

1848.
Dec. 3rd.

2ND BRIGADE.—Major F. Brind, Lieutenant R. R. Bruce, Officiating Adjutant, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Troops.

3RD BRIGADE.—Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel C. Grant, Lieutenant G. H. Clifford, Officiating Adjutant, 1st and 2nd Troops.

FOOT ARTILLERY.—Brigadier E. Huthwaite, C.B. (1st Brigade H.A.), Lieutenant E. Kaye (Adjutant 1st Brigade H.A.), Brigade-Major.

1ST BATTALION.—Major J. L. Mowatt, Lieutenant W. H. Delamain, Adjutant; 1st Company No. 10 F.B., 3rd Company No. 17 F.B.

4TH BATTALION.—Major R. Horsford, Lieutenant C. A. Wheelwright, Adjutant; 1st Company No. 1 Heavy Battery, 2nd Company No. 2 Heavy Battery; Detachment, 4th Company.

7TH BATTALION.—2nd Company No. 6 F.B.

The order of brigading of the Cavalry and Infantry will be seen by referring to the plan of the battle of Chilianwála.

The cause of the long halt near Helán was set down to the necessity of waiting for the fall of Multán. But the rumours that Lord Gough had his hands tied by the Governor-General were not devoid of foundation. It was said that there was a prohibition against our operations extending beyond the Chenáb. In war, however, the *intentions and movements of both parties have to be considered*, and this Lord Dalhousie did not seem to take into account. He may have thought that the fall of Multán would be followed by the submission of Chatar and Sher Singh. Certain it was that Lord Gough was order-bound, and equally certain that, as was natural, he chafed under the restriction.

Our camp was not well placed for a protracted halt. Our supplies were mostly obtained from the Gujarát district. Had Sher Singh moved up the Jhelum, he would have intercepted these supplies, turned our flank, and been able to sweep down upon Lahore, which would have welcomed him. The day Lord Gough moved to Helán, December 18th, Sher Singh did send 10,000 men forward

to Dingi, which looked like such an attempt. Lord Gough must have contemplated such a possibility, as he intended at one time moving eastward to cover Wazirábád and Gujarát. In fact, rumours that this flank movement had taken place reached us down country, but Sher Singh could only fight, not manœuvre.

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Between us and the River Jhelum were extensive patches of dhák vegetation, more tree than bush, very dense in places, impossible to work through in connected order, where a charge in line was impossible, consequently the individual swordsman, master of his weapon, had a considerable advantage. Our Dragoons, their swords blunted by too close an acquaintance with the steel scabbard, even had they been masters of the art of fence, could not deliver a cut as efficiently as the Sikh; * the guard and point was best for the Dragoon.

December

Lord Gough knew that a difficult task lay before him, and that the delay which had taken place had only put fresh courage into the men he had to fight, a thought, to one of his temperament, likely to add to the desire "to get at them." The restrictions that had been laid upon him were now removed, and on the 9th the camps at Helán and Janoke marched to Lasuria, where the force encamped in order of battle as follows, commencing from the right. 9th Lancers, 6th and 1st L.C. (this Brigade slightly thrown back), 1-2 (Huish), 3-2 (Christie), and 2-3 H.A. (Lane) 2nd Eur. Regiment, 70th and 31st N.I. (Godby's Brigade) No. 17 F.B. (Dawes) 56 N.I., 29th Regiment and 30th N.I. (Mountain) Heavy Batteries (Shakespeare and Ludlow). 24th Regiment, 25th and 45th N.I. (Penny-cuick's). No. 5 F.B. (Walker).† 61st Regiment, 46th and

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* Not the fault of the steel. The Pindári Chief, Amír Khan, used to arm his followers with our discarded Dragoon sabres. At Almorah, in 1852, at an annual festival of the Gurkhas, I saw the pay havildar of the Sirmur Battalion, with his regulation sword, cut off the head of a bullock, going clean through the dewlap. A heavy curved Kukri failed to do it as completely with another bullock.

† Lieutenant Walker commanded, as Captain Kinleside was on the sick list.

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36th N.I. (Hoggan). No. 10 F.B. (Robertson)* 1-3 H.A. (Warner). 3rd and 14th Light Dragoons, 8th and 5th L.C. (Sir J. Thackwell). Headquarter Camp in rear of the centre. The 2nd and 4th Troops, 2nd Brigade H.A. (Fordyce and Duncan). Reserve H.A. in rear of the left centre and in front of the park. In rear of all Brigadier Hearsey with the 20th N.I., 9th and 3rd I.C.

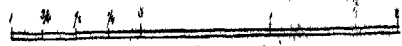
The country between Helán and the enemy's position at Rasul had been examined by Sir J. Thackwell and Major Mackeson, and reported impracticable. The ground on the Dingí side had not been examined †. From this village the road to Rasul passed over the ridge of sandhills, and, turning to the right, led to the town of Jhelum. Another road, N.N.W., led over the same ridge higher up. It was Lord Gough's intention, ‡ after proceeding towards these hills, to change his direction to the left, and moving on a line parallel to them, to attack the Sikh position in flank, which would probably have given him a less formidable task to accomplish §. But in camp that night counsels were divided. The distance from Dingí would have been about thirteen miles, and recollections of the former Sikh War made many of the officers about him opposed to the risk of an action at the end of a long march. But in spite of much that has been alleged about the hot blood of the Commander-in-Chief having precipitated the action of Chilianwála, such was not the case in the opinion of some of those most capable of judging. It seems to have been thought by some of the Headquarter Staff that the Artillery officers advised Lord Gough to fight, but the only ground for this was his having requested Brigadier-General Tennant to send for Colonels Brooke, Brind, and

* Lieutenant A. Robertson was placed in charge, Captain Austin having been severely wounded at Sadulapur.

† Thackwell, p. 118.

‡ Kaye.

§ If Lord Gough had, as it appears he previously intended, moved north-east from Helán to cover Gujarát, the attack on the Sikh left would have been forced upon him. They would no doubt have changed front to meet him.



Scale of Miles.

Raja Khari

Panjan

Khatra

Pachomal

Chota Umiao

Bara Umiao

Basuwala

Daggar
during the
action

Muganwala

Chilianwala

Sulianwala

Kot Biluch

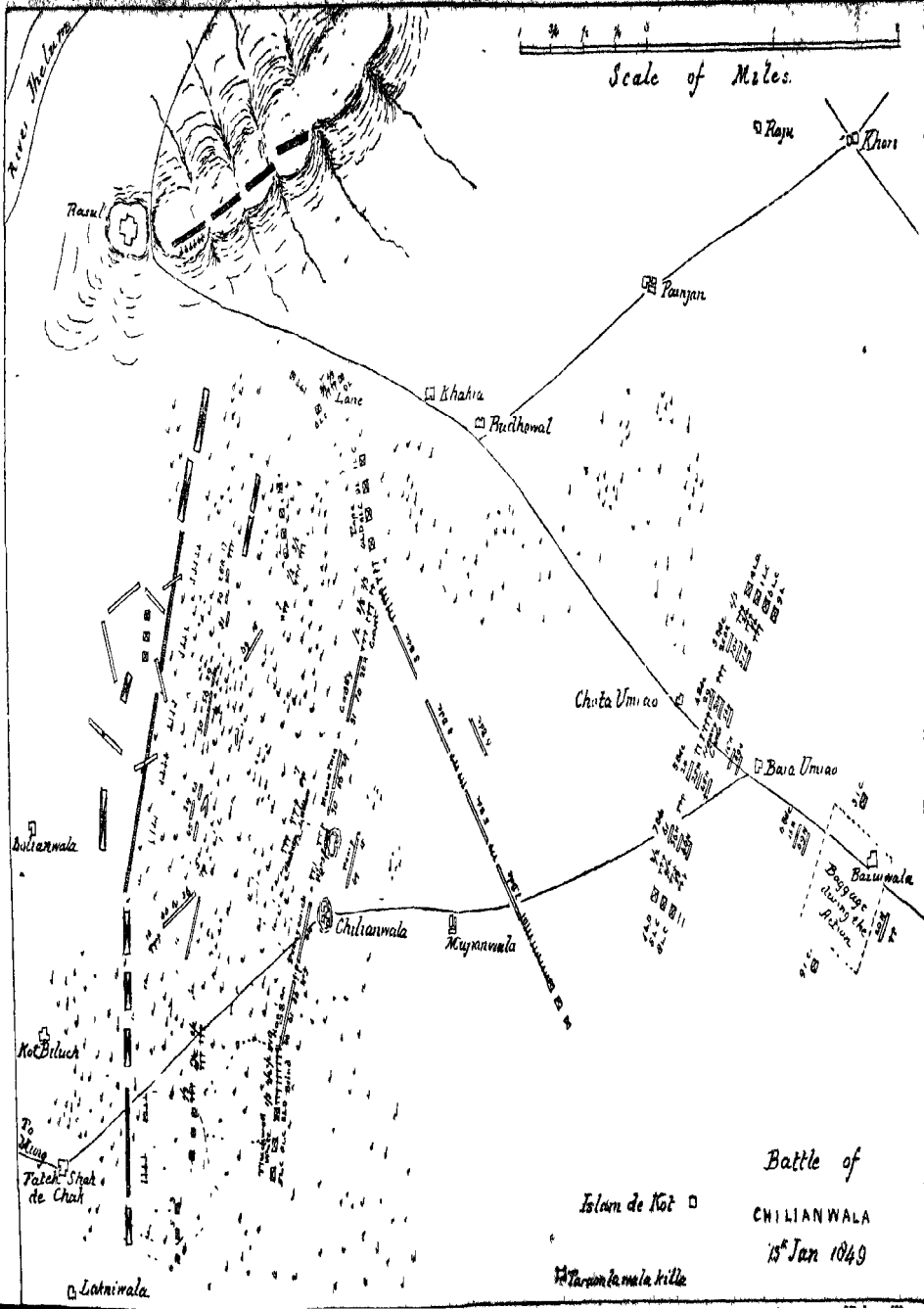
To Muz
Tatek Shah
de Chah

Lahnwala

Isolan de Kot

Battle of
CHILIANWALA
13th Jan 1849

Muganwala killed



Grant, who all, except one, said they thought the horses would not be equal to a long day's work. This was on the afternoon of the 12th. Two days before, Major Mackeson, the Governor-General's Political Agent at Army Headquarters, had communicated the intelligence that Attock, after a gallant defence by Lieutenant C. Herbert, had fallen, and that Sirdar Chatar Singh was moving down to join his son, and urged Lord Gough to strike an effectual blow without delay.* There were, therefore, sufficient grounds for attacking the enemy.

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Next morning the army marched from Dingi at 7 a.m. The direct distance to Rasul was nearly ten miles. After a halt at 10 o'clock to refresh the men, it again moved on in columns of Brigades, the Cavalry on the flanks, and Artillery in the intervals. The direction had been towards Rasul, but on nearing the village of Chota Umrao, Lord Gough brought up his right, and his line now faced Chiliánwála, and beyond it the villages of Loliánwála and Mung. The position of the enemy was discovered to be from Fateh Shah de Chak to Rasul. But up to the halt at ten o'clock Lord Gough did not intend to fight that day if possible.†

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After moving forward it was found that there was no water to be had nearer than the village of Chiliánwála, and Lord Gough was obliged to go on. Reaching the village of Mujiánwála, a Sikh picquet was seen on a low bare mound to the right of the former place, and some light guns were sent forward, followed by the light companies of the 29th and 2nd Bengal Fusiliers, which took possession of it about two o'clock.

The Quarter-Master-General at once went forward to mark out the camp; but they had scarcely begun when

* Lord Gough's dispatch January 16th; corroborated in correspondence of Sir J. Tennant.

† General Tennant rode up to the Staff as they were halted, and was asked by the Chief, "Are all the guns in their right places?" "Not as we agreed, my Lord; the G O last night altered that a little." "Oh, never mind, we shall not need them to-day, I think."

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the enemy's shot came bowling in among them, and it was clear we should have to fight. But an alteration of front was necessary. The left had to be brought up, and line was formed from the right Horse Artillery, Pope's brigade of Cavalry not changing front,* so that its direction crossed the line of fire of the guns. This throws some light on the events that followed.

During this movement the heavy guns under Major Ludlow and Sir Richmond Shakespear were moved up to the mound and opened fire, supported on the right by Captain Dawes (No. 17) and on the left by Lieutenant Walker (No. 5), and continued in action till the British line advanced, about three o'clock.

The Sikh line could be seen from the tops of the houses in Chiliánwála. It extended far on either side of us, and their numbers evidently were very great. Their guns were hidden by the jungle, and their exact formation was not known.

Before the line advanced, the enemy's Cavalry on their left had advanced and were threatening our right and rear. So Lieut-Colonel Lane was detached with four of his own guns, two squadrons of the 9th Lancers, and two of the 6th L.C. His other two guns and two of Major Christie's Troop, under Lieutenant H. Le G. Bruce, were sent to him shortly afterwards. They were of essential service in that position in covering the flank, though they took no active part in the battle.

The first part of the line to enter the jungle were Penny-cuick's and Hoggan's brigades, under General Campbell. The former had the 24th Regiment, the latter the 61st, in the centre, the native ones on the flanks. General Campbell, on receiving the order to advance, rode up to the 24th and briefly addressed them: "There must be no firing, the bayonet must do the work." After passing the village of Chiliánwála, the 24th took ground somewhat to the right

* My authority for this is the official plan.

(perhaps to preserve touch with the centre), and were thus separated from the other brigade. There was more than a mile to be traversed, and this was done at a rapid pace.* The 24th were unusually strong (about 1,100), a large number of recruits having lately joined. In the dense jungle continuity of the line could not be kept, and the native regiments were left behind in the impetuous advance. For most of the distance they were unperceived by the enemy, whose attention was directed more towards our right; but once seen, when they emerged into more open ground, broken here and there by pools of water, every gun was turned upon them. Discharges of grape told with fatal effect on their rapidly thinning ranks. Still they rushed on and drove the Sikhs from their guns. While some were spiking these, the enemy emerged from the jungle on all sides, seeing the paucity of their numbers. The Native Infantry had come up to where the struggle was going on, but in vain. The shattered remains of a fine brigade fell back. The field-guns that should have been in support were not there; Brigadier-General Campbell, seeing the mistake, sent a Staff Officer to bring up No. 5 Battery, but it was too late. The casualties in this brigade amounted to 518 in the 24th, 204 in the 25th, and 79 in the 45th. Thirteen officers of the 24th next day lay dead in their mess-tent, Pennycuick and his young son among them.

When Pennycuick advanced, General Campbell rode off to the Brigade commanded by Hoggan, an Irishman after Gough's own heart. It advanced under the General's leading, and therefore in more order than the other was doing. An officer belonging to it says that they seemed to be inclining too much to the left and losing sight of No. 5 Battery between the two brigades. This was probably due to the other having, as before mentioned, taken ground to its right, and in the jungle a little interval hid every-

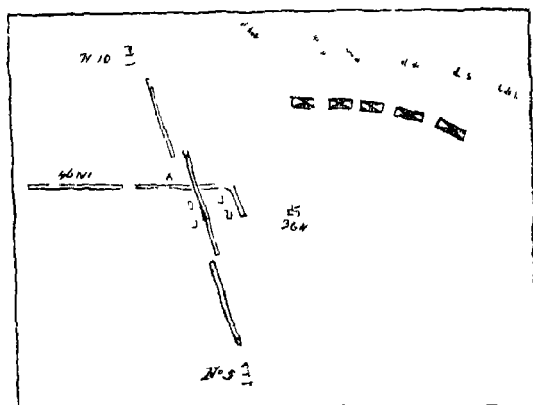
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* Not at the double.—ARCHER.

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thing. No. 5 Battery should have remained with the right brigade, and No. 10 with the left. But the latter was directed by a Staff Officer to proceed to the left, to keep down the fire of some Sikh guns in that direction. He did so and found Wainer's and another troop in action there. Much valuable time was thus lost. A considerable gap now existed between the Cavalry on the left and the main body. Lieutenant Robertson had some difficulty in finding his way back alone. A Staff Officer again met him and told him to join Campbell's division sharp, as the Infantry were hard pressed * †

As Hoggan's brigade advanced, the attention of the enemy was directed more towards Pennycuik's retreat-



ing brigade, but as soon as they were perceived they wheeled round and opened a heavy fire, supported by musketry, on them. The Ghorchara horsemen too came down, and the 36th N.I. on the right, unable to resist the onslaught, were broken up. Major Flemyng and the officers

* Thackwell says (p. 157) that neither the Brigadier-General nor his Brigadiers regarded the Artillery as necessary, that contempt of the enemy was not confined to Pennycuik. This may be true to some extent, but want of caution was not part of General Cohn Campbell's character. It may have been a temporary oversight.

† Captain (Major-General) A. H. Heath.

of the Regiment, with many of the native officers, N.C. officers, and men, collected round the colours, and stood there, a gallant band, while the rest took refuge behind the 61st. General Campbell, whose coolness was most conspicuous, threw back the two right companies of that regiment; and while No 5 Field Battery, under Walker, which had joined, covered the movement, changed front to the right. The brigade, thus formed in line, passed obliquely over the ground lost by the 5th Brigade, and drove the Sikhs from their guns with heavy loss. Eleven guns were captured, the 61st spiking all, or nearly so, took off the wheels and rolled them away, and destroyed what ammunition they could.* Lieutenant Robertson and No. 10 Field Battery was in line on the left of the 7th Brigade. The remains of the 5th Brigade had again advanced and joined the 7th.

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Major-General Gilbert's division went forward on the right of the heavy guns, there was only one field battery with it, No. 17, under an excellent officer, Captain Michael Dawes. No. 3 Brigade (Godby's) had the 2nd European Regiment on its right, the 31st N.I. on its left. Covered by skirmishers, with which, moving at an increased pace, they soon became mixed up, they entered the jungle, and after passing over some distance they came under a heavy Artillery fire. The 2nd Europeans, in advance and somewhat separated from the other regiments, suffered severely. Captain Dawes, keeping up, afforded material support.† The Sikhs, moving round the right, came on in

* Captain C. C. Deacon, 61st, to Captain N. A. Staples, April 10th, 1849. It is to be feared that they did not think of putting the linchpins in their pockets.

† The following extract from Captain Dawes' journal gives a very clear account of what the battery did. "We then reformed and attacked the enemy's position, my battery with the heavy guns commencing. I was afterwards sent on to the extreme right of the Infantry, when the right flank was turned and rear threatened by Cavalry. Opened with grape, and, retiring, covered the left flank of Godby's brigade, which was likewise threatened by the enemy's Infantry. Under fire of my guns, the 2nd Europeans charged and

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rear, so the regiment, facing about, charged rear rank in front while the guns assisted with grape in clearing the ground, enabling them again to advance. General Gilbert, riding up, asked Major Steel if he were near enough to charge. "By all means," was the reply. On they went with a cheer and swept the enemy from before them, taking three of the guns, which were brought back.

No. 6 (reserve) Brigade, under Penny, had been ordered up to support the left centre, but in the jungle it inclined too much to the right, and after some severe fighting found itself on the left of Brigadier Godby's regiments. Two of Captain Dawes' guns, under Lieutenant R. Murray, came to their assistance and did good service. The day was closing in, and the enemy were in flight.

In No 4 Brigade H.M. 29th was on the right, the 30th N.I. on the left, and the 56th N.I. in the centre. Brigadier Mountain had to attack a formidable part of the Sikh position and to force his way through the densest part of the bush. The regiments got separated, but the detached bodies, though unsupported by Artillery, pressed on in spite of heavy loss and drove back the enemy from their guns. Twelve were captured by the 29th,* but some of them were carried away by the Sikhs during the night. Brigadier Mountain with his regiments remained with Brigadier-General Campbell's division in rear of the enemy's position till after 8 o'clock, when they were withdrawn. The large number of casualties in the two native regiments showed they had done well.†

Some time after the right division advanced, the two troops of Horse Artillery on that flank were sent forward.

drove back the enemy, who commenced retreating from the left. Again got into position to enfilade them, and then again forming on the right of the brigade opened and kept up a heavy fire along the line of retreat till near dusk, during which the 2nd Infantry Division was formed preparatory to moving into camp." He omits the fact that he himself was slightly wounded.

* "Regimental History," p. 467.

† The 56th N.I. had 322, the 30th N.I. 285, and H.M. 29th, than which there was not a better regiment on the field, 241.

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There were only ten guns, as Lieutenant Courtenay, with the remaining division of the 2nd-3rd, and Christie's right division, had been sent to reinforce Lane's detachment on the right. The position of the Cavalry with respect to the guns on their left has already been noticed. Colonel Grant moved forward about 500 yards and came into action, again advanced and unlimbered. But the Cavalry line was now before them, and they were unable to fire. The Sikh Cavalry were in front, and the movements of ours seem to have been marked by a hesitation that encouraged the Sikhs to come on more boldly. Brigadier Pope was severely wounded about this time, which Thackwall⁴ thinks must have accounted for what happened. There was a halt, whether at this time or not * is difficult to say, but consequent, it has been told, of the order "Threes about" to the 14th Dragoons; the whole line came back. That regiment, being just in front of the guns, rode through them, closely followed by the Ghorcharas. The gunners could neither limber up nor fire. Those in the teams were cut down. Major Christie received several sword and spear wounds, Major Huish, in front of his Troop, was nearly cut down by two Sikh horsemen, one of whom was killed by his sergeant-major and one by Major C. Stewart of the 14th, who was himself wounded. The rest of the Cavalry shared in this unfortunate flight, but most of the 9th Lancers formed up behind the guns that were able to move, now slowly retreating. Christie's four guns and two of Huish's were left on the ground. The Headquarter Staff were in an open piece of ground in the middle of the bush jungle, when there emerged from it

* Lieutenant (now Major-General) C. J. Godby was told by one of the Native Cavalry that the officers of his regiment were some 50 yards in front of their men during this halt, when the Sikh horsemen appeared, coming out of the jungle, and they were ordered back to their places. The men, seeing their officers galloping back, wavered, and some rascal calling out "Threes about," away they all went. I had the pleasure of knowing many of the 14th at Lahore very shortly after. They were ready to repeat the Ramnagar charge, and would not have excused themselves by throwing blame on others.

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Artillery spare horses, several limbers, and some guns. With them, supported on his horse by one of his sergeants, his right hand grasping his sword hanging powerless down, came Major Christie. Behind them came a number of the enemy's Cavalry carcoling in a kind of triumph. Colonel Grant drew up two of the guns, unlimbered, and a few shots sent them back into the bushes

This unfortunate business left Gilbert's division perfectly uncovered, but they had won their ground and held it. With the support which they might and ought to have had, the right wing of the army might have been pushed forward and the Sikhs been cut off from their entrenchments at Rasul*. Already many were crossing the river

On the left the Horse Artillery were placed, the 9-pounder battery under Fordyce on the right, Duncan's Troop in the centre, and Warner's on the left. Next stood Brigadier White's Cavalry, 8th and 5th Native, and the 3rd Light Dragoons on the flank. Colonel Brind took forward the guns to meet those of the enemy. They opened upon them, and after more than half an hour's work silenced them. The Sikh line outflanking ours to guard against a turning movement, Sir Joseph Thackwell ordered a squadron of the 3rd Dragoons, supported by five troops of the 5th Cavalry, to charge them. Captain

* Sir J Tennant says in a private letter "I have no doubt from what we saw of the Sikh Cavalry afterwards at Goojerat, that had these men [our Cavalry] charged, and the H A been allowed to open that the left of the Sikh line would have been turned, their retreat by Russool would have been cut off, and the result would probably have been as effective as at Goojerat, even in spite of the failure of the 24th Foot, &c. But when the mishap which happened on the right was backed by this failure, the only wonder is that we were not driven from the field. As it was, we retained the ground, and had the greater part of their Artillery in our possession. But it was dark, there was no water and no provisions for the men, who had fasted already all day. The position was in a thick jungle of which we knew nothing . . . while the Sikhs knew every inch of the ground. . . . It was possibly not unwise to then retire. . . ."

This undoubtedly is in favour of General Cohn Campbell's advice, as against another view taken a little lower down.

Unett, with the Gray squadron of the 3rd, advanced with those of the 5th in line. A matchlock-fire was opened upon them as they went forward; the Native squadron, in spite of the efforts of their officers, failed to penetrate the dense mass opposed to them, but the gallant Unett, Stisted, and Macqueen, with their men, charged through to some distance. Captain Unett, severely wounded, cut his way back with the men about him. the other two officers with the remainder did likewise. The Sikhs, unwilling to await the shock, opened out, abused and cut at our men as they passed through. The casualties in this gallant charge were 46. Major Wheatley, with the 5th L.C., unable to penetrate the dense mass in his front, after a hand-to-hand encounter retired and took up his place in the line. He had sixteen killed; three officers (one native) and eleven men wounded.*

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Shortly after, Colonel Brind was ordered to the right with his guns, and was followed by Brigadier White with the Cavalry. The enemy still remained on the ground, and kept up a fire on our troops as they moved, but did not follow them. Lieutenant J A Manson, of Captain Ewart's Troop, had his leg taken off by a round shot and died the same night.

It was now becoming dark. Our troops held still the ground they had won. A considerable part of both divisions, particularly General Campbell's, with their guns, were resting on the further side of the dense jungle. In truth the position was a far from safe one. They were separated from the rest of the force by a mile of difficult ground. They were cold, hungry, and thirsty, with little means of satisfying their wants. Yet the last thought in their minds was to give up what they had fought so hard for. Brigadier-General Campbell had proved his individual courage as well as his ability to lead his men to victory. But here caution prevailed, and

* MS. statement by Major Wheatley, Commanding 5th L.C., among papers of Captain (Sir N. A.) Staples.

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he advised the Chief to withdraw them to Chiliánwála. "What," exclaimed the wrathful Irishman, "and leave my wounded to be massacred? Never!" These counsels, however, prevailed, and the bugles and trumpets told the astonished troops that they were to move back. An officer described what he heard as he trudged along in the dark: "D—d if we ain't a-deserting the guns"—"Suppose we shall have to take them again."—"So many poor fellows killed for nothin'."* Theoretically General Campbell may have been right. Practically he was wrong. The Sikhs were even then crossing the Jhelum behind them,† and by the morning all would have been on the other side. But as soon as they heard of our retirement, back they came, took away all their own and four of our guns, and slaughtered every wounded man found in the jungle. This crowned the disasters of the day, our guns might have been recovered, but Lord Gough forbade any forward movement again into the jungle. A subaltern of Major Christie's Troop, however, took the limbers of his division and returned to where they had been left, far away in the jungle. There the six guns were still, and had he had limbers sufficient he could have brought all away, but he could only recover his own two. The subaltern's name‡ was Colin Cookworthy. "The Victoria Cross was not in those days," writes Colonel Kaye, "or surely he would have been decorated."

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With the dawn of the next day came the sad duty of bringing in the mutilated remains of those that had fallen. The Sikhs were back in their old position at Rasul and the sand-hills north-east of it, but offered no opposition. The casualties amounted to:—

* Lieutenant A E Osborn, 45th N I

† This was ascertained afterwards. Ilah Baksh, an Artillery Commander who came into camp on the 19th of January, said so. It was not then known certainly, but we knew the Sikhs would not make any attack in force upon us by night, though they might have harassed our men by desultory firing. Major G. Biddulph, of Tait's Irregulars (afterwards killed at the relief of Lucknow), found that about half the Sikh army had crossed.

Killed : 22 Europeans, 16 native officers, and 564 men.

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Wounded : 67 Europeans, 27 native officers, 1 warrant officer, and 1,556 men.

Of the latter several died during the next two or three days. There were thirteen officers of the 24th buried in one grave. The Native Infantry regiments suffered very severely, and if not first into the enemy's guns, behaved well. The 36th N.I. retrieved its character fairly before the day was over. Of the Artillery Lieutenant J. A. Manson was killed, Captain Dawes was slightly, his subaltern, Lieutenant Dundas, was severely wounded. Major Christie died on the 15th. His men, by whom he was much beloved, came to the Chaplain, the Rev. W. J. Whiting, and begged that his body might be interred with those of his troop who had fallen ; a request willingly granted.

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This was almost wholly an Infantry battle. The only charge was by a squadron of the 3rd Light Dragoons, and the ineffectual one by the 5th L.C. The battery most seriously engaged was Captain Dawes'. No action we had ever fought in India was marked by so heavy a death-roll, with so little compensating advantage. If it is allowable in a work of this kind to criticise it by the light of subsequent knowledge, it will be seen that the direction of the attack and the manner in which it was conducted were both in fault. The army of the Sikhs extended for about five miles in an unbroken line, supported by batteries in front, and numerous bodies of cavalry in rear and on the flanks. In a dense jungle the most complete co-operation of the brigades with one another, and their support by an adequate number of guns, was absolutely necessary. But each brigade went on independent of its right or left. This "longing to be at 'em" seemed to pervade all the leaders, from the Chief down, except, perhaps, Brigadier-General Campbell. When the original plan of attacking and thereby turning the Sikh left was set aside, if the main

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attack had been on that wing the greater portion of the army might have been cut off from Rasul. A line five miles long and not very deep, as Sir J. Tennant describes it, could not have readily met such a movement. The precipitous ravines down the sides of the heights would have made their capture difficult in face of a strong opposition, but once severed from Rasul, their most important sources of supply would have been lost, and our communications need not have been endangered.* The Multán force was coming up to Ramnagar by forced marches, and Sher Singh would not have felt comfortable between two fires. His line of retreat must have been across the Jhelum. The Amir Dost Muhamad was intent, if possible, on recovering the Peshawar district, and the Singhs knew he had a wholesome respect for British power, and that his assistance would be measured by their success.

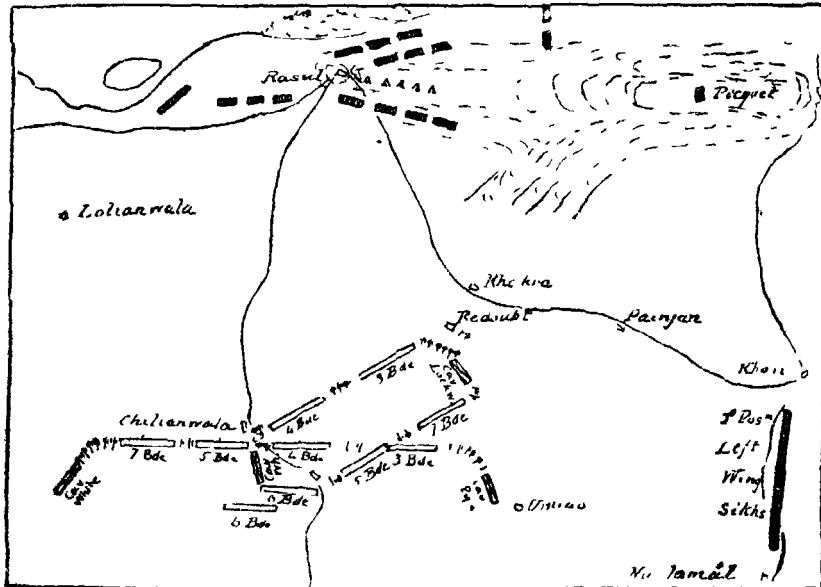
The army was now destined to remain halted for another month. The Sikhs occupied their former position at Rasul, but reconnoitring parties on the 16th found that Mung was deserted, and they seemed to have closed in upon their left. A picquet on the sand-hills watched the passage through them by the road from Khori. Their right covered the ford near Rasul, and their front was covered by batteries of guns behind a line of entrenchment. On our side the heavy guns were placed at the mound; on their left the 5th Infantry Brigade, now commanded by Colonel A. Carnegy; then No. 5 Field Battery, then the 7th Brigade; the 4th and 1st Troops 2nd Brigade H.A.; the 1st Cavalry Brigade had its left somewhat thrown back, and the 3rd Troop 2nd Brigade H.A. on the extreme left. On the right of the mound came the 4th Brigade; No. 17 Field Battery and the 3rd Infantry Brigade. The 2nd Troop 2nd Brigade, 1st and 2nd of the 3rd Brigade H.A. were in the angle formed by the 2nd Brigade of Cavalry thrown back. The 6th Brigade and 45th N.I., flanked by Christie's and Tait's Irregular Cavalry,

* It is only right to say that Sir J. Tennant thought there might be such a risk. But consult a good map.

were in rear of the centre. Subsequently a redoubt was thrown up half a mile to the right front on a mound near the village of Khakra. Thus two armies entrenched were looking at one another. 1849. Jan. 13th.

Captain Kinleside was posted to the 3rd Troop 2nd Brigade. This troop was temporarily armed with 9-pounders and the heavier howitzers, and the detachments with which it had been furnished experimentally were taken away and the horses sent to the troops most in need of them.

During this period of inaction General Tennant was engaged in urging on the Commander-in-Chief and the Commandant of the regiment the inefficient condition in



men and horses of the troops and batteries. His arguments, unanswerable in themselves, were acknowledged to be perfectly true, but were, like other correspondence of the same nature, consigned to pigeon-holes, from which it is one object of this work to rescue them.

1849.
Jan. 13th.

Reports brought in told us that the loss of the enemy on the 13th was somewhat severe, especially under the fire of the heavy guns. On the 26th news reached the camp that Multán had fallen, and a part of General Whish's army was now free to co-operate with Lord Gough. The Sikhs were reticent about it, for Lieutenant Bowie, who was sent in on parole by Sher Singh, then seemed to think it not generally known. He described them as not so confident now, and said that what they feared the most was the fire of our guns and the Infantry file-firing.

February

At the commencement of February several movements were observed in the enemy's camp, giving rise to all sorts of rumours. They were preparing to attack, to move round to our rear, or were crossing the Jhelum. Our Cavalry frequently went out to reconnoitre, but could see little. Sikh horsemen came prowling about our picquets, so that they knew more of our movements than we did of theirs. But their own counsels were divided, and the news of the fall of Multán, when it became generally known, seemed to dishearten them.

Feb. 8th.

Movements were taking place in their camp. They seemed to be closing in more towards Rasul on the 28th of January. On the 30th a patrol of the 9th Irregulars (Christie's) under Lieutenant Crawford Chamberlain, had a brush with the enemy's horse, killing 16, losing two killed and having their gallant leader wounded. A salute heard on the 4th was reported to be for the resumption by Sir Henry Lawrence of the duties of Resident at Lahore. On the 5th they were reported coming through the Khori Pass, and next day a wing took up a position between the villages of Khori and near Jamal. Our camp was also shifted; General Campbell's division taking post in rear of Gilbert's, and facing outwards towards Dingi, as shown in the foregoing sketch. Penny's brigade was placed between Gilbert's division and White's Cavalry brigade. Sher Singh was probably endeavouring to bring on another action before the Multán force could arrive on ground.

1849.
Feb. 8th.

which had proved so unfortunate for us. The day previous the enemy were collecting, and a Cavalry force of about 500 sabres was drawn up, masking guns. About 4,000 of them advanced, and at 900 yards tried to work round a flank, but finding the guns there, retired. A man with a bundle of fireworks was captured, who said he intended to have blown up our powder in park. Another with a bundle of spikes was seized on the 10th.

This state of restless alarms continued on the 11th ; the troops had been for some time much harassed by working parties, patrols, and convoy guards , but during the night of the 11th, noise both in the Rasul and Khorī camp denoted some movement in progress. At daylight there were no tents on the Rasul heights, and by noon it was empty. They were still at and beyond Khorī. On the 14th it was ascertained that a part of them were at Gujarát, and orders were immediately issued to follow them up.

It was necessary to be prompt, for Sher Singh, had he been allowed, would undoubtedly have moved upon Lahore. But Colonel Byrne with H M 53rd, 13th N.I., 12th Irregulars (Holmes'), and four guns of No 6 Field Battery was sent from Ramnagar to Wazirábád, where some of them were preparing to cross. Lord Gough's march to Lasuria on the 15th and to Sadulapur on the 16th co-operated, and Sher Singh was compelled to concentrate about Gujarát.

General Whish, leaving a strong garrison there, had marched from Multán with Markham's and Hervey's brigades and a Bombay brigade under General Dundas. The 3rd Troop Bombay H A, the 4th-1st and 4th-3rd Bengal H.A., the 2nd Company 1st Battalion Bombay F A., four 18-pounder guns and four 8-inch howitzers (Major Day), and the 11th Irregulars (Captain R. A Master's) completed this force. The leading portion marched 18 miles a day. Narain Singh, a disaffected chief, held the fort of Chiniot, and was ineffectually besieged therein by Shekh Imam-ud-din, but he surrendered on the 9th to General Whish.

1849.
Feb. 8th.

Orders were here received to push on, so Captain Anderson and the 4-3 H.A. accomplished a march of 40 miles. He made 19 miles in the morning, rested during the day, went on at night, chiefly at a trot, reaching Ramnagar before morning.*

From Sadulapur the army marched on the 17th to Kunjah, where part of the Multán force joined next day. Major Mackenzie with his Troop and the heavy guns joined General Dundas, while the Bombay troops were hurrying up. Meanwhile, Lord Gough was slowly approaching the Sikh position at Gujarát, from which on the 18th only three miles intervened.

February.

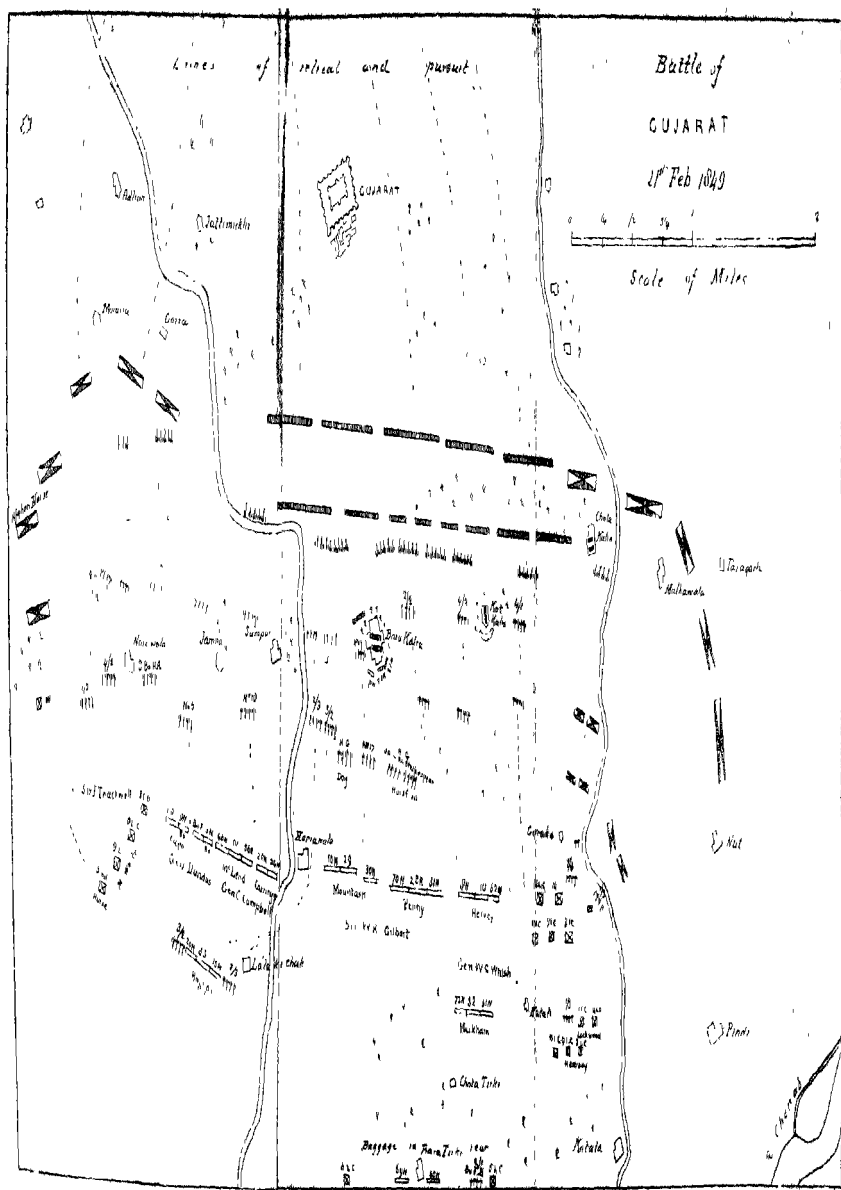
The formation of the British force on the morning of the 21st, by which time General Dundas had joined with remainder, will be seen in the plan. General Whish commanded the right Infantry Division. Brigadier Huthwaite took post near the heavy guns.

General Tennant allotted the Artillery as follows

Under Lieut-Colonel Grant 1st-3rd H.A., Captain Warner; Brigadier Lockwood's Cavalry on the right.

Under Major Garbett. 4th-1st H.A., Major Mackenzie; 4th-3rd H.A., Captain Anderson, 1st Infantry Division, General Whish.

* Another remarkable march must not be omitted. It did not fall within the operations of the first Sikh War, so was not then mentioned. Captain J. L. Mowatt, with the 4th Troop 1st Brigade, had marched 16 miles to Khanghai in Sind, January 15th, 1845. Under orders from Sir C. Napier, a gun and howitzer accompanied him the same evening to Uchh, a further distance of 40 miles, which was accomplished during the night. Sir C. Napier, in G.O., records "Captain Mowatt in 24 hours marched 56 miles through the desert with two guns, a march rarely exceeded in the history of military movements, and it does great credit to the effective state of his battery." Second-Lieutenant J. R. Sladen was with Captain Mowatt. Colonel Geddes followed the next morning with the rest of the troop, the Sind Camel Corps, and 170 volunteers of H.M. 13th Regiment, and reached Shahpur *rud* Minoti, 34 miles. At noon on the 15th, Lieutenant T. W. Pulman, with a howitzer and mountain 3-pounder gun, had gone with a detachment of horse under Captain Salter from Khanghai to Uchh, which was reached in 8½ hours, and where a party of the enemy were met and defeated with loss. Pulman's guns were carried by mules.



Under Senior Officer : 2nd-2nd H.A., Major Fordyce ,
No. 17 L.F.B., Captain Dawes , 2nd Infantry Division,
General Sir W. Gilbert

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February.

Under Major Mowatt · No 5 L.F.B, Major Ludlow ;
No. 10 L.F.B, Lieutenant Robertson ; 3rd Infantry Division,
General C. Campbell.

Under Senior Officer : 4th-2nd H.A., Captain Duncan ,
1st-2nd H.A, Captain Huish ; Brigadier M. White's
Cavalry on the left.

Under Lieut-Colonel F. Brind 2nd-3rd H.A., Lieut.-
Colonel Lane , 3rd-2nd H.A, Captain Kinleside , Reserve
under Brigadier Brooke

Under Major R. Horsford · Four 18 pounders, two 8-
inch howitzers, Major Sir R. Shakespear , two 18-pounders,
two 8-inch howitzers, Captain J. D. Shakespear.

Under Major Day · Two 18-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers,
Captain E. P. Master , two 18-pounders, two 8-inch
howitzers, Captain E. G. Austin, who was incapacitated
by his wounds from accompanying his own battery, No.
10.

At seven a.m. on this morning the assembly sounded.
The day was bright and sunny, the view across patches of
luxuriant low green crops, unobscured by jungle or, except
about the various villages, by trees. Soon the enemy's
line of horse and foot, gay with colours, interspersed with
batteries of guns, became visible. A dry nullah intersected
our line perpendicularly, and the heavy guns crossing, ad-
vanced up its left bank. Major Horsford's guns on the
right of Brigadier Mountain's Brigade, Major Day's guns
on the left ; Captain Dawes, with No. 17 Field Battery, in
the centre of it. An advanced post of the enemy, against
which it was directed, was vacated by them. As the whole
line advanced, the batteries disengaged from their positions
in it and went to the front. No. 17 Light Field Battery
took up a place between the two brigades of Heavies.
The line of Infantry halted while the guns went forward.
Captain Dawes came into action at 1,100 yards, and in his

1 Feb. 27th.

1849.
Feb. 21st

report says that he had the honour of commencing the battle,* advancing and opening again at 800 and 700 yards, the Heavies of Master and Austin, under Day, being slightly then in front, those of Sir R. and Captain Shakespear, under Horsford, slightly thrown back on his right

In front of the enemy's line, between the two nullahs, were the two villages, named Bara (Great) Kálra and Kot Kálra. On their left, close to the nullah on that side, was the village of Chota or Little Kálra. Major Fordyce, advancing with his 9-pounder Troop, moved up between the two former. The lines of skirmishers thrown out by the Infantry acted as a support to the guns, which came into action at intervals of two or three hundred yards. But when this Troop got between and a little beyond the two villages, it was exposed both to the Artillery fire in front and to that of the Sikhs holding Great Kalra, and its casualties were very numerous. Twice did its commander send his limbers to the rear for fresh men and horses. As they passed through the ranks of the 2nd Europeans waving their caps, they answered the cheers which greeted them. General Gilbert ordered Penny's Brigade to storm the village, which was some 200 yards in their front. The 2nd European Regiment sprang to their feet, and rushed on. The number of Sikhs in the place was much larger than they imagined, and the Brigade lost very heavily, more so, indeed, than the rest of the Infantry together. Those who had not cleared out as the attack came on, died fighting to the last.

The two Native Troops of Horse Artillery on the right were in like manner exposed to a musketry fire from the village of Kálra in their front, and suffered very severely.

* Letter No 323, dated 25th of February, to D A A G second Infantry Division. Colonel Kaye says the H A began, but Captain Dawes was the last man likely to claim what was not his due. Not more than a minute, however, if so much, intervened between his first shot and those of the other batteries. The few shots fired at the long range were supposed to have been by Lord Gough's order to make the Sikhs show their hand.

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Feb 21st.

Captain John Anderson, a younger brother of the officer who had so distinguished himself in command of Shah Shuja's Troops of Horse Artillery during the Afghan War, was killed. No officer who fell that day was more generally lamented. The casualties in these two Troops and Fordyce's, especially in the killed, much exceeded those of all the other Troops put together.

Captain Warner, with the 1st Troop 3rd Brigade, had at first advanced and engaged the enemy's Cavalry and Batteries at Little Kalra at a long range, but was recalled to meet a demonstration of their Cavalry against our right and rear, while thus employed another body of Horse was observed coming down against the right of General Whish's Division, and Lieutenant C H Cooke was ordered by Lieut-Colonel C Grant to limber up a half battery and stop them. This was done at once at a gallop, with a strong escort of Cavalry, and Lieutenant Cooke succeeded in first checking their advance and finally breaking the mass up into smaller parties. A glorious opportunity for a charge was here given the Cavalry, which ought to have been taken advantage of. Captain Kinleside's Troop had been ordered from the left of this wing of the army to support Captain Warner. It had a long distance to get over, but was in time to aid with a few rounds.

Whether it was a fragment of this portion of the enemy's Cavalry or not it is hard to say, but after these had been driven back a small body of some fifty men passed along the rear from right to left. The Commander-in-Chief and his Staff were for the greater part of the day in rear of the heavy guns in the centre. Some of the Staff, observing these men galloping in their direction, took them for some of Lieutenant Nicholson's levies in their jingly vestments, marvellously alike to our enemies. Lieutenant H. J. Stanus, with a Troop of the 5th Light Cavalry, the escort, was attacked by them. One or two, and Mr. A. H. Cocks of the Civil Service, who was with the Staff, were wounded,

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Feb. 21st.

but Lieutenant Stannus did not let many of them escape to tell of their hardy attempt.

On the left wing the Infantry had little to do but advance as the Artillery in front took up their successive positions. The Bombay Troop, under Major Blood, and the two field batteries drove the enemy back before them. Lieutenant Robertson's junior subaltern, 2nd-Lieutenant E. W. Day, nephew of the gallant officer commanding the heavy batteries of the Multán force, fell in this action *

The enemy opposed to our left consisted principally of Cavalry, with their Artillery advanced in front. General Thackwell directed Captain Duncan, commanding the left Troop, to advance, which he did "in good style," opening within 600 yards. Captain Huish went to the front in support, and together the twelve guns did good execution upon the enemy. A brilliant charge of a squadron of the 9th Lancers, supported by the Sind Horse, was executed.

Thus the Artillery advanced. The fire of 88 guns so ably directed was more than even better troops than the Sikhs could have borne unflinchingly. As they said themselves, "they were in hell" while it lasted. By half-past eleven o'clock the whole line was advancing, and they in rapid flight, leaving all their camp and nearly all their guns behind. The Cavalry and most of the Horse Artillery followed them up on the roads leading towards Bhimbar in the hills and Jhelum on the line to Peshawar.

Early next day Sir W. Gilbert, as active on horseback as any subaltern in the army, was ordered in pursuit with a strong force of Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery.

The Artillery accompanying consisted of the 2nd and 4th Troops 2nd Brigade and Bombay Horse Artillery, No. 17, and the Bombay Light Field Batteries, a detail of heavy

* Captain Deacon, H M. 61st, with his company, was covering Captain Ludlow's battery. He says in a letter "The two young officers with it, Messrs Salt and Walker, deserved well of their country. Never did I see lads work harder than they did."

guns with four reserve companies. Major Fordyce, who had lost very heavily, was completed in men and horses. Brigadier Huthwaite, C B., commanding, and Lieutenant E. Kaye, his Staff Officer. All started at once except the heavy guns and the Native Troop, which followed two days later. The selection of the 9-pounder battery for this service was injudicious, the road was rugged and very difficult, especially over the Bakrala Pass beyond Jhelum, and Major Blood's Troop, with his well-bred small Arab horses, had much the best of it in staying power. The 2nd Troop 2nd Brigade was one of the most distinguished troops in the regiment, and its commander a very able and gallant officer, but weight must tell in rapid and continuous marching.

1849.
Feb. 21st.

The force halted at Jhelum to allow the whole to concentrate. Crossing the river by fording was a slow operation, but the Sikhs retreated as Gilbert advanced. On the 9th of March Sher Singh came in, bringing Major George Lawrence, his wife and children, Lieutenants Herbert and Bowie. He said it was no use fighting; the lesson they had learned at Gujarát was not to be forgotten. He offered to send in his guns and the small arms in carts and disband his men, but General Gilbert's reply was firm, they must bring them in themselves and lay them down, or else he would go and take them. The 11th was the day appointed. By the banks of the Jhelum River, near Rawal Pindi, General Gilbert and his Staff awaited the humiliation of the Khalsa Army. The Sirdars came, but Gilbert would not see them until the guns had been first brought in. This was done at 2 o'clock. Next day the Infantry came in, and as they filed before the British General each man flung down his sword and matchlock with many a muttered curse upon the fate that had humbled them before the Feringhi—37 guns, besides 300 or 400 zamburaks, with four more guns subsequently surrendered, 55 taken at Gujarát, 12 at Chilianwála, 50 at Multán, and 50 in the fort of Govindghar made a total of 208 guns.

March.

1849. Dost Muhamad did not remain long on this side of the
March. Indus. Followed up by the indefatigable Gilbert, he passed away from Peshawar into his own country

And so the last Sikh War ended. A gallant enemy ere long became a faithful servant of the British Government, and a valuable province was added to the Indian dominions of Queen Victoria.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL WHEELER'S OPERATIONS IN THE JULLUNDUR DOAB

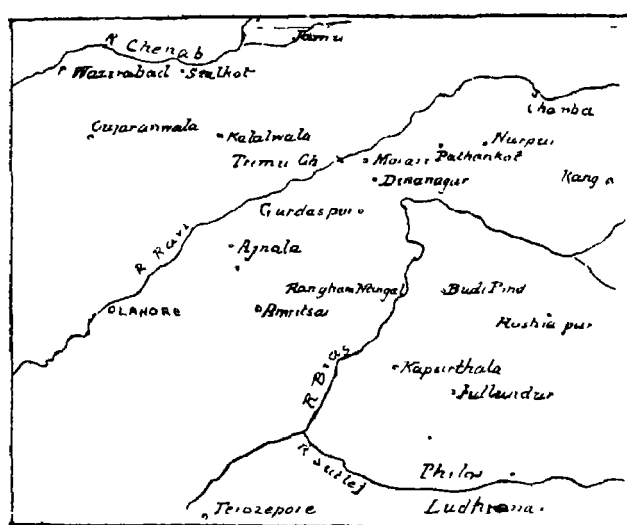
1848. A force had been detailed in September under Brigadier-General Wheeler commanding at Jullundur for the purpose of operating on the right of the main army to keep down any insurrectionary movements in that part of the Punjab. It had been disturbed by the proceedings of a fanatic, Bhái Maharája Singh, and in the beginning of September one Rám Singh of Nurpur had made an incursion from the hills in the direction of Pathankot, near the modern Sanatorium of Dalhousie

To prevent the Sikhs from giving us trouble about Amritsar, it was considered necessary to occupy the fort of Govindghar, which, under the terms of the treaty with the Sikh Government, could be done. As it was looked upon as almost sacred by them, it was necessary to proceed with caution, and Brigadier C. Campbell arranged accordingly. Colonel Macsherry took his regiment, the 1st N.I., off duty in Lahore on the afternoon of the 19th of September and marched with it and some Irregular Cavalry that evening for Govindghar, thirty-five miles distant. Mr A. H. Cocks and Mr. J. Inglis, C.S., rode on a little ahead of the Infantry with a few of the Irregulars, and passed within the gates. The other horsemen came up, and before the garrison well understood it, they were told they were to turn out. The Native Infantry close by had halted for a short time, and remained to refresh themselves, after which they marched into the fort, only two men having fallen out by the way.

1848.

The Artillery attached to General Wheeler's force were the 2nd and 3rd Troops 1st Brigade H.A., under Majors Waller and Swinley, the 4th Company 6th Battalion, No. 19 H.F.B. (Captain Burnett), and the 6th Company 8th Battalion, No. 15 F.B. (Captain T. H. Sissmore). The latter was being supplied with horses, but was still in bullock draft. Lieutenant E. Atlay acted as Staff Officer.

General Wheeler's force, after moving about the Doab, halted at Budhi Pind, 25 miles north of Jullundur. Moving



from thence, on the 13th of October, he marched across the Bias towards the fort of Ranghar Nangal, which he attacked next day and shelled. It was evacuated during the night. Artillery casualties: one of Captain Sissmore's native gunners wounded. Lieutenant Machell* was deputed to blow up the place.

The column then proceeded against Morai, six miles north-west of Dina Nagar, in the Gurdaspur district, which also was evacuated on the 24th.

* Transferred to the 1st-3rd H.A. in November.

1848. Thence, General Wheeler, leaving Major Waller's Troop to assist Mr. John Lawrence in keeping order east of the Bias, moved towards the Chenab, where the army of the Punjab was collecting. He was at Eminabad on the 17th of November, but was ordered back towards Jullundur, leaving H.M. 61st and the 36th N.I. with the army. On his way back he captured the fort of Kalálwala, nearly 30 miles east of Gujaránwala, on the 23rd of November, after some resistance by a large body of insurgents.

The force then proceeded to Dina Nagar, where it was encamped for about a month. Its presence there was of essential service to the main army between the Chenab and Jhelum, not only on account of the excited feeling throughout the Punjab, but also because it materially encouraged the villagers to contribute supplies for its support. In January, a small hill chief, Rana Singh, becoming troublesome, was attacked in the lower hills. The paths were blocked up by barriers of cactus stems, difficult to force. Captain Sissmore's guns were not employed here. Some loss was incurred. Lieutenant D. Christie, 7th Light Cavalry, a volunteer with the Infantry, was killed, and Captain W. W. Davidson, 16th I.C., was severely wounded. After this they returned to Jullundur, where the force was broken up at the termination of hostilities.

NOTE—As this chapter was going through the press, the papers announced the death of Field-Marshal Sir Patrick Grant. Although he was not immediately connected with the Regiment of Bengal Artillery, I had hoped that the portion of this book from 1843 to 1848 might have had the great advantage of his criticism. For there was no one more anxious to vindicate against unjust judgment the character of the gallant old soldier on whose staff he then was ; and there is no one now left so capable of pronouncing an opinion upon it.

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Papers laid before Parliament.

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Journal of Sir G. Brooke.

Letters from officers belonging to most of the batteries
and regiments engaged.

“Second Sikh War,” by E. J. Thackwell.

“Commentaries on the Punjab Campaign,” by J. H.
Lawrence-Archer.

“Journal of a Subaltern,” by Lieutenant D. A. Sand-
ford.

“Regimental History of the 29th Worcestershire Regi-
ment.”

APPENDIX.

A. Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served in the
second Sikh War.

B. Officers of the Bombay Artillery who served at
the Battle of Gujārat and pursuit of the Sikh Army.

C. Casualties at Sadulapur

D. Casualties at Chilianwāla.

E. Casualties at Gujārat.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A

Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served in the second Sikh War, Siege of Multán excepted.

	Rannagar	Sadulapur	Chilianwala	Gujarat	Indulundur
DIVISIONAL STAFF ARMY					
Major-Gen W S Whish, C B	.			P	
Lieutenant E. B Johnson	P		P	P	Dep Judge Adv -General
DIVISIONAL STAFF ARTILLERY					
Brigadier-General J Tennant		..		P	D A Q M G
Lieutenant H Tombs	P		P	P	Dy Assist Com. Ordinance.
Mr. T. Spencer			P	P	
H.Q 151 BRIGADE H A.					
Lieut -Col E. Huthwaite, C B		..	P	P	Brig Conning F.A
Major H. Garbett				P	
Major J. L. Mowatt		.	P	P	
Lieutenant E Kaye			P	P	Brigade-Major F A
Surgeon T. E. Dempster				P	
Surgeon C. Mackinnon	P	.	P	P	
Vet -Surgeon H. C. Hulse		..	P	P	
Riding-Mr S Douglas (Ensign)		.	P	P	Army Div, Staff Bag.-Master.
2nd Troop					56th Field Battery.
Captain R Waller					P
Lieutenant H P. de Teissier ..	.	.	P	P	Acting-Adj. 1st Brigade
Lieutenant S. C. Woodcock				.	P
Lieutenant W A. Mackinnon			...		P
Lieutenant C. H. Blunt ..			.		P
3rd Troop.					58th Field Battery.
Captain G. Swinley				.	P
Lieutenant R. M. Paton		..			P
Lieutenant E. Atlay		...	.		P
Lieutenant J. Oldfield ...			...		P
2nd-Lieutenant J. S. Frith	.	..			P
Assist.-Surg. J. F. Beatson,					
M. D. A B.	.			..	P
4th Troop					. Reduced 1862
Captain M. Mackenzie	.	.	.	P	.
Lieutenant J. Mill			.	P	
Lieutenant F. W. Swinhoe			.	P	
Lieutenant A. Bunny		..	.	P	
2nd-Lieut. J. V. Worthington		.	.	P	
Assistant-Surgeon D. McKae .		.	.	P	
2ND BRIGADE, H A.					
Lieut.-Colonel G. Brooke, C.B	P	...	P	P	.
Br.-Lieut.-Colonel F Bind	P	...	P	P	.
Lieutenant C. V. Cox ..	..	..	P	P	Brigade-Major H.A.
Surgeon G. G. Brown, M D. .	..	..	P	P	...
Vet.-Surgeon J. Stoddall ..	..	..	P	P	.
Riding-Master C. Connolly ..	..	...	P	P	..

NOTE A—continued.

	Rannagar.	Sadulapur.	Chilianwala.	Gejral.	Mullundur	
<i>1st Troop.</i>						<i>K., R.H.A</i>
Captain A. Huish ..	...	p	p	p	..	
Lieutenant R. R. Bruce ..	p	.	p	p	...	Acting Adj't. 2nd Brigade.
Lieutenant H. A. Olpherts	p	..	p	p	...	A.D.C to Brig.-Gen. Tenant.
Lieutenant J. Angelo ..		p	p	p	...	
Lieutenant J. E. Watson		p	p	p	...	Doing duty from 3-1 P.A
Lieutenant G. R. Brown	...	p	p	p	..	
Assist.-surgeon D. Scott, M.D	p	p	p	p	.	
<i>2nd Troop.</i>						<i>2nd Field Battery.</i>
Captain J. Fordyce ..	...		p	p	..	
Lieutenant P. Christie ...	.	.	.	p	.	Dep. Assist Commy Ordce.
Lieutenant S. W. Stokes	...	..	p	p	.	
Lieutenant G. Maister ..	...	.	p	p	.	
Lieutenant J. R. Sladen	...	..	.	p	.	
2nd-Lieutenant W. Delane	...	...	p	p	.	
<i>3rd Troop.</i>						<i>2nd Co 2nd Depot Div.</i>
Bt.-Major E. Christie ...	...	p	p	.	.	Died of wounds received at Chilianwala
Captain R. R. Kinleside	..	p	.	p	.	
Lieutenant H. Le G. Bruce	.	p	p	p	.	
Lieutenant C. Cookworthy	.	p	p	p	.	
Lieutenant W. A. Mylne		p	p	p	.	
Lieutenant A. Darling ..	..	p	p	p	..	
Assist.-Surg. H. W. Rumley	p	p	p	p	..	
<i>4th Troop</i>						<i>Reduct April, 1882.</i>
Captain F. K. Duncan .			p	p	.	
Lieutenant A. P. Simons	..		p	p	.	
Lieutenant J. A. Manson	..		p	.	.	Killed in action, Chilianwala.
Lieutenant W. M. Gowan	.		p	p	.	
Assist.-Surg. H. B. Buckle	..		p	p	..	
<i>3RD BRIGADE II A</i>						
Bt.-Lieut.-Col. C. Grant, C.B.	p	p	p	p	...	
Lieutenant J. Abercrombie ..	p		p	p	...	D A A G A
Surgeon G. Craigie, M.D.	...	p	p	p	..	
Vet.-Surg. C. Turner ...	...	p	p	p	..	
<i>1st Troop</i>						<i>L, R.H.A</i>
Bt.-Lieut.-Col. H. M. Lawrence, C.B. ...	...	...	p		...	Political Employ
Captain W. K. Warner	...	p	p	p	...	
Lieutenant G. H. Clifford	...	p	p	..	...
Lieutenant A. Pearson...	...	p	p	p	...	
Lieutenant C. H. Cookes	...	p	p	p	...	
2nd-Lieutenant L. Macchell	...	...	p	p	..	

NOTE A—continued.

	Rannagar.	Sadulpur.	Chilawala.	Gujarat.	Julundur.	
<i>2nd Troop</i>						<i>57th Field Battery.</i>
Bt.-Lieut.-Col. J. T. Lane, C.B. ...	p		p	p	..	
Lieutenant G. Moir ..			..	p	..
Lieutenant E. A. C. D'Oyly ..	p		p	p	..	
Lieutenant J. S. Tulloh ..	p		p	p	..	
2nd-Lieutenant A. O. Mayne ..			p	p		
Assist.-Surg. G. F. Thompson, M.D.	
<i>4th Troop</i>						Killed in action at Gujarat
Captain J. Anderson ..	..	..	..	p	
Lieutenant F. Alexander ..	...	..	..	p	
Lieutenant H. Francis ..				p		
Lieutenant R. Mechem		p		
<i>1st BATTALION</i>						
Lieut.-Colonel A. Wilson			p	
<i>1st Company No. 10 H.F.B.</i>						<i>21st Field Battery</i> Severely wounded at Sadulapur—With heavy guns at Gujarat Doing duty G.O. Dec. 11 Transferred from 1-4 G.O. Dec. 28.
Captain E. G. Austin ..	..	p		p	
Lieutenant A. Robertson ..	..	p	p	p	
Lieutenant A. H. Heath ..	...	p	p	p	...
2nd-Lieutenant E. W. Day		p		Killed in action at Gujarat.
<i>3rd Company No. 17 H.F.B.</i>						<i>53rd Field Battery</i> From 2-7
Captain M. Dawes ..			p	p		
Lieutenant C. S. Dundas ..			p	p		
Lieutenant E. J. Goodridge ..			p	p		
<i>2nd Company 2nd Battalion</i>						<i>9th Mountain Battery.</i>
Lieutenant W. K. Fooks ..				p		
Lieutenant J. F. Raper		p		
<i>3RD BATTALION.</i>						
Major E. F. Day	p		
<i>3rd Company</i>						<i>14th Co. Southern Div.</i> Prisoner in hands of Sher Singh. Adj't. left wing 3rd Batt. Doing duty from 1-5.
Captain E. P. Master ...	..	..	..	p	...
Lieutenant C. V. Bowie ..	..	..	..	..	..
Lieutenant D. J. F. Newall ..	..	..	..	p	..
Lieutenant H. P. Bishop ..	...	..	..	p	..
Lieutenant F. R. De Bude ..	..	..	..	p	..
2nd-Lieutenant W. J. Quayle ..	..	..	..	p	

NOTE A—continued.

	Ranagar.	Sadulapur.	Chulanwala.	Gajard.	Jellundar.	
<i>4th Company</i>						<i>36th Field Battery.</i>
Lieutenant W. Miller	•	P	..	
Lieutenant J. Hunter		P	..	
Lieutenant J. C. Simons			•	P		
<i>4TH BATTALION</i>						
Major R. Horsford		P	P	P		
Lieutenant C. A. Wheelwright	•		P	P		
Surgeon E. Tritton		P	P	P	..	
<i>1st Company (Heavy Battery)</i>						<i>2nd Mountain Battery</i>
Captain Sir R. C. Shakespear, Kt	•		P	P		Commy. of Ordnance
Captain C. Hogge			P	P		
Lieutenant G. Holland			P	P	•	
Lieutenant H. Montgomery	•	..	P	P		
Lieutenant C. Dempster			P	P		
<i>2nd Company (Heavy Battery)</i>						<i>4th Mountain Battery.</i>
Rt. Major E. H. Ludlow			P			Transferred to 3-7
2nd-Lieutenant E. J. Goodridge			P	P		
2nd-Lieutenant W. A. Ross			P	P		
2nd-Lieutenant E. Simeon			P	P		
<i>4th Company, Detachment</i>						<i>6th Co Eastern Div.</i>
Lieutenant W. J. Gray			P	P		} With heavy guns.
2nd-Lieutenant W. Dickson			P	P	•	
<i>N.C. District</i>	•	•	•	•	•	<i>Reduced 1871.</i>
<i>4th Co. 6th Batt No 19 I F B</i>						
Captain F. C. Burnett	•	•	•	•	P	
2nd-Lieutenant A. W. Parley					P	} <i>2nd Co. 7th Batt No 15 F B</i> <i>Native—Reduced 1862</i>
2nd-Lieutenant W. T. Brown					P	
<i>3rd Co 7th Batt. No 5 H F B</i>						
Captain R. R. Kinleside		P		•		} From 2 4
Rt. Major E. H. Ludlow				P		
Lieutenant E. W. E. Walker	•	P	P	P	•	
2nd-Lieutenant T. H. Salt		P	P	P	•	
2nd-Lieutenant R. Murray		✓	P			
<i>6th Co. 8th Batt No 15 F B.</i>						<i>Native—Reduced 1862.</i>
Captain T. H. Sissmore	•	•	•	•	P	
2nd-Lieutenant T. Presant	•	•	•	•	P	
2nd-Lieutenant J. H. Lamb	•	•	•	•	P	
Captain James Abbott		•	•	•	•	In political charge Hazára District
Lieut. W. Hay, 1st Co. 3rd Batt.	•	•	•	P		From Malwa Contingent Artillery

Received Punjab medal as part of Lahore Garrison —
3rd Troop, 3rd Brigade H A.
 Lt.-Lieut. Colonel G. Campbell.
 Lieutenant F. F. Remington.
 Lieutenant H. J. B. Macleod.
 Lieutenant D. McNeill.

2nd-Lieutenant B. R. Williams—Doing duty from 3-7.

1st Company 6th Battalion.
 Lt.-Captain H. M. Conran.
 Lieutenant T. H. Bosworth. +

NOTE B

Officers of the Bombay Artillery who served with the Army of the Punjab in the battle of Gujarát, and pursuit of the Sikh Army to Peshawur.

Brigadier J. S. Leeson, Commanding.
Lieutenant William Stevenson, Bde. Major

3rd Troop H.A — Q., R.H.A
Major C. Blood.
Lieutenant D McDougall.
2nd-Lieutenant A Blunt.
2nd-Lieutenant C. E H Cotes.
Lieutenant J. G. Lightfoot—Doing duty.

*2nd Co 1st Batt and Field Battery,
15th Field Battery R.A.*
Captain S Turnbull
Lieutenant J. Hamilton
" " D G. Anderson
" " W H J. Henderson.
" " C E. Allom

NOTE C

Return of casualties in action at Sadulapur, December 3rd, 1848.

	KILLED			WOUNDED					
	Sergeants	Rank and File	Horses	Officers	Sergeants	Rank and File.	Sycc Drivers.	Syccs.	Horses.
1st Troop 2nd Brigade H.A.	1	1	3	1	1	1	...	...	3
3rd Troop 2nd Brigade H.A.	..	..	..	..	...	..	...	...	3
1st Troop 3rd Brigade H.A.	..	4	8	..	..	7	...	..	4
1st Co. 1st Batt. No. 10 L.F.B.	..	..	2	1	..	2	..	..	..
3rd Co 7th Batt No. 5 L.F.B.	...	...	1	..	..	..	2	1	2
	1	5	14	2	1	10	2	1	10

Names of Officers wounded—Captain E. G. Austin, 1st Com. 1st Batt. severely; Lieutenant J. E. Watson, 1st Troop 2nd Bde. H.A.

NOTE D.

Return of Casualties in the Artillery Divison, Chulánwála, 13th January, 1894. Dated 17th January.

	KILLED						WOUNDED.						MISSING.			
	Officers	Non-Com. Officers.	Rank and File	Lascars	Syces.	Horses	Officers	Non-Com. Officers.	Trumpeters.	Rank and File.	Lascars.	Syces	Horses	Rank and File	Syces.	Horses.
1st. Troop 2nd Bde. H.A			5	1						1	4	...	2	1	...	22
2nd Troop 2nd Bde. H.A										4	1	...		...	...	2
3rd Troop 2nd Bde H.A.		1	6				1			2	3	1		1	6	31
4th Troop 2nd Bde H.A.	1				1	6				2			2	...	...	4
1st Troop 3rd Bde. H.A.			1			1				1			1	...	...
2nd Troop 3rd Bde. H.A.										1		...	...	...	...
1st Co 1st Batt. No. 10 L.F.B.						...						...	1		...	
3rd Co. 1st Batt. No 17 L.F.B.						3	2		1	2				...	...	1
1st Co 4th Batt.			1		...			...		7	...	...		...	...
2nd Co. 4th Batt.			1					1		2		...		...	...
4th Co. 4th Batt.										1	...	...	...	...	...
3rd Co 7th Batt. No 5 L.F.B.						1				5	...	...	1	...	...	1
Park Establishment		1		...							...	...	...			...
Total ..	1	2	14	1	1	11	3	1	1	28	8	1	7	2	6	61

* Names of Officers killed or wounded—4th Troop 2nd Bde H.A., Lieut. J. A. Manson, killed; 3rd Troop 2nd Bde., Capt. (Bd.-Major) E. Christie, wounded, very dangerously (since dead); 3rd Co. 1st Batt., Capt. M. Dawes, slightly wounded; Lieut. C. E. Dundas, severely wounded.

NOTE E.

Return of Casualties in the Artillery Division, Gujarát, 21st February, 1848.

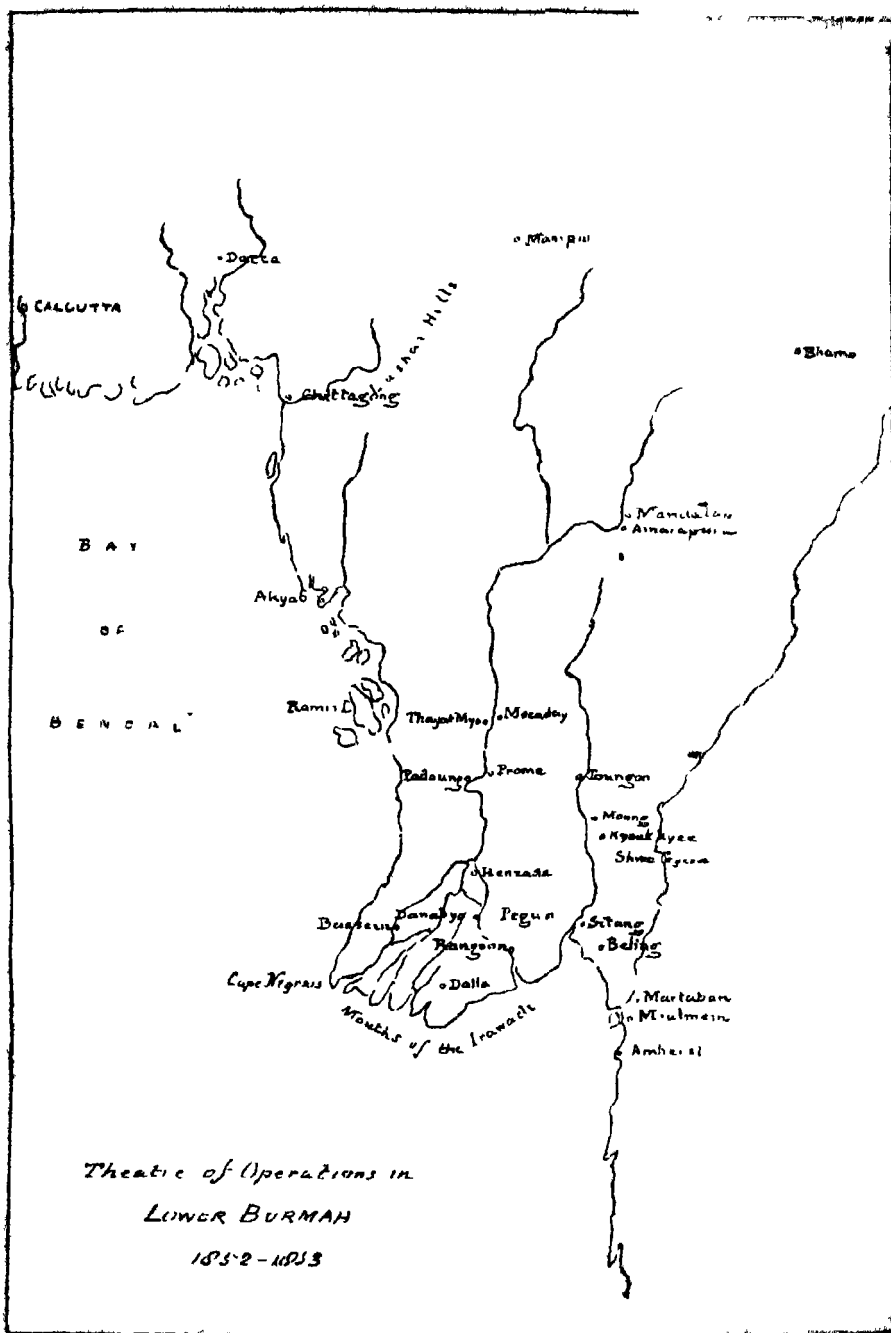
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HISTORY OF THE BENGAL ARTILLERY.

	KILLED							WOUNDED.							MISSING					
	Officers	Non-Com Officers	Rank and File	Lascars	Sycc Drivers.	Sycc	Horses	Bullocks	Officers	Native Officers	Non-Com Officers	Trumpeters	Rank and File	Lascars	Sycc Drivers	Sycc	Horses	Bullocks	Sycc	Horses
General Staff ...		..	...	..		.			1			.					..	..	..	..
4th Troop 1st Brigade H.A.		..	3	.		1	17		1			.	5	2	.	5	11		..	...
2nd Troop 2nd Brigade H.A.		...	7	1	.		25			1	1	1	17	4	.				..	...
3rd Troop 2nd Brigade H.A.						1	7						4	.	.		13		1	...
4th Troop 2nd Brigade H.A.													1	.					..	...
1st Troop 3rd Brigade H.A.												1	2	.					..	...
2nd Troop 3rd Brigade H.A.			1				7				2		3			1	1		...	2
4th Troop 3rd Brigade H.A.	1	1	6	1			16				1		4	1		1	6		..	1
1st Company 1st Batt No 10 LFB	1		1				2						2		2		3		..	1
3rd Company 1st Batt No 17 LFB							10						4				3		..	..
3rd Company 3rd Battalion			2					5							2				..	..
4th Company 3rd Battalion							5						2	1	3				..	..
1st Company 4th Battalion									1				3	1					..	..
4th Company 4th Battalion													1				..		..	..
3rd Company 7th Batt No 5 LFB					1	1	3						2	1	1				...	...
Total	2	1	20	2	1	3	87	10	2	1	4	2	50	10	8	7	37	..	1	6

Killed—Captain J. Anderson, 4th Troop 3rd Brigade H.A., 2nd-Lieutenant E. W. Day, 1st Co. 1st Batt.

Wounded—Provost-Marshal S. Budd, General Staff, severely; Captain Bt.-Major Sir R. Shakespear, 1st Co. 4th Batt.



CHAPTER VIII

SECOND BURMESE WAR, 1852-53

FORCES SENT FROM BENGAL AND MADRAS—Attack on Rangoon—Bassein Captured—Re-brigading of the Force—Promis Occupied—Expedition to Pegu—Pegu invested by Burmese—Keleed—Province of Pegu Annexed to British Dominions—Cleared of Burmese Troops—Shwagyeen—Expedition against Mya Toon—Its Difficulties and Successful Termination—Army Broken Up

THE insolence of the Burmese, which had for some years been increasing, materially interfered with our trade at Rangoon. Commodore Lambert, who had been stationed off the mouth of the river for its protection, was on the 6th of January, 1852, obliged to place the rivers of Rangoon, Bassein, and Salween in a state of blockade. On the 9th the Commodore sailed up towards the town of Rangoon and was fired on as he passed the stockades which the Burmese had on each side, which accordingly were bombarded by H.M. frigate *Fox*, H.M.S. *Hurmes*, and H.M.S. *Phlegethon*. Thus the war was begun, and the English merchants with their families were removed from the town.

1852.

A combined force from Bengal and Madras was sent under command of Major-General H. Godwin, C.B.

The Bengal Column was commanded by Brigadier G. Warren, and consisted at first of one company of Artillery, one European and two Native regiments of Infantry. Brevet-Major Reid, with the 2nd Company 5th Battery, a wing of H.M. 80th Regiment, and the 40th N.I. had embarked at the end of March. Lieutenant A. Robertson was Deputy Commissary of Ordnance, Major H. Fraser was Commanding Engineer; Lieutenants E. C. S. Williams, L.

1852. Donaldson, A. Craster, and W. S. Trevor were Assistant Field Engineers. A wing of H.M. 18th Regiment had gone the previous month to Moulmain. It proceeded to Rangoon in the end of March.

The Madras force was commanded by Brigadier W. H. Elliot, K H., and consisted of —

Artillery.

D Company 2nd Batt Captain C J. Cooke
D Company 3rd Batt Brevet-Major H Montgomery
A Company 4th Batt Captain A F. Oakes

Engineers.

Captain J. W. Rundall, Lieutenants B Ford (N I.), H. Allen, H. Mackintosh (N I.), 2nd-Lieutenants, G. Dennison, E. R. Blagrove, and J O. Mayne. A and E Companies Sappers and Miners.

Infantry

H.M. 51st King's Own Light Infantry, 5th, 9th, and 35th N.I.

Lieutenant-Colonel H. S. Foord, of the 4th Battalion, was placed in general command of the Artillery. His Brigade-Major was Captain J. D. Scott. Major Oakes had given up the post of Director of the Dépôt of Instruction, and Major Montgomery a Civil Commissionership in Mysore to take their share of service.

Three companies of Artillery, the 18th Royal Irish, and a Native Infantry Regiment had been sent from Calcutta; three companies of Artillery, the 51st K.O. Light Infantry, and ~~and~~ N.I. from Madras, and arrived off the Rangoon River in the beginning of April. General Godwin and Rear-Admiral C. J. Austen, C.B., left for Martaban on the 3rd, arriving there on the 5th. A storming party under Colonel Reignolds, 18th R.I., attacked and carried the place, and the force were back in the Rangoon River on the 8th.

Captain T. Latter, 67th B.N.I., who from his intimate acquaintance with the Burmese language acted as inter-

the
April.

preter to the General, was sent up with a flag of truce in the *Proserpine*, but was fired upon while passing the stockade; wherefore the ships with troops on board moved up and opened fire upon the Rangoon and Dalla stockades, capturing the latter.

1852.
April.

Next day the troops landed on the Rangoon side in two columns. The right consisted of the 18th and 51st Regiments on either flank, the 40th Bengal N.I. in the centre. The Sappers and Miners with ladders were in rear of the left, the Artillery in rear of the column itself. The left column landed as boats were available. It consisted of the 9th and 35th Madras N.I. with a wing of the 80th in centre.

The General, with the right column, moved on to attack the great Shwe Dagon Pagoda. The road led up from the river through the new town to the south gate. The enemy, however, opened fire from the White House stockade, so called from a house in its front. The General was in advance with Colonel Foord, Major Turton, Brigade-Major Scott, and four guns of the 2nd Company 5th Battalion under Bt.-Major Reid. These were unlimbered at 800 yards, and continued in action until their ammunition, of which they had a somewhat limited supply, was expended. Major Oakes, with the two 24-pounder howitzers of his battery,* continued the fire until his was also expended. He was himself disabled by sunstroke, which was very fatal this day. His 9-pounder guns joined, and then two divisions of D-3 with Major Montgomery and Lieutenant Laurie.

A storming party of four companies of the 51st, with Sappers, was then sent forward, and after a severe struggle carried the stockade. The casualties this day were numerous. Captain Blundell, 51st Regiment, died of his wounds. Lieutenants Donaldson and Trevor, Engineers, wounded, the former mortally. Brigade-Major Griffiths,

April 12th,

*They had not adopted in Madras the recommendation of the Committee of 1836, and exchanged one of the howitzers for a gun.

1852.
April 12th. Madras Division, and Major Oakes,* Artillery, died of sunstroke. Brigadier Warren, Colonel Foord, Artillery, and Colonel St. Maur, 51st, were disabled by the great heat.

April 14th. Four 8-inch howitzers were brought into camp next day, and on the 14th the Great Pagoda was attacked. H.M.'s 80th Regiment with four guns of A-4 under Major Montgomery was in advance. On coming within range of the Pagoda and its defences, from which a fire was opened, two of the guns under Major Montgomery were moved to the left, the two others to the right, leaving the centre for the heavy howitzers, served by a company of the Bengal Artillery, which were being dragged up by 120 men of the Naval Brigade under Lieutenant Dorville of H.M.S. *Fox*. Major Back superintended the fire of these guns, which was very effective. Lieutenant St. G. Ashe, with a 24-pounder howitzer on the left of the heavy howitzers, dislodged some of the enemy from bushes in front. It was 10 a.m. when the howitzers came into action. At 11.30 Captain Latter told the General that the east entrance of the Pagoda had been cleared by their fire, and volunteered to lead the storming party. It was formed of the wing of the 80th under Major Lockhart, two companies 18th Royal Irish under Lieutenant Hewitt, and two of the 40th Bengal N.I. under Lieutenant White, Colonel Coote, 18th, commanding the whole. The assault was well delivered, and the Pagoda was taken. The loss in the operations of the 11th, 12th, and 14th was 17 killed, 132 wounded. In the Artillery, there were . Bengal, 1 sergeant killed, 6 sergeants wounded, Madras,

* "G O Fort St George, 11th May, 1852. In nominating a successor to Major Oakes as Director of the Artillery Depôt of Instruction, the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council desires to express the deep regret with which he has received the report of that officer's death.

"Major Oakes' whole course of service was distinguished by the singular activity and unceasing labour with which he devoted himself to every subject belonging to his profession, rendering his death a loss not only to his immediate regiment, but to the service at large.

"Major Oakes died, as he had lived, in the energetic discharge of his duty."

1 sergeant killed, 1 sergeant, 1 lascar and 3 Syce-drivers wounded. This does not include casualties by sunstroke, Colonel Foord being laid up from this cause. Major Turton commanded on this day. Ninety-two pieces of ordnance were captured, of these 60 were 3-pounders or smaller—82 jingals on wooden carriages also were taken.

1852.
April 14th.

The capture of Rangoon was followed by that of Bassein on the 19th of May, but the Artillery were not employed here. A detachment of the 51st Regiment (which had four officers wounded) and of the 9th Madras N.I. (one officer wounded), and 60 Sappers under Lieutenant Ford, with a party of Marines (Lieutenant Rice, R.N., wounded) formed the force. Lieutenant Craster, Bengal Engineers, was on this service and was mentioned in dispatches.

During the next four months the heat prevented further operations. In the end of August a fresh brigading of the Bengal troops took place (G.G.O. August 24th). The 1st Brigade, H.M. 18th, 40th and 67th N.I., was under Brigadier T. S. Reigolds, C.B., Colonel Warren having been obliged to go home from the effects of sunstroke. The 2nd Brigade, H.M. 80th, 10th N.I., and 4th Sikh Infantry, was under Brigadier T. Dickinson, 10th N.I. The 3rd Brigade, 1st European Bengal Fusiliers, 37th N.I., and the Regiment of Ludhiāna, was under Brigadier G. Huish, C.B., 37th N.I. The whole of the Bengal contingent under Brigadier-General Sir John Cheape, K.C.B., Bengal Engineers.

Major Hugh Montgomery, of the Madras Artillery, had died at Calcutta on the 4th of June. Rear-Admiral Austen, Naval Commander-in-Chief, died on board H.M.S. *Pluto* on the 7th of October.

In September, General Godwin, with H.M. 18th and 80th and 35th M.N.I., left for Promé. A-4 and part of D-2 Madras Artillery were ordered for this service under Captains Mein and Cooke.* Promé was reached on the 9th of October.

* Subalterns, Lieutenants Hitchins and Robertson. 2nd-Lieutenants Bridge, Blair, and Lloyd (Lieutenant Laurie). General Godwin only mentions one company in his dispatch of October 12th.

1852.
April 14th.

Under cover of the shell from the boats under Captain Loch, R.N., the 80th Regiment and two guns landed, and the lower town was cleared. Next day Colonel Coote, with the 18th and 35th M.N.I., landed, and the enemy having evacuated, possession was taken. Major Reid, with half the 2nd Company 5th Battalion, arrived soon after with half his field battery.* General Godwin returned to Rangoon, leaving Brigadier-General Sir J. Cheape in command at Prome.

November

The town of Pegu had been taken early in June by a small force under Major Cotton, 67th B.N.I., but General Godwin could not then hold the place. Another expedition was sent in November under Brigadier Malcolm McNeill, of the Madras Cavalry. The force consisted of 300 of the Bengal, 300 of the Madras Fusiliers, 400 of the 5th Madras N.I., and two guns under Captain Z. M. Mallock. They proceeded up the river in four of the Company's river steamers, and disembarked below Pegu on Sunday morning, the 21st, on the left bank. The sun was very hot, and there was dense jungle to be penetrated. The advance was continued for four hours, the progress being slow, and working parties were clearing away. This was under fire. At 9.45 a column of attack was formed. The two Fusilier Regiments charged over the ditch and the town was taken. Captain Mallock's two guns had covered the advance and assault. After a rest the great Pagoda to the north of the town was stormed by 160 of the Bengal and a similar number of the Madras Fusiliers. Captain Mallock was among the officers thanked on this occasion. General Godwin, who was present, returned to Rangoon, leaving a garrison at Pegu under command of Major Hill, Madras Fusiliers, of four hundred men with a small detail of Artillery and two guns under Lieutenant M. James and Lieutenant J. D. Campbell, Bengal Engineers.

* Subalterns, 2nd-Lieutenants Willoughby, Ashe, Dobbin, and Lewes. The other half, with 2nd-Lieutenants Anderson and Fraser, joined from Rangoon soon after.

The Burmese, finding the force so small, soon invested the place, and from December 6th the small garrison was kept continually on the alert. Major Hill reported his position to the General, and asked for more ammunition. Commander Shadwell, H.M.S. *Sphinx*, left with seven boats armed with field howitzers and two cargo boats with Captain Mallock and twelve Artillerymen on board; but they found the place invested by such numbers of the enemy that they did not succeed in communicating with Major Hill. The Artillery had a sergeant and a gunner killed; a bugler and four gunners wounded.

1853.
December,

General Godwin accordingly went up the river with a strong force, some Bengal and Madras Fusiliers, the 4th Sikh Infantry, and some of the 10th Bengal N.I.; while another under Colonel Sturt, 67th B.N.I., consisting of part of C Troop H.A., some Sappers, and the 67th N.I., proceeded by land. General Godwin reached the village of Lomensidi on the 13th, landed the troops, advanced next day, and, after a fatiguing morning, drove back the Burmese and entered the Pagoda, which Major Hill had been holding.

Dec. 14th.

On the 16th, though Colonel Sturt's force had not arrived, General Godwin went with about ~~100~~ men to attack the enemy in the direction of Shwe-gyeen, but they did not show fight, and he returned to Rangoon, leaving a larger garrison at Pegu.

1210

On the 30th, the notification by the Governor-General annexing the province of Pegu to the British dominions was published. The fifth paragraph of the Proclamation began: "Such Burman troops as may still remain in the Province shall be driven out." In the arrangements for the Civil Government of the Province, Captain H. T. Berdmore, Lieutenants G. Dangerfield and J. S. Baird were placed on the Commission.

Dec. 16th.

In conformity with these orders, Brigadier-General Steel, C.B., directed a force to embark for Martaban under his personal command. It embarked on the 4th, and consisted

1853.

January 4th.

1853.
Jan. 4th.

of D-3 Madras Artillery under Lieutenant Laurie, detachments Bengal and Madras Fusiliers, and wings of the 10th B.N.I. and 5th M.N.I., some Ramghar Cavalry, and a company of Sappers. At Martaban Lieutenant Purvis with A-2 Artillery had been stationed since the previous April. Lieutenant J. S. Baird, 2nd-Lieutenants E. M. Playfair, C. L. Yeoman, and Murray Stuart were attached. Colonel Anstruther, C.B., commanded the Artillery.

The force, consisting of about 2,100 men, left Martaban on the 14th, and came in contact with the enemy at Kyouk-ye-dwing four miles from Martaban. Lieutenant Purvis, with two howitzers,* and 2nd-Lieutenant Onslow, with rockets, cleared the jungle. On the 18th, General Steel advanced to Gungoh, where the enemy had thrown up a breastwork covered with abattis and sharp stakes. The Artillery did the work, and Major Seaton, at the head of a storming party of the Bengal Fusiliers, attacked, but found no one to slay inside.

February.

On the 14th of June the force marched along the coast and up the Sitang River, reaching Sitang on the 3rd of February, and thence on to Shwe-gyeen, reached on the 11th. No opposition was encountered, for the Court of Ava had begun to see their inability to fight. It was, however, deemed necessary by General Steel to make a further advance.

A light column of about 900 men was sent on the 15th. Colonel Anstruther proceeded in command of the Artillery, D-3, Lieutenants Bridge and Lloyd with it. Toungoo, on the Sitang River, was reached in eight marches on the 22nd, and here General Steel remained until negotiations for peace had begun. Lieutenant A. Fraser, Bengal Engineers, was with this force.

Peace had not come as yet. Dacoity was then, as now, a regular institution in Burmah, and when regular fighting was at an end, a guerilla warfare took its place. A noted

* Drawn by bullocks, an animal against which Lieutenant Laurie in his work on this campaign enters a protest.

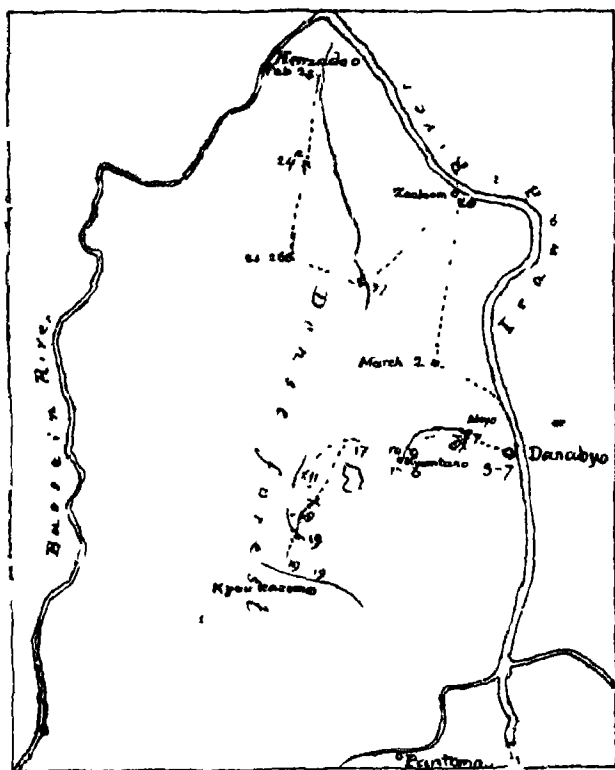
robber chieftain, by name Mya Toon, kept the country about Danabyo hot, and an expedition under Captain Loch, C.B., H.M.S. *Winchester*, was sent up the river against him. Besides 185 Seamen, and 62 Marines, there were 300 of the 67th N.I., under Major Minchin. They had advanced some twenty-five miles beyond Danabyo, through an almost impenetrable jungle, with a contracted front owing to the density of the vegetation and lines of sharp stakes on either side of the way, but saw no enemy till they came to a steep nullah, the perpendicular banks of which were about thirty feet deep. Unable to leave the path either to right or left, they suddenly found themselves under a heavy fire from a masked stockade on the opposite bank, while shots from the trees above and the jungle told with fatal effect. In a very short time Lieutenant Kennedy, H.M.S. *Fox*, was killed, Captain Loch and Captain Price, 67th N.I., were mortally wounded, and after losing in killed and wounded eighty-two men, the party had to retire, which was done in a very creditable manner, two companies of the 67th in rear.

It became necessary, therefore, to put down this Mya Toon. Meanwhile, a revolution had broken out at Ava. It was the opinion of the King's brother and heir and many others that the Lord of the White Elephant had put the Golden Foot into it, and the end was that the old King was deposed. The new one was not disposed to carry on hostilities. Mya Toon not representing the Burmese Government, Brigadier-General Cheape left Prome on the 18th February with a selected force for Danabyo—200 of the 18th under Major Wigston, 200 of the 51st under Captain Irby; a company 67th B.N.I. under Captain Hicks; 200 of the 4th Sikhs under Major Armstrong, 70 Sappers under Lieutenants Mullins and Trevor; and a howitzer, and a gun and howitzer under Major C. S. Reid, with Lieutenants Ashe and Dobbin, and Lieutenant J. R. Magrath, with some rockets served by dismounted Horse Artillerymen.

1853.
February.

1853.
February.

Sir John Cheape landed from the Irawadi at Henzadah, about thirty-five miles north of Danabyo. Here Captain Singleton of the 51st joined. The delta between the Bassein and Irawadi Rivers was for the most part covered with forest, and no one except the inhabitants knew the paths that led to the robber's village of Khyoukazeen. It was



said to be only four days' march distant, so not more than about seven days' provisions were taken. The route taken will best be understood by referring to the accompanying sketch, copied from one in Lieutenant Laurie's narrative. After going in a southerly direction, it was thought advis-

able to regain the Irawadi River, and the direction was changed north-east, to Zooloom. Here on the 1st of March Lieutenant F. W. Graham joined with a detachment of the Irregular Cavalry of the Ramghar Battalion, and the troops which had embarked in the steamers went down to Danabyo, while the battery horses, carts, etc., were escorted on land by 200 men, Royal Irish and Sikhs, and the Cavalry

1853.
March

Danabyo had been burned some time before by Mya Toon, but the Pagoda sheltered the Native troops while the Europeans remained on board till the 6th, when a further reinforcement arrived from Rangoon consisting of 130 men of the 80th, under Major Holdich, 300 of the 67th B.N.I. under Colonel Sturt, and two mortars under Lieutenant J. Percival, and a large supply of commissariat stores in charge of Lieutenant Mackellar, Madras Service.

On the 7th, then, Sir John Cheape moved forward, Major Wigston commanding the advance detachments of the 18th and 80th Regiments and 4th Sikhs, Colonel Sturt commanded the left wing in rear, the Artillery in the centre. At Akyo, seven miles from Danabyo, the enemy opened fire from the other side of a broad nullah and kept up a random fire during the night. The 8th was taken up, getting over the nullah. Next day, owing to the guides misleading them, the force found itself at the end of a fatiguing march back at the point from which it had started, and it only proceeded a short distance on to the village of Kyomtano, on the banks of another nullah. This was bridged on the 10th, and on the 11th they passed through a dense forest, meeting with some troublesome attacks in front and rear, in which Lieutenant Clarke, 67th B.N.I., and one of the Rifles were wounded, the rear guard having a Sepoy killed, a private and six Sepoys wounded. This was a very weary march, and one of the Sepoys died of cholera. The absence of information was a most serious difficulty, and the supply of food was failing, wherefore Sir John Cheape went back to Kyomtano. Here they halted till the 16th; several more cases of cholera

March 9th

March 11th.

1853.
March 11th. occurred. Colonel Sturt went to Danabyo, and returned with a food supply for ten days more.

A small stockade was constructed at Kyomtano, and a detachment under Lieutenant Dickson, 51st, left in charge with the sick and surplus stores. Information of the route was procured.

March 17th. On the evening of the 17th, Major Wigston, with the right wing, 18th, 80th, and 4th Sikh Regiments, was sent on by a road leading northward from Kyomtano, and turning round to the left to take post near a large lake, and clear a way. This he did successfully, removing abattis and making paths round felled trees.

March 18th. Next day, Sir John Cheape, with the left wing, 51st K.O.L.I. and 67th N.I. under Lieut-Colonel Sturt, followed by the guns and Irregular Cavalry, followed and passed the left wing; their course being now south-west. Overcoming the serious obstacles, they got about noon to a piece of water, where the force halted for an hour. It took two hours to get a mile further on, and the enemy were close at hand. They had constructed a breastwork of trees and branches, and opened fire, but it was only possible to judge of their position by the direction from which it came. The guns and rockets were brought to bear upon them, and as soon as a path had been cleared, a charge was ordered. The 51st and the 67th N.I. carried the work most gallantly, Captain Singleton, of the former, leading the advance. Ensign Boileau, 67th, was killed while attacking the enemy on our left. A gun, which appeared the only one, was taken, and the force encamped about a mile further on.

March 19th. Next day the General marched at 7 a.m., the right wing leading. Another breastwork was encountered a mile further on. The 80th formed the advance, the Sappers clearing the road. The rockets opened fire, and the guns followed. The fire on both sides was very heavy, and there were several casualties. Lieutenant Magrath and Conductor T. Lisbey were both wounded, the latter dangerously. He died of his wound on the 25th. A 24-pounder

howitzer and a 9-pounder gun were brought up close to the breastwork, dragged up by men of the 51st. They kept up an effective fire at twenty-five yards, and Major Reid was severely wounded, after which Lieutenant Ashe was in charge, assisted by Lieutenant Dobbin. Lieutenant Cockburn, of the 18th R I, was very severely wounded, and died on the 21st. In the attacks by the Infantry, Ensign Wolseley leading a part of the 80th, Lieutenant Taylor, M.N I., doing duty with the 51st, were wounded, the latter mortally. The attack succeeded, led by Sergeant Preston, 51st, and Sergt.-Major Irwin, 80th, after the ~~other~~ two officers had fallen. Lieutenant Trevor, Engineers, entered along with them and was slightly wounded. Besides those already mentioned, Major Wigston, 18th, Lieutenant Wilson, 80th, Lieutenant Clarke, 67th, Major Armstrong and Lieutenant Rawlins of the Sikhs were severely, Lieutenant Woodright, 18th, and Assistant-Surgeon Murphy, 80th, slightly wounded.

1853.
March 19th.

Thomas,

In his dispatch of the 25th of March, the General mentions Major Reid, Lieutenants Magrath, Ashe, and Dobbin, and Conductor Lisbey in terms of high commendation. The operations of this column reflected great credit not only on the leader, but on the troops employed. The difficulties to be overcome were very serious. The almost total absence of information, the labour of cutting a way through a thick forest country, where the paths were everywhere obstructed by felled trees, and an unseen enemy could inflict serious loss; and when the troops could not carry with them more than a very limited supply of food or baggage; and not least, the unhealthiness of the damp forest, inducing cholera, made this expedition the most difficult one of the war. The casualties amounted to about 140 in killed and wounded, and 100 deaths from cholera.

Mya Toon himself escaped, but his followers were broken up and dispersed, and Sir John Cheape returned to Prome.

In April Commissioners arrived there from Ava, and he diplomatists took over charge of the negotiations,

1853.
March 19th.

which lasted for some time, and an advance upon Ava was even contemplated as possible. The Burmese Court, however, had no choice. It submitted with a bad grace, and the Governor-General's notification of the 30th of June declared that war had ceased, and on the 1st of August the army of Ava was broken up.

NOTE.—Lieutenant Laurie's accounts of this were, and letters from officers employed are, the unofficial authorities for this chapter.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Officers of the Bengal Artillery who served in the second Burmese War.

Major J Turton
Brevet-Major A Robertson
Lieutenant G. E. Voyle
Lieutenant W Stewart
Surgeon J. McCosh, M D.
Asst.-Surg. A. C. C De Renzy,
B.A

2nd Company 5th Batt.

4th Co S Drw.

Brevet-Major C S. Reid
Lieutenant G. M Dobbins
Lieutenant P C. Anderson

Lieutenant C E Lewes

3rd Company 5th Batt
(225—Reduced 1871).

Captain Z M Mallock
Lieutenant G. D Willoughby
Lieutenant St. George Ashe
Lieutenant M. James

5th Company 9th Batt.
(Native—Reduced 1862).

Captain J. Money
Lieutenant J. Percival

The following Officers did duty with different Companies :—

2nd-Lieut. G. R. Manderson
2nd-Lieut. H. M. Cadell

2nd-Lieut. J. McK. Fraser
2nd-Lieut. C. Vaughan Arbuckle

NOTE.—Ensign Wolseley, 80th Regiment (p 245), is now Field-Marshal Viscount Wolseley.

NOTE B.

Officers of the Madras Artillery who served in the second Burmese War.

C Troop H A.

Bt.-Major F. Burgoyne
Bt.-Captain A. Foulis
Bt.-Captain W. C. L. Baker
Lieutenant J. Jefferis
Lieutenant J. R. Magrath
Lieutenant N. Dallas

P, R.H.A.

Died June 27th, 1853, at Rangoon.

Embarked for Service, but died
Jan. 28th, 1853, of cholera in
the Madras Roads

Doing duty from A, H.A

13th Co E Div.

2nd-Lieutenant R. A. Peach

A Company 2nd Batt.

Bt.-Captain C. A. Purvis
2nd-Lieutenant J. S. Baird

Appointed Assist. Commissioner
Prome, Dec 30th, 1852.

2nd-Lieutenant E. M. Playfair

2nd-Lieutenant C. L. Yeoman

2nd-Lieut. Murray Stewart

D Company 2nd Batt.

Captain C. J. Cooke
Lieutenant B. C. Hitchins
Lieutenant J. W. F. Taylor
2nd-Lieutenant G. F. Blair

49th Field Battery.

3rd Battalion

Bt.-Lt.-Col P. Anstruther, C.B.

D Company 3rd Batt

Bt.-Major H. Montgomery
Lieutenant W. F. B. Laurie
2nd-Lieutenant L. Bridge

48th Field Battery.

Died June 4th, 1852, at Calcutta.

4th Battalion.

Lieut.-Col H. S. Foord
Major J. Back

A Company 4th Batt.

Bt.-Major A. F. Oakes

10th Co. S. Div

Died April 12th, 1852, of sun-
stroke

Doing duty from A Troop H.A.

Captain J. D. Mein
Lieutenant C. H. Harrison
Lieutenant J. R. J. Robertson
2nd-Lieut. M. B. S. Lloyd
Lieutenant G. Dangerfield

Appointed Assist. Commissioner
Sarawak, Dec. 30th, 1852.

Surgeon T. W. Mudge, M.D.
Surgeon W. Gordon Davidson
Assistant-Surgeon Smith

C Troop
4th Batt.

CHAPTER IX

SEPOY WAR—OUTBREAK—SIEGE OF DELHI.

Position of the British Army—Meerut 9th of May—Outbreak 10th—Delhi 11th—Lieutenant Willoughby at the Magazine—Measures of the Commander-in-Chief—Regiments ordered from Umballa—Native Regiments at Mian Mir Disarmed—Magazines of Ferozepur and Phillour Secured—Meerut Column takes the Field—Actions on the Hindan—Joins Umballa Force—Action at Badli-ke-Serai—Position before Delhi Secured—March of the Guide Corps—Attacks on the Ridge—Reid's and Tombs' Columns—Attack on Rear—Fierce Attack on the Ridge—Lieutenant Minto Elliot's Guns—Attacks on Metcalfe and Mandi Picquets—Reinforcements—Bakht Khan and Bareilly Mutineers Arrive—Renewed Proposals for a *Coup de Main*—Baird Smith and Neville Chamberlain Join—Coke's Column—Death of Sir H. Barnard—Attack of July 9th—Cavalry charge into Camp—Hills and Tombs—Reed makes over Command to Wilson—Attacks on our Position—Battle of Najafgarh—Arrival of Siege-train—Breaching Batteries—Assault—Kashmir Gate—Kabul Gate—Reid's Column—Hope Grant's Cavalry and Guns—Positions successively gained within the City—Remarks

1857. WITH the causes which produced the Sepoy revolt of 1857 this history has nothing to do. Its outbreak placed the British portion of the army in northern India, nominally about 23,000 men, but actually not quite three-fourths of that number, in opposition to an armed and well-trained force of more than 100,000 recruited from Oudh and the north-west provinces, with the possible risk, should the Punjab and other regiments unite with the insurgents, of our having to hold the 1,400 miles from Peshawur down to Calcutta against an army ten times as large and a country in arms against us. But the Sikhs, Gurkhas, and regiments not recruited from Oudh and the provinces were true to us. Their fidelity and the circumstances in which they were placed enabled a few of the Native Infantry and Artillery to remain staunch. Not the least in the record of gallant conduct during the eventful year of 1857-58 is

the behaviour of the 5th Troop 1st Brigade Horse Artillery, the 31st N I at Sagar, and the native soldiers who took their part in the glorious defence of the Lucknow Residency. 1857.

While we had no means of replacing the losses of war in the British regiments, those who revolted had an inexhaustible supply of recruits in their native villages, and of willing helpers in every village from Meerut down to Patna. But the most serious difficulty lay in the fact that the important magazines of Allahabad, Sagar, Delhi, Multán, and Phillour were places garrisoned solely by native regiments. Those of Cawnpore and Delhi furnished the mutineers with a more than ample supply of ordnance and ordnance stores for an organised rebellion.

The seeds of mutiny had existed in the Bengal Army for some years previous to 1857. The early events of that year showed that we were standing on the smouldering elements of an outbreak, still, when it did occur, though no one was surprised, no one was prepared. On Saturday, May 9th, the 9th of May, a parade was ordered at Meerut to hear the sentence of ten years' imprisonment on eighty, and five years on five troopers of the 3rd Light Cavalry who had refused the cartridges served out to them, read out, and to see them ironed in front of the line. The guns on the right and the 60th Rifles came prepared by order to repress any insubordinate movement on the part of the Native Cavalry and Infantry, who likewise had, though not by order, balled cartridges in their pouches. That between those who might then have been engaged in deadly conflict, there stood the unarmed Artillery recruits of the Meerut Depôt, about 400 in number,* was scarcely a prudent arrangement. The parade passed off, and General Hewitt reported the conduct of the native troops to be steady and soldier-like†. But he did not mention that

* Some 300 European and 60 native recruits, but I do not exactly recollect. The recruit depôt then consisted of 364 Europeans and 86 natives.

† "Selections," Vol. I., p. 247

1857.
May 9th.

the prisoners as they marched down the line threw boots and other articles which they had taken off down in front of the Sepoys, who stepped out of the ranks to pick them up. A company of the 60th Rifles escorted them to the jail, and having made them over according to order returned to barracks. Forty extra barkandáz had been entertained there to provide for the unusually large addition to the prisoners.

May 10th

Next afternoon the principal bazar was as usual frequented by a number of soldiers. One, an Artillery recruit, asked a ginger-beer seller for a bottle of "pop." He returned it, saying it was not good, on which the man threw it back saying, "Take it, for it is the last you shall get."* At once, as if by a preconcerted signal, all were attacked; two Artillery recruits,† a Horse Artilleryman, and one of the Rifles were killed, several others wounded. About the same time the 20th N.I. had turned out on their parade ground and were shooting down their officers. The 11th N.I. had turned out, but as a body committed no acts of violence. A troop of the 3rd Light Cavalry had gone to the jail, the doors were opened, and blacksmiths, already there, had removed the manacles.

As night fell the 20th N.I., after completing its work of murder, marched with its colours for Delhi. Passing across the Cavalry parade-ground, where two squadrons under their officers were drawn up, the latter became unsteady, broke up, and followed them, leaving the officers to make their way to safer lines. A great part of the 11th were

* The subsequent fate of the ginger-beer man is curious. When I went over to Delhi after the siege, to settle the estates of the recruits (about 66) who had been killed or died there, one morning my sergeant-major came to me and said with evident pleasure, "Sir, they have got the popwala. Gunner——, posted to the 3rd Troop 3rd Brigade, coming in yesterday morning from drill through the Kabul gate, spied him crouching down in the gateway to escape observation. But stooping down from his saddle, he laid hold of him by the collar and brought him along. He was made over to Stroud [sergeant-major 3rd Brigade H.A. and Provost-Marshal], and he was hung this morning."

† A third recruit was killed outside the bazar. Twelve were wounded that night.

still in or near their own. The Horse Artillery with some Rifles and Carabiniers * were sent down, but not in the direction they should have been ordered to go. Had the mutineers been followed up, the subsequent course of events must have been different, though the disease in the whole army was too far gone to be cured even then but by the sword. Thenceforward Delhi became the headquarters of revolt here, as Lucknow was down country, and the wretched old King its nominal leader. The various Sepoy guards in the Artillery lines at Meerut, all provided with ball cartridge, were disarmed during the night by the Artillery recruits with blank cartridge.

1857.
May 10th.

The appearance of the Cavalry next morning at the bridge over the Jumna under the palace of the King of Delhi was the signal for bloody work. Several of the officers of the Native Infantry ordered down to the city were shot by their men near the Kashmir gate. At the magazine, between it and the palace, the Deputy-Commissary of Ordnance, Lieutenant Willoughby, seeing the mutinous soldiers passing into the city, prepared to defend his post. He had with him Lieutenants G. Forrest and W. Raynor, Conductors J. Buckley, G. W. Shaw, and J. Scully, Sub-Conductor Crowe, Sergeants Edwards and Stewart. Guns were placed to command the gates from within, but the native establishment refused to obey, so Lieutenant Willoughby ordered a train to be laid to the powder magazine. There was, comparatively, only a small quantity stored here, as the main stock was in a magazine close to the river at the further end of cantonments, built a few years before. Presently the palace guards came down and demanded entrance. It was refused, but with the assistance of the traitors inside, the walls were scaled and a fire poured upon the little band about the guns. Two fell mortally wounded; Forrest and Buckley were hit in

May 11th.

* This regiment, which had only just come out, leaving their heavier men at home, had so many recruits that only about twenty-five men per troop had passed riding school. So one of the officers told me.

1857.
May 11th.

arm and hand; and after four rounds had been fired, Willoughby gave the signal to Scully, who fired the train. The destruction of life was great. In the confusion of bursting shells and exploding powder-barrels, the four survivors, Willoughby, Forrest, Raynor, and Buckley, got away outside to the Kashmir gate; other officers, were there and some ladies, and they got over the rampart of the main guard. Some joined Brigadier Graves, who had been endeavouring to assemble some remnants of his brigade at the Flagstaff Tower. Some made their way out of cantonments at once, and as night began to fall, those who remained, after many narrow escapes, finally reached either Karnal or Meerut. A party of horse sent out from the latter place escorted in Lieutenant Forrest, his family, and some officers. Lieutenant Willoughby was murdered, it was supposed at a village where he had stopped by the way. On a tablet in the abbey church of Bath is engraved his name and death. The record of what he had done belongs to the Bengal Artillery.

May 12th.

General Anson, the Commander-in-Chief, on receiving the news of the outbreak at Simla, was prompt in action. The regiments at the neighbouring stations, the 75th at Kasauli, the 1st European Fusiliers at Dagshai, and 2nd European Fusiliers at Subáthu, were ordered to move down to Umballa. Lieutenant Worthington, then on leave at Simla, was sent to Phillour to order a third-class siege train to be sent down at once. The magazines there and at Ferozepore to be placed in charge of British garrisons.

3-25 Reduced
in 1871.

The 4th Company 6th Battalion, under Lieutenant R. T. Hare, left Ferozepore by bullock train on the 26th to join the heavy guns. The 1st Company 7th Battalion (Native), under Captain W. K. Fooks, came down from Nurpur and Kangra. Major Turner's Troop (3-3) was supplied with 9-pounders, and the lighter pieces made over to the native company, which proved true.

S., R II A

At Lahore the Judicial Commissioner, Mr. Robert Montgomery, represented the Chief Commissioner, Sir John

Lawrence, then at Ráwal Pindi. Brigadier Stuart Corbett commanded at Mian Mir. They decided to disarm the native regiments. The former was for depriving them of their ammunition, but the latter did not stop half way. The native guards in the fort at Lahore were to be relieved next morning, and they had planned to seize it and the magazine it contained. A ball was given that night at Mian Mir. Before it broke up, three companies of the 81st, under Colonel Matthew Smith, had marched for the city. A parade ordered for the morning took place. The troops were formed in line of contiguous columns thus :—

1857.

May 13th.

8th Lt. Cav 49th N I 26th N I 16th N I H M 81st 6 Cos $\begin{matrix} 2-2 \text{ H.A.} \\ 3-2 \text{ H.A.} \end{matrix}$

The orders of Government were read out in front of each native regiment, but while this was being done, the 81st and guns moved round to the rear, the latter loading as they went, and formed line, then the native regiments were ordered to change front to the rear by wheel of subdivisions round the centre. Two lines faced one another, the 81st on the right of the two troops in line, the others in contiguous columns of regiments. Twelve guns with port-fires lighted and three hundred British soldiers, whose ramrods were ringing in their barrels, told them what was in store for them. Brigadier Corbett, in a few words said he had served with them for nearly forty years, and to preserve their honour he was about to take away their arms. His own regiment was before him. None had a better record than the 16th Grenadiers. It stood there, hardly a man under 5 feet 10 inches, or without two to six medals on his breast, and for the moment there was hesitation. But conscience had made them afraid. they laid down their muskets, the Cavalry gave up their sabres, and the Punjab was saved.

The same day at Ferozepore the fort containing the magazine was occupied by a company of the 61st, under Major Redmond. The 45th N.I. seized ladders and rushed to retake it, but were repulsed. They burned the church

1857.
May 13th.

and Roman Catholic Chapel, with some bungalows, were pursued and scattered, and had the 10th Light Cavalry really meant work, might have been annihilated. The 57th N.I. were disarmed. No lives were lost, but Major Redmond was severely wounded.

May 26th
56 Field Batt
14 Co. S Div

Brigadier A. Wilson, Commandant of Artillery and of the station of Meerut, was directed to move towards Bághpat, on the River Jumna, with a force to co-operate with that which the Commander-in-Chief was bringing down from Umballa. His column consisted of Four guns 2nd Troop 1st Brigade H A (Major Tombs); 3rd Company 3rd Battalion No. 14 Horse Field Battery (Major Scott); 100 Artillery Recruits, with two 18-pounder guns (Lieutenant Light); two Companies Sappers and Miners (Lieutenant F. R. Maunsell); two Squadrons 6th Dragoon Guards (Carabiniers) (Lieut.-Colonel Custance); and a wing 60th Rifles (Lieut.-Colonel J. Jones). Lieut.-Colonel M. Mackenzie commanded the Artillery.

May 30th

On approaching Ghází-ud-dín-Nagar, the rebels attacked in force about four p.m., driving in the advance picquets. The River Hindan, spanned by an iron bridge in front, was at once occupied by a company of the 60th, with the four H.A. guns and a squadron of the Carabiniers, the two heavy guns assisting. Two companies of the 60th, with Major Scott's Battery, the Sappers, and a troop of Carabiniers, followed in support. The fire of our guns bore down that of the enemy, and the Horse Artillery, with the two heavies on the flank, were most effective. Colonel Jones with his Rifles, crossing the bridge, attacked and drove the enemy from their guns, capturing, with comparatively little loss, two guns, 24-pounder and 18-pounder, and three howitzers, 10-inch, 8-inch, and 24-pounder, with their limbers. Captain Andrews, 60th, and four men were killed by the explosion of a wagon on the causeway, close to the toll-house. The heat was very great; a bombardier and gunner died of sunstroke; a non-commissioned officer and five gunners were wounded, all of the 2nd Troop 1st Brigade.

Next day the rebels again attacked at one p.m., taking up an extended position on the ridge beyond the Hindan. The Horse Artillery, with a squadron of the Carabiniers supported by the two heavy guns, under Lieutenant Light, moved forward to reply to the fire of their guns. This was so heavy that Lieutenant Davidson, with two guns of the Field Battery, was sent to aid Major Tombs, while two guns remained with the picquet at the bridge. For two hours this lasted. Then the Rifles cleared the village left of the toll-bar; the line advanced, following up the retreating enemy, who, however, carried off all their guns into the city. The heat was intensely great, and the fatalities from sunstroke were numerous, so that the men could not well have done more. Lieutenant H. G. Perkins, 2nd Troop, was killed while laying a gun. Three rank and file killed, a non-commissioned officer and four men wounded, all of the Horse Artillery, including Rough-Rider Neal of the Recruit Depot among the former. Ensign Napier, of the Rifles, and Assistant-Surgeon Moore, of the Carabiniers, died of their wounds.

1857.
May 31st.

Next day Major Reid, with the Sirmur Battalion, marched into camp. He had been ordered from Dera to Rurki and thence to Bulandshahr, below Meerut, to reinforce the Meerut Brigade and keep open communication. His gallant regiment was only 490 strong. After a short halt, Brigadier Wilson marched northward to Baghpat, crossed the Jumna, and joined the Umballa force at Alipur on the 7th.

June 1st.

Cholera had broken out in that camp, and the Commander-in-Chief had died at Karnal on the 27th of May, after a few hours' illness. Colonel J. L. Mowatt, commanding the Artillery, died in camp at Pipli on the 30th. Major-General Sir Henry Barnard arrived in time from Umballa to receive the dying words of farewell and the provisional command from his chief. The column consisted of:—

2nd and 3rd Troops 3rd Brigade H. A., Captain E. K. Money and Major Turner.

57 Field Batt.
S. R. H. A.

1857-
3-25 R.A.
Reduced 1871

4th Company 6th Battalion and Siege Train,* Major E. Kaye.

9th Lancers, Colonel Hope Grant, C.B.

75th Regiment, Lieut.-Colonel C. Herbert.

1st E B Fusiliers, Major G. O Jacob.

2nd E B. Fusiliers, six companies, Lieut.-Colonel St. G. D Showers

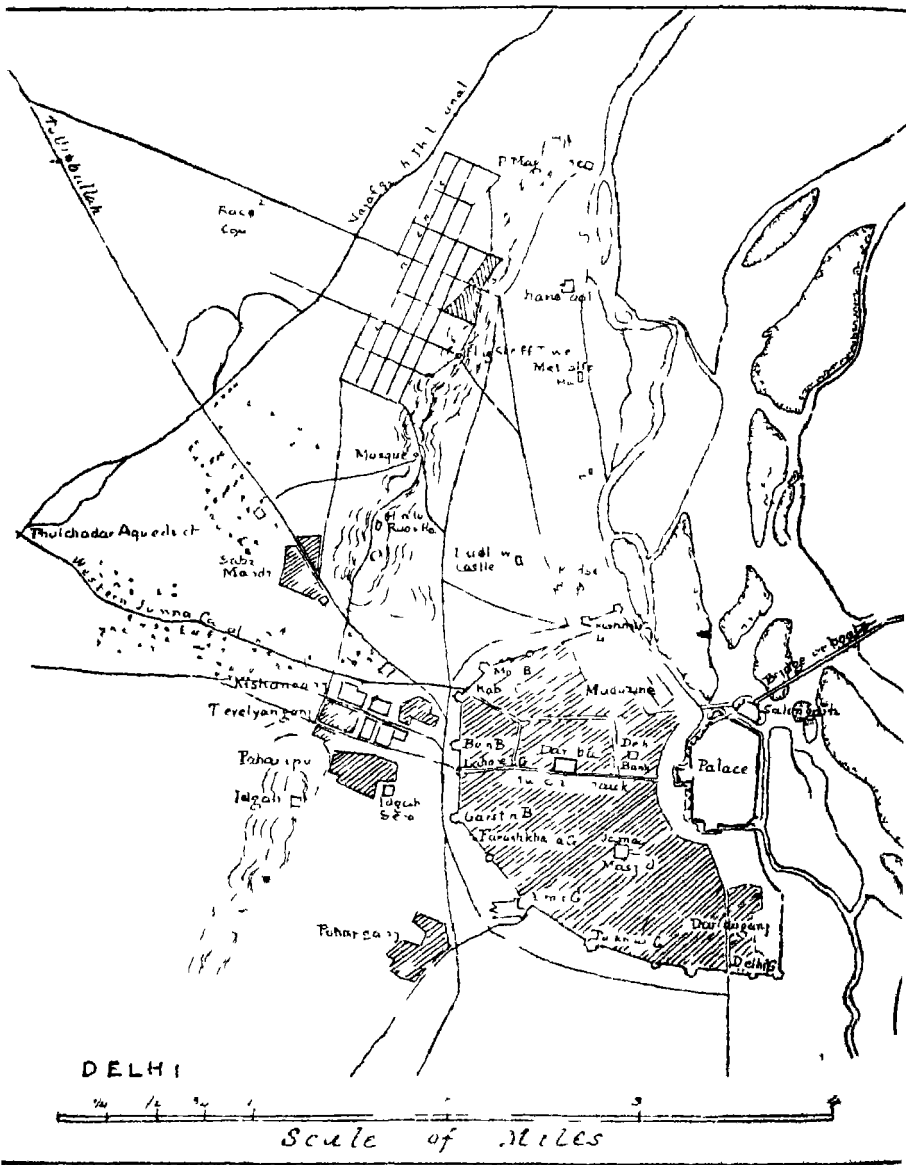
Besides these the Raja of Jhind sent a contingent of 800 men, which joined at Panipat.†

June 8th. Sir H Barnard marched from Alipur at one in the morning. The rebels were at Badli-ke-Serai, about five miles further on. Brigadier Hope Grant was detached to the right with three squadrons 9th Lancers, 2-1 H.A. under Major Tombs, and 3-3 H A under Lieutenant H. P. Bishop, to cross the Jumna canal and so get in rear of the enemy. Major Turner commanded the guns. Brigadier Showers, with the 75th and 1st E B F, moved on the right of the road; Brigadier Graves, with the 60th, 2nd E.B.F., and Sirmur Battalion, on the left. A heavy battery of two 18-pounders and two 8-inch howitzers advanced along the road. Major Kaye, with Lieutenants Fagan, Light, Hare, Chichester, and Riding-Master Budd. the 4th Company 6th Battalion, and a detail of the recruits were attached to it. Captain Money's Troop and four guns of Major Scott's Battery (two left in camp at Alipur), were on either side of the heavies

The mutineers had erected a sandbag battery, armed with four heavy guns and a heavy howitzer in front of the Serai, flanked by a number of field guns. Major Kaye's orders were to come into action as soon as he came under fire. This was when they had come within easy range, and the first light of breaking day shone athwart the face of the advancing battery. The enemy knew their dis-

* 18-pounder guns, 8, 8-inch howitzers, 4; 8-inch mortars, 4; 5½-inch mortars, 6. Lieutenant J. C Griffith (Commissary, Ordnance, Phillour) in charge.

† These were usefully employed in keeping open the communication with Umballa.



tance, and the fire down the road was heavy. Major Kaye soon found out his range, and for some time kept up a stout reply, ably assisted by the field guns. Theirs, however, being well under cover, had greatly the advantage. Graves' regiments on the left had to make a long detour round a swamp before him, and the Cavalry beyond the canal were much delayed by the watercourses and state of the country. Sir Henry Barnard therefore determined to decide the matter by the bayonet. Brigadier Showers deployed into line and led on. The 75th, headed by Colonel Herbert and eagerly supported by the 1st European Fusiliers, charged the battery. The rebels fought with desperation, but the bayonet did its work. Brigadier Graves coming up on the left, and nearly at the same time the Cavalry and Horse Artillery, fell upon the enemy, whose retreat was converted into a rout, and all the guns were taken.

1857.
June 8th.

The most important part of the day's work still remained to be accomplished. Ordering the camp to be brought on from Alipur, Sir H. Barnard pushed on to Delhi to secure a good position before it. This was offered by the ridge separating the cantonments from the River Jumna and the city, part of a sandstone and quartzite formation running in a direct line towards Rewari and Jaipur. About four miles from the city a road leading through the centre of cantonments branched off. By this Sir H. Barnard went with the 2nd Brigade, while Brigadier Wilson, with the 1st and heavy battery, went along the Trunk Road, through the Sabzi Mandi* towards a house lately the residence of the Gwalior chief Hindu Rao. The former lay through ground less enclosed, and was half a mile shorter. The rebels had got some guns in position on the ridge, but the General ascended it on their right flank, compelling them to abandon their artillery, and swept along the summit to Hindu Rao's house, where

* Literally "vegetable market," but an extensive suburb.

1857.
June 8th.

he was joined by Brigadier Wilson, who had fought his way through the intervening gardens and buildings, capturing an 18-pounder gun

The value of the position thus gained was very great. It proved an impregnable one. The cantonments in rear were the site of the British camp, and it effectually covered the communications with our base of operations, the Punjab. But it was too far from the walls for attack, too far to effectually silence fire *

With such an object gained, the casualties were comparatively small—51 killed, 132 wounded. The death of Colonel Chester, Adjutant-General of the Bengal Army, was a serious loss at this juncture. Brigadier-General Neville Chamberlain was ordered from the Punjab to take his place. In the Artillery there were —

2-1 H A —One non-commissioned officer, two gunners wounded

3rd Brigade H A —2nd-Lieutenant C Hunter, Trumpet-Major Murray (died 10th of June), one gunner wounded

3-3 F A —2nd-Lieutenant A H Davidson severely injured by the explosion of a limber, one gunner wounded.

4-6 F A —One non-commissioned officer, two gunners killed, 2nd-Lieutenant R. T Haic, three non-commissioned officers, six gunners wounded

Artillery Recruits —One gunner killed, Lieutenant A. Light, two gunners wounded

At Hindu Rao's house an 18-pounder gun was placed and opened, but it was exposed to so heavy a fire that it had to be withdrawn. During the night the Engineers

* Lieutenant Norman, in his narrative, gives the number of guns captured as 13, Sir H. Barnard's dispatch gives 26. The former apparently refers to the rebels' guns at Badli-ke-Serai, two 24-pounders, two 18-pounders, one 8-inch howitzer, eight light guns. He does not include an 18-pounder taken by Wilson on his way through the Sabzi Mandi, or the light guns secured by Sir H. Barnard on the right. The latter adds as a postscript to his dispatch, "I find the captured guns amount to 26." Norman's accuracy in matters of detail makes one unwilling to differ from him, but here he appears to have gone on a first report

*Major Reid's Post and
Right Attack*



constructed a battery for two heavy pieces (18-pounder and 8-inch howitzer), which was afterwards known as the centre battery. Captain Fagan and Lieutenant Hare were the first told off to it. Major Reid, with the Sirmur Battalion, was stationed at Hindu Rao's house, which post he and his gallant regiment held throughout the siege with two companies of the 60th Rifles and other details, occasionally reinforced when necessary.

1857.
June 8th.

The numerical strength of the army before Delhi was only 600 Cavalry, 2,400 Infantry, with 22 light and 30 siege pieces of ordnance*. It was proposed to attempt the capture of the city by a *coup de main*. Lieutenant W. W. H. Greathed, of the Engineers, was foremost in advocating this, and orders were actually issued for the assault on the night of the 11th, but an important part of the column was on picquet. Brigadier Graves,† on duty, would not let them leave without written orders, and the attempt had to be postponed. It is now known that the attempt could hardly have succeeded, for though the number of rebel Sepoys inside Delhi was as yet small, the whole male population capable of fighting were at least 30 to our one. Could we have seized the palace by a sudden attack, and held it and the magazine, though the hardihood of such an attempt would have discouraged the rebels, we could not have thrown up the works necessary, and demolished buildings sufficiently to enable us to maintain our position. The communications with the Punjab would then have been through Meerut, longer and not so safe. So the siege was begun, and never before did so small a force undertake so great a task.

June 9th.

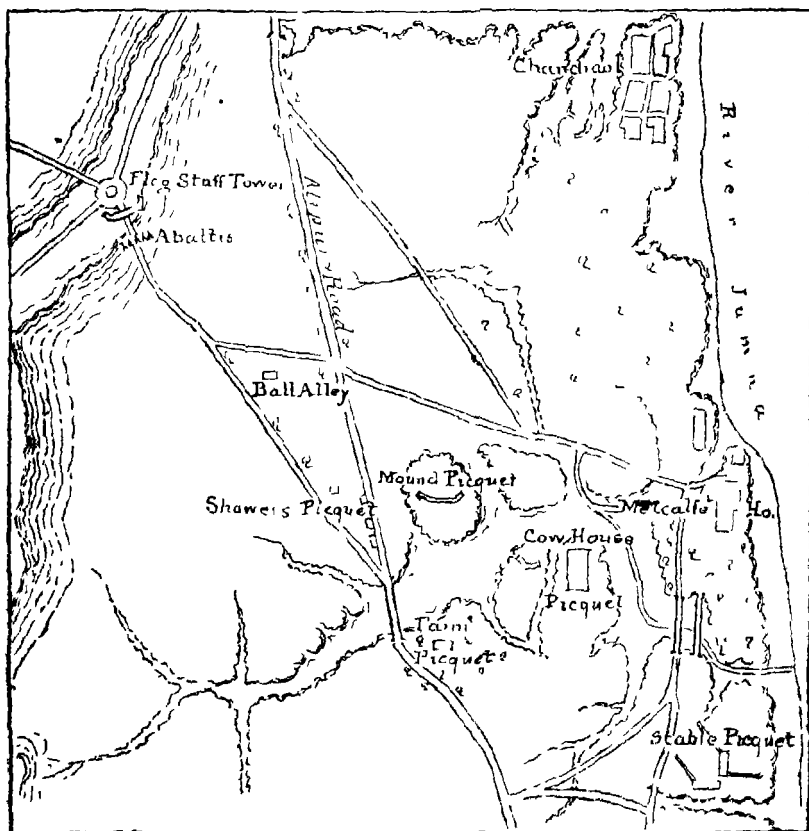
The camp was formed on the cantonment parade-ground. Picquets of two field guns were placed at the Flagstaff Tower, Mosque, and Observatory, near Hindu

* Besides seven captured May 30th and June 8th, we had no 24-pounder projectiles for three guns of that calibre, but we paid the rebels back (with interest) the shot they kindly sent us for them.

† Kaye thinks that he purposely detained the picquets, but this is open to doubt.

1857.
June 9th.

Rao's house. The Guide Corps, under Captain Daly three troops Cavalry, six companies Rifles joined to-day. It had marched from Hoti Mardan beyond Peshawar, a distance of 580 miles, in 22 days at the hottest



PICQUETS COVERING THE ATTACK

time of the year. An attack was made upon the main picquet (Hindu Rao's) in the afternoon. The Guides were turned out to support. The mutineers were repulsed with loss, but Lieutenant Quintin Battye, Commanding the Guides, was mortally wounded.

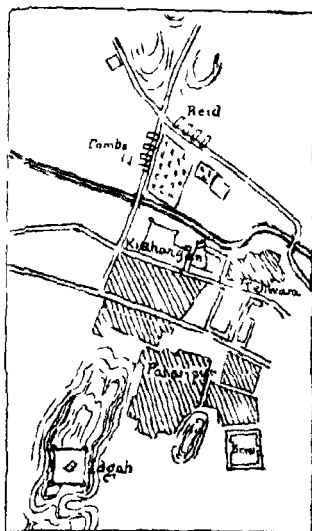
Another attack on Major Reid's post repulsed. Two gunners 2nd-1st H.A killed

1857.
June 10th

The mutineers attacked this morning from the ravines in Sir T. Metcalfe's grounds, and got as far as the picquet (a detachment of the 75th and Lieutenant Bishop with two guns) on the ridge near the Flagstaff Tower, which was hard pressed. Captain Knox, 75th, was killed. The attack was repulsed. It was necessary, therefore, to place a picquet near Metcalfe House, though the distance from the Flagstaff, one which had only 100 men and two H.A. guns, made it difficult to provide for communication and relief. The post was occupied and strengthened by the Engineers, and when complete consisted of three portions—a picquet of 150 men on a mound on the left of the main road leading into the city, one for 50 men in a cow-house 200 yards nearer the river, and one for 150 men in the stables close to the river, about 500 yards south of Metcalfe House.

June 12th.

Two attacks the same day were made on the right, one on Hindu Rao's, and one through the gardens on the camp. Both repulsed. A sergeant 4th-6th F.A killed



Two attacks the same day were made on the right, one on Hindu Rao's, and one through the gardens on the camp. Both repulsed. A sergeant 4th-6th F.A killed

A sharp attack on the Metcalfe picquet was repulsed with loss this day

June 15th.

The mutineers were constructing a battery on high ground near the Id-gáh,* which would enfilade our posi-

June 17th.

* There were many Id-gáhs (places of prayer). This one was south-west of Paharpur, opposite the curtain between the Lahore gate and Garstin bastion, enclosed in a fort

1857.
June 17th.

tion on the ridge, and two columns were ordered: Major Reid with four companies of the 60th and the Sirmur Battalion, and Major Tombs with his four guns,* two companies of the 60th, four 1st E.B.F., 20 Sappers, and 50 Guide Cavalry. Major Tombs, leaving camp at 4 30 p.m., and passing through the Sabzi Mandi, met the head of Major Reid's Column at the junction of the roads from Hindu



MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY TOMBS, K.C.B.

Rao's and the city. He then took the south-south-west road till he reached the suburb of Pahanpur, keeping down the hostile fire by parties of riflemen, and while the guns, with a company of the Fusiliers and Cavalry, went round, he forced his way through the village, driving the enemy before him. They were in considerable force

* Commanded by Lieutenant W Wilson, late of the 3rd-7th, who was attached to this Troop until finally posted to it.

before the Id-gáh. Covering his advance with two guns, he took the position with a rush, and captured a 9-pounder gun. 1857.
June 17th.

Major Reid, taking the south-east road, forced his way into two serais and entered Kishanganj, which he found full of mutineers, drove them out, and burned two uncompleted batteries. Both columns returned, having suffered comparatively little loss. Successes like these were very cheering, and Sir H. Barnard that evening came into the Artillery mess-tent, and thanked Major Tombs for the gallantry he had displayed.

With the Nasirabad mutineers next day the 2nd Company 7th Battalion (Native) and No. 6 Field Battery entered Delhi. The fame it had won at Jalalabád was lost in the shame of its disloyalty † June 18th.

On the afternoon of this day the rebels commenced streaming out of the gates and passing through the gardens on our right, beyond the Sabzi Mandi, appeared some distance in our rear. They seemed to threaten every part of the position. Brigadier Hope Grant, with two squadrons 9th Lancers, a Troop of the Carabiniers, and Guide Cavalry with 12 guns of Money's, Turner's, Tombs', and Scott's batteries, went out towards the Ochterlony gardens. They were followed by all the available troops in camp, and a severe action ensued. Finally the mutineers were beaten back, but in their attack they had nearly turned our flank in the dark, and some of our guns were in jeopardy. Colonel Yule, 9th Lancers, was killed. Next morning, Brigadier Grant went out again to drive back any of the enemy who might still be in the rear, but found only a strong picquet, which was driven in, and one of the Jalálábád guns with two wagons was brought in. June 19th

After this, to protect the rear of the camp, a battery for two 18-pounder guns was constructed on the race-

† The native officers remained behind, but a Syce driver who had been made a Jemadar for his conduct at Jalálábád was with it. He was killed in the first action next day.

1857. course, and breastworks thrown up to cover the picquets near.

June 23rd There was a lull for two days, after which Major
F., R H A. Olpherts, with four sub-divisions of the 1st Troop and two of
T., R H A. the 5th Troop 1st Brigade under Lieutenant G A Renny, a wing 2nd Punjab Cavalry, with portions of other regiments in camp, and of the 4th Sikh Infantry, about 850 men, arrived in camp

This was the centenary of Plassey. Some prophet had foretold that on this day, the English rāj would come to an end. But it did not, though the Pāndy* regiments did their best. They streamed out of the Lahore gate more numerous than ever. Our Sappers had just demolished the bridges over the Najafgarh Cut, and so, being unable to get with their guns into our rear, they swarmed into the Kishanganj and Sabzi Mandi suburbs. For the whole day, on and about that extremity of the ridge, a fierce contest raged. From all the houses within range of the ridge, the Sepoys kept up a deadly fire, while the guns on the walls kept up a furious cannonade, well directed as it always was, and guns from every spot outside, where they could be brought to bear upon us, enfiladed the position. It is hardly to be wondered that at one time Major Reid thought it might have been carried. But the Rifles, Sirmur Battalion, and Guides resolutely and nobly held their own. Lieutenant Minto Elliot's guns on the ridge did specially good service†. Captain Fagan commanded

* This was a nickname given to the Sepoys, who were mostly Brahmins. Pānde is the designation of one of the highest subdivisions of the class. Mangal Pānde, who had attempted the life of his adjutant at Barrackpore in March, made the title notorious.

† Lieutenant Elliot had been on this picquet since the 10th, having volunteered to remain there under Major Reid. His gun and howitzer being in the open on the ridge were so exposed that the service was one of great danger. On the 23rd they were under musketry fire from the Sabzi Mandi buildings on one side, and under shot and shrapnel fire from the city walls on the other. Early in the day the gun was disabled, right wheel smashed, and trail loop-eye shot off. The howitzer had a shot through the axle-tree bed, but was serviceable.

So Lieutenant Elliot placed his men and horses under cover of the

1857
June 23rd

the centre battery, Lieutenants Hare and Craster in the left battery, near the Observatory. Colonel Welchman, with a detachment of the 1st and 2nd Europeans, failed in a first attempt to drive them out of the Sabzi Mandi. He was dangerously wounded, and Lieutenant Jackson, 2nd Regiment, was killed. The great heat of the sun was fatal to many. The newly-arrived troops were sent up, and Brigadier Showers led a fresh attack from Hindu Rao's and the low ground in their rear, which was successful, and the mutineers, who lost heavily, were driven back into the city. Our loss was heavy, 39 killed, 121 wounded. Captain C. Jones, 60th Rifles, severely wounded. In the 4th-6th F.A., two N.C. officers, one gunner of the recruits, one gunner wounded.

After this a strong post was established in Tota Mall's Sarai at the lower end of the Mandi, and a Hindu Temple on the other side of the Grand Trunk Road, for 180 men, and this was connected with the right battery through a picquet called the Crow's Nest. The Sarai was loopholed, and as the enemy were unable to pass up the Trunk Road,

rocks as well as he could, and with two others worked the piece for several hours. Sergeant Newson served the ammunition, Gunner D. McCarthy loaded, he laid and fired.

This accounts for the small number of casualties in men which occurred: one Syce killed, two drivers wounded, of horses, four killed, nine wounded, and one missing.

Major Reid wrote some of his reports in pencil, but these were, he says, not considered official, and so were not published. But he recommended Lieutenant Minto Elliot, No. 5134 Corporal Samuel Newson, and No. 6769 Gunner Dennis McCarthy, for the Victoria Cross, and it was the opinion of those who witnessed their conduct that it should have been conferred.

Lieutenant Elliot subsequently commanded a Mountain Train Battery in the Hazira campaign in 1868, and a Siege Train in Egypt in 1882. Majors Tombs and E. B. Johnson, and Sir Hugh Rose, the Commander-in-Chief in India, brought forward his name, but to the present day neither he nor the two Artillerymen above mentioned have been granted any recognition of their good service.

It is one object of this history to bring to notice, as far as possible, all Artillerymen who have rendered good service to the State, including those who have gone unrewarded, and I may here say, once for all, that in no cases have I taken statements by officers of their own doings, except as corroborating or explaining what has been derived from other sources.

1857.
June 23rd.

our position was rendered much more secure. The demolition of buildings in the Sabzi Mandi capable of giving cover to an enemy was carried on as opportunity permitted. A line of breastworks running up the ridge connected the serai picquet with the right battery, which was armed with heavy ordnance. A small one for three 9-powders was made on the road leading down from that battery to the Trunk Road.

June 27th.

Attacks on the Metcalfe and Sabzi Mandi picquets and the ridge, repulsed. Gunner W. Hardinge, 3rd-3rd F.A., killed, two gunners of that company and an Artillery recruit wounded.

June 28th.
F, R H.A.

The headquarters 8th Regiment, and two remaining guns 1st-1st H.A., under Lieutenant G B Traill, with the 1st Punjab Rifles (Major John Coke) came in to-day.

July 1st.

The headquarters and right wing 61st Regiment arrived.

July 2nd.

The mutinous regiments from Rohilkhand marched into the city to-day one of Cavalry, four of Infantry, the 6th Company 8th Battalion, and No 15 Horse Battery, and the two post guns from Shahjahānpur. Subadar Muhammad Bakht Khān of the Artillery, who had been foremost at Bareilly in the murderous proceedings there, commanded them. Bold in character, and plausible in manner, he was appointed by the King to be a General,* and would have been an efficient leader, if he could have controlled the disorder within the city†. He at once tried to repress the plundering that daily took place, threaten-

* "Delhi Court Diary," July 2nd.

† The writer, who had been in that battery till appointed Adjutant of the Artillery Recruit Depot at Meerut, in 1854, knew this scoundrel well. Mr. Cooper, "Crisis in the Punjab," quoting Captain Waddy (a brother sub), says he was a very bad rider, which was not quite the case. Graceful in the saddle he was not, his figure forbade that, but our Captain, Sissmore, did not err on the side of leniency towards those who could not stick on somehow, and his native officers, after promotion to the saddle, generally applied to be invalided. Bakht Khān was killed after the siege in or on his way to Oudh, it is uncertain where or how. He knew he was a marked man, and naturally kept himself as much as possible in the background after Delhi fell.

ing even the King's sons, who were foremost at that work.* But the Sepoys of the other brigades resented his high-handed proceedings, accusing him, probably with truth, of looking after his own interests and those of his brigade. Nevertheless, he infused considerable energy into the defence of Delhi.

1857.
July 2nd.

On this day Lieut.-Colonel Murray Mackenzie was severely wounded. Captain Fagan had a narrow escape from the fragment of a shell, but was able to resume duty.

Now that all the reinforcements from the Punjab had joined, and our effective force amounted to nearly 6,600 men, the project of a *coup de main* assault was again revived. Four columns were proposed: one to blow in the iron grating of the canal near the Kabul gate, one to enter by the Kashmir gate after it should have been blown in; one to escalade the Kashmir bastion, and one to get round the River bastion. It was fortunately abandoned † Lieut.-Colonel Richard Baird Smith, ‡ of the Engineers, arrived this day to take Major Laughton's place. Nine days before, Brigadier-General Neville Chamberlain had arrived to take over the duties of Adjutant-General of the Bengal Army. Each a host in himself.

* "Delhi Court Diary," July 2nd and 16th

† Fortunately for the following reasons —

- I. The entering by a passage at the Kabul gate which, swept by Artillery, would be impassable.
- II. Want of siege ordnance and ammunition
- III. The morale of the mutinous Sepoys after the arrival of the Rohilkhand Brigade was higher, and their numbers were greater than at any time of the whole siege
- IV. When the assault did take place we had the following circumstances in our favour, which we had not in July —
 1. A larger force
 2. The hopes of the Sepoys had been going down, and desertions were frequent
 3. Supply of ordnance and ammunition much larger
 4. The walls were breached

And yet Delhi was taken, and for the first twenty-four hours held with difficulty

‡ He was regimentally a Captain, with official rank of Lieut.-Colonel, as Superintendent of the Canal Department in the North-West Provinces.

1857.
July 4th.

On the evening of the 3rd, large bodies of mutineers left the city. It was known next morning that they were in our rear about Alipur, and were returning. Major John Coke was sent with two guns, 5th-1st H A, under Lieutenant Renny, four of 2nd-3rd H A, Captain Money, Major Scott's Battery, a squadron of Carabiniers and one of the 9th Lancers, the Guide Cavalry, a wing of the 61st, and the 1st Punjab Infantry. He found them retiring by the Rohtak road, and crossed the canal by the Pambári bridge to attack. The country was under water and progress much impeded in consequence. Only a few rounds were fired on our side. The enemy withdrew and carried off their guns. Captain Money and Major Scott each lost one gunner killed, two N.C. officers and 17 men of the Cavalry and Infantry wounded, completed the casualties.

July 5th.

Major-General Sir H. Barnard died this day of cholera, and Major-General Reed assumed command. The health of the latter was feeble, but his advice was freely given as it was sought for. Sir H. Barnard was greatly regretted, and as Sir H. Norman, in his narrative says, he died of causes arising out of the Mutiny as truly as any soldier who fell in battle.

Lieut.-Colonel H. Garbett and Lieutenant Angelo, Adjutant 6th Battalion, arrived from Ferozepore.

To secure the rear it was determined to destroy all the bridges over the West Jumna Canal, retaining the Pambári one for our own use. The Phulchadar aqueduct, by which Cavalry could pass to the rear, was blown up. The Basái bridge over the Najafgarh jhil cut was destroyed by the Sappers on the 8th.

July 9th.

On a mound on the right flank of the camp a battery for three 18-pounders had been placed with an Infantry picquet facing the Sabzi Mandi. There was also a picquet of H.A. guns with a troop of Cavalry below it to the right. Walled gardens beyond the Mandi and along the Trunk Road gave cover, of which the mutineers availed them-

selves. A picquet of the 9th Irregular Cavalry was thrown forward close to the Trunk Road.

1857.
July 9th.

This morning the enemy came outside in great force. The guns on the walls and field-pieces outside began and kept up an unceasing fire. The main picquet was reinforced. Lieutenant Hills had the two guns of his troop at the mound, and Lieutenant Stillman commanded a troop of the Carabiniers. Our vedettes saw some horsemen, dressed like themselves in white, hovering about, and did not take much notice. Suddenly the leading horsemen dashed forward towards the camp. Lieutenant Hills, to give his guns time to unlimber, boldly went at the leading files. But their object was to get into camp, and the main body passed on. Major Tombs came up just in time to shoot a man in the act of cutting at his subaltern, who had fallen. Some of the gunners had been wounded, and as the two officers were going to see after them a second attack was made on Lieutenant Hills, who was severely wounded by a sword-cut on the head, and was again saved by Major Tombs running the man through. Both these officers deservedly won the Victoria Cross.*

The sudden irruption of about 100 men into camp caused a great commotion. Its object was soon seen when they made towards the Native Troop (5th-1st), and called on them to join and follow. But these had never faltered in their fidelity, nor did they now. They called out to Major Olpherts' men, whose guns were unlimbered, to fire *through* them at "the Mufsid Sowars." Captain Fagan, rushing out of his tent, got together some Artillerymen, and with a company of the 1st Fusiliers drove those nearest out of camp with Lieutenant Renny's assistance, killing some fifteen. More were disposed of by the 9th Lancers, Hodson's Horse, and 2nd P.C. All this time a heavy cannonade was kept up from the city walls, gun and musketry fire from the gardens and buildings round the Mandi. The Right Bat-

* For a fuller detail, see Lieut.-Colonel Mackenzie's report of the occurrence, Note B in the Appendix.

1857.
July 9th.

tery, commanded this day by Lieutenant Heath, got as usual a good share of it. Brigadier-General Chamberlain, therefore, left camp with about 700 men of the 8th, 61st, and 4th Sikh Infantry and Major Scott's Battery, joined by Lieut-Colonel J. Jones and two companies 60th Rifles, and attacked the rebels. Major Reid co-operated with details from the main picquet. After an obstinate resistance they were driven into the city with very heavy loss. Ours was severe, very serious, considering how little we could spare: 40 killed, 172 wounded. Ensign Mountstevens (mortally) and eight other officers (Lieutenant Hills included) wounded. Of the Artillery, one N.C.O. of the Sikh Company and Gunner Kent, Recruit Depot, were killed, wounded. 2nd-1st H.A., one officer, one N.C.O., six men; 3rd-3rd F.A., two N.C.O., nine men. Recruit Depot, three men.

The behaviour of the Irregular Cavalry this day was so suspicious that the 9th and 17th and most of the 4th were sent back to the Punjab. That of the Native Horse Artillery could not have been better*.

July 14th

Early on this day the enemy came out in great force with a large body of Cavalry and several field guns, supported as usual by the ordnance on the walls. Our troops remained on the defensive till about three p.m., when Brigadier Showers went at them with a column, 1st Fusiliers, Coke's Rifles, with some Guide Cavalry, Hodson's and Kohat Horse, three guns of Captain Money's and three of Major Turner's Troops. Major Reid joined with his available men. After some severe fighting the rebels were driven into the city, pursued to within 600 yards of the walls. Casualties: 15 men killed, two missing; 16 officers and 177 men wounded. Of the Artillery Lieutenant F. S. Roberts,† Quartermaster-General's Department, and Lieu-

* Three days after, ten of the youngest gunners of this Troop deserted, so notwithstanding their loyalty at Jullundur and here, it was deemed advisable to take away their guns as a precautionary measure. They were restored on the fall of Delhi.

† 1st Troop 2nd Brigade H.A., now Field-Marshal Lord Roberts of Kandahar.

tenant P. Thompson, H.A. (severely), were wounded. Sergeant Crane and Bombardier Flower, 3rd-3rd H.A., were killed; five gunners of the two Troops, and three of the 4th Company 6th Battalion were wounded. Brigadier-General Neville Chamberlain, who accompanied the column, had his left arm broken by a musket-ball. The enemy lost so many that for some hours carts were seen taking bodies into the city.* They could afford the loss, we could not. It was a heavy day for the batteries, where the gunners were at work from eight a.m. till seven p.m. Lieutenant Heath commanded in the Right Battery, Sir W. Hamilton the 9-pounder one on the road. Lieutenant Carnegie, Engineers, was wounded in the former

1857.
July 14th.

Major-General Reed this day made over the command of the force before Delhi to Brigadier Archdale Wilson, and proceeded to Simla on sick leave. His health from the first had been most infirm. He had seen a good deal of Indian service, and had commanded one of the Ferozepore Brigades in the first Punjab War. For the conduct of the siege it was felt that an officer of one of the Ordnance Corps was required. Not being the senior, the rank of Brigadier-General was conferred upon him, and by the Governor-General he was made a Major-General for special service.†

July 17th.

Another sharp attack by the rebels upon the ridge batteries and Sabzi Mandi picquet was repulsed this day by a column under Colonel J. Jones, consisting of details from the 8th, 61st, and 75th Regiments, 4th Sikh Infantry, Guide Cavalry, and four H.A. guns. Lieutenant W. Crozier, 75th Regiment, was killed, and Lieutenant W. H. W. Pattoun, 61st, severely wounded. The Artillery casualties were: 1st Brigade, two men missing; 3rd Brigade, two wounded; 1st Company 4th Battalion, one

July 18th.

* The "Delhi Court Diary" records that on this day Bakht Khan divided the Sepoys into five Brigades of 3,000 men and three guns to attack the cantonment, tower, and ridge from five points, and the Sowars at the Kabul gate held their own the longest.

† Sec. Government Military Department, 29th of July.

1857.
July 18th.

gunner killed; Recruit Dépôt, 2nd-Lieutenant H. Chichester, wounded in the Right Battery; 2nd-Lieutenant E. Jones, Engineers, badly wounded by a round shot as he was coming up to the Sámi Battery, died on the 24th after amputation of the leg

By this time the Engineers had cleared away most of the buildings in the Sabzi Mandi round our picquets for some distance, and had completed the breastworks connecting them with the works on the ridge, which were much stronger now, especially those about the lower slope of the Sámi House, which were exposed to fire from the Burn and Mori Bastions, especially the latter, so that our position here was much safer.

July 20th.

In consequence of a report that the rebels were making a battery in the gardens beyond the canal, a column under Lieut-Colonel T. Seaton, 35th N I., with which were four H.A. guns, reconnoitred through them as far as the Phulchadar Aqueduct, but found nothing. Lieutenant T. E. Dickens was dangerously wounded in the head in the three-gun Battery, and died on the 27th. Captain Greensill, 24th Regiment, Assistant Field Engineer, was accidentally shot at night by a sentry at the Metcalfe picquet.*

July 23rd

On this day the mutineers came pouring out of the Kashmir gate. They had so often fruitlessly attacked our position on the right and rear that a change might bring better fortune, so they occupied the large house in the civil lines known as "Ludlow Castle" and its neighbourhood. Thence they kept up a fire from numerous field pieces at the Ridge and Mosque picquets, also, but less actively, against the Metcalfe picquets. By constantly moving the guns about behind cover they avoided our fire. The main road through cantonments crossed the ridge through a shallow gorge. By this Brigadier Showers led a column,

* The "Delhi Court Diary" of this date records a report that the Sepoys had driven the Europeans off the ridge to Alipur, and that in consequence 20,000 foot and Sowars, 2,000 Musalmans, and 4,000 Jahádis, armed with sticks, matchlocks, etc., turned out expecting much plunder, but that they were disappointed.

details 8th, 61st, and 1st Fusiliers, Coke's Rifles, and some Guide Cavalry, with three of Captain Money's and three of Major Turner's guns, the latter officer commanding the arm. Lieut.-Colonel Drought, with 250 men from the Metcalfe House picquets, co-operated. The rebels were driven back into the city, but carried away all their guns. One officer, Captain Law, 10th N I., was killed. Lieut.-Colonels T Seaton and Drought were severely wounded. Of the Artillery, Captain Money and Lieutenant A Bunny were wounded, the former severely. Lieutenant Renny made some good practice with the mortars at Hindu Rao's.

1857.
July 23rd.

The first note of despondency in the "Delhi Court Diary" appears in the chronicle of the 22nd, in the King's reply to Bakht Khan when he defended himself and the troops from the insinuations made against them for their want of success. The reply is characteristic. The King resigns himself to the Will of God. He has no bad feelings towards the Europeans, but had been obliged to support the mutineers because they sought his protection. Bakht Khan had a difficult part to play. The King's sons were jealous of him, the Sepoys would not obey him. But he flouts the Princes in their father's presence, and requests the King to order that a battle was henceforward to be fought every day. That of the 23rd of July was the result. The Sepoys now felt that they were fighting for their lives. Bakht Khan knew it. None knew better than he did that the English soldier could and would fight against any odds; but he also knew that the little army on the ridge was wearing itself away in the almost daily encounters, and that another month at least would elapse before the regiments then certainly hastening out from England could set foot on Indian shores.

According to the intention expressed in Durbar, a large force* with 10 guns and three mortars left Delhi by the

* According to the "Court Diary" (July 31st—Aug. 1st) the Nimach mutineers formed this force. But there must have been more.

1857.
July 31st.

Rohtak road, carrying materials for a bridge to be thrown over the Najafgarh jhil cut, near Basái, which would enable the rebels to get into our rear. They were watched, and a moveable column under Major J. Coke was held in readiness.

August 1st.

It went out to Alipur to bring in the Kamáun Battalion coming in with ammunition and treasure, and conducted it safely in. The country after the heavy rain already fallen was flooded. That which was now falling caused a rush of water which swept away the rebels' bridge, so they broke up their camp and returned. Meeting a large body of Infantry sent out, they occupied Paharipur and Kishanganj about sunset, and commenced an attack upon and all round the right of our position, which lasted all night. Again and again they came swarming up to our breastworks and each battery. The Sami House and Crow's Nest were the principal objects of attack. The admirable arrangements of Major Reid and the conduct of the men were worthy of all praise. They kept well under cover till the enemy were close up to them, so that under a perfect shower of bullets and shot our loss was trifling. "There was no noise whatever, no hurry or confusion," was Major Reid's report, and the latter part of the sentence, at least, was absolutely true. So was the first in the sense of calmness and steadiness. But the roar of artillery and musketry was incessant throughout the night. It was not

August 2nd.

till ten a.m. that the rebels began to desist, and not till four p.m. did they withdraw their guns. Their loss was very heavy; ours 10 killed, 36 wounded,* Lieutenant Travers, 1st Punjab Infantry, among the former.

August 5th.

An attempt was made to set fire to the bridge of boats, in which some Gurkhas were employed, but it failed.

Lieutenant E. Fraser was wounded in battery on the 7th; Lieutenant G. Baillie on the 10th.

* Gunners Moore, 1st, and Cotter, 3rd Company 4th Battalion, killed. Corporal Edbrook, 2nd Company 4th Battalion, died of his wound on the 3rd. Two gunners 4th Battalion and two in the Sikh Artillery wounded.

The rebels had been annoying our left for some days with guns in front of the Kashmir gate and about Ludlow Castle. A column under Brigadier Showers* moved at 3.30 a.m. down the main road from cantonments. They went on in silence till challenged by a sentry, when a volley of musketry was rapidly succeeded by a bayonet charge. Two nines, one 6-pounder†, and one 24-pounder howitzer were captured. A detachment of the Kamaun Gurkhas swept through an orange garden on the left as far as the Kudsia Bagh. This success cost us 19 killed, 93 wounded. Brigadier Showers and Major Coke (the latter in the act of seizing a gun) were severely, Lieutenant Sheriff, 1st Fusiliers, mortally wounded, also Lieutenants Maunsell, Engineers, and Lindsay, Horse Artillery. Most of the casualties were in the 1st Fusiliers and Coke's Rifles.

1857.
August 12th.

Brigadier-General J. Nicholson arrived from the Punjab this day with the 3rd Company 1st Battalion No 17 Horse Field Battery (Captain G. Bouchier), the 52nd and the rest of the 61st Regiment, 2nd Punjab Infantry (Captain G. W. G. Green), and 200 Multáni Horse.

August 14th.
53 Field Batt

Lieutenant Hodson scouted for four days towards Rohtak to intercept a party in that direction who were threatening our communications. He had two affairs with them, in one of which Lieutenant H. H. Gough was wounded.

Aug 15-19th.

The rebels made another attempt on our communications. A siege-train was on its way from Ferozepore, so General Nicholson was sent out with a column. It consisted of 1st-1st Horse Artillery, Captain Remington, 2nd-1st H. A. (four guns), Lieutenant W. Wilson; 2nd-3rd Horse Artillery, Captain Blunt; sixteen guns under Major Tombs, with Lieutenant Sankey as Staff Officer; a squadron of 9th Lancers, Lieutenant Sarel, Guide Cavalry, Captain San-

August 25th.

* A squadron of 9th Lancers, the Guide Cavalry, details of the 75th, 1st Fusiliers, Coke's Rifles, 8th Regiment, 2nd Fusiliers, Kamaun Battalion, and 4th Sikh Infantry. The 1st Troop 1st Brigade, under Captain Remington (Major Olpherts being sick), accompanied the Column.

† Belonged to the mutinous 4th Troop 1st Brigade.

1857.
August 25th.

ford, 120 men; 2nd Punjab Cavalry, Lieutenant Nicholson, 80 men; Multani* Horse, Lieutenant Lind, 200 men; 61st Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Rainey, 420 men; 1st Fusiliers, Major G. O. Jacob, 380 men, 1st Punjab Rifles, Lieutenant Lumsden, 400 men, 2nd Punjab Infantry, Captain G. W. G. Green, 400 men, Sappers, Lieutenant Geneste, 30 men.

The country was, as usual after the rains, greatly flooded, rendering it very difficult to traverse off the raised road. Nicholson, leaving camp at daybreak, got to Nanglui, nine miles on the road to Bahádurgarh, where he learned that the rebels would probably reach Najafgarh that afternoon. Wherefore, leaving the road, he moved direct on that place. Two miles short of it, about 5 p.m., he crossed a deep and broad nullah or part of the jhil flowing into the cut which drained it, near the village of Basraula. The rebel force had its left on the town of Najafgarh, and its right on a bridge over the canal; a serai near their centre being the key of the position. Forming line with four guns on the right and ten on the left, after a few rounds he charged and drove them out of it. Then changing front to the left, he rolled up their centre and right, driving them across the bridge, and capturing thirteen pieces of ordnance† with a large quantity of ammunition. Lieutenant Lumsden was sent to the right to clear out those who occupied Najafgarh, which was done in good style. On his way to rejoin the rest he was ordered to dislodge some of the rebels from the village of Nagli. They fought with desperation, and Lieutenant Lumsden was killed, and the 61st were sent to reinforce the attack. The enemy were strong in cavalry, and had ours been stronger a better account would have been given of this arm. But as it was, the victory was a very important one in its effects.‡ Our casualties were 25

* A Patán tribe beyond the Indus. Multán derived its name originally from them.

† Howitzers, one 24-pounder, two 12-pounders; guns, two 9-pounders, four 6-pounders; four native ones.

‡ As an instance of the character which Nicholson bore in the eyes

killed, 70 wounded. Lieutenant Gabbett, 61st, was killed, and Lieutenant Elkington, same regiment, mortally wounded. The Horse Artillery had one gunner killed, and Assistant-Surgeon W. W. Ireland, of the 2nd-3rd Horse Artillery, very dangerously, it was at first thought mortally, wounded.*

1857.
August 25th.

The troops bivouacked on the field, and next morning, after crossing the bridge, it was blown up by Lieutenant Geneste and the Sappers. General Nicholson, in his dispatch, mentions, with others, the names of Major Tombs, Captains Remington and Blunt, Lieutenants Sankey and Wilson.

August 26th.

Before the column returned an attack was made, the rebels turning out in great force, thinking we had only a few men left in camp. They opened fire on the mosque from Ludlow Castle with field guns, but the attack was not developed seriously, and was repulsed with severe loss to them.

As the siege-train which had been prepared at Ferozepore was now near at hand with the 2nd P I, the last reinforcements the Punjab could supply, preparations for a final assault were actively pushed on. Some companies of Mazbi Sikhs had been raised for Sapper's work, coolies

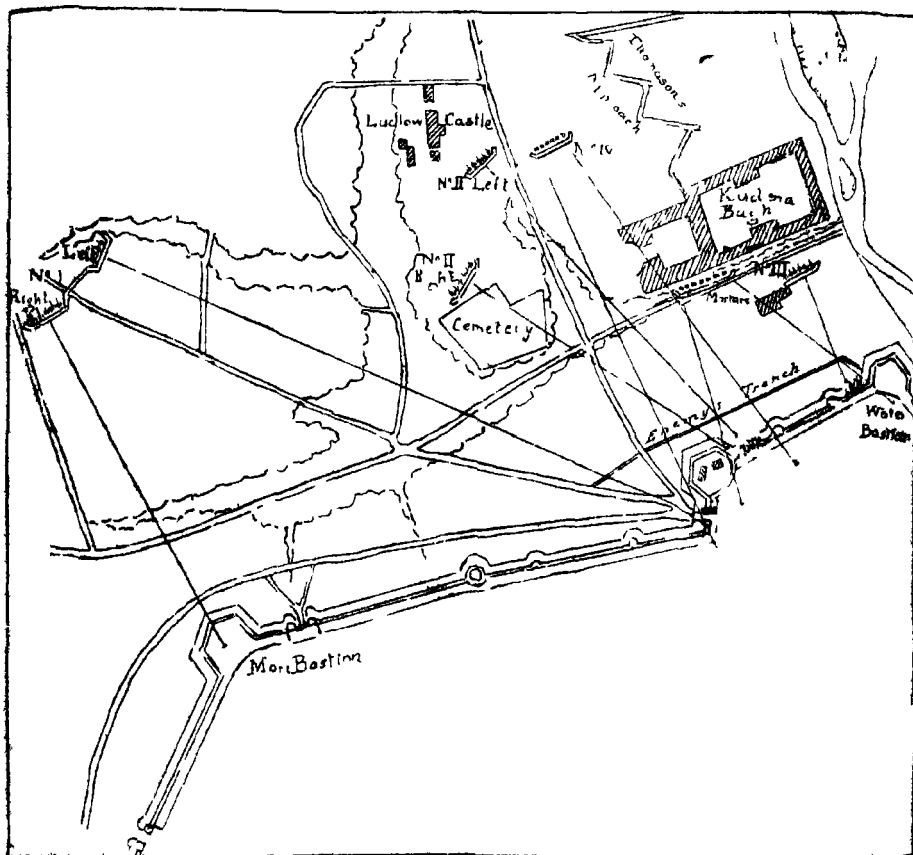
September.

of Sikhs, the writer may be permitted to say that having for his sins been condemned to remain at Meerut during the siege, and having charge of the picquets along the Artillery and Infantry sides of the station, he was on his daily visits usually asked for news by the Sikh soldiers on duty. On this occasion, when mention was made of a victory, they came round him to ask who commanded "Nicholson Sahib," was the reply. The native officer significantly drew his finger across his throat, and motioned the others away. They retired, evidently thinking they had heard the main part of the story. "Now," said the old Sikh, "tell me all about it." "Well, Nicholson Sahib gave the Bāghis a tremendous licking." "Of course he did," interrupted the other, "you need not tell me that, and he took all their guns, but how did he do it?"

* This was a singular case. One shrapnel killed a havildar and two gun lascars, disabled two horses, and wounded Assistant-Surgeon Ireland. A bullet striking his right eye came out at the left ear. I am very glad to learn that he is alive and able to devote himself to literary pursuits. Assistant-Surgeon D. B. Smith, of the Artillery, told me he saw him lying in a dooly, and to his astonishment was asked a question about the healing process of the wound.

1857.
September.

filled up the number, and worked well. Lieutenant H. A. Brownlow, in charge of the park, was indefatigable in his preparations there. On the ground to the left of the Sâmi House, a trench was formed ending in a battery



for four 9-pounders and two 24-pounder howitzers to command the Mori bastion, and prevent parties from coming round from the western gates to annoy the batteries about to be constructed. Lieutenant F. R. Maunsell was appointed Directing Engineer of the right attack; Lieutenant W. W. H. Greathed of the left.

On the 3rd, Lieut-Colonel F. Gaitskell joined, also the siege-train under Lieutenant W J Gray. It consisted of six 24-pounders, eight 18-pounders, six* 8-inch howitzers, four 10-inch mortars from Ferozepore, four 8-inch and six 5½-inch mortars brought by Lieutenant Dobbin from Phillour and given over to Lieutenant Gray at Ludhiána. The front to be attacked was that from the Water to the Mori bastion, and on to the Kabul gate. Bakht Khan told the King on the 5th of September that the siege-train had arrived, and that a battery would be made opposite the Kashmir gate. The bastions had regular faces, and flanks with properly cut embrasures for heavy guns, and were connected by long curtains, six of which were divided by the old circular burj of former days, with a cavalier for lighter ordnance. The rampart was about 12 feet thick and 16 feet high, with a three-foot parapet on it, eight feet high. Outside was a wide berm, a ditch 16 feet deep, with eight feet of the scarp revetted. A glacis covered about 10 feet of the wall.

1857.
September.

On the 6th, Major J H Campbell, Lieutenants T. H. Salt, E T Hume, and F Ryan, with 100 more of the Artillery recruits, arrived from Meerut. Lieutenant W T Somerville died in camp this day of fever.

No I battery was traced out to the right front of the Mori bastion. It was in two parts, one on each side of the road leading from the Pir Ghaib Mosque on the ridge, to the Kashmir gate. The right portion for five 18-pounder guns and one 8-inch howitzer to silence the Mori bastion, distant 600 yards. The left, for four 24-pounders to bear on the left flank of the Kashmir bastion commanding the gateway, and the gate itself, thus guarding against a sortie here; distance, 1,100 yards. The trench connecting both portions and a deep ravine gave cover to the guard, doolies,

Sept. 7th.

* General Gray says four. But not only was this number much less than the proportions laid down, there must have been at least twelve altogether. Several were disabled at different times, and eight were in the breaching batteries I. and II. See Note C, Appendix.

1857.
Sept. 7th.

etc., and a good communication with the left batteries. Major James Brind commanded the right portion till the assault ; under him it was sure to be effective. His subalterns were Lieutenants Bunny, Bishop, and Salwey, and it was manned by the 2nd and 3rd Troops 3rd Brigade H.A. Major Turner commanded the left with Lieutenants Gray, Salt, Hildebrand, Gillespie, Chichester, and Budd

The other batteries which the Engineers proposed to establish were —

No. II. intended to breach the curtain to the right of the Kashmir bastion ; to destroy the defences of the bastion, and to break down the parapet on either side so as to deprive the defenders of cover. It was in two portions , the left for nine 24-pounder guns, placed under Major Campbell, was constructed to the right front of Ludlow Castle ; and the right, about 120 yards from the former, on ground behind the cemetery, for two 18-pounder guns, and seven 8-inch howitzers, was placed under command of Major Kaye after No. I. left had been destroyed. Captain Johnson, Lieutenants Dirom, Roberts, and Craster were with Major Campbell.

No. III. for six* 18-pounders was intended to breach the curtain close to the Water bastion, and destroy the defences of the bastion itself. It was originally intended to be placed behind the Kudsia Bāgh, about 330 yards from the wall, but the position not appearing good, Captain Taylor examined the ground about the Custom House in front of the garden, and reported on a site there only 160 yards distant. General Wilson consented to this very bold attempt, and on the night of the 10th it was commenced. An incessant shower of shot poured upon the working-party. The coolies, though unskilled at that business, worked beautifully. It is told of them that as one after another was killed, his comrades removed the body to one side and continued their work. * Thirty-nine of them were

* Intended at first for eight guns. It was aided by 9-pounders.

killed or wounded during the night. The records of sieges do not contain a better example of passive courage. To Major Scott was assigned this post of honour. His subalterns were Captain Fagan, Lieutenants Heath, Sir W. Hamilton, J. Evans (9th Lancers), Hare, and Ryan. It was manned by the 4th Company 6th Battalion and Hamilton's Sikh Artillerymen.

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Sept. 7th.

No. III was aided by a battery for twelve 5½-inch mortars under Captain Blunt. It was placed in the road passing up between the Custom House and garden. He was assisted by Lieutenant Cadell, who was prostrated by fever, Cornet F. Trench, and a bugler. It was on the right and to the rear of the other, and was manned by some of the recruits just arrived from Meerut, none of whom had ever stood behind a mortar before.

No. IV to the left front of No. II had four 10- and six 8-inch mortars, and was to shell the whole of the ground between and to the rear of the Water and Kashmir bastions. It was constructed on the night of the 10th. Major Tombs commanded it with Lieutenants Renny and Sankey.

For the protection of the right, and covering the camp, the main picquet was supported by the light battery upon the plateau to the left front of the Sami House (six 9-pounder guns, two 24-pounder howitzers), four 18-pounders, which were placed in the batteries on the ridge near Hindu Rao's house, and two more 9-pounders at the Crow's Nest. All these were placed under command of Captain Remington. Lieutenants Evans, Fitzgerald, Elliot, and Aislabie were employed on the ridge.

No. I. opened fire on the morning of the 8th, from two guns in each portion, the remainder of the ordnance was got into position during the evening and night. All accounts testify to Major Brind's unceasing vigilance till the day of the assault. He seemed never to sleep. Major Turner was obliged from severe sickness to leave, and his place was taken by Major Kaye. The left battery caught fire on the afternoon of the 10th, and was destroyed. The guns were

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removed to No. II., which was strengthened, armed, and unmasked during the night, and opened on the morning of the 11th. Lieutenant E. H. Hildebrand, who had done excellent service since he joined in the beginning of July, was killed by a round shot on the morning of the 8th in No. I Battery, and Riding-Master S. Budd was wounded after removal of the officers and guns to No. II.

The facility with which the position at Ludlow Castle had been occupied was a surprise to us. It is probable that the construction of No. I, in front of the Mori corner, where it would be assisted by the batteries on the ridge, gave rise to the idea that the attack would be on that side, and made the Sepoys distrust the opinion of Bakht Khan before alluded to, that it would be on the Kashmir gate. Their counsels were divided, and though desertions were now frequent, their only chance was to trust to their greatly superior numbers and means of defence, and make the best fight they could.

As soon as light permitted on the morning of the 11th, Major Tombs' mortars in No. IV. opened, and kept up fire incessantly upon the front between the Kashmir and Water bastions, and the ground behind. The same evening Major Campbell, in the left No. II, was severely wounded by a grape shot, and was obliged to make over command of it to Captain E. B. Johnson.

At two o'clock No. III. opened. The duty of serving the guns was a most dangerous one, though the embrasures were supplied with wooden shutters. Very steadily did the gunners of the 4th Company 6th Battalion and the Sikhs under Hamilton perform it. The enemy had thrown up a breastwork before the Kashmir bastion, from which a hot fire was kept up at close range, and a heavy with some light guns in the open near the Mori gate enfiladed the advanced batteries. In No. III., a covering party of the 60th Rifles, under Captain Sir E. F. Campbell, Lieutenant McGill, and Ensign E. A. L. Phillips,* did their best to keep down the

* 11th N.I. doing duty with 60th.

enemy's efforts. This battery had not been in action more than an hour when Captain Fagan was killed by a shot in the head. His "unceasing energy and conspicuous devotion to his profession had gained for him the respect of every branch of the force."* Captain Blunt, with his twelve mortars, had his hands full, for his only Artillery subaltern was down with fever, but, nevertheless, he did his work, and did it well. Lieutenant Cracklow came down on the 13th, with two guns of Captain Bouchier's Battery to aid No III in the demolition of the light parapets.

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September.

Sept. 13th.

The accuracy with which the batteries had been laid down was soon seen by the effect of direct breaching, and of the silencing ordnance. In the evening of this day Captain Taylor came down to No. III. Lieutenants Greathed and Home examined the Water bastion, Lieutenants Medley and Lang the Kashmir and Curtain. Both breaches were reported in excellent condition, and the assault was ordered for the next morning.

Sept. 14th.

The columns for assault were told off as follows —

1st, Brigadier-General J. Nicholson

Engineer Officers to conduct, Lieutenants J. G. Medley, A. M. Lang, and H. Bingham.

75th Regiment, 300 men; 1st Bengal Fusiliers, 200; 2nd Punjab Infantry, 450, to storm the right breach, and escalade Kashmir bastion.

2nd, Brigadier W. Jones, C.B., 61st.

Engineer Officers to conduct, Lieutenants W. W. H. Greathed, J. St. J. Hovenden, and R. C. B. Pemberton

8th Regiment, 250 men; 2nd Bengal Fusiliers, 250; 4th Sikh Infantry, 350; to storm the left breach.

3rd, Colonel G. Campbell, 52nd.

Engineer Officers, Lieutenants D. C. Home and P. Salkeld, explosion party; Lieutenant F. L. Tandy to conduct.

* Major Gaitskell's dispatch, No 20, dated 19th September, 1857.

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Sept. 14th.

52nd Regiment, 200 men; Kamáun Battalion, 250;
1st Punjab Infantry, 500, to assault the Kashmir gate.
4th, Major C Reid.

Engineer Officers to conduct, Lieutenants F. R. Maunself
and J F Tennant

Details of British regiments on the main picquet: Sirmur
Battalion, Kashmir Auxiliaries; about 1,000 men in all.
To attack Kishanganj and Paháripur suburbs

Reserve Column, Brigadier J. Longfield, 8th

Engineer Officers to conduct, Lieutenants D Ward and
E T Thackeray.

61st Regiment, 250 men; 4th Punjab Rifles, 450; Beluch
Battalion, 300, Jhind Auxiliaries, 300, 60th Rifles, 200.

At four a.m. the Columns fell in and marched down, the
heads of Nos 1, 2, and 3, being kept concealed till the sig-
nal for advance should be given by General Nicholson.
On this being done, 200 of the 60th Rifles, under Colonel
Jones, dashed forward with a cheer, extending out to skir-
mishing order, to cover Nos 1 and 2 as they emerged from
the Kudsia Bagh, and No 3 as it moved down the road.
The fire of the batteries kept down the enemy's guns, but
as the Columns moved on the hail of musketry fire was
tremendous. The mutinous Sepoys felt their end coming,
and fought desperately. In front of the 3rd Column went
on a small party bearing the powder bags for the Kashmir
gate; Lieutenants Duncan C. Home, and Salkeld, Ser-
geants Smith and Carmichael, and Corporal Burgess, of
the Sappers and Miners; Bugler Hawthorne, 52nd, 14
Regular and 10 Punjab Sappers. They passed along at
a double through the skirmishers, and crossing the ditch
by the shattered timbers of the bridge, laid the bags at the
gate. The wicket was open, through this and from the
adjoining parapet a hot fire was kept up on the party. In
laying the train Sergeant Carmichael was killed, a Havildar
wounded. Lieutenant Salkeld, while endeavouring to fire
the charge, was shot both in the thigh and arm. Handing
the slow match to Corporal Burgess, he was taken down

1857.
Sept. 13th.

into the ditch where the rest of the party were, and Bugler Hawthorne tied up the wounds. Corporal Burgess succeeded in firing the charge, but was mortally wounded. The explosion rent the timbers of the gate, Lieutenant Home ordered the bugler to sound, and his regimental call, thrice repeated, was answered by the rush forward of the Column up to and inside the gate. The breaches had just been crowned by the other Columns, some planting the ladders clambered over wherever they could. The Water bastion was seized and the guns there turned on the palace. The guns in the Kashmir had been already rendered unserviceable. Here, in the enclosed space of the Main Guard, General Nicholson formed his men as they came up. Colonel Campbell, after clearing out the Water bastion, went past the church (captured by a part of the 2nd Column) and the *Dellu Gazette* premises by the Kashmir Darwāza Bazar, to the principal street, the Chandni Chauk. Here the large building, called the Dariba, which would have been a valuable position, was blocked up with masonry, and there were no Engineers left; no means of blowing open the gate. The Jama Masjid,* to which his orders extended, could not be reached, so Colonel Campbell was obliged to fall back upon the Begam Bāgh (Delhi Bank), and finally upon the church. Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, son of the late Resident, accompanied this Column, and was most useful in pointing out the localities. Lieutenants Fitzgerald and Elliot, with two divisions of No. 14 F.B, accompanied this Column, and rendered valuable assistance. The latter was severely wounded at the college garden. Lieutenant Aislabie with the third division accompanied General Nicholson's Column.

No. 1 Column had secured the walls and adjacent build-
*

* It should not have been included in the orders. The canal running from the Kabul gate to Salimgarh, with the Dariba as a central stronghold, would have been quite sufficient for one day's work, and as much as could then have been held. Part of the Column, Kaye says, got to Lahore gate. Had this been held, communication with the 1st Column would have been secured.

1857.
Sept. 14th

ings as far as the Kabul gate. It was supported by No. 2. From thence the space between the houses and wall became a narrow lane. In this, at an interval, were two field guns well placed, one, if not both, having bullet-proof screens. Beyond, and distant only 360 yards, was the Burn bastion, armed with heavy and light guns, some bearing on us. On either side the enemy plied the advancing soldiers with a destructive fire. The Fusiliers captured the first gun; the second, after two attempts, was spiked, but could not be held. Major Jacob, of that regiment, was mortally wounded. The officers one by one fell and the men wavered. General Nicholson coming up, waved his sword and called on the men to renew their charge, when a shot struck him in the body. He was carried to the rear, and Captain W. Brookes, of the 75th, next senior, withdrew the remnant of both Columns to the Kabul gate. This should not have been passed till communication with the 4th Column had been established.

Major Reid was to have been accompanied by the left-half of the 1st Troop 1st Brigade, but as most of the men were on duty in the batteries under Captain Remington, and could not be relieved in time, he had to move without them. A portion of the Jammu Troops, sent to occupy Idgáh, near the Sabzi Mandi, found itself engaged with the mutineers, who were in great force in and around the Teliwára and Kishanganj suburbs, sooner than had been expected. Unable to cope with greatly superior numbers, they had to retire, leaving their guns, the horses having been taken away by the grass-cutters. So that when Major Reid with the remainder of the Column, not waiting longer for his guns, moved down to support the other attack, he was met by a heavy fire from the mutineers lining the loopholed Serai and other buildings in Kishanganj. Major Reid was wounded in the head and was carried away. Sending for Major R. C. Lawrence, he made over command and directed him to carry out the plan of attack. But the Jammu contingent had retired; large bodies of horse and foot were in front

and on both flanks, and it was necessary to retire to avoid being cut off. The fire of the guns at the Crow's Nest with shrapnel, admirably delivered, under Lieutenant H. J. Evans, enabled them to do this with comparatively little loss.

1857.
Sept. 14th.

Brigadier Hope Grant, with 200 of the 9th Lancers (Captain Drysdale), 410 Guide Cavalry (Captain Sanford), 1st (Lieutenant Watson), 2nd (Lieutenant Probyn), and 3rd Punjab Cavalry (Lieutenant Younghusband), with the right half 1st-1st H A. (Lieutenant Lindsay), 2nd-1st H.A. (Lieutenant Wilson), Major Tombs commanding all the guns, were held in readiness at daybreak. As soon as the attack commenced, he moved down on the Mori bastion, and then on to the Kabul gate, where they came under a very heavy fire. The guns of the Burn bastion and in the Teliwára suburb were served with grape, and every building there was filled with rebels, who kept up a destructive fire of musketry. The number must have been very great, and there was very possibly some intention of an attempt upon the camp during the progress of the assault. Major Tombs with his guns drove the rebels from one battery in Teliwára, and Lieutenant Traill, H A., spiked an 18- and a 12-pounder. A party of the Guide Infantry and of the Biluch Battalion joined them, and subsequently Captain Bourchier's Battery, so that Grant was enabled to hold his position as long as was necessary. The loss was severe, but not more than might have been expected, Major Tombs and Lieutenant Lindsay were both wounded, and in the 1st Troop, one European, one Native and four horses killed, nine horses wounded; 2nd Troop, one European one Native, and 13 horses killed, 17 Europeans, 13 Natives and 10 horses (one a charger) wounded.

So that on this day the position gained within the city was limited to the space from the Water to the Mori bastions, and round the church as far as the college. The casualties in the return appended to General Wilson's dispatch of the 22nd of September, on this day's fighting, are recorded

1857.
Sept. 14th. as 282 killed, 878 wounded, 10 missing.* Unfortunately, at the further end of the open space round the church where the street leading to the Begam Samru's house (Delhi Bank) began, there was one of the large general shops capable of supplying unlimited stores to a mess, a canteen, or an impecunious subaltern. It was quickly discovered, and the British soldier, after fighting for hours without anything to allay hunger, too readily welcomes something to quench his thirst. Before the place could be destroyed, many fell victims to the sun and the enemy who might well have retained their number in mess. Major-General Wilson established his headquarters temporarily in Mr. Skinner's house facing the church. No 14 Field Battery was on picquet duty, two guns at headquarters; two in the street next the college garden, and two at the Kabul gate.

Sept. 15th. Next day, a mortar fire was kept up upon Salimgarh from which the rebels were cannonading us, and Lieutenant Salt at the Water bastion had the guns there laid for the same direction. The magazine defences were breached, and skirmishing went on at all the advanced posts.

Sept. 16th. The magazine was taken early this day by the 61st part of the 4th Punjab Infantry, and Biluch Battalion. Under cover of the palace and Selimgarh guns, the mutineers attacked our outposts and the magazine. They set fire to some thatched buildings touching the magazine walls. Lieutenant Renny here won the Victoria Cross. He got on the wall, and throwing down 5½-inch shells as hand-grenades among the Sepoys below, who could not be otherwise reached, dislodged them; Lieutenant Hare, of the Artillery, and Vicars, 61st, assisting. Kishanganj was evacuated this day.

September. During the next two days our line extended from the Kabul gate direct to the magazine. Lieutenants D. Thomson, McLeod, Manderson, Gully, Hare, and Ryan were serving with mortars. The Burn bastion was cap-

* This return is incomplete as to the Artillery.

tured on the 19th, the Lahore gate and Garstin bastion on the 20th. The palace gates were blown in, and General Wilson's headquarters were established in the Diwán Khás. On the 21st the old King was captured by Lieutenant Hodson a few miles from the city. He was afterwards tried here by a military commission, of which Lieut.-Colonel M. Dawes, of the Artillery, was president, found guilty of rebellion and complicity in the murder of British subjects, and ended his days a State prisoner at Rangoon. A day or two after two of his sons and a grandson were captured by the same energetic officer, who shot them, and their bodies were exposed in front of the Kot-wáli in the Chándni Chauk.

1857.
September.

The siege of Delhi, lasting for 106 days during the hottest season of the year, brought out in striking colours the best qualities of the British soldier. It brought out the martial qualities of the Gurkhas and the Sikhs, and it brought out in gallant relief the loyalty of the few native soldiers recruited from the provinces, who remained staunch. These were nearly all comprised in the 5th Troop 1st Brigade Horse Artillery and the remnant of the Sappers.

Throughout the whole of these 106 days the odds against us were such as no General would willingly have faced. The weight of responsibility brought Sir Henry Barnard to his grave. Major-General Sir Archdale Wilson was fully alive to his difficulties, but his mind was cast in a less sensitive mould, yet he contemplated the possibility of a retirement.* We sat down before Delhi in June a force of 600 Cavalry and 2,400 Infantry.† Its defences had been improved by our Engineers at considerable expense, and though on the lines of the original tracing, were too strong to be assailed but by a powerful Artillery. Our heavy ordnance numbered at first but 24 pieces, and when the regular siege commenced, 56, or taking those captured into account, 65.

* P.P. Further Papers No. 4, Inclosure 29 in No. 2, p. 63.

† Lieutenant Norman's "Narrative," P.P. Further Papers No. 6, Inclosure 23 in No. 5, p. 200

1857.
September,

The reserve Artillery were the shadows of five companies * and three newly-raised Sikh ones, which joined in the end of June; besides 200 recruits from the depôt at Meerut, who having arrived from England only a month before the outbreak, knew nothing of the special duties of their arm. The Field Artillery, at first 22, increased to 38. When the last of the reinforcements arrived, our whole force, of all arms, numbered 8,791 effective, besides 2,364 wounded and sick.† Cholera, that foe we have so often to face in India, hovered over the ridge and daily claimed its many victims.

1857

With this small force we had for more than three months held the ridge against the constant attacks of overwhelming numbers. The city, within an enciente of $5\frac{1}{4}$ miles, contained an enormous population now hostile to our rule, the male portion of which were not much less formidable behind walls than the Sepoys. Of these a return prepared by the Mir Munshi to the Commander-in-Chief August 28th, 1857, gives the numbers as Cavalry, three regiments and 3,590 men of others, Infantry, 24 regiments and 4,420 men, or not less than 4,000 of the first and 30,000 of the last.‡ There never was any want of Artillerymen, not so much from the Golandáz§ as from the magazine and gun lascars, who, as Sir John Horsford fifty years before had pointed out, were all skilled in the management and laying of guns. They failed in one important point—the correct

* The 4th Company 6th Battalion had lost in the last half of September, 1856, a third of its strength by cholera at Ferozepore, the 4th Battalion nearly as many at Mian Mir, and they had not replaced the loss.

† P P Further Papers No. 4, Inclosure 9 in No. 5, p. 258

‡ P P Further Papers No. 4, Inclosure 7 in No. 5, p. 255

§ The Artillery which reached Delhi seems to have been —

From Delhi, May 11th, 3rd Co. 7th Batt	No 5 Field Battery	...	6	Gun ^v
From Nasirabad, June 19th, 2nd Co. 7th Batt	No 6 Field Battery	...	6	
From Bareilly, July 2nd, 6th Co. 8th Batt	No 15 Field Battery,	...	...
two post guns and one station gun...	...	...	9	
From Nowgong, July 2nd, 4th Co. 9th Batt	No 18 Bullock Battery	...	3	
From Neemuch } July 31st, 4th Troop 1st Bde. H A and Kotah	and Deoli } Contingent	...	...
		...	...	9

Total 33

1857.

fuzing of the shells. Of ordnance and stores there was an ample supply. Mounted on the bastions and curtains were 60 pieces ; in the streets and suburbs, 16 ; in the palace and Selimgarh, 20 ; in the magazine, 148 ; besides a few others of native manufacture, 46 captured in fight ; a total of 296 guns, howitzers, mortars, and carronades.

Such were the forces arrayed against one another at Delhi in 1857. The constant attacks (not less than twenty-six) made on Major Reid's picquets at Hindu Rao's house showed how alive the rebels were to the importance of that post. Its defence is a splendid record, and worthily has its commander won his spurs. Major Reid never once left his post but to attack the enemy until he was carried away wounded on the day of the assault. Ever associated with that defence will be remembered the 60th Royal Rifles, whose casualties were 389 out of nearly 640 men ; the Sirmur Battalion, which had 327 out of 490, and the Guide Corps, 303 out of about 550.

Of the work done by the Engineers, the foregoing very brief record tells little. From the time that Colonel Baird Smith joined the force there was a steady pressing forward to the capture of the rebel city. Difficulties, which to the eye of the Artillery General seemed almost insurmountable, were swept away by his resolute action. His right hand was Alexander Taylor, whose readiness of resource and indefatigable energy carried out all the proposals of his chief and initiated many others. Of Lieutenant H. A. Brownlow, in charge of the park, it is recorded that his "activity and intelligence contributed not a little to the eventual success of our operations." Four officers were killed or died ; 14 were wounded, and of those who were officiating one was killed, two wounded.

In the Artillery, from the time the troops left Meerut and Umballa to the final capture of the city, 10 officers were killed and died of wounds or disease incidental to the service ; 22 regimental officers, one assistant-surgeon, and a riding-master were wounded. Neither officers nor men had

1857. much relaxation from their manifold duties. The Horse Artillerymen, assisted by volunteers from the 9th Lancers and Carabiniers, worked in the breaching batteries till they ceased firing, and then mounted for fresh work. The behaviour of all in getting the heavy ordnance into battery and serving the pieces under a close and murderous fire, and the manner in which the walls crumbled to pieces before their steady discharges, has been commented upon by all who have written the story of this siege. The duties in park, though less visible, were of the utmost importance to the effective working of the Artillery, and Major Hogge, Captain Young, and Lieutenant Griffith fulfilled them well.

Kaye, in his "History of the Sepoy War,"* has commented upon the omission by Major-General Wilson of the names of some Artillery officers from his dispatches who were deserving of recognition. The General may have wished to avoid the charge of favouring his own regiment, but he should at least have made some mention of the noble conduct of the Native Troop, which under Renny had rendered such faithful service.

The events of 1857-58 are now matters of ancient history, but there are many still surviving who wear the clasp given in recognition of their services before the hardest won fortress of modern times.

* Vol III., p 579

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APPENDIX.

- A. Officers of Engineers who served at the Siege of Delhi.
- B. Report from Colonel M Mackenzie on the conduct of Major Tombs and Lieutenant Hills
- C. Ordnance employed at the Siege of Delhi
- D. Return of killed, wounded, and missing.
- E. Officers of the Bengal Artillery killed or died

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

Officers of Engineers who served at the Siege of Delhi.	
Major John Laughton.	Lieutenant A Perkins,
Captain(Official Lieut.-Colonel)	wounded very severely 17th
Richard B. Smith, wounded	June
12th August.	Lieutenant A M Lang.
Captain(Official Lieut.-Colonel)	Lieutenant E W. Humphry.
Alexander Taylor.	2nd-Lieutenant C S Thomason.
Lieutenant W. W H. Greathed,	2nd-Lieutenant L. U Cham-
wounded very severely 14th	pain, wounded
September.	2nd-Lieutenant R C B. Pem-
Lieutenant J T. Walker (Bom-	berton, wounded 14th Sept.
bay), wounded very severely	2nd-Lieutenant P Murray,
14th July	wounded.
Lieutenant H W. Gulliver.	2nd-Lieutenant A McNeill.
Lieutenant C T. Stewart.	2nd-Lieutenant F. L Tandy,
Lieutenant F R Maunsell,	killed 14th September
wounded very severely 12th	2nd-Lieutenant D. Ward.
August and 14th September.	2nd-Lieutenant W. F. Fulford
Lieutenant D. C. Home	2nd-Lieutenant E. Jones, died
Lieutenant J F. Tennant.	24th of wound 18th July.
Lieutenant J. G. Medley,	2nd - Lieutenant H. A L.
wounded very severely 14th	Carnegie, wounded 14th
September.	July.
Lieutenant P. Salkeld, died of	2nd-Lieutenant E T Thackeray
wound 14th September.	2nd-Lieutenant J G Forbes.
Lieutenant E Walker, died of	Captain T. M Greensill, H.M.
cholera 18th July.	24th Regiment, Assistant
Lieutenant G T. Chesney	Field Engineer, accidentally
(Brigade-Major), wounded	shot while on duty at the Met-
very severely 14th September.	calfe Picquet 20th July, and
Lieutenant W. E. Warrand,	died next day.
wounded very severely 30th	Ensign Louis Gustavinsky, Pun-
August.	jab Sappers, wounded very
Lieutenant H. A Brownlow,	severely 14th September.
wounded dangerously 14th	Lieutenant H Bingham, Vet.
September.	Est, commanding Pioneers.
Lieutenant M. H. Geneste,	Mr Harry Martin (Canal
wounded dangerously 14th	Dept.).
July.	Mr C Anderson, Punjab
Lieutenant J St. J. Hovenden,	Sappers, wounded 1st Sept.
wounded very severely 14th	
September.	

NOTE B

No. 83.

Camp near Delhi, 10th July, 1857.

SIR,—It is with great pleasure I submit, for the information of the Brigadier-Commandant, the following account of the very gallant conduct of 2nd-Lieutenant James Hills, of the 2nd Troop 1st Brigade H A, and the noble behaviour of his Commanding Officer, Major H. Tombs, in twice coming to his subaltern's rescue, and on each occasion killing his man.

Yesterday, the 9th instant, 2nd-Lieutenant J Hills was on picquet duty with two guns at the mound to the right of Camp. About 11 a m there was a rumour that the enemy's Cavalry were coming down on this post. Lieutenant Hills proceeded to take up the position assigned in case of alarm, but before he reached the spot, he saw the enemy close upon his guns before they had time to form up. To enable them to do this, Lieutenant Hills boldly charged single-handed the head of the enemy's column, cut down the first man, struck the second, and was then ridden down, horse and all. On getting up, and searching for his sword, three more men came at him (two mounted), the first man he wounded with his pistol, he caught the lance of the second in his left hand, and wounded him with his sword, the first man then came on again, and was cut down, the third man then, on foot, came up and wrenched the sword from the hand of Lieutenant Hills, who fell in the struggle, and the enemy was about to cut him down when Major Tombs (who had gone up to visit his two guns) saw what was going on, rushed in, and shot the man and saved Lieutenant Hills.

By this time the enemy's Cavalry had passed by, and Major Tombs and Lieutenant Hills went to look after the wounded men, when Lieutenant Hills observed one of the enemy passing with his (Lieutenant Hills') pistol. They walked towards him, and the man began flourishing his sword, and dancing about. He first cut at Lieutenant Hills, who parried the blow, and he then turned on Major Tombs, who received the blow in the same manner. His second attack on Lieutenant Hills was, I regret to say, more successful, as he was cut down with a bad sword-cut on the head, and would have been no doubt killed had not Major Tombs rushed in, and put his sword through the man. I feel

convinced that such gallant conduct on the part of these officers has only to be brought properly forward to meet with appropriate reward

Major Tombs was saved from a severe sword-cut on the head by the wadded head dress he wore.

I have to apologise for the writing of this letter, as it is written from a sick-bed.

I have, &c ,

MURRAY MACKENZIE, Captain
and Brevet Lieut-Colonel
Commanding 1st Brigade H.

To Lieutenant E B JOHNSON,
Assistant Adjutant General Artillery

NOTE C.

Ordnance Employed at the Siege of Delhi in 1857.

	FIELD ORDNANCE.							SIEGE ORDNANCE.			CAPTURED FROM END OF MAY TO END OF AUGUST.							Total	Rs	P
	2-1 H A.	2-3 H A.	3-3 H A.	3-3 No 14.	1-1 H A.	5-1 H A.	3-1 No 17.	Meerut	1st Siege- Train	2nd Siege Train	30-31 May	8 June	17 June	20 June	12 Aug	25 Aug				
9-pr. Guns	...		5	5		3	5					2	1	1	2	2	21	7		
6-pr. Guns	3*	5			5	3†									1	4	21			
24-pr. Howitzers.			1	1			1				1	2			1	1	6			...
12-pr. Howitzers	1	1			1	1					2					2	6			
24-pr. Guns										6	1	2					9	9	9	
**18-pr. Guns								2§	8	8	1	3					22	18	13	
10-in. Howitzers.											1						1			
††8-in Howitzers									4	6	1	1					12	12	8	
10-in Mortars										4								4	4	
8-in Mortars									4	4							3	4	6	
5½-in. Mortars									6	6							12	6	12	
Total	4	6	6	6	6	4	6	2	22	34										

* A division left at Meerut under Lieut T. P. Smith

† A division left at Jullundur under Lieut Maynard.

‡ Guns taken away in July, restored at capture.

§ From Meerut Depot of Instruction

|| 24-pounder field howitzers formed part of every siege-train, the seven "brass guns" in Examiner's return must have been howitzers

¶ The number of field pieces captured 8th of June have not been recorded

** Some in position on the ridge

†† Several disabled during the siege

‡‡ This column is from a return furnished by the Examiner Ordnance Accounts in Adj't-Gen letter No. 1161, Calcutta, 6th December, 1865

§§ This column gives the number of pieces employed in breaching batteries in September

Owing to the discrepancy between different accounts, it has been difficult to arrive at a correct statement of some of the above items.

NOTE D.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing of the Artillery during the operations at and about Delhi May 30th, to September 20th, 1857.

	KILLED			WOUNDED				Missing.	Total
	Officers.	N C Officers.	Rank and File	Officers.	N C Officers.	Trumpeters, etc	Rank and File		
European	4	4	39	23	13	4	199	.	286
Native	1	1	25	1	2		47	2	79
Total	5	5	64	24	15	4	246	2	365

Strength of all ranks inclusive of Sikh Artillery, Drivers, Lascars, 1,350.

This is from a return signed by Lieutenant H. W. Norman, Assistant-Adjutant-General of the army ("Narrative"), and must be considered accurate as far as casualties to that date were reported. Appended is another of deaths only, prepared from casualty returns to about the middle of October. To show the difficulty of arriving at perfect accuracy, I may mention that I went over to Delhi, November 2nd, to ascertain how many of the Artillery Recruits had died or were killed, and adjust their estates. There were more than 60 out of the 200. Many of them had been posted to troops and companies there during the siege. These are included with them below, but I cannot now account for all.—

	KILLED, DIED OF SUNSTROKE IN ACTION, DIED OF WOUNDS						DIED IN HOSPITAL.						Total
	Staff Sergeants	Sergeants	Corporals	Bombardiers	Rough-Riders	Half-Pay Buglers	Gunsners	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Bombardiers	Trumpeters	Gunsners.	
1st-1st Brigade		1		1			3		1			3	9
2nd-1st Brigade				1			9					3	13
Staff 3rd Brigade	1												1
2nd-3rd Brigade							8	1				2	12
3rd-3rd Brigade		3		3			3	1		1		3	14
3rd-1st Batt No. 17 F B						1	1					4	7
3rd-3rd Batt No. 14 F B	1		2				8	1	1			4	17
1st-4th Batt *							5					3	8
2nd-4th Batt *			1				4			1		6	12
3rd-4th Batt							2					2	4
4th-4th Batt				1			1					1	4
4th-6th Batt		1		1			1		1			5	9
Recruit Depot*					1		8	1			1	21	31
2nd-2nd Batt											1	2	2
Total.	2	5	3	7	1	1	54	5	3	2	3	59	143

* One Missing (killed).

NOTE E.

Officers of the Bengal Artillery who were killed or died of their wounds or disease received or contracted at the siege of Delhi, and who were wounded during it --

KILLED IN BATTERY OR ACTION.

Lieutenant H G. Perkins, Hindan, May 31st	Captain R C H. B. Fagan, Battery, September 12th.
Lieutenant E. H. Hildebrand, Battery, September 8th.	

DIED OF WOUNDS

Colonel H. Garbett, August 8th, died Simla, January 14th	Lieutenant T E Dickens, July 20th, died Camp, July 27th.
Colonel M Mackenzie, July 2nd, died Simla, October 5th	

DIED OF DISEASE

Colonel J. L. Mowatt, Camp Pipli, May 30th	Lieutenant W T. Somerville, Camp Delhi, September 5th.
Lieutenant E. Salwey, Simla, October 29th	Lieutenant J H. Shuldham, Agra, February 13th

WOUNDED

Major J H Campbell, September 11th, severely.	Lieutenant F. S. Roberts, July 14th
Major E. K. Money, July 23rd, severely.	Lieutenant C Hunter, June 8th.
Captain J. Young, June 18th.	Lieutenant J Hills,* July 9th, severely
Major Tombs, June 17th and September 14th	Lieutenant M. Elliot, September 15th, severely
Major E B Johnson, May 31st.	Lieutenant P Thompson, July 14th, severely
Captain T. E. Kennion, August 6th, severely	Lieutenant A H Davidson, June 8th, severely
Captain A. Light, June 8th	Lieutenant E Fraser, August 7th.
Lieutenant A. Bunny, July 23rd.	Lieutenant R T Hare, June 8th.
Lieutenant H. P. Bishop, June 19th.	Lieutenant H Chichester, July 18th.
Lieutenant G. Baillie, August 10th, severely	Assist.-Surgeon W. W. Ireland, August 25th, dangerously.
Lieutenant A. Gillespie, September 11th.	Riding-Master S Budd, September 8th.
Lieutenant E L. Earle, September 11th.	
Lieutenant A. H. Lindsay, September 12th.	

* Now General Sir J. Hills-Johnes, G.C.B., V.C.

CHAPTER X.

THE PUNJAB.

- SEPOY WAR—PUNJAB—Events at Peshawur—Outbreak at Jallundur—Disarming of Sepoys at Multán—Moveable Column—Action with Sepoys at Jhelum—Outbreak at Sialkot—Brigadier Hind Killed—Nicholson intercepts Rebels at Trimu Ghat—He goes on to Delhi
- DELHI—Showers' Column—Gerard's Column—Action at Narnaul—Seaton Marches with Convoy to join the Commander-in-Chief—Actions at Gangeri and Patiali
- AGRA.—Its Position with Reference to Surrounding Stations and States—Mutinies in the Doab and Gwahior State—Battle near Agra—Mismanagement—Deaths of D'Oyly and Lamb—March of Greathed's Column to Agra—Action at Bulandshahar—Battle at Agra—Column proceeds to Cawnpore
- CAWNPORE—Description of Station—Of the Magazine—As the best Defensive Position—Arrival of Troops—Some sent on to Lucknow—Sepoys Mutiny—Entrenched position taken up—Splendid Defence—But Impossibility of Holding it—Treaty with the Nana—Massacre at the Boats
- FATEHGARH.—Party sent down to Cawnpore—Sepoys Mutiny—Defence of Fort—Its Evacuation—A few Escape into Oudh—Fate of those who reached Cawnpore

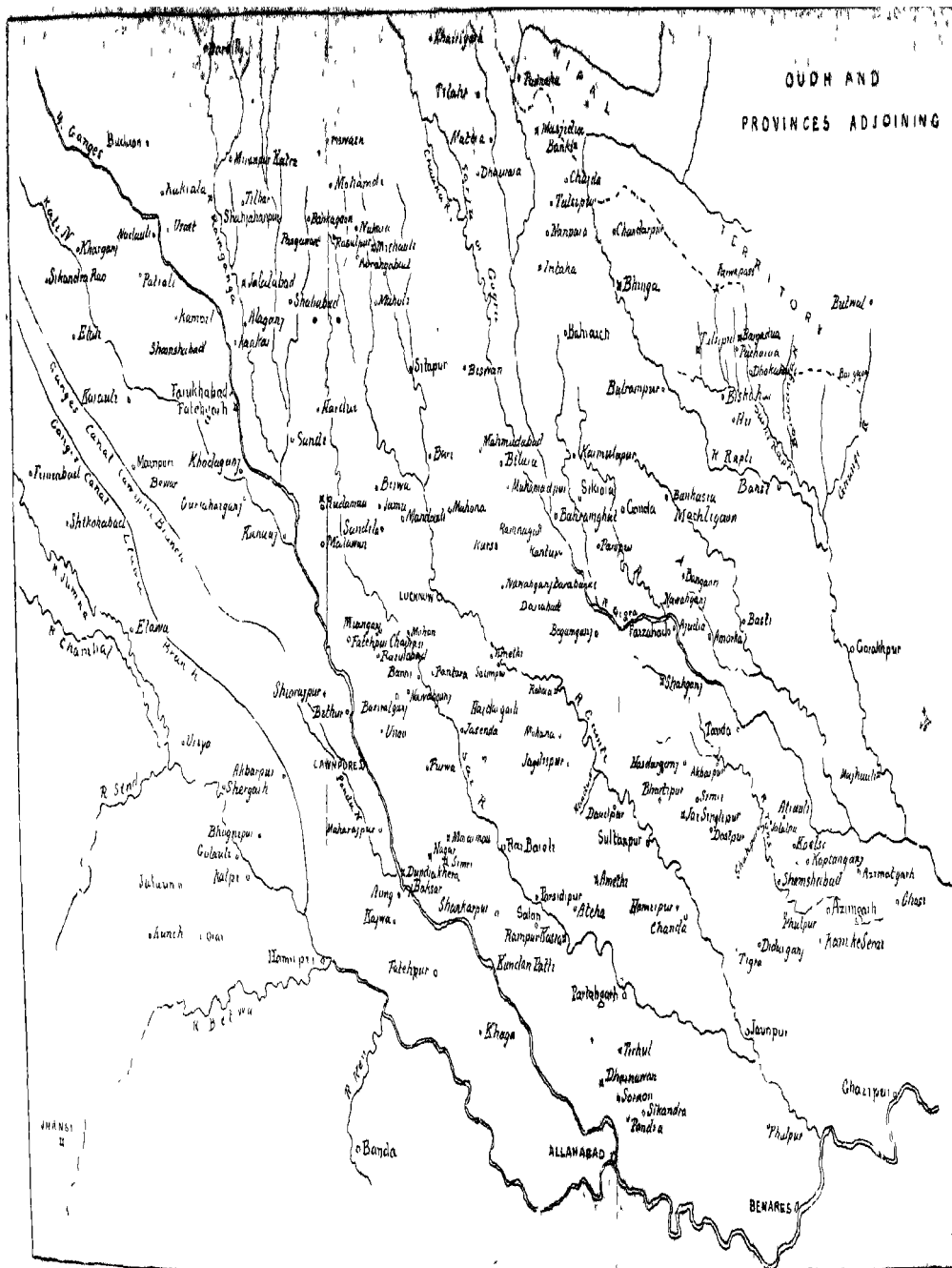
1857
May

ON the receipt at Peshawur, 12th of May, of the news that the native regiments at Meerut had mutinied, a Council of War was held. Sydney Cotton, Brigadier Commanding the station, Neville Chamberlain, Brigadier-Commandant of the Punjab Irregular Force, Herbert Edwards, Commissioner, and John Nicholson, Deputy Commissioner of Peshawur, met on the 13th at the house of Major-General Reed, Commanding the Division. It was decided to form a moveable column of British and Irregular Troops to be used as occasion should require. A telegram from General Anson gave the command of it to Brigadier-General Chamberlain.

K., R.H.A.
L., R.H.A.

The troops at Peshawur consisted of the 1st Troop 2nd and 1st Troop 3rd Brigade H.A.; 1st Company 1st Bat-

ODH AND
PROVINCES ADJOINING



talion with No. 7, 1st Company 2nd Battalion with No. 10 Horse Field Batteries, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Companies 2nd Battalion F.A., the 70th and 87th Regiments, three regiments of Native Cavalry and five of Native Infantry. The 55th N.I., of which a part was at Naoshera with a detachment at Attock, having broken out into mutiny, marching to Hoti Mardán, where the rest of the regiment was stationed, it was determined that four out of the five regiments of Native Infantry should be disarmed, which was carried out on the 22nd. The 21st N.I. not having shown any active signs of disaffection was exempted. The 55th at Hoti Mardán were followed up by a force from Peshawur as they fled. Many killed, 150 taken prisoners, of whom 40 were blown away from guns on a parade of all the regiments at Peshawur. The miserable remnant were captured and sent in from across the border, hunted down by the tribes bordering on Kashmir, perished or were sold into slavery.

It would have been well if the same energetic course had been pursued elsewhere in the Punjab. Recruits were now pouring into Peshawur, eager to enrol themselves under our colours and share in the prospects of plundering Delhi. But at Jullundur, where the 1st Troop 1st Brigade H.A. and the 8th Regiment confronted the 6th Light Cavalry and the 36th and 61st N.I., Brigadier Johnstone showed a lamentable want of decision. He refused to disarm. He had a good officer in Colonel Longfield, Commanding the 8th Regiment, good officers in Majors Brind and H. A. Olpherts of the Artillery, ready to carry out any duty. So on the night of the 7th the inevitable outbreak came. The Native Troop of Horse Artillery, 5th of the 1st Brigade, had just arrived in cantonments. As at Umballa and Meerut, under cover of blazing bungalows, the evil spirit broke out into violence and murder. Lieutenant Bagshaw, Adjutant of the 36th N.I., was shot by a trooper of the 6th Cavalry, which led the mutiny. Lieutenant C. E. Bates of the same regiment, riding up to his Quarter

21 Field Batt.
34 Field Batt.
9 Mt. Batt.
13 Co. S Drv.
35 Field Batt.

F., R. H. A.

June.
T., R. H. A.

1857.
June

Guard, was fired at and had his arm broken. Major Olpherts had his guns out and begged to be allowed to open upon the rebels; the request was refused. Lieutenants Renny, Evans, and Maynard, each with a division of the Native Troop, were placed to guard separate points. The Native Cavalry came down to them shouting their fanatical cry of Din-Din to excite them into mutiny. No leave was asked, but a discharge of grape was the reply. Lieutenant Maynard counted 11 bodies in front of his guns. But the mutineers did not intend to wait within reach of British Infantry backed up by guns. They went to Phillour, and, joined there by the 31d N I., marched on to Delhi. Not till they had got out of reach was any attempt made to follow them, though Lieutenant Sankey, the Adjutant of Artillery, had, with much difficulty, got permission to ascertain whither they had gone. It was not the Brigadier's fault that they did not sack the Phillour cantonments and more thoroughly plunder Ludhiána.

The composition of the moveable column varied according to the exigencies of the time, and the urgent necessity there was for sending down every regiment that could be spared to Delhi. It had moved to a more central position at Rawal Pindi, where the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab had established his headquarters. The events at Jullundur called it downwards. And the appointment of General Neville Chamberlain to succeed Colonel Chester as Adjutant-General, brought down Brigadier Nicholson to succeed him in command of the column.

But before that the native regiments at Multán had been disarmed. That station with its magazine, and as the key of communication with Sind and Bombay, was of vital consequence. Its associations of 1848-49 gave it additional importance in the eyes of natives. But the European element in the garrison was the reserve company of Artillery (4th-3rd), under Lieutenant F. E. Smallpage. There were also the 4th Troop 3rd Brigade H.A. (a native one), under Lieutenant F. R. De Bude, 1st

36 Field Batt.
K.-C. Red.
1879

Irregular Cavalry, the 62nd and 69th N.I. Captain T Spicer, an old and meritorious officer of the veteran establishment, who had risen in the 1st European Fusiliers, was in charge of the magazine in the fort, the defences of which he improved as far as possible, mounting ordnance on the works, preparing two light guns for field service, and storing away a six months' supply of provisions, collected by the Commissioner, Major Hamilton

1857.
June

The officiating Brigadier of the station was not one to whom the disarmament of the Native Infantry at Multán could safely be given Sir John Lawrence intrusted the task to Major Crawford Chamberlain, commanding the 1st Irregulars. The 69th N.I. were known to be very disaffected, so much so that Captain W. F. Hughes, commanding at Asni, marched with his regiment, the 1st Punjab Cavalry and a wing of the 2nd Punjab Infantry, to Multán, arriving there 9th of June. The Chief Commissioner's orders came on the 10th, and next morning the whole of the troops were paraded

The proclamation of the 1st of June was read, and Major Chamberlain gave the order for surrender. The 62nd obeyed at once. The 69th would have refused, but the Cavalry in front had unmasked the guns, loaded, and with port-fires alight, eight of the European gunners, with carbines, stood in rear of each. There was no more hesitation, the arms were taken. The success which almost invariably attends prompt decision and firmness is an old story; those who have not such qualities can only expect to fail.

On the 24th the moveable column arrived at Phillour, and the following day Nicholson disarmed the 33rd and 35th N.I., which formed part of it, a measure which drew down upon him the wrath of Major-General G. E. Gowan, commanding the Lahore division. On the 5th of July the column reached Amritsar. It then consisted of the 3rd Troop 1st Brigade H.A., commanded by Lieut.-Colonel M. Dawes; half of the 3rd Company 1st Battalion, and

July.
58 Field Batt

1857.
53 Field Batt.

No. 17 Horse Field Battery, commanded by Captain G. Bouchier, the 52nd Light Infantry, detachments 3rd and 6th Punjab Infantry, a company and two newly-raised Risalas of Police. Colonel Dawes had seen and performed much good service in the Afghan War. At Chilianwála, in command of a field battery, he had been an *ἔρκος πολέμου* to the right wing. Though mentioned with praise in dispatches oftener than many a knight, he was still without any recognition of his services beyond a brevet. It was of Lieutenant Dawes that Captain Colin Mackenzie remarked that he was the only man he ever saw, except Broadfoot, wear a natural smile in battle. And Broadfoot wrote thus from Sale's camp, on the 4th of November, 1841. "All our Artillery officers are above the average two, Backhouse and Dawes, greatly so." *

July 7th

At Jhelum the native Artillery (4-7, No. 1 H.F.B.) had been sent away with the moveable column. The Native Infantry, especially the 14th, were ripe for revolt, and Colonel C. H. Ellis, with 250 of the 24th, a party of Multáni Horse under Lieutenant J. B. Lind, and half the 1st Troop 3rd Brigade H.A., with Lieutenants C. H. Cooke and C. E. Lewes, were sent from Peshawur to disarm them. Unfortunately, proper precautions were not taken, and the Sepoys on parade, seeing a body of European soldiers moving down upon them, fired on their own officers and rushed back into their huts and the main guard, a substantial building. Lieutenant Cooke took his guns forward at a gallop and unlimbered, but could make little impression on the latter. It was carried by the Infantry. The rebels retreated to a village, where they were again attacked, the guns unlimbering at 100 yards, but at this distance the loss was necessarily very heavy, and several men were wounded. The pole horses of the howitzer and a wagon were killed as they limbered up under orders to retire. Sergeant Smith, of No. 3 Subdivision, and five

* "Career of Major George Broadfoot, C.B.," pp. 34, 39.

men rode back, brought up and traced in fresh horses ; but these too were shot down, and the piece was for the time abandoned. Our loss was very heavy. Colonel Ellis was very severely wounded, Captain F. Spring killed. In the Horse Artillery Gunner J. T. Northover was killed ; Gunner G. Campbell died of his wounds on the 19th, Gunner W. Connolly was thrice badly wounded, but continued to serve his gun till he fainted. For this he received the Victoria Cross

1857.
July 7th.

The station of Sialkot had been deprived of its Europeans by the dispatch with the moveable column of Dawes' Troop, Bouchier's Field Battery, and the 52nd Regiment. It had also lost the 35th N. I., but there remained the 46th N. I. and a wing of the 9th Light Cavalry. The Brigadier, Colonel Frederick Brind, C. B., of the Artillery, remonstrated, and begged for 250 to be left, which was refused.* Even if Brigadier Brind's faith in the loyalty of the Sepoy had been as great as it is said to have been, it is impossible to acquit Sir John Lawrence of having neglected an ordinary precaution which should have been taken

On the morning of the 9th, the officers discovered when they went out that picquets had been placed to prevent anyone escaping. It was a day filled up with several murders and many hairbreadth escapes. Fortunately, most of the intended victims found their way to the fort, though under fire. Among other fatalities, Brigadier Brind mounted his horse and rode forth, but was shot in the back by his orderly, he died the next day. J. Graham, M. D., the Superintending Surgeon, J. C. Graham, M. D., the Medical Store-Keeper, Captain W. L. M. Bishop, Officiating Brigade-Major, and the Rev. Mr. Hunter, a missionary, were killed. The Sowars and Sepoys, however, did not stay, for they dreaded retribution. Gathering up what plunder they

July 9th.

* This is on the authority of Mr. Cooper ("Crisis," p. 79), who says that in reply he was requested to disarm. But it is difficult to suppose that he would have been given such an order without any means of carrying it out.

1857.
July 9th.

could, and the station gun, they took the road towards Delhi. But Nemesis lay in wait for them.

July 10th.

Brigadier-General Nicholson with his column was at Amritsar. Early on the morning of the next day, he received the telegram from Lahore, which told him the news. Half an hour later, a young musician, McDouglas,* rode in with a hasty note from Mr MacMahon, the Assistant Commissioner, dated 6 30 a m., telling of the outbreak, and urging his advance. The lad had left the 46th parade ground on a pony, and borrowing or seizing others as he went along, had covered the eighty miles in twenty-four hours. The first step taken was to disarm the wing of the 9th Cavalry, the next to move to Gurdaspur, forty-one miles distant, which, with the aid of ponies and 200 ekkas (one-horse light two-wheeled conveyances), was accomplished in twenty hours. He had learned that they were taking that line. Next morning they commenced crossing the Rávi

July 12th.

at the Trimu ferry, and Nicholson moved against them with his small force. The three guns of No 17 in the centre a half troop 100 yards on either side, and 300 of the 52nd, extended between and on the flanks of their guns. The latter he masked with the newly-raised police, but these, on being threatened with a charge, ran away. The guns and Enfield rifles came into action at 300 yards, and notwithstanding a resolute resistance, the mutineers were driven back, leaving about 120 bodies behind. Some divested themselves of arms and accoutrements, and about 300 took refuge with their 12-pounder gun on an island. His want of Cavalry prevented Nicholson from following them up. Leaving two detachments to watch them, he returned to Gurdaspur. On the 16th he attacked the remnant on the island. Brigadier Brind's Khansámah (table attendant) was Master Gunner. They fought for their lives, but while our loss this day was but six men wounded, those of the

* The 46th N I had a very good band, of which they were proud. It contained a larger infusion than usual of European blood.

[illegible]

GWALIOR

rebels who escaped the bayonet or the river were mostly captured and given up by the villagers. The 3rd Troop on the 12th had Corporal E. Covenay, Gunners A. Corrigan and J. Clarke killed, Gunner J. Brabson was severely wounded on the head by a Sowar who rode up to him saying, "Salám Brabson Sahib." He died at Amritsar on the 22nd. The 3rd Company on the 12th lost Sergeant J. Cleary. Cooper says that one H.A. gunner with his spongestaff swept out of their saddles, one after the other, three Sowars who had the presumption to come into his battery uninvited.

1857.
July 12th.

Within a few days after, General Nicholson received orders to proceed to Delhi with the 52nd, 200 Multáni Horse, and the whole of Captain Bouchier's Battery. Colonel Dawes' Troop for the present was kept in the Punjab.

OPERATIONS ABOUT DELHI

There was a good deal of work to do after the capture of Delhi, before the country all round could be reduced to anything like order. A column was placed under command of Brigadier St. G. D. Showers to operate to the south-west. It was formed of the 2nd Europeans, 2nd Gurkhas, and a regiment of Sikh Infantry, a detachment of the Carabiniers, Hodson's Horse and Guide Cavalry, Major Scott's Field Battery* (3-3 and No. 14), and Sir W. Hamilton's Sikh Company, with two 18-pounder guns and one 8-inch howitzer.

It left Delhi on the 2nd of October, first for the suburbs about Humáyun's tomb and the Kutb, where a number of insurgents had collected. Thence it occupied Dádri, where six guns were captured, and proceeding on to Kanund, inflicted punishment on some Mewati freebooters. Kanund was the chief fortress of the small state of Jajjhar, whose Nawab was in rebellion. It surrendered, five lacs of treasure

* Lieutenants M. M. Fitzgerald and R. Aislabie, subalterns. Lieutenant T. H. Salt, Adjutant

1857.
July 12th

and some 14 guns were secured ; after which, Brigadier Showers returned to Delhi.

Another column left Delhi on the 10th of November, in the direction of Gurgaon and Rewári, to intercept the mutinous Joudpore legion which had advanced through the Shekawate country, and were at the town of Narnaul reinforced by the rebel chief of Rewári and followers of the Nawab of Jajjhar, a force numbering altogether between 4,000 and 5,000 men, with eight guns.

November

This column was composed of the 3rd Troop 1st Brigade H.A, under Lieutenant C Cookworthy,* a company of Sikh Artillery, with three heavy guns under Lieutenant Gillespie, two companies Punjab Sappers, a squadron of the Carabiniers, the Guide Cavalry, 1st Fusiliers, and a wing of the 7th Punjab Infantry. The command of this column was given to Lieut.-Colonel J. G. Gerrard, lately transferred from the 14th N.I. to the Fusiliers, and his old regiment gladly served under one they had long known and respected. He was joined by part of General Van Cortlandt's Hariána field force under Captain W. J. Stafford, consisting of 250 Cavalry, 23rd Punjab Infantry, the Raja of Patiála's Infantry, and four 6-pounders horsed, the last commanded by Lieutenant E. Y. Walcott, 57th N.I. † Lieutenant G. G. Pearse, Madras Artillery, commanded the Cavalry. An Assistant Commissioner in the Punjab, he had been employed under Van Cortlandt in organising the force which, under that officer, had been engaged in keeping down the country from the Punjab to Hariána.

Nov 16th

The force left Kanaund about one in the morning of the 16th, but owing to the sandy nature of the ground the heavy guns made slow progress, and not till 11 did they reach their ground. After passing the village Nasárpur and getting close to Narnaul, the enemy were seen advancing to meet

* Lieut.-Colonel Dawes, commanding this Troop, was President of the Commission at Delhi, convened for the trial of the King

† The gunners were of the old Khalsa who had fought against us at Chihánwála and Gujarát.

them. They opened fire and the Infantry deployed ; the heavy guns replied, and the Horse Artillery went forward into action. A few minutes after, Captain Wardlaw, of the Carabiniers, made a brilliant charge with his men and the Guides along the front and through the guns. These, not having been spiked, opened again, and the 1st Fusiliers in their front charged and took two of them. The Multán Horse on the left captured another. The rebels fought well, disputing the ground. Lieutenant Cookworthy plied them with shrapnel and grape, which they could not stand. He and Captain Wardlaw were singled out for special praise in the dispatch.

1857.
Nov. 16th.

But close to the edge of a nullah before the town, Lieut.-Colonel Gerrard was mortally wounded by some one in the brushwood lining its bank. The next senior officer, Captain J. P. Caulfeild, 3rd N I, doing duty with the Fusiliers, took command. At this time Lieutenant Pearse was severely wounded. The nullah was crossed, and the insurgents were driven from a fort and a serai outside the town, and fled, leaving their guns in our hands.* On return to Delhi, Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Seaton, C.B., was appointed to the command of the 1st European Regiment and the Brigade.

Early the following month Brigadier Seaton marched with a column escorting a large convoy of hackeries (or carts), 3,288 in number (250 more engaged at Aligarh), 1,419 camels, and 60 spare elephants, conveying provisions and stores for the Commander-in-Chief's camp. He had with him the 1st Fusiliers, 376 men ; 7th Punjab Infantry, 540 ; and Sappers, 120, Carabiniers and Lancers, 140, and Hodson's Horse, 550 men. The Artillery, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Kinleside, consisted of the 3rd-3rd H.A., under Lieutenant H. P. Bishop ; the 5th-1st H.A., under Lieutenant Renny ; and the Sikh company of

December.

* The casualties in the 3rd Troop 1st Brigade were one sergeant, one corporal, one trumpeter, and one gunner wounded, the last mortally.

1857.
December.

Artillery, under Lieutenants A. Gillespie and T. Ryan, with two 18-pounders, one 8-inch howitzer, and two 5½-inch mortars, and two 6-pounders under Lieutenant E. C. Griffin Captain A Light, Artillery, acted as the Brigadier's Orderly Officer

On reaching Aligarh, he lodged the convoy under the guns of the fort, and proceeded into the district to attack the insurgents collected at Khásganj, Gangeri, and Patiáli. They did not wait for him at the first place, but at Gangeri, on the 14th, he defeated them, capturing three guns with the loss of 48 killed and wounded. Captain Wardlaw and Lieutenant ~~Howard~~ Vyse of the Carabiniers were among the killed. The former was an excellent Cavalry officer. Both were much regretted, out of as well as in their regiment. On the 17th Brigadier Seaton again routed the rebels at Patiáli, capturing 12 guns, nine of our own. Thence he went to Etah on the 24th, and had his Christmas dinner at Maláon. On the 26th he was at Karauli, whence he proceeded to attack, at Mainpuri, Tej Singh, the rebel Raja of that place. They had thrown up a field work outside cantonments, but Seaton, crossing a nullah, took them in flank. On their opening fire, he sent forward Lieutenant Bishop, supported by Cavalry, while he brought up the Infantry and heavy guns. Before the latter could engage, the Horse Artillery had done all that was required, the insurgents were in flight, pursued by the Cavalry, which cut up some 250 of them. Nine guns were captured, an 8-inch howitzer and iron 4-pounder of our make, the rest native*.

Brigadier Seaton was directed to remain at Mainpuri, and the Commander-in-Chief, moving up to Fatehgarh, was a few days after in direct communication with him.

* Of the last, three brass and one iron 4-pounders, one double-barrelled iron and two small guns. Some of the native guns taken during the Mutiny were great curiosities. They had still a large number of ours, which every action diminished

OPERATIONS ABOUT AGRA

Next to Delhi, the most important place in the North-West Provinces was Agra, the seat of the Civil Government. The Hon. J. R. Colvin was Lieutenant-Governor. The Brigadier commanding the station, Colonel Polwhele, had seen much service, was individually brave, but was much wanting in judgment. Colonel Hugh Fraser, Chief Engineer, besides courage and ability, had that which the Brigadier lacked, but his advice was generally set aside. Agra was garrisoned by the 3rd Europeans, two regiments N.I., and the 2nd Company 5th Battalion, with No. 21 4 Co. S. Dis Horse Field Battery, commanded by Captain E. A. C. D'Oyly. Few officers held a higher place in the esteem and affection of those who knew him than Captain D'Oyly, son of a man whose tragic fate was remembered by the older part of that generation.* He had served in the 2nd Troop 3rd Brigade in the first and second Sikh Wars. He had officiated as Assistant Adjutant-General of Artillery the year previous, before Captain E. B. Johnson took it over. His only subaltern was Lieutenant Edward C. Griffin,† to whom was added by the mutiny of the Gwalior contingent, Lieutenant Alfred Pearson and Lieutenant John H. Lamb, extra-Assistant-Commissioner in the Sagar and Narbada territories.

At Aligarh fort, close to the town of Koel, nearly half way towards Meerut, the 9th N.I. were stationed. Detachments were at the Civil Stations of Mainpuri and Etawa. Beyond Mainpuri, on the Ganges, was the station of Fatehgarh, garrisoned by the 10th N.I. Here, in a weak fort, were the plant and machinery of the Gun-Carriage Agency, and the 1st Division of the Army Clothing Agency. On the River Jumna, two marches higher up

* Captain Thomas D'Oyly, Artillery, returning from leave to Australia, in 1834, with his family, had been wrecked on Darnley Island in Torres Straits, where all who escaped to land were murdered by the natives, except two children, one a son of his.

† Lieutenant Dundas W. Gordon of this Company was doing duty with the 1st, Major V. Eyre's Company.

1857 than Agra, was the station of Muttra, with detachments of N.I. from the former place. The Rája of the famous fort of Bhurtpore, west of Muttra, maintained a force of the Ját class in his own pay. South-south-west from Agra, and not far off, was Gwahor, the capital of Maharája Sindiah, whose territories stretched away to, and a little beyond, the River Narbada; alongside, and on the west, were those of Maharája Holkar, whose capital was Indore. The Gwahor contingent, well drilled, and of good material, consisted of four horse batteries* and one reserve company of Artillery, two regiments of Cavalry, and seven of Infantry. Sindiah, himself loyal, could not control the mutinous disposition of this force. At the British station of Nimach, west of Holkar's State, and on the borders of Rajputána, was stationed the 4th Troop 1st Battalion H.A. (native), commanded by Lieut.-Colonel M. Mackenzie, who had been on leave to Meerut and was at Delhi. Some distance north of this, at Nasirábád, close to Ajmir, was the Company of Jalálábád renown, the 2nd Company 7th Battalion, and No. 6 Horse Field Battery. Both these stations were included in the ex-

* Captain A. W. Hawkins, Commanding No. 1 at Sipri, Lieutenant W. Stewart, No. 2 at Gwahor, Lieutenant C. S. Lemarchand, No. 3 at Agra, Lieutenant A. Pearson, No. 4 at Gwahor; Captain T. B. Ryley (Veteran Establishment), Assistant Commissary of Ordnance. There were no subalterns, and the Reserve Company was attached to the magazine. Captain Pearson with his Battery, Captain W. Alexander 1st, and Captain F. M. H. Burlton 2nd Cavalry of the Contingent had been, at Mr. Colvin's request, sent out nominally to keep the road open towards Delhi. He wrote to those officers to express a hope that "a mistaken sense of honour" might not lead them to remain too long with their men. Alexander had gone on towards Aligarh, Pearson was seven miles beyond Háthrás. Several small affairs with villagers had taken place. But Alexander's regiment mutinied, and one of his brought a letter to the battery calling on them to join. Pearson, however, moved to Háthrás, and there found both regiments drawn up, but without their officers. He had no choice, but made over the battery to the senior native officer, and with his staff-sergeant rode on slowly, passing along the front of the Cavalry. For the past month they had expected death. When clear of the mutineers they put spurs to their horses, found the Cavalry officers waiting for them, and got safely into Agra in the end of June.

tensive district commanded by Brigadier Sage at Ságar, and which contained besides Mhow Jabalpur and Nagod Such were the stations whose behaviour seriously affected Agra. The troops at Nasirábád mutinied May 28th, those at Nimach June 3rd. No lives of Artillery Officers were sacrificed at either place. 1857.

The fort at Agra, once the palace of the Imperial Akbar Sháh, overlooked the low-ground where the waters of the Jumna wound their sinuous course. It contained the Diwán where once Akbar received the reports of his great minister, Abul Fazl, or conversed with his wise, though somewhat heretical, brother Faizi. It contained a magazine well supplied with ordnance stores. A company of the 3rd Europeans had replaced Sepoys, and such supplies were laid in as might perchance be required.

Between the 19th and 30th of May, the Sepoys at Etawah, Aligarh, Mainpuri, and Muttra had mutinied, plundered the treasuries, and gone to Delhi. On the 31st the two regiments at Agra were disarmed. The non-military residents were formed into Militia Cavalry and Infantry. Among the former were Infantry officers, members of the Civil Service, clerks, pensioners, and a troupe of French circus-riders who had lately come to Agra under M Jourdan. May

On Sunday evening, the 14th of June, the troops at Gwalior broke out. The usual murderous work commenced. The officers going among them to try and quiet them were killed. Captain Hawkins's career of good service, begun in Afghanistan, was ended. Lieutenant Stewart, wounded, was tended by his men during the night, but in the morning was taken out and shot. Those who escaped, chiefly wives or widows with their children, made their way to Sindiah's palace, whence they were sent to Agra. Lieutenant Lemarchand with his family got safely to Hoshangabad. June

The mutineers from Nimach were on the 30th of June reported to be on the road from Jaipur to Agra, and not

1857.
June.

far off, numbering, perhaps, something more than 2,000 Infantry, 1,000 Cavalry, and the guns of Colonel Mackenzie's Native Troop.* These numbers were not large, but they probably expected to be joined by the swarms of "badmashes" to be found everywhere.

July 5th

They were at the village of Sháhganj on the morning of the 5th. Colonel Fraser had urged him to take the initiative, but when at 9 a.m. on that day he did move out, the rebels had occupied a position at Sassia which gave them the advantage of good cover. Our force was 568 of the 3rd Europeans, and about 100 mounted men, volunteer Cavalry, with D'Oyly's guns. After they moved out, three guns were placed on either flank, those on the left under Lieutenant Pearson. On coming under fire, Brigadier Polwhele ordered the Infantry to lie down while he sent the guns forward. Our force was sufficient, had they been properly handled, to have taught the rebels a lesson, and the men were eager to get at them. But the cover was too good for our light guns to have much effect. Captain D'Oyly had his horse shot under him. In fact he did all he could, and was ably supported by Pearson and the other officers. An ammunition wagon and a limber were blown up. The fight was too unequal. Captain D'Oyly, while endeavouring to extricate one of his guns from a bad bit of ground, was dangerously wounded by a grape shot in the side, but ordering his men to place him on a limber, he continued to direct his fire. "Put a stone upon my grave," he said to one of them, "and write upon it that I died fighting my guns" †

Lieutenant Pearson had a gun-carriage disabled. He sent more than once to request that the Infantry might be sent up to support. Lieutenant J. H. Lamb was dangerously wounded by a grape-shot in the right thigh. At last

* Colonel Malleeson puts down the number at 4,000 Infantry, 1,500 Cavalry and 11 guns (Vol I., p. 270).

† This was said on the field, Captain E. B. Johnson told the writer so, as he was carrying out the dying injunctions of his friend.

Captain D'Oyly reported his ammunition expended. It was nearly four o'clock. The Brigadier, who had, to do him justice, been exposing himself to the fire, then ordered an advance. Major Thomas with one wing, Colonel Fraser and Captain Weller of the Engineers with the other, led the attack. The village was carried, but not without heavy loss. Had the Artillery been able to renew their fire, and with more Cavalry, the enemy would have been driven off the field. The volunteers did what they could gallantly. Fraser's party spiked the disabled gun, but could not bring it off. The force, therefore, leaving it on the field, made an orderly retreat back to the fort, Lieutenant Pearson being the last to retire. Next day a party of volunteers went out, buried the dead, and brought the gun back.

But that evening and during the night cantonments and civil lines were filled with Sepoys and the scum of the city and villages around. Every house except those nearest the fort was burned, and any Christians who had not left their homes were murdered. Of the Artillery, Bombardier John Finlay, gunners A. Hodges and G. V. Brown were killed.* Captain D'Oyly died on the 7th, Gunner R. Lockhart lingered till the 24th of August, when he died. The same day terminated the sufferings of Lieutenant Lamb, which had been intense. Mr. (now Sir Richard) Oldfield, C.S., one of the volunteer Cavalry, was carried dangerously wounded past his brother, Lieutenant H. T. Oldfield, 9th N.I., who was covering the retreat with a party of Militia. It was a disastrous day, which some sense and judgment would have saved us. The Governor-General superseded the Brigadier, and Lieut.-Colonel H. Cotton, 67th N.I., was placed in command.

The rebels did not wait in the vicinity of Agra. The fort was placed in a good state of defence, and our position was rendered secure. But the disastrous news which almost

* There having been no report of the casualties published, the number of wounded has not been given.

1857. daily came in was pressing sorely on Mr Co'vin, whose health was failing. He died on the 9th of September, a fortnight before the intelligence reached Agra that Delhi had been captured.

GREATHED'S COLUMN

September. As soon as the capture of Delhi was completed, a column was formed to clear the country south-east lying between the Ganges and Jumna, and open an unimpeded communication with the Commander-in-Chief at Cawnpore. Colonel E. H. Greathed, of the 8th Regiment, was placed in command. It consisted of 930 Europeans and 1,860 natives. The 8th and 75th Regiments together amounted to only 450 men; the 9th Lancers, under Major Ouvry, to 300. Lieutenant F. S. Roberts, of the Horse Artillery, was Deputy-Assistant-Quartermaster-General. Major F. Turner commanded the Artillery, with Lieutenant A. Bunny as his Staff Officer, and the following batteries —

F., R.H.A.	1st Troop 1st Brigade H.A., Captain F. F. Remington
57 Field Batt.	2nd Troop 3rd Brigade H.A., Captain C. H. Blunt.
53 Field Batt.	3rd Company 1st Battalion and No. 17 L.F.B., Captain G. Bouchier *

The two troops had only five guns each for want of men to manage them.

This force left Delhi on the 24th of September, and reached Bulandshahar on the 28th. Walidád Khán had held this place for the King of Delhi since May, and the rebels intended to dispute the way. They held the houses and gardens of the Civil station, and had a battery of guns placed at the point of intersection of two roads leading into the town. On these roads the Field Battery on the right, Captain Remington on the left, were placed, supported by Cavalry and Infantry. Their cross-fire was effective, and Lieutenant Roberts brought an order for their advance.

* The subalterns were 1st Troop 1st Brigade H.A., H. Murray, A. H. Lindsay, and G. R. Manderson, 2nd Troop 3rd Brigade H.A., F. H. McLeod, G. Cracklow, and C. Hunter; 3rd Co. 1st Batt. F.A., H. E. Harrington, J. Sconce, and R. T. Hare.

While they went forward the rest of the Cavalry, with two guns of the 2nd-3rd H.A., under Lieutenant Cracklow, penetrated into the town on the left. The guns were exposed to a very heavy fire from the houses, and one of them had all but two of their number killed or wounded. These two, Sergeant B. Diamond and Gunner R. Fitzgerald, continued to work it alone, and were recommended for the Victoria Cross, conferred on them by W.O. Warrent of the 24th of April, 1858. Major Ouvry cleared the town, but with some loss. It does not appear that Infantry were sent in along with the Cavalry. Major Turner, commanding the reserve, repelled an attack on the baggage.

1857.
Sept. 28th.

The column remained here for four days. Walidad Khán had evacuated the fort of Malaghur close by, and this it was necessary to dismantle, by blowing up part of its defences. In superintending this Lieutenant D. C. Home, of the Engineers, who had headed the powder party at the Kashmir Gate a little more than a fortnight before, was very unfortunately killed by a premature explosion, the cause of which was not exactly known. The event, as Colonel Bouchier says, cast a gloom over the whole camp, we who knew him since his Addiscombe days can say that the sorrow extended far beyond it.

On the 3rd of October the column marched to Khurja, on the 5th was at Aligarh, where a number of rebellious Gujars were disposed of, and next day at Akbarabad, where it made a halt. But urgent requisition came from Agra. The Cavalry and Horse Artillery started at twelve on the night of the 8th, the Infantry and Field Battery four hours after, after a short halt at Hathrás, and on the morning of the 10th the rear division crossed the Jumna and encamped on the N.I. parade ground.

October.

The mutineers from the Jodhpur and other contingents were known to be not far off, but the good people at Agra might have employed their time in finding out where they were. They had not done so, and the newly-arrived column

1857.
October

were resting after their long march of forty-four miles; horses had only just been watered and fed, when first one round shot, soon followed by many more, came bowling into our camp. Notwithstanding the unexpected nature of the attack and its severity, the men were in their places very soon, gunners in their shirt-sleeves were replying as the horses were being traced in, the 9th Lancers were mounted and supporting. The line was ordered to advance to closer quarters. Remington with some Infantry and the Punjab Cavalry on the right, Blunt and three guns of No 17 Battery, with the 9th Lancers and part of the 75th Regiment and 2nd Punjab Infantry, on the left. The former were afterwards reinforced by the 3rd European Regiment with Pearson's Battery. The rebels were dislodged from the gardens which they had occupied previously. A gallant charge of the Punjab Cavalry, under Captains D M Probyn, J. Watson, and G. A. P. Young-husband, captured three guns. A large body of the rebel Cavalry attempted a charge on the left into camp, but were met by Blunt and a squadron of the 9th Lancers. The latter, in a splendid charge, drove the Cavalry back, but Captain L. J. French was killed, and Lieutenant A. S. Jones dangerously wounded. Reported mortally, and with no less than twenty-three wounds, he yet survived for many years, wearing the Victoria Cross.

The enemy were followed up across the Kháin Naddi, leaving thirteen pieces of ordnance in our hands. This action, fought successfully after so long a march, demonstrated the staying powers of our troops when well and carefully led. Colonel Bouchier gives the distance covered, by the time they returned into camp at seven o'clock that evening, as sixty-six miles in thirty-nine hours.

The column halted at Agra till the 14th, on which day it recommenced its march towards Cawnpore. The 5½-inch mortars they had brought from Delhi were exchanged for 8-inch ones. On the 16th of October General Hope

Grant arrived in camp at Firozabād and took command. His seniority in rank was considered of importance. On the 26th the column marched into Cawnpore

1857.
October.

CAWNPORE.

The story of Cawnpore in 1857 is too well known to need repetition in detail. Its name was burnt as with letters of fire into the memories of our soldiers in the mutiny campaigns. Even now the recollection haunts me of the face of one whose nearest relatives were there when as yet only rumours of some terrible disaster had reached Meerut. Major-General Sir Hugh M. Wheeler, K.C.B., commanding the division, was an officer in whose courage and judgment the fullest confidence was placed. He had first seen service under Lord Lake in 1805, had served in Afghanistan, had commanded with distinction a brigade in the first, a field force in the second Sikh War. He had full experience of the character of natives, had selected a wife from among them, but like many others, he saw *only* the best side of it.

The troops at Cawnpore were one European and two Native reserve companies of Artillery, one regiment of Native Cavalry three of Native Infantry. At the town of Bithur, some nine miles higher up the river, was the residence of Dhūndu Pant, commonly called the Nāna Sāhib, the adopted son of the Peshwa whom we had dethroned and pensioned in 1819. The pension allotted to him was smaller than that which Baji Rao had received. This was a grievance for which he presently took cruel vengeance.

The station extended for six miles along the Ganges, on which its rear rested. In front, nearly in the centre, were the city and suburbs of Cawnpore, close to the northern side of which were the Native Infantry lines. The old and disused lines of British Infantry were near the river behind the city, but new ones were built south-east of the city half-way between which and the river were the old Cavalry

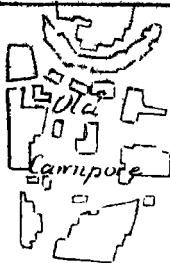
1857
October.

and Horse Artillery lines. Altogether a very straggling station, built up piecemeal at different periods. The Civil lines were at the north-west end of it.

Here, and close to the river, was the fort containing the magazine, a fairly defensible place occupying some three acres in extent, with buildings sufficient to accommodate, besides the ordnance stores, a garrison of 300 men. Beyond the magazine, along the river for about half a mile, was the village of old Cawnpore, south-west of which was that called Nawabganj. The former was separated from the magazine by a short interval of less than 400 yards, the latter by about a mile, the Session House, Jail, and Treasury from half to about a mile west of it. The latter was, next to the magazine, the most important to retain.

There is no doubt now that the magazine, apart from the value of what it contained, was the only defensible position, and one which at all risks should have been secured. But it is right to consider the difficulties that lay in the way. Till the 22nd of May the 1st Company 6th Battalion, 60 men, were the only Europeans in garrison besides the officers. With all his confidence in the Sepoys, Sir H. Wheeler knew well that very little was required to precipitate impending mutiny. This should have compelled him to make the attempt, or arrange to blow up the magazine, as was done at Allahabad. The bridge of boats, the only communication with Lucknow, could not have been left where it was. But I am much mistaken if Captain Whiting and Lieutenant Swynfen Jervis would not have devised the means of removing it and overcoming the local difficulties of bridging the river in the new position. Again, Sir H. Wheeler could not overlook the fact that his expected reinforcements were coming up from Allahabad in small parties by bullock train, and that by placing himself on the further side of a cantonment and a city full of enemies he would expose them to very great danger. But a prolonged defence would have enabled the authorities below to complete their arrangements, and guard against

CAMPURE
MAGAZINE AND FORT



Campure

3rd Civil Lines



RIVER

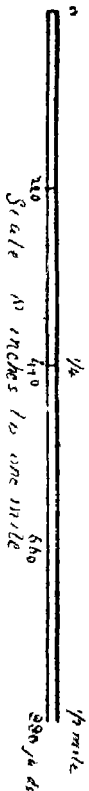
Ganges

2nd Civil Lines

1st Civil Lines

Ayu Meis Tomb

Part of
L. Hospital
General Hospital



1857.
October.

this. It cannot be questioned that the possession of the magazine would have enabled Wheeler to hold out for weeks longer. The Fatehgarh fugitives would have been saved. We who are wise after the event are apt to overlook what may have had great weight at the time in the minds of those we criticise, but nevertheless the arguments in favour of the magazine seem stronger by far.

A watercourse which runs close along the southern face of the fort, and, skirting the lines of the magazine Khalásis, falls into the river about 500 yards from the eastern face, would have formed a serviceable ditch along which a parapet could have been thrown up. The Khalási lines must have been levelled. A dozen elephants would have made short work of all mud buildings, and the material would have supplied what was required for the earthworks. A short parapet connecting the south bastion with the stream, and another connecting the northern face with the river would have enclosed sufficient space for everyone belonging to the garrison and its neighbourhood. A consideration of the plan given will supply all details.

On the east side of the long range of barracks south of where the Dragoon and Horse Artillery barracks had formerly stood were two hospital buildings, one with a thatched roof. As far as a foot or two made any difference, they were on the highest part of a nearly level surface. These two were surrounded by an entrenchment, if works that could not afford shelter deserved the name. The hard and friable nature of the earth made the parapets very weak. But on the 26th of May Sir H. Wheeler reported that he had entrenched his position and could hold it against large odds*. Such stores of provisions and necessaries as could be collected were laid in.

On the 22nd a detachment of 50 men of the 32nd Regiment, with two officers,† sent by Sir H. Lawrence, arrived in

* P.P. Inclosures in Nos 7-10, p. 323

† *Id.*, page 310, mentions 55 "Europeans." The number is in other accounts (Kaye, Vol II., p. 296) made 84.

1857.
October.

Cawnpore ; along with them came some Oudh Irregular Cavalry and Lieutenant St G. Ashe with two guns of his Battery. This officer, a son of the Colonel of the same name who had in Colonel Monson's disastrous retreat before Holkar in 1804 kept his regiment together and marched at the head of it into Agra,* remained to take a distinguished part in the melancholy struggle which followed. Three young Artillery officers, Martin, Sotheby, and Burney, just arrived from England, who had not been able to make their way on to Meerut, had also joined the ill-fated garrison. Lieutenant Ashburner, on his way from Burmah to join the 2nd Battalion, of which he had just been appointed Adjutant, was also detained here.

May

The same day came in from Bithur two guns and 300 men. Sir Hugh Wheeler had, through the Collector, written for them. They took post at the village of Nawabganj, where they could watch both the Civil treasury and the magazine. Wheeler thought the Mah-râtas would not coalesce with the Sepoys, nor did they. But they were not the less our enemies. Both united to strike at us.

June

Up to the 3rd of June Sir H. Wheeler was in daily communication with Calcutta. On that day he reported that out of 90 men of the 84th Regiment which had arrived the day before with 15 of the Madras Fusiliers, he had sent on 50 men with two officers to Lucknow to Sir H. Lawrence. It was a magnanimous act.

Major Larkins was the senior Artillery officer. He never took any leading part in counsel. His health was always indifferent. His Adjutant, Dempster, son of a senior surgeon who had served for very many years with gunners, was indefatigable in the discharge of his duties.

But on the evening of the 4th the inevitable outbreak took place, led by the 2nd Cavalry. The treasury was plundered, the prisoners in the gaol released, and the

* Vol I, p 235 of this History

magazine seized. The Assistant-Commissary, Nicholas Reilly, had orders to blow up the last, but alone had not the power to do so. His fate is not known.

1857.
June.

From Friday, the 5th, until Saturday, the 27th of June, the entrenchment was held. The miserable four-foot parapet was never carried, though assailed by thousands. Two of the barracks south of the entrenchment* were held, one by Captain Jenkins of the Cavalry, one by Lieutenant G. J. Glanville, afterwards by Lieutenant Mowbray Thomson of the 53rd N I. Ashe's 9-pounders from first to last did splendid service. Major Vibart of the Cavalry, Captain Whiting of the Engineers, Lieutenant Delafosse, 53rd N I, Mr. Mackillop, Civil Service, Mr. Heberden, Railway Engineer, all rendered conspicuous service. No one, perhaps, exceeded Captain John Moore of the 3rd, the acknowledged leader of the defence, in gallantry. Foremost in leading sorties, encouraging and animating all, he was ever to be seen where danger was. But in truth there never was a struggle in which the courage of English men and English women was so remarkably displayed.

But on the 13th the thatched barrack was destroyed by fire, with all the hospital stores and instruments. There was now no cover from the fierce sun for numbers of the women and children, water could only be got at the expense of life. There was little food left. Ammunition was nearly expended. So when a message came from the Nana offering a safe passage for the survivors on condition of surrender, it was accepted. Had there been no women and children, the idea would not have been entertained, but for them it was the only chance, poor as it was.

On Saturday morning, the 27th of June, the remnant of the garrison, a sad procession, moved down to the Satti Chaura Ghat, where boats had been provided. Cavalry troopers, Sepoys, Mahrátas, surrounded the place of embarkation, and lined the banks. Our own guns were there.

* They were not quite completed

1857-
June

As soon as the greater part had got into the boats, a bugle gave the signal, and grape-shot and musketry poured upon them. The men were not able to push the boats into deep water. The thatched coverings of some caught fire, and many sick and wounded perished thus. Troopers riding into the water sabred them, others were shot in the boats or the water. When the butchers got weary of their work, the survivors, nearly all women and children, perhaps 120 in number, many sorely wounded, were carried back to cantonments. One boat got away. It was hotly pursued all that day and the next, and getting for a short time on to a bank off Najafgarh, several were killed or wounded. That night in the dark it drifted into a side channel, and in the morning was again attacked by their relentless enemies. Fourteen till then unwounded, landed and charged through their enemies and back, but then the boat was gone. A small Hindu temple for a time gave them shelter. Driven from this by powder-bags, seven reached the river and plunged in. Two were shot through the head, one getting too near the bank was murdered, and four, Lieutenants Mowbray Thompson and Henry George Delafosse, Private Murphy, and Gunner Sullivan, alone survived to tell the story of Cawnpore.

But those who had been carried back were not the only victims in the hands of Dhúndú Pant. The station of Fatehgarh, higher up the Ganges, was garrisoned by the 10th N.I. The Gun Carriage Agency, under Major A. Robertson, and the Army Clothing Agency for the 1st or Upper Division of the army, were there. The fort was in bad order. The Europeans here consisted of the officers and warrant officers, with some missionaries, merchants, and others, not more than 50 in number. On the news of the mutinies in Rohilkhand, preparations were made to send off the ladies and children to Cawnpore. Some boats started on the 4th of June, but they divided; Mr. W. G. Probyn with his family, and Mr. W. Edwards, both of the

Civil Service, went to Dharmpur, the Raja of which place, Hardeo Baksh, offered and gave them protection; some forty returned to Fatehgarh, and the rest, 126 in number, went on to Cawnpore, where they were seized by the Nána.

1857-
June.

On the 18th the 10th N.I. broke out, some efforts had been made to prepare the fort for defence. The weakness of its walls was not the main difficulty. There were six field pieces, and a sufficiency of old muskets, but very little ammunition. There were only 33 adult males in the fort, but these held it for 16 days against the assaults of the rebels, led by the 41st N.I., from Sitapur. These mined the fort in different places, but were repulsed. Colonel Tucker, Mr Jones (a merchant), and Conductor Ahern* were killed. The impossibility of maintaining the defence was evident, and on the night of the 3rd they spiked the guns and got into three boats and pushed down the river. Colonel Goldie's boat being too heavy, those in it were transferred to Colonel Smith's, but this caused delay, and both it and Major Robertson's boat were overtaken opposite Singhi Rampur. The latter was the first attacked, and all in it were killed, except Major Robertson, Mr. D. Churcher, an indigo planter, and Mr G S Jones, merchant. The last of these joined Colonel Smith's boat, but left it and got to a village in Oudh, where he remained in safety, and at last, with Mr. Probyn, joined Havelock at Cawnpore. In another village, Major Robertson, badly wounded, lay in a native's hut, carefully attended by Mr. Churcher. His hurt, sorrow for a young wife and little child killed in the river, and the thought that a post which he would willingly have laid down his life to defend, had that been possible, was in rebel hands, prevailed over

July

* Conductor John Ahern served first in the 3rd Company 1st Battalion (53rd Field Battery), then in the 1st Troop 2nd Brigade H.A. (K., R.H.A.); appointed in 1844 Staff-Sergeant to No 5 Field Battery, and in 1846 to the Clothing Agency. Mr Gavin Jones ("Narrative," P.P. No. 4, p. 235) says he was their best gunner. He was shot through the head while laying a gun.

1857
July.

a naturally robust constitution. He died about the 17th of September, and was buried by the friend who had so nobly remained beside him.

Colonel Smith's boat reached the fort at Cawnpore only to share the fate of the other fugitives from the same station. The men were put to death near the Saváda Koti, by order of the miscreant Nána, the women and children who survived were taken to the house near the Assembly Rooms, where the other hapless victims were confined.

AUTHORITIES CONSULTED FOR THIS
CHAPTER

General and Artillery Regimental Orders
Muster Rolls and Army Lists
Papers laid before Parliament (P P)
Kaye's "Sepoy War"
Malleon's "History of the Mutiny"
Letters from various officers

APPENDIX

NOTE A

Names of officers, etc., of the Bengal Artillery who fell in action or were murdered in cold blood at Cawnpore and Fatehgarh.

CAWNPORE

Major G. Larkins, Commanding 7th Battalion, wife and children.

Lieutenant C Dempster, Adjutant 7th Battalion, wife and children.

Lieutenant Burnett Ashburner.

Lieutenant St G Ashe, 3rd Oudh Battery

Lieutenant J. A H Eckford, Quarter Master 7th Battalion

2nd Lieutenant J N Martin.

2nd-Lieutenant G. M. W. Sotheby

2nd Lieutenant F W. Burney

Assistant-Commissary N Reilly, Ord Commt.

Sub-Conductor G H Manvill, Ord. Commt.

Sergt. Major John Bestall, 7th Battalion.

Quarter-Master Sergeant B. Cawcutt, 7th Battalion

NOTE A—*continued.*

1ST COMPANY 6TH BATTALION.

SERGEANTS,

3233 Edwin Darwin
 3422 Thomas S Beattie
 4840 John Owen
 5551 Patrick Fallon

6700 William Carruthers
 8034 John Clegg
 7719 William Corkell
 7961 Richard Cullen
 5899 Thomas Donoghue
 8289 James Dogherty
 7291 Robert Dunseath.
 8639 John Edmundson.

CORPORALS

5584 John Smith
 6089 Anthony Ryan
 6094 Patrick Ryan
 6997 Joseph Glenny
 6998 John Glenny
 7024 Charles Lynch

4331 Charles Farrell
 6546 John Gough
 6552 George E Hutchinson.
 7011 Thomas Jackson.
 7441 James Keane
 6158 John Kelly
 8613 David Kennedy
 7444 Denis Lavery
 8235 Daniel Leine
 5807 Thomas McGill.
 1337 William Mackinlay
 3568 Thomas McConnell.
 8207 Patrick Maguire.
 5527 Daniel Malony
 3358 Richard Mangan.
 5550 William Mitchell.
 6760 Timothy Morrissey
 4837 James Norton
 19 Charles O'Dwyer

BOMBARDIERS

5552 Patrick Norris
 7018 Thomas Kenny
 7177 Francis Connolly
 6525 Michael Burk

3897 John Pearce
 6897 John Porter
 6095 Patrick Reilly
 4473 Thomas Rogers
 8612 James N Scott
 5583 William Service.
 7490 James Sullivan
 5573 Timothy Sullivan
 8699 William Thompson.
 7100 Patrick Ward
 8702 Rawson Webster.
 7712 John Whelan.

PRUGLERS

1083 Charles North.
 3408 George Worrall

GUNNERS.

3431 William Beezley.
 7382 Patrick Burke
 7379 Alexander Black
 1045 Francis Bienman
 5642 William Brazington



Mr. Lawrence



Bin Lawrence

CHAPTER XI

SEPOY WAR—OUDH.

ARTILLERY FORCE—Sir H. Lawrence given full Military Powers—Outbreak at Lucknow—At Out Stations—Faizabad—Lieutenant Bonham at Sikrora—Defensive Preparations—Battle of Chinhut—Close Investment of Residency—Death of Sir H. Lawrence—Residency Defences—Attack 20th July—Mines—Attack 10th August—Lieutenant Bonham's "Ship"—Counter Mines—Casualties in the Artillery during first part of Siege—Relief at Hand—Ungud—Outram and Havelock force their way in.

HAVELOCK'S ADVANCE ON CAWNPORE—Arrival of Troops at Calcutta—Maude's Company first—Disarmament of Sepoys at Benares—Havelock leaves Allahabad—Action at Fatehpur—Aong—Pandu Naddi—Cawnpore—Massacre of the Women and Children—Havelock Crosses the Ganges—Defeats Rebels Three Times—Is obliged to return to Cawnpore.

MAJOR EYRE'S OPERATIONS ABOUT ARRAN—Captain Dunbar's Defeat—Eyre Routs the Rebels at Bibiganj and Relieves Arrah—Defeats Koor Singh twice again and moves on to Allahabad.

ADVANCE ON LUCKNOW—Outram and Havelock leave Cawnpore—Rebels Defeated at Basiratganj—Attack on Charbagh Batteries—Maude and Olpherts V.C.—Fighting at Moti Manzil—Colonel Bazely Killed—Lieutenant Crump Killed in saving a Gun—Private Duffy V.C.—Bugadier Cooper Killed—Lieutenant J. McK Fraser Wounded—Heavy Guns Extricated—Lieutenant D. C. Alexander Killed—Extension of Residency Position—Sir Colin Campbell at Cawnpore—Reaches Lucknow—Residency Relieved.

ON the annexation of Oudh in 1856, an Irregular Force for the service of that province was raised (G.O.C.C., March 5th). It consisted of three Horse Field Batteries and one Reserve Company of Artillery, three regiments of Cavalry and ten of Infantry, besides a body of Military Police. The following officers were appointed to the Artillery portion:—

No. 1 Battery.—Lieutenant J. S. Tulloh* in command, 2nd-Lieutenant J. Bonham doing duty.

No. 2 Battery.—Lieutenant D. C. Alexander in command, 2nd-Lieutenant D. MacFarlan doing duty.

* On leave in May, 1857

No. 3 Battery.—Lieutenant St. G. Ashe in command, 2nd-Lieutenant J. H. Bryce doing duty.

Reserve Company and Charge of Ordnance Stores, Lieutenant R. Murray* in command, Lieutenant L. F. C. Thomas, Madras Artillery, doing duty.

1857
May

In May, 1857, the Chief Commissioner in Oudh was Colonel Sir Henry M. Lawrence, K.C.B. The troops at Lucknow were —

22nd F. Batt

EUROPEAN.—4th Company 1st Battalion, No 9 H.F.B., † 32nd Regiment of Foot.

Red in 1862

NATIVE—2nd Company 8th Battalion, No 2 Bullock F.B., ‡ 7th Light Cavalry, 13th, 48th, and 71st N.I.

ODDH IRREGULARS—Nos 2 and 3 Field Batteries, Reserve Company, 2nd Cavalry, 4th and 7th Infantry.

The 1st Field Battery with a Regiment of Cavalry and one of Infantry was at Sikora. The rest of the Irregular Cavalry and Infantry was disposed at the stations of Sul-tānpur, Dariabad, Faizabad, Gonda, Malaon, Parshadipur, and Partabgarh.

Red in 1862

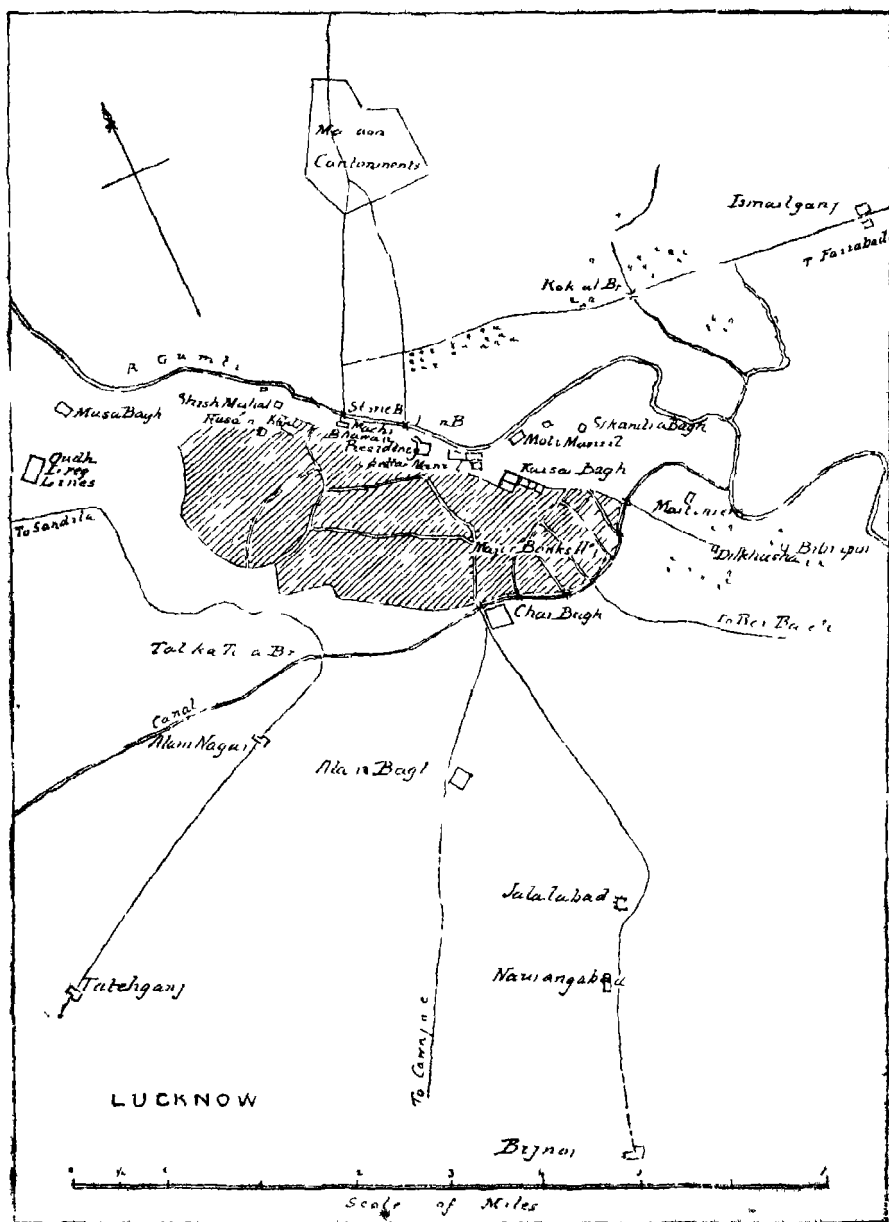
At Faizabad were also the 5th Company 7th Battalion, and No. 13 H.F.B. and 22nd N.I.

The odds against us at Lucknow were greater than anywhere else. One Company of Artillery (under strength) with its guns, and a weak Regiment of Infantry, against three Batteries, two Regiments of Cavalry, and five of Infantry, surrounded by nine hostile garrisons, one of the most populous cities in India, and an extensive province which supplied the Native Army with more than half its recruits. The Native Infantry and Artillery were in the cantonment of Mariaon (Mandiaon), three miles north of the city, the Cavalry on the north-west side, and the 32nd Regiment in and about the Chaupera Istabal, a cruciform

* On leave

† Major E. Kaye, commanding this battery, was on leave at Simla, whence he accompanied the force to Delhi. His subalterns were 2nd-Lieutenants E. P. Lewin (in command), J. Alexander, and Foster J. Cunliffe.

‡ Commanded by Captain A. P. Simons.



building between the east end of the city and the river. Two bridges spanned the Gumti, one, of masonry, near the Machi Bháwan, a square of substantial buildings; the other, of iron, a mile lower down, led to the ground of the Residency and its outlying buildings.

1857

The mutiny of the 7th Oudh Infantry, on the 7th of May, though quelled, caused Sir Henry Lawrence to apply to Government for full military powers. As Chief-Commissioner, he was always supreme, but if there were an end to the regular administration of Civil Authority, he felt that in military matters there must be one head. Brigadier Handscomb may have felt the supersession when Lord Canning appointed Sir Henry Brigadier-General, with full military powers, but he saw its necessity.

Sir Henry Lawrence, in concurrence with the Brigadier, moved the 32nd to Mariaao, as a check on the native regiments. A detachment, with some guns, was placed at the Residency on the 17th, and the women and sick removed there. It was to be his central post. The same day Lieutenant J. Macleod Innes, under the direction of Sir Henry Lawrence, commenced to put the Machi Bháwan into a state of defence. Lieutenant James, Commissariat Officer, collected food supplies, and heads of villages sent in large stores of grain. A large bath beneath the Residency was cleared and filled. The Residency and neighbouring houses were prepared for occupation, and defensive measures commenced on. Lieutenant Thomas Madras Artillery, was placed in charge of the ordnance and stores.

On the night of the 30th, the regiments in Mariaao broke out. The 71st N.I. foremost, the 48th less, and 13th least active. A few of the first, some of the second, and 300 of the last-named, with their colours and the regimental treasure-chest, gallantly saved by Lieutenant Loughnan, took post by the 32nd. Lieutenant B. R. Chambers, trying to save the regimental magazine of the 13th, was severely

May 30th.

1857.
May 30th.

wounded. * Brigadier Handscomb was shot riding down with his Staff. Sir H. Lawrence was in cantonments. He at once took a company of the 32nd and two guns, under Lieutenant MacFarlan, to keep the road leading to the city. But most of the mutineers had cleared out towards Sitapur. Had there been any good Cavalry they would have been followed up, but there were only some Volunteers, and a few of the Irregulars. Some next day were attacked on the race-course and dispersed with loss. Lieutenant G. R. Hardinge with his handful of mounted men did good service.

May 31st.

June.

In the next ten days all the other stations in Oudh went. At Faizabad, on the 8th, neither the Artillery officers nor even the Golandáz were allowed to approach the guns. The officers and European N.C. officers were sent down the river in four boats. Some of the women and children had been sent to Man Singh, Talukdar of Shahganj. Mrs Mill preferred to take her own course, and after wandering from village to village, undergoing terrible privation, and losing one child, finally reached Gorakhpur, and escaped. Some Sepoys of the 17th, from Azimgarh, fired on the boats as they came down the Gogra. Lieutenant R. Currie, in No. 1 boat, was drowned, Rough-Rider Sergeant Edwards was killed, Captain Mill in No. 2 was drowned, or, as Colonel Thurburn states, was caught by an alligator. Bugler Williamson escaped. The third boat fortunately escaped. Lieutenant J. Percival reached Dinapore with the rest on the 19th, and was attached to the 4th Company 5th Battalion. The fugitives were treated kindly in many villages. Assistant-Farrier-Sergeant R. Busher, in No. 1 boat, owed his life to his bodily activity. He got to Ghazipur, and was attached to the Buxar stud. His account * of their escapes is well written.

At Sikora, when the officers of the 1st Cavalry and 2nd Infantry finding they had lost control of their men, left for

* P P. Further Papers, No. 4, p. 48.

1857.
June.

Balrampur, Lieutenant J. Bonham, commanding No. 1 Battery (Lieutenant Tulloh being on leave), remained to keep his men together as long as he could. His influence prevailed so far that even the Infantry said they would obey him, and he prepared to march them towards Lucknow. But it was mere profession. The Sepoys became insolent, the gunners would not fire upon them. Alone Bonham would have served a gun, but carbines pointed at him obliged him to desist. Even then his men besought him to go, and brought him his horse; a havildar put a bag with 100 rupees into his hands, telling him he would want it. So with his Farrier and Assistant-Farrier, Sergeants James Bewsey and James Miller, and Sergeant-Major Court, 3rd Infantry, he made his way to Lucknow, which he reached on the morning of the 11th.

The state of the Cawnpore garrison occupied much of Sir H. Lawrence's thoughts. He could not spare Europeans, but he had, on the 26th of May, sent Major Gall with a detachment of Oudh Cavalry and Infantry and Lieutenant Ashe with two guns to Wheeler, who kept the guns but returned the rest. Another small force sent towards Fatehgarh was not so fortunate. All the officers were killed except Lieutenant A. J. Boulton, who got to Cawnpore and met a soldier's death there.

Preparations for defence of the Residency were pushed on. Bhusa and grain were stored in the racquet-court and church. Powder-barrels and most of the treasure were buried. The Farha Baksh* gateway commanding the interior was destroyed. But many buildings still remained, which afterwards gave trouble. Two hundred guns found in May in the gardens of the Shish Mahal were brought to the Residency. One was an 8-inch howitzer. It was mounted in the Redan battery, and was the only heavy howitzer they had.

* Variouslly spelled "Furreed" "Furhut" "Furrad," etc. But "Farha Bakhsh," "pleasure giving," is correct.

1857. Towards the end of June, a large force of mutineers was reported from the direction of Faizabād and Sultānpur.

June 29th. On the 29th it was ascertained that the rebels were at Chinhat, nine miles off, reported not very numerous, Sir H. Lawrence thought it might be advisable to attack them before reaching the city. He had examined the ground himself and did not mean to advance beyond the Kokral bridge farther than was absolutely necessary.

June 30th. The force taken out consisted of 150 men of the 32nd, 220 N.I., 80 Sikh and 36 Volunteer Cavalry, and the following Artillery under Captain A. P. Simons. four guns 4th Company 1st Battalion (Lieutenant Cunliffe); two of No 2 Battery (Lieutenant D MacFarlan), two of No 3 Battery (Lieutenant Bryce), and the only 8-inch howitzer (Lieutenant Bonham).

The advance guard went about a mile beyond the Kokral bridge, where the Brigadier-General intended to halt the main body, but no enemy being seen, the force advanced. They occupied the mango tops between Chinhat and Ismailganj. On approaching the latter village their shot came into our column, which deployed, while Lieutenant Bonham, supported by the field guns, replied. The rebels disappeared from the front, but soon large numbers appeared on both flanks, threatening to envelope the small force; and now treachery showed itself. The Sikh Cavalry would not charge—they were half or more Hindustanis—the native drivers of the guns acted with reluctance. An attempt was made to capture the Ismailganj, but, unsupported properly, it failed. Colonel Case, badly wounded would not allow a party to be sent back to his rescue, and a retreat was ordered. Again the natives proved untrue. The Native Infantry generally did not misbehave, but the Artillery drivers behaved shamefully. Lieutenant MacFarlan's wagons went over to the rebels; both limbers would have followed had he not stopped one, revolver in hand, and, mounting the centre horse, brought it and the gun in. The elephant with the 8-inch howitzer limber was in rear, and

Lieutenant Bonham, mounting the wheel-horse of one of the field limbers, brought it up ; but as soon as he dismounted to assist in limbering up the howitzer, the drivers went off. Bryce's were covering the retreat of the main body. Lieutenant Hardinge brought up the limber, but the elephant would not stand, and the native gunners would not manage the trail. Lieutenant Bonham was severely wounded by a bullet. Sergeant Settle, of the 4th Company, remained with him and brought him back. Captain Simons received two wounds. The howitzer, three guns, and several wagons lost. The killed, wounded, and missing amounted to 200. Captain Radcliffe, with his small body of Volunteer Cavalry, rendered the most important service in covering the retreat. He charged some 200 of the enemy's and they fled before his thirty.

1857.
June 30th.

This unfortunate business brought out all the hostile feeling there was. The natives who remained were truly loyal. The Irregular Infantry at the Daulat Khana broke out at once, but the officers made their way to the Machi Bháwan.

From this evening the siege commenced, and our position was closely invested, all the houses about were filled with enemies, and the 8-inch howitzer from across the river sent several shells into the Residency position.

An attack was repulsed this morning, communication with the Machi Bháwan was quite cut off, but a telegraph-post had been set up on the roof of the Residency. Under a very heavy fire and a hot sun, a message was sent from the Residency to Colonel Palmer to spike the guns, blow up the fort, and retire at midnight. After the losses we had suffered this was necessary. Lieutenant Thomas made all the arrangements for blowing up, and the retirement was most successfully carried out. All came in without molestation, the batteries having opened fire to distract the enemy's attention, and immediately afterwards a tremendous explosion told the rebels that something had happened. They did not discover the truth till next day.

July 1st

1857.
July 2nd

Sir Henry Lawrence, after superintending the arrangements for the Machi Bhawan force, had returned to the Residency about 8 a.m. and lain down for some much-needed rest. His room was an upper one on the east side of the building. He had been recommended to change it, as a shell had found its way into it. Shortly after, another 8-inch shell passed in at the window and exploded. A fragment struck the General on the upper part of the right thigh, inflicting a terrible wound. Captain T. F. Wilson, A.A.G., was standing by the bed and was wounded, but fortunately only slightly. A native servant in the room lost one of his feet. The fourth there, Mr G. H. Lawrence, escaped unhurt. Sir H. Lawrence was removed at once to Dr. Fayrer's house, but the wound was a mortal one. It is impossible to describe the sorrow and gloom which this event caused to everyone in the garrison. Major Banks, who had been nominated Provisional Chief Commissioner, was appointed to succeed him, the command of the troops being made over to Colonel J. E. W. Inglis, 32nd Regiment.

July 3rd

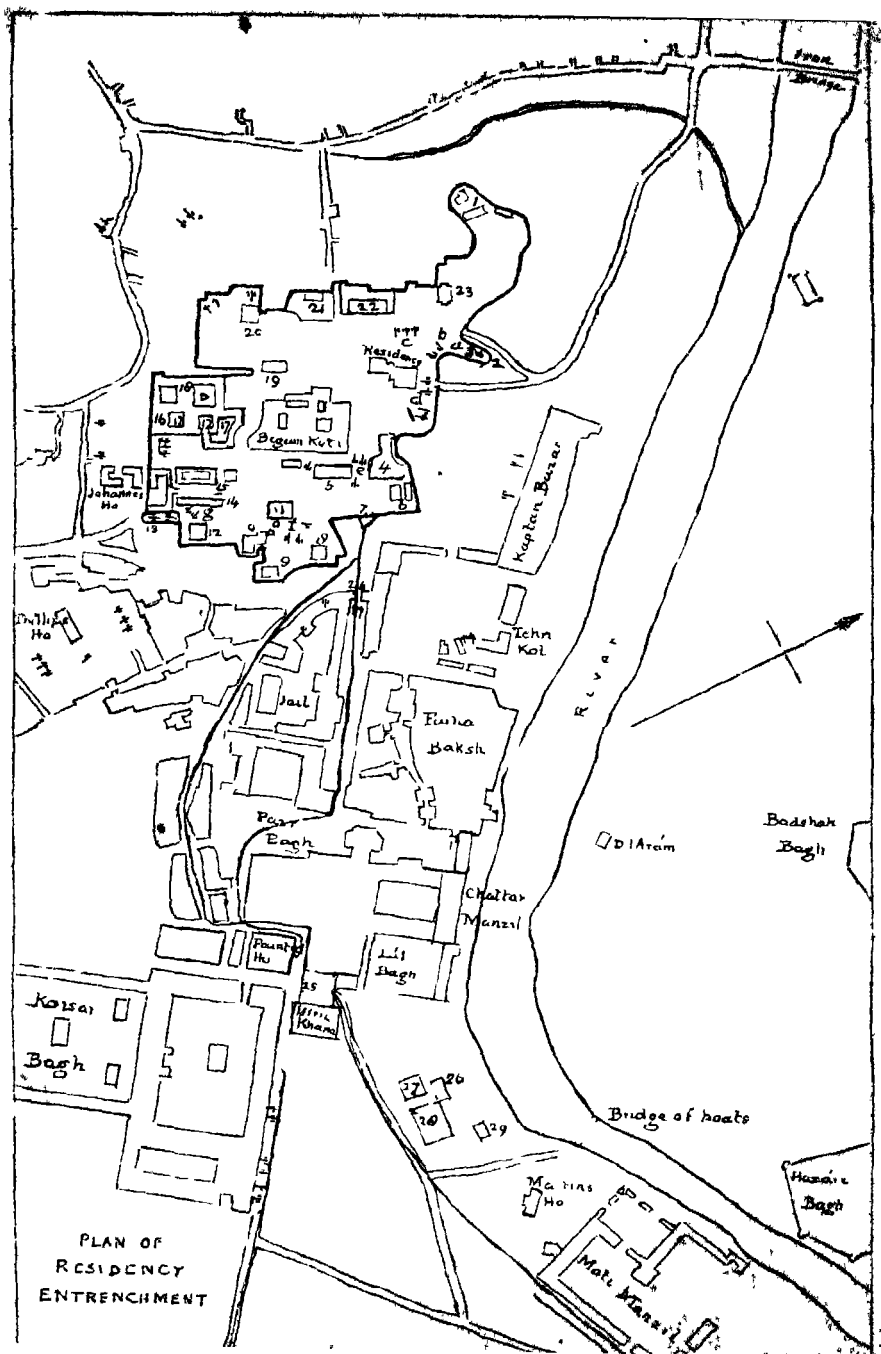
All that and the next day a perfect hail of missiles of all kinds fell upon the Residency, causing many casualties.

July 4th

At 8 a.m. on the 4th Sir H. Lawrence, after intense suffering, died. Few men ever were able to secure the love as well as the confidence of those who served under him as he had done. Throughout the Punjab "Henry Lawrence Sahib" was a familiar name to every Sikh, Musalman, or Hindu; the men whom he had selected for the highest offices there partook largely of his spirit—*Fais ton devoir, adviennne que pourra*—and so enabled his brother John to maintain unshaken British authority. Short as had been the tenure of his rule in Oudh, all ranks and degrees of Englishmen there regarded him with no common affection; and it was under the impulse of this feeling that one of the soldiers told off to convey the body from the room where he had died, reverently raised the sheet that covered the lifeless form and kissed the forehead of

REFERENCES TO PLAN OF RESIDENCE ENTRENCHMENT

<i>a</i> Lieutenant Cunliffe's guns	12 Anderson's post
<i>b</i> Lieutenant MacFarlan's guns	13 Cawnpore battery
<i>c</i> Captain Evans' guns	14 Hospital
<i>d</i> Lieutenant J. Alexander's guns	15 Martimec barnack
<i>e</i> Lieutenant Bryce's guns	16 Brigade mess
<i>f</i> Lieutenant Bonham's guns and mortars	17 1st, 2nd and 3rd squares
<i>g</i> Lieutenant Thomas' guns	18 Sikh squares
1 Innes' post	19 Ommanncy's garrison
2 Redan battery	20 Gubbins garrison
3 Water gate	21 Slaughter house
4 Banqueting hall	22 Sheep pen
5 Dr. Fayrer's house	23 Church
6 Bailie guard and treasury	24 Clock tower
7 Bailie guard gate, Aitken's post	25 Sher gate, where Neill fell
8 Financial garrison	26 Steam engine house
9 Mrs. Sago's house	27 King's stables
10 Judicial garrison	28 Workshops
11 Post-office	29 Overseer's house



his dead chief. All had seen what they had most of them heard before. that the worn and attenuated frame contained a heart tender as a woman's and a spirit strong as a lion's, and so amid the roar of cannon and storm from every side of shot and bullets, the few who could be spared from the defence of their posts by night laid the bodies of Lawrence and four others in a soldier's grave.

1857.
July 4th.

The Residency entrenchment has been so often described that any lengthened detail of it is unnecessary. Its height above the river gave a very slight command of it and the ground beyond. A bazar, called of old time "the Captain's" lay in this low ground along the river about the north-west corner, which was prolonged into an irregular salient, many houses had been demolished, but on the east, the Tehri Kothi and extensive buildings of the Farha Baksh and Chattar Manzil Palaces, and houses of the city on all other sides gave the rebels plenty of cover.

July

At the extremity of the salient to the north-west, a house, till then the residence of Lieutenant J. McLeod Innes, Engineer, with its offices, was included on account of its importance in command and flanking defence. A Muhammedan cemetery beyond it was slightly higher, but could not safely be taken in. This post was commanded by Lieutenant A. R. Loughnan, 13th N.I., afterwards by Lieutenant J. Graydon, 7th O I.

The redan, constructed by Lieutenant Fulton, under the orders of Major Anderson, a narrow salient mounting two 18-pounder and one 9-pounder guns, was a most valuable flanking defence for the north-east face of the entrenchment. It was commanded by Lieutenant S. H. Lawrence, 32nd Regiment, and the guns by Lieutenant Cunliffe. To its rear on the road near the church an 18-pounder and two 9-pounder guns were placed, under Lieutenant H. L. Evans, 17th Bombay N.I. Lieutenant MacFarlan, and next to him, Lieutenant J. Alexander, commanded the guns between the redan and banqueting hall.

Facing the street which led along the rear of the Farha

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July

Baksh Palace, a large and lofty archway led into the Residency grounds. This has been called the Baillie guard-gate, owing to its vicinity to the Residency guard-house, so named by the natives after Major John Baillie, 4th N.I., and Resident at Lucknow 1807-14. Opposite to it another archway, the Latkan Darwāza, but by us called the Clock Tower, stood over the road at a distance of 130 yards. The Baillie guard-post, extending from the north-east corner to the re-entering angle, was a very hot one, and Lieutenant R. H. M. Aitken, 13th N.I., who commanded it, won the Victoria Cross for his gallant conduct throughout.

The Financial Commissioner's office was the next post, commanded by Captain J. W. Sanders, 41st N.I. The post-office in its rear, commanded by Captain B. McCabe, 32nd Regiment, by its higher elevation, assisted the defensive powers of the former. Lieutenant Bonham had the guns here.

Next stood Mrs Sago's house, of which Lieutenant J. Clery, 32nd, had the command, with the Judicial Commissioner's office, under Captain R. C. Germon, 13th N.I., mutually flanking one another. Then came Captain R. P. Anderson's at the southern corner, and close by it, looking down a main street, was the Cawnpore battery, mounting one 18- and two 9-pounder guns. This was the only post not permanently commanded. It had a daily relief of Captains, and from its position was the post of greatest danger. Lieutenant Thomas commanded the guns in its rear. The cover afforded by the houses in the city for guns and muskets enabled the rebels to inflict more loss on the besieged from these than from the northern sides.

Along the south-west face the buildings occupied by the Martinière School, some of the families, the Brigade Mess for officers of the N.I. Regiments, and the Sikh soldiers were placed. A narrow lane separated the last of these from the house and compound of Mr. Martin Gubbins. This post, an important one, was commanded successively

by Captain H. Forbes, 1st O.C. ; Captain W. H. Hawes, 1st O.I. , and Major C. Apthorp, 41st N I.

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July.

Next to this was an enclosure containing bullock-sheds, slaughter-house, and stores of fodder. A little further on, another enclosure, called the Sheep-pen, was near the church belonging to Innes' garrison. Both these enclosures were commanded by Captain G. W. Boileau, 2nd O.I.

The other buildings had their garrisons, and the banqueting hall was the hospital, but the lower story only could be used. Even that was not safe from the enemy's shot.

Such was the entrenchment which, for eighty-seven days was held against overwhelming numbers. The twenty-seven regiments of Cavalry and Infantry which mutinied in the province of Oudh, with Sepoys from other places, were backed up by a hostile city in arms, and the whole province. Our defences were ordinary compound walls of brick and mud, and ordinary houses connected together by hastily thrown-up works, and could nowhere have kept out a determined assault. The fatigue of incessant watchfulness and exertion night and day ; the want of sufficient or wholesome food, the impossibility of getting rid of dead animals, putrid animal or vegetable matter, the ravages of cholera and disease consequent on such causes, and the noxious influences of the rainy season, all borne uncomplainingly—for the exceptions were very few,—make the successful defence of the Residency entrenchment one of the brightest pages in the history of our army.

Throughout the month of July the defenders of the entrenchment were subjected to harassing attacks, and both musketry and gun-fire lasting for nearly the whole of the night as well as day. The attacks for the most part were not formidable until the 20th, when the rebels brought all their force to bear on our position. The casualties which each day were reported, serious as they were to our small force, were few considering the incessant fire of musketry from every point around which could bear upon

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July.

the interior and on the tops of the houses where we were obliged to maintain guards or sentries, and the number of shell that fell and of shot which made their way through the thin walls of the houses.

July 20th.

The attack on the 20th began by the springing of a mine inside the Water-gate and near the redan battery, which the rebels evidently intended to destroy. This was followed by a terrific fire from every gun they had and a perfect storm of musketry fire all round. Every man was already at his post. Great masses of the enemy assailed the redan and Innes' post, advancing to within twenty-five yards, but Lieutenants Cunliffe's and MacFarlan's guns, supported by musketry-fire, all working coolly and steadily, drove them back as fast as they came on. Again and again the attempt was repeated. Ensign Loughnan, at Innes' post, distinguished himself greatly. Lieutenant Bonham was, as usual, at the post-office. The Cawnpore battery was assaulted about the same time. One of the enemy, holding aloft a green standard, advanced to the edge of the ditch, where he was shot, and the rest retired. The attacks were renewed on Lieutenant Anderson's and Captain Germon's posts, scaling-ladders were brought up. Everywhere shouts of "Chalo bahádur—Maro Faringán—Sirhi le-ao" were heard. But the fire of the Feringi was not to their mind, and they lost more in these futile attacks than would have fallen in a determined rush. The attacks at last subsided into a heavy fire all round. It was not till our garrison had all been under arms for twelve hours that they were able to take some much-needed rest. The behaviour of all was admirable, the uncovenanted men and Sepoys all did their best. Our casualties were very few—four men killed and some twelve wounded, while the rebels lost several hundred. They were allowed to carry off their wounded and slain. Bombardier T. Maxwell, Gunners J. Brennan and S. Shehy, of the 4th Company 1st Battalion, were killed, * Lieutenant MacFarlan severely wounded.

* Casualty Rolls

After the attack of the 20th the enemy carried on their operations chiefly by mining, although the fire both of musketry and artillery was kept up as continuously as ever. This entailed the necessity of counter-mining and severe labour on the already overtasked garrison. The Sikhs did good service with the spade, and all ranks took their share of this, as they had done of all other work. In this the genius of Captain Fulton, of the Engineers, was most conspicuous. The enemy's galleries were generally well-constructed, though not always in a proper direction. The Pási class common in Oudh furnished them with labourers habituated to this sort of work.

1857
July.

Our first gallery was begun July 26th from a house next to the Cawnpore battery. Next day another was commenced from an eight-foot shaft in the Sikh lines, where the enemy were heard to be at work. On the 28th it was pushed on as fast as could be done, while they on their part were heard very close. At last, about five in the afternoon, a crow-bar broke through from our side and the rebels speedily fled, on which we took possession of their gallery, while they filled in their shaft, and with a charge of 100 pounds we blew all up, bringing down several houses. The Cawnpore sap was carried on and next day charged with 200 pounds.

July 28th.

July 29th.

Another countermine was commenced close to the corner of the Brigade Mess, and carried on thirty-eight feet by the evening of the 1st of August.

On the 10th a second general attack was made by the enemy in great force. Numbers of Sepoys came up through the city across the Cawnpore street to the west of it. They were seen also coming from cantonments towards the bridge of boats. A mine opposite to Johannes' house was fired and blew in a great part of the Martinière House, destroying about 60 feet of our defences. Another mine was fired at Sago's house. At both these places, as well as at Innes', Anderson's, and Gubbins' post, the most determined attacks were made, large scaling-ladders being brought up; but our steady fire repelled every attempt, and

August 10th.

1857. the rebels lost very heavily. Our men were all under arms the entire day, an excessively hot one, and were much exhausted, but our casualties were only three Europeans and two Sepoys killed, about ten wounded. No Artillerymen appear among the former.
- August 10th. The mine near Sago's house had been carried on, and on the 13th fired. A brick building from which the rebels had driven their gallery was entirely destroyed and the workmen buried alive. For some days after this post was left alone.
- August 13th. A mine which had not been detected owing, it was said, to the stamping of the horses of the Sikh Cavalry there, was exploded on the morning of the 18th, by which seven musicians and drummers, N I, and one Sepoy, lost their lives. A corner house of the square was blown down, and a breach of 30 feet made in the defences. A native officer of Irregular Cavalry rushed up the breach waving his sword, and calling on the others to follow him. He fell by a bullet. Another went forward, but shared the same fate, and the rest were intimidated. They, however, got possession of part of the wall, but were dislodged. We not only recovered the ground, but took possession of and destroyed many of the houses between the Sikh square and Mr. Gubbins' post, from which we had before been much annoyed, expending 400 lbs. of powder in their demolition. Brigadier Inglis commanded in person throughout.
- August 18th. We got rid, on the 21st, of another building from which the rebels had been able to inflict much loss. A gallery from the Martinière, begun on the 17th and carried towards Johannes' House, was exploded. Two parties under Captain McCabe and Lieutenant Browne, 32nd Regiment, drove the rebels out of the house, spiked the two guns, and held it while the Engineers arranged for blowing it up. This was successfully accomplished, and the house destroyed. The casualties were an Artillery sergeant* and one of the

* "Diary by a Staff Officer," p. 121. Not one of the 4th Company 1st Battalion, but must have been a man formerly in the Artillery belong-

84th killed; a sergeant of the 84th and two men of the 32nd wounded; the first mortally.

1857,
August.

The enemy were heard working underground towards the Brigade Mess, and our gallery to the right of this building broke into theirs about ten a.m. on the 29th, enabling the Engineer's party to blow it up. Another, towards Sago's house, fell in, owing to the heavy rains.

The want of a heavy howitzer was severely felt. It was impossible with mortars to reply efficiently to the rebel batteries, or send shells clear of intervening walls and buildings, into houses beyond. Lieutenant Bonham contrived to meet this want in some way by fastening a dismounted 8-inch mortar to a strong platform mounted on wheels, taken from a fire-engine, giving the elevation by a wedge below the muzzle. This weapon, not being included in any official list of ordnance, required a name. It was called by some profane individual, "The Ship." Nevertheless, the Ship, in Bonham's hands, performed wonders. It lobbed shells over houses, and sent them into batteries, bursting where Pandey did not want them to take effect. And it moved about to any required spot. Hence, perhaps, the name. Unfortunately, this young officer, who had done so much from the commencement of the outbreak, seemed to come in for more mishaps than anyone else. He was severely wounded at Chinhat, but was at work again before long. Then he got small-pox, a mild form of which was prevalent, on the 30th of July. On the 12th of August, a gun in the Cawnpore battery being disabled, he got off his bed to assist in removing it. Was wounded slightly on the 15th, and a third time, on the 30th of August, very severely, by a bullet which badly fractured the collar-bone, and sent him home the following January. His period of active service may not even yet be over, for though retired, he lives in Ireland, an efficient magistrate and landlord, and does not subscribe to Home Rule.*

ing to the Oudh Irregular force, or one of the departments. If his name had been given, this could have been ascertained.

* It is well known that among the honours conferred for services

1857
September.

The enemy's efforts continued unabated ; one of their mines, towards Captain Saunders' post, was discovered and blown in on the 2nd. All round the entrenchment they were working, and the efforts of the Engineers were unremitting. Some Cornish soldiers of the 32nd Regiment were of the greatest use. On the 9th, our countermine at the Cawnpore battery, charged with 200 lbs on the 29th of July, was fired. All the houses opposite were destroyed, as well as their mine there. The rebels were taken aback ; and opened a heavy but harmless cannonade from all their batteries on that side.

Sept 9th.

On the 11th our countermine from the Sikh square was exploded, destroying the enemy's mine and burying their people. Lieutenant Fulton made a sortie, and captured a mine on the north-west side towards the church, completely destroying it. A shaft was sunk in the Brigade Mess, and the other saps carried on. But on the 14th a round shot killed Lieutenant Fulton at Mr Gubbins' post. It is not too much to say that his was the most valuable life lost since Sir H Lawrence had been killed. All accounts concur in this.

Sept 14th

September.

The last mines exploded by the enemy were on the 5th of September, and did no harm. Their last general attack the same day was directed on Mr. Gubbins' post and along the south face. Our casualties were only three natives killed, and one 32nd man wounded, while theirs were extremely heavy, as they had exposed themselves, especially opposite the Brigade Mess and Sikh squares.

Sept 8th.

On the 8th, Captain A. P. Simons, who had been long laid up from the effect of the wounds received at Chinhat, died. He was a good and strictly conscientious officer. The only unwounded Artillery officer was Lieutenant

during 1857, comparatively few were awarded to the defenders of the Residency. Lieutenants MacFarlan and Bonham, both most conspicuous for their merits, were entirely passed over. The former attained Brevet rank and the Companionship of the Bath for subsequent services. The latter received a Brevet majority four years afterwards.

Thomas, whose wife had died of small-pox on the 16th of July. There were only two now fit for duty, the two Alexanders. Lieutenant D. C. Alexander had been severely burnt on the 17th of July by the premature explosion of a mortar charge, Lieutenant E. P. Lewin had been killed on the 15th of July in the Cawnpore battery while reconnoitring*, Lieutenant J. H. Bryce, wounded on the 16th of July, died of cholera on the 18th of August; Lieutenant J. Alexander had been shot through the arm while laying an 18-pounder in the Hospital battery, Lieutenant D. MacFarlan as before mentioned, on the 20th of July; Lieutenant F. J. Cunliffe had been wounded in the knee by a musket-ball, it was not at first serious, but fever supervened, and he died on the 22nd of September.

1857.
September.

The 4th Company 1st Battalion had lost a great number of men; four non-commissioned officers, eleven gunners, and a half-pay bugler in July, three non-commissioned officers and four gunners in August, and two non-commissioned officers and two gunners the first week in September, after which no more deaths are reported till October. In all twenty-seven. It is not possible to ascertain the number of natives belonging to the Artillery who took part in the siege, or of the casualties which occurred. But after the final relief and evacuation of the Residency, a General Order intimated that every native commissioned, non-commissioned officer and soldier who formed part of the garrison of Lucknow should receive the order of merit and count three years of additional service; and in the Rolls dated Camp Alám Bágh, the 19th of February, there appeared to be then surviving five of the Gun Lascar detail attached to the 4th Company 1st Battalion and five Syce drivers of No 9 Field Battery. Of the 2nd Company 8th Battalion there were on the same roll a

* His wife survived; one child, "their only little girl, one of the prettiest children I have ever seen," Lady Inglis says, died of cholera early in the siege.

1857
September

Subadar Major, a Subadar, 4 Havildars, 5 Naicks, and 13 privates, with 3 Sirdars and 12 of the ordnance drivers of No 2 Bullock Field Battery. And there were other warrant or non-commissioned officers from the Artillery in the Oudh Irregular Force, Commissariat or Public Works Department, whose names have not been ascertained with certainty.

On the 21st of June Major Banks was killed while reconnoitring on an outhouse in Mr Gubbins' post Dr. Brydon, 71st N I, the same who, as sole survivor of the Kabul force in January, 1842, had brought the sad news of that disaster to Jalalabad, was severely wounded the same day Major Anderson, the Chief Engineer, died on the 11th of August He had been ill from the beginning of the siege, but it is not true that he never left his bed As far as nature allowed, he fulfilled his duties and was cognisant of all that went on Captain Fulton was then the chief, and to his science and indefatigable exertions it was due that the rebels were defeated at every point where they had been mining, except at the Sikh square on the 18th of August

Although cut off from outside communication, some information reached the garrison A pensioned Sepoy named Angad, who had been sent out by Mr. Gubbins, came in on the 22nd and again on the 25th of July. He brought verbal news of Havelock's successes and intended advance on Lucknow. This was confirmed by Aodhán Singh, a Sepoy of the 1st Oudh Infantry, on the 6th of August. Angad arrived again on the 15th with a letter of the 4th from Lieut-Colonel Fraser Tytler, D.A.Q.M.G., telling Mr. Gubbins that they were about to advance to Lucknow, but that the garrison were to cut their way out to meet them if necessary. Angad in the meantime had been stopped by the rebels and heard that Havelock had recrossed the Ganges. This news was disheartening; more than that, the retrograde movement had sent wavering rajas and talukdars over to the rebels, and moral being to

physical force as three to one, the position of the garrison was in greater danger than ever.

1857.
September.

On the 29th of August Angad again returned, and this time Havelock said, "Do not negotiate" The gallant soldier who wrote these words did not know how little they were needed. He also said that the reinforcements which Sir Colin Campbell was sending would not arrive for perhaps twenty-five days. But the garrison were not disheartened, and had their food not been so scanty they would have been more than contented; while the rebels, overwhelmingly superior in number, were beginning to find out that to capture the "Baillie guard" was not so easy.

Again Angad came into the Residency late on the 22nd with a letter from Sir James Outram saying he had crossed the Ganges on the 19th and was to move forward on the 21st. Eagerly the officers on look-out duty in the Residency tower and on the post-office watched and listened. The sound of guns was heard in the direction of Cawnpore on the 23rd, and on the following night, when the flashes could be seen. On the 25th, after a very unquiet night, great excitement prevailed in the city, numbers of natives with bundles on their heads, Sepoys and Cavalry, were crossing the river and going towards cantonments about one o'clock. Later in the afternoon some of our troops were seen about the Moti Mahal. The rattle of musketry-fire came nearer, it was evident a fierce contest was raging. At a few minutes past five the 78th Highlanders were coming up the street leading to the Baillie guard gate; Sir James Outram, wounded, and General Havelock had entered the entrenchment by the embrasure of Aitken's battery. The shattered walls and roofless houses were resounding to the cheers of the garrison, the joyful shouts of the women and children. And so the Residency was saved.

HAVELOCK'S ADVANCE ON CAWNPORE.

The first portion of the Royal Artillery to reach India in 1857 was the 3rd Company 8th Battalion under 2nd

1857.
June.
Red. 1871.

1857. Captain F. C. Maude It left Ceylon June 7th, reaching
June. Calcutta in six days, only 53 strong. It was sent up to Allahabad, where it took over a battery (two 6- two 9-pounder guns, two 12-pounder howitzers) with bullock draft and 31 men of the 64th Regiment to assist in manning the guns.

Other reinforcements of troops had arrived, the 84th sent from Burmah first of all. The 1st Madras Fusiliers on the 23rd of May, a wing of the 37th from Ceylon on the 46 Fd. Batt. 12th of June, then the 64th and 78th Regiments with A Company 3rd Battalion Madras Artillery No. 2 Field Battery under Major Cotter, early in June, the 35th Regiment on the 30th of June. The 84th had been pushed up in detachments by bullock train—the only available means of transport beyond Raniganj, the end of the finished portion of railway.

June. Colonel Neill with the Madras Fusiliers had gone to Benares. There, on the 4th of June, a parade was held to disarm the 37th N.I. Seventy of Neill's regiment, 120 of the 10th, and three guns of the 2nd Company 3rd Battalion No. 12 F.B., under Captain W. Olpherts, were there. The 37th, told to pile arms, replied by a volley, and the guns let drive. The Regiment of Ludhiana was brought on the parade, but without any intention of disarming them. They were half Hindustani and infected, and showed themselves openly hostile, so Olpherts promptly turned his guns on them* and dispersed them also. The next day, at Jaunpore, the other wing of the regiment, hearing what had happened, broke out and murdered their second in command, Lieutenant Patrick Mara, who, thirty years before, had enlisted as a gunner and had been promoted for good service in 1846 (See note † next page)

Colonel Neill, Madras Fusiliers, was summoned to Allahabad by the mutiny there, on the 6th of June, of the 6th N.I. The magazine was safe, Lieutenant W. C. Russell had made all arrangements for blowing it up

* Sir W. Olpherts tells me they fired on his guns before he did so.

should it come to that. From the 11th Colonel Neill was engaged there in collecting the detachments as they arrived. Major Renaud left for Fatehpur, five marches towards Cawnpore, on the 30th with 820 men and two guns, under Lieutenant T. N. Harward, served by 22 of the Artillery Invalids who had been sent up from Chunar.* There he halted. Brigadier General H. Havelock reached Allahabad on the 1st July. Lieutenant W. Tod Brown was ordered to prepare a light siege-train. A report from Sir H. Lawrence mentioned it as probable that Cawnpore had fallen.

1857.
June.

July.

On the 7th, Havelock left Allahabad and joined Renaud on the 10th. His force then consisted of Captain Maude's and Lieutenant Harward's guns, 1,285 of the 78th Highlanders, Madras Fusiliers, 64th and 84th Regiments, the Regiment of Ferozepur under Captain J. Brassey,† 448, 20 Volunteer and some Irregular Cavalry under Lieutenant C. H. Palliser. Lieutenant W. C. Russell was Commissary of Ordnance. As Lieutenant Eardley Martland was the only subaltern with Captain Maude, Lieutenant C. W. Crump, of the Madras Artillery, was appointed to do duty with the 3rd Company 8th Battalion R.A.

Cawnpore had fallen, and a force of about 3,500 insurgents, with 12 guns, was close to Renaud. Havelock, therefore, after a twenty-four-mile march to Fatehpur, on the 12th attacked and defeated them there, capturing nine guns, a howitzer, and two mortars with the loss only of six killed, four wounded, and four missing. The last were the Irregulars, who, being disloyal, had to be dismounted. In his despatch General Havelock mentions Captain Maude with high praise.

July 12th.

* The garrison of Chunar consisted of a battalion of Infantry and three Companies of Artillery invalids considered fit for garrison duty—long-service men who did not desire to be sent home. Lieut.-Colonel G. Blake, invalided from the Artillery, commanded them.

† For the services of these officers, see "List of Officers who have served in the Bengal Artillery," Bath, 1892, pp. 54, 56.

1857
July 14th

The rebels were attacked again and defeated at Aong. Captain Maude had one N.C. officer killed, one wounded, and a gunner missing (killed). Lieutenant Harward had one of his gunners killed. Major Renaud was mortally wounded. A 24-pounder howitzer captured from the rebels at Fatchpur was used in this action. The same day, after a short halt, the force moved on to the bridge over the Pandu Naddi, which was carried, and next day Havelock advanced to Maharajpur. After a short halt the rebels were found strongly posted at Ahirwa, close to Cawnpore, with their guns behind earthworks. Turning their left flank, they soon became engaged, the rebels were driven out, and six guns, four of heavy calibre, were captured. Great numbers of men died from sunstroke this day. In all these actions the guns bore a foremost part, and Lieutenant Maitland was specially mentioned for cool intrepidity.

July 16th.

On entering Cawnpore next day the terrible truth became known that the Nana had, on hearing of Havelock's successes the day before, massacred all the surviving women and children in his hands. Their bodies, yet warm, filled up the well now enclosed as sacred ground and covered with Baron Marochetti's beautiful palm-bearing statue. It is no matter of astonishment that men who saw the walls and floors of that house covered with the freshly-shed blood should have recorded vows of vengeance against every Sepoy who fell into their hands. Even now it is hard to forget it.

When Havelock was coming to Allahabad Colonel Neill had prepared, as a diversion, to send one of the river steamers commanded by Captain Dickson with a party of the Madras Fusiliers, under Captain J. B. Spurgin, and two 9-pounder guns, with 20 invalid gunners up the Ganges. It was a service of considerable danger, and Captain Spurgin carried out his orders with great skill and courage, meeting Havelock on his arrival at Cawnpore.

July 19th.

From thence General Havelock went to Bithur. The

Nána fled ; thirteen guns were taken, and his palace was burnt. Altogether 44 guns had been captured

1857.
July 19th.

By the 23rd, half the force had been encamped near Mangalwár, beyond the Ganges. Letters had come to Havelock urging his advance up the Trunk Road, but his duty was to reach Lucknow first. Brevet-Major G. L. Cooper, of the 2nd Troop 2nd Brigade H.A. at Mian Mir, who had been sent down some time before on special duty, came up, and, joining the camp near Mangalwár, took command of his arm. Brigadier-General Neill was left in command at Cawnpore. On the 25th Havelock crossed with the remainder of his force. He was at Mangalwár on the 28th, attacked the rebels at Unao next day, capturing 15 guns, and then pushed on to Basiratganj, again and three times on that day encountering and routing the rebels. One of the invalid gunners was killed and two of Maude's wounded, 19 guns captured.

The force went back again to Mangalwár. Two days after (4th), Lieutenant II Smithett, with three guns of Captain Olpherts' Battery, joined. The same night Havelock advanced again to Basiratganj and attacked the rebels, returning then to his former position. On the 11th he again advanced as the rebels collected, and gave them a third defeat. Sickness, especially cholera, was very prevalent—335 were in hospital, fatigue and exposure at the unhealthiest time of the year reduced his numbers. The risk of attacking Lucknow was too great. So he recrossed the Ganges*. The move put fresh heart into the rebel cause in Oudh. Another cause of disquiet was the threatening attitude of the Gwalior contingent, now in open arms, and evidently thinking of coming towards Kalpi. Havelock, on crossing the Ganges, attacked the rebels, who

August 2nd.

August 11th.

August 16th.

* Captain Maude, in his report to Lieut.-Colonel Adye, D.A.A.G., R.A. in India, prominently mentions Lieutenants Crump and Maitland: His battery had fought in ten successful actions in the hottest season of the year, silenced 47 out of 67 captured guns, and since leaving Ceylon had only one recorded case of drunkenness.

1857.
August.

had again collected at Bithur, and came back to Cawnpore.

Major-General Sir James Outram, of the Bombay N.L., who had just brought the Persian Expedition to a successful termination, was coming up with combined Civil and Military powers in Oudh. Sir Colin Campbell was now Commander-in-Chief. On the 16th of September Sir James Outram arrived at Cawnpore with the 5th and 90th Regiments and Major Eyre's Battery.

MAJOR EYRE'S OPERATIONS ABOUT ARRAH.

July
10 Co. S. Div.
R.A.

Major Vincent Eyre, commanding 1st Company 5th Battalion with No 3 Horse Field Battery, left Calcutta July 10th with his men and guns under orders for Allahabad. Passing Dinapore by river steamer, he reached Buxar on the 28th, and there heard that the three native regiments at Dinapore had broken out and were then besieging the Civil officers and residents of Arrah, who, with 50 Sikhs, were defending, like good Britons, the house of Mr Boyle, a railway engineer. Major Eyre went on at once to Ghazipur, and there landed his only subaltern, Lieutenant D W Gordon, with two guns to reinforce Colonel Dames, and then with his approval returned to Buxar, to render what assistance he could to the besieged house.

54 Fd Batt.

Major-General Lloyd, commanding the Dinapore Division, had the 10th Regiment and the 4th Company 5th Battalion with No 11 Field Battery there, but though anxious that martial law should be proclaimed,* did not know what to do with even more limited power. He sent Captain Dunbar, with two companies of the 10th, two of the 37th,† on their way up the river, and 50 Sikhs,‡ but this officer, when about a mile from Arrah, on the night of the 29th allowed himself to be surprised, and was killed, and the party had to retreat, losing half their number.

* P P No 4, p 21, Inclosure 31 in No 1

† This regiment had just arrived from Ceylon

‡ *Ib*, p 2, Inclosure 1 in No 1

Captain L'Estrange, of the 5th Fusiliers,* with 160 of his men, was coming up the river, and Major Eyre, on his own responsibility, receiving sanction from Dinapore, stopped them, and with his two guns and howitzer (one gun being still on the river), and the Fusiliers, less than half Captain Dunbar's force, moved towards Arrah, 45 miles distant. At Shahpur he heard rumours of Dunbar's disaster. At Bibiganj on the 2nd of August he came up with the rebels, who were in great strength, largely reinforced by Sepoys on leave †. After an hour's fire he ordered Captain L'Estrange to charge, covered by the guns firing grape. It was splendidly done. The rebels were completely dispersed, and Arrah was relieved. The Artillery casualties were Gunners T. Hayes and T. Hicks killed, Sergeant J. Knoles, Gunners M. McCarthy, T. Dwyer, and D. O'Brien wounded, the two first severely.

1857.

August.

On the 6th of August four officers and 200 men of the 10th were sent to join Major Eyre. Thus reinforced, he left Arrah on the 11th for Jagdispur, the headquarters of Koer Singh, who was leading the rebellion here, a place surrounded by much jungle, and swampy with heavy rain. The rebels were routed at Dalár, two guns taken on the 12th and again on the 14th at Sataura, after which they dispersed, and the special object having been effected, Major Eyre, under Sir James Outram's orders, continued his progress to Allahabad.

Thus Major Eyre, with two companies and half a battery, accomplished what Major-General Lloyd with a whole regiment and six guns said he could not do.‡ The former in landing from the steamer with his guns had to seize village bullocks for their draft and trace them in how he could. His horses were coming up the Trunk Road under

* This regiment had come from the Mauritius in the beginning of July.

† Besides about 1,200 Sepoys, Koer Singh had 4,000 Irregulars, horse and foot, in the field.

‡ P. P. No. 4, p. 29, Inclosure 54 in No. 1.

1857. Lieutenant E. L. Hawkins. The men of the 10th Regiment sent to him had only just received their Enfield Rifles, and Captain L'Estrange, at his desire, supplied instructors to teach them their management during the few days they halted at Arrah. Staff-Sergeant James Stuart Melville, of the 1st Company 5th Battalion, who had been highly commended, was afterwards promoted to the rank of a commissioned officer

ADVANCE UPON LUCKNOW.

September. As troops came up to Cawnpore Major-General Havelock began to prepare for the advance into Oudh. The bridge of boats across the Ganges was in rear of the centre of the extensive town which covered it. This spot was more favourable for the bridge than for defence by a small force close to the bridge. Lieut.-Colonel Fraser Tytler had commenced an entrenchment for the garrison and as a *tête de pont*. Its disadvantages were clearly seen the following December. A better position might have been found a little lower down, clear of the city and near the old Artillery lines

Besides the reinforcements already mentioned, the 78th Highlanders and Captain Brasyer's Sikh Regiment and Captain Olpherts with the other half-battery (2nd-3rd No. 12) had arrived. Major R. Napier, Captain Crommelin, and Lieutenant Limond, of the Engineers, also joined. Lieut.-Colonel F. R. Bazely. Principal Commissary of Ordnance, who had gone home on sick leave in the previous May and had just come out again, arrived at Cawnpore a day or two before the force marched, and was allowed to accompany it as a volunteer. Lieut.-Colonel Wilson, with the greater part of the 64th Regiment and a few invalid gunners, was left to garrison Cawnpore. Other troops were being pushed up from Calcutta.

The advancing force was formed into two brigades :—
1st Brigade.—Brigadier-General Neill.

Artillery: Captain Maude's Field and Major Eyre's Heavy* Batteries.

1857.
September.

Cavalry: Captain Barrow's Volunteers; Captain Dawson's Irregulars.

Infantry: 3rd Fusiliers; detachment 64th, 84th; 1st Madras Fusiliers.

2nd Brigade—Colonel Hamilton, 78th.

Artillery Captain Olpherts' Battery.

Infantry 78th Highlanders, 90th Light Infantry, Brasyer's Sikhs.

The enemy were again attacked on the old ground at Basiratganj and routed, losing four guns. The river Sai was crossed on the 22nd at Banni, and next day the rebels were found posted with their left on the Alám Bágh. Heavy rain had filled all the lower ground, and at first the head of the column was confined to the road, but as soon as the Infantry deployed, the guns went to the front, and then it was a question with the latter who should get first close to the rebels, and here, says Captain Maude, Captain Olpherts with his Battery had the best of it. He could well afford to make the admission, but it was generously said. The rebels were driven back and five guns captured. They still held the gardens and enclosures in front of the canal, and our left had to be withdrawn, the right occupying the Alám Bágh. The force was exposed to a heavy cannonade, and large numbers of Cavalry coming through the high cultivation made a sudden irruption on the baggage in rear, which was repelled by the 90th and two of Olpherts' guns.

Sept. 21st.

Sept. 23rd.

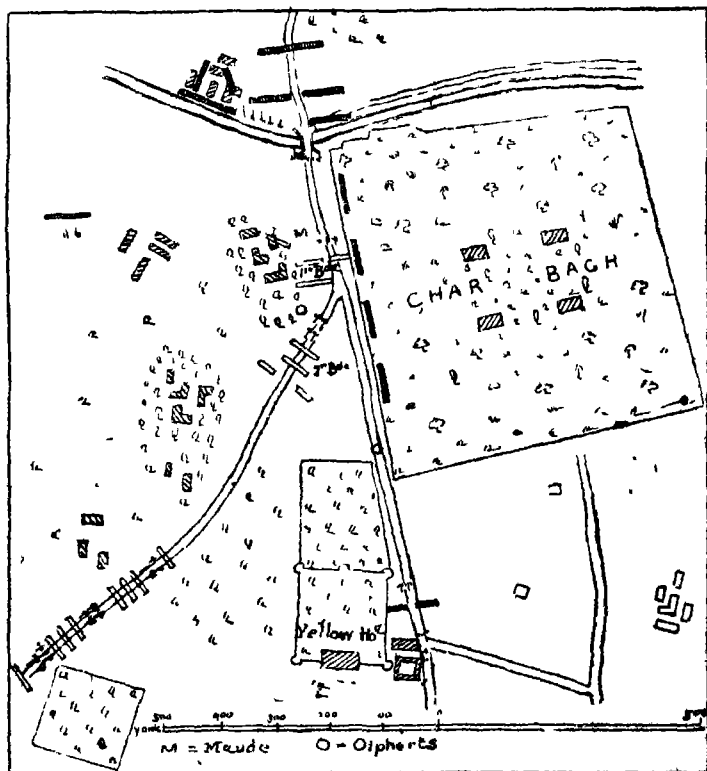
A halt was made on the 24th after the heavy rain and work of the past three days. There was serious work ahead. The baggage and tents were left in the Alám Bágh with a detachment of Infantry and two guns under Lieutenant Harward.

September.

* Major Eyre had exchanged his field pieces for four 18-pounders and two 8-inch howitzers. The rebels having blown up the magazine, they had only enough powder to fill the wagons.

1857.
Sept. 25th.

Early the next morning the force fell in. The 1st Brigade with Maude's guns, led by Sir J. Outram, was in front, and soon came under fire of the rebel guns from right and left front. As they approached the walled quadrangle called the Char Bagh, musketry fire opened from the gardens and fields on either side. Two guns near a building



some 600 yards to the right, called by us the Yellow House, gave considerable trouble, and the casualties about the guns were heavy. After being in action for some time, the Brigade advanced, and Captain Maude again unlimbered against a battery in front of the bridge over the canal.

at the corner of the Char Bagh wall at 150 yards. After a fire splendidly maintained, the bridge was carried by a charge of the 84th and Madras Regiments.

1857.
Sept 25th

While this was going on the two guns at the Yellow House had moved round to the lane along the Char Bagh wall, and opened fire on the rear of the attacking column. Colonel Campbell, with part of the 90th Regiment, was ordered to take them, and it was done. But they had not the means of carrying them off. Captain Olpherts, galloping back, got limbers and brought them down, passing both ways under the fire of the rebels lining the Char Bagh wall, and bore them off in triumph. Both he and Captain Maude received the Victoria Cross, together with nine others, for their conduct here. Sir James Outram was wounded in the arm by a musket-ball, but continued to lead.

From thence the direct road to the Residency through the city was about two miles, every step of which would have to be contested in forcing barricades and capturing houses. So Outram diverged to the right, going along the canal bank outside the city. The 78th Highlanders held the entrance of the main street while the heavy guns and ammunition passed on. The guns taken were thrown down the steep sides of the canal. They reached the Dilkusha without serious opposition. The head of the leading column passed by the right of the Chaupera Barracks towards the Sikandra Bagh, then turning at a sharp angle to the left, gained the Moti Manzil (or Mahal). Here they suffered severely from the fire of the Khurshid Manzil and Kaisar Bagh, and our guns were again unlimbered to keep it down, which was no easy task. In front of the building near the Kaisar Bagh, an entrenchment had been thrown up, which continued for some distance along the front of the buildings enclosing Sâdat Ali's tomb. From behind this a fire of grape and musketry was kept up. Once inside the Moti Manzil enclosure they were sheltered pretty well. The heavy guns and wagons arrived,

1857.
Sept 25th

but after considerable delay, and the 78th Highlanders coming up in rear instead of going on towards the Chaudhura Barracks, turned to the left and passed along the road leading in front of the Kaisar Bagh. They attacked the nearest guns, spiked one of them, and then diverging to the right joined the rest near the Moti Manzil.

Darkness was now setting in, and Sir James Outram was at first for holding their ground in and around the Moti Manzil. But General Havelock was unwilling to let the day pass without accomplishing part of the work he had come to do, and so, with the sanction of Sir James, he ordered the 78th Highlanders and Regiment of Madras Fusiliers to advance. Led by Outram and Havelock they rushed on. The way along the river side of the Chatter Manzil Palace would have been the least exposed, but no one unaccustomed to threading through the intervening buildings could readily find the way, and a wider road led to the rear of the Chatter Manzil enclosures between them and the "Painted House." The buildings here were filled with enemies. Their flat roofs with parapets, intended for privacy, made each a formidable post of defence. Havelock had sent back for the Madras Fusiliers, which came up with General Neill through a courtyard at its further side. The road was spanned by an archway which formerly had a lion upon it, and was called "Sher Darwāza," the Lion Gateway. It has been since called Neill's, for there the brave General was shot from the top of the archway. The body was put on a carriage and brought in. The men passing in divided, one part crossing the Pām Bāgh (Lower Garden) to the right and on towards the clock-tower, the rest to the left by the streets south-west of the jail and adjacent buildings, meeting the others at the Baillie guard-gate. General Outram had been wounded in the arm, but remained in the saddle until he dismounted and passed in by one of Aitken's embrasures. The loss suffered in this last advance was severest in proportion to the time our

men were under fire, and few of those who fell in the passages and lanes could be saved. The body of Lieut.-Colonel Bazely was found a day or two afterwards not more than 300 yards from the Baillie guard-gate, a ring was still on one finger, and by it he was recognised.

1857.
Sept 25th.

Most of the force found their way into the Residency that night, but the heavy guns, a large number of ammunition wagons, and almost all the wounded up to that point were at the Moti Manzil, Colonel Campbell, 90th Regiment, with not more than 100 of his men, with them. They were behind a wall in front of the Manzil, but the open spaces between the different enclosures were under the hottest fire, and Colonel Campbell reported his inability to move without help.

Next morning Major Simmonds, 5th Fusiliers, with 250 of his men and some of Brasyer's Sikhs, were sent out. They occupied a house and garden between the palace and Colonel Campbell's position. Major R. Napier, of the Engineers, was subsequently sent with 100 of the 78th Highlanders, and Captain Hardinge with his Cavalry, to reinforce them. Two of Captain Olpherts' guns were to have gone, but that officer persuaded Major Napier not to take more than some spare bullocks for the removal of the guns, and himself accompanied them as a volunteer. Major Napier led his party by one of the side outlets of the palace along the river bank to Major Simmonds, under a smart fire, from which, however, they suffered little harm.

Sept 26th

From thence Major Napier made his way to Colonel Campbell, who was in Mr. Martin's house, and began to make arrangements for the removal, first of the sick and wounded, then of the great train of wagons and heavy guns. The first were taken under cover of night along the river side, under shelter of the bank, and reached the entrenchment without a single casualty.

The guns and wagons could not be taken by the same sheltered way. A 24-pounder which had the previous day

1857
Sept 26th

been in action, but had been silenced by the severity of the enemy's fire, was still outside in a very exposed position. It was extricated in a very daring and dexterous manner by Captain Olpherts, assisted by Lieutenant Crump and Private Duffy, of the Madras Fusiliers.* Lieutenant Crump was killed. He had already been mentioned in terms of high commendation, and was greatly regretted. Captain Olpherts was well known throughout the Bengal Army for his daring courage, few, indeed, had the same faculty of imparting pluck to others. Cooler when danger was rife than at any other time, he was ever ready with a mirth-provoking remark when most men would have been too serious to think of a joke. It was said of a well-known officer of the Royal Artillery that he never was in a better humour than when shot and shell were flying thickly around him. Private Duffy was recommended for the Victoria Cross. Brigadier Cooper was also killed here,† and the charge of the heavy guns devolved on a young officer, Lieutenant J. McKenzie Fraser, who, though wounded already, assisted greatly in getting the guns on.

Sept 27th

At three o'clock the next morning the whole of the remainder of the force proceeded through the enemy's posts. They were not discovered till the leading part had reached a garden adjoining the Chatter Manzil Palace, where the guns were placed, and the rear guard were able effectually to cover the movement. On the 1st of October the guns were safe within the entrenchment.

On the same day that the gallant feat of extricating the heavy guns was performed, the Artillery had to record another death. Lieutenant D. C. Alexander, while walking on the road outside the Baillie guard, had his thigh smashed by a round shot. He died shortly after his removal to the hospital. "You can at all events bear wit-

* A drag rope was hooked to the trail by Private Duffy, and the gun was thus drawn within the enclosure.

† He was shot in the head while sitting and smoking a cigar.

ness," he said to Mr. Gubbins, "that I have done my duty." Of the ten Artillery officers who had shared in the defence of the Residency from the beginning, six were now dead, three severely wounded, the tenth had suffered severely from illness

1857.
Sept 27th.

The garrison, though reinforced, could not be withdrawn. They had yet to wait, but the position was extended. The ground on the river side was taken in, and the rebels driven out of Captanganj. The buildings east of the Cawnpore battery and Anderson's post were occupied by Captain Lockhart, 78th Highlanders. The jail, Farha Baksh, and Chatter Manzil Palaces, though somewhat too extensive, were included in the line of defence, and the position rendered much more secure.

October

Several sorties were made between the 26th September and 1st of October, and several guns captured or destroyed. An attempt was made to open up the direct road through the city towards Cawnpore, but this entailed too much loss and was abandoned. The enemy were mining as before, but Major Napier provided against this by a regular system of counter-mines, of which 21 were constructed from first to last*. The enclosing line of parapet was strengthened and batteries improved or constructed, a bastion at the south-west corner of Mr Gubbins' compound, a battery between the sheep and slaughter-yards, the mound at Innes' post taken in, and the line of works continued down to the river.

The Residency was placed in telegraphic communication with the party at the Alám Bágh, which proved a valuable post, being in almost unimpeded intercourse with Cawnpore, though cut off otherwise from the former. The Lucknow garrison heard, on the 9th of October, in this way of the complete capture of Delhi up to the 25th of September. Further confirmation of this was afforded by

* They had constructed twenty mines. Of these seven were blown in by us; they were driven out of seven, and five had exploded, doing little damage.

1857. the numerous accessions to the rebels outside. Notwithstanding, their attacks on the entrenchments were feeble. But Outram had brought no food supplies with him, and none could be got out of the city, so that they were straitened for provisions, and on the 21st the rations were still further reduced. Lieutenant MacFarlan records in his diary, "Always very hungry," a good sign that his severe wound had not permanently injured one important part of his constitution.

On the 6th of November the Lucknow garrison heard of the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell at Cawnpore, and that Sir Hope Grant was at Bannu on the River Sar. A message was sent to the Commander-in-Chief by Mr T. H. Kavanagh a clerk in one of the Civil offices, who disguised himself and left the entrenchment on the night of the 9th, reaching the headquarters camp early next morning. Mr Kavanagh received the Victoria Cross for this, and was appointed afterwards an Assistant Commissioner. On the 12th they heard that the Commander-in-Chief had arrived at the Alám Bágh, on the 14th that he was advancing on the Dilkusha and Martinière, and on the 17th Sir James Outram and General Havelock met him at the Moti Manzil, where the latter was told that he had been nominated a Knight Commander of the Bath. His health had for some days been failing, nine days later Sir Colin Campbell and the senior officers of the force saw his body laid to rest in the Alám Bágh.

The siege of Delhi, the defence and "first relief" of Lucknow were the most glorious episodes of the Indian Mutiny. Full as those eighteen months were of gallant service and acts of individual heroism, both must stand out in strong relief as contests against overpowering numbers, under the depressing effects of wasting disease, a scorching sun, and in many instances a want of the ordinary necessities of life, privations nobly born with cheerfulness. The opposition which Sir Colin Campbell with far greater numbers met with and overcame is a

1857.

sufficient proof of what the defenders of Lucknow had to contend with from June to November. There was this difference between Delhi and Lucknow. If we had failed before Delhi the whole of Upper and Central India would have been lost. The Punjab would have gone, and a reconquest of the greater part of India been an imperative necessity. Had the Residency been captured, our difficulty would have been enormously increased, but the north-west would not necessarily have followed. Sir Archdale Wilson was fully aware of the great responsibility that devolved upon him, and he must be allowed the credit of having borne it well.

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"Siege of Lucknow," by L. E. R. Rees

"Lucknow," by Lady Inglis

Letters and journals of various officers

APPENDIX.

A. Sir Colin Campbell's strictures on the selection of the Residency as a post of defence.

B. Strength of the Artillery portion of the garrison.

APPENDIX

NOTE A

Sir Colin Campbell in his telegraphic dispatch of November 20th to the Governor-General considers that the position taken up by Sir H. Lawrence was a false one, an opinion confirmed by his acquaintance with the ground *. Whether he was right in withdrawing then altogether from a position he knew would have to be retaken a few months afterwards is a question on which opinions may differ. He had to stamp out rebellion elsewhere as well as in Oudh. But Sir H. Lawrence clearly had no option. If he could have found "a good military position outside the town," in easier communication with Cawnpore, and capable of acting as a check upon the great city, could he have established himself there? He had two places to hold, when mutiny first raised its head—the Residency centre of the civil authority, and cantonments centre of the military power. These he intended to hold as long as he could, but in the defensive struggle he knew must come, the Residency was the only spot that could be held. The straggling barracks of a cantonment would not have formed a defensible position, or adequate shelter for the women and children. He knew what such a choice had brought upon us at Kabul, we know what it had entailed upon the martyrs of Cawnpore. So Sir H. Lawrence bent all his efforts to collecting supplies at the Residency, while as a secondary depôt for stores, to be held only in the event of his force being adequate, he chose the Machi Bhawan. Had not the unfortunate result of the Chinhat action precipitated the investment, Lawrence would have made his position as secure as could possibly have been done. But nothing would have more surely precipitated matters than any attempt at evacuation of the Residency, even had it been done at the beginning of June. There were but two positions, the communications of which would have been clear of the city—the Martinière and the Alim Bagh, both of which would have required extensive earthworks, more than could possibly have been constructed in two months, to say nothing of the shelter from the sun's rays, without which the contest could not have been prolonged. But these considerations would have been needless. At the first sign of a retrograde movement the whole city would have been up in arms; not a native would have remained loyal; the chiefs

* P P No 6, p 146, Inclosure 30 in No. 3

who at Sir H. Lawrence's wish furnished the supplies of food on which the garrison subsisted from July 1st to November 20th would have been rebels, and the massacres of Cawnpore would have been repeated at Lucknow. Between Delhi and Calcutta British authority would have disappeared. At Chhānwāla the retrograde movement of the advanced brigades entailed the loss of the guns, abandoned in the bush, and the lives of the wounded lying there. In both cases Sir Colin Campbell's reasoning on a correct principle blinded him to other considerations of the greatest importance.

NOTE B

Strength of the Artillery, European and Native, who served in the defence of the Lucknow Residency.

The detail given in G.G.O., 12th December, 1857, of the Artillery present on the 1st of July, 1857 (after Chinhāt), is as follows —

4th Co 1st Batt No 9 Field Battery	Officers	9	
	Native Officers	5	
2nd Co 8th Batt No 2 Field Battery	Sergeants and Havildars	18	
	Buglers	6	
Oudh Irregular Batteries	Rank and File	146	184
	Officers	1	
Magazine Establishment	Sergeants	4	
	Rank and File	10	15

199

According to the Annual Long Rolls, the following European non-commissioned officers and men were, or should have been, present on that day. The first two columns from other sources —

	Command Officers	Warrant Officers	Sergts	Buglers	Corps Bombs (Gunners)	Total
Civil Employ Chief Comm	1					1
4th Co 1st Batt No 9 H.F. B	3		8	3	64	78
2nd Co 8th Batt No 2 B.F. B	1		1	2		4
No. 1 Oudh Irregular Batt	1		2			3
No. 2 Oudh Irregular Batt	2		1†			3
No. 3 Oudh Irregular Batt	1		2†			3
Magazine Establishment	1	1	3†			5
Total	10	1	17	5	64	97
Of these are known to have died	6		8	1	25	40
Presumably survived	4	1	9	4	39	57

* Farrier-Sergeant Bartholomew Hernon (killed)

† Farrier-Sergeants T. Sexton and W. Spence

‡ Magazine-Sergeant J. White, Laboratory-Sergeants J. Farrelly and W. Lynch.

From Town Major's Lists

NOTE B —continued.

The Native Artillery portion of the Garrison surviving on the 19th February, 1858, was as follows by G G O, April 9th, 1858 —

	Subadar	J mardars	Hav'da	Naick	Privates		Syce Drivers		Ordnance Drivers		Bheestie	Total
					Naick	Private	Naick	Private	Sirdars	Drivers		
2nd Company 8th Batt	1	1	4	5	13						1	25
Gun Lascar Detail 4th Co				2	2							5
1st Battalion		1						5				5
P Company Syce Drivers										15		15
D Co Ordnance Drivers												1
No 1 Battery Oudh Irr Art			1									1
No 2 Battery Oudh Irr Art	1	1	7	2						5		16
No 3 Battery Oudh Irr Art	1	1	1	3						2		8
Reserve Company		1										1
Lucknow Magazine Lascars					1							1
	3	5	13	12	16		5			22	1	77

If the foregoing figures be correct, it follows that 27 Native Artillerymen were killed or died during the siege

CHAPTER XII.

SEPOY WAR.

RELIEF OF LUCKNOW—Arrival of Royal Artillery at Calcutta—Its Equipment—Sir Colin Campbell—Colonel McIntyre holding the Alam Bagh—Constitution of the Force—Advance to Lucknow—Jilkhusha and Martiniere Occupied—Severe fighting at Sikandra Bagh and Shah Najaf—Garrison withdrawn from Residency—General Windham at Cawnpore—Gwalior Contingent attacks him—Fighting on the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th of November—Arrival of Sir Colin Campbell—Battle of Cawnpore—Sir Hope Grant follows up—Commander in Chief goes towards Fatehgarh—Action of Khodaganj—At Shamshabad—Sir Hope Grant at Mianganj

ALAM BAGH—Its Position—Sir James Outram's Force—Attacks on him in December, January, and February

OPERATIONS EAST OF OUDH—Nipal Contingent—Longden's Column—Action near Allahabad—Frank's Column—Actions at Nasratpur—Chanda Sultanpur—Junction with Army at Lucknow

CAPTURE OF LUCKNOW—Hope Grant at Mianganj—Constitution of the Army—Advance to Lucknow—Martiniere Occupied—Outram detached North of Guntur—Chakar Kothi and Badshah Bagh taken—Batteries—Right and Left Attacks—Kausar Bagh taken—Rebels Escape

ROHILKHAND—Penny's Column—Walpole's Failure at Rujia—Sawajpur—Bareilly

KURKHI FORCE—Constitution—Bhagrawala—Nagina—Bareilly—Broken up.
SHAHJAHANPUR FORCE.—Relieves the Wing 82nd—Actions with Rebels—Expeditions to Mohamdi and Shahabad—Broken up

DURING September and the two following months, large reinforcements arrived at Calcutta. Most of them were sent up by river or road, as means of transport allowed. Of the China Expeditionary Force were the 82nd, 23rd, and 93rd Regiments, followed in October and November by the 34th, 42nd, 88th, 58th, 2nd and 3rd Battalions Rifle Brigade from home, and a wing of the 29th from Burmah

Of the Royal Artillery, Bt.-Colonel G. R. Barker with his Staff Officer, Lieutenant R. Biddulph, arrived early in the month. Then from Hong Kong, Lieut.-Colonel W. T. Crawford and Major W. W. Barry, Lieutenant H. C. S

1857.
September.

Sept. 5th-8th.

1857. Dyer (Quarter-Master), Surgeon G. T. Ferris, and Vet-
66th Fd. Batt. Surgeon H. Withers 5th Company 13th Battalion, Captain
C S. Longden, 2nd-Captain H L. Talbot, Lieutenants
F. G. E. Warren, M H. Fitzmaurice, and E. S. Burnett.
- 67th Fd. Batt. 6th Company 13th Battalion, Captain W A. Middleton,
Bt.-Major J F. Pennycuick, Lieutenants W D. Milman, W.
Smith, and C. H. Pickering
- October 6th A few days after, Major-General J E Dupuis, C B.,
arrived to take Command of the Royal Artillery, also by
overland route with him Bt-Colonel D G Wood, C.B.,
Lieut-Colonel J M Adye, A A G. R. A., Captains D S
Greene,* A.D.C., and A M Calvert, and Lieutenant J. C. F.
Ramsden.
- Sept. 22nd The *Penelope* had already brought from the Cape of
Red 1863 Good Hope half the 13th L I., and the 3rd Company 14th
Battalion, with its drivers; 2nd-Captain W G Le Mesurier,
Lieutenants E Staveley, J R Oliver, and C D. Chalmers.
Also a small detail of drivers of the 4th Company 5th
Battalion, with Captain W. N. Hardy and Lieutenant A.
Ford. The 3rd had just arrived at the Cape to relieve the
4th, when news of the Mutiny and an order to go on at
once reached it. Captain F. J. Travers, Military Secretary
at the Cape volunteered, and was allowed to accompany
it. He returned there after the relief of Lucknow by Sir
Colin Campbell, was wounded at Lucknow, but was present
at the Battle of Cawnpore
- October 20th. Subsequently the steamer *Sydney* arrived with the 4th
68th Fd. Batt. Company 14th Battalion, Bt-Lieut-Colonel S E. Gordon,
2nd-Captain C Johnston, Lieutenants E Egan, W. Gil-
mour, and E R Cottingham, and the 7th Company 14th
Red. 1863. Battalion, Bt-Major C. H. Smith, 2nd-Captain C. E. Wal-
cott, Lieutenants F. A. Whinyates, H Edmcades, and J. C.
Auchinleck. E and F Troops, R H. A., commanded by Bt.-
D., R.H.A. Majors J. R. Anderson and C. L. D'Aguilar did not arrive
G., R.H.A. till the beginning of November.

* Transferred to 3-14 by G.R.O., No. 2, December 8th, 1857.

As none of these batteries brought out any ordnance, Colonel Crawford immediately set about their equipment. It was not an easy matter. The arsenal at Fort William, a small one, had already furnished one or two batteries. Ordnance carriages and harness for two were still available, and Allahabad could equip two more. Cawnpore, main supply of harness, and the Gun Carriage Agency at Fatehgarh were gone. The studs at Ghazipur, Karantadi, and Pusa were being drained. The Calcutta Horse Market was depressed. The most serious difficulties were in the supply of harness and seasoned timber. The Inspector-General of Ordnance, Colonel Abbott, was fertile of resource, and energetic, difficulties were got over. The P. and O. steamer *Himalaya* went to the Cape in October and returned with 250 horses. More came from Australia and Bombay. Colonel Crawford, proceeding up the river with Captains Longden's and Middleton's Batteries, was ordered to take over 9-pounders at Benares.*

1857.
September,

Major G. S. Cotter had come over from Madras some time before with A Company 3rd Battalion and No 2 Field Battery.† Then Captain S Rippon with C Company 5th (Native) Battalion and a Bullock Field Battery‡. Both these were at first employed with the detachments keeping open the Trunk Road about and below Benares. Captain Rippon got a sunstroke and was relieved by Lieutenant S. H. E. Chamier till Captain R Cadell took the Battery over. Lieutenant F. E. Hadow, one of his subalterns, had two M.T. howitzers with the Sambhalpur Field Force§. Lieutenant E. M. Playfair, of the Nagpur Irregular Artillery, was employed in that quarter. The last contribution from Madras was a division of E Troop H.A., under Lieutenant L. Bridge, who had B. L. Gordon as his subaltern.

46th Fd. Batt.
Red. 1862.

Captain G. Moir had been sent to Allahabad with the

* P.P. No 4, Inclosures 73 and 79 in No 5.

† Subalterns, G. G. J. Campbell (from E Troop), W. J. Bradford, and S. H. E. Chamier.

‡ Lieutenant C. Desborough joined in December

§ P.P. No. 8, Inclosure 52 in No. 2

1857
Red 1871.

3rd Company 5th Battalion (Bengal) in August. He was not strong enough to man six pieces, so got three guns and a howitzer.* His senior subaltern present, P. C. Anderson, was with two more and some invalids at Fatehpur, four marches south-east of Cawnpore. Lieutenant J. McK. Fraser was with Captain Moir, doing duty from the 1st Company

The Naval Brigade of H.M.S. *Shannon*, Captain W. Peel, was at Allahabad now, and that of H.M.S. *Pearl*, Captain E. S. Sotheby, arrived in Calcutta August 8th

This was the constitution of the Artillery prepared for the reconquest of Oudh and the neighbouring provinces and opening up communications

November. Sir Colin Campbell took over office as Commander-in-Chief July 11th. Since then Outram and Havelock had fought their way into Lucknow only to be shut up in the entrenchment, and it was evident that the rebellion, focussed in Oudh, would have to be stamped out by a much larger army than had, as yet, been assembled. Cawnpore was the centre towards which our troops were converging. Brigadier-General Hope Grant, with the Delhi Column, was at Banthara, between Cawnpore and the Alám Bágh, and Brigadier T. Seaton was about to bring from Meerut and Delhi the large supply of provisions required by the relieving force. Maharaja Jang Bahádur was coming from Nipal with an auxiliary force

Sept-Nov. Outram had left Lieut-Colonel McIntyre, 78th Highlanders, with a small party and four guns at the Alám Bágh when he went into Lucknow. The baggage, reserve ammunition, treasure, and more than 4,000 camp-followers was a large charge for about 400 men, besides the care of 64 wounded and as many sick. Major Bingham, 64th, brought a convoy of provisions, October 7th, greatly needed. The camp-followers had suffered very much for want of food. Lieutenant D. W. Gordon (1st-5th) was

* P.P. No. 6, Inclosure 35 in No. 2.

sent there, and commanded the Artillery, while Harward had charge of the ordnance stores Captain Moir with his Battery (3rd-5th) arrived October 25th, with Major Barnston's detachment Lieutenant C. N. Judge, Engineers, assisted by Mr. Tait, a civil engineer, constructed the necessary field works Major Bingham had left 100 men to strengthen them, and it speaks well for Colonel McIntyre's arrangements, that during the 49 days he held the Alám Bágh the casualties among the fighting men only amounted to one killed, two wounded

1857.
November.

Sir Colin Campbell joined Sir Hope Grant at Banthara on the 9th, and on the 12th the army marched to the Alám Bágh. Lieut-Colonel Crawford and Bt.-Major Barry, his Brigade-Major, joined on the 14th, the former taking command of the Artillery. Major F. Turner commanded the Bengal portion, with Lieutenant A. Bunny as his Staff Officer. Lieutenant H. C. S. Dyer, R.A., was Quarter-Master to his own portion of the arm. The whole of the Artillery was thus composed —

November

Naval Brigade H.M.S. *Shannon*, Captain W. Peel, eight heavy guns.

1st-1st Bengal H.A., Captain Remington, five field guns.	F, R. II A.
2nd-3rd Bengal H.A., Captain Blunt, five field guns	64th Fd. Batt.
E. Madras H.A., Lieutenant Bridge, two field guns	Red. 1862.
3rd-14th R.A. and 4th-5th (Det.) R.A., Captains Travers* and Hardy, four heavy guns	Red. 1863.
5th-13th R.A., Captain Longden, four mortars	11th Co. S. D.
6th-13th R.A., Captain Middleton, six field guns.	66th Fd. Batt.
3rd-1st No. 17 F.B., Captain Bouchier, six field guns.	67th Fd. Batt.
1st-5th (Det.), Lieutenant E. W. E. Walker, three field guns.	53rd Fd. Batt.
	10th Co. S. D.

The siege-train had been prepared at Allahabad by Lieutenant W. Tod Brown Captain T. B. Ryley,† Assistant

* Was commanding R.A. now

† On the Veteran Establishment. Captain Thomas Baskerville Ryley was an old and deserving officer, commissioned for good service in 1848. He was well born and educated. Had served at the siege of

1857. Commissary, and Conductor P Mallon accompanied it. It consisted of six 18-pounder guns, six 8-inch howitzers, ten mortars.

Lieutenant F S Roberts was, as before, on the Army Staff as D. A Q M.G. The rest of the army consisted of —

Engineers

One Company R E , Bengal and Punjab sappers , one Company Madras Sappers.

Cavalry

9th Lancers , Military Train (acting as Cavalry); Detachments 1st-2nd and 5th Regiments.

Infantry

3RD BRIGADE — Brigadier Greathed Detachments 5th, 64th, 78th, and 2nd Punjab Regiments

4TH BRIGADE — Brigadier Hon A Hope. 53rd and 93rd and 4th Punjab Infantry , Detachments 84th, 90th, and 1st Madras Regiments.

5TH BRIGADE. — Brigadier Russell 23rd, 75th, and 82nd Regiments.

Nov 14th

Sir Colin Campbell on the 14th took a wider circuit than Havelock had done. He moved over more open ground on the Dilkhusa. The rebels not expecting this, there was no serious opposition till the wall of the Dilkhusa Park was approached, when a musketry fire opened upon the leading brigade under Brigadier Hope. After "a running fight of about two hours" the enemy were driven through the grounds of the Martinière across the canal. The Dilkhusa House was occupied, and the Martinière made the Chief's headquarters. Brigadier Hope's Brigade was formed up in the grounds of the latter, towards the canal, with two of Captain Peel's guns and No. 17 Field Battery on the left. Captain Middleton, with his Battery, reached the Martinière, Captain Longden in the evening

Hathras in 1817, was one of the prisoners in Akbar Khan's hands in 1842; in the battle of Maharajpur and 1st Sikh War. He died at Cawnpore September 28th, 1858.

took post with his mortars in front, and kept up a fire all night. Lieutenant A. O. Mayne, Bengal H.A., in the Q.M.G. Department, a very promising officer, was killed on the road from the Martinière. The rear guard did not close up till late next day

1857
Nov. 14th.

The baggage was deposited within the Dilkusha Park, and next day Sir Colin advanced on the Sikandra Bagh, a strong walled enclosure. While the Infantry opened out into skirmishing order, Captain Blunt's guns advanced. Captain Hardy, with his 18-pounders, followed. The Horse Artillery went forward at a gallop between a loop-holed village and the Sikandra Bagh, up a stiff bank, in a manner that elicited general admiration, and opened at musketry range*. Captain Hardy brought his guns into position. The Infantry drove the defenders of the village out, and the whole fire bore upon the Sikandra. After about an hour it was taken by storm. The 93rd Highlanders and 4th Punjab Infantry were first in. It was full of Sepoys, who had no escape open, and fought as expecting no quarter. The scenes in that house in Cawnpore were too fresh in the soldiers' minds, and some 1,800 bodies were afterwards carried out. The howitzer of 2nd-3rd H.A. under Lieutenant C. Hunter was sent into the enclosure as it was stormed. It was the only piece of ordnance used inside.

Nov. 15th

Nov. 16th

The next building attacked was the Shah Najaf†. The enclosing wall of this building was very massive. The parapet above was loop-holed, and its capture cost many lives. Among them Captain Whaley Hardy, commanding the 18-pounders, killed at half-past one that day. Captain

* Captain Blunt's notes at the time show that his casualties on this occasion amounted to 14 N.C.O. and men, six gun Lascars, and 20 horses. The returns of casualties in dispatches are incomplete. The Annual Casualty Rolls give only names of men removed by death or other causes. There is therefore no means of ascertaining* the number of wounded.

† Often spelt "Nujeef". The name is properly "Ashraf Najaf" (noble hill). A monumental building for Ghazi ud din Haidar, Nawab of Oudh.

1857.
Nov. 16th. Peel placed his guns close in to batter it the better. Captain Longden, with his mortars, and Captain Middleton's Battery were in support. After a cannonade of three hours it was taken—the hardest-won success of a hard-fought day. Lieutenant A. Ford commanded the 18-pounder battery on the death of its Captain.

Nov. 17th. Communications were now opened from the left rear of the Chaupera Barracks to the canal. Brigadier Russell's Brigade, on the left, crossing it, was directed to take and occupy Major Banks' house and four bungalows on the right of the road leading to Hazrutganj. The Khurshid Manzil, formerly the 32nd mess-house, was surrounded by a circular ditch, scarped with masonry, and a loop-holed mud-wall. After a bombardment by Artillery it was taken by a Company of the 90th under Captain Wolseley,* some of the 53rd under Captain Hopkins, some detachments under Captain Guise. They not only carried this, but the Moti Manzil as well. Sir James Outram and Sir Henry Havelock met the Chief there that day.

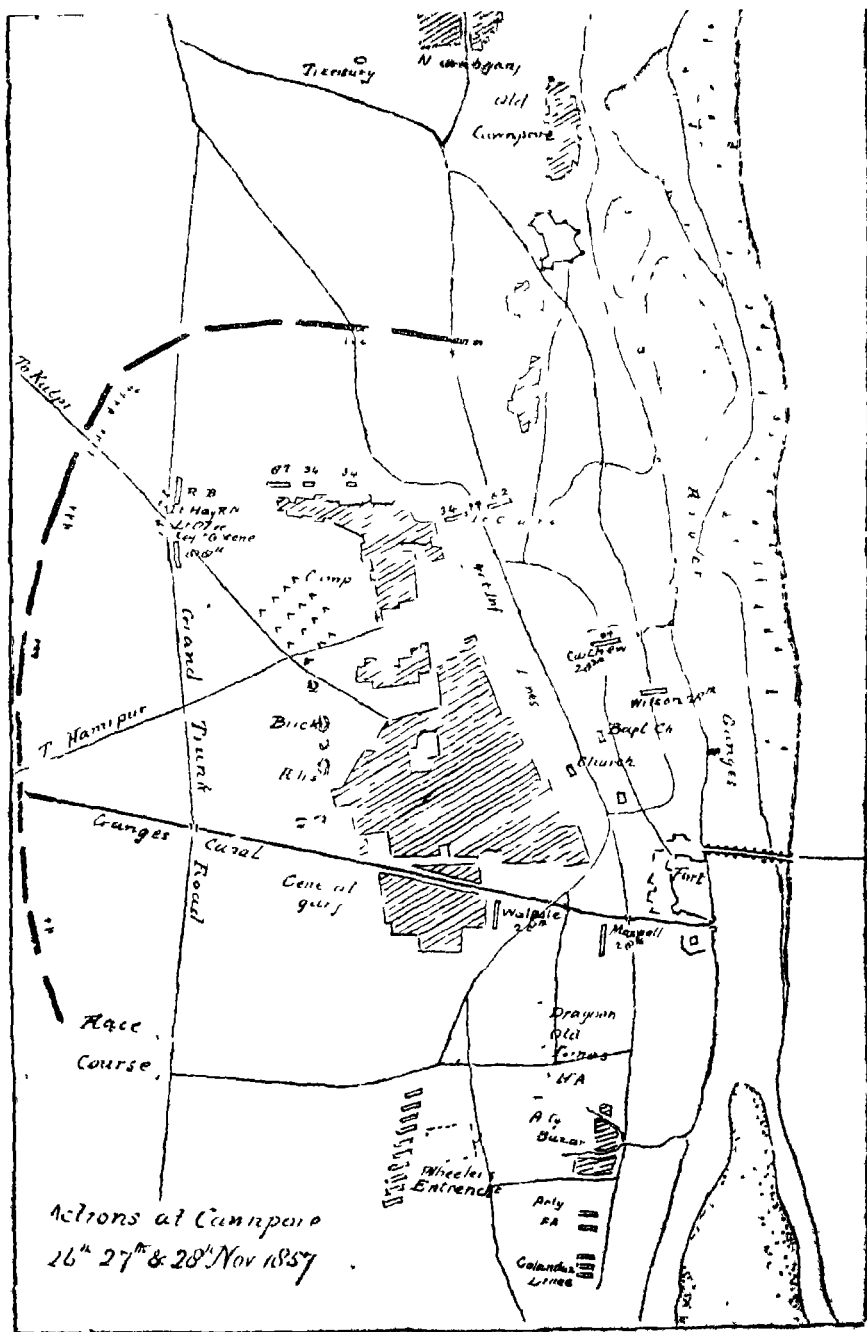
It was not Sir Colin Campbell's intention to hold Lucknow then. Orders were given for the withdrawal of the whole garrison from the Residency, and on the morning of the 23rd its defence had become a history of the past.

OPERATIONS AT CAWNPORE

When Sir Colin Campbell advanced into Oudh, Major-General C. A. Windham, C.B., was left at Cawnpore with not more than 500 men and four 9-pounder guns, manned by a few Royal and Bengal invalid gunners. A Madras Brigade under Brigadier M. Carthew, with four 6-pounder guns under Lieutenant S. H. E. Chamier, came up, and other detachments arrived which finally brought up the force to about 1,700 effective men.

Major-General Dupuis, Lieut. Colonel Adye and Captain D. S. Greene, R.A., and Captain A. G. Austen (Bengal)

* Now Field-Marshal Viscount Wolseley K.P.



also arrived. The latter had just come out from leave home, and had been temporarily appointed (G.O.C C, 17th October) Commissary of Ordnance.

1857.

The Gwalior contingent, with other bodies of mutineers, were at last moving on Kalpi, but whether to proceed to Oudh or attack Cawnpore was not known. Their numbers were increasing, on the 19th reported to be 9,000 men with 38 guns. Of these 3,000 and 20 guns were at Kalpi; the rest at Bhognipur, Akbarpur, Shioli, and Shiorajpur, cutting Cawnpore off from above, but as yet not endangering its communications with Allahabad.

The Gwalior force was not the only danger. On the 1st of November, Colonel Powell, coming from Allahabad with the siege-train, had encountered and defeated a body of 4,000 rebels at Kajwa, after a severe action in which he was killed, Captain W. Peel, of the Naval Brigade, taking command and completing the victory. Lieutenant P. C. Anderson, with a detail of the 3rd Company 5th Battalion, was in this affair. So that materials for severing the communications were at hand.

Close to the bridge of boats behind the city was an entrenchment, called by courtesy a "fort," but by Colonel Adye more correctly an indifferent *tête de pont*. The houses and trees in cantonments were capable of affording cover to an enemy close to it. It may be questioned whether a better site would not have been found near the old Artillery lines.

November.

General Windham had been for some days without any communication from Sir Colin Campbell, but knew that severe fighting had taken place. The rebels from below were closing in upon him, so on the 26th he struck his camp at the junction of the Kalpi with the Trunk Road, sent back his tents, and moved forward to the Pandu Naddi, where he attacked and defeated the advanced force of the enemy, capturing two 8-inch howitzers and a 6-pounder gun, returning to a position he had taken up in front of the city. As the day closed he received the welcome news

Nov. 26th.

1857. from Lucknow that all was well, and that Sir Colin Campbell was coming back at once.

Nov. 27th. Next day the troops were under arms at daylight as usual. Captain Sarsfield Greene and Lieutenant J. R. Oliver, with four field guns, and Lieutenant Hay, R.N., with two 24-pounders, were on the Trunk Road at its junction with that from Kalpi, flanked by men of the 88th and Rifle Brigade.* Colonel Walpole was in command here. To the rear, and at right angles, detached portions of the 34th and 82nd covered the northern end of the city; Lieutenant Chamier, with his four field guns, being at the north-east corner.

The rebels opened fire at ten a.m., and as their guns advanced their superiority in number and weight became very apparent. Our fire on the right was well maintained by Lieutenant Chamier, but the rebels did not seem anxious to come to close quarters. In front the guns kept advancing, and they appeared on the left beyond the canal. General Windham therefore drew his men behind the brick-kilns, which here lined the outskirts of the city.

Here the position would have been maintained, but it soon became evident that the enemy had got round to the left, and were occupying the city. General Windham, with some of the Rifle Brigade who had just come in from Fatehpur, cleared one or two streets, but there they were, and he had no option but to withdraw altogether to the entrenchment. Major-General Dupuis conducted this retrograde movement, which was done in good order without loss.

After a night of anxious deliberation, the following disposition was made:—

Nov. 28th. Colonel Walpole, with four Companies of the Rifle Brigade, two of the 82nd, to hold that part of the town on the south side of the canal known as General Ganj. Captain

* Three Companies under Lieut.-Colonel Woodford arrived on the evening of the 25th. Three more under Lieut.-Colonel Fyers made a march of forty-eight miles in twenty-six hours, and arrived in time to take an important part in the fighting on the 27th and 28th.

Greene and Lieutenant Oliver, with two guns and two howitzers, were attached to this post.

1857.
Nov. 28th.

Brigadier ~~X~~ Wilson, with the 64th, held the fort, with a strong picquet at the Baptist Chapel. Captain J. H. Smyth and Captain E. O. Bradford were with the guns here.

Brigadier M. Carthew, with the 34th Regiment and Lieutenant Chamier's guns, to hold the central cantonment road which joined that to Bithur beyond the magazine.

Colonel G. V. Maxwell, with the 88th, held the ground between Walpole and the river, and supported him.

Colonel Walpole repulsed the rebels on his side, and captured two 18-pounder guns. But the main attack was on Brigadier Carthew, who was very hard pressed. The enemy were in immense numbers, and had ample cover in the trees and behind walls and houses. Brigadier Wilson, ordered to support him, moved on a parallel road nearer the river. They came on four of the rebel guns. Major Stirling was killed in spiking one of them. Brigadier Wilson also was killed, and they were unable to carry them off. It was here that a little bugler boy of the 64th crammed whatever stones or bricks he could get into the bore of one of them. Brigadier Carthew held his position till nightfall, and then fell back upon the entrenchment. The losses during these three days amounted to more than 300 men, and Lieutenant Chamier had fifteen casualties * out of eighteen men. Two of his guns were withdrawn during the day to assist Walpole's party, which had much less to do.†

During the night the rebels took possession of the town, Nov. 29th.

* This from General Chamier. G. O. mention only ten.

† Major-General Dupuis, C.B., Lieut.-Colonel J. M. Adye, Lieut.-Colonel Harness, R.E., and Major Norman McLeod, Bengal Engineers, specially, Captain Greene, R.A., and Captain J. H. Smyth, Bengal Artillery, were thanked in General Windham's dispatch. General Dupuis in his report mentions with praise Lieut.-Colonel Adye, Lieutenants Oliver (Royal) and Chamier (Madras), Captain Austen, and Captain Bradford, Assistant Commissioner, Oudh, who formerly was in the Artillery. The latter had been appointed Local Captain by Lord Canning, and directed to duty with this arm.

1857.
Nov. 29th.

and on the following day brought some heavy guns to the river bearing upon the bridge. Unfortunately, the camp equipage had been left behind, and an immense stock of Quartermaster's stores stored in and about the houses in that part of cantonments were destroyed.

Sir Colin Campbell, learning the state of affairs, had pushed on at once, and in the morning Captain Peel's guns were in position on the opposite bank of the river neutralising the attempts of the rebels to destroy the bridge, and to bear upon the entrenchment. Brigadier Hope's Brigade, Remington's Troop, and Bouchier's Battery crossed at 8 a.m. and proceeded to take up a position near the Cavalry lines, where they covered the road to Allahabad. All that day and the next the line of troops, followed by the rescued women and children, passed over. The army encamped near the old Dragoon lines, and the latter were accommodated in the Foot Artillery barracks till they were despatched as fast as could be done down the road to Allahabad under a strong escort.

Dec 6th

All impediments to action having been thus cleared off, Sir Colin Campbell prepared to attack. The rebels had been largely increased in numbers from Oudh, and numbered over 20,000 men. Their left held the old cantonments, their centre the city, and their right the other side of the canal to some distance beyond the Trunk Road. The Chief's eye detected the obstacle which the city, with its narrow streets barricaded here and there, interposed between the rebel left and right, and he determined to attack their right. Brigadier Greathed with his three regiments held the suburb called General Ganj, where he had been for the past week, and kept the enemy there employed. Brigadier Little, with the Cavalry, was sent round to the left, prepared to threaten their rear and follow up the enemy in flight. Brigadier Walpole to move up on the left of Brigadier Greathed, pass the canal, and drive the enemy from the brick-kilns on that side of the city. Brigadier Hope, with Inglis in support, crossed the canal to

Battle of Campana
3rd Dec 1957

13th Dec 1957

1 mile

Friends
 1914 or
 1921 date

Enemy
line of
retreat

Minabgun,

Old
Lump

Magazine

Church

64/S-2P1-
Gene alga
Created

Hayyaga
Gurun

a Loryden RA

Cuns
4 Heavy

c Blunt HA

4 Field

6 Pool RN

4

f Bridge MFLA

2

(Middleton) RA

6 Field

3 Bouchier

(1)

d Remington NA 5

1857.
Dec. 6th.

the left of the Trunk Road under the fire of Captain Peel's 24-pounders and Captain Longden's 18-pounders, which moved up between these and Brigadier Walpole. Major Smith with 7th-14th to the right of the latter, and Captains Middleton and Bouchier with their Batteries on the left of the Infantry Brigades General Windham, with a heavy fire from the entrenchment, occupied the enemy's attention on that side*. The fire of the heavy and field guns soon made itself felt. Under it the Infantry crossed the canal bridges Lieutenant Bunny, Adjutant of the Bengal H.A., came up to Captain Bouchier on the left with the pleasing intelligence "Come along, they are bolting," and Major Turner ordered them up to grape distance Captain Bouchier, in his account of it, describes the extreme excitement of his men as they galloped up the road Field Batteries sometimes cannot help thinking themselves Horse Artillery The road was good, and the distance short, and they gave it to them with a will The batteries on the other side were not behind The Infantry came up and passed on, capturing the camp about one o'clock

The pursuit along the Kalpi road was continued by Bouchier's guns till the Cavalry and Horse Artillery took it up One gun after another was captured as they passed along.

Major-General Mansfield, Chief of the Staff, was ordered with a large force of the Infantry to clear the enemy out of the old cantonments north-west and north of the city Captains Longden, Middleton, and Major Smith were detailed for this task. Had General Mansfield allowed his men to go on, the success here would have been as complete. But the rebels, carrying off some guns, bolted in the direction of Bithur, whither, two days after, a force was sent in pursuit

Brigadier-General Hope Grant was sent with a force of 2,700 men towards Bithur. Captain Remington's Troop,

Dec. 8th.

* Captain J. H. Smyth commanded the Artillery in the entrenchments.

1857.
Dec. 8th.

the 1st-1st (Bengal H.A.), and Captain Middleton's Battery* (6th-13th, R.A.) were with it. A few miles from Cawnpore he learned that some rebels with guns had gone towards Serai Ghat, on the Ganges. Acting on his instructions, he changed his course to the right, and reached Shiorajpur before morning. Leaving the little baggage he had, he pushed on, and soon came up with the rebels by the river, who opened fire. Lieutenant F. G. E. Warfen, commanding two leading guns, went on to close quarters and opened fire at about 600 yards. The rest of the guns soon came up and poured in so heavy a fire among the crowded mass that they soon gave way, and the Irregular Cavalry, following along the bank of the river, destroyed many. The nature of the ground was very unfavourable for mounted work. All their guns, fifteen in number, which might have been ours two days sooner, were taken. Grant then, after destroying the Nana's palace at Bithur, rejoined headquarters at Cawnpore.

December

The Commander-in-Chief could not leave Cawnpore till the 24th of December, when he moved towards Fatehgarh. He had with him Captain Remington's Troop, 1st-1st (five guns), Major Smith's Battery, 7th-14th, Major Le Mesurier's Battery, 3rd-14th, † and Captain Peel's Naval Brigade (eight guns), 290 sabres of Brigadier Little's Brigade, under Sir Hope Grant, Brigadier Grotched, 8th, 64th, and 2nd Punjab Infantry, Brigadier Hope, 42nd, 53rd, and 93rd, Brigadier Hale, 23rd, 82nd, and 4th Punjab Infantry. He reached Miran-ka-Serai on the 30th. Brigadier Seaton was moving down the Trunk Road, and was then at Mainpuri. On the 31st he was at Bewar, and Sir Colin Campbell at Gursahaiganj. Five and a half miles further on, the road crossed the stream

* Captain Middleton, being in general command of the arm, Lieutenant W. D. Milman, Senior Subaltern, commanded 6th-13th, and was mentioned in the dispatches.

† Major F. Turner with the Field Artillery; Lieutenant H. H. Maxwell doing duty with the Naval Brigade.

of the Kālī-Naddi, at Khoda Ganj, by a suspension bridge which the rebels had only just begun to destroy. Brigadier Hope was sent on, and they fled. Lieutenant Vaughan, R.N., with two guns and a howitzer, was with him. 1858. January 1st.

Next morning the rebels had occupied the village in front of the bridge, and opened fire on the Commander-in-Chief, who at once ordered up the main body. Brigadier Hope threw part of his men across the river, and held the enemy in check till the rest came up. Lieutenant Vaughan's excellent practice dismounted a gun which raked the bridge, and blew up its limber. Major Smith's Battery supported the heavy guns. The 53rd attacked the toll-house without orders, driving out the enemy, and the rest of the Brigade coming up in support, the enemy abandoned the village and fled, pursued by Sir Hope Grant and the 9th Lancers*. On this day, Lieutenant F. S. Roberts, of the Bengal Artillery, D.A.Q.M.G., won the Victoria Cross for two acts of gallantry. Captain Remington's and Major Le Mesurier's guns were not engaged. January 2nd

Next morning the Commander-in-Chief blew open the gate of the fort at Fatehgarh. It was unoccupied, and was a most valuable acquisition, for not only the machinery of the Gun Carriage Works was there not much the worse, but what was far more valuable, the whole stock of seasoned timber. Next day, Brigadiers Walpole† and Seaton, with the twenty miles of stores, began to arrive. January 3rd

The rebels, who had fled into Rohilkhand, some days after recrossed the Ganges at the Surajghat ferry, 12 miles higher up, and occupied the town of Shamshabad. Brigadier Hope was sent with his regiments, Captains Rem- January 26th.

* Lieutenant H. H. Maxwell was very severely wounded in the leg; the doctor pronounced amputation necessary, but he declined to part with the limb, and eventually recovered.

† Brigadier Walpole had left Cawnpore on the 18th December to proceed up the Doab as far as Mainpuri, but was not engaged. The 2nd Troop 3rd Brigade and 3rd Company 1st Battalion, under Captains Blunt and Bourchier, were with it.

1858. mington's and Blunt's Troops were employed, as also the 3rd Company 1st Battalion under Lieutenant Harington (Captain Bouchier had been transferred to the 3rd Troop 2nd Brigade H.A. at Lahore, and left the army on the 14th). The enemy were found posted behind a ravine under cover, but Captain W. S. R. Hodson ported out a bridge over it, across which Remington passed at a gallop, wheeled to the right, and unlimbered at 600 yards. Captain Blunt coming up direct, opened across the ravine, each battery raking the face opposed to the other. The rebels broke and fled, four guns were captured, and they were pursued for some distance by the 9th Lancers, Hodson's Horse, and Lieutenant Lindsay with two guns, losing great numbers. Our casualties were very small, but Lieutenant McDowell, who fell, was a great loss to Captain Hodson, and the latter was wounded. Mr. Bradford, Assistant Commissioner, attended the Column in a civil capacity.
- January 27th.
- February. Sir Hope Grant was again detached against rebels on the left bank of the Ganges. He went up the road from Unao to Fatehpur Chaorási 15th of February, on to Bangarmau and Sultanganj, reaching Mianganj on the 23rd, where the rebels were. The two heavy pieces, supported by the Horse Artillery, opened a breach through which the 53rd rushed, and the place was taken. Major Turner and the 3rd Troop 3rd Brigade, and Major Anderson with E Troop R.H.A., with a detachment 5th 13th R.A. under Lieutenant F. G. E. Warren, with an 18-pounder and 8-inch howitzer, were the Artillery employed on this occasion. Lieutenant H. P. Bishop was Brigade-Major. Lieutenant F. S. Roberts on the General's Staff.

ALÁM BÁGH.

1857. The withdrawal from Lucknow of the force with which
November. Sir Colin Campbell had effected the relief of the besieged garrison at the Residency, with the great number of sick and

1857.
November.

wounded soldiers, and long train of wheeled conveyances laden with women and children, was effected with a skill to which the highest praise is justly due. Nothing was left to chance, and not a single life was unnecessarily sacrificed. He left behind him a city filled with enemies, and was marching towards another already held by a formidable enemy.

But to hold Lucknow in check and give himself a *pied à terre* for its eventual reconquest, Major-General Sir James Outram was left at the Alám Bágh with a force of somewhat more than 4,000 men. His camp was placed across the road 1,900 yards from the nearest point of the Alám Bágh. A jhil on either flank, though dry in early summer, with a bottom intersected by deep fissures difficult even for infantry, formed a good protection for the rear. The Alám Bágh was held by a strong picquet with field guns, each angle of the wall being covered by a semi-circular battery. To the right of the camp the fort of Jalálabád, at a distance of 2,800 yards, was held by a picquet with two guns. Lines of abattis connected the outlying picquets and batteries. In rear a detachment held the Banni Bridge. The front of the position extended for three miles. It was necessary to take in on the right the fort of Jalálabád, both as it was a strong one, and also because the grazing and forage ground lay in that direction.

The villages on the left front and flank were occupied, as, like most Indian villages, with their trees they were dangerous.*

Sir James Outram's force consisted of the 5th, 75th, 78th, 84th, and 90th; 1st Bengal and 1st Madras Fusilier Regiments, Brasyer's Sikhs and 7th Madras N.I. The Cavalry were: Military Train, Captain Barrow's Volunteers, a detachment Sikh Cavalry, and Wale's Horse. The Artillery consisted of.—

3-8 R.A., Captain F. C. Maude, V.C., Lieutenants E. Maitland and W. S. Brown.

* Colonel Berkely to the Chief of the Staff, December 11. P.P., No. VII., p. 20.

1857
November

* 4-5 R.A. (detail), Lieutenant A. Ford.

* 4-1 B.A. (40 men), Lieutenant J. Alexander † 2nd-Lieutenant W J Stewart * doing duty

2-3 B.A No 12 F.B., Captain W Olpherts, V.C. ; Lieutenant H. Smithett, Surgeon J. J Clarke

1-5 B.A No 3 F.B, Lieutenants E W E Walker, doing duty, L C F Thomas, Madras Artillery, 2nd-Lieutenant D. W Gordon ; Ensign G. B Ward, 48th N.I., † Ensign W. Bird, ‡ Assistant-Surgeon J Irving

3-5 B.A., Captain G Moir, 2nd-Lieutenant W Gully § doing duty, Golandár and ordnance drivers of 2-8, Lascars of 4-1 ; 50 men Details Oudh Irregular Artillery ; 26 men.

Brevet-Major V Eyre was officiating as Brigadier, with Lieutenant J McK. Fraser as his Staff Officer

Lieutenant G Hutchinson of the Engineers commanded the Sappers

Ahmad Ali Shah, known as "the Mulvi," a bitter enemy of the English, directed the rebels' fire, as he afterwards did in Rohilkhand, and gave us a good deal of trouble. He did his best to make Outram's position a hot one. They constructed a long line of works in our front, extending somewhat beyond our left. Attacks were almost of daily occurrence, with the object, if possible of seizing the Bannu Bridge in our rear, where was a force of 800 men.

December

On the 21st of December they sent a large force to the village of Ghaili, but Outram, moving early next morning, attacked and drove them back to the Dilkusha. Major Olpherts with four, and Major Maude with two guns were engaged. They were quiet for some time after. On the 8th of January we lost a very promising young officer who

1858.
January.

* Joined in January.

† Doing duty by Artillery Brigade Orders October 4th, and transferred to 2-3 by ditto, November 24th. Was a capital shot with a gun.

‡ Commissioned from 2nd Company 3rd Battalion

§ Joined November 13th.

had already done much good service. Lieutenant Dundas 1858.
W. Gordon was killed by a round shot.

The next attack in force was on our left, and Outram January 12th
again met them by a decided repulse. Major Olpherts won additional honour by the way he took four guns, supported by the Military Train, to the front of the Infantry, and sent the rebels to the right about. Major Maude at the Alám Bágh was equally successful, and two of Captain Moir's guns on the right with some of the 5th Fusiliers and Brasyer's Sikhs repelled the attack on that flank. In all these attacks the rebels lost considerably, we slightly, one gunner was wounded on the 30th of December, and one on the 12th of January.

On the 15th their attack was intended to intercept a convoy, on the 16th one was headed by a Bráhmaṇ calling himself Bidu Ke Dás, and dressed up to represent the Monkey God Hanumán. The divinity found himself that evening, sorely wounded, in a British hospital.

In January Captain H. Francis had taken command February.
of 4th-1st, now Lieutenants H. V. Timbrell, H. O. Hit-chens, 2nd-Lieutenant A. Dixon and Major Remington with the 1st-1st IIA. joined. The 7th Hussars and Hodson's Horse had also been sent to reinforce Outram, and arrived in time to share in the last repulse of the rebels before the Alám Bágh on the 25th.

Throughout the whole defence of his position Sir James Outram had to reckon with six times his number of Sepoys and twice as many Irregulars. In the beginning of March, the troops intended for the last conquest of Lucknow were taking up their ground near the Alám Bágh.

OPERATIONS EAST OF OUDH

Maharāja Jang Bahádur, the Nipal Premier, immediately on the news of the outbreak at Meerut reaching him, had proffered his assistance in restoring order. It was 1857.
accepted, and in July a Gurkha force entered the Gorakh- July.

1857.
July.

pur district. Lieut.-Colonel G. H. Macgregor, C.B., of the Artillery, Agent for the Government at Murshidabad, was appointed with the rank of Brigadier-General to attend Jang Bahádur Captains D. McNeill and G. Holland, Lieutenants W. A. Mylne and J. S. Gibb of the Artillery, and Lieutenant R. H. Sankey, Madras Engineers, were attached for duty with this force.

October

To co-operate with them, Lieut.-Colonel Longden with a small column left Benares in the end of October for the Azimghar district. Lieutenant Bridge, with his division of E Troop Madras H.A., was sent. The fort of Atraulia was captured on the 9th of November.

1858
January

On the 5th of January following Brigadier W. Campbell, commanding at Allahabad, went out against a body of rebels at Mansiáta, 12 miles on the other side of the Ganges. The 79th and two companies Rifle Brigade and Captain Matheson's Troop of Horse were taken. Colonel D. E. Wood, C.B., R.H.A., and 4th-14th (Lieut.-Colonel Gordon) with guns, and a detachment of 6th-11th under 2nd-Captain W. H. Goodenough, acting as Infantry, went. Major J. R. Anderson, with E Troop R.H.A., was coming up the Trunk Road from Benares, and was ordered to join with 50 of his men to act as Cavalry, sending his guns on to Allahabad. The rebels were driven from their position at Mansiáta and Pandara, again from a second one at Bairpur, and, returning towards Allahabad, dispersed those who had remained in their rear. The Horse Artillery did excellent service in following them up. Captain H. Francis, Bengal Artillery, acting as Interpreter to Major Anderson's Troop, is mentioned by Colonel Wood, who also says that the Troop horses, though out for sixteen hours, had not suffered.

1857.
November

It was found necessary to form a stronger column than Longden's, and at the end of November, Brigadier-General T. H. Franks, who had commanded the 10th Regiment at Sobraon, was placed in command. It consisted of the 10th, 20th, and 97th Regiments, with the following Artillery :—

Lieut.-Colonel E. Maberly, Commanding.

Lieutenant G. J. Smart, R.A., Lieutenant T. B. Strange, R.A., Staff.

1857.
November.

Lieutenant J. Percival, B.A., Commissary of Ordnance
F Troop R.H.A., two divisions, Lieut.-Col. D'Aguiar, C.B.
6-13 R.A., Captain W. A. Middleton, Field Battery.

8-2 R.A., Captain J. E. Thring, three 9-pounders, one 24-pounder howitzer

A-3 Madras Artillery No 1 Battery, Major Cotter, same number.

4-5 Bengal Artillery detachment, Lieutenant Simeon, two 9-pounders

Additional ordnance, two 18-pounder guns, two 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch mortars, two 12-pounder howitzers, and two rocket tubes.

Lieutenant J. McLeod Innes, Engineers, just emancipated from the Lucknow Residency, had charge of his department.

Another force was formed further to the east, to co-operate with the Nepalese force. It was commanded by Colonel F. Rowcroft, 8th N.I. Captain S. E. Sotheby, R.N., H.M.S. *Pearl*, with a brigade of his men, served its guns.

General Franks' force had its right not far from Azimgarh, its centre at Jaunpur, and right at Sikandra in the Allahabad district, covering a front of some sixty miles. A body of rebels had collected again near the last-named place. Lieut.-Colonel D'Aguiar, equipped with ordnance during the night by Captain W. C. Russell, marched with two divisions of F Troop R.H.A. and two squadrons of the Queen's Bays to Sikandra on the 22nd. Next morning, General Franks attacked and defeated the rebels at Nasratpur, two and a half miles off, capturing two of their guns. Colonel D'Aguiar mentions with approbation his officers: Captain Thring, Major Cotter, 2nd-Captain Yates, and Lieutenant H. T. Arbuthnot, commanding divisions of F Troop, and his orderly officer, 2nd-Captain E. Markham, just promoted out of his Troop. The Horse Artillery and two squadrons of Cavalry returned to Allahabad

1858
January

1858
February

General Franks then concentrated his force, and leaving Singramau on the 19th, vigorously attacked the rebels at Chánda that day. Captain Middleton with four guns, Major Cotter with two, supported by 2nd-Captain Waller with two 18-pounders, led. The other guns accompanied the main body. Six guns were captured. The rebels came on again as they encamped at Hamirpur, but were driven off. There were no casualties. Besides the above-mentioned officers, Colonel Maberly mentions Lieutenants Smart, Strange, and Percival.

The force reached Sultanpur on the 23rd. Here the rebels, said to be 25,000, were posted, their right on the village of Badshahganj, left on the Sultanpur Bazar. They were attacked and defeated with heavy loss. Our casualties amounted to eleven, of which 6-13, A-3, and 4-5 had each one man wounded. Lieutenant J McLeod Innes, of the Engineers, here won the Victoria Cross, by holding alone a rebel gun, shooting one of its crew, till it was secured.

March

The column reached Haidargarh on the 28th, and Salimgarh on the 1st, where he awaited orders from the Commander-in-Chief. Franks moved to Amethi on the 4th. The fort of Dhaurára was held by the enemy, and he went to examine the place with a party of Cavalry and two guns of F Troop, under Lieutenant H T. Arbuthnot. The rebels outside fled, but the fort was held. The 6-pounders could do nothing of course. Major Cotter came up with two 24-pounder howitzers. The outer fort was taken, but an inner keep was held. Lieutenant Innes, Engineers, was severely wounded trying to burst open the gate, and General Franks decided to leave the place. Two guns in the outer fort were removed under a heavy fire from the inner hold by Colonel Maberly, Lieutenants Strange, R A., and Bradford, Madras Artillery, Captain Middleton, 29th Regiment, and three officers of the 97th.

Brigadier-General Franks joined the Commander-in-Chief's camp before Lucknow the same night. In his

report he tenders his thanks to Colonel Maberly, Major 1858.
Cotter, Captains Middleton, Thring, and Waller, Lieutenants Smart, Strange, Simeon, and Percival.

CAPTURE OF LUCKNOW

Although rebellion had by no means been put down in the provinces east of Oudh by the beginning of March, 1858, Sir Colin Campbell was now able to direct his efforts to the capture of Lucknow, where it had its centre, and to the subjugation of Rohilkhand, which till now had been left untraversed by any British force.

Sir Hope Grant on arriving at Cawnpore from Fatehgarh in the beginning of February, had been ordered by the Chief to assume command of the troops on the other side of the Ganges as far as Bannu. He was now, for distinguished service, a Major-General, and in command of the Cavalry Division. He was ordered to make a "daur" towards Fatehpur Chaurási. He took with him three regiments of Infantry, two squadrons of the 7th Hussars, and two of the 9th Lancers. The Artillery consisted of —

Major J. R. Anderson, R.A., Commanding.

Lieut.-Colonel F. Turner, B.A.

E Troop R.H.A., Major J. E. Michell, Lieutenant C. E. D., R.H.A.
Torriano.

3rd Troop 3rd Brigade H.A., Lieutenants H. P. Bishop, S., R.H.A.
H. E. Harington, T. E. Dirom

Detachment 5-13, Lieutenant F. G. E. Warren. Two heavy guns.

Lieutenant F. S. Roberts, D.A.Q.M.G., Army Staff.

The Nána Sahib was not at Fatehpur, but rebels were ahead, and the General went on to Mianganj, a rectangular walled town, where they were. The two heavies were placed in a good spot to the left to make a breach, and Bishop's 9-pounders a little further back. Four of Anderson's guns and the 7th Hussars on the Cawnpore road checked their attempts to get round to the rear. The other two guns, with the 34th and a troop of Cavalry,

Feb. 23rd.

1858. covered the baggage. Lieutenant Warren in an hour had
 Feb. 23rd. made a good breach, through which the 53rd made their way. Of some 2,300, 500 men never fought again, and 400 were made prisoners. From thence, Sir Hope Grant returned by Mohan and joined the Commander-in-Chief at Banthara on the Sai River

March 1st

The siege-train, prepared at Agra, consisted of eight 24-pounder guns, four 8-inch howitzers, and four 8-inch mortars, in addition to those already at Lucknow and with the Naval Brigade. It joined the camp on the 8th of March.

The force now assembled was the largest British Army that India had as yet seen together. It was brigaded as follows. —

Cavalry

Major-General Sir J. Hope Grant, K.C.B., Commanding, Lieutenant F. S. Roberts, V.C., H.A., D.A.Q.M.G.

1st Brigade.—Brigadier A. Little: 9th Lancers, 2nd Battalion Military Train, 2nd P.C., det. 5th P.C., Wale's Horse.

2nd Brigade.—Brigadier W. Campbell: 2nd D.G. (Bays), 7th Hussars, Hodson's Horse, Volunteer Cavalry, det. 1st P.C.

Infantry

1ST DIVISION Major-General Sir J. Outram, G.C.B., Commanding.

1st Brigade.—Brigadier D. Russell: 5th and Madras Fusiliers, 84th

2nd Brigade.—Brigadier C. Franklyn: 78th, 90th, Ferozepore Regiment.

2ND DIVISION Brigadier-General Sir E. Lugard, K.C.B., Commanding.

3rd Brigade.—Brigadier W. Hamilton: 34th, 38th, 53rd.

4th Brigade.—Brigadier Hon. A. Hope: 42nd, 93rd, 4th P.I.

3RD DIVISION Brigadier-General H. Walpole, Commanding.