the 27th June.
- 115.—Bazar Sergeant and Mrs. **REID**—
Killed on the 27th June, his wife on the 15th July.
- 116.—Cattle Sergeant **RYAN** and family—
Left the entrenchment, were discovered and all killed.
- 117.—Sergeant **SWAN**—
Attached to the Ganges Canal. Killed during the siege.
- 118.—Drum Major **MURRAY**—
Killed during the siege.
- 119.—Sergeant **WARREN**, Pensioner—
Killed during the siege.
- 120.—Pensioner **GREEN** and family—
He was killed during the siege. Wife and son on the 15th July.
- 121.—Pensioner **NIXON REID**—
Killed during the siege.
- 122.—Pensioner **PRICE**—
Killed during the siege.
- 123.—Pensioner **MALONEY**—
Killed during the siege.
- 124.—Mr. **O. G. HILLERSDON**, Magistrate and Collector—
He negotiated the alliance with the Nana with the knowledge of the warning given by Mr. Gubbins.
On the 13th June while standing in the verandah was disembowelled by a round shot and fell at the feet of his wife a corpse.



Cattle Sergt. Ryan, and Family.

Sergeant Swan.

Drum-Major Murray.

Sergeant Warren, Pensioner.

Pensioner Green, and Family.

„ Nixon Reid.

„ Price

„ Maloney.

Mr. C. G. Hillersdon, Magt. and Collector.

Mrs. Hillersdon, and Children.

Mr. J. Mackillop, C. S.

Revd. E. T. R. Moncrieff, Wife and Child.

„ J. Rooney, Roman Catholic Chaplain.

Mr. Maxwell.

„ A. M. Miller, Resident Engineer, E. I. R.

Revd. Haycock, S. P. G., and Mother

„ H. E. Cockey, S. P. G.

Mrs. Blair, and Daughter.

Mr. and Miss Campbell.

Miss Brightman.

„ Isabella White.

The Two Misses Glasgow.

Lieut. Harris' Child.

Mrs. F. L. Wade.

„ Fraser

„ Evans, and Children.

„ Darby, and Infant.

Miss Bisset.



125.—Mrs. HILLERSDON and children—

A few days after was relieved from the ghastly memories of her bereavement by a merciful fall of masonry which killed her. She was the daughter of Mrs. Margaret Prole of Belmont Villa Bath, was buried in the Garden next to Mrs. DeRussett.

126.—Mr. J. MacKILLOP, C. S.—

The Joint Magistrate of the station. He was the self-constituted Captain of the ONLY WELL in the Garrison, and employed himself in drawing water for the besieged women and children. After a week at this self-imposed duty, he was hit in the groin by a grape shot. W. J. Shepherd saw him on the 24th June lying wounded, he was taken to the boat and very likely burnt to death with the wounded. There is a brass tablet fitted in the memorial Church to his memory.

127.—Revd. E. T. R. MONCRIEFF—

Chaplain of the station. Was most indefatigable in the performance of his ministry of mercy with the wounded and dying, and was beloved by them all. Surgeon-General Hutchinson writes. "An eyewitness told me of the Padree's end, which was worthy of his life. He was of the party captured in the boats on the 27th June and was with them taken to the Savada Kotee, the females were dragged away and the males drawn up bound for execution, the dear old Padree in that supreme moment asked permission for prayer, and then came the fatal fusilade, under which the poor victims "idhur udhur girra" said my informant.

Mr. Moncrieff entered the service on the 26th December 1854, joined at Cawnpore in August 1855.

Mrs. Moncrieff perished at the ghaut.

128.—Revd. J. ROONEY, Roman Catholic Chaplain—

Succumbed to heat apoplexy during the siege.

129.—Mr. MAXWELL—

Opium Agent—was killed during the siege.

**130.—Mr. A. M. MILLER, Resident Engineer, E. I. R.
was killed on the 27th June—**

Was one of the Railway Staff who gallantly held Barrack No. 4 against the enemy for 3 days.

131.—Rev. HAYCOCK, S. P. G. and mother—

Through heat and exposure lost his reason, roamed about the Garrison unconscious of danger, and expired in the arms of his aged mother, who fell a victim at the ghaut.

132.—Revd. H. E. COCKEY, S. P. G.—

Was killed on the 27th June.

133.—Mrs. BLAIR and daughters—

Residing in Cawnpore, was the daughter of General Kennedy, her husband a Cavalry Officer had perished in the Khyber Pass. Her eldest daughter died of fever, and she with the younger embarked in the same boat with Captain Mowbray Thomson, and killed on the 15th July. See No 6.

134.—Mr. and Miss CAMPBELL—

Killed during the siege.

135.—Miss BRIGHTMAN—

Sister to Mrs. J. Harris, died from fever consequent upon the fatigue in nursing Lieutenant Martin.

136.—Miss ISABELLA WHITE—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

137.—The two Misses GLASGOW—

Killed during the siege.

138.—Lieutenant HARRIS' child—

Was in charge of Miss Brightman. The nurse who had the child, lost both her legs by a round shot, the child was picked up unhurt, but suffused in the blood of its nurse.

139.—Mrs. F. L. WADE—

Died of fever the first day and interred within the entrenchment.

140.—Mrs. FRASER—

Wife of Lieutenant G. W. Fraser, 27th Native Infantry she travelled by Dak Gharrie from Delhi to Cawnpore 266 miles, the carriage was fired at by the Meerut





Mrs. Swinton, and Children.
Miss. S. E. Cripps.
Captain Hollings.
Mr. E. F. Greenway, and Family.
„ T. Greenway, and Family.
„ S. Greenway, and Family.
„ H. H. Stacey, Deputy Collector.
„ Cox.
„ J. R. Collins, Inspector, P. O., and Wife.
„ R. B. Cook, Opium Dept., Wife and Family.
„ Alone, Wife and Children.
„ J. C. Anderson, E. I. R., Wife and Child.
„ J. C. Bayne, E. I. R., and Wife.
Phillip Bayne.
Mr. Barlow.
Martha Batavia.
Miss Eliza Bennett.
Mrs. Beestal.
„ Bothwick.
Mr. E. Brierley, Telegraph Department.
Henry Brett.
The Two Misses Burn.
Mr. Bunney.
Mrs. Carroll.
Two Boys Caley.
Mr. and Mrs. Carter, and Infant.
Miss Emma Chandler.
Mary Cheeters.

Mutineers, she was indefatigable in her attentions to the sick and wounded and died from fever at the Slaughter House.

141.—Mrs. EVANS and children—

Wife of Major Evans of the Oudh Commission, where he was engaged in the defence of Lucknow. She was killed by a fall of masonry.

142.—Mrs. DARBY and infant—

Wife of Surgeon Darby of H. M's., 32nd Regiment, who was at Lucknow and there killed. Mrs. Darby survived her accouchment only to fall a victim at the ghaut.

143.—Miss BISSETT—

Killed during the siege.

144.—Mrs. SWINTON and children—

A relative of Lieutenant Jervis No. 26. While standing in the stern of Major Vibart's boat, was carried overboard by a round shot, her little boy aged 6, ran up to Captain Mowbray Thomson saying "Mamma has fallen overboard," the child fell in the indiscriminate slaughter.

145.—Miss S. E. CRIPPS—

Died in the entrenchment.

146.—Captain HOLLINGS—

Was at Nujufghur with the Greenways. On the approach of the Insurgents, he took up a position on the terrace of the house, from where he shot down 16 men. On the arrival of a reinforcement from Cawnpore, and his ammunition failing, sat on the parapet in an exposed situation, when a shot in the chest brought him to the ground.

147.—Mr. E. F. GREENWAY and family—

Sought refuge at Nujufghur, on Captain Hollings' death, they surrendered as prisoners. The Nana fixed a ransom of 2 lacs of rupees on Mrs. Greenway, who was confined in the Savada Kotee, she and her family were killed in the Slaughter House, while Mr. Greenway and son were shot on the 15th July with Colonels Goldie and Smith.

148.—Mr. T. GREENWAY and family—

Of the firm of Greenway Brothers. He died in the entrenchment of fever, while Mrs. Greenway was burnt in the boat at the ghaut.

149.—Mr. S. GREENWAY and family—

He was killed on the 30th June, his wife died in the entrenchment.

150.—Mr. H. H. STACEY, Deputy Collector—

Killed during the siege.

151.—Mr. COX—

Formerly of the 1st E. B. Fusiliers, killed by a shell in Captain Whiting's battery.

152.—Mr. J. R. COLLINS, Inspector of Post Offices and wife—

Killed during the siege.

153.—Mr. R. B. COOK, Opium Department and family—

Was killed during the siege, brother to Mrs. Jackson. Mrs. Cook was killed on the 15th July.

153A.—Mr. ALONE, wife and children—

Erroneously entered, they were killed at Bareilly.

154.—Mr. J. C. ANDERSON, E. I. R., wife and child—

Were killed during the siege.

155.—Mr. J. C. BAYNE, E. I. R., wife and child—

Assistant Engineer, was killed on the 27th June, his wife at the Slaughter House.

156.—PHILIP BAYNE—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

157.—Mr. BARLOW—

Killed during the siege.

158.—MARTHA BATAVIA—

The niece of W. J. Shepherd, killed at the ghaut.

159.—Miss ELIZA BENNETT—

The grand daughter of Bazar Sergeant Reid, was killed at the Slaughter House.





Mr. and Mrs. Christie.
Three Misses Christie.
Miss Conway.
James Cousins.
Drummer Clooney.
Miss Colgan.
Mr. H. R. Cooper, E. I. R. Wife and Family.
Mrs. Copeman.
Master W. Copeland.
Mrs. Crabb.
Mr. Cummins, E. I. R.
Mrs. Dallas.
,, Darling, and Infant.
,, Dachey, and Infant.
,, Daly.
Mr. Davis, and Children.
,, J. X. Degama.
,, John Duncan.
,, David Duncan, and Children.
Miss DeCruz.
Mr. Derussett, Wife and Children.
Mrs. Dupton, and Sons.
Master W. Dundas.
Mr. Fagan, Wife and Children.
,, Farmer, Telegraph Department.
Mrs. Fairburn.
,, Fenn.
Mr. John Fitzgerald, and Family.

160.—Mrs. **BESTAL**—

Wife of the Sergeant-Major of Artillery, killed at the ghaut.

161.—Mrs. **BORTHWICK**—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

162.—Mr. **E. BRIERLEY**, Telegraph Department—

Killed during the siege.

163.—**HENRY BRETT**—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

164.—The two Misses **BURN**—

Were killed at the Slaughter House.

165.—Mr. **BUNNEY**—

Horse breaker. Killed at the ghaut.

166.—Mrs. **CARROLL**—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

167.—Two boys **CALEY**—

Were killed at the Slaughter House.

168.—Mr. and Mrs. **CARTER** and infant—

Toll-keeper at Sheorajpore and killed on the 10th June. His wife and child were detained as captives at Bithoor and killed previous to the Nana's flight on the 16th July 1857.

169.—Miss **EMMA CHANDLER**—

Killed at the ghaut on the 27th June.

170.—**MARY CHEETERS**—

Maid servant to Mrs. Prout and killed at the ghaut.

171.—Mr. and Mrs. **CHRISTIE**—

Of Bathgate Campbell & Co., Chemists and Druggists. Died in the entrenchment on 21st June 1857 from exhaustion leaving his family to the care of Mr. John Schorn. Mrs. Christie was killed at the ghaut.

172.—Three Misses **CHRISTIE**—

Were all killed at the ghaut.

173.—Miss **CONWAY**—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

174.—James COUSINS—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

175.—Drummer CLOONEY—

With a few friends barricaded his house, shot six of the Rebels before being killed.

176.—Miss COLGAN—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

177.—Mr. H. R. COOPER, E. I. R., wife and family—

He was killed on the 30th June (see No. 36) and his wife at the Slaughter House.

178.—Mrs. COPEMAN—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

179.—Master W. COPELAND—

Killed at the ghauts.

180.—Mrs. CRABB—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

181.—Mr. CUMMINS, E. I. R.—

Killed during the siege.

182.—Mrs. DALLAS—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

183.—Mrs. DARLING and infant—

Killed at the ghaut.

184.—Mrs. DACHEY and infant—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

185.—Mrs. DALY—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

186.—Mr. DAVIS and children—

Killed during the siege.

187.—Mr. J. X. DeGAMA—

Merchant, was killed without the entrenchment by the Nana's orders on the 10th June.

188.—Mr. JOHN DUNCAN—

Road Superintendent, was sent in a prisoner from the village of Pewindi on the 10th June, his Captor received a reward of Rs. 10. W. J. Shepherd on Sir Henry Havelock's arrival helped the traitor to a hempen cord.

189.—Mr. DAVID DUNCAN and children—

Manager, United Service Hotel, and younger brother of John, was on the same section in the entrenchment with W. J. Shepherd, three of his children were asleep in the burnt barrack, when a shell bursting killed two. Husband and wife were killed at the ghaut.

190.—Miss DeCRUZ—

Teacher in the Free School, killed at the ghaut.

191.—Mr. DeRUSSETT, wife and children—

Of the firm of Brandon & Co. and son of George DeRussett of Calcutta. His wife was killed on the 11th June and buried in the garden in the entrenchment.

192.—Mrs. DÜPTON and Sons—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

193.—Master W. DUNDAS —

Killed at the Slaughter House.

194.—Mr. FAGAN, wife and children—

Formerly a Warrant Officer in the Medical Department and Manager of H. Christie's firm, with his wife and family were all killed at the ghaut.

195.—Mr. FARMER Telegraph Department—

Killed during the siege.

196. Mrs. FAIRBURN—

Killed at the ghaut.

197.—Mrs. FERN—

Killed at the ghaut.

198.—Mr. JOHN FITZGERALD and family—

Killed during the siege, wife and family killed at the Slaughter House.

199.—**Mr. W. FORSYTH, E. I. R.—**

Killed during the siege.

200.—**Mr. FREEMAN—**

Killed during the siege.

201.—**Mrs. MARY FROST—**

Her son the late Francis Frost was the Head Assistant of the Presidency Executive Commissariat's Office, Calcutta. She was killed at the ghaut.

202.—**Mrs. REBECCA FROST—**

Widow of Francis Frost, killed at the ghaut.

203.—**Miss E. FROST —**

Killed at the ghaut.

204.—**Miss SOPHIA FULTON—**

Killed at the ghaut.

205.—**Master W. FULTON—**

Killed at the ghaut.

206.—**Mr. GARRETT, Engineer E. I. R.—**

Killed during the siege.

207.—**Mr. GALWAY, Telegraph Department—**

Killed at the ghaut.

208.—**Mr. W. GEE and Wife—**

A retired aged Merchant and Agent of the Inland Transit Co., killed by the fall of a round shot on 7th June. His wife died of fever.

209.—**Mrs and Miss GIBSON—**

Killed at the ghaut.

210.—**Mr. GILPIN, wife and children—**

He was killed at the ghaut, wife and children at the Slaughter House.

211.—**Mr. GOODWIN, Telegraph Department—**

Killed at the ghaut.

212.—**Mr. GRINSEY—**

Killed at the ghaut.



Mr. W. Forsyth, E. I. R.
,, Freeman.
Mrs. Mary Frost.
,, Rebecca Frost.
Miss Evelyn Frost.
,, Sophia Fulton.
Master W. Fulton.
Mr. Garrett, Engineer, E. I. R.
,, Galway, Telegraph Department.
,, W. Gee, and Wife.
Mrs. and Miss Gibson.
Mr. Gilpin, Wife and Children.
,, Goodwin, Telegraph Department.
,, Grinsey.
,, Gun, E. I. R.
,, And Miss Guthrie.
,, Hogan.
,, Harkness, and Child.
,, Haycock, and Wife.
,, J. D. Hay, Wife and Children.
,, Hanna, Assistant Engineer, E. I. R.
Miss Hampton.
Mr. M. C. Heberden.
,, E. Henderson.
Miss Elizabeth Holmes.
Mr. W. James.
,, F. Jacobi, and Wife.
,, H. Jacobi, and Wife.

*



213.—Mr. E. GUN, E. I. R.—

Killed at the ghaut.

214.—Mr. and Miss GUTHRIE—

Killed at the ghaut. Miss Guthrie at the Slaughter House.

215.—Mr. HOGAN—

Killed at the ghaut,

216.—Mrs. HARKNESS and child—

Mrs. Harkness was the School Mistress, Free School, she with 22 girls perished by fire in a boat at the ghaut.

217.—Mr. HAYCOCK and wife—

Died in the entrenchments.

218.—Mr. J. D. HAY, wife and children—

An old established merchant, was killed by a shot in the Temple on the 10th June, as he came out of the room where this wife had just been confined, two daughters survive, one is the wife of Mr. G. T. Jackson of Lucknow, the other of M. Michel, C. E.

219.—Mr. R. HANNA, Assistant Engineer, E. I. R.—

Was killed on the 27th June.

220.—Miss HAMPTON—

Killed at the ghaut.

221.—Mr. A. C. HEBERDEN—

A Resident Engineer of the E. I. R., was one of the picquet party at Barrack No. 2, for 3 days with other Railway men he held the post without Military superintendence and was invaluable as a good marksman. He was riddled by a charge of grape through the hips and lay for many days face downwards until death came to his relief on the 27th June.

222.—Mr. E. HENDERSON—

Was one of the picquet of 16 at No. 2 Barrack, was drowned on the 27th June.

223.—Miss ELIZABETH HOLMES—

The Tablet erected by friends shew that J. Holmes, Articled

Inspector was killed at Cawnpore on the 27th June, this name has been omitted.

Killed at the Slaughter House.

224.—Mr. W. JAMES—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

225.—Mr. F. JACOBI and wife—

Coach-builder. He threw off the Magazine in the Garrison, a Carcass mistaking it for a shell, was killed by a shell in Captain Whiting's battery, Mrs. Jacob's was killed at the Slaughter House.

226.—Mr. H. JACOBI and wife—

The watchmaker of the station, and brother to above.

He did not enter the entrenchment, was taken prisoner and died of sunstroke on the 10th June.

227.—Mrs. JACKFORD—

Killed during the siege.

228.—Mr. JONES and wife—

He was killed at the ghaut, his wife at the Slaughter House.

229.—Mr. A. R. JOHNSTON, E. I. R., wife and family—

This name is not included in any of the Tablets in the Memorial Church. It is believed that he wrote in masonic character. "The writing on the wall" in Sir Hugh Wheeler's room, signed with the initials "R. A. B." of which Colonel Money, R. A., gave the purport in his letter, dated 27th July 1862, vide the article.

230.—Mrs. KEELER—

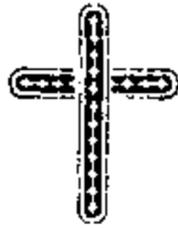
Killed at the ghaut.

231.—Mrs. KINLESIDE and children—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

232.—Mrs. KIGHT and children—

Wife of Fitzherbert Kight of the "Central Star," was killed at the ghaut.



Mrs. Jackford.
Mr. Jones, and Wife.
,, A. R. Johnston, E. I. R., Wife and Family.
Mrs. Keeler.
,, Kinleside, and Children.
,, Kight, and Children.
,, Kirk, Senior.
Mr. J. Kirk, Wife and Children.
,, J. Kirkpatrick, Wife and Infant.
,, H. Latouche, Assistant Engineer, E. I. R.
,, J. Lawrence, E. I. R., Wife and Children.
,, Leary, and Sons.
Miss Leath.
James Lewis.
Mr. Little.
Miss Lucy Lyell.
Master MacCullen.
Mrs. Mackinnon.
The two Misses Macmoran.
Miss N. Martindell.
,, Ellen Mark.
Mrs. Jane Morfett.
Mr. Murphy, E. I. R.
,, C. Mackintosh, and Family.
,, G. W. Maling.
,, John Maling.
Mrs. W. W. Marshall.
Mr. Nelson.

IMPERIAL
LIBRARY

233.—Mrs. KIRK, Senior—

Was the widow of John Kirk, merchant, she had sent her youngest son "Colin" to Mussoorie in April 1857, who was the only member of the family who escaped. Two daughters and a son were killed in the Slaughter House, while Mrs. Kirk perished at the ghaut.

234.—Mr. J. KIRK, wife and children—

The eldest son of 233. Trader in Country produce, was killed at the ghaut with his wife and children.

235.—Mr. J. KIRKPATRICK, wife and infant—

Son-in-law of 233, also a Trader in Country produce, was cut down by the Sowars near Miss Horne's boat.

236.—Mr. H. LATOUCHE, Assistant Engineer, E. I. R.—

With Messrs. Heberden and Miller held Barrack No. 2 against the enemy, was killed on the 27th June.

237.—Mr. J. LAWRENCE, E. I. R., wife and children—

Were killed during the siege.

238.—Mr. LEARY and Sons—

Were killed at the Slaughter House.

239.—Miss LEATH—

Killed at the ghaut.

240.—JAMES LEWIS—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

241.—Mr. LITTLE—

Merchant, killed at the ghaut.

242.—Miss LUCY LYELL—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

243.—Master MacCULLEN—

Killed at the ghaut.

244.—Mrs. MACKINNON—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

245.—The two Misses **MACMORAN**—

Sisters to Mrs. Christie, killed at the Slaughter House.

246.—Miss **N. MARTINDELL**—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

247.—Miss **ELLEN MARK**—

Killed at the ghaut.

248.—Mrs. **JANE MORFETT**—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

249.—Mr. **MURPHY, E. I. R.**—

Was the first man shot by the Mutineers, brought in the entrenchment wounded and died, his remains had the hallow honor of being buried in one of the two Coffins in store the 7th June.

250.—Mr. **C. MACKINTOSH** and Family—

Merchant aged 64, was discovered hiding under a Bridge near Greenway's premises in the disguise of a Chowked and killed on the 7th June, his wife was found in the Dhobie house and also killed.

251.—Mr. **Geo. MALING**—

Killed on the 8th June.

252.—Mr. **JOHN MALING**—

Killed on the 8th June.

253.—Mrs. **W. MARSHALL**—

Was killed on the 7th June.

254.—Mr. **NELSON**—

Killed on the 30th June.

255.—Mr. **W. NORTH**—

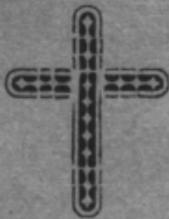
Killed in the Slaughter House.

256.—Mrs. **NORRIS**—

Killed in the Slaughter House.

257.—Mr. **JAMES O'BRIEN** and wife—

He was the Head Clerk of the Collector's Office and was killed at the ghaut, his wife died in the entrenchment.



se.

W. North.

North.

James Brien, and Wife.

J. L. Brien, and Son.

Miss O'Connell.

M. Ogier Canal Dept., Wife and Family.

Osborne

in Fred and Henry Palmer.

ow And Margie Peel.

e H. Wake, Telegraph Department.

Wife and Son.

id Wife and Son.

ed Wife and Children.

bie Telegraph Department.

Wife and Son.

George Reid, Wife and Children.

Victor's E. I. R.

Post Master.

Johnson, E. I. R.

Roberts

Russell

Eliza Russell.

24 Saunderson and Son.

Scott

24 John Seorn.

Sherman

Shore

24 *

24

24

24

24

24

24

IMPERIAL

W. J. Shepherd notes that an 18-pound shot in passing over his head, reduced the Solah hat he wore to shreds.

In 1887 a Mrs. Collins of Bangalore as Aunt preferred a claim for a month and 4 days salary as due to her nephew, which was paid by the Local Government.

258.—Mrs. J. L. O'BRIEN and Son—

Mother of above, and widow of J. L. O'Brien of O'Brien Castle, Meerutt, was killed at the Slaughter House. Mr. John Ludlam of Meerut was her son-in-law.

259.—Miss O'CONNOR—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

260.—Mr. M. OGLE, Canal Department, wife and family—

Were all killed at the ghaut.

261.—Mrs. OSBORNE—

A relative of W. J. Shepherd's. Killed at the ghaut.

262.—Messrs. FRED. and HENRY PALMER—

Were employed in the Medical Depôt, wounded in the entrenchments and on the 26th June carried away by their servants to their house where they died, they were related to the John family of Agra.

263.—Mrs. and GEORGIE PEEL—

Were killed in the Slaughter House.

264.—Mr. C. H. PEAKE, Telegraph Department—

Killed on the 27th June.

265.—HARRIETT PISTOL—

Should be Pistel, one of the women of the 32nd Regiment killed in the Slaughter House.

266.—Mrs. POGSON—

Killed at the Slaughter house.

267.—Mr. PURCELL, wife and son—

Livery Stable keeper, killed in the entrenchment, his wife and son who left the entrenchment on the 10th were killed on the 12th.

268.—Mr. PROBETT, wife and children—

Dâk Company Agent. Died of wounds in the entrenchment, while the wife and children were killed in the Slaughter House

269.—Mr. RAMSAY, Telegraph Department—

This is a mistake, as he was positively in the Lucknow Garrison and killed there, see page 458 Gubbins Mutinies in Oudh, and page 126 of Rees, siege of Lucknow.

270.—Mr. REILLY—

Road overseer, killed on the 27th June.

271.—Mr. GEORGE REID, wife and children—

Trader in country produce, killed on the 27th June, wife and family at the Slaughter House.

272.—Mr. RICKETTS, E. I. R.—

Killed during the siege.

273.—Mr. ROCHE Post Master—

Latterly occupied a corner of Sir Hugh Wheeler's room. He was associated with Captains Moore and Whiting in the Treaty of Capitulation with the Nana. Was wounded as per his pencil writing on the wall.

Wounded in the foot (right),
Right shin bone fractured by a shell,
Musket shot behind (nasty wound),
Musket shot right breast.

J. H. ROCHE.

274.—Mr. ROBINSON, E. I. R.—

Killed on the 27th June.

275.—Mrs. ROBERTS—

Killed at the ghaut.

276.—Mrs. RUSSELL—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

277.—Mrs. ELIZA RUSSELL—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

278.—Mrs. SAUNDERS and Son—

Killed at the Slaughter House.





Mr. Sinclair, E. I. R., and Wife.
Henry and William Simpson.
Mr. Shaw.
„ R. Sheridan, Wife and Children.
Daniel Shepherd.
Mrs. Ellen Shepherd, and Children.
Mr. Sliven.
„ Smith, E. I. R.
„ Stanley.
Lucy and William Stoke.
Miss Margaret Stowell.
Mrs. Tibbets.
„ Tomkins.
Mr. Todd.
Mrs. Tresham.
Mr. Tritton.
„ Vaughan.
„ J. Virgin, E. I. R., and Wife.
„ Viscarde, E. I. R.
Miss Wallett.
Mr. C. Warden, E. I. R.
„ Walsh, E. I. R., Wife and Children.
„ A. Walker, and Son.
„ Wells, Wife and Children.
Mrs. Elizabeth West, and Children.
Thomas Catharine and Jane Wideep.
Mrs. Willis, and Child.
Mr. Wilkinson, Wife and Child.
„ R. B. Wrixon, Wife and Child.
Miss Clara Wrixon.
Mrs. Edward Williams.
„ Yates.

279.—Mrs.—SCOTT—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

280.—Mr. JOHN SCHORN—

Of the firm of Crump & Co., merchants, their premises have fallen within the memorial garden, the large public well was at their gate entrance. W. J. Shepherd states that Mr. Schorn would have accompanied him on the 24th June, but for the charge of the Christie family, . On the 26th June he wished to visit his business premises to remove some Government Securities he had concealed, but was not permitted, their value was subsequently recovered by his ^{son} father at Calcutta. He was killed on the 27th June.

281.—Mr. SHERMAN—

On the 27th June, wounded in the entrenchment and killed, may this not be Shearin?

282.—Mrs. SHORE—

Killed at the ghaut.

283.—Mr. SINCLAIR, E. I. R. and wife—

Was killed on the 27th June, the wife at the Slaughter House.

284.—HENRY and WILLIAM SIMPSON—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

285.—Mr. SHAW—

Killed on the 27th June.

286.—Mr. R. SHERIDAN, wife and child—

Bank Manager, killed on the 30th June, his wife and children at the Slaughter House.

287.—DANIEL SHEPHERD—

A younger brother of W. J. Shepherd, killed at the ghaut.

288.—Mrs. ELLEN SHEPHERD and children—

Wife of W. J. Shepherd, killed at the ghaut, while W. J. Shepherd who had left the entrenchment on the 24th June, was a captive, and who escaped on Sir Henry Havelock's force entering Cawnpore. He died at Lucknow on the 26th July 1891.

289.—Mr. SLIVEN—

Killed on the 27th June.

290.—Mr. SMITH, E. I. R.—

Killed on the 27th June.

291.—Mr. STANLEY—

Died in entrenchment of wounds.

292.—LUCY and WILLIAM STOKE—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

293.—Miss MARGARET STOWELL—

Killed on the 27th June.

294.—Mrs. TIBBETS—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

295.—Mrs. TOMKINS—

Milliner. Mr. Patten of Lucknow was the Proprietor of the Firm.

296.—Mr. TODD—

Had been in the employ of the Nana as tutor, was sent by Sir Hugh to obtain the Nana's signature to the Treaty. Was killed on the 27th June.

297.—Mrs. TRESHAM—

Was killed on the 27th June.

298.—Mr. TRITTON—

Killed on the 27th June.

299.—Mr. VAUGHAN—

Merchant. Killed on the 27th June.

300.—Mr J. VIRGIN, E. I. R. and wife—

Died of sunstroke during the siege. Wife killed at the ghaut.

301.—Mr. VISCARDE, E. I. R.—

Killed on the 27th June.

302.—Miss WALLETT—

Killed at the Slaughter House.

303.—Mr. C. WARDEN, E. I. R.—

Killed on the 27th June.

304.—Mr. WALSH, E. I. R., wife and child—
Killed on the 27th June.

305.—Mr. A. WALKER and Son—
Killed on the 27th June.

306.—Mr. WELLS, wife and children—
Livery Stable keeper. Killed on the 27th June.

307.—Mrs. ELIZABETH WEST and children—
Killed on the 27th June, one child at the Slaughter House.

308.—THOMAS, CATHERINE and JANE WILDEEP
(widlep, Shepherd)—
Were all killed at the Slaughter House.

309.—Mrs. WILLIS and child—
Killed at the Slaughter House.

310.—Mr. WILKINSON, wife and child—
Killed on the 27th June.

311.—Mr. R. B. WRIXON, wife and child—
Formerly a Warrant Officer in the A. C. D., his brother was a Captain in the Nizam's service at Ellichpore. He was Killed at the ghaut, wife and son in the Slaughter House. The writer (R. MacCrea) is the eldest son of Mrs. Wrixon by a former marriage.

312.—Miss CLARA WRIXON—
Daughter of above, was killed in the Slaughter House.

313.—Mrs. EDWARD WILLIAMS—
Killed at the Slaughter House.

314.—Mrs. YATES—
Killed at the ghaut.

Note.—This tablet No. 12 closes the list of residents of Cawnpore who perished during the mutiny ending 15th July 1857.

The following names have been omitted:—

1. Apothecary Twoomy, wife and child.
2. Mr. J. H. Cooke, wife and family.
3. Messrs. T. and H. Berrill.
4. Inspector Holmes, E. I. R.
5. Arthur Jenkins, c.s., of Poorwa Oude.

Futtehgurh Fugitives.*10th N. I.***315.—Colonel G. A. SMITH, wife and child—**

Commanding the 10th Regiment N. I. Served in the Nepal Campaign of 1814, 1815 and 1816 ; present at the storming and taking of the heights of Mukwanpore, Medal ; Mahratta War 1817, 1818 and 1819 ; and storming of the Fort of Mundlah.

Arrived at Cawnpore with a party of fugitives on the 10th July and killed on the 15th. •

Colonel Smith's letter, countersigned by Mr. Thornhill reached the Lieutenant-Governor, J. R. Colvin at Agra. As the Native Regiments had been disarmed, a detachment of Europeans might have been spared from the seat of Government, Major Weller who knew the country well offered to lead it. But the detachment was not sent.

316.—Major R. MUNRO— •

Was engaged throughout the operations in the vicinity of Pegu, December 1852, Medal.

Was killed in the boat by a round shot.

317.—Major J. PHILLOTT—

Served in Burmah in 1852-53, Medal.

Wounded in the boat and drowned.

318.—Lieutenant C. W. SWETENHAM—

Served in Burmah in 1852-53, Medal.

Was shot on the 10th July.

319.—Lieutenant D. HENDERSON—

Was killed on the 10th July.

320.—Ensign R. S. BYRNE—

Was killed on the 10th July. •

321.—Surgeon T. C. and Mrs. HEATHCOTE—

He was killed on the 10th July.

322.—Musician W. M. WRIXEN—

Killed on the 10th July.



FUTTEHGURH FUGITIVES, 10th N. I.

Colonel G. A. Smith, Wife and Child.

Major R. Monro.

„ J. Phillott.

Lieutenant C. W. Swetenham.

„ D. Henderson.

Ensign R. S. Byrne.

Surgeon T. C. and Mrs. Heathcote.

Musician W. M. Wrixen.

Colonel A. Goldie, Wife and Daughters.

Lieut. J. R. Monkton, B. Engr., Wife and Child.

Asst -Surgeon S. and Mrs Maltby.

Condr. M. Rohan, Ordnance Dept., and Family.

School Master Shiels, and Family.

Sergt. Hammond, Gun Carriage Dept., and Family.

Pensioner Faulknor.

Mr. M. B. Thornhill, Judge, Wife and Children.

Mrs. Tucker, and Children.

Mr. Alexander.

„ J. Brierley, Wife and Children.

„ R. Brierley, Wife and Child.

Miss E. and Miss F. Brierley.

Mr. Billington.

Revd. D. E. Campbell, Wife and Children.

Mr. Catania, Wife and Child.

„ Cawood, Wife and Child.

„ Elliott, Wife and Children.

Revd. J. E. and Mrs. Freeman.

Mr. Finlay, Wife and Children.

Miss Finlay.

Mr. and Mrs. Guise.



323.—Colonel A. GOLDIE, wife and daughters.

Was the Colonel of the 46th Regiment N. I. and Military Auditor General. Served in Rewa in 1813, in the Nepal War of 1814-15, India, Medal ; and in the Mahratta War of 1816-17.

Was killed on the 15th July with Colonel Smith, &c.

324.—Lieutenant J. R. MONKTON, B. Engineer, wife and children—

Killed on the 11th June.

325.—Assistant Surgeon, and Mrs. MALTBY—

Civil Surgeon. Served against the Hill tribes in Scinde under Sir Charles Napier.

326.—Condr. M. ROHAN, Ordnance Department, and family—

Attached to the Gun Agency.

Was killed on the 10th July and wife at the Slaughter House.

327.—School Master SHIELS, and family—

Killed on the 11th June 1857.

328.—Sergeant HAMMOND, Gun Carriage Department, and family—

Killed on the 11th June 1857.

329.—Pensioner FAULKNER—

Killed on the 11th June 1857.

330.—Mr. M. B. THORNHILL, Judge, wife and children—

Was killed with Colonels Goldie and Smith on the 15th July.

331.—Mrs.—TUCKER, and children—

Widow of Colonel Tucker, who was shot at Futtighur, the family were killed in the Slaughter House.

332.—Mr. ALEXANDER—

Killed on the 11th June.

333.—Mr. J. BRIERLEY, wife and children—

Clerk in the Collector's Office, with wife and family were all killed on the 11th June 1857.

- 334.—Mr. R. BRIERLEY, wife and children—
- 335.—Miss E. and Miss F. BRIERLEY—
Killed on the 11th June.
- 336.—Mr. Billington—
Clerk. Killed on the 11th June.
- 337.—Rev. D. E. CAMPBELL, wife and children—
Killed on the 11th June.
- 338.—Mr. CATANIA, wife and child—
Inspector of Post Offices, were all killed on the 15th July.
- 339.—Mr. CAWOOD, wife and children—
Clothing Agency, were killed on the 11th June.
- 340.—Mr. ELLIOTT, wife and children—
Superintendent Dhuleepsing's Estate, all killed on the 11th June.
- 341.—Rev. J. E. and Mrs. FREEMAN—
Killed on the 11th June.
- 342.—Mr. FINLAY, wife and children—
Clothing Agency, killed on the 11th June.
- 343.—Miss FINLAY—
Killed on the 11th June.
- 344.—Mr. and Mrs. GUISE—
Indigo planter, killed on the 11th June.
- 345.—Mr. J. Mrs. and Miss IVES—
Agent, N. W. Dak Co., all killed on the 11th June.
- 346.—Rev. A. O. and Mrs. JOHNSON—
Killed on the 11th June.
- 347.—Mr. J. Joyce, wife and children—
Merchant, all killed on the 11th June.
- 348.—Mr. J. B. KEW, wife and children—
Killed on the 11th June.
- 349.—Miss KEW—
Killed on the 11th June.



Mr. J. Mrs. and Miss Ives.
Revd. A. O. and Mrs. Johnson.
Mr. J. Joyce, Wife and Children
„ J. B. Kew, Wife and Children.
Miss. Kew.
„ Nancy Lang.
Revd. J. and Mrs. MacMullen.
Mr. and Miss Maclean.
„ Macklin, Wife and Children.
Mrs. Macdonald, and Children.
Mr. J. R. Madden, Wife and Children.
Miss. E. and Miss A. Madden.
Mr. J. Palmer, Wife and Children.
„ R. and Miss E. Ray.
„ and Mrs. Roach.
Mrs. E. Shepherd, and Children.
Miss Mary Shepherd.
Mr and Mrs. C'Hern.
Head Tailor of Clothing Agency.
Mrs. Robert Waresaw.
„ Woolcar, and Children.
Mr. R. Nisbett Lewis.

OUR BONES ARE SCATTERED
AT THE GRAVES MOUTH,
AS WHEN ONE CUTTETH & CLEAVETH
WOOD UPON THE EARTH,
BUT MINE EYES ARE UNTO THEE
O GOD THE LORD.



350.—Miss NANCY LANG—

Maid servant to Mrs. Thornhill, killed 11th June.

351.—Rev. J. and Mrs. MACMULLEN—

Killed on the 11th June.

352.—Mr. and Miss MACLEAN—

Planter, killed 11th June.

353.—Mr. MACKLIN, wife and children—

Head Clerk, Collector's Office, killed 11th June.

354.—Mrs. MACDONALD, and children—

Killed 11th June 1857.

355.—Mr. J. R. MADDEN, wife and children—

Killed on the 11th June.

356.—Miss E., and Miss A. MADDEN—

Killed on the 11th June.

357.—Mr. J. PALMER, wife and children—

Deputy Collector, killed 11th June.

358.—Mr. R. and Miss E. RAY—

Killed 11th June.

359.—Mr. and Mrs. ROACH—

Road Overseer, killed 11th June.

360.—Mrs. E. SHEPHERD, and children—

Killed 11th June.

361.—Miss MARY SHEPHERD—

Killed 11th June.

362.—Mr. and Mrs. O'HERN, should be AHERN—

Mr. Ahern was killed at Fuddyghur, his wife at the Slaughter House, it is stated that when Mr. Ahern was killed at his post in the Fort at Fuddyghur, his wife who was not one to sit down and weep, took a rifle, posting herself at one of the Bastions, shot down many of the mutineers.

363.—Head Tailor of Clothing Agency—

His name was Kestall, killed on the 11th June.

364.—Mrs. ROBERT WARESAW—

Read Wareham, killed 11th June.

365.—Mrs. WOOLGAR, and children.

Killed 11th June.

366.—Mr. NISBETT LOWIS, and Family—

Was the Joint Magistrate and killed at Cawnpore.

This name has been recently added to the Tablets.

Tablets 13 and 14 contain the names of the Fugitives from Futtehghur, who perished at Cawnpore.

NAMES OF SURVIVORS

OF THE

CAWNPORE GARRISON,

Who will most likely be included in

TABLET No. 15,

When erected A. D. 1957.

1.—Lieutenant MOWBRAY THOMSON 53rd Regiment,
N. I.—

Was a subaltern of under 4 years service when the events in the mutiny overtook him, and which he has so well described in his "Story of Cawnpore." He inconsistently omits any mention of the old General's end at the ghaut on the 27th June.

The accounts all shew that with the flower of chivalry noted in the Tablets it was a case of *scève qui peut*.

Trevelyan very felicitously says "This Officer did his best to lose a life which destiny seemed determined to preserve, in order that England might know, how in their exceeding distress, her sons had not been unmindful of their honor."

The Register shews,

Birth 1st April 1832,

First commission, 20th December 1853,

Was the ninth Lieutenant in his Regiment on 4th June 1857.

Retired as Major-General, 2nd July 1885,

With residence in England.

2.—Lieutenant HENRY GEORGE DELAFOSSE, 53rd Regiment, N. I.—

Date of birth, 24th April 1833,

First commission, 9th December 1854,

Was eleventh Lieutenant in his Regiment on the 4th June 1857,

Retired as Major-General, 10th August 1887,

With residence in England.

3.—Private MURPHY, HMS. 84th Regiment—

Dead.

4.—GUNNER J. SULLIVAN Artillery—

Dead.

The lives of the above were preserved by Rajah Digbejay (Sing the Loyal Talookdar of Morarmow in Oude.

5.—Mr. W. J. SHEPHERD—

Was Head Assistant to the Executive Commissariat Officer, Cawnpore.

He left the Garrison on the 24th June shortly before the terms of surrender had been received by Sir Hugh Wheeler.

He died at Lucknow in the midst of his family on the 26th July 1891 and was buried in the cemetery near the Paper Mills.

His narrative of the Cawnpore massacre, has already passed through three editions, and the American Mission, Lucknow, are about issuing another edition.

Mr. Shepherd was from 1872 to 1888 employed in the Engineering Department of the late Oude and Rohilkund Railway Company, Limited.

For his service at Cawnpore, he received a grant of 2 villages in Oude subject to a life tenure.

6.—Mr. T. FARNON of the E. I. R.—

7.—H. MENDIES, Drummer, residing in Calcutta—

8.—Mrs. ELIZA BRADSHAW—
Dead.

9.—Mrs. BRADSHAW—

10.—Mrs. MURRAY—

11.—Mrs. H. SPIERS—

12.—Mrs. E. LETTS—

13.—Mrs. LETTS—

14.—Miss E. MORRISON—

15.—Miss A. HORNE, residing in Howrah—

16.—Miss WHEELER, residing at Cawnpore—

17.—Miss SUTHERLAND of the Futteghur party,
residing in Calcutta—



LORD CANNING.

Conduct of Government considered.

The Volunteer Question.—“That great disasters which subsequently befell us, *might have been averted.*”

“The two ablest of the early writers, the Author of the “Red pamphlet,” and Mr. Meade in his “Sepoy Revolt” dwell very emphatically on this point. The former says: “An enrolment on a large scale at this time would have enabled the Governor-General to dispense with the services of one European Regiment at least; but so bent was he on ignoring the danger, that he not only declined the offer of the Trades Association, the Masonic fraternity, the Native converts, the Americans, and the French inhabitants and others, but he declined them in terms calculated to deaden rather than to excite a feeling of loyalty.” Mr. Meade says: “A thousand English Volunteer Infantry, four hundred Cavalry, and fifteen hundred sailors were at the disposal of Government, a week after the revolt had become known. Whilst the Volunteers were learning how to load and fire, and the merchant seamen were being instructed in the use of Artillery, Government might have placed from the terminus at Raneegunge to Cawnpore a line of stations for horses and bullocks guarded if necessary, by posts of armed men.

Had Government only consented to do just a fortnight beforehand, what they were coerced to do on the 14th June, they might have had on the first days of that month a force of 2,000 Europeans at Raneegunge fully equipped with guns and stores.” Kaye 92/II.

The week of telegrams.

The outbreak at Meerut.—“Never since, a century before the foundation of our Great Indian Empire had been laid by the conquest of Bengal, had such tidings as these been brought to the Council Chamber of the English Ruler. The little cloud no bigger than a man’s hand which had risen in the first month of the year, and had been growing in its density and darkness until it had over-shadowed the heavens, was now discharging its tempestuous terrors upon us. There was little before the eyes of Lord Canning but the one naked fact of the junction of the Meerut and Delhi Troops, and the proclamation of the restored Empire of the Mogul. With a feeling of wondering anxiety he awaited all through that terrible week in May, the details which seemed as though they would never come, and to the explanation of all that seemed so inexplicable to him. Most of all, what our people had been doing, or not doing in this conjuncture, that such a post as Delhi, scarcely equalled in military, wholly

unequaled in political importance should thus in an hour have been wrested from their grasp. It seemed incredible that with a Regiment of British Cavalry at Meerut, and the largest body of Artillery in the country gathered there at its Head-quarters, such a catastrophe as this should have occurred. *Was there no one, he asked, to do with the Carabineers and the Horse Artillery, what Gillespie, half a century before had done, with his Dragoons and Galloper Guns ?* Kaye 438/I.

Vellore, July 10th 1806.—“The European Garrison of Vellore, at this time, consisted only of 4 Companies of a Line Regiment, H. Ms. 69th. To fall suddenly, in the dead of the night, on all who might happen to be on guard, to overpower them by numbers, and then to murder the rest in their beds, was apparently an easy task. Two hours after midnight the work commenced. The sentries were shot down. The soldiers on Main Guard were killed as they lay in their cots, and the Europeans in the hospital were ruthlessly butchered. There was then a scene of unexampled confusion. Roused from their beds by the unaccustomed sound of firing in the Fort, the English officers went out to learn the cause of the commotion, and many of them were shot down by the mutineers in the first bewilderment of surprise. The two senior officers of the Garrison were amongst the first who fell. On the threshold of his house, Colonel Fancourt, who commanded the Garrison, was warned for dear life's sake not to come out, but answering with the Englishman's favorite formula of “Never mind,” he made for the Main Guard, and was shot with the “Fall in!” on his lips. Of the survivors two or three made their way to the barracks, and took Command of such of the Europeans as had escaped the first murderous onslaught of the Sepoys. The white women in the Fort were spared. The tender mercies of the wicked, with a refined cruelty, preserved them for worse fate than death. The people from the palace told the Sepoys not to kill them, as all the English would be destroyed, and the Moormen might then take them for wives. Kaye 166/I.

“But whilst these terrible scenes were being enacted, and the *Sons of Tippoo* were swelling with the proud certainty of seeing the rule of the Sultan again established in Mysore, retribution swift and certain was overtaking the enterprise. An officer of the English Regiment, Major Coats who happened to be on duty outside the Fort, heard the firing, thoroughly apprehended the crisis and through the darkness of the early morning, made his way to Arcot to carry thither the tidings of insurrection and to summon succours to the aid of the imperilled Garrison.

There was a Regiment of British Dragoons at Arcot, under the Command of Colonel Gillespie. By seven o'clock Coats had told his story. Fifteen minutes afterwards, Gillespie, with a squadron of his Regiment, was on his way to Vellore. The rest were saddling and mounting; the Galloper guns were being horsed and limbered; and a squadron of Native Cavalry was responding to the

Trumpet Call with as much alacrity as the British Dragoons. The saving virtues of promptitude and preparation were never more conspicuously manifested and never had the sage precept of Hyder Ali, that the English should keep their European soldiers like hunting leopards in cages, and slip them suddenly and fiercely at the enemy, been wrought into practice with more terrible effect, than now against the followers and supporters of his descendants.

Once under the walls of Vellore, Gillespie was eager to make his way into the Fort, that he might rally the remnant of the European Garrison and secure the safe admission of his men. The outer gates were open, but the last was closed, and in possession of the enemy. There was no hope of forcing it without the aid of guns. But these were now rapidly approaching. There were good officers with the relieving force, to whom the conduct of external operations might be safely entrusted ; and Gillespie longed to find himself with the people whom he had come to save. So whilst preparations were being made for the attack, he determined to ascend alone the walls of the Fort. In default of ladders the men of the 69th let down a rope, and amidst the shouts of the delighted Europeans, he was drawn up unhurt to the crest of the Ramparts, and took Command of the survivors of the unhappy force. Quickly forming at the word of Command, they came down eagerly to the charge, and cheered by the welcome sound of guns, which were now clamouring for admission and not to be denied, they kept the mutineers at a distance, till the gates were forced ; and then the Cavalry streamed in, and victory was easy. The retribution was terrible and just. Hundreds fell beneath the Sabres of the Dragoons and of the native horsemen, who emulated the ardour of their European comrades. Hundreds escaped over the walls of the Fort, or threw down their arms and cried for mercy. But the excited Troopers who had seen Tippoo's Tiger standard floating over the Citadel of Vellore, could not after that hot morning ride, believe that they had done their work until they had destroyed the "Cubs." They were eager to be led to the palace and there to inflict condign punishment on those whom they believed to be the real instigators of the butchery of their countrymen. For a moment there was a doubt in Gillespie's mind ! but an appeal from Colonel Marriott, in whose charge was the Mysore family, removed it ; and he put forth a restraining hand. He would not soil his victory with any cruel reprisals." *Kaye 168/I.*

113 Europeans and 13 officers were massacred, while 350 of the mutineers fell in the attack and 500 were made prisoners.

The causes of the Mutiny.—“ If Lord Canning had had any idea in the early part of 1857 that the isolated outbreaks which then disturbed the general serenity, were part of an organised plot, he would, I believe, have at once taken measures to meet the difficulty. Not that, at any time in 1857, he could have prevented a mutiny, but he could easily have made better arrangements to meet

one. I am far, however, from imputing any blame to Lord Canning in this respect. He had but recently arrived in India. His predecessor, when making over charge to him of the Empire, had expressed his conviction that never had the country been in so satisfactory a condition. All the time the ground was undermined, the train was being laid, the miners were at work. But how was Lord Canning to know this? He inherited Lord Dalhousie's Councillors. They were as satisfied, and as ignorant of the real state of the country as was Lord Dalhousie. Lord Dalhousie had quitted India in a blaze of glory; and the new Governor-General, unused to the currents of Indian thought, could for some months only steer the vessel by the advice of the officers who had helped to bring to Lord Dalhousie a renown far reaching, and seemingly well deserved

The Government of India.

Governor-General, the Right Hon'ble Charles John
Viscount Canning, President in Council took his
seat 29th February 1856

Supreme Council.

His Excellency the Hon'ble George Anson, Commander-
in Chief 23rd January 1856
First Ordinary Member—The Hon'ble Joseph Alexan-
der Dorn 10th May 1853
Second Ordinary Member—The Hon'ble Major-General
John Lowe, C.B. 22nd September 1853
Third Ordinary Member—The Hon'ble John Peter Grant 1st May 1854
Fourth ditto ditto Barnes Peacock ... 2nd June 1852

Secretaries to the Government of India.

Home Department ... Cecil Beadon, Esq.
Foreign do. ... G. F. Edmonstone, Esq.
Financial do. ... C. H. Lushington, Esq.
Military do. ... Colonel R. J. H. Birch, Q.E.B.F.
Public Works do. ... Lieutenant-Colonel W. E. Baker, Esq.

Lieutenant-Governors.

Bengal Fred. James Halliday... 1st May 1854.
North-Western Provinces ... John Russell Colvin ... 14th October 1853.
Punjab Mr. John, L. M. Lawrence, K.C.B., Chief
Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-
General.

But, infact, upon no man did the news of the mutiny descend with so startling a surprise as upon the Councillors of Lord Canning. They could not comprehend it. Weeks and weeks elapsed before they could bring themselves to believe that it was anything more than a fortuitous explosion at various points, each having no concert, and no connection with the other. The Home Secretary's (Cecil Beadon) assurances that the apprehensions expressed regarding its nature were "a passing and a groundless panic,"

that "there is every hope that in a few days tranquillity will be restored throughout the presidency," testify to the ideas that filled the minds of these men. The admission is at least due to them that they were honest, they believed what they said. But those sayings betrayed a complete ignorance of the country and of the situation. This ignorance, this blindness to the fact, that it was more even than a mutiny of the Bengal Army, and not merely a series of isolated revolts, with which they had to cope, was illustrated in a thousand ways, but in none more strongly than in the refusal to disarm Regiments which were known to be mutinous. The consequences of this refusal were most serious. In the case of the Regiments at Dinapore the reader will have seen that it brought revolt into Western Behar, added enormously to the dangers of Havelock, and even imperilled Calcutta.

How great Lord Canning really was, how small were his Councilors, was shown when, having completely shaken off their influence, he stood alone and unshackled at Allahabad in the early part of 1858. A different man was he then from the Lord Canning of April and May 1857. His nature then displayed its real nobility. His grasp of affairs, at Calcutta apparently so small, excited at Allahabad the admiration of all who came in contact with him. He showed a truer insight into the military position than the Commander-in-Chief himself. **Kaye 297/V.**

"A well known Historian, Sir John Kaye, who defended Lord Canning's rejection of the offers of the Volunteers by the argument that, in the hour of danger, nine out of ten of them, would have stayed at home to protect their families, instead of joining their Companies, was forced to admit that when later on, it became necessary to accept their offer, they rendered excellent service to the state. The same Historian complaining of the unfairness of condemning Canning's early policy after the event had proved it wrong, forgot that there were other Statesmen in India who from the first adopted a policy which, as they foresaw would be the case, the event proved right. Canning argued that it was unnecessary to disarm his Regiments because they had professed themselves loyal. John Lawrence argued that it was necessary to disarm the Regiments because no Sepoy's profession of Loyalty *could be trusted*. If it was unfair to blame Canning after the event had proved him wrong, it was unfair to praise Lawrence after the event had proved him right. Canning had not yet grasped the great truth that a handful of Englishmen could only hold millions of disaffected Asiatics in check by boldly taking the initiative against them, and trusting that they would be too terrified to perceive the absence of material force sufficient to supply the uncompromising assertion of authority. Many reasonable excuses have been made for his failure, but History refuses him the title of a great Statesman, because others who had fewer resources than his, needed no excuses.

“It was from no lack of sympathy with the Christians at unprotected stations that Lord Canning did not send them more succours. He spoke from the depths of his heart when he lamented his inability to help them. Rightly believing that his duty to the Empire was more urgent, than his duty to suffering individuals. He sent all the troops whom he believed that he could spare to the rescue of the posts, the preservation of which was, in a political and military sense most important. If however he had consented in time to the enrolment of the Calcutta Volunteers and the disarming of the Sepoys at Barrackpore and Dinapore, he would not have had to resist the promptings of compassion. *We should never have heard of the well at Cawnpore.*

I am aware that the Governor-General in Council wrote “If all the Garrison of Fort William could have been spared, there were no means of sending one more man to Cawnpore in time for its relief. But he himself supplied the means of disproving this assertion. On May 24th he telegraphed to Sir Henry Lawrence.” “It is impossible to place a Wing of Europeans at Cawnpore in less than 25 days, the Government Dawk and the Dawk Companies are fully engaged in carrying a Company of the 84th to Benares at the rate of 18 men a dawk. A Wing of the Madras Fusileers arrived yesterday and start to-day by bullock train, part by steamer. The bullock train can take 100 men a day, at the rate of 30 miles a day.” The distance from Calcutta to Cawnpore is 639 miles, the capitulation of the Cawnpore Garrison did not take place till June 26th. It is clear then that, if the means of transport were forthcoming along the whole line of road, there was ample time to send troops to their relief. But it may be urged, after the mutiny at Allahabad on June 6th, it was impossible for some days to collect cattle for the journey of more than 120 miles from that station to Cawnpore. This objection is plausible, but it may be easily answered. To say nothing of the fact that the mutiny of June 6th was due to Canning’s want of fore-sight in not garrisoning Allahabad with European troops, as Outram advised him to do, he ought to have sent H. Ms. 84th up-country on the 6th May, instead of on 20th. Had he done so, the mutiny at Allahabad, if it had occurred at all would not have interfered with the passago of the troops. This accumulation of proofs will probably be considered sufficient.” **Holmes 180.**

Mr. J. R. COLVIN.

Political Arrangement of the North-Western Provinces.—The Government of the North-Western Provinces was divided into eight commissionerships, those of Benares, Allahabad, Jubbulpore, Jhansi, Agra, Rohilkund, Meerut and Delhi. The provinces were but poorly garrisoned by

European troops. In fact when the mutiny broke out, there was but one European Infantry Regiment and one battery at Agra. The only other European troops were at Meerut.

The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces was Mr. John Colvin. Mr. Colvin was a man of considerable ability; conscientious, painstaking, courteous, and amiable. He was animated by a thorough sense of duty, gave all his energies to the public service, and never spared himself. It is not too much to affirm that had his lot been cast in ordinary times his reputation as Lieutenant-Governor would have rivalled that of the most eminent of those who, before and subsequently, have held that office. But with all his ability, his experience of affairs, his devotion to duty, Mr. Colvin lacked, that one quality, the possession of which is absolutely necessary to enable a man to buffet successfully against the storms of fortune. Mr. Colvin wanted, in a word, that iron firmness, that rare self-confidence, which enables a man to impress his will upon others. Supreme at Agra, he was not sufficiently, during the mutiny the directing mind. Surrounded by civilians of high standing, men of ability and consideration in the service, but holding, and tenaciously holding, theories regarding the mutiny diverse from his, although differing widely amongst themselves, Mr. Colvin allowed himself to be swayed too much by the views of others. It often happened that the course he had proposed to follow was a wiser course than that which he ultimately pursued. Owing possibly to the fact that the circumstances of the time differed widely from those to which he had been accustomed, he almost always renounced his own ideas and accepted the opinions pressed upon him by one or other of his advisers. Yet, the responsibility of every action fell upon him.

It is possible that Mr. Colvin's earlier career was to a certain extent answerable for this defect in his character as a ruler in troublous times. He had been Private Secretary to Lord Auckland, when Lord Auckland was Governor-General of India. In all the arrangements which led to the Afghanistan War, with its delusive triumphs and its disastrous results, Mr. Colvin shared the responsibility with the Governor-General, of whom he was believed to be the intimate adviser. Up to the hour of the catastrophe he was jubilant regarding the success of the policy. But when the catastrophe did come, with its loss of human life, its lowering of British *prestige*, its humiliation to the national arms, it was a blow sufficient to destroy the convictions of a life time, to change a man's nature. It is probable that, thenceforward, Mr. Colvin became less inclined to trust entirely to his own opinion, more ready to accept the suggestions of others.

Sir John Kaye says, that Mr. Colvin was supposed to exercise over Lord Auckland, "an influence far greater" than has been exercised by any officer in the same subordinate position. Malleon 96/III.

“ *The errors of a vicious system and a false policy.*—To bring this great charge against one Commander of a Division or another Commander of a Division, against one Commander-in-Chief or another Commander-in-Chief, against one Governor-General or another Governor-General, against this Department or against that Department, would be a mistake and an injustice. It was not this or that man that wanted wisdom. The evil lay broad and deep in the national character. The arrogance of the Englishman, which covered him ever with a great delusion, forbidding him to see danger, when danger was surrounding him, and rendering it impossible in his eyes that any disaster should overtake so great and so powerful a country, was the principal source of this great failure at Meerut. We were overlapping and lulling ourselves in a false security. We had warnings many and significant; but we brushed them away with a movement of impatience and contempt. There is a cant phrase, which because it is cant, it may be beneath the dignity of History to cite; but no other word in the English language, counted by scores or by hundreds, can so express the prevailing faith of the Englishman, at that time, as those two well known words. “*All Serene.*” Whatever clouds might lower, whatever tempests might threaten, still it was “all serene.” It was held to be unbecoming an Englishman to be prepared for a storm * * * When Henry Lawrence wrote, “How unmindful have we been that what occurred in the City of Caubul, may some day occur at Delhi, Meerut or Bareilly,” no one heeded the prophetic saying.

Everything therefore, at Meerut, in spite of plain and patent systems of an approaching outbreak, was in a state of utter unpreparedness for action. There were troopers without horses, troopers that could not ride, artillery men without guns, and artillery men who did not know a Mortar from a Howitzer, or the difference between round shot and grape: this was not the fault of General Hewitt or Brigadier Wilson; it was the fault of the system, the policy. The prevailing idea, and one for which there was good warrant, was that the Government desired that things should be kept quiet.

In pursuance of this system the Commander-in-Chief was in the great Play ground of Simla, and the chiefs of Departments were encouraging him in the belief that the cloud “would soon blow over.” So officers of all ranks in the great divisions of the army in the North-West, in the Sirhind, in the Meerut, in the Cawnpore Divisions, did according to the pattern at Head Quarters and according to their instincts as Englishmen; and, therefore, when the storm burst, we were all naked, defenceless and forlorn, and knew not how to encounter its fury. From one station to another the news spread that the Sepoys had conquered the English at Meerut, and proclaimed the Mogul Emperor at Delhi. The first great blow had been struck at the *Feringees*, and ever

from place to place the rumour ran, that they had been paralyzed by it, *i.e.*, the English were "*luchar*." **Kaye 103/II.**

Warnings.—In the month of March (1857) it was reported to the Lieutenant-Governor by a native correspondent, that in the Palace especially in the portion of it constituting the personal apartments of the King of Delhi, the conversation night and day is, the early arrival of the Persians. Hassan Askari a Mahomedan priest of the hereditary priesthood who dwelt near the Delhi Gate of the Palace and was ever active in encouraging intrigues with Persia. Hassan Askari has entered upon the daily performance, at an hour and a half before sunset, of a course of propitiary ceremonies to expedite the arrival of the Persians, and the expulsion of the christian.

When therefore the Lieutenant-Governor Colvin received the letter announcing that the King of Delhi was intriguing with the Shah of Persia, and that the latter would ere long restore the Monarchy of the Moghul, *he laughed the absurdity to scorn*, and pigeonholed it amongst the curiosities of his administration, where it was produced at a later period as strong evidence of the guilt of the King of Delhi; recorded as "found among the papers of the late Mr. Colvin."

On the 9th May 1857, Sir Henry Lawrence wrote a letter similar to that he had written to Lord Canning about the ground bone otta belief and concluded with a significant hint to look well after the *safety of the Forts* in Upper India. **Kaye 37/II.**

Events in Afghanistan.—Major Outram in a letter to Colonel Sutherland, Military Secretary to Government of India, dated 26th December 1841 remarks:

"How accurately these anticipations were in accordance with actual facts, the events of 1842, the Journals of Eyre, of Mohunlall, and of Lady Sale fully testify.

But the military crime (as he expressed it) witnessed at Caubul, and the non-provisioning of Ghuzni, were beyond the ken of those who like himself, had based their predictions of the safety of the large and well provided force upon the knowledge of place and peoples, and upon ordinary military considerations.

He writes to Sir J. Carnac on February 10th, 1842: "I have proved a false prophet, alas! as regards the issue of affairs at Caubul, but who could conceive, that 5000 British troops, would deliberately commit suicide which literally has been the fate of the Caubul Garrison. From first to last such a tissue of Political and Military mismanagement the History of the world has never shown. **Outram.**

Though the history of the mutiny in the countries under Colvin's direction is brightened by many individual instances of political courage and personal heroism, yet, on the other hand, it is a *dismal record of failure.*

For this failure Colvin was in part responsible. It is true that owing to the paucity of British troops and the evil effects of British legislation, his position was one of unexampled difficulty. It is also true that, owing to the selfishness and faint-heartedness of General Hewitt and of Brigadier Wilson, the powerful force at Meerut did absolutely nothing to support him, and his Lieutenants did not all display the strong self reliance which enabled Spankie and Dundas Robertson to maintain their hold upon a large and turbulent district. But on the other hand, there were some high officials at that time who though they were no better served than Colvin, yet far from allowing themselves to be disheartened by the failure of erring subordinates, only laboured the more earnestly to inspire them with their own high courage and vigorous resolve, and made up for the want of material resources by acting as though they possessed them. It is impossible indeed to affirm that the most resolute and clear sighted of Indian Statesmen, could, if he had been placed in Colvin's position, have preserved entire tranquility over the North-West Provinces, but it may confidently be affirmed that to Colvin's *feebleness, and political blindness* was due the unprecedented anarchy which actually prevailed." Holmes 149.

Sir HUGH WHEELER.

"Looking back through more than half a century of good service, he could remember how the sepoy had fought in the good old days of Lake and Ochterlony. There was nothing to be said against him except that he bore the burden of more than seventy years. He bore it lightly, succumbing little to the pressure, still it was there; and it was a necessity that he should have lost beneath it some measure at least of the vigorous energy of his prime. He was of short stature and light weight, and to the last he was a good and active horseman.

But General Wheeler, though far advanced in years, had lost none of the clearness of his mental vision. He had not become blind to the failings of the sepoy; he had not encased himself in that hard incredulity which forbade many to believe it possible that the Native Soldier could ever be untrue to his salt.

Ever since the first symptoms of disquietude at Barrackpore and Berhampore had been manifested, he had watched narrowly the sepoy Regiments under his immediate Command, looking for indications of a like temper among them; and when news came of the revolt of the Native Regiments at Meerut and at Delhi, he saw clearly that it would demand the exercise of all his influence to prevent a similar explosion at Cawnpore.

Troops, in order that Oude and other newly acquired territories might be defended. Annexation was doing its work.

What did he do.—“In the Red pamphlet it says: ‘He had proved himself on so many occasions, so fertile in resources, so ready to overcome difficulties, so prompt, active and energetic, that he was thought the man of all others most competent to deal with an insurrection of this character.’ Kaye 219/II.

I.—He took up an indefensible position.

“During the whole of Saturday, the 6th June, Teeka Sing the Subadar-Major of the 2nd Cavalry had been hard at work in the magazine, mounting the siege guns, *viz.*, 5 twenty-four pounders, 3 eighteen 1 nine pounder and 4 mortars, in all 13 and dispatching them successively to the scene of action with their shot shell and ammunition. As fast as each piece arrived, it was placed in position and manned by the Native Artillery men. By noon on Sunday the 7th June the cordon of seven batteries was complete, *viz.*, the

2 twenty-four pounders on the North-West at a distance of 1,100 yards.

2 mortar batteries to the North at a distance of 700 yards, behind St. John's Church.

1 in a dry tank to the East.

1 in Artillery Hospital South East, and

1 the seventh, a 9 pounder in an unfinished barrack.

Our entrenchment was raked by 24 and 18 pound shot from every quarter of the compass, while shell kept falling all over the enclosure.

Now became patent to the most in experienced eye, the fatal and irremediable defects of the site selected by Sir Hugh Wheeler. The Dragoon Hospital was surrounded by large and solid buildings at distances varying from three to eight hundred yards, buildings from which the assailants derived protection more effectual than that afforded to the Garrison by their temporary improvised defences. From roof and window poured a shower of bullets during the hours of daylight, while after dusk troops of sepoys hovered about and made night hideous by volleys of musketry.

The annals of warfare contain no episode so painful as the story of this melancholy conflict. The Sun never before looked on such a sight as a crowd of (307) women and (434) children cooped within a small space, and exposed during twenty days and nights to the concentrated fire of thousands of muskets and heavy cannon. At first every projectile which struck the barracks was the signal for heart-rending shrieks and low wailing more heart-rending yet; but ere long time and habit taught them to suffer and to fear in silence. Before the third evening every window and door had been beaten in, next went the screens, the piled up furniture and the internal partitions, soon shell and ball ranged at will through the naked rooms. Some ladies were

slain outright by grape or round shot, others were struck by bullets, many were crushed beneath falling brick work, or mutilated by the splinters which flew from shattered sash and panel."

"For by day and night the fire never ceased; the round shot crashed and spun through the doors, raked the earthwork and skipped about the open ground in every corner of our position. The bullets cut the air, and pattered on the wall like hail. The shells rolled hissing along the floors and down the trenches, and bursting, spread around them a circle of wrack, and mutilation, and promiscuous destruction. A single shell killed and maimed seven married women of the 32nd, who were seated in a trench, killed the intrepid Jacobi, the coach-maker, as also Cox the cashiered officer."

Want of water was a constant and growing evil. At the best, a single well would have furnished a pitiably insufficient supply for a thousand mouths during an Indian June; and that well was from the first the favorite target of the hostile Artillerymen. Accustomed to frequent ablutions which in England at least a duty, are in India a necessity, they had not a single spongeful of water for washing from the commencement to the close of the siege. They who, from childhood upwards, in the comprehensive and petty phrase which ladies love, "had had everything nice about them," were now herded together in fetid misery, where delicacy and modesty were hourly shocked, though never for a moment impaired. Unshod, unkempt, ragged and squalid, haggard and emaciated, parched with drought and faint with hunger, they sat waiting to hear that they were widows. Each morning deepened the hollow in the youngest cheek, and added a furrow to the fairest brow. Want, exposure, and depression, speedily decimated that hapless Company." Trevelyan.

"It will be admitted that, whatever reasons Sir Hugh Wheeler had for believing that the sepoy at Cawnpore would not attack him, he was wanting in judgment if he did not provide, as far as it was possible to do so, against the contingency of an attack. It is contended in the Red pamphlet (page 135) that if he had selected the magazine as a place of refuge, he would have been obliged, owing to the distance from the sepoy lines, to withdraw the officers of the sepoy Regiments from their men, and thus virtually invite the latter to mutiny. But he would have been justified in acting on the assumption the mutiny was under any circumstances *inevitable*. "General Wheeler, wrote Neill, ought to have gone to the magazine at once, no one could have prevented him; they might have saved everything they had, almost if they had." Kaye however says (vol. II P. 295). Some military authorities may differ from Neill's opinion that no one could have prevented Wheeler from taking himself with his women and children and invalids to the magazine. Neill is a *high authority*, and I venture to think he was right. The sepoy

intrenchment. Is it likely that they would have had the courage and decision, or even the inclination to oppose Wheeler, if after first disarming its sepoy Guard he had attempted to occupy the magazine."

It will be well to note here (says Captain Hutchinson) that the siege of Cawnpore, at this time going on, was felt with the greatest sympathy by all in Lucknow, and numerous were the projects and designs for crossing the Ganges, and aiding the gallant band there besieged. With great interest and patience did the late Sir Henry Lawrence listen to all these proposals; but, comparing the intelligence received from Cawnpore with the plans, proposed, and our means of executing them, Sir Henry with firmness, yet with sorrow,* decided he could only do his utmost to save all here, for Cawnpore he could send no aid. At last the news reached us through a letter written by a young officer at Cawnpore to his father at Lucknow, that General Wheeler had agreed to treat with the Nana. Sir Henry at once felt all was over with him, and a few hours brought the sorrowful news. It was no slight addition to his cares to have the painful duty of refusing aid to General Wheeler, whose letters were naturally urgent and plainly expressed that otherwise all would perish. But the attempt was out of the question. **Trevelyan.**

Letter to Sir H. Wheeler, Cawnpore, June 16th, Lucknow.—I am very sorry indeed to hear of your condition, and grieve that I cannot help you. I have consulted with the chief officers about me, and, except Gubbins, they are unanimous in thinking that with the enemy's command of the river, we could not get a single man into your entrenchment. I need not say that I deeply lament being obliged to concur in this opinion, for our own safety is as nearly concerned as yours. We are strong in our entrenchments, but by attempting the passage of a river, should be sacrificing a large detachment without a prospect of helping you. Pray do not think me selfish. I would run much risk could I see a commensurate prospect of success. In the present scheme I see none. Mr. Gubbins who does not understand the difficulties of the most difficult of military operations, the passage of a river in the face of an enemy, is led away by generous enthusiasm to desire impossibilities. I write not only my own opinion, but that of many ready to risk their lives to rescue you. God grant you his protection. **H. Lawrence, H. B. Edwards.**

From Sir Hugh Wheeler to Lawrence, June 24th, Cawnpore.—“I avail myself of the return of Maclean's man to give you an account of the past and present. (Here follows the detail of the mutiny of 4th June). Since then, we have had a bombardment in this miserable position three or four times daily, now nineteen days exposed to two twenty-fours, and eight other guns of smaller calibre and three mortars; to reply with eight-nines, you know is out of the question; neither would our ammunition permit it.

All our carriages more or less disabled, ammunition short ; British spirit alone remains, but it cannot last for ever. Yesterday morning they attempted the most formidable assault, but dared not come on ; and after above three hours in the trenches cheering the men, I returned to find my favorite darling son killed by a nine pounder in the room with his mother and sisters ; he was not able to accompany me, having been fearfully crippled by a severe concussion. The cannonade was tremendous ; I venture to assert such a position so defended has no example, but cruel has been the evil. (Here follow a list of killed and dead.) We have no instruments, no medicine ; provision for ten days at farthest, and no possibility of getting any, as all communication with the town is cut off. We have been cruelly deserted and left to our fate. We had not above 220 soldiers of all arms at first ; the casualties have been numerous. Railway gents and merchants have swollen our ranks to what they are, small as that is they have done excellent service, but neither they nor I can last for ever. We have all lost everything belonging to us, and have not even a change of linen. Surely we are not to die *like rats in a cage*. We know nothing of Allahabad, to which place we have sent five notes ; but whether they have reached, or even gone, we as yet know not. The ladies, women and children, have not a safe hole to lie down in, and they all sleep in the trenches for safety and coolness. The barracks are perforated in every direction and cannot long give even the miserable shelter which they now do.

God bless you,

Ever yours,

H. M. WHEELER.

State of the Native soldiery.—There was much then going on in the Lines of which doubtless, the General knew nothing ; but now and then, as the month of May advanced, unpleasant revelations were made to him through his officers. It did not appear that the sepoys were dissaffected or discontented, but as in other places of which I have spoken, a great fear was settling down on our Native soldiery. The most extravagant stories were current among them. The Hindoo and Mahomedan troops on a given day were to be assembled upon an undermined parade ground, and the whole of them blown into the air. This and other fables equally monstrous were freely circulated among the sepoys and readily believed. Nothing could be more alarming to one well acquainted with the character of the Native soldier, than the free acceptance of stories of this kind, which showed that the old bonds of confidence were utterly broken ; and Sir Hugh Wheeler, therefore, plainly saw that the danger was one which it would be most difficult to arrest, for nothing is so intractable as

a panic. For some days after the news from Meerut and Delhi had reached Cawnpore, he had hope that the public mind might be re-assured; but this soon passed away. It was plain to him, as time wore on, that the excitement rather increased than diminished. And the peril which stared him in the face, was not merely the peril of mutinous soldiery; he was threatened by an insurgent population which might have overwhelmed him. And it seemed to him in this emergency that the best means of defending the lives of the Christian Communities and maintaining, though only on a narrow space, the authority of the Christian Government, until succours should arrive to enable him to act on the offensive, was by throwing up some defensive works within which the English might gather themselves together, and with the aid of their guns keep the enemy at a distance. Beyond this there was nothing that he could do, and it was not easy to determine how even this little was to be done. **Kaye.**

The Question of Defence.—Of all the defensible points in the Cantonment, it was held, in the first instance, that the magazine in the North-Western corner of the military lines was that best adapted, in the exigency which had arisen, for a defensive position. It almost rested on the river, and it was surrounded by walls of substantial masonry. But instead of this, Sir Hugh Wheeler selected a spot about six miles lower down to the South-East at some distance from the river, and not far from the Sepoy lines. There were quarters of some kind for our people within two long hospital barracks (one wholly of masonry, the other with a thatched roof single storied buildings with verandahs running round them, and with the usual out-houses attached. This spot he began to entrench, to fortify with Artillery, and to provision with supplies of different kinds. Orders went forth to the Commissariat and their efforts were supplemented by the Managers of the regimental messes, who freely sent in their stores of beer and wine, hermetically sealed dainties and other creature comforts that might serve to mitigate the evils of the brief detention which was believed to be the worst that could befall us. But the aggregate amount of food was lamentably ill-proportioned to the exigencies of the occasion. As to the so called fortifications, they were so paltry that an English Subaltern could have ridden over them on a cast horse from the Company's stud. The earth works were little more than four feet high and were not bullet proof at the crest. The apertures for the Artillery exposed both our Guns and our Gunners, whilst an enemy in adjacent buildings might find cover on all sides. **Kaye.**

Sir Hugh Wheeler's reason for not selecting the Magazine as a place of refuge was—that the removal of the Sepoy Guard over it, would shew a want of confidence, and cause the outbreak being precipitated also, when they desired to remove the treasure from the charge of the Native Guard, the removal was not permitted. The reason then given for the selection of

the Dragoon Hospital was, that if the Native Troops mutinied, they would make for Delhi. Yet Sir Hugh ordered the storage of a month's native supplies in the entrenchment, but did not take into account the water supply, and the accommodation for 1,000 souls in the hot months of June and July.

The guards of the Native Regiments being in possession of the treasure and the magazine, after breaking out very naturally proceeded to exterminate the white man. The pleas put forward to shield the action of Sir Hugh Wheeler, his staff and others cannot stand before the opinion expressed by General Neill.

Mr. C. B. Thornhill, Commissioner Allahabad, when submitting Mr. Sherer's report of the mutiny, to the North-West Provinces Government states, "*that had a different policy been pursued by the authorities the subsequent catastrophe might have been avoided.*" While Mr. Sherer states, "that General Wheeler considered two things certain:—

First.—That the Nana was *not* in league with the native army; and

Secondly.—That our native army, if they did break out, would make off at once to join the insurgents at Delhi.

Events shewed that General Wheeler was *right in every respect.*

He weathered the outbreak in safety, the mutineers did make for Delhi. The Nana was clearly *not* in league previously with the native soldiery. But, the treachery of the Nana disturbed all calculations!"

With the experience of the panic of the 22nd May described by Captain Fletcher Hayes (Sir Henry Lawrence's Military Secretary), Sir Hugh Wheeler could at any time between this date and the 4th June have arranged with the aid of a few more Companies of H. Ms. 32nd from Lucknow, to have disarmed the 4 Native Regiments, well known to be steeped in mutiny.

On the 4th June, Sir Hugh returned not only the 50 men of H. Ms. 32nd, but sent 50 more of H. Ms. 84th who had been specially sent to strengthen his position. After doing this there were still 400 men (see the Index), even these with Ashe's battery it was feasible to have compelled the Infantry to pile arms, and the Cavalry to unclasp belts and swords, or treated them to irresistible grape, at the same time to have recovered the magazine and the treasury of which the Guards of these Regiments held forcible possession.

At Lahore under similar conditions, and within 48 hours of the telegraphic receipt of the intelligence of the outbreak at Meerut, Brigadier Stewart Corbett with but 250 Europeans, at a parade, disarmed three Regiments of Native Infantry and one of Cavalry. The Civil authorities proposed the seizure of the ammunition only, but the Brigadier after consideration wrote to say, he would "go the whole hog" and disarm them altogether. It was then considered that there was no room for mercy, the public safety was a

paramount consideration. Sir John Kaye at page 487 of his Sepoy war, says "the men in the Punjab were of a different stamp to those in the North-West Provinces. The Punjab men rode the whirlwind, and controlled the storm," while, the North-West Province men took every thing serenely and somnolently.

In May 1857, at Calcutta, Agra and Cawnpore, the safety of the public, instead of being a matter of paramount consideration, was treated as not deserving especial attention.

At Agra, the seat of the Government, with an European Regiment and 300 Officials, Non-officials, &c., at the first alarm, retired within the walls of the Fort, at no other station were steps taken to call in the officers or to the removal of their families to places of safety.

The Lieutenant-Governor, General Commanding at Cawnpore, his staff, officers in Command of Regiments, had all taken part in the Cabul Campaign, but the lessons there taught of combatants carrying their families on a Campaign, exposing them to insult and degradation was lost upon them. In Cabul they only followed a precedent quoted in the annals of the Victories of Wellington in the Peninsula at page 331, *viz.* "Vittoria—We chanced to meet a Curé on the French side of the Pyrenees, at whose house General Merle had been quartered shortly after the battle, who said, that, the General was furious, exclaiming against Joseph, and vowing that the material of three armies, those of the south, centre, and Portugal, had been sacrificed to save fifty ladies and their baggage.

In the Burmah expedition 1852, no ladies were allowed to accompany the force, nor permitted to land at Rangoon for a year after the place was taken, the only exception being the widow of Lieutenant Dorin.

Help from Lucknow.—"Whilst these precautions were being taken, the General sent an express to Lucknow requesting Sir Henry Lawrence to lend him for a while a Company or two of the 32nd Regiment, as he had reason to expect an immeditate rising at Cawnpore. Little could Lawrence spare a single man from the troublous Capital of Oudh; but those were days when Christian gentlemen rose to noble heights of generosity and self-sacrifice; and Henry Lawrence who at any time would have divided his cloak with another, or snatched the helmet with the last drop of water from his own lips, was not the one to hesitate when such a demand was made upon him. He sent all that he could send, 50 men of the 32nd Queens packed closely in such wheeled carriages as could be mustered. He sent also two detachments of the Oudh Horse to keep open the road between Cawnpore and Agra, and render such other assistance as Irregular Horse well commanded can render, if only they be true to their leaders. A party of Oudh Artillery accompanied them with two field guns under Lieutenant Ashe, a young officer of rare promise, which was soon to ripen into heroic performance."

With these detachments went Captain Fletcher Hayes, Military Secretary to Sir Henry Lawrence, a man of great capacity and great courage; in the prime of his life and the height of his daring. He had graduated in one of our English Universities, and was an erudite scholar and an accomplished gentleman. He was now sent to Cawnpore to ascertain the real state of affairs there for the information of his chief. So he mounted his horse and started with the Cavalry, giving up his carriage, in which he at first intended to travel, to a party of European Soldiers:—"For," he wrote. "As they represented three hundred rounds of balled ammunition ready at any moment for any body, I thought that they were of far more importance than any number of Military Secretaries." All through the day, from dawn till some hours after sunset, they toiled on, suffering severely from the severe heat and the parching thirst. But they reached Cawnpore without disaster; and in a little while Hayes had taken in the situation and had flung himself into the work that lay before him, as if he had been one of the Garrison himself.

The burning of the Barrack.—"After the siege had lasted about a week a great calamity befell the Garrison. In the two barracks of which I have spoken were gathered together all the feeble and infirm, the old and the sick, the women and the children. One of the buildings it had been said had a thatched roof, and, whilst all sorts of projectiles and combustibles were flying about, its ignition could only be a question of time. Every effort had been made to cover the thatch with loose tiles or bricks, but the protection thus afforded was insufficient, and one evening the whole was in a blaze. The scene that ensued was one of the most terrible in the entire history of the siege; for the sick and wounded who lay there too feeble and helpless to save themselves, were in peril of being burnt to death. To their comrades it was a work of danger and difficulty to rescue them; for the enemy rejoicing in their success, poured shot and shell in a continuous stream upon the burning pile, which guided their fire through the darkness of the night. Two Artillery men only perished in the flames. But the destruction of the barrack was a heavy blow to the besieged. It deprived numbers of women and children of all shelter, and sent them out houseless to lay day after day and night after night upon the bare ground, without more shelter than could be afforded by strips of canvas and scraps of wine chests, feeble defences against the climate, which were soon destroyed by the unceasing fire of the enemy. And there was a worse result than this. The conflagration destroyed all the resources upon which our people had relied for the mitigation of the sufferings of the sick and wounded. All our hospital stores and surgical instruments were lost to us; and from that time death and pain had their way without anything to arrest the one or to soften the other." Kaye 324.

II.—He abandoned a First Class Arsenal.

The Magazine.—“It is stated on very high authority that Sir Hugh Wheeler and his staff were ignorant of the *contents of the Cawnpore Magazine*. I find the following in a letter from General Neill in which he gives the results of his inquiry into the “Story of Cawnpore.” He had at that time been in communication with the only two surviving officers of the siege (Captain Mowbray Thompson and Lieutenant Delafosse). “General Wheeler was then under the delusion that the Nana would assist him. All the mutineers went one march to Delhi. The Nana got them to return, and General Wheeler found himself surrounded, guns firing upon him in every direction from our own arsenal, of the existence of which guns General Wheeler and his staff were until then *ignorant*. It appears that a *Committee of officers*, some time before were sent down to examine the arsenal, and to report what was in it. They came down in the usual easy-going style, only thought of tents and other trifles, happened not to be shewn the gun sheds, and did not enter the magazine, in fact forgot all about it, and reported that *there was nothing in the ‘magazine’ as it was styled.*” The authority of such a man as General Neill must, in all cases be respected, but it is hardly credible that the contents of the magazine were unknown to the *Artillery officers* at Cawnpore, especially to the Ordnance Commissariat Department. Moreover, it is to be observed that the supposed ignorance is not consistent with the undoubted anxiety manifested by Wheeler and his chief officers to blow up the magazine at the commencement of the outbreak arrangements had been made for this, but the feat could not be accomplished. The Assistant Commissary Mr. Reilly had been directed to blow up the magazine but was unfortunately prevented by the Sepoys on guard there. **Kaye.**

III.—He surrendered Ten Lacs of Treasure.

Sought the aid of the Nana Saheb.—When the English authority at Cawnpore appealed to Sir Henry Lawrence for assistance, as though by some strange fatality, it were doomed that aid should be sought in the crisis which had arisen from the two extremes of humanity. An appeal was made to our neighbour, the Nana of Bithoor.

Although Lord Dalhousie and the East India Company had refused to increase the Nana's store, he had abundance of money and all that money could purchase including horses and elephants and a large body of retainers, almost indeed a little army of his own. He had been in friendly intercourse with our officers up to this very time, and no one doubted that as he had the power so also he had the will to be of substantial use in the hour of our trouble. It was one of those strange revenges into which the stream of time is laden. “The arbiter of others' fate,” had suddenly become “a suppliant for his own.” And the representatives of the British Government were suing

to one recently a suitor cast in our own high Political Courts. The madness of this was seen at Lucknow; but it was *not seen at Cawnpore*. So the alliance of the Nana Saheb was sought as an element of strength in our hour of trouble.

Mr. Martin Gubbins states, that by the authority of Sir Henry Lawrence, he cautioned Sir Hugh Wheeler against the Nana, and that he was not to be depended upon. The answer was by a telegraphic message on the 22nd May. Two guns and three hundred men, Cavalry and Infantry furnished by the Rajah of Bithoor came in this morning. **Kaye.**

“Sir Hugh Wheeler and Mr. Hillersdon, the Collector, both saw the necessity of taking steps to secure the treasure which was out at Nawabgunge, as that part of the station was styled near the Cutcherry, and was under charge of a Guard of the 53rd Regiment, Native Infantry. On their finding that they *could not* remove it from or out of the charge of the Sepoys, they then invited the Nana’s assistance, and which on being learnt by Sir Henry Lawrence was the cause of Mr. Martin Gubbins warning. It was considered a very good stroke of policy effecting this arrangement, which was carried out on the 22nd May. Two guns and 300 Cavalry and Infantry under command of Tantia Topee were posted at Nawabgunge, which commanded both the treasury and the magazine.” **Trevelyan.**

According to a foot note in vol. 11, p. 300 of Kaye’s History of the Sepoy war, it would appear that this measure was approved by the Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, Agra.

Sir Hugh in a post script to his letter of 4th June to Sir Henry Lawrence writes: “We got in a lac of rupees in the usual way, with a Guard of 1 Havildar and 12 Sepoys from the treasury, three or four miles distant.

In the Punjab, the policy of Sir John Lawrence in May 1857, was to save the Government Treasure, the loss of which was not to be calculated by the number of rupees to be struck off our cash balances. It was emphatically the sinews of war to the enemy. Wherever it was held under native guards at outlying stations, it was removed to places of security and stored under the protection of European soldiers. The loss in the Punjab was not above ten thousand, while at the five following stations alone, in the North-Western Provinces, Allyghur, Muttra, Mozuffernugger, Allahabad and Cawnpore it amounted to 54 lacs.

IV.—He sacrificed above 1,200 lives.

The place of refuge, May 22nd.—“On the preceding day the reinforcements from Lucknow had arrived; and about the same time, on the suggestion of the General, the women and children and non-combatants had betaken themselves to the place of refuge within the improvised entrenchments. There was then a scene of frightful confusion, which

one who had just arrived from Lucknow thus graphically described. "The General," wrote Fletcher Hayes in a private letter to Secretary Edmonstone, "was delighted to hear of the arrival of the Europeans, and soon from all sides, I heard of reports of all sorts and kinds, which people kept bringing to the General until nearly 1 A. M., when we retired to rest. At 6 A. M. I went out to have a look at the various places, and since I have been in India never witnessed so frightful a scene of confusion, fright and bad arrangement, as the European barracks presented. Four guns were in position loaded, with European Artillery men in night caps and wide awakes, and side arms on hanging to the guns in groups, looking like melodramatic buccaneers. People of all kinds, of every color, sect and profession, were crowding into the barracks, whilst I was there Buggies, Palki Gharries, Vehicles of all sorts drove up and discharged cargoes of writers, tradesmen, and a miscellaneous mob of every complexion, from white to tawny, all in terror of the imaginary foe; ladies sitting down at the rough mess tables in the barracks, women, suckling infants, ayahs and children in all directions, and, officers too! In short, as I have written to Sir Henry, I saw quite enough to convince me, that if any insurrection took, or takes place, we shall have no one to thank but ourselves, because we have now shewn to the natives, how very easily we can become frightened, and when frightened utterly helpless. During that day (the 22nd) the shops in all the bazars were shut four or five times, and all day the General was worried to death, by people running up to report improbable stories, which in ten minutes more were contradicted by others still more monstrous. All yesterday (23rd) the same thing went on, and I wish that you could see the European barracks and the chapel close to it, and their occupants. I believe that if anything will keep the Sepoys quiet, it will be next to Providence, the great respect which they all have for General Wheeler and for him alone. He has all his doors and windows open all night and has never thought of moving or of allowing his family to move. Brigadier Jack, Parker the Cantonment Magistrate, and Wiggins the Judge, Advocate General, are, I believe, the only people who sleep in their houses.

Help to Lucknow.—"And, indeed, this pleasureable anticipation of reciprocating Henry Lawrence's chivalrous generosity was not so much empty talk. Part of a Detachment of the 84th, which had been sent from Benares, (and appear to have arrived at Cawnpore on the morning of the 27th May) was now passed on to Lucknow. On the 3rd June as they crossed the Bridge of boats, and set their faces towards the Oudh Capital, there was inward laughter and self-congratulation under many a dusky skin at the thought of what the English were doing. It was hard to say, in that conjuncture, at what particular point European manhood was most needed, but it is

certain that in that entrenched position at Cawnpore it was weary work for those who kept watch and ward, day and night, with loaded guns behind the low mud walls we had raised for our defence. And bitter was the grief, a few days later, that a single European soldier had been suffered to leave Cawnpore." **Kaye.**

The Revolt of the Native Regiments.—“On the night of the 4th June, the 2nd Cavalry and the 1st Regiment, Native Infantry, were ready for immediate action. The troopers had got to horse and the footmen were equipping themselves. As ever the former were the first to strike. It was after the wonted fashion. There was a firing of pistols, with perhaps no definite object; then a conflagration which lit up the sky and told our people in the entrenchments that the game of destruction had commenced, and then a mad nocturnal ride to Nawabgunge, scenting the stores and the treasure in the magazine. The 1st Regiment soon followed them. In vain their Colonel Ewart calling them his “babalog” his children, had implored them, in affectionate parental tones, not to stain themselves by such wickedness. It was too late. The Sepoys did not wish to harm their officers, but they were bent on rebellion. They hurried after the Cavalry, setting their faces towards the North-West, where lay the Treasury, the Gaol, and the Magazine, with Delhi in the distance. Thither as they went they burnt, and plundered, and spread devastation along their line of march, but left the Christian people behind them, as though not thirsting for their blood. **Kaye.**

The attack threatened—6th June.—“But as day dawned on Saturday the 6th of June, Wheeler was startled by the receipt of a letter from the Nana Saheb, intimating that he was about to attack the entrenchments. The supposed departure of the Sepoys to Delhi had inspired the General and his companions with new hopes. It would be easy for them, they thought, in a little while to drop down to Allahabad. But this pleasant dream was now rudely broken. The rebellious soldiery were returning to Cawnpore, strengthened in numbers by the retainers of the Nana, and still more invigorated by the identification with the rebel cause of men of influence and energy, able to keep together the scattered atoms of revolt, and to organise a great movement against the English. The blow fell heavily upon the brave old General, on soldiers, and civilians, on officers and men, heavily upon all who clung to them for protection. There was not an hour to be lost. Forth went the mandate for all the English to concentrate themselves within the entrenchments. The women and children and non-combatants were already there and those on duty in the Garrison; but many of the Sepoy officers had slept or watched in the Sepoy lines, and had gone thence to their own bungalows and now they were summoned without a moment's pause or respite to the earthworks, with no time to snatch a hasty mouthful of food, to collect a

change of clothes for the morrow and scarcely to apparel themselves for the work of the day. Leaving their household gods, which they had hoped still to preserve, they obeyed promptly, but regretfully, the orders of their chief, and hurried into the entrenchments, soon every one was at his post. It was a miserable place for defensive purposes, but such as it was, the best dispositions were made for its defence, and every man braced himself for the work before him, with clenched teeth, and a stern resolution to show what English manhood could do to prevail against the fearful odds to which it was opposed. **Kaye.**

The siege—6th June 1857.—“Then commenced the siege, the miseries of which to the besieged have never been exceeded in the history of the world. All the wanted horrors of a multitudinous enemy, a feeble Garrison and scant shelter within, of the burden of women and children and sick people, with little to appease their wants or to allay their sufferings, were aggravated by the burning heat of the climate. The June sky was little less than a great canopy of fire; the summer breeze was as the blast of a furnace. To touch the barrel of a gun was to recoil from red hot iron. It was the season when European strength and energy are ever at their lowest point of depression; when military duty in its mildest form taxes the powers of Englishmen to the utmost, and English women can do little more than sustain life in a state of languid repose, in shaded apartments with all the appliances at command to moderate the temperature and to mitigate the suffering. But now, even under the fierce meridian sun, this little band of English fighting men were ever straining to strenuous activity of constant battle against fearful odds; whilst delicate women and fragile children were suddenly called to endure discomforts and privations with all the superadded miseries peculiar to the country and climate; and to intensify the wretchedness, the privation and seclusion so dear to them, became only remembrances of the past. Even amidst the roar of cannon and the rattle of the musketry, with death around them in many ghastly shapes, the loss of these privileges was amongst the heaviest of their trials, for it violated all the decencies and proprieties of life and shocked the modesty of their womanly natures. **Kaye.**

The English Soldier.—“To the English soldier in India to be out-matched in numbers is scarcely a discouragement. Ever since a century before, Clive had fought against heavy odds the great battle of Plassey, our English forces had ever been outnumbered in the field and yet they had fought their way to Empire. The over-whelming multitude of Sepoys which now encompassed our position at Cawnpore were kept at bay by the little handful of soldiers that now manned our feeble entrenchments. As men, all the mighty host of Hindoos and Mahomedans, which the Nana Saheb sent against us were utterly contemptible in our eyes. Had the positions of

the two nations been reversed, had the English been outside those paltry earthworks, one rush would have carried the place, and the whole Garrison would have been put to the sword in an hour. There was nothing to keep the besiegers out of the entrenchments but the contrast between the indomitable pluck of the few and the flaccid irresolution of the many. The besiegers who might have relieved each other every hour, who might have bathed, and eaten, and smoked, and slept whilst their comrades were on duty, and sent any number of fresh troops to the assault, shrank from a close encounter with our weary people, over-worked and underfed, ever laboring in the trenches, ever under fire, with the clothes rotting on their backs, and the grime from the guns eaking on their hands and faces. But poor and despicable as the enemy were, they were rich and royal in their possessions. They had an immense wealth of Artillery. The Cawnpore magazine had sent forth vast supplies of guns and ammunition, and now the heavy Ordnance of the Government was raking its servants with a destructiveness which soon diminished our numbers working in the trenches. The English Artillerymen dropped at their guns, until one after another the places of our trained gunners were filled by Volunteers and Amateurs, with stout hearts but untutored eyes, and the lighter metal of their guns could make no adequate response to the heavy fire of their twenty-four pounders. But when the enemy neared our parapets, and sought further to molest us at close quarters, they met with such a reception as soon put them to panic flight. Kaye.

Womanly endurance.—“And never since the war began, never ‘in the brave days of old,’ of which poets delight to sing, when women turned their hair into bow strings, has the world seen nobler patience and fortitude than clothed the lives and shone forth in the deaths of the wives and daughters of the fighting men of Cawnpore. No bow strings were used in this defence; our arrows were of another kind. They went forth from the roaring mouths of our guns in the shape of round shot and grape and canister. But when these missiles fell short, or, by reason of the damage done to our pieces by the heavy Artillery of the enemy, could not be used in the form from which they were issued from the expense magazine, the gentlewomen gave up some of the cherished components of their feminine attire to improvise the ammunition most needed. (In consequence of the irregularity of the bore of the guns, through the damage inflicted upon them by the enemy’s shot, the canister could not be driven home; the women gave us their stockings, and having tapped the canisters, we charged them with the contents of the shot cases, a species of cartridge probably never heard of before). It would take long to tell in detail all the stories of womanly self-devotion and patient, endurance and calm courage waiting for the end. Among these heroines was Mrs. Moore, the true-hearted wife of the leader of the Garrison. All the officers who fought

under him had for her a tenderness equal to his own, and they "fitted up for her a little hut, made of bamboo and covered with canvas," where she would sit for hours, bravely bearing the absence of her husband, while he was gone on some perilous enterprise, many others, perhaps suffered more. The pangs of child-birth came upon some in the midst of all this drear discomfort and painful publicity. Some saw their children slowly die in their arms; some had them swept away from their breasts by the desolating fire of the enemy. There was no misery which humanity could endure that did not fall heavily upon our English women.* It was the lot of many only to suffer. But those who were not prostrate, or in close attendance upon their nearest and dearest moved about as sisters of charity, and were active in their ministrations. **Kaye.**

Trevelyan at page 161 of his work, Cawnpore asks, would a man be justified in shooting his wife, if it was evident that she would otherwise fall alive into the power of the mutineers? Answer, yes, certainly to save her from the brutal outrage of such foes as the British had to deal with.

From the tenor of the letters written by those within the Garrison, as well as the evidence of the survivors, it was patent on the 6th June, that they had doomed themselves to destruction, and Sir Hugh bitterly enquired of Sir Henry Lawrence in his letter of the 24th June "if they were to die like rats in a cage."

On the 11th June but five days after the siege began, they must have been aware of the slaughter of the Futtehghur party within a mile of the entrenchment. Every officer in the Garrison over 30 years of age, must have read in the History of India of the defence of Chitore, between the Mahomedan and the Hindoo, when the Hindoo Garrison on being reduced from 5,000 to 2,000 was called on to capitulate, the widow of the Governor Jugmull, informed Akbar's Vakeel, that the word "capitulate" was only admitted in the vocabulary of cowards. The Hindoos then decided to perform the rite of "Johur, Jugmull's widow with her daughters and dependants encountered death in a fiery vault in the palace, while the men put on the Saffron robe, the Toolsee in their turbans, and the Saligram round their necks, emblems of death and the grave, and rushed forth to perish in the conflict of arms.

Lord Lake and other lexicographers kept this word out of the Anglo-Indian dictionaries, but Brigadier ~~Shelton~~ and Sir Hugh Wheeler have permanently fixed it there. *Elphinstone*

The Capitulation—June 25th.—Three weeks had now nearly passed away since the investment had commenced, three weeks of such misery as few, since sorrow entered the world, have ever been condemned to suffer. No reinforcements had come to their assistance, the looked-for aid from below seemed now to be a grim delusion. Their numbers were fearfully reduced. Their guns were becoming unserviceable. Their ammunition was nearly expended; and starvation was staring them in the face. To hold their position much longer

was impossible. To cut their way out of it, with all those women and children, was equally impossible. The shadow of a great despair was over them. When thus, as it were, at the last gasp, there came to them a message from the Nana Saheb brought by the hands of a Christian woman (Mrs. F. Jacobi). It was on a slip of paper in the handwriting of Azimullah, and it was addressed "to the subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria." "All those who are in no way connected" so the document ran, "with the acts of Lord Dalhousie, and are willing to lay down their arms, shall receive a safe passage to Allahabad."

There was not a soldier in Garrison who did not recoil from the thought of surrender, who would not have died with sword or musket in hand rather than lay down his arms at the feet of the treacherous Mahratta. Sir Hugh Wheeler lifted up his voice against capitulation. To the English General the bitterness of death was as nothing to the dishonour of abandoning his post. He had not yet given up the hope of relief from the lower country, and he mistrusted the Nana of Bithoor. The younger officers were all for fighting it out to the last; but Moore and Whiting, whom the General consulted in this conjuncture, reluctantly declared themselves in favor of capitulation. **Kaye 333.**

Depot, H. M's. 32nd Regiment.—82 Non-Commissioned Officers and men, 41 women and 60 children are given in the Tablet, the detail is—

- 1 Acting Sergeant-Major, Johnson.
- 6 Sergeants.
- 5 Corporals.
- 69 Privates.
- 1 Drummer.

—
82 Total, of these none escaped.
—

41 women, the names of all are given by W. J. Shepherd in his narrative. 3 officers, 2 medical subordinate staff, with their families are given in the Tablets.

Two women only have been named by Mowbray Thompson.

"That Private White and his wife were walking under cover. *Mrs. White* had her twin children in her arms, when a single bullet passed through her husband killing him, and through both her own arms breaking them, and close beside the breathless husband, fell the widow and her babes, also severely wounded. I saw her afterwards in the Main Guard lying upon her back, with her two children, laid at each breast, while the mother's bosom refused not, what her arms had no power to administer."

Mrs. Widdowson, wife of Private of H. M's. 32nd, volunteered to stand Guard over 11 prisoners who were placed together, with a drawn sword.

They were only secured by a rope, but they sat motionless on the ground for more than an hour under the Amazon's surveillance, presently when the picket returned and they were placed under masculine protection, they all escaped.

1st Company, 6th Battalion European Foot Artillery.—63 Non-Commissioned Officers and men are given in the Tablet, the detail is—

- 1 Sergeant-Major, Bestal.
 - 1 Quarter-Master Sergeant, Cawcutt.
 - 1 Drill Sergeant, Murlow.
 - 9 Sergeants.
 - 9 Corporals.
 - 3 Bombardiers.
 - 34 Gunners.
 - 1 Bugler.
 - 4 Staff Sergeants.
-
- 63 Men, of these but one *Gunner, James Sullivan* escaped.
-

In the story of Cawnpore, Mowbray Thompson mentions but two men.

Blenman Gunner as having gone out on the 24th June to open communication towards Allahabad, also as to his having been out on two occasions to spy the Nana's Camp.

On the 27th June, he was in the same boat with Mowbray Thompson, which floated to Nujufghur, was shot in the groin and died on the 28th.

A nephew of his is in the employ of the O. and R. Railway.

MacGuire Gunner was the first man killed by a round shot in the West Battery on the 7th June.

Mowbray Thompson says "as our 59 Artillery men had all been killed or wounded at their posts during the first week with the exception of four. These fine fellows all perished at the batteries.

The Guns were in no better condition, the Howitzer was completely knocked off its carriage. One or two nine pounders had their sides driven in, and another was without a muzzle. There were but two left, that could by any ingenuity be made to take grape. Canister could not be used, consequently the women gave us their stockings."

In the narrative by W. J. Shepherd the names of all the men are given, but not of the women, but in the list at page 151 the names of Norris, North, Mackinlay and MacConnel are shewn as having been killed at the Slaughter House.

Detachment H. Ms. 84th Regiment.—47 Non-Commissioned Officers and men, only one, Private Murphy of the 8th Company escaped, (since dead).

The Regiment had just come from Rangoon and was being sent on to Cawnpore by Gharry and Bullock Train. 96 men, who had arrived by

Bullock train on the 27 May. 50 men and two officers were sent on to Lucknow, this was communicated to Government by telegram, the very last sent to the outer world by Sir Hugh Wheeler on the 3rd June.

“Sir Henry Lawrence having expressed some uneasiness, I have just sent him by post carriages out of my small force, two officers and fifty men of H. Ms. 84th Foot. Conveyances for more were not available. This leaves me weak, but I trust to holding my own until more Europeans arrive.”

This insane chivalrous act, was bitterly regretted before the week was over.

Detachment 1st European Madras Fusileers.—15 Non-Commissioned Officers and men, of these none escaped, the detail is—

- 1 Sergeant MacGrath.
- 1 Corporal, Bussey.
- 13 Privates.

W. J. Shepherd in his narrative gives the names of all the Privates.

This detachment came from Allahabad on the 1st of June, they were armed with the Enfield Rifle and did special work in the Garrison.

V.—He met an Ignominious Death.

June 27th. The Massacre at the Ghat.—“Moore as ever in the Van, and Vibart bringing up the rear of the funereal procession. The Veteran Wheeler with his wife and daughters is said to have walked down to the boats.

This is very distinctly stated by Mowbray Thompson, other accounts of a more circumstantial, but perhaps not more trustworthy character, indicate that the ladies were conveyed to the Ghaut on an elephant, and that the General himself was in a palanquin. This is the statement of Mr. Trevelyan, who very carefully collated all the evidence that has been produced. Colonel Williams in his synopsis, says Hassim Khan the mahaut of General Wheeler's elephant, after taking Lady Wheeler and her two daughters to the first boat on the line, returned for the General whom he met on the way mounted on a Galloway he likewise conveyed to the boats. **Kaye.**

“When after the lapse of some twenty minutes, the dead began to outnumber the living; when the fire slackened, as the marks grew few and far between; then, the Troopers of the Second Cavalry who had been drawn up to the right of the Temple plunged into the river. Thereupon two Native Christian women, the wives of musicians in the band of the 56th Regiment, Native Infantry witnessed a scene which should not be related at second hand.

“In the boat where I was to have gone,” says Mrs. Bradshaw, confirmed throughout by Mrs. Letts, “was the School Mistress (Mrs. Harkness) and twenty-two Misses. General Wheeler came last in a palkee. They carried him into

the water near the boat. I stood close by. He said 'carry me a little further towards the boat: But a Trooper said: "No; get out here." As the General got out of the palkee, head foremost, the trooper gave him a cut with his sword into the neck, and he fell into the water. My son was killed near him. I saw it; alas! Alas! Some were stabbed with bayonets; others cut down. Little infants were torn in pieces. We saw it; we did; and tell you only what we saw. Other children were stabbed and thrown into the river. The School Girls were burnt to death. I saw their clothes and hair catch fire. In the water a few paces off, by the next boat, we saw the youngest daughter of Colonel Williams, a Sepoy was going to kill her with his bayonet. She said, 'my father was always kind to Sepoys.' He turned away, and just then a villager struck her on the head with his club and she fell into the water." Trevelyan.

Sir Hugh Wheeler's death.—Mrs. Bradshaw and Mrs. Letts two of the survivors from the massacre at the ghaut state, that Sir Hugh was cut down by a Sowar of the 2nd Cavalry at the ghaut, and this is confirmed by Lady Wheeler's old ayah who was also present, see account of Russell's interview with the Reverend Mr. Moore at page 123 of his diary. The statement that Kassim Khan the mahout of the General's elephant after taking Lady Wheeler and his two daughters to the first boat on the line, returned for the General whom meeting on a galloway, he likewise conveyed to the boats, given in the synopsis of evidence by Colonel Williams, is questionable, it is not likely that to proceed a distance of a mile, from the entrenchment to the ghaut, the General should have changed his mode of conveyance three times.

The fourth boat on the line contained the flower of chivalry, viz: Moore Vibart, Whiting, Ashe, Bolton, Mowbray, Thompson and Delafosse, the two last who escaped, were unable to give any account of the end of the old General and his family, this reticence would shew how criminally the embarkation was conducted.

VI.—He for the second time in the annals of India entailed the servitude of bondage on British women.

The Grinding of the Flour.—Our women were not dishonoured save that they were made to feel their servitude. They were taken out two at a time to grind corn for the Nana's household. An educated English gentlewoman needed not even a week's residence in India to teach her the meaning of this. As they sat on the ground, these Christian captives must have had some glimmering recollection of their Biblical Studies, and remembered how in the East the grinding of corn was ever regarded as a symbol of subjection, how indeed, it was one of the crowning curses of the first great captivity on record, when

the wives of the English conquerors were set to grind corn in the Court yards of the Mahratta, the national humiliation was then and there complete, but only for a little while; there, but only on a little space, and the pathos of the picture is perfected when we see that these delicate ladies, with their faces to the grindstone, did not find the office so wholly distasteful, as it enabled them to carry back a little flour to the Bebeeghur, to feed their famishing children.

“Some perhaps may have called to mind in this hour of humiliation the awful appropriateness of the 47th Chapter of Isaiah, and mostly of these solemn words: Come down and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon! sit on the ground . . . for thou shalt no more be called tender and delicate. Take the mill-stone and grind meal; uncover thy locks, make bare the leg uncover the thigh, pass over the rivers . . . thou saidst, ‘I shall be a lady for ever,’ so that thou didst not lay these things to thy heart, neither didst remember the latter end of it. Therefore hear now this, thou art given to pleasures, that dwellest carelessly, that sayest in thine heart, ‘I am and none else beside me; I shall not sit as a widow’ neither shall I know the loss of children. But these two things shall come to thee in a moment, in one day the loss of children and widowhood. Evil shall come upon thee, thou shalt not know from whence it riseth; and mischief shall fall upon thee; thou shalt not be able to put it off, and desolation shall come upon thee suddenly.” **Kaye’s Sepoy War.**

The Memorial Well. •

“The Memorial Well occupies a central position, and is approached from the two main entrances by a broad straight walk. The handsome gothic screen by which it is surrounded was erected under the superintendence of Mr. C. B. Thornhill, c.s. The figure of the angel is the work of Baron Marochetti and was contributed to the monument by Lord Canning, the Governor-General.

Over the portal screen is inscribed:—

These are they which come out of great tribulation (Rev. VII. 14.)

The following inscription runs round the rim of the well:—

“Sacred to the memory of a great Company of Christian people, who near this spot were cruelly massacred by the followers of the Rebel Nana Dhoondo Punt of Bithoor, and cast the dying with the dead into the well below, on the 15th of July MDCCLVII.”

The most casual observer will not fail to notice the prominence given to the imagery of the Vine with its underlying thought of fruitfulness through suffering, and fruitfulness too through union with “The True Vine”.

The well enclosure and the two neighbouring enclosures were consecrated on 11th February 1863 by Bishop Cotton, who has left on record his sense of thankfulness that the Christian spirit of those in charge of the work had made itself so largely felt in the general character and details of the memorial.” **Revd. W. Westcott’s Guide to Cawnpore.**

The Memorial Church.

A design for the proposed Memorial Church was prepared by Mr. Walter Granville, of the Eastern Bengal Railway, but was afterwards modified with a view to a reduction in the cost of the building. The foundation stone of the Church was laid on 17th July 1862, by the Brigadier in command of the station, but it was not until December 1875, that the Church was ready for consecration. This ceremony was performed on the 8th of that month by Bishop Milman. This long delay was due to the difficulty experienced in raising the necessary funds. The church is built in Lombardo Gothic style, and is 152 feet in length and 80 feet in breadth, while the height of the campanile is 120 feet.

The church is situated at the north-east corner of General Wheeler's entrenchment.

The building was especially designed to resist the intense heat of the summer's sun upon the plains; but when the summer came, it was soon discovered that the absence of ventilation and the character of the material employed encouraged rather than dispelled the heat. For several years, until some alterations had been effected, services were held during the hot weather in St. John's Church.

At the east end of the Church are engraved on white marble tablets, set in a stone frame work, the names of those who fell in Cawnpore during the mutiny, including the fugitives from Futtebghur. The painting of the ceiling over head speaks also, in a figure, of the countless Hosts of Heaven.

The walls of the church are adorned with many handsome monuments erected by relatives or friends to the memory of those who were taken from them, under such sad circumstances, or who after passing through that time of trial have since entered into their rest. Especially handsome is that erected to the memory of the men employed on the East Indian Railway; touching in its simplicity is the brass tablet in memory of him who, unfit for more active service, sacrificed his life in procuring for others a cup of cold water; full of sweet instruction the font of pure white carrara marble erected to the memory of their comrades by the surviving officers of the 2nd Light Cavalry." **Revd. W. Westcott.**

The Slaughter House.

"The troops now advanced to the Sevada Plain, East of Cawnpore. Some of them hastened to Wheeler's entrenchment, and to the building where the women and children had been confined, and were struck with horror at the sight which met their eyes. The pavement was swimming in blood and fragments of children's and ladies dresses were floating on it. They

blood lay deep on the floor, covered with bonnets, collars, combs and children's frocks and frills. The walls were dotted with the marks of bullets, and on the wooden pillars were deep sword cuts, from some of which hung tresses of hair. But neither the sabre cuts nor the dents of bullets were sufficiently high above the floor, to indicate that the weapons had been aimed at men defending their lives, they appear rather to have been levelled at crouching women and children begging for mercy. The soldiers proceeded in their search, when in crossing the court yard, they perceived human limbs bristling from a well, and on further examination found it to be choked up with the bodies of the victims, which appeared to have been thrown in promiscuously. The dead with the wounded till it was full to the brim." **Memoirs of Sir H. Havelock.**

Other narrators have described the scene in similar language. Major North says—

"Tortured by the fierce thirst for revenge, and penetrated by the sense of their sufferings, strange wild feelings awoke within us. Vaunting eager maddened, we sped onward to the dreary house of martyrdom, where the blood was outpoured like water. The clotted gore lay ankle deep on the polluted floor, and also long tresses of silken hair, fragments of female wearing apparel, hats, books, children's toys, were scattered about in terrible confusion."

Surgeon General Munro, M. D., C. B., 93rd. Regiment in his *Reminiscences of military service*, says :—

"While at Cawnpore numbers of us visited Wheeler's entrenchments, the building in which the women and children had been butchered, and the well into which their bodies had been thrown. *The slaughter house had not at the time been quite cleared out, nor the well filled up.* The floor of the former was covered over with scraps of women's dresses, and women and children's slippers and shoes, amongst which I observed some long locks of dark and golden hair. There were stains of blood still visible upon the floor and on the white washed walls : but there was one stain upon the wall the sight of which sickened me. *About six feet from the floor, a large, sharp hook was fixed into the wall,* which, on examining, I found to be covered with congealed blood, and on the wall immediately round it were many marks of blood which, on close inspection, I saw were the prints of infant hands. Evidently a wounded child had been hung upon the hook, and the poor thing in its feeble struggles, had left the impress of its little bleeding fingers on the wall. This was horrible to think of or to look at, so I hurried from the room.

"But as I was passing out of the enclosure my attention was attracted by a knot of Europeans and a number of Natives standing round a wooden framework, from the cross beam of which dangled two looped cords, and immediately beneath which stood two wooden boxes. On inquiry I learned that two of the murderers of the women and children had just been condemned to

death, and that they were to expiate their guilt on the gallows erected on the scene of their brutal crime."

Colonel Mowbray Thomson states at p. 208: "After the men, who had not escaped in the two boats, had all been shot at the Ghaut, the women and children were dragged out of the water into the presence of the Nana, who ordered them to be confined in one of the buildings opposite the assembly rooms; the Nana himself taking up his residence in the hotel. The wretched company of women and children now consisted of 210, *viz.*, 163 survivors from the Cawnpore Garrison, and 47 refugees from Fattyghur, they had no furniture, no beds, not even straw to lie down upon, but only coarse bamboo matting of the roughest make. The house in which they were incarcerated had formerly been occupied as the dwelling of a native clerk; it comprised two principal rooms, each about 20 feet long and 10 feet broad, and besides these a number of dark closets rather than rooms, in addition to these a Court yard, about 45 feet square presented the accommodation for those 200 most wretched victims of a brutality in comparison with which hereafter the black hole of Calcutta and its sharp but short agonies must sink into insignificance, closely guarded by armed sepoys, many of them suffering from wounds, all of them emaciated, with scanty food and deprived of all means of cleanliness, the deep, dark horrors of the prisoners in that dungeon must remain to their full extent unknown and even unimagined."

**Brigade order by Brigadier General J. G. Neill,
Cawnpore, 25th July 1857.**

The well in which are the remains of the poor women and children so brutally murdered by this miscreant, the Nana, will be filled up and neatly and decently covered over to form their grave. A party of European soldiers will do so this evening, under the superintendence of an officer. The house in which they were butchered, and which is stained with their blood will not be washed or cleaned by their countrymen; but Brigadier General Neill has determined that every stain of that innocent blood shall be cleared up and wiped out, previous to their execution, by such of the miscreants as may be hereafter apprehended, who took an active part in the mutiny, to be selected according to their rank, caste, and degree of guilt. Each miscreant after sentence of death is pronounced upon him, will be taken down to the house in question under a guard, and will be forced into cleaning up a small portion of the blood stains, the task will be made as revolting to his feelings as possible, and the provost marshal will use the lash in forcing any one objecting to complete his task. After cleaning up his portion the culprit is to be immediately hanged, and for this purpose a gallows will be erected close at hand. From Kaye's "Lives of Indian Officers," Vol. 2, page 381.

The Four Native Regiments.

1st Regiment, Native Infantry.—"Gillis Ka Pultun."

Raised in 1775, arrived at Cawnpore, 7th February 1856.

Had on its colours—

"Plassey," "Korah," "Delhi," "Laswari," and "Punjaub."

Had an Honorary Standard for Delhi inscribed "Lake and Victory."

The quarterly Army List for 1857 shews—

25 Officers attached to the Corps.

15 „ absent on staff employ and furlough, &c.

10 „ present, who were *all* killed.

53rd Regiment, Native Infantry.—"Castor Ka Pultun."

Raised in 1804, arrived at Cawnpore in 1857.

Had on its colours—

"Caubul 1842" and "Punjaub."

25 Officers attached to the Corps.

12 „ absent in staff employ and furlough, &c.

13 „ present, of whom 11 were killed, and two Lieutenants

Mowbray Thomson and H. G. Delafosse, were saved.

56th Regiment, Native Infantry.—"Lambroon Ka Pultun."

Raised in 1815, arrived at Cawnpore in 1857.

Had on its colours—

"Mahrajpore," "Punjaub," "Chillianwala" and Goojerat.

25 Officers attached to this Corps.

13 „ absent on staff employ, furlough, &c.

12 „ present, who were *all* killed.

2nd Regiment, Light Cavalry.

Raised in 1842, arrived at Cawnpore, 20th November 1854.

Had on its colours—

"Delhi," "Laswari," "Deig," "Afghanistan," "Ghuzni," "Punjaub" and "Mooltan."

22 Officers attached to the Corps.

8 „ absent on staff employ and furlough, &c.

14 „ present, who were *all* killed.

Had two honorary standards, one for Lord Lake's Campaign, and one for Mooltan, (captured by Captain Vibart) also an extra jemadar for Mooltan.

The above Corps mutinied on the 5th June 1857.

The Mutinous Regiments of Cawnpore. The 2nd Cavalry, 1st, 53rd and 56th Regiments, Native Infantry.—"From one side only, from the side of Nepaul, was further danger to be apprehended. On this side the frontier had a length of about a hundred miles, formed of mixed hill and jungle; and with such a frontier it was always possible that, despite the best dispositions on both sides, the strictest precaution would be evaded.

“At this crisis the real ruler of Nepaul, the Maharaja Jung Bahadoor, behaved with the loyalty that had throughout characterised his dealings with the British. Not only did he inform the armed rebels who had crossed the border that he would afford them no protection, but he allowed British troops to cross the border to disarm any considerable body there assembled. Under this permission Brigadier Horsford, early in the year, entered the Sonar Valley, and crossing the Rapti at Sidonia Ghat, came upon a body of rebels and captured 14 guns; and, later on, Colonel Kelly of the 34th, caused the surrender of six guns, after having chased the rebels with great loss under the hills. Under the pressure thus exercised, a moiety of the fifty thousand who had crossed into Nepaul, one by one threw away their arms, and returned to their homes, trusting they would be allowed to settle down unmolested.

“A few, more hardened in crime, and therefore more hopeless of mercy, still continued to hold out, and some of these the regiments which had perpetrated the Cawnpore Massacre, the 1st, 53rd, and the 56th Native Infantry, led by Gujadhur Sing, a rebel whose hate to the British had not been lessened by the loss of an arm when fighting against them succeeded in crossing the border, in marching on Sikrora, and filching thence two Elephants, and finally when pursued from that place by Colonel Walker and the Queen's Bays, with two guns in taking up a position at Bangaon, a small dilapidated fort on the River Nadi, at the entrance of the Ghungle jungles. There, at the end of April 1859, Colonel Walker reinforced by 400 men of the 53rd, and 60 of the 1st Sikh Cavalry, attacked and completely defeated them.” Malleson, “Indian Mutiny.”

These Bahadoors of the Company's Army in their two years of the Mutiny, like their caste brethren at the Battle of Patun, fought on the 20th June 1790 (see Skinner's Memoirs, Vol. I., page 61) there lost the five essentials of men, *viz.*, Horse, Shoes, Turban, Moustachious and the sword of Meywar—here these Bahadoors had now lost Prestige, Honor, Caste, Home and Family.

The Writing on the Wall.

From—COLONEL E. K. MONEY, R. A.,

Worshipful Master of the Lodge at Lucknow.

To—J. L. HOFF, Esq.,

Secretary, Grand Lodge of Bengal, Calcutta.

Dated Lucknow, 27th July 1862.

DEAR SIB AND BROTHER,

A Clue to a Mystery.

At page 191 in the May number of the Indian Freemason's Friend (No. V., Vol. 2) there is a copy of an inscription signed R. A. B. Johnstone (I may state *en passant*, that the name should be Johnston without the final e) under the heading of "A Relic of the Cawnpore Massacre," contributed by Key 810, thinking that it might be interesting to your numerous readers, and no doubt it has proved deeply so.

I have kept the May number of the I. F. F on my table, waiting for a leisure day to examine the inscription, which, on first perusal, I was utterly unable to make sense of.

To-day I have given it careful attention, and as it stands, it is in many parts devoid of signification; this may be accounted for in several ways.

Firstly.—A few trivial errors may have been committed by the writer.

Secondly.—When not conversant with character, nothing is more possible than that the copyist should take certain dots and marks to be intended for separate characters, which should properly be united and form one letter only.

Thirdly.—The inscription having been made on a wall of a room, chips of the whitewash with marks thereon may have fallen off here and there, particularly in a building subject to such concussions as were those in the Cawnpore entrenchment, and to have left small blanks unobserved by the copyist, or which could only be supplied by one acquainted with the masonic character. In one place the initial consonant of a monosyllable forms the final letter of one line, all tending to shew the small mistakes which are apt to creep into any copy of this nature.

In fact errors are perpetrated in copying plain English, for instance in the few lines signed by J. W. Roche, just above R. A. B. Johnston's, the third line terminates with the words in parenthesis (nasty wound). I have a copy of that same inscription in which the words are "mortally wounded." I do not pretend that the copy which I have is correct, for I never saw the original. I merely contend that where such errors can be made in plain English, a little latitude may be given to me in making my correction in Bro. Johnston's inscription.

THE WRITING ON THE WALL.

:H-7H J; YGL-Γ-HVKH Γ:Γ:HH:GLAG:
-H,, Γ,-IΛH VΓΓ,:-4F.VIΛU<H:F-H<.
7IH,7.V.Γ, JIHH,-Y7H,7,IVL<H-H-ΓT,-,.IH

R. A. B. JOHNSTON, WOR. MASTER.

Wounded in the foot (right),
Right shin bone fractured by shell,
Musket shot behind (nasty wound),
Musket shot right breast,

J. W. ROCHE.

Adjutant Halliday, 56th N. I.,
Killed by a round shot - 8th June.

IN SIR HUGH WHEELER'S ROOM. JUNE 1857.

I have sought to add that which is wanting to make this most interesting fragment legible and intelligible, and herewith enclose you the writing as copied from the Indian Freemason's Friend for May last, written in black ink, and underneath each line written in red ink, that which I imagine the inscription to have been. The lines being thus placed, one under the other, will facilitate the comparison; and should any of your readers consider there is any error in my construction, I shall be truly obliged if he will point it out.

It might have answered the writer's purpose better had this been earlier made public, for the spirit of it was to direct the reader to that which the poor fellow had concealed in a certain spot, hoping in the event of his death, that some Brother on reading the inscription, would seek for it in the locality indicated. Alas! too late now, I suppose as the building no longer exists. Yet how interesting it might have been to have discovered what he had buried.

Perhaps some Brother may have dug it up, guided by the writing on the wall, and, if so, may communicate it to you in a future number.

Yours faithfully,

TATNAI.

It is evident that the deposit has not been removed, the Rebels had no inducement to search the ground in the vicinity of the Barrack, which had been pitted by shot and shell. Were a strip of the ground, to the south of the Barrack, opposite the room occupied by Sir Hugh—now dug up, it would most likely lead to the find of the Case, in which Brother R. A. B. Johnston placed the Lodge regalia and any papers, given him by Sir Hugh.

The writing as amended by Tatnai is only given.

THE LAMENT OF THE GARRISON.

1.

With body wasted and worn,
 With a heart as heavy as lead,
 A woman sat where her husband's form
 On the blood stained floor lay dead.
 Women and children, wild
 With hunger, round her pressed;
 One little babe, her infant child—
 Was starving on her breast,
 And thus with weary song, she lulled
 Her dying child to rest.

2.

Roar, Roar, Roar;
 Will these hideous guns never cease?
 Roar, Roar, Roar;
 Must death be our sole release?
 Must all—the good, the brave,
 The young and the old—thus die?
 Must we vainly pray our God to save?
 To Him must we vainly cry?

3.

Death, Death, Death;
 In every shape and form;
 Death, Death, Death,
 Rides on the iron storm.
 He comes with the hurtling shot,
 He comes with the bursting shell;
 While wounds, starvation and disease,
 Do his dread work too well.

4.

I have lost my husband dear,
 Two brothers and their wives;
 And while my heart is wearing out,
 Death takes my children's lives.
 Death, Death, Death—
 'Mid misery, hunger, and woe.
 My last child dying, my husband dead,
 I court thy friendly blow!

5.

Why should I shrink from death,
 When my dear ones all are gone?
 Their lives were ended in want and woe,
 And why not thus my own?
 Oh husband, good and kind,
 So dear and true to me,
 Why should thy wife remain behind,
 When death hath taken thee?

6.

Death, Death, Death;
 Beneath the embankment there;
 A husband tends his wounded wife,
 While friends kneel round in prayer.
 Their tears fall thick and fast
 On that blood stained, blood red sod.
 As their dying friend's last torture past
 Her soul takes flight to God.

7.

Death, Death, Death;
 Yon feverish woman seems,
 To be happy 'mid those joyous scenes
 Which come but in her dreams,
 But her weary wasted form,
 Her fiercely burning head,
 Proclaim that soon her troubles o'er,
 She too must join the dead.

8.

Last week her husband fell,
 Shot down close by her side,
 And her aged, grey-haired mother,
 In that burning barrack died.
 Her only sister followed,
 Struck by a bursting shell;
 To-morrow she will join them all
 Down in that hideous well.

9.

Oh were my loved ones all
 Once more in life again,
 Oh were they only safe from here,
 From all this grief and pain!
 From all this carnage, woe and strife
 To see them safely fly,
 How gladly would I yield my life,
 How gladly would I die!

10.

With a body wasted and worn,
 With a heart as heavy as lead,
 A woman nursed her dying child,
 With her husband before her dead.
 Death, Death, Death.
 In weary tones, with gasping breath,
 'Mid misery, sickness, wounds and woe.
 'Mid the cannon's roar and the yells of the foe,
 She sang this song about death.

11.

Her husband's corpse was thrown, ●
 That evening into the well,
 Whose black, deep mouth for victims yawned,
 Like the very mouth of Hell;
 Death, Death, Death,
 Her babe, the last was dead,
 Heart broken, from that bloody floor,
 She rose and staggered to the door,
 Then passed out to return no more,
 While the stars shone over head.

● 12.

* * * * *
 The cannon's roar, the foes wild yell,—
 Her own, her child's, her husband's knell.
 Upon her ear unheeded fell,
 The broken prayer alone she said,
 Then pressing to her bursting heart.
 The babe from which she could not part.
 Into the well with frantic start
 She plunged, and joined the dead.

From the "Pioneer" of the 6th June, 1879.

Miss Amy Horne's account of the 21 days in Sir Hugh Wheeler's Garrison.

1. The Civil lines being far from the Barracks, much inconvenience was felt by the residents in continually going to General Wheeler to ascertain about our safety, our fears were not groundless, for we had heard of the outbreak at Meerut.

2. The natives of Cawnpore were daily growing more insolent, they went about with an air of nonchalance, the shopkeepers fearing a loot closed their shops and could not be prevailed by the authorities to resume business. Servants neglected their work on the plea of sickness, sent us rude messages to say that our Raj (Rule) was over and that they did not wish to serve us any more, these signs plainly told us that our day was not far off.

3. The sepoys began to shew their independence. A trooper being sent with a message to the Telegraph Office, told the man in charge, he would not hold his post much longer.

4. Their next act was to take upon themselves to vacate their lines, removing their families completely out of the lines into the City.

5. The first alarm we had was on a Sunday. General Wheeler sent round a Circular prohibiting attendance at Divine Service.

6. The next was an order forbidding the firing of a Salute on the Queen's birthday, which frightened us not a little. It was something so strange, allowing the day to pass unnoticed, individuals both public and private having made up their minds to observe it with the usual rejoicings, the disappointment was great especially to the native traders. •

7. General Wheeler seeing our fears were not groundless, directed us to sleep in the Barracks, we left our homes, after shutting up house, with bedding and pillows wrapt, we proceeded to slumber in strange places and strange beds, this continued for a little time, then a Circular was sent round

requesting us to take up our abode permanently in the Barracks, and not to return to our houses during the day, as the City was not deemed safe, we were now quite deprived of the comfort of our homes. We brought a little clothing and did the best for ourselves, living in the verandah, which was the place allotted to us. Could we be seen now as then. We had the appearance of travellers waiting to be deported by the next train.

8. With a little needlework we passed our time, our food was brought by our servants, the luxury of the enamel tiffin plate was not then known.

9. The evening was the most enjoyable part of the 24 hours, we stepped out a few paces to hear the band play and to talk of things for the future. Many were wishing they had been their own counsellors, and had left by dâk, but alas ! it was too late now, there was not a carriage to be had, and the road was not considered safe. At this juncture Mr. Fred. Briant, with his wife and children arrived by boat from Futtehghur, he was going to ask General Wheeler's permission to come into the Barracks, but a lady told him in solemn tones he would be sorry ; "Look around" she said, "and judge of our insecurity. Do you think we can hold out here open to the enemy on all sides with but a handful of men?" He wisely listened and left immediately for Allahabad, reached it safely, and was just in time to take the Steamer to Calcutta. It was a matter of great rejoicing and thanksgiving to God for their deliverance from the pit of mangled bodies.

10. Our verandah life now came to a close, another Circular went round notifying, that if we wished to make ourselves comfortable we might occupy the empty bungalows in the immediate vicinity of the Barracks, we were glad to do this, and as there was no transaction between landlord and tenant, there was no loss of time in shifting to our new quarters. Big and little hands were all busily employed in cleaning the place and making it look something like a home.

11. A few ladies were so bold as to drive to their bungalows to bring some requisites for house-keeping, the General

hearing of our adventure to the civil lines told us not to repeat the daring act. The next day we sent the servant to bring us some chairs, &c., but he came back and told us the bungalow was occupied, the tatties were up and punkahs going. Some native had made himself Lord of our Manor.

12. Our bungalows were soon filled, and there was room for an Hotel-keeper. We had established quite a little colony of our own, and everything for the time being went on quietly, etiquette and reserve were banished, numbers still kept coming in, against none was the door shut, those who made light of the alarm in the beginning had to give in at the end, and like their predecessors evacuate their houses, there were some few who tenaciously held out to the last, they never came in, it was too late. One was a merchant by the name of Dagama, he was advised by the Nana, not to go into the trenches, and as they were on terms of intimacy, he offered him protection and invited him to Bithoor.

13. The other two ladies, (i) Mrs. Greenway, who offered the Nana a lakh of rupees to spare her life, but was refused, as it was in "Company's paper;" and (ii) Mrs. F. Jacobi the Coach builder's wife, the Nana made use of the latter as the bearer of the perfidious treaty, both were killed by order of the Nana a few hours before General Havelock marched into Cawnpore.

14. Our bungalow was shared with the two Berrills, whose Christian names were Tom and Henry. Mrs. Tom Greenway and her family, and Mr. Schorn; we had three Volunteers, *viz.*, Mr. John Hampden Cook, Agent of the new Dâk Company and the two Berrills, who took Guard duty at night by turns. We had two other Volunteers, Mr. Henry Greenway and Mr. Schorn, but they were both suffering at the time from fever.

15. Many nights passed quietly and we began to think our troubles were not great, when one night we least expected, the 2nd Cavalry took us by surprise, the Volunteers on duty ran in and informed us that the Cavalry and Artillery were leaving the lines, galloping down the road by twos and threes seeming to fear us, as much as we did them. Had it been their intention, they could have done much mischief, but they passed beyond the

range of our guns, and as we afterwards learnt from spies, they intended going to Delhi, until recalled by the Nana.

16. God keep our land in safety and peace, and help our rulers rightly to ward off troubles that arose from a simple misunderstanding of the Cartridges being greased with the fat of the pig for the Mahomedans, and the fat of the Cow for the Hindoos. This highly incensed them, they were wild with rage at their religion being interfered with, and swore destruction to us. A religious war was proclaimed ; and the Mahomedan, as well as the Hindoo, since the annexation of Oude, stood side by side.

17. To return to our story, on that night when we were surprised by the Cavalry, our bungalow was no longer safe, we had to think of leaving it, our Volunteers helped us over the Church Compound wall, for there was no time to be lost. We got into the Church and were glad to find some soldiers located there, whose quarters in the Barracks had been taken by their Officers, Our hearts were chilled with fright when we saw the enemy so close to us.

18. Just as we got into the Church, the alarm gun was fired, an awful summons, to betake ourselves to the entrenchment, we had to wait till the road was clear, the large trees in the Compound hiding us from observation, we then crossed into the Barracks, this was in the early hours of the morning of the 4th June 1857. The night passed without any fresh trouble, beyond the discomfort of sleeping with arms, what we were accustomed to. Mother was tucking us in with her "God bless you," and her last kiss.

19. Morning broke and found us like a lot of sheep huddled together, fear marked on our faces, the soldier as well as the citizen knowing his danger.

20. The hot night was succeeded by a day of fiery storm, it was the 6th of June, the enemy kept up an incessant fire on us, it fell on us as thick as hail and led us to believe it would soon end in a desperate charge.

21. I must give you an account of our Barracks, or you will have no idea of our perilous position. The Barracks were single

two storied buildings, built to accommodate a hundred men. One of them was thatched, the other pucca brick built, both had flat roofed verandahs. A well and the usual out-offices were attached to the buildings. Around these Barracks a trench had been dug, and the earth thrown up so as to form a wall breast high, this I was told was scarcely bullet proof.

22. The cannonade commenced from four guns but were increased to fourteen, which they brought from the Ordnance Magazine. Our brave soldiers were resigned to their fate to take the issue of victory or death ; who could stem the approach of that vast host ? It was one of the most terrible sights which could be seen, the whole country seemed covered with men at arms, on horse and on foot, they presented a formidable appearance against our liliputian defences.

23. We had neglected the Arsenal and left it well stored for the benefit of the enemy. Our Military stores were insufficient, we had no shell. Our food was inadequate, and our water supply very poor, there being only one well for the use of the entire Garrison.

24. Had Sir Hugh Wheeler known how hard he would have been pressed, he would have made other arrangements, nor would he have weakened his force by sending men to Lucknow, when he himself stood on a Volcano, which gave signs of bursting and engulfing all in one common ruin.

25. Our Volunteers, many of whom had never handled a gun except on a shooting excursion, willingly stood forward to defend the Garrison against the host of Mutineers ; the power of their guns struck terror into the people. Murder, outrage and cruel deeds now filled the city, where they were busy with their diabolical acts and plunder.

26. The Volunteers detailed for duty had to leave their families in the quarters in the Barracks, the parting was heart-rending in loving embrace they held each other wishing that they may so die. Some were reasonable, others had to tear themselves away, then arose the shrieks and wail of broken hearts of women and children, they marched out consigning to God's care those held

dear—Alas ! how little did we dream of the suffering, the sorrow, and the sad, sad fate in store for us !

27. It was an eventful day for us we were surrounded by a rebel host of about five thousand, they had strengthened their position from day to day with the guns brought from our abandoned Magazine, and kept up such a hot and incessant firing that the brave Captain Moore was heard to say, he had never known such heavy cannonading.

28. The bare recollection of that dreadful booming, makes my heart sick even now. At first we briskly replied to the fire of the rebels, but without effect, our guns were too small, nor was it thought advisable to exhaust our ammunition, as the rebels took good care to keep well under cover. We had but six guns of which one only was a twenty-four pound.

29. The agonies of fear we endured are indescribable. The men were out under the burning rays of a June sun, and those only who have visited the North-Western Provinces can speak of the intensity of the heat at that season of the year, and in some measure imagine what was endured without proper food, water or rest. The death-rate from sunstroke was very great.

30. The first to succumb was Colonel Williams of the 56th Regiment N. I., he was brought in quite unconscious and laid on the bare floor, where he died in a few hours leaving a widow and two daughters. His death affected us much. At dusk the body was dragged out and it went bumping down the steps, then cast into the well.

31. A fatigue party would come round and remove the dead bodies into the outer verandah, where they would remain till night, when they would be consigned to the well, without mourners or priest.

32. Our troubles hourly increased, we began to feel the pangs of hunger, a shell burst in the room where our provisions were kept, and destroyed everything, our last meal of flesh was a horse which had been converted into soup.

33. From the 21st June we had nothing to sustain us but gram, which had been brought for the horses. A soldier went

round with it and gave to each a handful, and a little rum once a day.

34. I found a soldier one day gasping his last for food, a little Kicheri, which I had hoarded up, as a miser would his gold, I gave him at the bidding of my mother, who could not bear to keep that which would have saved of a fellow-creature : his gratitude knew no bounds. He told us many a day had passed without tasting food and though hardly able to speak thanked us over and over again in his feeble voice. My poor brothers and sisters were dying from hunger and would have eaten the most loathsome thing, before we came to this pass, I recollected throwing away a bit of meat, which the next day I carefully searched for and finding it shared it amongst the children.

35. Infants were starved to death on the maternal breasts which famine had parched and withered, the mortality increased rapidly, sometimes a whole family would be found lying dead, side by side.

36. Great difficulty was experienced in the removal of the dead, they were piled in a corner of the verandah and kept there till late at night, when the fire abating they were consigned to the well.

37. The stench from our room was insufferable, and our suffering for want of water I cannot describe, the ~~one~~ well we had was so hotly fired upon, that only at the risk of life could any water be drawn. Notwithstanding the danger, cheerfully would the men go and draw it, rather than see us perish for want of it.

38. Our only hope in this dreadful exigency, was Sir Henry Lawrence. General Wheeler had written to come to our relief, and as much as Rs. 5,000 had been paid for the conveyance of this letter, but Sir Henry could not help us.

39. We held out in this way for about 21 days amidst most painful and horrible scenes.

40. Our guns were mostly disabled by the enemy's shells, and were nearly useless. Captain Moore anticipated this, and one night the enemy having ceased fire for a few hours, this gallant officer made a sortie out to silence the guns most troublesome to us.

41. The first intimation we had of his intention was by a verbal order for every one to keep themselves and children as quiet as they possibly could, for on perfect stillness depended the safety of the Garrison.

42. The suspense of that night was great, the idea of seeing the place denuded of the few defenders, threw us into an agony of fear. Every sound was hushed, the stillness of death was on us, and the very infants seemed to understand the danger.

43. Captain Moore came back sooner than we expected, he was absent but a short time, but it seemed an eternity to us. He had gone out with only 50 men, it was a dark night, they crept on all fours, till within a short distance of the guns. As Captain Moore expected, the Golundayes were asleep at their posts, and when conscious of their nearness they fled panic-struck. Captain Moore succeeded in spiking some guns and returned to the Garrison midst loud and hearty cheers.

44. This bold deed exasperated the rebels to such a degree, that the following day, they fired live shells and set our thatched barrack on fire, the scene that ensued was one of unspeakable distress, and the result most disastrous.

45. There was a high breeze at the time, the material being ignitable gave us no chance of saving any thing. The women and children fell into great confusion, where to run to, was the great difficulty, as the fire from the enemy's guns fell thick from all sides. The soldiers had to keep their place in the entrenchment, it was a critical moment for the Garrison, as the enemy were preparing to storm the position.

46. The cries of the sick and wounded to be saved from the flames and the falling building were heart-rending. A few were dragged out regardless of their excruciating wounds, while the rest were burnt alive. Every drop of medicine in the hospital was lost and the consequences were felt almost immediately and bitterly, for putting recovery out of the question, no relief could be afforded to the sick and wounded. It was now that our skirts were in demand, we tore every vestige, even to our sleeves for bandage for the wounded. Great God, was it thus to be, was it possible

that human beings could endure so much ! Gladly we would have laid down rank, and wealth for our freedom, but our strength growing less and less, and we saw no hope. General Wheeler again appealed to Sir Henry Lawrence.

47. The whole place was now nothing but a ruin, the walls were perforated and it would be vain to describe the havoc this fire caused, the walls retained the heat for several days, and were unapproachable, the Doctors warned us not to go in, that we would die, or lose our reason, some went in preferring the heated rooms to the Sun. Mrs. Belson and child, Miss Campbell, Colonel Williams' daughter, Miss Yates, Mrs. Christie and child, these all died of a maddening fever. Rev. Haycock was bereft of reason, a perfect maniac.

48. I can compare the rooms to nothing but heated ovens. Mothers who could not endure to see their little ones literally scorched under a burning Sun, had no alternative but to keep in them, it was only avoiding one evil to seek another for alas ! death was everywhere.

49. Two little girls of 8 and 9 years of age had been left by their mother for the night in one of these rooms ; you can imagine her feelings, when she came back in the morning and found that a shell had burst in the room and killed them, their bones and flesh were gathered in a sheet and thrown into the well outside, which was the grave of our dead.

50. In this same room Miss Williams died of fever, and her mother also from a wound in the face.

51. The swarm of flies were a plague, and the offensive smell from the dead animals unbearable. They mostly prowled near the well, where they were shot, fragments of their flesh falling in and polluting the water. The horses were sent adrift, as there was neither shelter nor food for them.

52. Words cannot describe our wretched condition and misery, several families became reckless, they were seized with insanity, that they would fare better if they left the entrenchments. The General's permission being taken they left disguised as Ayahs and Bheestees. Blank cartridge was fired on them to shew the

rebels that they were not of our party. They shared the same fate as the rest, the Nana's sword made short work of all such victims.

53. When our hearts were bowed down with woe and our spirits crushed, we prayed as mortals never prayed that God would save the remains of our Garrison, but it was a hopeless case, nothing would satisfy the Nana's thirst but Christian blood, the last drop of which he had on the 15th July 1857, just a little before the brave General Havelock marched in with his Ironsides.

54. We had scouts placed on the pukkha barrack with glasses to watch the enemy's movements and to guide our artillery fire, it was here, that Lieutenant Wheeler was severely wounded, and killed in the room while being attended to by his mother and sisters, by a round shot which took off his head.

55. The General could ill sustain this shock and he was advised to keep within doors, his orders were given to Captains Kempland and Moore to be carried out.

56. In this manner we held out till the cruel treacherous treaty was signed by the Nana, it was on the 26th June, a fatal day for us.

57. The treaty was brought by Mrs. Fred. Jacobi, who came in a palkee, it was a matter of great delight to see some one from outside, who had crossed the border land, from where such hot firing had been sent us. We invited her to stay, but she could not, the Nana had kept her children, and would kill them if she did not go back.

58. The treaty was to the effect that we were to give up the treasure and guns, in short, to walk out as we stood, we were to be provided with forty boats, provisions and an escort to see us safely landed at Allahabad.

59. The 26th June was a gay holiday for us, the flags of truce were flying, and the great guns were silent, to our poor minds, who had only read of sieges, we looked upon those white flags as the messengers of peace, they gave us rest from those dreadful guns.

60. In the hearts of soldiers, there is much love to be found, they tried to get up a little fun for the children. A cask was converted into a drum and belabored with a stick, one man

whistled a Jig while the others set to dancing. The children were very much broken down and emaciated, yet they gathered round the dancers and tried to shew their appreciation for the entertainment got up for them. Poor things, little did they or any one else in the Garrison dream that whilst we were counting the hours for leaving our unhappy abode, the Nana was busy arranging for our destruction. We walked about that evening enjoying our freedom, no creeping on all fours in fear of the shells. Most of us felt in our lives that horrible feeling of common woe : that we could not shake off, there it remained darkening life.

61. We sadly needed clothing, for as I told you before, our dresses had been torn for bandages. Our boxes formed a portion of the barricade, and were very much battered, we managed to get what we needed and left the rest as an addition to the Nana's conquest, for we could carry nothing with us. Those who had jewelry concealed it about their persons, it was no impediment.

62. The 27th June at last opened its light upon us, we were falling into order, though no Bugle had been sounded, getting ready for a start, when the sepoys rushed into the entrenchments, terrifying us with their rude insolent manner, Captain Kempland was jostled about and beaten, other officers were treated in the same manner. Captain Moore who would not brook their insults, told them that their triumph would be short and that every man would dearly pay for his deeds, upon which they spat in his face : what a fate for brave men to suffer! We could see by this insolence that the treaty was already broken and our hearts began to quail.

63. It was seven when we left for the ghat, in a confused mass like sheep driven to the Shambles, the entire rebel army following us. The Elephants provided were not allowed by their mahouts to sit down, the poor wounded men and women were compelled to climb by their tails, the fall in the attempt, nearly cost them their lives, far better had they died there.

64. The boats were not close to the shore, we had to wade in the water, it was painful to witness the exertions of the aged and sick in clambering up the sides.

65. The enemy began then taunting us for having fallen into their hands, they were not long in opening fire on us, the shot fell thick and fast, two soldiers wounded, who came with us, cried to God to speed their death and not to let us die by inches. A little girl 7 years old, looked wistfully at them, she had a leg broken on the night of the fire it could not be set as the hospital stores had all been destroyed, she lay helpless on the deck, until her little life was stamped out by the heavy tread of the rebel sepoys who came on board to plunder and destroy.

66. It was about 9 A.M. before we reached the river, a distance of above a mile. Some boats managed to float off, the greater number could not be pushed off, as they had been purposely fixed in the mud.

67. The Nana fired several guns as a signal, and the work of destruction commenced, the boat crews set fire to the boats and left. Long before the heavy fire of grape and musketry had opened on us, several of the boats were in flames, wrapt in splendour wild. Attempt to escape was out of the question, the occupants were burnt as they sat.

68. Volley on volley was fired on the boats and several killed. Some jumped over board and tried to swim, but were picked off by the bullets of the sepoys. A few boats got to the opposite bank, but they were seized and all on board perished by the sword, by the sepoys previously placed there for the purpose. Many ladies and women wounded by bullets were brought to the Nana, and by his orders placed in a building called the Sevada Kotee.

69. The Cavalry waded into the river, and cut those down who were still alive—one unfortunate, Mr. Kirkpatrick, son-in-law to Mrs. John Kirk, who in warding off blows had both his arms cut off and lay in the water alive for some time.

70. When the sepoys came on board and the Sowars alongside, I was made prisoner and taken back to the bank, which I had left a short time before. On the top of the bank I met the younger Miss Wheeler a prisoner like myself. We were not taken to the Sevada Kotee.

71. The survivors of the slaughter at the boats were all taken to the Nana, by whose order the men were shot at once, and the women sent to Bibighur, where they suffered the utmost privation. They were badly fed, their wounds not attended to and many died between the 1st and 16th July.

72. Some men feeling pity for the children would throw them a handful of gram, and speak in wonderment of the scramble made for it.

73. The rebels to their surprise met the English force at Futtehpore marching to Cawnpore and when they lost the first engagement their courage began to fail, and on their return proclaimed that the British were advancing, it was like a prairie on fire, every native was running away from the station.

74. The Nana's Council were unanimous on one resolve, that was the death of the women and children in Bibighur. At first they were ordered to come out of the building to be killed, but neither threats nor persuasions could induce them to do so, they clung to each other, it was impossible to separate or drag them out, then a few shots were fired in through the windows which appeared to have no effect. Then some butchers and others rushed in with swords and in cold blood heartlessly and deliberately murdered about 200 women and children in the midst of most fearful shrieks and cries.

75. Of my family we were eight, my step father John Hampden Cook, my mother, two brothers and 3 sisters (their children) and myself, my mother was carried in my step-father's arms to the adjoining boat, we children were all together.

76. I am in the receipt of a pension from the Mutiny Fund, for which I am indebted to the kindness of the Secretary of the District Charitable Association, Calcutta (Mr. McGuire) who laid my case before Lord Lansdowne who through the Secretary of State Lord Cross, obtained the sanction of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen.

77. I have a large family of children depending on me, who by their obedience and love, I am happy to say, lighten the trials undergone.

HOWRAH, 4th October 1893.

AMY HORNE.

The Nana Dhoondo Punt of Bithoor.

AFTER the massacre at the Sutteechowra Ghat on the 27th June, the Nana reviewed the troops, and on the 1st July went to Bithoor, where in all pride and pomp he was proclaimed a "Peishwa"—no formality, no ceremony that could give dignity to the occasion being omitted; the Sacrament of the forehead mark was duly performed, the cannon roared out its recognition, and, on the night, an illumination with fireworks closed the scene.

Within a week rumours reached him of the English advance from Allahabad; he returned to Cawnpore and occupied a large bungalow which had been used as an hotel, in the compound adjoining that of Sir George Parker, the Cantonment Magistrate, of which the Bebeeghur formed a part.

The force of above 5,000 Bahadoors of the Company's Native Army and twelve guns sent to oppose the British advance was accompanied by Bala Rao, General Teeka Singh, Brigadier Jawalatharsad, and Liakat Ali, they were routed at Futtehpore Aoung, Wandoo Nuddy, and finally at Cawnpore; and all took refuge in the woods, while the Nana crossed the Ganges at Bithoor on the 1st July, joining the camp of the Begum and Birjis Kudr; on the 15th of September 1858 the Commander-in-Chief drove them all over the border into Nepaul, where the Nana led the life of an ascetic. He died in 1881.

In the *Agra Government Gazette* of the 24th October 1857, a reward of Rs. 50,000 was offered for the Nana's apprehension, with the following description of his person:—"The Nana is 42 years of age, hair black, complexion light wheat colour, large eyes, flat round face. He is understood now to wear a beard; height about 5'-8". He wears his hair very short, leaving only so much as a small skull cap would cover. He is full in person and of powerful frame. He has not the Mahratta hooked nose, but a straight well-shaped one. He has a servant with a cut ear, who never leaves him."

Some years ago, the authorities sent down from Gwalior to Cawnpore a Mahratta, who called himself the Nana. Doctor Tressider, who had been the Civil Surgeon of Cawnpore before the Mutiny, was called on to examine and report ; he declared the man an impostor, as an indelible mark of an operation that had been performed on the Nana was wanting, at the same time remarking the striking resemblance borne to the Nana.

In 1881, Pragnarrain Tewary, residing in Ramnarain Bazar, Cawnpore, and Cashier to the Oudh and Rohilkund Railway Co., Limited, informed the late W. J. Shepherd and myself at Lucknow, that the Nana was dead, that he had died in Nepaul ; that his two body servants, Hindoos, also residents of Ramnarain Bazar, had just returned from Nepaul, stating that as their services were no longer required, and their hands not being polluted with Christian blood, they returned to their families from whom they had been separated since 1857.

Pragnarrain Tewarry died shortly after ; his son Gunganarrain became Cashier, and I took an early opportunity of going into Cawnpore to verify the above.

Liakut Ali, the Allahabad Moulvie.

This man, who was a village schoolmaster when the outbreak at Allahabad took place, put himself forward in the character of a prophet, and stimulated the fanaticism of the people. He established himself at Khoosroo Bagh, proclaimed the restored rule of the Moghul Emperor, and the early extinction of the white man.

On Brigadier Neill's arrival, he fled to Cawnpore and joined the Nana on the 19th June, when he was placed in charge of the Mahomedan camp, Brigadier Jawalaparsad holding that of the Hindoos.

On the 27th June, the day of the massacre at the Ghat, he gave his services in his priestly capacity to two sowars of the Second Cavalry, who had as captives two young ladies ; these were forcibly converted to the faith of Islam. A *dusterkhan* was spread, and on it were placed a glass of sherbet and a plate of pomegranate fruit. At the conclusion of the service this was partaken by him, the converts and the witnesses.

He accompanied the force sent to oppose the British, and subsequently fled out of the Dooab after Cawnpore was taken. Some years after he was captured at Bombay and sent a prisoner to Allahabad, where he was tried and transported for life to the Andamans.

Azimoollah.

This man was sent by the Nana as his agent to England 1853. He was a young astute Mahomedan, with a good presence, a plausible address, and a knowledge of the English language.

Inquiries made by Colonel Williams, the Commissioner of Police, shewed that in the planning and executing the tragedy of the 27th June at Sutteechowra Ghat, the Nana, his brother, Tantia Topee and Azimoollah participated.

Azimoollah was killed by a cannon ball at the village of Mohangunge in Oude.

Jawalaparsad, Brigadier of the Bithoor Contingent.

He came into Cawnpore on the 22nd May 1857 with the Bithoor Contingent, sent by the Nana at the special request of Major-General Wheeler and the Collector, to hold *over* charge of the Treasury and Magazine manned by the guards of the loyal 53rd Native Infantry, &c. This step was not resented by the sepoys, as it was in conformity with a previous understanding between the Nana and the sepoys.

Jawalaparsad participated in the several actions against the British as well as at Sutteechowra Ghat.

Some time after the suppression of the Mutiny he was taken prisoner and executed at Cawnpore; the gallows had been erected on the very spot where he had ordered the ambushed guns to open fire on the boats on the 27th June.

His bones were carefully preserved, I believe, to adorn a Museum in England; they might be acquired for the Museum in the Sevada Kotee, Cawnpore.



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