1757.[1] During the struggle between France and England, the Bombay Marine was employed in co-operating with the Royal Navy in various engagements off the Indian coasts, and in earning the title of "The Police of the Indian Seas" by hunting the pirates of Western India and the Persian Gulf. It also laid the foundation of the present Marine Survey of India in 1772, when Lieutenant Robinson, in command of a schooner, a ketch and a *patamar*,[2] managed to explore and chart the coasts of Kathiawar, Sind and Mekran and a certain part of Arabia and Persia.[3]

In 1774 the Bombay Government, in pursuance of the agreement made with Raghunatha Rau,[4] determined to invade Salsette and take Thana by storm. This action was carried out on 28 December, 1774, by a Bombay force under General Gordon and a squadron of the Bombay Marine under Commodore John Watson, who was mortally wounded on the third day of the siege. Later on the Maratha War gave rise to another affair in which the reputation of the service was signally maintained by the *Ranger*, a small vessel commanded by Lieutenant Pruen, which was attacked in 1783 by a Maratha fleet of eleven ships, under the command of the Peshwa's admiral, Anandrava Dhulap. The *Ranger*, which was carrying several military officers as passengers, fought against these unequal odds until nearly every officer and seaman aboard was either killed or dangerously wounded, and being at last overpowered, was carried off to Vijayadrug, whence she was subsequently restored to the Company.[5] In 1780 the Marine formed part of Sir Edward Hughes's squadron in the operations against Hyder Ali; two years later Commodore Armytage, in command of the *Bombay* and other ships, helped to capture Rajamandrug, Kundapur, Mangalore and other places on the Malabar coast; while vessels of the Bombay Marine rendered good service in 1796 at the capture of the ports of Ceylon. In the pauses of the warfare engendered by the march of political events the Company's ships continued to harass their ancient foes, the pirates, and fought several engagements, of which the most noteworthy took place in 1797 between the *Vigilant*, commanded by Lieutenant Hayes, and four large vessels of the Sanganian pirates. The *Vigilant* was suddenly attacked while crossing the Gulf of Cutch on a political mission, but managed after three hours' desperate fighting to drive off the enemy with heavy loss.[6]

In consequence of the steady growth of the Marine, the eighteenth century witnessed various administrative changes in the dockyard establishment. In 1739 the post of Marine Paymaster was abolished, his duties being transferred to the Purser Marine, and about the same date a Superintendent of Marine was appointed on a salary of £220 a year. The establishment over which he presided consisted at that

[1] Low, *op. cit.* I, 138. But cf. Hill, *Bengal in* 1756–7, III, 157.
[2] Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. [3] Low, *op. cit.* I, 185 *sqq.* [4] Cf. vol. V, p. 257, *supra*.
[5] Low, *op. cit.* I, 158. [6] *Idem*, I, 202.

date of eight commanders, one of whom was styled commodore, a purser marine in charge of accounts and victualling, a master-builder, and other heads of departments. To these were added in 1754 a master attendant, who twenty-three years later (1777) ranked as second senior officer of the Marine and acted as assistant to the superintendent for the control of port-dues and the sail-making and rigging establishments. In 1778 the office of Superintendent of Marine was abolished in favour of a Marine Board, advocated by the court of directors, which was not immediately constituted and only functioned for a short time. In its place the post of Comptroller of Marine was created in 1785 and was held in rotation by the two junior members of the Bombay Council, who were expected merely to exercise general supervision over the various officers of Marine and secure obedience to the policy of the directors, while all executive orders relating to daily marine and dockyard administration were issued by the governor in council.

The valuable service rendered by the Bombay Marine during the second half of the eighteenth century was largely responsible for a revision of the Marine Regulations by the court of directors in 1798. Relative rank and retiring pensions were conferred upon the officers of the service, and the privilege of private trading, which had till then been allowed to all members, was formally abolished. The duties of the Marine were now defined to be (*a*) protection of trade, (*b*) suppression of piracy and general war-service, (*c*) convoy of transports and conveyance of troops, (*d*) marine surveying in Eastern waters. A Marine Board was established, composed of a civilian superintendent as president, a master attendant, a commodore and two captains, these four appointments being reserved for the four senior officers of the Marine. The remaining personnel at this date consisted of thirteen captains, thirty-three first lieutenants, twenty-one second lieutenants and thirty-seven volunteers. The regulations of 1798 were amended by the issue in 1814 of a warrant of precedence in India, by the publication in 1820 of new regulations as to uniform, and by the temporary abolition of the rank of commander and the provision of additional captains' appointments in 1824. Later on, in 1827, a royal warrant was issued, conferring upon Marine officers equal rank, according to their degrees, with officers of the Royal Navy, within the limits of the East India Company's charter; by the issue of an Admiralty warrant empowering Bombay Marine ships to fly the Union Jack and pennant; and thirdly by an order that the appointment of superintendent, as head of the Marine Service, should in future be held by an officer of the Royal Navy. Finally, in 1830, the title of the service, which included at that date twelve captains, nine commanders, fifty-one lieutenants and sixty-nine midshipmen, was altered to that of "the Indian Navy".[1]

[1] Low, *op. cit.* I, 213 *sqq.*

The principal administrative changes after that date consisted in the appointment in 1831 of a Controller of the Dockyard in supersession of the master attendant, the institution in 1838–9 as an integral branch of the Marine of a steam-packet service for the carriage of mails to Egypt; the gradual substitution of steamers for the old teak sailing vessels;[1] and successive alterations in the numbers of the service, which was officially declared in 1847 to consist of eight captains, sixteen commanders, sixty-eight lieutenants, 110 midshipmen, fourteen pursers and twelve clerks, fourteen masters and twenty-one second masters. The post of Superintendent of Marine disappeared in 1848, the holder at that date being styled Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Navy; and the broad pennant of the Indian Navy, which had till then been identical with that of the Royal Navy, was superseded by a red flag with a yellow cross and the East India Company's cognisance of a yellow lion and crown in the upper corner nearest the mast. On the assumption by the crown in 1858 of direct rule in India, the title of the Indian Navy was changed to that of Her Majesty's Indian Navy; and in the following year the duties of the Controller of the Dockyard, which also included the administration of the port and other duties now performed by the Bombay Port Trust, were limited to the commercial work of the port, while his dockyard duties were transferred to a dockmaster, now known as the staff officer. In 1863 a new code of regulations was issued; the name of the service was once again changed to the Bombay Marine; and the recruitment of European seamen was prohibited, their places being taken by Indians belonging to the seafaring classes of the western coast—descendants, in fact, of the coast pirates with whom the Marine waged so fierce a struggle in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The war services of the Bombay Marine continued during the first half of the nineteenth century. It shared in the Egyptian campaign of 1801, helped to guard the Bay of Bengal from French aggression in 1803, assisted at the capture of Mauritius in 1810, and participated in the conquest of Java in 1811. In 1813 it was employed against the Sultan of Sambar; in 1815 it blockaded the piratical strongholds of Cutch and Kathiawar; it assisted in the attack on Suvarndrug and Madangadh during the third Maratha War; and it practically exterminated piracy in the Persian Gulf in 1819.[2] The siege and capture of Mocha in 1820 offered the opportunity for a fresh display of prowess on the part of the Marine;[3] in the following year four ships under Captain Hardy, Commander Stout and Lieutenants Dominicetti and Robinson reduced the Ben-ibu-Ali Arabs to submission; and in 1826 Commodore Hayes and other officers of the Marine received the thanks of parliament for their "skilful, gallant and meritorious

[1] Cf. Hoskins, *British Routes to India*, pp. 193 *sqq.*
[2] Low, *op. cit.* I, 310 *sqq.*
[3] Dodwell, *Founder of Modern Egypt*, p. 60; Low, *op. cit.* I, 299 *sqq.*

exertions" against Ava. Between 1830 and 1863 the Indian Navy was on practically continuous service in India and the Persian Gulf. The power of the Beni-yas Arabs was broken by Captain Sawyer of the *Elphinstone* in 1835; in 1838 the Indian Navy provided a blockading squadron at the mouth of the Indus; it served under Admiral Maitland in the Persian Gulf and at the capture of Aden in 1839; it co-operated with the Royal Navy during the China War of 1840–2; the officers and crews of three vessels under Commander Nott fought at Miani and Hyderabad (Sind) in 1843. The Company's vessels carried troops to Vingurla during the insurrection of 1844–5 in the Southern Maratha country; in 1846 the *Elphinstone* (Captain Young) shared in the capture of Ruapetapeka (New Zealand); during the siege of Multan in 1848–9 the Indus flotilla was provided by the Indian Navy; its vessels captured Bet island in 1850, played an important part in the second Burma War of 1852, suppressed piracy on the north-east coast of Borneo in the same year, and helped the Turks to defend Hodeida in 1856.

On the outbreak of war with Persia in 1855, the sea forces were drawn entirely from the Indian Navy, with Rear-Admiral Leeke in command and Commodore Ethersay of the Company's service as second. Bushire was taken in 1855 and Muhammarah in 1857—the latter operation, which had to be carried out under great difficulties, evoking from the governor-general in council a well-merited eulogy on the judgment, skill and discipline shown by all ranks. The Indian Navy distinguished itself during the military operations in South China and at the seizure of Perim island in 1857; it provided naval brigades for service ashore during the Mutiny, while Captain Jones of the Indian Navy held the Arab tribes of the Persian Gulf at bay during the same grave crisis. The tale of the active war services of the Bombay Marine forces ends with the China War of 1860, when the attack on the Taku forts was led by the *Coromandel*, commanded by Lieutenant Walker.

The organisation of the Indian trooping service in 1867 sounded the knell of the Indian Navy as a fighting force. The officers' cadre was then enlarged to include twelve commanders, ten first, eleven second, and seven third officers, and 109 engineers. One resident transport officer was appointed from the service. Ten years later (1877), however, in consultation with Captain (afterwards Admiral) Bythesea, the Indian Government effected a radical reorganisation of their naval establishment. The Bombay service was amalgamated with other marine establishments in India, under the title of Her Majesty's Indian Marine, the combined establishments being divided into a western division concentrated at Bombay and an eastern division at Calcutta; and the duties of the service were declared to be (*a*) transport of troops and government stores, (*b*) maintenance of station ships in Burma, the Andamans, Aden, and the Persian Gulf

for political, police, lighting and other purposes, (*c*) maintenance of gunboats on the Irawadi and Euphrates, (*d*) building, repairing, manning and general supervision of all local government vessels and launches and all craft used for military purposes. In 1878 a naval constructor was appointed from England for the first time, and this was the prelude to the retirement in 1885 of the last of the Wadias, whose connection with the dockyard as master-builders had lasted without a break for one hundred and fifty years. In 1882 the appointments of Superintendent of Marine at Bombay and Calcutta, which were included in the reorganisation scheme of 1877, were abolished in favour of a single appointment of director, to be held always by an officer of the Royal Navy with Bombay as his headquarters, assisted by a deputy, chosen from the Indian Marine and stationed at Calcutta. The anomalous position of the officers and crews of the Marine, who were not subject to the provisions of the Naval Discipline Act and Merchant Shipping Act, was regulated by the passing of the Indian Marine Service Act, 1884 (47 & 48 Vict. c. 38), which enabled the governor-general in council to legislate for the maintenance of discipline; and simultaneously the post of assistant secretary to the Government of India (Marine Department), which had been created in 1880 and held by Admiral Bythesea, was replaced by that of assistant director of the Indian Marine. An Admiralty warrant of the same year (1884) sanctioned the use by ships of the Indian Marine as ensign of a blue flag with the Star of India in the fly, and as marine jack of a union jack with a narrow blue border. Finally in 1891 the title of the service was once more altered to that of "The Royal Indian Marine" by an order in council, which also provided that officers of the service, with the titles of commander, lieutenant and sub-lieutenant, should rank with, but junior to, officers of the Royal Navy of equal rank, and should wear the same uniform as the latter, with the exception of the device on epaulettes, sword-hilt, badges and buttons, and of the gold lace on the sleeves.

This retrospect may fitly conclude with a brief notice of the Naval Defence Squadron and of the later progress of the Indian Marine Survey. The former, which was established at Bombay in 1871 for the defence of the Indian coasts, consisted in 1889 of two turret-ships and seven torpedo boats, commanded by officers and manned by crews of the Indian Marine. In 1892 the squadron, which had been increased by the purchase of two torpedo gunboats, was placed under the command of an officer of the Royal Navy, while the other officers were chosen partly from the Royal Navy and partly from the Royal Indian Marine. The crews comprised both bluejackets and lascars. In 1903 the squadron was abolished, and the defence of India by sea was entrusted wholly to the Royal Navy.

The history of the survey during the nineteenth century opens with the establishment in 1809 of a Marine Survey department in Bengal,

which charted the east coast of Africa as far south as Zanzibar, the Persian Gulf and other seas, before it was abolished in 1828 during Lord William Bentinck's administration. The work of the department, however, was considered sufficiently important to be carried on between 1828 and 1839 by two vessels, which explored the coasts of Africa and Socotra, the Maldive and Laccadive islands, and the mouth of the Indus. After 1844 comprehensive surveys were conducted on the Jehlam and Indus rivers, in the Gulf of Cutch and other parts of the west coast of India, in the Bay of Bengal, on the Pegu coast and the rivers of Burma, and in Malacca and Sumatra. In 1861 the control of the Indian Marine Survey was transferred to the Admiralty, but seventeen years later (1878) it was again organised in Calcutta as a department of the Indian Marine. The headquarters were transferred from Calcutta to Bombay in 1882, and a year later it was decided to reserve the appointments of surveyor in charge and his senior assistants for officers of the Royal Navy and to fill the junior officers' grades from the Royal Indian Marine. From 1894 the senior assistants' appointments were also thrown open to the latter service. Since its first establishment the Royal Indian Marine has performed much valuable work in the charting and delineation of the coasts of India, Burma, the Persian Gulf and Africa, besides materially advancing scientific knowledge of the fauna of the Indian seas.

CHAPTER IX

THE ARMIES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

IT was not for many years after its incorporation that the Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies found it necessary to employ military forces to protect its possessions and its interests, but guards of peons, undisciplined and armed after the native fashion, were enrolled in its factories, from the time when these were first established. These peons could hardly be regarded as soldiers, and were employed rather to add to the dignity of the Company's officials than for purposes of defence. Later in the seventeenth century provision was made for the defence of the larger factories by the maintenance at each of a small body of European soldiers, under an ensign, and a "gun-room crew" supplied by the Company's ships, to work the guns of the factory.

In 1662 King Charles II sent out a small force to defend Bombay, which was part of the dowry of his queen, but the Portuguese did not vacate the factory until 1665, by which time the force had suffered severely from the climate, and numbered, besides Captain Henry Cary, who commanded it, only one ensign, four sergeants, six corporals, four drummers, ninety-seven privates and some details, including two gunners and a gunner's mate. In 1668, when the king leased Bombay to the East India Company, its garrison consisted of twenty commissioned and non-commissioned officers, 124 privates and fifty-four Topasses, or half-caste Portuguese, and this force eventually became the nucleus of the 1st Bombay European Regiment.[1] In 1711 the garrison of Madras consisted of 250 European soldiers and 200 Topasses, and in 1748 various independent companies were embodied as a regiment, afterwards the 1st Madras Fusiliers, in which Robert Clive received his first commission as an ensign.[2]

It is generally believed that Dupleix, in his war with the English Company on the east coast, was the first to employ Indian sepoys trained in the European manner, but this was not so. The French settlement of Mahé was founded in 1721, near the English settlement of Tellicherri, on the west coast, and it was here, in hostilities which lasted from 1721 to 1729, that the term sepoy first appears as the name of a military force in European service. They were *condottieri*, whose loyalty was not always above suspicion, but they had some knowledge of European methods of war, for a French royal officer described them as well trained.[3]

[1] Foster, *Factories*, 1668–9, p. 67; Malabari, *Bombay in the Making*, pp. 188–97.
[2] In 1748, G. B. Macleson, *Lord Clive*, p. 33.
[3] Dodwell, *Sepoy Recruitment*, pp. 2, 6, 7.

Dumas, the predecessor of Dupleix, first employed on the east coast sepoys from the west coast. In 1744 the council at Pondichery considered the company of sepoys to be hardly worth its pay, but the outbreak of war with the English Company obliged them not only to retain it, but to obtain another company from Mahé.[1] The French captured Madras in 1746, and the English Company was obliged to turn its attention to the organisation of a force for the defence of its possessions. In 1748 Captain Stringer Lawrence of the 14th Foot, the "father of the Indian Army", arrived at Fort St David, then temporarily the Company's principal factory on the east coast, with the king's commission as major, to command all the Company's troops in the East Indies. He embodied the Madras European Regiment and enlisted 2000 sepoys, "at first scarcely better disciplined than common peons", who were organised in independent companies, but his activities were arrested by his capture by the French. Admiral Boscawen, who arrived at Fort St David with orders to assume the command both at sea and on land, sent him to attack Ariancopang, near Pondichery, where he was taken and was detained until the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, concluded in October, 1748, led to a cessation of hostilities and the restoration of Madras to the English Company. The organisation of the Company's forces then proceeded; the sepoys were placed under an English commander[2] and the "gunroom crews" were superseded by two companies of artillery from England, one at Fort St George and one at Fort St David. Lawrence was granted leave to England, and his task was carried on by Robert Clive, now a captain. His great feat of capturing and defending Arcot in 1751 was performed with 200 European soldiers and 300 sepoys, and the conduct of the latter proved how greatly their military spirit had improved under Clive. The quality of Eastern troops always depends largely on the character of those by whom they are led.

Lawrence returned from England, and the hostilities between the two Companies continued in India, though their countries were at peace. In September, 1754, a squadron of six ships under Admiral Charles Watson, with the 39th Foot (*Primus in Indis*) under Colonel John Adlercron, and a detachment of Royal Artillery, arrived at Fort St George,[3] and in the following year Clive, who in 1753 had gone to England for reasons of health, returned with the king's commission as a lieutenant-colonel, and assumed charge of Fort St David as governor. Late in 1756 he was obliged to proceed to Bengal, in order to recover Calcutta, and the troops which accompanied him, or joined him later, consisted of detachments of the artillery, of the 39th Foot under Major Eyre Coote, and of the Madras and Bombay European Regiments, and a force of sepoys from Madras; and he had also at his disposal the Bengal European Regiment recently enrolled

[1] Dodwell, *op. cit.* p. 5. [2] *Idem*, p. 8.
[3] Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, II, 447.

by Major Killpatrick,[1] and a force of Bengal sepoys. His campaign in Bengal will be noticed later.

In 1757 the Seven Years' War broke out, and the two Companies were again involved in hostilities in India. The war had not been unforeseen, and the Madras Council was fully aware of the risk which it ran in detaching so large a force, with its best officer, to Bengal, but the plight of that presidency admitted of no delay. In June, 1758, the French, under Lally, captured Fort St David, and in December occupied the Black Town of Madras and opened the siege of Fort St George, but were obliged to retreat on the arrival of a British squadron in February, 1759.

Till then the sepoys had been organised in independent companies. But the important development of organising them in battalions was now introduced. The English Company had decided on the measure before war broke out, but had had no opportunity of accomplishing it. Lally's siege had provided further evidence of the difficulty of controlling independent companies, and early in 1759 Lawrence presided over a committee, whose proposals provided for a sepoy force of 7000 men, formed into seven battalions, each consisting of a grenadier company and eight battalion companies, each company commanded by a subadar, with a jamadar and a due proportion of non-commissioned officers. Each battalion was commanded by a native commandant, but its training was the care of two British subaltern officers and three sergeants, and three inspecting captains were appointed to supervise the training of the whole force, which was the real foundation of the Indian Army as it exists to-day.[2]

Clive's victory at Plassey, and the deposition of Siraj-ud-daula, established the Company as the predominant authority in Bengal, and the maintenance of its power required a respectable military force. The 39th Foot was recalled to Europe, but all ranks were permitted to volunteer for the Company's service, and five officers and about 350 men were transferred to the Bengal establishment, the officers receiving a step in rank.[3] The two companies of the Bombay European Regiment and the detachment of the Madras European Regiment were also transferred to Bengal,[4] and a few battalions of sepoys were raised, to each of which were posted two officers from the European Regiment.

The armies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay now developed independently. Communication between the three presidencies was difficult and tedious, and each was confronted with dangers which necessitated a rapid increase in and improvement of its armed forces. In Bengal the outbreak of war between the Company and Mir Kasim, his massacre of 2000 sepoys at Patna, and of about two hundred Britons there and elsewhere, and his alliance with the Nawab-

[1] Innes, *Bengal European Regiment*, pp. 15, 16.
[2] *Idem*, II, 513.
[3] Love, *op. cit.* II, 566.
[4] Innes, *op. cit.* pp. 69, 70.

Wazir of Oudh and the Emperor Shah 'Alam against the Company led to a great expansion of the Bengal army, and Clive, during his second term of office in Bengal, which ended in 1767, reorganised both the army and the civil administration.[1] In the Madras Presidency the wars with the principality of Mysore, and in Bombay the Maratha wars, lasting from 1775 to 1782, led in like manner to great increases in the presidency armies. Thus, in Bengal the number of sepoy battalions rose from one in 1757 to nineteen in 1764. The native ranks in each battalion consisted of a commandant, an adjutant and ten companies, two of which were grenadiers, each company commanded by a subadar, with three jamadars, and consisting of five havildars, four naiks, two tomtoms and seventy sepoys. Each company had its own stand of colours.[2] Besides these sepoys, there were on the strength of the Bengal army in 1765 four companies of artillery, twenty-four companies of European infantry, a troop of hussars, and about 1200 irregular cavalry.[3] After the conclusion of peace the hussars were dismounted and incorporated with the European infantry, all the irregular cavalry, except 300, were dismissed, the European battalion, 1600 strong, was augmented and formed into three single-battalion regiments of nine companies each, and each consisting of 731 rank and file with the same establishment of officers as a king's regiment of the line, and three more battalions of sepoys were raised. Clive then organised the Bengal army in three brigades, each consisting of a troop of irregular cavalry, a company of artillery, a battalion of European infantry, and seven battalions of sepoys.[4] In the Maratha War six sepoy battalions from the first brigade were ordered to the West of India, but six new battalions were raised to take their place in Bengal, and several battalions trained by British officers for the Nawab-Wazir of Oudh were incorporated in the Bengal army.

In 1780, in consequence of the defeat of Colonel Baillie and the invasion by Hyder Ali of the Lower Carnatic, the Bengal Government increased its military establishment by raising the strength of each sepoy battalion to 1000 and dividing it into two battalions of five companies. A major commanded each regiment, a captain each battalion, and a lieutenant each company.

During the war in the Carnatic[5] the Bengal Presidency assisted the Madras Presidency with both European and native troops, and in 1785 the Bengal army was reorganised. Each of the two-battalion regiments of sepoys was amalgamated into a single-battalion regiment of ten companies, and the army was divided into six brigades. Each of the three European battalions was divided into a two-battalion regiment, allowing one European battalion to each brigade,[6] the

[1] Innes, *op. cit.* pp. 229, 230.
[2] Williams, *Bengal Infantry*, p. 5.
[3] Broome, *Bengal Army*, p. 431.
[4] *Idem*, pp. 533–40.
[5] Vol. v, p. 284.
[6] Innes, *op. cit.* p. 280.

other troops assigned to each brigade being a company of artillery, with lascars, and six battalions of sepoys. These orders remained in force until 1796.

In 1765 the Madras establishment of seven battalions of sepoys was increased to ten battalions, each 900 strong, a captain, a lieutenant and an ensign being posted to each battalion;[1] and in the following year, when the Northern Circars (Sarkars) fell into the Company's possession, eight new battalions were raised there. These, known as the Circar battalions, were numbered separately from the Carnatic battalions. They invariably served, in time of peace, in the Telugu country, where they were raised, and were inferior, both in discipline and courage, to the Carnatic battalions.[2] The military force of the Madras Presidency grew throughout the Mysore War, and was reorganised in 1784, when the distinction between the Carnatic and Circar battalions was abolished, the former being numbered from 1 to 21, and the latter from 22 to 29, while the raising of new battalions brought the number up to thirty-five; but in 1785 the number of battalions on the Madras establishment was reduced to twenty-one, the Circar battalions being broken up and distributed among the battalions which were retained. This introduced a "mixed" system of recruiting, under which the composition of each unit was a matter of accident, "tempered from time to time by the predilections of the officer who commanded it".

The Bombay army developed on a smaller scale. Its European soldiers were formed into a regiment during the War of the Austrian Succession, and before 1796 its sepoy battalions had reached twelve in number.

The recruitment of European officers for the Company's troops was at first a matter of difficulty. Until 1748 and again later, when the seven sepoy battalions were formed, many sergeants were promoted to the rank of ensign, but such promotions gradually became exceptional. "The great objection to these ranker-officers was their unseasonable drunkenness" and a tendency to continue to associate with those of the rank from which they had risen. Both Clive and Coote observed these faults, and Coote remarked: "There is little dependence on this kind of men's behaviour, who are raised from sergeants to rank with gentlemen".[3] A few young writers followed Clive's example, and received commissions.

Mixed blood was not a disqualification for the Company's commission, which was often given to the sons of officers who had formed irregular unions in India, as an acknowledgement of their fathers' services, but colour was to some extent a bar, and later the Company required of cadets appointed in India a certificate that they were not the sons of wives or concubines of pure Indian blood.[4] Foreign

[1] Wilson, *Madras Army*, I, 224.
[2] Dodwell, *Sepoy Recruitment*, pp. 25–7.
[3] Dodwell, *Nabobs of Madras*, p. 42.
[4] *Idem*.

officers, deserters and released prisoners of war were sometimes admitted to the Company's service, and in some instances served it well, but naturally could not always be trusted when opposed to their own countrymen, and an attempt to maintain a Foreign Legion failed. A Frenchman who served in the ranks of the Madras European Regiment, but never received a commission, was Bernadotte, afterwards a marshal of France and king of Sweden.

The most valuable source of recruitment was the royal army. Officers of king's regiments leaving India were permitted to volunteer for the Company's service, in which they usually received a step in rank,[1] and when peace in Europe led to the reduction of regiments there was always a number of officers on half-pay and in reduced circumstances who were glad to accept employment under the East India Company. Such officers improved the efficiency, the social status and the military spirit of the officers in the Company's armies. When service in those armies became attractive the directors discouraged local appointments, and took the military patronage, as it became more valuable, into their own hands. They first sent out volunteers, who served in the ranks until vacancies occurred, and later, cadets, who were sent out as such, and received commissions as soon as they had acquired a sufficient knowledge of drill and military duties.

The native troops first employed against the French were Moplahs, and "Moors" and Hindus from Mangalore and Tellicherri. Later, in the Carnatic battalions, Muslims were the most numerous class, Tamils coming next. The "Telingas" of the Circar battalions have already been noticed, and in spite of their poor reputation as soldiers they continued to be recruited after the amalgamation of the Carnatic and Circar battalions, the classes in the mixed battalions coming in the following order in numerical strength: (1) Muslims, (2) Telingas, (3) Tamils, (4) Rajputs, Marathas and Brahmans, and (5) other castes.[2]

Of the quality of the early sepoy force various opinions were expressed, some very unfavourable, but the Carnatic regiments, at least, fought well when well led, and against the low opinion of them held by some of the Company's officials we may set the confession of Lally:

> You would be surprised at the difference between the black troops of the English and ours; it is greater than that between a Nawab and a cooly; theirs will even venture to attack white troops, while ours will not even look at their black ones.[3]

Nevertheless, the poor quality of recruits obtainable even in the Carnatic was noticed as early as in 1788, and in 1795 the Madras Government, probably in consequence of Lord Cornwallis's criticism of the produce of their recruiting grounds, proposed to draw recruits,

[1] Broome, *op. cit.* pp. 392, 393.
[2] Dodwell, *Sepoy Recruitment*, chap. vii.
[3] *Idem*, p. 12.

to the number of six or seven hundred annually, from Bengal and Bombay. The Bombay Government rejected the proposal, on the ground that the natives of their presidency would not willingly serve beyond its limits, and that they could not find, within those limits, sufficient recruits for their own army, but the Supreme Government agreed to supply recruits, not "stout Bengalese", as the originator of the scheme, in his ignorance of Bengal and its inhabitants, had suggested, but men more accustomed to military service. Two large drafts were supplied, but the scheme was an utter failure. Owing to the price of grain in the south, which was so high that a sepoy could hardly live on his pay, and the uncongenial surroundings, it was found impossible to keep the Bengal recruits with the colours, and they deserted in such numbers that recruitment in the north was abandoned.[1]

The Bengal army at first drew its recruits from the mixed classes of adventurers to be found in the Bengal provinces, and from 1776 onwards from the kingdom of Oudh, enlisting chiefly Brahmans and Rajputs, described as a brave, manly race of people.[2]

> It is not necessary to suppose that the discipline was exact, or the training perfect, but both were infinitely superior to anything possessed by the Company's opponents. The power of marching and manœuvring in solid formations, and of concentrating fire, and the use of well-served guns enabled small bodies of the Company's soldiers to overcome the loosely arrayed hordes of their adversaries.[3]

In 1796 the armies of the three presidencies were, for the first time, completely reorganised.[4] To Bengal were allotted three, and to Madras two battalions, and to Bombay six companies of artillery, all with complementary companies of lascars. Bengal was to maintain three, and Madras and Bombay each two battalions of European infantry, of ten companies, and Bengal and Madras were each to maintain four regiments of regular native cavalry. The single-battalion native infantry regiments were formed into regiments of two battalions, of which Bengal had twelve, Madras eleven, and Bombay six, with a single battalion of marines. The establishment of British officers allowed to regiments of native cavalry and infantry was nearly the same as in king's regiments. The reorganisation had more than one serious defect. To the colonel commanding an infantry regiment was transferred most of the authority which should have been exercised by lieutenant-colonels commanding battalions, with the result that the latter officers lost the respect of the sepoys. Both Sir Thomas Munro and Sir John Malcolm[5] considered the establishment of British officers excessive, and believed that it would diminish the sense of responsibility in the native officers. They would have preferred the allotment, made after the Mutiny of 1857, of six or seven

[1] Dodwell, *Sepoy Recruitment*, pp. 33–7.
[2] Broome, *op. cit.* p. 503.
[3] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IV, 330.
[4] *Idem*, IV, 333.
[5] Malcolm, *Political History*, pp. 495–6.

British officers to a battalion, to act as field officers and regimental staff, the command of companies being left to the native officers; but the provision of British officers was less generous than it appeared to be. As the Company's territories extended, and it attended more closely to matters of administrative detail, Europeans were required for many duties for which the establishment of the civil service was insufficient, and with which its members were not well fitted to cope. Public works, the staff and commissariat of the army, "political", that is to say diplomatic service at the courts of ruling chiefs, surveys, the supervision of trunk roads, the administration of newly annexed territory, the command and control generally of contingents and irregular troops raised in native states and newly annexed territory, and, later, the control of the civil police, were provided almost entirely by officers of the army, and those deputed on such duties remained on the establishments of their regiments, which they rejoined when the regiment was ordered on active service, or when, by seniority, they succeeded to the command. Allowing, besides this heavy drain, for the number of officers on furlough, now, with pensions, granted for the first time, the number of officers actually on duty with a regiment of cavalry or a battalion of infantry was seldom more than half the establishment.[1]

The sources of recruitment have already been described. The quality of the officers was for some time poor, with several brilliant exceptions. This was partly due to the Company's treatment of its military officers, which was parsimonious in the extreme, and produced many unfortunate results. The material inducement offered to tempt candidates was an initial salary of about £120 a year, often in an expensive environment and a noxious climate. It was practically impossible for a young officer to keep out of debt. To set up the most modest of households cost about £200,[2] and an extract from a junior officer's account-book shows his expenditure, in no way extravagant, to have been Rs. 265 a month, while his pay was Rs. 195.[3] Sir Thomas Munro, who joined the Madras army in 1780, and held a staff appointment as a lieutenant, thus describes his attempts to live within his means:

> My dress grows tattered in one quarter whilst I am establishing funds to repair it in another, and my coat is in danger of losing the sleeves, while I am pulling it off to try a new waistcoat.

Later, while holding a comparatively lucrative civil appointment, he writes:

> I have dined to-day on porridge, made of half-ground flour instead of oatmeal, and I shall most likely dine to-morrow on plantain fritters, this simplicity of fare being the effect of necessity, not of choice.[4]

If the Company had many bad bargains it had largely itself to thank.

[1] Official Army Lists.
[2] Williamson, *East India Vade Mecum*, I, 173.
[3] Carey, *Good Old Days*, I, 233.
[4] *Idem*, I, 229.

Cadets were at first allowed to find accommodation for themselves in punch-houses, but were afterwards lodged in barracks, and subjected to discipline. Early in the nineteenth century a college was established at Barasat, fourteen miles from Calcutta, where they were instructed in drill and the Hindustani language, but the officers in charge of them lived at a distance, and except in class and on parade they were subjected to hardly any control or discipline. The ruin of many promising young men, the premature deaths of not a few, and the disgrace and shame that overtook no mean portion of the crowd of unfortunate youths, led to the closing of the college in 1811, and cadets were then posted to regiments, but, owing to the comparatively small number of British officers then doing duty with most native regiments, discipline was not sufficiently strict,[1] and it would have been well for the Company's armies if Sir Thomas Munro's advice that all young men destined for native regiments should be attached for a year or two to a British regiment, in order to learn their duties and acquire military discipline, had been followed then, instead of much later.[2] The college for cadets at Addiscombe was founded in 1812.

The life of regimental officers in cantonments far from presidency towns was insufferably dull and tedious. Books, book-clubs and newspapers were few; there was practically no civilised female society, and the monotony of the long hot-weather days, perforce spent indoors, was dreary. Some procured books for themselves, and studied their profession, the languages of the country, and history; some practised music and painting, and some indulged in sport, but the sole relaxations of many were gambling and drinking. Their drink, beer, claret, sherry, madeira and brandy, was expensive, and, if indulged in to excess, unwholesome in the Indian climate. The mortality was great, and ill-health, gambling and drinking produced tempers ready to take, and equally ready to give, offence. Duels were not uncommon, and were sometimes fatal. Concubinage was the natural result of the absence of European women.

> The number of European women to be found in Bengal and its dependencies [early in the nineteenth century] cannot amount to two hundred and fifty, while the European male inhabitants of respectability, including military officers, may be taken at four thousand,

writes one officer, in a book[3] dedicated to the directors of the East India Company. "The case speaks for itself", he continues, "for, even if disposed to marry, the latter have not the means." Young officers could not be expected to accept a state of lifelong celibacy, and the native "housekeeper" was an established institution. From such unions, and from the marriages of European soldiers, sprang the class known first as East Indians, then as Indo-Britons, then as Eurasians,

[1] Carey, *op. cit.* I, 236–43.
[2] Buckle, *Bengal Artillery*, pp. 33, 34.
[3] Williamson, *op. cit.* I, 453.

and now, officially but inaccurately, as "Anglo-Indians". These irregular unions were recognised not only by the officers' comrades and superiors, but by the court of directors, who perceived that a body of officers living with native mistresses would cost them less than officers married to ladies of their own class and nation, and requiring provision for their families. After the introduction of the furlough rules, and as India became more accessible, the standard of morals gradually improved, and, though it was long before the native mistress ceased to be an institution, she retired by degrees into the background, and finally disappeared.

In 1824 the armies of the three presidencies, having grown greatly in numbers during the third Maratha, the Pindari, and the Nepal wars, were again reorganised. The two-battalion regiments of native infantry were divided into single-battalion regiments, of which Bengal now had sixty-eight, Madras fifty-two, and Bombay twenty-four. The artillery was more than doubled in strength, and was divided into brigades and batteries of horse, and battalions and companies of foot, artillery. Bengal and Madras each had eight, and Bombay three regiments of regular native cavalry, and Bengal had, in addition, five, and Bombay three regiments of irregular cavalry.[1]

In the same year the first Burmese War broke out, and three regiments of Bengal infantry, ordered to march overland to Arakan, providing their own transport, mutinied. Whether or not transport, as was urged on their behalf, was unprocurable, there is no doubt that it was most difficult to obtain, and most costly, and the men suspected that the order was a device to compel them to cross the "black water", and thus to break their caste. Their petitions were disregarded, they broke into mutiny, and they were "shot down and sabred on parade". The commander-in-chief protested against the finding of the court of enquiry that the mutiny was "an ebullition of despair against being compelled to march without the means of doing so", but it was certainly just.[2]

The Company's behaviour to its military forces was too obviously that of a group of traders towards their servants ever to command from them that unquestioning loyalty and obedience with which the royal troops served the king,[3] and the record of disaffection and mutinies in its armies is a long one. In 1674 and 1679 the European force in Bombay mutinied in consequence of reductions in its pay,[4] and in 1683 Captain Richard Keigwin, commanding that force, having been deprived of his seat in council, and the allowances attached to it, rebelled against the Company, and declared that he held the fort and island of Bombay on behalf of the king. Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Grantham eventually persuaded him, on the

[1] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IV, 336.
[2] *Idem*, IV, 336.
[3] Malcolm, *Political History*, p. 484.
[4] Malabari, *op. cit.* pp. 189, 190.

promise of a free pardon, to surrender in accordance with the royal command, and he left for England.[1]

In 1758 nine captains of the Bengal European Regiment, resenting their supersession by officers of the Madras and Bombay detachments, which were incorporated with the regiment, resigned their commissions together, but Clive dealt firmly with them. Six were dismissed the service, and the other three were restored, with loss of seniority, on expressing their contrition.[2] In 1764 a mutiny in the Bengal European Regiment, fomented by the large numbers of foreigners who had been enlisted, was suppressed,[3] but was followed by a mutiny of the sepoys, who were discontented with their share of the prize-money, and with a new code of regulations and system of manœuvres introduced by Major Hector Munro, then commanding the Bengal army. Munro quelled this mutiny with great, but not unnecessary severity, the leading mutineers being blown from guns in the presence of their disaffected comrades.[4]

The mutiny of the British officers of the Bengal army caused by the reduction of batta, or field allowance, has been described in volume v.[5]

In 1806 a mutiny broke out in the native ranks of the Madras army. Orders had been issued that the sepoys were to wear shakos instead of turbans, that they were to shave their beards, and that caste-marks and ear-rings were not to be worn on parade. The men regarded these orders as an attack on their religion, and the garrison of Vellore, where some of the Mysore princes were interned, hoisted the Mysore flag, and murdered their British officers and some of the European soldiers, but the remnant of these, under Sergeant Brodie, held out against them until a small force under Colonel Gillespie arrived from Arcot, blew open the gates of the fortress, cut down 400 mutineers, and captured nearly all the rest. There had also been trouble at Hyderabad, but Gillespie's prompt action crushed the mutiny.[6]

In 1809 a "white mutiny" broke out in the Madras army. Some of its senior officers had personal grievances, some allowances had been reduced, and the pay of the officers generally was less than that of those on the Bengal establishment, but their chief complaint was that the officers of the king's service monopolised the favours of the local government, and held most of the staff appointments and "situations of active trust, respectability, and emolument", as they were described by Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. Arthur St Leger, one of the leaders of the movement. The relative status of the officers of the king's and the Company's services had long been a thorny question, and the case for the Company's officers was thus moderately

[1] Vol. v, p. 102, *supra*.
[2] Innes, *op. cit.* pp. 71, 72.
[3] *Idem*, pp. 179–84.
[4] Broome, *op. cit.* pp. 458–61.
[5] Pp. 178–80, and Broome, *op. cit.* chap. vi.
[6] Wilson, *op. cit.* III, chap. xviii.

stated by Colonel (afterwards Major-General Sir John) Malcolm, writing in 1811:

> If it [the British Empire in India] cannot afford to give high pecuniary rewards, it should purchase the services of men of birth and education; and remunerate the great sacrifices which they make in entering the native army of India by approbation, rank, and honours; and, instead of leaving them in a state of comparative obscurity, depressed by the consideration that they are an inferior service, and that military fame, and the applause of their King and country, are objects placed almost beyond their hopes; their minds should be studiously elevated to these objects; and they should be put upon a footing which would make them have an honourable pride in the service to which they belong. This they never can have (such is the nature of military feeling), while they consider themselves one shade even below another, with which they are constantly associated.[1]

The officers of the Madras army had long been discontented, and the commander-in-chief, Lieutenant-General Hay Macdowell, who sympathised with them, had done nothing to allay their discontent, and had left for England before it reached its climax. Sir George Barlow, the governor, at first acted injudiciously, and at Masulipatam the officers of the European Regiment openly defied the orders of government. The mutiny spread to Gooty, Secunderabad, Jalna, Bellary, Cumbum, Trichinopoly, Dindigul, Madras, Pallamcottah, Cannanore, Quilon and Seringapatam, the troops in the last-named place rising in arms against the government. Treasure was seized, acts of violence were committed, and the intention of the mutineers appeared to be the subversion of the civil government. At length vigorous action was taken. European troops were obtained from Ceylon, and the officers who were in revolt were called upon to sign a test, or declaration of obedience. The influence of the governor-general, Lord Minto, and of such officers as Colonels Close and Conran, of Colonel Montresor and Captain Sydenham at Secunderabad, and Colonel Davis at Seringapatam, the fear lest the king's troops should be employed against them, the lukewarm support of the sepoys when they understood that the quarrel was not theirs, and the removal of many officers from their regiments, when their places were taken by king's officers, brought them to reason. Eventually no more than twenty-one were selected for punishment, as examples to the rest. Of these one died, four were cashiered, and sixteen dismissed the service; but of those cashiered three, and of those dismissed twelve, were afterwards restored. This leniency amounted to an admission that the offence of the officers, grave though it was, was not unprovoked.[2]

The growth of the presidency armies failed to keep pace with that of the Company's territories and responsibilities, and it was found necessary to raise local corps, "more rough and ready than the regular army",[3] for the defence of new territories and the protection of native ruling chiefs. In the Mysore and Maratha wars the Nizam, as the

[1] Malcolm, *Political History*, pp. 482, 483.
[2] Malcolm, *Observations*; Cardew, *White Mutiny*.
[3] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IV, 337.

Company's ally, had provided contingents of troops, and Arthur Wellesley had found the contingent provided in 1803 inefficient and useless. As the Company maintained by treaty a large subsidiary force for the protection of the Nizam and his dominions, it was entitled to demand that he should provide troops fit to take the field with it and this demand led to the establishment of the Hyderabad contingent,[1] a force of four regiments of cavalry, four field batteries and six battalions of infantry, officered, but not on the same scale as the Company's regular troops, by "respectable Europeans".[2]

The fighting qualities of the Gurkhas were discovered in the Nepal War (1814–16),[3] and a few irregular battalions of Gurkhas were raised. The first, the Malaon Regiment, was incorporated in the line, in 1850, as the 66th Bengal Native Light Infantry, but in 1861, after the Mutiny, it and four other Gurkha battalions were removed from the line and numbered separately.

In 1838, when the Company foolishly undertook the restoration of Shah Shuja to the throne of Afghanistan,[4] an irregular force was raised in India for his service, and the 3rd Infantry, which had distinguished itself in the defence of Kalat-i-Ghilzai,[5] was retained in the Company's service, at first as an irregular regiment, but after the Mutiny incorporated in the line as the 12th Bengal Native Infantry.

In 1846, after the first Sikh War,[6] a brigade of irregular troops was raised for police and general duties on the Satlej frontier, and to it was added the Corps of Guides, a mixed regiment of cavalry and infantry, which was incorporated in 1849, after the second Sikh War,[7] in an irregular force, known later as the Panjab Frontier Force, raised and formed for duty in the Panjab and on the North-West Frontier. It consisted at first of three field batteries, five regiments of cavalry, five of infantry, and the Corps of Guides, to which were added shortly afterwards a company of garrison artillery, a sixth regiment of Panjab infantry, five regiments of Sikh infantry, and two mountain batteries, and in 1876 all its artillery was converted into mountain batteries. This force, which did excellent service against the mutineers in 1857 and 1858, remained under the control of the local government of the Panjab for many years before it was placed under that of the commander-in-chief.

A local force was raised after the annexation of Nagpur in 1854, and the Oudh Irregular Force after the annexation of Oudh in 1856, but the former disappeared in the Mutiny, and the latter was broken up shortly after it.

The history of the great Mutiny of the Bengal army, which raged for nearly two years, is recorded in the following chapter. The ineptitude of senile and incompetent officers, and the pathetic con-

[1] Burton, *History of the Hyderabad Contingent*, chap. IV.
[2] *Idem*.
[3] See vol. V, pp. 377–9.
[4] Vol. V, pp. 495–521.
[5] *Idem*, p. 515.
[6] *Idem*, pp. 548–53.
[7] *Idem*, pp. 555–7.

fidence of old colonels, in whom *esprit de corps* was so strong that even while regiments lying beside their own were butchering their officers they refused to believe in the possibility of treason in their own men, made the tragedy more ghastly than it need have been. The demoralisation of the Bengal army was due to more than one cause. The great additions recently made to the Company's dominions demanded for the administration of the newly acquired territory, and for the irregular troops and police required for its defence and for the maintenance of peace and order, a far larger number of British officers than the civil service could provide, and the principal source of supply was the Bengal army. Those to whom the government of the new territories was entrusted refused to be satisfied with any but the most active and zealous officers whom the army could supply, and the army was thus deprived of the services of a large number of its best officers, the insufficient number left for regimental duty consisting, to some extent, of the Company's bad bargains. Another reason for the decay of discipline was the system of promotion, which was regulated solely by seniority, so that many failed to reach commissioned rank before the time when, in the interests of the service, they should have been superannuated, and were inclined to regard their promotion rather as a reward for long service than as admission to a sphere of more important duties. In the Madras and Bombay armies seniority, as a qualification for promotion, was tempered by selection, and the British officers refused to pander to the caste prejudices of their men to the same extent as the British officers in Bengal. Partly for these reasons, and partly owing to their dislike of the Bengal army and its airs of superiority, these armies remained faithful; and the irregular forces of the Panjab joined with glee in crushing the "Pandies", as the mutineers were called, from Pande, one of the commonest surnames among the Oudh Brahmans, which had been borne by a sepoy who had shot the adjutant of his regiment at Barrackpore, a few months before the Mutiny broke out.

CHAPTER X

THE MUTINY

"I WISH", wrote the late Lord Cromer, "the younger generation of Englishmen would read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the history of the Indian Mutiny; it abounds in lessons and warnings."

During the generation that preceded the Mutiny various influences were weakening the discipline of the sepoy army in the presidency of Bengal, and awakening discontent, here and there provoking thoughts of rebellion, in certain groups of the civil population. In considering the measures that produced these results it should be borne in mind that the mere fact of their having caused discontent does not condemn them. While some were injudicious, others were beneficial, and some helped also to minimise the disturbances to which discontent gave rise.

In the settlement of the North-Western Provinces, by which arrangements were made for the collection of the revenue, the responsible officers, anxious to promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number, decided that the agreement should be concluded, not with middlemen, but with the actual occupants of the land, who were generally either single families or village communities. Accordingly they deprived the talukdars, through whom the native government had collected the revenue, and who were really the territorial aristocracy, of the right of settling for any land to which they could not establish a clear proprietary title. At the same time holders of rent-free tenures, many of which had been fraudulently acquired before the Company's government was established, were required to prove the original validity of their titles; and since even those whose estates had been obtained honestly were unable to produce documentary evidence, the tenures were for the most part abolished, and the revenue was augmented for the benefit of the government.[1] The sale law, under which the estates of proprietors were bought by speculators who were strangers to their new tenants, aroused no less bitterness; and under Dalhousie the policy of resumption was developed. In Bombay, for instance, the Inam Commission enquired into a large number of titles to land and resumed a large number of estates.[2]

In 1853 an event occurred which provoked resentment that was not immediately manifested. Baji Rao, the ex-Peshwa with whom Wellesley had concluded the Treaty of Bassein, died, and his adopted son, Nana Sahib, demanded that his pension should be continued to

[1] Cf. pp. 80–4, *supra*.
[2] Cf. Baden Powell, *Land Systems of British India*, III, 302 *sqq*.

him. In accordance with the terms of the original agreement the demand was rejected, although the Nana was allowed to retain rent free the Peshwa's landed estate.

The annexations which Dalhousie carried out under the title of lapse, and by which he not only consolidated the empire, strengthened its military communications, and increased its resources, but also benefited millions who had suffered from misgovernment, caused uneasiness to many who had submitted without any sense of injustice to annexation that had followed conquest, and in one case provoked passionate indignation. Under this right, Dalhousie annexed Satara, Nagpur, Jhansi, and several minor principalities. The annexation of Oudh was of a different kind. Misgovernment so scandalous that even Colonel Sleeman and Henry Lawrence, those sympathetic champions of native rulers, urged that the paramount power should assume the administration, impelled the Board of Control and the court of directors to insist upon a peremptory course which Dalhousie, remembering the fidelity of the king of Oudh, was reluctant to adopt. He urged that merely to withdraw the British troops by whose support the king had been maintained upon the throne, on the ground that he had not fulfilled the conditions of the treaty concluded by Wellesley, would compel him to accept a new treaty which should provide for the administration by British officers in his name; the directors decided that he should be required to accept such a treaty with the alternative of submitting to annexation. As he rejected the proffered treaty, which, while it vested the government in the Company, guaranteed to him the royal title, an adequate pension, and maintenance for all collateral branches of his family, Oudh was forthwith annexed. Though Muhammadan pride was doubtless offended, such discontent as the annexation aroused mattered little in comparison with the manner in which it was carried into effect. Perhaps it was of no great moment that the revenues of the province were not exclusively appropriated, as Sleeman and Lawrence had recommended, to the benefit of the people and the royal family; nor would it be just to blame Dalhousie because he decided that the provisional settlement of the revenue should be made with the actual occupants of the soil, and because the talukdars, although their claims were for the most part examined with scrupulous fairness, resented the decisions that compelled them to surrender their villages, and the restraint that forced them to cease from controlling their neighbours. What did cause indignation was that after the departure of Dalhousie, orders which he had given were disregarded. For more than a year no allowances were paid to the king's stipendiaries, among whom were some of his relations; the officiating chief commissioner took possession of a palace which had been expressly reserved for the royal family; the officials employed by the late court were excluded from pensions; the disbandment of the king's army had thrown professional

soldiers upon the world with inadequate means of support; and in many cases the demands of the settlement officers were excessive. Nothing was done to guard against the disturbances which administrative changes might produce. Although Dalhousie had resolved to disarm the country and raze every fort, his successor did nothing,[1] and supposed that one weak regiment of infantry and one battery of artillery would be sufficient to keep the peace.

More provocative than settlements and annexations were other measures by which Dalhousie endeavoured to confer upon India the benefits of Western civilisation. In the railways which he began to construct, the telegraph wires by which he connected Calcutta with Peshawar and Bombay, and Bombay with Madras, the canal which he linked to the sacred stream of the Ganges, Brahmans fancied that sorcery was at work. The more conservative elements of native society suspected the European education by which he hoped to enlarge the minds of the young, but by which the priests felt that their power was endangered; and laws such as that permitting the remarriage of Hindu widows, which he contemplated and which his successor passed, gave deep offence.

Since it is impossible to describe by any comprehensive generalisation the sentiments of a vast heterogeneous population, divided into numerous groups, the respective characteristics of which were more dissimilar than those of the peoples of Europe, let us approach the subject from different points of view. The Hindus, except in so far as they had been offended by the measures of Dalhousie, were not antagonistic to the government on the score of religion. While some Muhammadans admired the strength and the justice of British rule, others—notably the Wahabis—resented the loss of the supremacy which their forefathers had enjoyed, and hoped to destroy as enemies of Islam the aliens who had seized it. The mercantile and shopkeeping classes, indeed all who knew that their position and prosperity were staked upon the continuance of orderly rule, were disposed to support the British Government so long as it could keep the upper hand and secure to them the enjoyment of their gains. The magnates who had lost their lands were naturally resentful. The countless millions who lived by tilling the soil did not care what government might be in power, if it protected them and did not tax them too heavily; but in some districts, especially in Bengal, they had suffered so much from the venality of the police and the harpies who infested the courts of justice that they were ill-disposed. In some parts of the peninsula, notably in the Panjab and Rajputana, the people were aware that they had profited by British rule. Ponder these words of Sir John Strachey:

> The duty was once imposed upon me of transferring a number of villages which had long been included in a British district to one of the best governed of the native

[1] Lee-Warner, *Dalhousie*, II, 338–9; Baird, *Private Letters of Dalhousie*, pp. 401–3.

states. I shall not forget the loud and universal protests of the people against the cruel injustice with which they considered they were being treated. Everyone who has had experience of similar cases tells the same story. Nevertheless I cannot say that our government is loved; it is too good for that.

Reforms which interfered with native usages were resented as meddlesome. Differences of colour, of religion, of custom, and of sympathies separated the masses, which differed so widely among themselves, from the ruling class. It is true that the more thoughtful acknowledged that the British government was juster, more merciful, and more efficient than any that had preceded it: but still many thought regretfully of the good old times, when, if there had been less peace, there had been more stir, more excitement, and a wider field for adventure; when, if there had been less security for life and property, there had been more opportunities for gratifying personal animosities and making money; when, if taxation had been heavier, there had been some chance of evading it; when, if justice had been more uncertain, there had been more room for chicanery and intrigue. The rulers did not conceal their sense of racial superiority, and the French critic who described their administration as "just, but not amiable" probed a weak spot. Though the examples of Henry Lawrence, and John Nicholson, and Meadows Taylor, prove that individuals could win personal loyalty and even devotion, there was no real loyalty, except in the rare instances of such men as the illustrious Muhammadan, Sayyid Ahmad Khan, towards the alien government. For efficiency was not enough to keep India contented; and since, as Lord Cromer wrote, the Englishman is

> always striving to attain two ideals, which are apt to be mutually destructive—the ideal of good government, which connotes the continuance of his own supremacy, and the ideal of self-government, which connotes the whole or partial abdication of his supreme position—

there were Anglo-Indian statesmen, even before the Mutiny, who desired to associate Indians with British rule. As early as 1818 Lord Hastings looked forward to a

> time not very remote when England will...wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country, and from which she cannot at present recede;[1]

a few years later Sir Thomas Munro declared that eventually it would "probably be best for both countries that the British control over India should be gradually withdrawn";[2] and Dalhousie, the most autocratic of governors-general, urged in vain that parliament should authorise him to nominate an Indian member to his legislative council.[3] Sayyid Ahmad Khan, one of the wisest of Muhammadans, afterwards declared that the absence of such members, who would have kept their colleagues in touch with popular sentiment, prevented the

[1] *Private Journal*, II, 326. [2] Gleig, *Life of Munro*, III, 388.
[3] Lee-Warner, *op. cit.* II, 232.

government from knowing that laws which they enacted were mischievous, and that their motives would be misunderstood.[1] The antagonism aroused by the ever-increasing pressure of Western civilisation during the period of Dalhousie's rule was little realised.

This antagonism, however, would never have provoked serious disturbances so long as the sepoy army remained under control. Even in earlier days isolated mutinies had occurred in consequence of the credulity that dreaded attacks upon caste and religion. The *moral* of the force was gradually weakened when the best British officers were allured from regimental duty by the prospect of political employ and, in consequence of the centralisation of military authority, commandants were deprived of powers which they had exercised in the days of Malcolm. But it was from the time of the Afghan War that native officers, who understood the feelings of their men, dated the deterioration which made even optimists anxious. Hindus were prevented by the cold climate from bathing as their religion enjoined, obliged to eat food and to drink water which they regarded as impure, and compelled on returning to India to pay for readmission to the caste which they had thus lost; Muhammadans were offended by being obliged to fight against men of their own creed; and all alike, affected by the calamities of the war, lost their traditional faith in the invincibility of their leaders.[2] The sepoys, indeed, fought well in Sind and in the two Sikh wars, though in the second the disorderly conduct of certain Bengal regiments astonished a competent observer; but the general cessation of fighting that followed the annexation of the Panjab left a mercenary army idle, restless, conscious of power, and ripe for mischief; and discontent, caused by the withdrawal of pecuniary allowances granted for extraordinary service, led to individual outbreaks.[3] Dalhousie was well aware of this deterioration. "The discipline of the army", he wrote to the president of the Board of Control, "from top to bottom, officers and men alike, is scandalous."[4] Unprejudiced observers urged that in each regiment men of different races should be enlisted, so as to lessen the risk of mutinous combination; but, as John Lawrence afterwards wrote, "Reform was impracticable, for the officers would not admit that any was necessary, and nobody not in the army was supposed to know anything about it". "The Bengal army", as the same authority remarked, "was one great brotherhood, in which all the members felt and acted in union." Recruited for the most part from Oudh and the North-Western Provinces, they shared the discontents of the civil population. The predominance of men of high caste or, at least, the deference that was yielded to their prejudices, was fatal to discipline. A native officer of low caste might often be seen crouching submissively before

[1] *Causes of the Indian Revolt*, pp. 11–12.
[2] Cf. Holmes, *Indian Mutiny*, pp. 55–6.
[3] *Idem*, pp. 57 *sqq.*
[4] Cf. Lee-Warner, *op. cit.* II, 257 *sqq.*; also Baird, *op. cit.* pp. 168, 355.

the Brahman recruit whom he was supposed to command; but men of low caste who would have been glad to serve were often rejected. "High caste—that is to say mutiny", wrote Sir Charles Napier, who warmly praised the sepoys of the Bombay and Madras presidencies, "is encouraged"; "some day or other", he prophesied of Delhi, "much mischief will be hatched within those walls, and no European troops at hand. I have no confidence in the allegiance of your high-caste mercenaries".[1] The disproportion between the numbers of the British and the native troops was glaring. At the close of Dalhousie's administration the latter amounted to two hundred and thirty-three thousand, the former, who, moreover, were so distributed that their controlling power was impaired, to less than forty-six thousand, and the disproportion was increased in the same year in consequence of the Persian War. Dalhousie, pointing out that the Crimean War had begotten rumours injurious to British prestige, pleaded earnestly for a diminution of the native and a corresponding increase of the British troops; but for more than two years his suggestions were not brought formally under the notice of the directors.[2]

Another reform, which Dalhousie had planned and his successor carried out, intensified the fears which the Bengal army had long felt for their caste. Six regiments only were liable for general service, of which three were in 1856 quartered in Pegu. Two were entitled to be relieved within a few months; but none of the other three was available. It was therefore impossible under the existing regulations to send regiments by sea to the Burmese coast, and the overland route was in part impassable. The Madras army was enlisted for general service; but the presidency was unwilling to arouse discontent among its own troops by calling upon them to garrison a country which lay properly within the sphere of the Bengal army. Confronted by necessity, the governor-general issued a general order, decreeing that no recruit should thenceforward be accepted who would not undertake to go whithersoever his services might be required. "There is no fear", he wrote a few months later, "of feelings of caste being excited by the new enlistment regulations";[3] but, being a new-comer, he did not realise that the Bengal army was a brotherhood, in which military service was hereditary. Recruiting officers complained that men of high caste, whose religious scruples were aroused by the thought of being liable to cross the sea, had begun to shrink from entering the service which their fathers and their brethren had flocked to join, and old sepoys were whispering to each other their fears that the oaths of the new recruits might be binding also upon themselves. Two other changes, apparently trivial, increased the prevalent discontent. Sepoys declared unfit for foreign service were no longer to

[1] *The Times*, 24 July, 1857, and *History of the Siege of Delhi by an Officer who served there*, p. 10 n.

[2] Lee-Warner, *op. cit.* II, 285.

[3] Holmes, *op. cit.* p. 76.

be allowed to retire on pensions, but to be employed in cantonment duty, and all sepoys were thenceforth to pay the regular postage for their letters instead of having them franked by their commandant. The men were now in a mood to believe any lie that reflected discredit upon the government. Seeing that the warlike Sikhs were favoured by the recruiting sergeants, they fancied that a Sikh army was to be raised to supersede them. Agitators assured them that Lord Canning had been sent to India to convert them, and pointed to the General Service Enlistment order as the first step. A manifesto recently published by missionaries was interpreted as an official invitation to embrace Christianity, and when the lieutenant-governor of Bengal issued a reassuring proclamation, the bigoted Muhammadans of the Patna division refused to believe him.[1] Certain British officers, indeed, preached the Gospel to their men with the enthusiasm of Cromwell's Ironsides, and incurred the displeasure of government by their proselytising zeal.[2] Meanwhile the Nana Sahib, dilating upon the annexation of Oudh, was trying to stir up native chieftains against the British, and there is reason to believe that he and other disaffected princes had long been tampering with the sepoys.[3] British officers, who no longer kept native mistresses, knew little of what was disturbing the minds of their men; but even in the Panjab rumours were current of approaching mutiny. Finally, an old Hindu prophecy was circulated; in 1857, the centenary of Plassey, the Company's rule was to be destroyed.[4]

The incident that precipitated the Mutiny is known to all the world. One day in January, 1857, a lascar at Dum-Dum, near Calcutta, asked a Brahman sepoy to give him some water from his drinking cup. The Brahman refused, saying that the cup would be contaminated by the lips of a low-caste man: the lascar retorted that the Brahman would soon lose his caste, for cartridges, greased with the fat of cows or swine, were being manufactured by the government, and every sepoy would be obliged to bite them before loading his rifle. It needs a sympathetic imagination to gauge the shock under which the mind of that Brahman reeled. Greased cartridges had been sent to India from England four years before. The adjutant-general of the Bengal army warned the board, which was then vested with military authority, that none should be issued to native troops until it had been ascertained that the grease was inoffensive; but the warning was neglected. The cartridges were issued to certain regiments, merely to test how the climate would affect the grease, and were accepted without demur. In 1856 similar cartridges, to be used with the new Enfield rifle, began to be made up in India, and Brahman workers handled the grease

[1] Kaye, *Sepoy War* (ed. 1872), I, 472–3.
[2] Cf. Canning to Granville, 9 April, 1857 (Fitzmaurice, *Life of Granville*, I, 245); also *Memorials of Sir H. B. Edwardes*, II, 251 n.; Holmes, *op. cit.* p. 78.
[3] Kaye, *op. cit.* I, 579.
[4] Holmes, *op. cit.* p. 79. Cf. Meadows Taylor, *Story of my Life* (ed. 1920), p. 340.

without complaint; but, after the lascar blurted out his taunt, no cartridges greased either with beef-fat or with lard were ever issued to any sepoys, except to one Gurkha regiment, at their own request.

Nevertheless the delusion, due to the neglect of the adjutant-general's warning, was ineradicable.[1] The story rapidly spread. The Brahmans of Calcutta and the agents of the king of Oudh, who was living in the suburb of Garden Reach, eagerly turned it to account.[2] The responsible officer at Dum-Dum promptly reported it, and General Hearsey, commanding the presidency division, appended to the report a recommendation that the sepoys at Dum-Dum, where alone the new cartridges were immediately to be issued, should be allowed to grease their own; but in consequence of official delay, he was not informed of the approval of his suggestion until 28 January, and by that time the sepoys at Barrackpore, convinced that the story was true, were setting fire to officers' bungalows. The governor-general directed that greased cartridges might be issued at rifle depôts, provided that the lubricant were composed only of mutton-fat and wax; but it soon became evident that such precautions were futile. On 26 February the 19th Native Infantry at Berhampore, whose suspicions had been allayed by the explanation of their commandant, took alarm on hearing from detachments of the 34th, which had been foolishly allowed to march thither from Barrackpore, that the lascar had told the truth, and refused to receive their percussion caps for the next day's parade. The commandant, instead of explaining the unreasonableness of their fears, threatened them with condign punishment, but, having no means of enforcing his threat, was obliged to forgo the parade. The men continued to perform their ordinary duties; but their disobedience could not be ignored, and, as it was impossible to punish it without British troops, the governor-general sent for the 84th Regiment from Rangoon. Meanwhile the sepoys at Barrackpore were becoming more and more excited. Though they had been allowed to grease their own cartridges, they fancied that the cartridge paper must contain objectionable fat, and when, after analysis, it was declared to be harmless, they refused to credit the report. Hearsey, who thoroughly understood the sepoys' mentality, tried in vain to convince them that there was nothing to fear. Canning accepted a suggestion that they should be allowed to avoid tasting the paper by pinching off the ends of the cartridges; but, as might have been expected, the concession was useless. Hearsey had thoughtlessly told the 34th that the mutinous 19th was to be disbanded, and they disregarded his assurance that no punishment was in store for them. On 29 March a sepoy named Mangal Pandy murderously attacked the adjutant; while others belaboured their officers with the butt-ends of their muskets, one alone came to the rescue; and the

[1] Cf. Kaye, *op. cit.* 1, Appendix, Addendum.
[2] *Idem*, 1, 493.

mutiny was quelled only by the prompt intervention of Hearsey. Next day, British troops having at length arrived, the 19th was disbanded at Barrackpore, and cheered the old general as they marched away; but the 34th, whose offences had been far graver, were differently treated. Though Mangal Pandy was executed after the lapse of ten days, the men who had struck their officers were left unpunished for five weeks. The governor-general, fearing that prompt retribution would intensify the mutinous temper of the army, wasted several days in discussing with his council the justice of inflicting punishment, and finally, when the remonstrances of General Anson, the commander-in-chief, impelled him to come to a decision, spent four more days in weighing the claims of individuals to mercy.

Meanwhile the news of the growing unrest was awakening Muhammadan fanaticism at Delhi, where there were no British troops. It was believed that Russian invaders would soon expel the British from India, and the titular king's courtiers looked forward to a general mutiny which would restore his sovereignty.[1] At Ambala, where the native officers in the school of musketry, though they avowed that they and their men were satisfied that the cartridges were harmless, begged to be excused from using them lest they should be treated as outcasts, the decision that they must be used was followed by incendiarism; and at Lucknow an irregular regiment broke into open mutiny.

On 6 May the mutinous 34th was disbanded. Stripped of their uniforms, the men trampled under foot their caps, which, as they had paid for them, they had been allowed to retain, and left the parade ground in a bitter mood. When the order for their disbandment was read aloud at the military stations in Northern India, the sepoys, on learning that the crime, so solemnly denounced, had been punished not by death, but by mere dismissal, did not conceal their contempt for the government.

"Lord Dalhousie", said the late Marquess of Tweeddale, who had served under him, "would have stopped the Mutiny." If the judgment was hasty, it pointed to an opinion which unprejudiced observers deliberately formed. Endowed with many noble qualities, Canning lacked robustness of character. He could never decide, even on the most urgent questions, until he had anxiously investigated every tittle of evidence: his conscientiousness degenerated into scrupulousness; and he was more ready to take precautions against injustice to the innocent than to punish the guilty. While he was trying to coax the sepoys into obedience, he failed to see that to reason away each successive development of morbid fancy would only stimulate its fertility. But he was about to receive a rude awakening.

At Meerut, some forty miles north-east of Delhi, two regiments of native infantry and one of native cavalry were quartered, together

[1] Holmes, *op. cit.* p. 91.

with a battalion of the 60th Rifles, a regiment of dragoons, a troop of horse artillery, and a light field battery—the strongest British force at any station in the North-Western Provinces. On 23 April Colonel Smyth, of the native cavalry, one of the few British officers who had discerned the growing disloyalty of the Bengal army, ordered a parade of the skirmishers of his regiment for the following morning, intending to take advantage of the order for pinching off the ends of the cartridges to give a final explanation to the men. The cartridges that were to be issued were of the kind which they had long used. Smyth explained that the order had been framed in consideration for their scruples; but of ninety skirmishers five only would even touch the cartridges. Smyth broke off the parade and ordered a native court of enquiry to assemble. It appeared from their report that the mutineers had been influenced not by suspicion of the cartridges, but by fear of public opinion. By order of the commander-in-chief they were tried by a native court-martial and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, half of which was remitted in favour of the younger men by General Hewitt, the commander of the division. On Saturday, 9 May, the mutineers' sentences were published in the presence of the whole brigade. As the men were being led away, they yelled out curses at their colonel; but the jail was left without a British guard. During the rest of the day there was extraordinary stillness in the quarters of the native troops. A native officer reported to an English subaltern that the men were determined to release their comrades; but the colonel and the brigadier, Archdale Wilson, ridiculed the story. On Sunday evening the British battalion was assembling for church parade when a cry was raised, "The Rifles and Artillery are coming to disarm all the native regiments", and an outbreak was precipitated, which had not been definitely pre-arranged. Some hundreds of the troopers broke open the jail and released the prisoners. Smyth, thinking that it was his duty to warn Hewitt and Wilson, never went near his regiment; but Captain Craigie and Lieutenant Melville Clarke brought their own troops to the parade-ground in perfect order. The infantry regiments were listening quietly to the remonstrances of their officers when a trooper, galloping past, shouted that the Europeans were coming to disarm them; the colonel of the 11th was shot dead by men of the 20th; and the two regiments, joined by swarms of budmashes, dispersed to plunder and to slay. An officer rode to the telegraph office to warn the authorities at Delhi, but found that the wire had been cut. Hewitt, an infirm old man, did nothing. Wilson sent the dragoons, who were hastening to charge the mutineers, on a futile errand to the jail, and when, at the head of the artillery and the rifles, he reached the infantry lines, he found that the sepoys were not there.[1]

[1] Holmes, *op. cit.* pp. 96 *sqq.* and references there cited. Cf. Wilson's letters to his wife, *ap. Journal of the United Services Institution of India*, 1923.

On the morning of 11 May the cavalry rode into Delhi, entered the precincts of the palace, where they were joined by the king's dependents, and, after releasing the prisoners in the jail, proceeded with the infantry, which presently followed them, to murder every European whom they met and to fire every European dwelling which they passed. In the telegraph office, outside the city, two young signallers, hearing the uproar and being informed by native messengers of the atrocities that were being enacted, found time before they escaped to warn the authorities of the Panjab. The officer in charge of the magazine, after defending it for three hours, finding that he could no longer repel his assailants, blew up the stores of ammunition which it contained and destroyed some hundreds of mutineers; but the brigadier, without a single company of British soldiers, could effect nothing. One of his three regiments, indeed, remained respectful: but the others were mutinous; several officers were murdered; and at sunset, after he had waited vainly for succour from Meerut, he was compelled to retreat with the surviving officers and those women and children who were in his charge. The miseries suffered in that flight hardened British hearts to inflict a fierce revenge; but the survivors told with gratitude of kindness shown to them in their distress by Hindus through whose villages they had passed.[1]

Two days after the seizure of Delhi the governor-general received the news. Immediately he sent for all the reinforcements within his reach, and empowered his trusted lieutenants, Henry and John Lawrence, to act as they might think best in Oudh and the Panjab; but, deluded by telegrams from the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces, who predicted that in a few days all danger would be over, he rejected an offer from the governor of Bombay to send a steamer to England with dispatches. The commander-in-chief, who, like almost everyone else, had failed to understand the earlier symptoms of mutiny, and was therefore unprepared, found himself hampered by want of transport and of stores. John Lawrence implored him to free himself for action by disarming the regiments at Ambala, and then to strike a decisive blow at Delhi; but, though the civil officers in the Cis-Satlej states, aided by loyal Sikh chieftains, collected carriage and supplies, he thought it best to wait for reinforcements. At length, overruled by the insistence of the governor-general, he moved from Ambala to Karnal, intending to march thence on 1 June; but on 27 May he died of cholera.

Sir Henry Barnard, who succeeded to the command of the army assembled at Karnal, marched immediately for Delhi. Brigadier Wilson, who had already left Meerut in obedience to Anson, was expected to join him. For more than a fortnight the force which he commanded had remained inactive. Hewitt had made no attempt to re-establish British authority; and the villagers in the surrounding

[1] Holmes, *op. cit.* pp. 104 *sqq.* and references there cited.

country, believing that every Englishman in Meerut had perished, relapsed into anarchy. Wilson twice defeated mutineers who had advanced from Delhi to oppose him, and on 7 June, reinforced by a Gurkha battalion, joined Barnard, whose troops had avenged the sufferings of British fugitives by many cruel deeds, a few miles north of the city. Next day the mutineers, who had occupied a strong position on the north-western outskirts, were again defeated; and the victors, encamping on the Ridge, looked down upon the high wall, with its bastions and massive gates, which encompassed the imperial city, the white marble dome and tall minarets of the Jamma Masjid, the lofty red walls and the round towers of the palace overhanging the sparkling waters of the Jumna. They had boasted that they would recapture Delhi on the day of their arrival; but on the Ridge they were to remain for many weary weeks. To understand what they achieved and suffered, it is necessary to trace the outline of events in other parts of the peninsula.

The effects of the outbreak at Meerut had been instantly felt in the Doab—that part of the North-Western Provinces which extended between the Jumna and the Ganges. After Wilson marched to join Barnard, the only British troops available were one regiment and one battery at Agra, the headquarters of the government. The lieutenant-governor, John Colvin, who, on hearing the news of the seizure of Delhi, proposed to take refuge in the fort, was soon persuaded that there was no real danger. His subordinates, however, were becoming convinced that, although he had proved himself an excellent administrator in times of peace, he lacked the qualities required to cope with difficulties which it was impossible wholly to overcome.[1] After a succession of mutinies in outlying stations he issued a proclamation, for which Canning ordered him to substitute another, more precisely worded, promising lenient treatment to all mutineers who would give up their arms, except those who had instigated revolt or taken part in the murder of Europeans; but it was answered by another mutiny, and on the following day, yielding to the magistrate, he ordered the native regiments at Agra to be disarmed. Had he done so a fortnight earlier, a wing of the British regiment would have been set free, and much disorder might have been prevented. The infection had already spread to Rohilkhand. Before the end of the first week in June every regiment in that division had mutinied; many Europeans had been murdered; Khan Bahadur Khan, a Muhammadan pensioner of the government, had proclaimed himself the viceroy of the king of Delhi; and as he was not strong enough to keep the peace, anarchy was rampant.

The history of the Mutiny in the Doab and in Rohilkhand furnishes the most important evidence for determining the nature of the rising. The hesitating demeanour of many mutineers, the practical loyalty

[1] Holmes, *op. cit.* pp. 368–73. But cf. Colvin, *Life of J. R. Colvin*, pp. 190 *sqq.*

of others, which cannot be explained away on any theory of dissimulation, up to the very day of mutiny, the fact that few detachments committed themselves until the news that others had done so or the infection of civil disturbances overcame their fidelity, and that sometimes a mere accident occasioned the outbreak, prove that, however carefully the ringleaders may have endeavoured to secure concerted action, the movement was most imperfectly organised. "Sir", said a loyal Brahman sepoy to a British officer, "there is one knave and nine fools; the knave compromises the others, and then tells them it is too late to draw back."

Historically, however, it is more important to learn how the civil population acted than to analyse the phenomena of the Mutiny itself. When the defection of the Bengal army threatened the raj with destruction, Hindus and Muhammadans alike, though, notwithstanding their grievances, they acknowledged its benevolence, justice and efficiency, relapsed into the turbulent habits of their ancestors. Rajas summoned their retainers and proclaimed their resolve to establish their authority as vassals of the king of Delhi. Muhammadan fanatics waved green flags and shouted for the revival of the supremacy of Islam. Rajputs and Jats renewed old feuds and fought with one another to the death. Gujars robbed the mail-carts, plundered peaceful villages, and murdered the villagers. The police, who had generally been recruited from the dangerous classes, felt that nothing was to be gained by supporting a doomed government, and joined the criminals. Dispossessed landowners assembled their old tenants, and hunted out the speculators who had bought up their estates. Insolvent debtors mobbed and slaughtered the money-lenders. Sati and other barbarous customs revived. Public works ceased; civil justice could only be administered in a few favoured spots; education was either stopped or frequently interrupted. In short, excepting the summary administration of criminal justice and a partial collection of the revenue, the organism of government was paralysed.[1]

On the other hand, many landowners were passively, and some few actively, loyal. More than one moulvi had the courage to proclaim that rebellion was a sin, and a fair proportion of Indian officials, some at the cost of their lives, stood resolutely at their posts. Finally, except hardened criminals, hereditary robbers, and those who knew that they could expect no mercy, the people acquiesced readily enough in the re-establishment of regular government.

Much depended upon the protected princes, and fortunately Sindhia, influenced by his prime minister, Dinkar Rao, and the political agent, Charters Macpherson, remained steadily loyal, keeping the Gwalior contingent and his own army, both of which were ripe for mutiny, inactive within his territory. In Rajputana, the inhabitants of which, under loyal native rulers, were generally well-

[1] Cf. e.g. Durand, *Life of Sir A. Lyall*, p. 69.

disposed, the eldest of the famous Lawrence brothers upheld British authority, despite mutinies at Nimach and Nasirabad, throughout the crisis;[1] but at Agra towards the end of June the approach of the mutineers compelled Colvin to remove the English women and children into the fort, where he had hitherto forbidden them to take refuge. Brigadier Polwhele, the military chief, who, believing that the mutineers intended to join their comrades at Delhi, had resolved to remain on the defensive, allowed himself to be persuaded to attack them, and suffered a defeat: but the garrison, thanks to Sindhia and Dinkar Rao, who still contrived to keep their troops inactive, escaped a siege; and throughout the summer volunteers, raised by the magistrate and collector of Meerut, did much to restore order in his district.[2]

Meanwhile important events occurred along the line between Calcutta and Delhi. Fortunately, during the three weeks that followed the outbreak at Meerut, the sepoys remained absolutely passive. But the governor-general, deceived by this lull, failed to take full advantage of it. Rejecting offers made by various bodies to serve as volunteers for the protection of Calcutta, on the ground that "the mischief caused by a passing and groundless panic had already been arrested",[3] he refused to disarm the sepoys at Barrackpore because he trusted the profession of loyalty which they were careful to make, and feared that the troops at other places might be exasperated. Towards the middle of June he found it necessary to authorise both these measures, which, if they had been adopted in time, would have enabled him to send two British regiments to threatened stations. Meanwhile, however, he had been diligently preparing for the arrival of the expected reinforcements; and the undeserved odium which he incurred by the famous "Clemency Order" and various local enactments in no respect weakened his authority.

Fortunately Patna, the most important provincial town in the Presidency of Bengal, was in strong hands. William Tayler, the commissioner, had had a dispute with the lieutenant-governor, Frederick Halliday, who intended to transfer him, on the first colourable pretext, to another post. There was not a single British soldier at Patna, and at Dinapore, only ten miles off, the British regiment was detained by the necessity of watching the sepoy troops, which Canning refused to disarm. A Sikh battalion, which Tayler summoned to his assistance, arrived on 8 June; but the commandant reported that it had been insulted on the march by the rural population. Halliday insisted that a mutiny of the Dinapore sepoys was inconceivable, and General Lloyd, the commander of the division, whom Tayler urged to disarm

[1] Cf. George Lawrence, *Reminiscences*, pp. 278 *sqq.*

[2] Major Williams, *Narrative*, pp. 11, 12, 14; Dunlop, *Service and Adventures with the Khakee Ressalah.*

[3] Cf. *Parl. Papers*, 1857, XXX, 20–3.

them, replied that he could keep them under control. Left to his own resources, Tayler arrested three moulvis, who directed the Wahabis —the most dangerous Muhammadans in the city—knowing that he would thus ensure the obedience of their disciples, and, feeling that he was now master of the situation, required all the citizens to surrender their weapons. A riot which broke out on 3 July was suppressed by the Sikhs, and the ringleaders were hanged.[1] Supported by three Indians, who gave him information which only natives could obtain, Tayler was able to keep order in the city; but the outlying districts were still imperilled. British troops were about to pass through Dinapore; but Canning left Lloyd to decide whether he would use them. Unable to nerve himself to take the decisive step, the latter thought it enough to remove the percussion caps from the magazine, and afterwards, though the British force was then at dinner, ordered the sepoys to surrender those which they carried. They replied by firing on their officers, and, joined by a Rajput noble, Kunwar Singh, who had been ungenerously treated by the Revenue Board of Bengal, made a raid upon Arrah, the chief town of the most turbulent district in the Patna division. The European residents, warned of their approach and reinforced by fifty Sikhs, whom Tayler had sent to their assistance, took refuge in a small building, which had been fortified and provisioned by its provident owner. A force sent by Lloyd to the rescue was ambushed and overwhelmed; but the little garrison continued to repel every attack. Major Vincent Eyre of the Bengal Artillery, who, though he had been ordered to proceed to Allahabad, assumed the responsibility of attempting to succour them, and persuaded the commandant of an infantry detachment to serve under him, defeated the rebels near Arrah, thus not only relieving the garrison, but quelling an insurrection which had threatened the whole of Bengal and restoring the safety of communication between Calcutta and the north-west.[2] Before this success, however, Tayler, foreseeing that if the garrison should be overpowered, the besiegers would overrun the province of Bihar, ordered the district officers at the most exposed stations to withdraw to Patna.[3] Halliday, stigmatising the order as an act of cowardice, dismissed him from his post; but at a later time, while many of the foremost men in India declared their conviction that he had saved Bihar, two ex-members of Canning's council, retracting the censure which they had joined in passing upon him, added their testimony to the value of his services, and the chief of the three moulvis whom he had arrested was sent to the Andaman Islands as a convicted felon. While Tayler was crushing rebellion in Bihar, the valley of the Ganges was in peril. In Benares, as dangerous a stronghold of Brahminical as Patna of Muhammadan fanaticism,

[1] Tayler, *Thirty-eight Years in India*, II, 237 *sqq.*
[2] Holmes, *op. cit.* pp. 195 *sqq.* and references.
[3] Tayler, *op. cit.* II, 242 *sqq.*

there were only thirty English gunners to watch the 37th Native Infantry, a regiment of Irregular Cavalry, and the Ludhiana Sikhs. On 4 June it was known that the sepoys at an outlying station had mutinied, and as a hundred and fifty British soldiers from Dinapore were by this time on the spot, Colonel Neill of the 1st Madras Fusiliers, who had arrived on the previous day with a detachment of his corps, persuaded the brigadier to disarm the Bengal regiment. The affair, for which the brigadier declared himself responsible, was mismanaged. Panic-stricken by the approach of the British troops, the men fired at their officers; the Sikhs, some of whom were disloyal, while the rest were apprehensive of treachery, charged the guns; and a disaster was barely averted by a swift discharge of grape. The sedition that followed in the city was suppressed by the judge, aided by influential Indians; Neill put to death all the mutineers who were caught; and in the surrounding country, which was placed by the governor-general under martial law, rebels, suspects, and even disorderly boys were executed by infuriated officers and unofficial British residents who volunteered to serve as hangmen.

Neill had already pushed on for Allahabad, which, standing at the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges, commanded the communication between the lower and the upper provinces of Northern India. Yet, though Outram had implored both Canning and Anson to provide for its safety, it had been left without a single British soldier until, after the outbreak at Meerut, sixty invalid artillerymen arrived. On 19 May the 6th Native Infantry volunteered to march against Delhi; on 6 June, after their confiding colonel had read to them a letter in which the governor-general expressed his gratitude for their offer, they mutinied, and murdered five of their officers. Sedition, pillage and arson followed; the railway works were destroyed; and the telegraph wires were torn down. The fort, indeed, was saved by Captain Brasyer of the Ludhiana Sikhs, who, constraining his men, though they had just heard of the slaughter of their comrades at Benares, to support him, disarmed a company, forming part of the garrison, of the regiment that had mutinied; but though a detachment of the Madras Fusiliers arrived on the next day, anarchy was rampant when Neill appeared with forty of his men. Within a week, despite physical prostration, he restored order in the fort, where British volunteers were demoralised by drunkenness, and by ruthless severity suppressed all disturbance in the districts. Conjointly with Brasyer he had saved the most important post between Calcutta and Cawnpore, and converted it into an advanced base. But while he strove to discriminate between the innocent and the guilty, volunteers and Sikhs slaughtered every Indian whom they met, and villages, from which harmless old men and women with infants at their breasts were forced to flee, were remorselessly burned. The Old Testament was then revered, and Neill, who was preparing to dispatch a column to Cawnpore under

Major Renaud of the Madras Fusiliers, gave him instructions (which Havelock approved) in the spirit of Joshua.[1]

The garrison of Cawnpore consisted of four sepoy regiments, with which were associated fifty-nine British gunners and a few invalids. Sir Hugh Wheeler, who commanded the division, determined immediately after the outbreak at Meerut to secure a refuge for the non-combatants. The only defensible position was the magazine, a strong roomy building, protected on its northern side by the Ganges; but Wheeler decided against it on the ground that before he could occupy it he would be obliged to withdraw its sepoy guard, which might precipitate a rising. The sepoy regiments, if they mutinied, would, he believed, hasten at once to Delhi, and, at the worst, he would only have to repel a mob of budmashes before succour should arrive. It is probable that, if he had waited for reinforcements, which he was soon to receive, he could have occupied the magazine without resistance; but he contented himself with throwing up an entrenchment, which any active lad could leap over, near the north-eastern corner of the town. On 4 June the native cavalry, followed by the 1st Infantry, mutinied. Next day, the 56th was persuaded to join them. The bulk of the 53rd was still standing its ground when Wheeler impulsively ordered his artillery to fire, and all but eighty, who to the last remained faithful, fled. The Nana Sahib, whose palace was near Cawnpore, promised to lead the mutineers to Delhi, but, influenced by one of his advisers, persuaded them to remain and besiege the entrenchment.

For three weeks the little garrison—some four hundred English fighting men, more than seventy of whom were invalids, with the faithful sepoys, defended their women and children against a continuous fire, enduring hunger, thirst, exposure to the midsummer sun, the torture of wounds for which they had no remedy, and, finally, despair. On the seventh day and on the centenary of Plassey the besiegers attempted an assault, but were resolutely repelled. Two days later the Nana offered a safe passage to Allahabad to every member of the garrison "who had not been connected with the acts of Lord Dalhousie". Wheeler reluctantly accepted the offer. Next day terms of surrender were arranged, including a proviso that the defenders should be allowed to retain their arms; but the guns were to be delivered over to the enemy. On the morning of the 27th a wan and ragged company quitted the entrenchment, and, surrounded by a great crowd of onlookers, proceeded to embark on thatched barges, which the Nana had provided. Tantia Topi, his trusted counsellor, superintended the arrangements.

Immediately afterwards the thatch, strewn with glowing cinders, burst into flame; grape-shot and bullets, fired by sepoys who had been posted behind cover, poured into the throng; troopers rode into the water and sabred the women. Suddenly a messenger from the Nana

[1] Cf. Kaye, *op. cit.* II, 268 n.

ordered that no more women or children were to be killed, and the survivors, a hundred and twenty-five, were dragged back to the town. The only boat that escaped, without oars, rudder, or food, was fired upon by sepoys who moved along the bank. On the third day it drifted into a side current. Descrying villagers and sepoys about to attack them, two officers, a sergeant, and eleven privates leaped ashore, scattered the crowd, and fought their way back—to find that the boat had drifted far away. The officers, Mowbray Thomson and Delafosse, who with two privates alone survived the ordeals of that day, found shelter, after swimming six miles, with a friendly raja of Oudh. The boat was overtaken, and the passengers—wounded men, women and children—were brought back to Cawnpore. The women and children were incarcerated in one building with the hundred and twenty-five who had survived the first massacre; the men were put to death. A few days later the captives were transferred to a small house called the Bibigarh, where, with fugitives from the Doab, whose companions had been already slain by order of the Nana, they were subjected to the grossest indignities. On 15 July the Nana heard that his troops had been defeated by an avenging army. The few men who had been suffered to live thus far were instantly killed in his presence; the women and children, after sepoys had refused to shoot them, were hacked to death by a band of ruffians. Perhaps, as it has been alleged, he was persuaded by a woman in his zenana to permit the final massacre; at all events it is probable that revenge for the cruelties committed by Englishmen and Sikhs at Benares, at Allahabad, and on Renaud's march, was one motive for the tragedy of Cawnpore.[1]

Throughout the Mutiny Cawnpore was linked closely with Lucknow, the capital of Oudh. Sir Henry Lawrence, who had been appointed chief commissioner in January, speedily redressed the wrongs committed by his predecessor. He had spent his official life in toiling for the welfare of Indians; his sympathetic nature won their devotion and the love of his own countrymen; and no one was better fitted to prepare for the ordeal which he foresaw. "I have struck up a friendship", he wrote to Canning, "with two of the best and wealthiest of the chiefs, and am on good terms with all." He imprisoned a moulvi, who preached a holy war at Faizabad. But he knew that with the sepoys conflict was inevitable; and a durbar, held in his private garden before he heard of the outbreak at Meerut, in which he exhorted representatives of the sepoy regiments to pay no heed to agitators, and rewarded individuals who had proved their fidelity, was regarded by those who attended it as a sign of fear.

Lawrence intended that the Europeans, in case a siege should become inevitable, should take refuge in the residency and its outlying buildings, which stood on a plateau bounded on the north by the Gumti, a tributary of the Ganges. The roof of the principal

[1] Cf. Holmes, *op. cit.* pp. 227 *sqq.* and references.

edence commanded a view of the city and its environs. Eastward and westward along the southern bank of the river extended an irregular space, covered by palaces and mosques, surrounded with gardens: beyond them a vast maze of sordid streets stretched southward and eastward as far as a canal, which entered the river three miles east of the residency and was crossed by the Cawnpore road.

Lawrence began his preparations by amending the distribution of the troops. The only British regiment—the 32nd Foot—was quartered in barracks about a mile and a half east of the residency, while five regiments of native infantry and one of cavalry were located at various points within the city and on both sides of the river. On 16 May Lawrence, yielding to the financial commissioner, Martin Gubbins, and the military authorities, moved a detachment of the 32nd to the residency, then at the mercy of a sepoy guard. Next day he transferred the women and children of the regiment to the residency, sent the remaining companies to watch the native troops in a cantonment north of the river, and stationed a corps of Europeans and picked sepoys in the Machi Bhawan, a dilapidated fort, west of the residency, which would overawe the city and might be useful as a temporary post. Two days later, having been invested at his own request with plenary military power, he assumed command of the whole force in Oudh. He had already begun to repair the Machi Bhawan; a few days later he set to work on the residency and its annexes; and soon afterwards the English ladies were warned to take refuge there with their children. Gubbins urged him to disarm the native regiments; but, fearing that to do so would impel the troops at outlying stations to mutiny, and knowing that loyal sepoys would be needed to aid in defending the residency, he refused. On the 30th mutiny broke out in the cantonments north of the city, and three officers were murdered; but more than five hundred sepoys sided with the British; and, although on the next day there was a rising in the city, Lawrence had posted a force to guard the connecting road, and thus prevented the mutineers from abetting the rioters. "We now", he wrote to Canning, "know our friends and enemies."

Nevertheless the mutiny produced disastrous effects. Hitherto the country districts had been tranquil: the courts of justice remained open: and the revenue was punctually paid. But in the first few days of June the sepoys at every station rose. Many officers, many Europeans, were murdered; but many fugitives owed their lives to Indians whose hearts had been won by the sympathy with which Lawrence redressed their wrongs. The talukdars, of course, ejected those upon whom their estates had been bestowed, plundered rich citizens, and wreaked vengeance upon old antagonists; but very few aided the mutineers, and some actually sent supplies to Lawrence for provisioning the residency.

Meanwhile in Lucknow mutineers were being daily hanged, and,

although after the outbreak the Indian merchants no longer carried on business, the administration of justice was not interrupted, and order was fairly well maintained. But under the grievous announcements from the districts Lawrence's health broke down, and he was forced to delegate his powers to a council, of which Gubbins was appointed president. Three days later, hearing with indignation that his colleague was bent upon getting rid of those sepoys who had not yet been disarmed, he resumed his authority, and devoted himself, despite a mutiny of the military police, to the work of strengthening the residency. Gubbins, however, was constantly urging him to attack the rebels assembling in the neighbourhood; and gradually, perhaps subconsciously, he allowed himself to be persuaded.[1] On the last day of June, although his preparations were incomplete, he marched in a north-easterly direction against the advanced guard. Before the march began the British troops who formed a part of his force were exhausted by many days and nights of labour; and they had advanced little more than three miles when the colonel, supported by one of the surgeons, declared that they were unfit to go into action. Brigadier Inglis, to whom this protest had been made, was asked by Lawrence's aide-de-camp whether they could go on, and replied, evasively but significantly, "Of course they could, if ordered". About a mile farther, near the village of Chinhat, they encountered the enemy and suffered an overwhelming defeat, but succeeded, though with the loss of one-third of their number, in reaching the entrenchment. In a scene of terror and confusion the siege began. Next day by Lawrence's order the Machi Bhawan was blown up, and, while the mutineers were plundering the city, the detachment that had occupied it marched noiselessly to reinforce the garrison. On 2 July, while Indian servants, tempted by extraordinary rates of pay, were working feverishly at unfinished bastions and terrified women were praying in their rooms, Lawrence, who, despite his final error, had made a defence possible, was mortally wounded by the bursting of a shell; and two days later, after giving his last instructions to Inglis and imploring him never to surrender, he died, mourned by all.

Less than a thousand British soldiers, aided by about a hundred and fifty civilians and seven hundred loyal sepoys, were now besieged by some ten thousand disciplined troops and a band of talukdars' retainers. Fortunately, the besiegers were under incompetent leaders, whom they treated with contempt. The entrenchment, about a mile in circuit, enclosed detached houses and other buildings, the defences of which—mud banks and trenches, palisades, crows'-feet, and similar obstacles—were still incomplete. On the east, south and west, however, outlying buildings served as a protection against artillery, and made it impossible for storming parties to advance in strength: the one open space where the besiegers could assemble for a general

[1] Cf. Kaye, *op. cit.* III, 669–71.

assault or plant batteries to breach the defences was on the north, where a high bank, scarped and strengthened by a parapet, formed the strongest part of the position. Still, no place within was safe. Though the gunnery of the besiegers was erratic, sharpshooters kept up a galling fire from the surrounding houses. Numerous mines were sunk with the object of breaching the defences; but almost all were stopped or destroyed before they could reach their aim. On 21 July a sepoy pensioner, named Angad, made his way into the entrenchment, and announced that Havelock, having thrice defeated the Nana, was in possession of Cawnpore; but weeks passed away, and the expected relief did not arrive. Three several assaults were vigorously repelled; but the defenders, whose numbers daily diminished, were becoming exhausted by incessant toil, and disease still further wasted their ranks. The chief of the commissariat was disabled; and though there was actually sufficient grain to last for many months, Inglis supposed that the stock was nearly exhausted, and reduced the rations. Towards the end of August Angad appeared with a letter containing the warning that Havelock could not arrive before twenty-five days and the ominous injunction, "Do not negotiate, but rather perish sword in hand". On 16 September, when more than a third of the British soldiers had fallen, he was sent out with dispatches for the last time.[1]

Henry Havelock, who had fought with distinction in Burma, Afghanistan, Gwalior and the Panjab, had abandoned the ambition which he had qualified himself by constant study to fulfil, when, old and physically feeble but in spirit indomitable, he was appointed to command an army for the relief of Cawnpore and Lucknow. A few hours before the siege of the residency began he reached Allahabad. On the same day Renaud started for Cawnpore at the head of the little column which Neill had organised; on 3 July the destruction of Wheeler's force was announced, and a few days later Havelock, with a thousand British soldiers, a hundred and thirty of Brasyer's Sikhs, twenty volunteer troops and six guns, began his march. Charred ruins of forsaken villages, corpses hanging from trees along the road, testified that Renaud had even exceeded his instructions. On the 12th Havelock overtook him; within the next three days, although he was obliged to reinforce Neill with a hundred of the Sikhs and to disarm Renaud's mutinous cavalry, he gained three victories; and on the 16th, beneath the fiercest sun which the soldiers had yet felt, he defeated five thousand men, whom the Nana himself commanded. Next day the victors entered Cawnpore and, hurrying to the Bibigarh, saw bullet-marks, sword-cuts, clotted blood, shreds of clothing, and women's long tresses—the signs of the final massacre.

A week elapsed before Havelock was able to push on. Neill, who arrived on 20 July, was to defend the recovered city; and Havelock,

[1] Cf. Holmes, *op. cit.* pp. 244 *sqq.*

being unable to place more than three hundred men at his disposal, fortified the position close to the river, which he ordered him to occupy. The bridge had been destroyed by mutineers, and it was with great difficulty that the passage of the river, which, swollen by the rains, was flowing with torrential force, was accomplished in successive trips by boats. On the 25th Havelock, whose force now numbered fifteen hundred, resumed his march. After two more victories he had advanced about half the way when, reflecting that his little army was daily wasted by cholera and the enemy's fire, that the recent mutiny at Dinapore would delay reinforcements, and that, if he persisted, hundreds must still fall before he could approach the residency, he reluctantly decided to return. From Mangalwar, only five miles from Cawnpore, which he reached on the last day of July, he wrote to inform Neill that he could not attempt to relieve Lucknow until he received a reinforcement of a thousand men and another battery of guns. Aglow with indignation, Neill presumed to admonish his superior, who sternly replied: "Understand...that a consideration of the obstruction which would arise to the public service... alone prevents me from placing you under immediate arrest". Nevertheless, reinforced by no more than one company of British infantry and a half-battery, and hearing from Calcutta that for two months he must expect no more, he once more set his face towards Lucknow, advanced to the point which he had reached before, and there gained his seventh victory. But the reasons that had before compelled him to retreat were hardly less cogent now. The mutinous Gwalior contingent was reported to be threatening Cawnpore; the zamindars, encouraged by his recent retirement, were arming their matchlockmen; the cholera was unabated. Anxiously considering what his duty required, he returned again to Mangalwar. The resolve, as he himself recorded, was the most painful that he had ever formed.

Meanwhile Neill, believing that "severity at the first is mercy in the end", had determined to avenge the massacre in the Bibigarh by a punishment that should never be forgotten. Every prisoner whom he considered especially guilty was to remove the stain of blood from an allotted space. "The task", so ran the order,

> will be made as revolting to his feelings as possible, and the Provost-Marshal will use the lash in forcing anyone objecting to complete his task. After properly cleaning up his portion, the culprit is to be immediately hanged.

But Neill, who had told his chief that his retreat had destroyed the prestige of England, was compelled to appeal to him for help; for four thousand rebels were threatening to overwhelm his little force. Havelock, resolved to show that he was undismayed, first advanced again and routed them, then recrossed the Ganges and re-entered Cawnpore. The talukdars of Oudh, who, with a few exceptions, had hitherto remained passive, now began for the most part, under pressure from the rebel durbar, to send their retainers into the field.

Three days after his return Havelock defeated the force which had threatened Neill, but on the next day learned that he had been superseded by Sir James Outram, who, moreover, was appointed chief commissioner of Oudh. Reinforcements were by this time coming up the Ganges. On 15 September Outram reached Cawnpore, and on the following day issued the famous order in which he announced his intention of leaving to Havelock the honour of relieving Lucknow and of serving under him as a volunteer. But in the emotional nature of Outram generosity was not quite unalloyed: he intended to be not only a volunteer, but a counsellor with a decisive voice.

Havelock's force, now more than doubled, numbered about three thousand two hundred men. A floating bridge was thrown across the Ganges; and on 21 September the final advance began. Havelock had learned from Angad that if the defenders of the residency were not relieved before the end of the month, they would have no meat left. Driving the rebels before them, the troops on the 23rd captured the Alambagh, a strong place two miles from Lucknow, where they were heartened by the announcement that Delhi had been taken by assault. Next day, while they were resting, Havelock and Outram considered what plan they should adopt on the morrow. Although rains had made the open country impassable for the heavy guns, Havelock argued that the best course would be to cross the Gumti, then, after a detour, to recross it by a bridge north of the residency, and, thus relieved from the perils of street-fighting, to traverse the narrow space that separated the bridge from the entrenchment. Outram dissented from this view, and, though he had resigned the command, dictated to a staff-officer the orders for the advance. The troops were to cross the canal by the Charbagh bridge, south of the city, then, avoiding the direct road, where the rebels were prepared to resist, turn to the right along the bank, and, keeping outside the city, move past the palace to their goal. Havelock, who had been made apparently responsible for what he did not approve, was obliged to give way.

The morning of the 25th was beautifully fine. Havelock rose early and spent some time in prayer. The column advanced under fire to the bridge, which was commanded by sharpshooters and defended on the farther side by five guns. The Madras Fusiliers carried it with a rush. While the 78th Highlanders held the bridge-head, the rest of the column crossed, and pushed on almost unopposed till they came within three-quarters of a mile from the residency, when they were met with a heavy fire from the Kaisar Bagh; but, replying as best they could, they soon found shelter in a court beneath the walls of the Chattar Manzil. The Highlanders, who had diverged by a shorter road, presently appeared and found themselves at the head of the column. While soldiers, camels, guns and litters bearing wounded men were thronging into the court, Outram and Havelock were

observed in animated discussion. Outram, arguing that the enemy would expect the column to advance through the streets, desired to halt for the night, thus allowing the rear-guard to close up, and to move on next morning through the successive courts: Havelock, seeing that the enemy would then have time to occupy the courts, sharing in the ardour of the soldiers, and fearing that the rebels might succeed by a desperate effort in overpowering the garrison, implored him to push on. The discussion waxed warm. Outram lost his temper; but he gave way. "Let us on then", he cried, "in God's name." Highlanders, Sikhs, and Madras Fusiliers moved successively out of the court; Neill fell from his horse at the exit, shot through the head; but the column, plunging under a hail of bullets from adjoining houses through trenches which had been cut across the road, and descrying the flag waving on the roof of the residency, struggled unfalteringly on till they entered the entrenchment. But though the garrison had been reinforced, they had still to wait for the relief that would enable the non-combatants to be removed to a place of safety.

Even more important were the events that occurred at Delhi, the head-centre of revolt, and in the Panjab, with which it was throughout connected. The officers whom Dalhousie had selected to administer that province were a harmonious brotherhood. Except in the Peshawar valley, which was exposed to the raids of turbulent borderers, the people had been disarmed; but in the matter of land-revenue they had been generously treated.[1] Between Sikhs and Hindustanis there was a national, between Sikhs and Muhammadans a religious, antipathy. A perennial danger had been removed when Herbert Edwardes won the consent of Dost Muhammad, the amir of Afghanistan, to a treaty of alliance. The sepoys numbered thirty-six thousand: but ten thousand British soldiers were quartered in the province; and the Panjabi Irregulars, some thirteen thousand strong, next to the Gurkhas the finest native troops in India, were an additional source of strength.

When the telegram announcing the seizure of Delhi reached Lahore, John Lawrence was away; but the judicial commissioner, Robert Montgomery, was a man of action, and the military officers supported him. The sepoys at the neighbouring cantonment of Mianmir, though they outnumbered the Europeans by eight to one, were adroitly disarmed; the native portion of the garrison of Lahore was treated likewise; and on the same day Montgomery sent letters of warning and instruction to the principal civil officers, nearly all of whom justified his confidence. Though a mutiny broke out at Ferozepore, where the commandant failed to follow the example of Mianmir, three important stations—Amritsar, where the rural population were thoroughly loyal, Kangra, which dominated the hill-country on the north, and Phillaur, commanding the Grand Trunk Road—were instantly secured.

[1] Cf. Holmes, *op. cit.* pp. 33–4; also p. 91, *supra*.

Meanwhile momentous decisions were formed at Peshawar. Herbert Edwardes, the commissioner, John Nicholson, the deputy-commissioner, who had so tamed the lawless frontiersmen of Bannu that in the closing year of his rule there was not a single attempt at crime, Sydney Cotton, the brigadier, and Neville Chamberlain, the commander of the Panjabi Irregulars, met in a council of war. The principal resolutions, confirmed in due course by Lawrence, were that a movable column should be formed to repress mutiny wherever it might occur, and that recruits should be enlisted from the province and the frontier, to absorb and utilise the lawless. During the next few days Nicholson, in the absence of Edwardes, who had been summoned to confer with Lawrence, set a watch over every ferry on the Indus; but before Edwardes returned treasonable letters addressed to sepoys were intercepted, and when Nicholson tried to persuade the chiefs of the valley to raise their followers, the answer was significant: "Show us that you are the stronger, and there shall be no lack of aid". At midnight on 21 May Edwardes and Nicholson heard that the 55th Native Infantry at Naushahra had mutinied. It seemed probable that a detachment of the same regiment at Mardan had followed their example, and that the troops at Peshawar would soon be infected. The two friends instantly awakened Cotton, who agreed with them that the infantry regiments must be disarmed; and in the morning all, except those who were needed to carry on the work of the station, were forced, despite the protests of their officers, to pile arms. Immediately afterwards a multitude of men, protesting their loyalty, eagerly offered to enlist. It was now possible to act against the 55th at Mardan, who had been joined by the mutineers from Naushahra. Flying before the force that marched against them, they were hunted by Nicholson, who with his mounted police was alone able to overtake them, into the hills adjoining Kashmir, where the survivors were destroyed by the hill-men, or enslaved, or executed after they surrendered in despair. Meanwhile Edwardes and Cotton, compelling the disarmed sepoys to attend, were hanging or blowing from guns deserters and mutineers; and, having proved themselves the stronger, they had no difficulty in enlisting the recruits whom they required.

Not every station, however, was so firmly held. At Jalandhar, in the opposite extremity of the province, the brigadier neglected to disarm his sepoys, and when they mutinied delayed to pursue them; but the deputy-commissioner of Ludhiana, through whose district they passed on their way to Delhi, did all that one man could to repair the error, and speedily put a stop to the commotion which their presence caused. Lawrence, fearing that the sepoys at Multan would rise as soon as they heard of the mutiny, and knowing that the loss of that station would involve the loss of the Southern Panjab, determined to disarm the garrison, although, for want of an adequate British force, he had hitherto shrunk from the attempt. Major Crawford Chamber-

Jain, in whom he had more confidence than in the commandant, was entrusted with the duty, which he successfully performed. "The disarming at Mooltan", said Lawrence, "was a turning point in the Punjab crisis, second only in importance to the disarmings at Lahore and Peshawar."

Lawrence was thinking not only how he could save the Panjab, but how he could contribute to the recovery of Delhi. As soon as he saw that the Panjabi soldiers had no fellow-feeling with the Hindustanis, he resolved to compensate for the losses entailed by mutiny and desertion by augmenting their numbers; and from first to last thirty-four thousand Panjabi troops were raised. A 6 per cent. loan, to be repaid within one year, first opened by the commissioner of the Cis-Satlej states, was soon extended to the whole province; and though bankers and merchants were chary in contributing, the chiefs who had helped the government with their arms subscribed liberally. The police, loyal from the outset, were strengthened. Criminals were ruthlessly punished, and every plunderer who was caught was forced to make restitution; but there was no great increase in violent crime. The treasure in the various stations was secured with the loss of not more than ten thousand pounds. Some districts remained absolutely tranquil throughout, and the comparatively few disturbances that arose, generally from distrust of the stability of British rule, were mostly traceable to the machinations of Hindustanis, large numbers of whom were expelled. Nearly all the civil courts remained open; the revenue was paid almost in full; and attendance at the government schools was but little diminished. In the Cis-Satlej states, where it was not less important to maintain order than in Peshawar in order to repel the influx of mutiny from the east, the task was exceptionally difficult. The mixed population, more akin to the Hindustanis than to the Panjabis, sympathised with the mutineers, and violent crimes increased alarmingly: but the commissioner, Barnes, supported by the rajas of Patiala, Nabha and Jhind, and by the Sikh portion of the inhabitants, stamped out every symptom of revolt; and by the end of July the crisis was over. So successfully, in short, was the Panjab ruled that Lawrence, loyally aided by Bartle Frere, the commissioner of Sind, who sent battalion after battalion to support him, was able to supply the army at Delhi with stores of every kind and to reinforce it by troops of all arms, British and Panjabi. The Guides, that famous corps of frontiersmen which left Mardan when the seizure of Delhi was announced, marched for three weeks at the rate of twenty-seven miles a day, encamped on the Ridge on the day after Barnard arrived, and within three hours engaged the mutineers. Twenty-eight years later a civilian, himself destined to rule the Panjab, listened in his novitiate to Sikhs who proudly related how they had fought for the raj in the days of Nicholson.[1]

[1] O'Dwyer, *India as I knew it*, p. 40.

But when Barnard took command, his army, far too small to invest Delhi, could not attempt without siege artillery to breach the walls. All that he could do was to cling to the Ridge; and with this object he posted piquets at various buildings, the most important of which were Hindu Rao's house on the right and the Flagstaff Tower on the left. On the fourth day Metcalfe House, between the Ridge and the city, was captured and placed in communication with the Flagstaff Tower, and Barnard was persuaded to sanction a plan for a *coup-de-main*; but an accident prevented it from being attempted, and an amended plan was so strongly opposed by his advisers that he declined to accept it. In the next week, however, the assailants made some progress. The possession of Metcalfe House had made it impossible to turn their left; successive attempts to capture Hindu Rao's house were repulsed; and although the mutineers made a great effort on the centenary of Plassey, they were expelled from an important building in the suburb of Sabzi-Mandi, south-west of the Ridge, the loss of which prevented them from attacking the British rear without a long detour. Reinforcements had already begun to arrive; and Colonel Baird Smith, who on 3 July took over the post of chief engineer, destroyed several bridges over canals on the rear and the south-west of the Ridge, and thus made the position comparatively secure. But the mutineers also had been reinforced; many British soldiers had fallen or succumbed to disease; and on the 5th Barnard, who, though he failed to inspire confidence, had won the affectionate respect of all, died of cholera. A few days later his successor, General Reed, who had long been in poor health, resigned in favour of Wilson.

Some weeks earlier Lawrence had informed Edwardes that he intended, if the army at Delhi should appear in danger of failing, to send the British troops in the Peshawar valley to help them and invite the amir of Afghanistan to occupy the valley on the understanding that, if he proved faithful, it should be ceded in perpetuity. Edwardes was amazed. The amir, he insisted, would regard the offer as signifying the end of the British raj, and would follow the retreating troops as an enemy. To cede Peshawar would involve the loss of the Panjab; but all would be well if we maintained the capitals on the sea and the frontiers, for "Between the two it is all a family quarrel, an insurrection in our own house". Finally he declared that rather than obey an order to abandon Peshawar, he would feel bound by conscience to resign and explain his reason to the government. Canning, to whom Lawrence appealed, saw that to abandon territory would be fatal, and decided, just before Wilson took command, in favour of Edwardes.[1]

Meanwhile fresh bands of sepoys had been streaming from all quarters into Delhi. Their officers were unable to control them. Hindus quarrelled with Muhammadans; both plundered the shops,

[1] Cf. Bosworth Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, II, 49 *sqq.*; Cunningham, *Earl Canning*, pp. 122–4.

debauched the wives and daughters of respectable citizens, and treated the aged king with gross disrespect; while all who had anything to lose lamented the downfall of the British raj.[1] It was the custom that each successive band should go into action after its arrival; and fighting on the Ridge was maintained without a pause. In six weeks there were more than twenty combats. The British troops cheerfully endured the discomfort of water-logged tents, kept up their spirits by riding pony-races or playing cricket, and, though many of them treated the camp-followers with a cruelty which Wilson could not wholly check, fraternised cordially with their gallant comrades, the Gurkhas and the Guides. Foot by foot they added to their ground until Sabzi-Mandi was completely in their power; and by the end of July invariable defeat was weakening the confidence of the enemy. Still, Delhi remained in their possession; and the Panjabis were losing confidence in the British power.

Nicholson, who had taken command of the Movable Column, almost immediately found it necessary to disarm two of the regiments. On 8 July, hearing at Amritsar that an outbreak had occurred at Jehlam, he disarmed a third; and two days later, learning that the garrison of Sialkot had broken loose, he disarmed a body of his own cavalry belonging to one of the mutinous corps. His remaining force consisted of no more than one untried British regiment, a few Panjabis and undisciplined police sowars, and nine guns; but within the next two days, after covering forty-four miles in a single march, he defeated the Sialkot mutineers on the Ravi, near Gurdaspur. Four days later he annihilated the survivors, who had sought refuge on an island in the river, and on the 24th set out for Delhi. On the last day of the month a body of sepoys who had murdered four of their officers at Lahore was beaten on the Ravi by native police and villagers; and on the following day Frederick Cooper, the deputy-commissioner of Amritsar, who had captured the survivors, put them all to death, and thus (Montgomery declared) saved the Lahore division.

Other dangers were not less successfully overcome. Edwardes compelled the capitalists of Peshawar, who shrank from supporting a government which they no longer trusted, to contribute four hundred thousand rupees to the loan; disturbances on the border were suppressed, partly by force, partly by tactful management; and at Peshawar, where one of the disarmed regiments, stimulated by a fanatic, seized the weapons belonging to newly raised irregulars, seven hundred mutineers were either slain in pursuit or summarily executed. Nevertheless, disbelief in the vitality of British power was begetting disaffection in the Panjab, now denuded of so many troops.

About a fortnight after Nicholson arrived at Delhi it became known that the siege-train was at last approaching. A strong body of sepoys

[1] Cf. Metcalfe, *Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi; Press List of Mutiny Papers*, 1857.

marched to intercept it; but Nicholson signally defeated them, and on 4 September the train arrived. Wilson was ill and overwrought, but, influenced by Baird Smith, who, though he was suffering intense pain from a neglected wound, and was weakened by chronic dysentery, had established an ascendancy over him, he consented to prepare for the assault.[1] The mutineers were still twice as numerous as their opponents, and only the lack of a directing mind, who would have concentrated on the decisive point forces that were wasting their strength elsewhere, prevented the disparity from being overwhelming. Within the next few days the engineers, protected by the fire of field-guns on the Ridge, constructed four siege batteries opposite the northern face of the city; and the gunners, working under a galling fire of musketry (for the hostile guns were soon silenced), destroyed the bastions and breached the curtain. On the 13th Wilson and Baird Smith arranged the plan of operations. The first and second columns were to storm the breaches, the third to penetrate the city through the Kashmir gate, after it had been blown open, the fourth to expel the enemy from the western suburbs and then to enter the city by the Kabul gate, opened by their comrades from within. The command of the operations was entrusted to Nicholson. The breaches, examined under the starlit night, were reported practicable; and Wilson, accepting the advice of Baird Smith, ordered the assault to be delivered at dawn.

About three o'clock the whole camp was astir. Sikhs, Pathans, Gurkhas and Kashmiris stood side by side with Englishmen. The mutineers had filled up the breaches in the night, and it was necessary for the batteries to reopen; but at length the impatient troops were permitted to advance. The first two columns under a fire of musketry and an avalanche of loosened stones, by which many of the ladder-men were killed, fought their way into the city; the third, followed by the reserve, achieved its aim; but the fourth, disorganised and disheartened by the disablement of their commander, failed, and Hindu Rao's house, threatened by their emboldened opponents, was with difficulty saved. Meanwhile Nicholson, seeing that the mutineers in the city were regaining courage, attempted, despite the failure of the fourth column, to assault the Lahore bastion, which the commander of the second had neglected, in default of express orders, to attack; but the cannonade which he encountered was so appalling that his men shrank from the final rush, and while he was appealing to them he fell mortally wounded. The result of the day's fighting, in which about one-fourth of the attacking force had fallen, was that the space between the north-eastern angle of the city and the Kabul gate was in British hands. Wilson was so dissatisfied that he spoke of withdrawing the troops altogether; but Baird Smith and Neville Chamberlain induced him to hold on.

[1] Cf. Vibart, *Richard Baird Smith*, pp. 49 *sqq.*, 121 *sqq.*

Next day many of the British soldiers, finding bottles of beer, wine and spirits which the mutineers had purposely left in deserted shops and on the pavements, became helplessly drunk; while of those who were not exposed to or resisted this temptation many were enticed into dark alleys and killed. Infuriated by this, their comrades, though they treated women and children with forbearance, showed no mercy to the men. By the 19th the city was completely mastered. The king had been persuaded by a traitor to remain with his family at the tomb of Humayun outside the city, where he was captured by Hodson, the famous leader of light horse, who also shot the old man's sons after they had surrendered. "This sad act was most uncalled for", wrote Hope Grant, rejecting the plea of a possible rescue.[1]

Though the recovery of Delhi, which, like the relief of Lucknow, had been accomplished without reinforcements from England, ended hopes of resuscitating the Moghul Empire, and in the Panjab restored waning confidence in British power, it was too late to produce all the results that had been expected. A column, dispatched from Delhi through the Doab, burned villages, drove mutineers before it, and at Agra defeated a force which had alarmed the garrison; but the bands which it had scattered returned after it passed and renewed their depredations. In the spring of the next year the king of Delhi, found guilty of rebellion and complicity in murder, was sentenced to imprisonment for life: but John Lawrence, pleading with Canning for the citizens, many of whom had been tried and executed by a merciless commission,[2] insisted that the great mass were innocent; and the territory of Delhi was placed under his control. It remained for the veteran, Sir Colin Campbell, who had been appointed commander-in-chief, to paralyse the surviving energies of the revolt.

His first aim was to relieve Lucknow. Havelock had been only just in time to avoid encountering mutineers from Delhi, who reinforced the besiegers, and to prevent their overwhelming the garrison. Within two days after his arrival the troops that had not been able to join in the final advance made their way into the entrenchment. Outram, in order to accommodate the multitude under his command, seized and occupied the palaces along the Gumti, and in frequent sorties destroyed hostile batteries; but his force was not strong enough to remove the non-combatants, for whom, moreover, he was unable to procure carriage, and he found that there was enough food to last several weeks. Lack of vegetables, however, produced scurvy, while the soldiers had no tobacco, and the cold autumnal air penetrated their summer clothing. Meantime Sir Colin was providing for the equipment of his expected reinforcements, securing the road, which was infested by rebels in Bihar, and, since the railway was open only as far as Raniganj, arranging for transport thence to Allahabad. On 3 November he reached Cawnpore. Tantia Topi with the Gwalior

[1] Holmes, *op. cit.* pp. 384–7.

[2] Cf. Metcalfe, *op. cit.* p. 72.

contingent, which Sindhia could no longer restrain, was threatening that city; but Sir Colin, rejecting the advice of Outram, who urged him to secure its safety first, resolved to advance, and contented himself with leaving a detachment under General Windham to oppose Tantia. On the 13th his force, numbering about five thousand men, encamped at the Alambagh. The chief engineer advised him to adopt the plan which Havelock had proposed—to cross the Gumti and recross it near the residency. Though this route traversed open ground, where the heavy guns could act and the enemy were not prepared, he preferred the advice of Outram, who recommended him to cross the canal near its junction with the river, and thence to follow the route by which the main body had advanced in September. On the 16th the army crossed the canal. The enemy, deluded by a reconnaissance which Sir Colin had made on his left, offered no opposition till the advanced guard, moving in a narrow lane, was deluged by a hail of bullets from the Sikandar Bagh on its right. For the moment the situation seemed almost desperate: but by herculean efforts a troop of horse artillery clambered up the bank on the side of the lane; heavy guns were dragged through an opening which the sappers cut; and within an hour a breach appeared. The defenders, trapped between the assailants and others who had forced an entrance through a door, were gradually overpowered, and by sunset the survivors, crowding into the towers at the angles of the building, were utterly destroyed. Nearer the residency, the Shah Najif, a large mosque, standing in a garden surrounded by a wall, withstood the heaviest artillery, and Sir Colin had ordered the guns to be withdrawn when a Highland regiment passed through a cleft which had fortunately been discovered in the wall, and found that the garrison had fled. Havelock had already captured buildings on the east of the residency: next day the only remaining strongholds that barred the advance were stormed; and in the afternoon the relieving army joined the garrison. Two days later, Sir Colin having secured his left flank, the women and children, the sick and the wounded, were removed. Outram and Havelock besought him to seize the Kaisar Bagh and thus re-establish British supremacy; but, although the formidable citadel was breached within three days, he refused to leave behind the small force for which they asked, insisting that his entire army would be needed to secure Cawnpore. The garrison therefore evacuated the entrenchment; and two days later Havelock, weakened by privation, succumbed to dysentery. On the 27th Sir Colin, leaving Outram at the Alambagh to withstand the rebels until he should himself return to crush them, marched with the convoy for Cawnpore. The low tremulous sound which tells that artillery is at work at some distant place was plainly heard.

Sir Colin had ordered Windham to occupy and strengthen the entrenchment which Havelock had constructed, to send on to Luck-

now any British infantry that might join him, and, if Tantia should threaten to attack him, to extend his force conspicuously in advance of the entrenchment, but not to assume the offensive unless there should be no other way of saving the position from bombardment. Learning that Tantia was near, Windham obtained leave to retain a portion of the expected reinforcements; but within the next few days various reports led him to fear that his chief had suffered a reverse. Knowing that if he himself should be attacked, the defensive display prescribed by Sir Colin would be of no avail, he had prepared and forwarded for approval a plan for destroying two of the most important posts which Tantia occupied; but, owing to the interruption of communication, he received no reply. Though he shrank from executing this plan on his own responsibility, he attacked and defeated a detachment which Tantia personally commanded, but immediately retreated and selected a more defensible encamping-ground, west of the town. Hearing that all had gone well at Lucknow, he hoped that Tantia would not venture to attack him before Sir Colin returned. Tantia, however, knew that Windham would not have followed up a victory by retreat if he had not felt anxious; his own force was enormously superior; and in the next two days he twice defeated Windham, who failed at the critical moment to support his best officer, and was ill-served by another. Sir Colin, who received urgent letters on his march, rode on, fearing that the bridge might have been destroyed, in advance of the column, and at sunset saw the battle still raging and flames rushing up above the city. But Windham had preserved two vital points: not only the bridge, but also the entrenchment remained intact. Next morning Tantia opened fire upon the bridge; but his artillery was overpowered, and Sir Colin's army, with the convoy, safely crossed. For a week he remained on the defensive, to allow the convoy to get out of danger; but on 6 December he gained a victory which would have been decisive if the chief of the staff had not missed a chance of cutting off the retreat of two-thirds of Tantia's army.

While Sir Colin, kept inactive by want of carriage, was awaiting the return of the carts that had transported the convoy to Allahabad, he thought out his plans for the rest of the campaign. Before he could reconquer Rohilkhand and Oudh, it was necessary to get control of the Doab. As three of the important points—Delhi, Agra and Allahabad—were already in his possession, it only remained to secure the fourth, Fatehgarh, on the Ganges, east of Agra. This was accomplished by converging columns, which drove numbers of rebels into Rohilkhand, whereon many of the villagers supported the re-established civil officers. Sir Colin desired to utilise the remaining months of cool weather for the reconquest of Rohilkhand; for, knowing that the subjugation of Oudh would require a longer time, he was unwilling to expose his troops to the hardships of campaigning in the summer,

and he believed that it would be safe to wait until the autumn if the rebels were prevented from invading other provinces. But Canning pointed out that military must give place to political reasons. To restore order in Rohilkhand, which had long been under British rule, was a matter of police: Oudh represented a deposed dynasty, and all India was waiting to see whether the British could regain their sovereignty. Sir Colin loyally obeyed. In order to maintain his hold upon the Doab and to cover the march of reinforcements to Cawnpore, where they were to concentrate before advancing against Lucknow, he retained the position at Fatehgarh, and made an arrangement with John Lawrence, in accordance with which a force was to hold Rohilkhand in check until it should be time to reconquer it.

Ever since Sir Colin left Lucknow, Outram had defended the Alambagh against a force which outnumbered his in the proportion of thirty to one, thus nullifying the activity of a hundred and twenty thousand rebels, preserving the safety of Cawnpore, and preparing for Sir Colin's return. On 28 February, 1858, Sir Colin left Cawnpore, where he had been superintending preparations for the siege of Lucknow, and marched to Banthira, near the Alambagh, where the whole army—the most powerful that a British general had ever commanded in India—was assembled. A Gurkha force, under Jang Bahadur, the virtual ruler of Nepal, and a column under General Franks, which had conjointly enabled the civil authorities to resume their work in the Benares and Allahabad divisions, were coming to take part in the siege. Lucknow had been strengthened by the destruction of the bridges over the canal and by three successive entrenchments which protected the eastern side of the city, the innermost covering the Kaisar Bagh. But the rebels had made one fatal blunder. As neither Havelock nor Sir Colin had operated beyond the Gumti, they had neglected the defence of the northern side. Sir Colin accordingly adopted a plan devised by the chief engineer, Brigadier Robert Napier. While he himself crossed the canal and, turning the enemy's right flank, moved against the Kaisar Bagh along the Hazrat Ganj, by which the Highlanders had advanced in September, Outram was to cross the river and take the left flank in reverse. Aided by Outram's enfilading fire, Sir Colin's force found the first line of works abandoned, then, turning the others, sapped through the houses on the left of the Hazrat Ganj, and finally captured the Kaisar Bagh, the Chattar Manzil, and other palaces on its right; but three successive opportunities of cutting off large rebel bands were lost. Outram, who asked leave to recross the river and attack the rebels while they were demoralised by the loss of the citadel, was forbidden to do so unless he would promise not to lose a single man; and in the next few days some thirty thousand were allowed through mismanagement to escape. When, on 21 March, the city was again in British hands, the province remained in possession of the enemy.

Meanwhile Canning had committed an error which made reconquest still more difficult. Before the siege began he forwarded to Outram a proclamation, to be addressed after the capture of the city to the civil population, confiscating all lands except those held by a few loyalists, offering immunity from disgrace to all who had not murdered Europeans and who should instantly submit, but warning them that for any additional boon they must trust to the mercy of the government. Outram, reminding him that in the original settlement the talukdars had been unjustly treated, declared that if nothing more than their lives and freedom from imprisonment were offered, they would be driven to wage a guerrilla war, whereas if the possession of their lands were guaranteed to them, they would assist in restoring order. The only concession which Canning could be induced to make (though John Lawrence had pleaded for an amnesty to all mutineers and rebels who had not committed murder) was to insert a clause promising that those who would support the government immediately might expect a large measure of indulgence. The promise was generally disregarded, and the bolder spirits determined to resist to the last.

Before the recovery of Lucknow, Kunwar Singh, undaunted by the defeat which he had suffered near Arrah, had taken advantage of the withdrawal of troops, who were needed for the siege, to invade the Benares division. Sir Colin sent a force to the rescue, and soon afterwards the old Rajput died; but throughout the summer and the autumn his followers maintained a guerrilla war in western Bihar. The lack of the amnesty for which Lawrence pleaded was sorely felt. "We must cling together", said a prisoner, "for when we go home we are hunted down and hanged." Detached parties, when they could be brought to action, were invariably defeated; but the rebels, as a whole, were too swift to be caught. When they were confined by seven converging columns within a narrow space, and success seemed certain, one column was delayed, and the entire body escaped through the gap. It was not until October, when the younger Havelock persuaded his chief to try the effect of mounted infantry, whom he had himself hastily trained, that they were driven into the Kaimur hills, where, before the end of the year, their organisation was destroyed.

To understand how Sir Colin was able to undertake securely the reconquest of Rohilkhand and Oudh, it is necessary to trace the course of events in the Bombay Presidency and the central provinces. Lord Elphinstone, the governor of Bombay, equipped a column to support the Central India Agency, and throughout the Mutiny regarded the interests of his own charge as subordinate to those of the empire. The Bombay army, on the whole, was tolerably staunch. In Bombay itself, though the sepoys were in a mutinous temper, order was preserved by the skilful management of the superintendent of police. A plot was discovered in the recently annexed state, Satara, and the conspirators were punished. But the principal danger was in the southern

Maratha country, where many landowners had been aggrieved by the action of the Inam Commission, and the people were excited by the momentary triumph of the Nana. A mutiny occurred at Kolhapur; intercepted letters revealed a Muhammadan conspiracy; and emissaries from the Nana caused a local rebellion: but order was restored by Colonel Le Grand Jacob, whom the governor had entrusted with discretionary power.[1]

In Central India the most important point was Indore, the capital of the Maratha prince, Holkar, who, in the absence of the agent, Sir Robert Hamilton, was under the supervision of Colonel Durand. The only British troops available were the gunners of a single battery at the neighbouring station of Mhow; but on hearing of the outbreak at Meerut, Durand summoned a detachment of Bhils and a force belonging to the contingent that protected the begam of Bhopal, while Holkar contributed a small force. Towards the end of June Durand learned that the column which Elphinstone had equipped could not advance, and on 1 July Holkar's troops, who were immediately joined by the infantry of the Malwa and Bhopal contingents, mutinied. The Bhils and the Bhopal cavalry did nothing, and Durand was forced to retreat with the women and children under the escort of the cavalry who, though not actively mutinous, refused to remain. To reach Mhow was impossible, for the approach to the road was commanded by the mutineers; and the cavalry insisted on going to Sehore in Bhopal. The commandant at Mhow, however, supported by Holkar, who, if he had before been half-hearted, now proved himself loyal, assumed the duties of the agent and restored order in his own district, though in the surrounding country anarchy was rampant. Durand himself, moving southward from Sehore, joined the column dispatched by Elphinstone, which he thenceforth commanded, at Asirgarh, and returned to Mhow, where he was kept inactive by stress of weather. When the dry season began he marched northward, quelled the insurrection in Malwa, and in December returned to Indore, where, before transferring his charge to Hamilton, he insisted that all who had been concerned in the mutiny should be punished.[2]

Another Maratha, the widow of the raja of Jhansi whose dominions Dalhousie had annexed, had already planned revenge. Within a month of the outbreak at Meerut the garrison mutinied; a general massacre of Europeans followed; and the rani, buying over the sepoys, who had threatened to set up a rival, fortified her city, raised an army, and prepared to defend her country to the last.[3]

In Bundelkhand, although many of the chiefs rebelled, Lieutenant Osborne, the political officer at Rewah, conducted affairs so skilfully that communication between Bombay and Calcutta remained un-

[1] Cf. Jacob, *Western India before and during the Mutinies*, pp. 148 *sqq*.
[2] Cf. H. M. Durand, *Life of Sir Henry Durand*, I, 197 *sqq*.
[3] Holmes, *op. cit.* pp. 491 *sqq*. and references there cited.

broken. In the Sagor and Narbada territories, south of Bundelkhand, disturbances were general, but farther south, in the recently annexed province of Nagpur, the authorities sternly repressed the first symptoms of disorder. In Hyderabad, where were congregated numerous Muslim fanatics, the resident, Major Davidson, supported by the Nizam's able minister, Salar Jang, kept the peace, despite active propaganda; and a band of Rohillas, who attacked the residency, was scattered by a shower of canister from the Madras Horse Artillery, who, like all the troops of that presidency, were staunch.[1] It was reserved for Sir Hugh Rose to restore British supremacy in the heart of the peninsula and to prepare the way for the final efforts of Sir Colin Campbell.

In accordance with a plan formed by Sir Robert Hamilton, a Bombay column, under Rose, was to march from Mhow by way of Jhansi to Kalpi, while a Madras column, under General Whitlock, marched northward across Bundelkhand. Leaving Mhow on 6 January, 1858, Rose joined his 2nd brigade at Sehore. Capturing rebel forts and defeating all whom he encountered in the field while the 1st brigade on his left cleared the great road from Bombay, he was within a day's march from Jhansi when he received a dispatch from Sir Colin, ordering him to turn aside and succour a chief who was besieged by the Gwalior contingent under Tantia Topi. Fortunately Hamilton, who, as a political officer, ventured to use his own discretion, directed him to disregard this order, and two days later the siege of Jhansi began. Within the next four days the whole of the 1st brigade and the siege-train arrived. Even at night the besiegers lay on their arms and by day were dazzled by the glare and half-stifled by the scorching wind. The besieged never ceased firing except at night, and even women were seen working in their batteries. The siege had lasted nine days when Tantia appeared with twenty-two thousand men. Without suspending the bombardment, Sir Hugh collected all the men whom he could spare, and on the following day defeated him. Two days later, after a desperate resistance, the city was taken by assault, and on the following night the rani, quitting the fort, rode with a few attendants for Kalpi. After halting for nearly three weeks to collect supplies and ammunition, Sir Hugh, though the sick list was daily lengthening, resumed his march, defeated Tantia again in the battle of Kunch, and prepared to finish the campaign. Whitlock, partly owing to his own inactivity, was too late to join him; but Sir Colin sent a force to his support. Half of his own troops were sick, all were ailing, and he himself had suffered repeatedly from sunstroke; but on 22 May a final victory gave him possession of Kalpi. He was looking forward to a period of rest which might enable him to recruit his health when he heard of an event which caused a sensation throughout India. The rani and Tantia, boldly marching with the remnant of

[1] Holmes, *op. cit.* pp. 498 *sqq.* Cf. Meadows Taylor, *op. cit.* p. 382.

their force to Gwalior, where Sindhia's army deserted to them, seized the fortress and proclaimed the Nana as Peshwa. The main artery of communication between Bombay and the North-Western Provinces was in danger. Sir Hugh instantly took the field again, won a battle on the outskirts of Gwalior, in which the rani, whom he esteemed as "the best and bravest military leader of the rebels", fell, defeated Tantia on the following day, and restored Sindhia to his throne. Tantia with four thousand men fled into Rajputana, and during the next eight months, crossing and recrossing the Chambal, the Narbada, and other rivers, doubling again and again like a hunted hare, but still hoping to find support for his master, he contrived, thanks to the marvellous speed of his followers, to escape the many columns that pursued him. Early in 1859 the fugitives who had not dispersed surrendered, and a few weeks later Tantia, betrayed as he wandered in the jungle by a feudatory of Sindhia, was taken in his sleep. Condemned by a court-martial on the charge of rebellion, he was hanged on 18 April at Sipri in the Gwalior state.[1]

The campaign of Sir Hugh Rose had relieved Sir Colin Campbell from anxiety for his rear. After the recapture of Lucknow he proposed to undertake forthwith the reconquest of Oudh, which his own remissness had made necessary; but Canning replied that the Hindus of Rohilkhand, who were almost all friendly, might turn against the government if it delayed to overthrow Khan Bahadur Khan. Three columns, supported by that which had guarded Fatehgarh, converged on Bareilly, and by the end of May, although the moulvi of Faizabad, who had led the assailants of Outram at the Alambagh, gave considerable trouble, Rohilkhand was completely subdued. In Oudh, where the peasant cultivators, hardly noticing the movements of the rebels, were busy in the fields, the mutineers, the troops of the deposed king, the talukdars' clansmen, and the Muhammadan zealots formed distinct groups. A force which had been detached by Sir Colin did what was possible, and many talukdars, trusting to the assurances of Montgomery, who had succeeded Outram, that their land should not be confiscated, tendered their submission; but the number that remained in arms was still considerable. In October, when the weather became cool, and the sepoys had mostly dispersed, Sir Colin began his campaign. Success was less swift than it might have been if he had followed the advice of Outram, who, pointing to the example of the younger Havelock, urged him to form a corps of mounted infantry; but the cordon with which he surrounded the province was of overwhelming strength, and by the end of December the rebels had been driven into Nepal. Still, in many parts of the peninsula small columns were employed in hunting down marauders; and it was not until the end of 1859 that India was restored to something like its normal state.

It remains to consider certain questions relating to the Mutiny, the

[1] Cf. Holmes, *op. cit.* pp. 503 *sqq.* and references there cited.