themselves most bravely, and were not driven out until they had killed several men and severely wounded many others on our side. When at last they were dislodged, they were met by Brigadier Campbell's brigade of cavalry, this time on the spot, and were pursued, with considerable loss, for six miles. The Moulvi, however, effected his escape.

Hope Grant defeats the rebels at Kúrsi. March 22

The following night, that of the 22nd, Hope Grant was ordered out at midnight with a strong force (two troops horse artillery, two 18-pounders, two howitzers, four Cohorn mortars, nine hundred cavalry, and four regiments of infantry) to attack the enemy, reported to be four thousand strong, at Kúrsi, a small town twenty-five miles from Lakhnao, on the Faizábád road. The mistake of a guide delayed the march, but at 4 A.M. on the 23rd Kúrsi was sighted. The enemy did not wait an assault, but, on the appearance of the British troops, began to evacuate the town. Upon this Hope Grant sent his cavalry at them. Two squadrons of the Panjáb Cavalry under Captain Browne,* and a party of Watson's Horse led by Captain Cosserat, dashed at them. "Captain Browne, who commanded," wrote Sir Hope Grant, in his diary, "seeing some guns moving off, charged the rebels in the most magnificent style. Five times he rode clean through them, killing about two hundred, and taking thirteen guns and a mortar. His unfortunate adjutant, Lieutenant Macdonald, was shot dead in the act

* Now Major-General Sir S. Browne, V.C., C.B., commanding in a portion of Afghánistán.

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1858. March 22.

of cutting down a sepoy. Captain Cosserat was shot through the face, and died shortly after."

The enemy having been pursued for some time, Hope Grant returned to Lakhnao.

Remarks on the campaign.

With this action the operations in Lakhnao and in its immediate vicinity ended. The city was captured. It had been gained at a loss—from the 2nd to the 21st March inclusive—of one hundred and twenty-seven officers and men killed, and five hundred and ninety-five wounded. Notwithstanding two errors which I have indicated—the one attributable to the Commander-in-Chief himself, the other, in the first instance, to one of his brigadiers—it is impossible to withhold admiration of the skill with which the operations were planned, of the courage with which they were carried out. The plans of the rebels, based on the conjecture that the British force would advance by the lines of the previous November, were entirely baffled by the masterly movement across the river. That movement, which placed an enemy on their flank, raking their defences, completely cowed them. It took all the heart out of them. Enfiladed from the opposite bank, they could not offer a stern or determined resistance to the foe advancing on their front. The weakness of their defence of the Imámbárá and the Kaisar Bágh was due in a very great degree to the moral depression which the position occupied by Outram had caused in their minds.

Claims of Sir Colin to a

But if, as has been well asserted,* the strategy

* Mediey.

of Sir Colin Campbell in his attack on Lakhnao "must ever be the subject of admiration on the part of the military student of this campaign," it is fit that history should mark the blunder which prevented it from being decisive. Outram was a lieutenant to be trusted. He was cool and daring in action, always kept his troops well in hand, and carefully guarded his communications. No living man had a greater or more profound knowledge of the native character. If any man, in the circumstances in which he was placed, might have been trusted to act on his own judgment, that man was Outram. Yet when, at a critical period of the advance, Outram, firmly seated on the left bank, proposed to co-operate with the Commander-in-Chief in a manner which would have rendered the victory of the latter absolutely decisive, the proposal was refused in language totally unworthy of Sir Colin Campbell. He was forbidden to cross "if he thought he would *lose a single man*." The reasons for this prohibition have never been published. Dr. Russell, who was very much in the confidence both of Sir Colin and of Outram, whilst admitting the "blot" caused by Outram's compulsory inaction, does not explain the motive by which Sir Colin was actuated to make it compulsory.*

high or to the highest rank as a general.

Reasons which are decisive against his claim to the highest rank.

* "The relations between Sir Colin and General Outram, though not unfriendly, are a little stiff, on account of past events, and Outram is not the man to act in opposition to the commands of his superior officer. Had Sir Colin not bound Outram's hands so tightly the advance would have taken place, and a tremendous slaughter of the enemy must have followed."—*My Diary in India*, W. H. Russell.

Book XI. Chapter IX. 1858. March 22. The prohibition to Outram to cross the Gúmti.

as some assert, it was prompted by Mansfield, or whether it was the emanation of his own mind, Sir Colin, as the issuer of the order, was responsible for it, and he alone must bear the blame. That order derogates from his claim to be placed in the rank of the greatest commanders. He must be classed as a great general of the second rank, a general who could skilfully plan, carefully carry out that plan, who could achieve a victory, but who could not follow it up.

The appointment of William Campbell and the approval of his failure.

The second failure to pursue the beaten enemy is due likewise, though in a lesser degree, to Sir Colin Campbell. For the delicate operation he was bound to select an officer specially qualified, and if not acquainted with the country, yet ready to listen to the experienced officers at his elbow or to understand the language of the guides. He appointed, on the contrary, an officer new to the country, who would listen to nobody, who could not understand the guides, and who, consequently, let slip a golden opportunity. Yet this action, which allowed thousands of rebels to escape, was justified by Sir Colin Campbell.

"Brigadier Campbell, in command of the cavalry on the left," he writes, in his despatch, "performed his detached duty with much vigilance and judgment. His march round the city on the 19th inst., which was a running fight for the greater part of the day, was a very difficult one." What it really was has been recorded in these pages.

These errors, however, stood alone, and the capture of Lakhnao in March 1858 will remain to all time a splendid achievement of skill and daring.

1858. March 22

BOOK XII.

CHAPTER I.

It will be conducive to the clearness of the narrative, if, before recording the events in the north-west Provinces which immediately followed the capture of Lakhnao, I return for a moment to Calcutta, record the progress made towards the restoration of order in eastern Bengal and the Bihárs, and progress thence towards Allahábád by way of Ázamgarh and the adjacent districts. Then I propose to trace the action of Carthew in guarding the important line between Allahábád and Kánhpúr. Returning north-westward, I shall record the action of Seaton in the vicinity of Fathgarh, of Walpole in Oudh, of Lugard, Rowcroft, and Douglas in the Ázamgarh, Gházipúr, and Shahábád districts and in Bihár, of Jones and Coke in Rohilkhand, and of Sir Colin Campbell in Barélí. The book will close with an account in detail of the progress of events in Rajpútáná.

Bengal.

Reasons why Calcutta

When Sir Colin Campbell, on the 27th Novem-

ber, had left Calcutta for Kánhpúr, he carried with him the power of the country. For the moment the civil authority, though nominally existing, was in abeyance. The fate of India was in the hands, not of Lord Canning, but of Sir Colin Campbell; and although, as I have noted on one important occasion, the opinions of the Governor-General in Council exercised a potential influence on the general plan of campaign of the Commander-in-Chief, yet to the hands of the latter functionary its execution was committed. From the moment, then, when Sir Colin Campbell left Calcutta to direct the military measures for which he had been preparing, he became the chief centre of interest; and the capital, giving habitation though it did for a time to the Governor-General and his Council, was proportionately shorn of its importance. Thenceforward Calcutta deserves notice as the port for the reception of the troops, and the depôt of stores and supplies from England; the terminus whence the new arrivals started for the seat of war, and the invalids and wounded for Europe. The continuous attacks made upon the rebels satisfied the longings even of those who had been the severest critics of the tardy, the hesitating, and the half-hearted action of Lord Canning and his councillors; while the social tranquillity of the capital, no longer in real danger, was but once disturbed, and then by a panic which had for its foundation a want of confidence in the firmness of the Government.

ceased, after the departure of Sir Colin, to exercise an all-absorbing influence on the campaign.

In the third week of January, 1858, Lord Canning quitted Calcutta and proceeded to Allah-

Lord Canning proceeds to Allahábád.

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1858. Feb.–March.

ábád. A few days after his arrival at that place (9th February), he abolished the temporary office of Chief Commissioner of Ágra, till then held by Colonel Fraser, C.B., and drew the whole of the north-west divisions, that of Dehlí excepted, within one lieutenant-governorship. A few days later, Mr. J. P. Grant, who at a trying and critical period had governed with marked ability the Central Provinces, returned to Calcutta to take up the office of President of the Council, the Governor-General assuming the charge which Mr. Grant thus vacated.

Change in the administration.

Panic of the 3rd March in Calcutta.

It was after the return of Mr. Grant to Calcutta that the panic of which I have spoken occurred. Nothing happened, indeed, which ought to have alarmed men's minds, but in times of excitement the slightest causes often produce the most startling effects. The case was simply as follows. On the 3rd March, a telegraphic message from Barrakpúr was received in Calcutta to the effect that the sepoys of two native regiments stationed there were deserting in bodies of ten and twelve, and making their way to the capital. People did not stay to reflect that the sepoys had been disarmed; that in addition to regular troops there was a fine volunteer regiment—horse, foot, and artillery—in the city. The information conveyed by the telegram was circulated in exaggerated terms; and the inhabitants of the suburbs, consisting mainly of Eurasians, became much alarmed. Pickets of the volunteer guards were promptly posted at the points supposed to be threatened; the streets were patrolled by the

volunteer cavalry; the artillerymen took post at their guns; the regular troops in the fort were placed under arms. But no enemy appeared. Some sepoys had indeed deserted, but with no intention of attacking Calcutta. The panic passed away more quickly even than it had been produced.

It passes away.

Eastern Bengal. 1857. Nov. 18.

In eastern Bengal there had been some cause for anxiety. On the 18th November, the detachments of the 34th Regiment Native Infantry, stationed at Chátgáon, mutinied, plundered the treasury, released the prisoners from jail, burnt down their own lines, fired the magazine, and then left the station, carrying off with them three elephants, the property of Government, and the whole of the treasure they found in the collectorate, with the exception of three hundred and forty rupees in cash. These, as well as the stamps, the Government securities and records, they left untouched. They attacked none of the Europeans, and the only man who suffered at their hands was a native jailer who protested against their proceedings. Him they killed. They then made off in the direction of Tiparah, but at Sítákúnd they left the high road, and making for Hill Tiparah, endeavoured to make their way along the hills in a north-westerly direction, avoiding British territory.

Mutiny of the 34th at Chátgáon.

Attempt to disarm the native troops at Dákhá. Nov 22.

Four days later an attempt was made by Lieutenant Lewis, Indian Navy, to disarm the detachments of the 73rd Native Infantry, and Native Artillery, stationed at Dákhá, numbering about three hundred and fifty sepoys. Lewis had

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at his disposal four officers and eighty-five men, English sailors, and two mountain-train howitzers. He was aided likewise by some thirty volunteers, including Messrs. Carnac, Bainbridge, and Macpherson, of the Civil Service, and Lieutenants Dowell and Hitchins of the Bengal Army.

They resist,

Lewis disarmed, without resistance, the detached guards at the public offices. But when he marched to the lines, he found the sepoys drawn up close to their magazine, with two 6-pounders in their centre. Parties of them also occupied strong brick-built buildings in the vicinity, the walls of which had been carefully loop-holed. Lewis deployed his force, but before the movement was completed the sepoys opened upon him with canister and musketry. Replying with one volley, Lewis then charged with his infantry, whilst the two mountain guns opened on the left rear of the enemy. The charge was most successful. The rebels were driven, one by one, from their strong positions. They had lost one of their guns, but to preserve their second they made a last desperate stand. A young midshipman, named Arthur Mayo, charged it, however, at the head of twenty men, and aided by a flank attack made at the same time, captured it.* The sepoys then broke and fled. Forty-one dead bodies were counted on the ground, eight men were brought in desperately wounded, three were drowned or shot in the river. This success was not attained without some loss. The list of killed

but are beaten;

many are killed;

* For this act Mr. Mayo received the Victoria Cross.

and wounded contained one man killed, five dangerously, eight severely, and four slightly wounded, in all eighteen. The sepoys who escaped at once went off in a north-westerly direction, making, it was believed, for Jalpáigorí, the headquarters of the regiment. Prevented from reaching that place, they found a temporary refuge in Bhútán.

the survivors escape.

The action of the local authorities at Chátgáon was prompt and effective. Whilst arrangements were made at the station for the security of European life in case the sepoys should return to it, the Commissioner communicated at once with the Rájá of Tiparah. This loyal feudatory at once directed his retainers and subjects to check the progress of the mutineers, and, if possible, to close the passes against them. The Commissioner called likewise upon the two principal zamindárs occupying the hill districts which it was thought the mutineers would traverse, to summon their men to arms and follow them up, and either to attack them or to shut them up in the defiles which lay before them. The manner in which this appeal was responded to, and the results it produced, will be related immediately.

Chátgáon.

The Rájá of Tiparah exercises his influence in favour of the British.

Nor was the action of the Government at Calcutta less satisfactory. Dealing with the cases of Dákhá and Chátgáon as intimately connected the one with the other, they despatched, on the 26th November, by river from Calcutta, three companies of the 54th Regiment, and one hundred seamen; on the 27th, by the same route, another party of sailors. It was the intention of the Government that whilst the 54th detachment should proceed at

Prompt action of the Government of India.

Nov. 26-27

first to Dákhá and thence pursue the Chátgáon rebels in the direction it would be ascertained they had taken, the Indian Naval Brigade should move northwards to Rangpúr and Dínájpúr to protect the country towards which it was believed the mutineers from both stations were making their way. Their arrival at their destination on the 10th December contributed greatly to the preservation of order in the neighbouring districts.

The Chátgáon mutineers

The Chátgáon mutineers were, meanwhile, beginning to experience the drawbacks to a march across the hills, pursued and threatened by enemies. On leaving Sítákúnd, they had followed a northerly course, and, crossing the ferry at Rámgarh ghát, had pushed on towards Udaipúr, thence towards Ágartalá, the residence of the Rájá of Tiparah. That chief, hearing of their approach, despatched a considerable body of men, who

traverse the hill ranges

stoppped them at Sankhola on the 2nd December. Turning then westward, they entered British territory at or near Mogra, and made their way towards Singár Hill—about one and a half day's

and suffer much distress.

journey north of Komillá, and on the direct route to Silhat. In their progress they had been much harassed; they lost the three elephants, and about ten thousand rupees of the treasure they had stolen; of the prisoners they had released from the jail, many were daily being captured; they found the mountain paths difficult, and though the hillmen were ready enough, for payment, to cut a way for them, their progress was necessarily slow. But worse things were in store for them.

They attack a police

Harassed by the opposition of the Rájá of

Tiparah, and of the zamindárs of whom I have spoken, the mutineers resolved to make their way to Manipúr. On their way to that place, they descended from the hills, attacked and plundered, on the 15th December, a police-station in British territory. This attack gave to the British the information they had desired as to their position. Mr. Allen, the chief civil officer at Silhat, had the capacity to discern that the European troops would arrive too late to intercept the rebels. He took upon himself, then, the responsibility of ordering the Silhat Light Infantry, commanded by Major the Hon. R. B. Byng, into the field. That regiment left Silhat in pursuit of the rebels that very day, the 15th, and reached Partábgarh, a distance of eighty miles, by a forced march, in thirty-six hours. At Partábgarh, Byng received information from Mr. Dodd, who had accompanied the force for the special purpose of guiding it, that the rebels had changed their route, and would be at Látú, a place which they had passed through, on the night of that day, the 17th, or early the following morning. Látú was twenty-eight miles from Partábgarh; the men had made a forced march of eighty miles, but with one voice they expressed their willingness to return. The road led through jungles and swamps, but, setting out, they marched back cheerily. Dodd, who had ridden on in advance, met the column as it was entering the village of Látú at dawn on the 18th, with the information that the rebels were close at hand. Before line could be formed, they were seen advancing in good order. In the engagement which followed, the rebels made

station in British territory.

The Silhat Light Infantry are sent in pursuit of them.

After forced marches,

they encounter them at Látú.

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many efforts to seduce the men of the Silhat Light Infantry—one half of whom were Hindústánis—to make common cause with them. But their persuasions were answered by the cold steel of the bayonet. Notwithstanding their long march, the loyal soldiers of the Silhat regiment displayed a vigour and an energy which carried all before them. In the early part of the action their gallant leader, Major Byng, was killed. This occurrence only roused them to greater fury. The post he had held was filled by Lieutenant Sherer, an officer of rare merit—a son of the gallant soldier whose splendid audacity at Jalpaigori I have described in the preceding volume—and Sherer gave the rebels no breathing-time. After a loss of twenty-six men killed and a still larger number wounded, the enemy abandoned the field, and sought shelter in the close and difficult jungles which lie between Látú and Manipúr.

Byng is killed.

Sherer succeeds, and drives the rebels into the jungles,

where they cannot be followed.

Into these jungles it was impossible to follow them. Detachments having been sent to watch the issues from the jungle into Manipúr, the battalion returned to Silhat. The party of the 54th Regiment, which had been sent on to Silhat and had even marched towards Látú, was ordered back, first to Dákhá, and a few weeks later to Calcutta.

The Chátgáon mutineers entering Manipúr.

After their defeat by Sherer, the Chátgáon mutineers marched north-eastwards, and entered the Manipúr territory. There they were joined by one of the Manipúr princes, with a few followers. The hopes they might have conceived from this accession of strength were, however, of short duration. On the 12th January they were attacked

by a party of the Silhat corps, under Captain Stevens, and after a fight which lasted two hours, they were driven into the jungles, with the loss of twenty men killed. Ten days later, the same officer, having learnt where they were encamped, succeeded in surprising them while their arms were piled, and putting them to flight, with the loss of all their arms and accoutrements. On this occasion they lost ten men killed. Eight days later another detachment of them was attacked and completely defeated, with the loss of thirteen men, by a small party of the Silhat regiment, led by a native officer, Jemadár Jaggathir. This was the finishing stroke. Since their departure from Chátgáon, the rebels had lost two hundred and six men in battle. The remainder were now blocked up in hilly country, the passes leading out of which were closed, and there the greater number perished miserably.

are attacked and beaten by Captain Stevens, who again surprises them.

The survivors are blocked up in the mountains.

Thus, by the firm attitude and the fearlessness of responsibility on the part of the civil authorities, especially of Mr. Allen, and by the daring leading of a few European officers and the gallantry of their native followers, order was re-established in the important districts to the east of Calcutta. All this time Colonel Sherer was nobly maintaining his position at Jalpáigorí, dominating, by the force of his character, the armed native regiment which he commanded.

Result of firmness and promptitude.

I pass on now to eastern Bihár, the division under the control of Mr. George Yule. Although the relief of Arah by Vincent Eyre, in the month of August, 1857, and the subsequent storming by

Eastern Bihár and George Yule.

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1857. Nov.–Dec.

that gallant soldier of the stronghold of Kúnwar Singh, had, for the moment, averted danger from eastern Bihár, the elements of revolt still continued to smoulder in that province. These elements were fostered by scarcity, caused by long-prevailing drought, and the temper of the people in the vicinity of Manghir was manifested as the year began to wane by an increased and increasing number of highway robberies and other crimes.

The normal difficulties in that province are increased by the outbreaks at Dákhá and Chátgáon.

Under these circumstances the outbreaks at Dákhá and Chátgáon assumed a very threatening character. The station of Jalpaigori belonged to the division ruled by Mr. Yule. The headquarters and main body of the 73rd Native Infantry, commanded by Sherer, were at that station. The sepoys who had mutinied and resisted so stoutly at Dákhá belonged to that regiment. It seemed only probable, then, that they would make their way to Jalpáigorí, and incite their comrades to revolt.

Yule marches with troops to Púrniá.

The Government had despatched a body of British sailors to Púrniá, midway between Bhágalpúr and Jalpáigorí, and these men were due at that station at the end of November. But this precaution did not seem to Mr. Yule to be sufficient. With the concurrence of the Government, then, he moved, on the 27th November, the small detachment of the 5th Fusiliers, then at Manghir, to Púrniá, accompanying them himself. He arrived there on the 1st December, and finding all quiet, marched on the next day towards Kishanganj, thirty-one miles distant.

The detachments at Madáriganj and Jalpáigorí mutiny.

He was not a moment too soon. On the nights of the 4th and 5th December the detachments of the

11th Irregular Cavalry at Madáriganj and Jalpáigorí mutinied, and went off, spreading alarm throughout the district.

The civil officers of the district.

The conduct of the civil officers in the district at this crisis was worthy of all praise. At many of the stations they had nought to depend upon but their own brave hearts. Not for a moment did their courage falter or their presence of mind fail them. Macdonald, the Collector of Rangpúr, placed all the moneys in the Government Treasury upon elephants, and moved with it into the jungle, hoping that the rebels, finding Rangpúr evacuated, would be too hardly pressed to search him out. The rebels, however, never went near Rangpúr, but made straight for Dínájpúr. The Collector of this place was Mr. Francis Anstruther Elphinstone-Dalrymple, one of the ablest men in the Civil Service, but whose prospects had been ruined by long years of persecution on purely private grounds by those wielding authority in Bengal. But if Dalrymple's worldly fortunes stood low, his courage was as high, and his determination was as unshaken, as they were when, a young civilian, he volunteered for and served in the first China war.* He had upwards of one

Macdonald.

Francis Anstruther Elphinstone-Dalrymple:

* Mr. F. A. Elphinstone-Dalrymple accompanied a party of soldiers sent during that war from the *Rustomjee* transport to attack a battery. As there appeared some chance that the party would arrive late, Dalrymple persuaded the mate to beach the boat at once in the centre of the battery, thus taking the lead of the whole force. He himself was the first man in the battery. At Chusan he accompanied the 55th Regiment in the storm of the steep hill and the intrenched camp. At Chinghai he was on the deck of H.M.S. *Nemesis* with Captain Hall, now an

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hundred thousand pounds in his treasury, and a determined to fight for it. He packed off, then, by water, to Calcutta, the solitary missionary of the station and his wife. Then summoning Grant the judge, Drummond the magistrate, Brown the assistant, Harold Holm, a Dane, connected with indigo and well known and much liked in those parts, and a few other Europeans and Eurasians, he posted them, with their rifles and ammunition, in his official court, and, at their head, awaited there the coming of the rebels. Their arrival within twelve miles of the station was announced. Any moment, then, they might appear. But amongst Dalrymple and his companions there was but one thought—to defend the station to the very last, to die rather than abandon the trust confided to them. Fortunately for them, the rebels, when within a short distance of the place, received intelligence of the movements of the British seamen previously referred to. Instead, then, of marching on Dínájpúr, they hurried off to Púrniá, there to fall into the clutches of Yule. Dalrymple and his companions were not attacked. Not the less, however, did they deserve for their splendid resolution the praise and the credit which were never officially awarded to them!

his splendid resolution.

The rebels move off to Púrniá.

Yule returns to Púrniá,

Yule, meanwhile, marching northwards, had reached Kishanganj. There he heard of the

admiral, better known as Nemesis Hall, fighting the batteries, and subsequently at the taking of Ningpo. He carried Sir Henry Pottinger's despatches to Lord Auckland.

revolt, and that the revolters had taken the road leading to Púrniá. No time was to be lost. He set out at once to return to Púrniá, and, marching all day, accomplished the distance, with the aid of his elephants, by sunset. He arrived in good time. The mutineers, ignorant of Yule's rapid march, were entering the town early the following morning with a view to plunder it, when they found themselves face to face with the Europeans. After an exchange of shots, they fell back a few miles, halted, and encamped. It was difficult for Yule, who had only infantry, to bring mounted men to action, but he resolved to try. That night he marched out his men, and at daylight came up with the enemy, just as they were preparing to set out. The rebels, putting on a bold face, charged, but were beaten back with the loss of thirteen of their number. They then fled to the north. Yule had saved Púrniá by his prompt action. He did more. Pushing on rapidly, the morning of the 12th, with his party, he succeeded, notwithstanding the obstructions offered by the numerous and extensive quicksands of the Kúsi, in crossing that river, and reaching Náthpúr before the rebels. Finding their onward progress thus checked; and cut off, by movements of which I shall speak immediately, from a retrograde movement; the mutineers took refuge for the moment in Nipál, only, however, to meet their fate at a later period.

encounters the rebels,

saves Púrniá.

and drives the rebels into Nipál.

Meanwhile, on the first news of the mutiny of the irregular cavalry, all the available troops, European and Gúrkah, amounting to one hun-

Jalpáigorí.

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dred of the former and three hundred of the latter, had been sent down from Dárjíling to Pankibári, and thence on to Jalpáigorí. They served to strengthen the hands of Sherer. Acting on the principle that boldness is prudence, this firm and resolute officer had blown from the guns, in the presence of his armed native regiment, two troopers caught in the act of revolt.

The seamen reach Rangpúr.

Four days later the seamen of whom I have spoken as having been detached from Calcutta, on the news of the Dákhá mutiny, to protect the districts of Rangpúr and Dínájpúr, arrived at Bagwah, thirty miles east of the former, and, pushing on quickly, reached their destination on the 15th December.

The rebels in the Nipál territory.

Yule, I have said, had, by his prompt and vigorous movements, saved the British districts on the right bank of the Kúsi from invasion, and forced the rebels to seek refuge in Nipál territory. There, at a place thirty-six miles from the British frontier, they were detained by the Nipálese authorities, pending instructions from Jang Bahádur. It was useless for Yule to wait any longer on the frontier, or to disquiet himself regarding the fate of men no longer able to plunder and destroy. And it happened that just at the moment his energies were required in another part of his division. In a previous page I have recorded how the Dákhá mutineers, resisting the attempt made to disarm them, had set off from that station for Jalpáigorí, but finding it impossible to traverse the intervening country, had been forced to take refuge in Bhútán. Yule, as

The Dákhá rebels threaten Jalpáigorí.

he lay with his small force at Náthpúr, received an express informing him that the Dháká rebels were threatening Jalpáigorí from the north-east, and urging him to march to that place.

Yule marches to meet them;

Yule at once set out, and, marching sixty-four miles in thirty-six hours, reached Kishanganj, thirty-one miles north-east of Púrniá. Another long march of thirty miles brought him, on the 22nd, to Titáliá. Here he received a despatch from Jalpáigorí recommending him to take up a position between Siligori and Pankabári, on the road to Dárjíling, there to await further intelligence. Yule complied, waited patiently till the 26th, but as the promised intelligence was still withheld, he determined to act on his own responsibility. The ideas he had formed on the subject were singularly clear and correct. Granted that the rebels intended to move on Dárjíling or on Jalpáigorí, they must of necessity cross the river Tístá. The Tístá is a river gradually increasing on the plains to a width of from seven to eight hundred yards, deep, rapid, and difficult. To the rebels scarcely any other option was offered than to cross at the Cháwa Ghát, where facilities existed. Now, Cháwa Ghát had not been occupied, and Yule, tired of waiting, resolved to act upon his own instincts, and occupy it. But the delay caused by waiting for intelligence which did not come had been fatal. As he approached the ghát through the jungle, his advanced parties discovered the enemy on the left bank of the river, occupying a position so strong and so favourable for defence, that it

forms correct ideas as to their movements.

He moves on Cháwa Ghát,

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would have been madness for him, with his small force, to attack it. But there was still one way open to him to bar their progress. That was to occupy the only practicable road by which they could advance, and give them battle when they should attempt to move forward.

and occupies the road.

The rebels turn his position,

Yule accordingly occupied that road. But the rebels, more wily than he believed them to be, broke up their camp that night, and marching by an unfrequented by-path, turned his position, crossed the Mahánandá river, and made for the Dárjíling road. Yule discovered, early on the morning of the 28th, that he had been thus outmanœuvred. Promptly did he repair his error. Leaving his camp standing, he took up a position on the Dárjíling road, and awaited the approach of the enemy. He waited in vain all that day. As evening approached, there being no signs of the rebels, he determined to move back to the camp to allow his men to break their fast. But they had scarcely left the road when the enemy were seen emerging from the jungle by a path some little distance from the position he had held during the day. Yule at once sent his advanced party in pursuit. But so rapidly did the rebels rush across the road and the open country between the place of their issue and the next thick jungle that the British had only time to fire one volley, and although Captain Burbank and his sailors continued the pursuit for two or three hours, they failed to come up with the enemy.

and eventually escape.

The Jalpáigorí party, consisting of Europeans and Gúrkahs, commanded by Captain Curzon,

52nd Light Infantry, had been equally unsuccessful. False information had sent them to one ford of the Tístá whilst the rebels crossed by another.

But the failure he had encountered made Yule only the more resolved to follow the Dákhá mutineers to the bitter end. Occupying as he did the inner line of communication, whereas the rebels, by their flight, had gained the outer line, it was still possible for him, by marching along the edge of the forests which skirt the Nipál frontier, to guard the British territories from incursion. This course he adopted. Marching westward, in parallel lines with the rebels, he having the inner line, he forced them to cross the Nipál frontier. Continuing within the British territory this parallel march, he again, on the 3rd January, crossed the Kúsi at Náthpúr. On that day the rebels were distant from him between forty and fifty miles, at a place called Chattra, at the foot of the hills at the point where the Kúsi issues from them, thirty-six miles within the Nipál frontier—the whole intervening space being jungle.

But Yule follows them up,

and marches parallel with them.

On the 11th Yule's party was strengthened by the arrival of Major Richardson, with the Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry. It was a great accession. Major Richardson was one of the most gallant men living. He had distinguished himself at the storming of Múltán in a manner which would have procured for him the Victoria Cross had that symbol of distinction then existed. As it was, his conduct in leading the stormers elicited

Major J. F. Richardson,

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and the Yeomanry Cavalry

an expression of marked admiration from the then Commander-in-Chief, Lord Gough, and proved the stepping-stone to advancement in his profession. The Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry was composed of men, many of them Eurasians, some Europeans and well born, who had enlisted for that special service, on special terms, to aid in suppressing the mutiny in June and July 1857. When the corps was first raised Lord Canning was specially anxious to select as its commandant an officer who should possess alike the power of attraction and the power of command, who could rule as well as dominate, and inspire affection as well as fear. At the moment Richardson landed from furlough to Europe in Calcutta. He was at once recognised as the man for the situation. The choice was in all respects pre-eminently good.

join Yule.

Richardson joined Yule on the 11th January. The rebels were still at Chattra.

Jang Bahádur.

Just about the same time the practical reply of Jang Bahádur to Yule's representations regarding the mutineers of the 11th Irregulars was received.

Orders his lieutenant to attack the rebels.

That reply took the shape of an order to his lieutenant on the spot, Rattan Mán Singh, to attack the mutineers, in co-operation with the English. It unfortunately happened that the force at the disposal of Rattan Mán Singh consisted mostly of untrained infantry militia, and only a few trained artillerymen with their guns. The Nipálese commander was therefore unwilling to assent to any manœuvre which would necessitate division of his own force. After some discussion, then,

it was agreed between himself on the one side, and Mr. Yule and Major Richardson on the other, that whilst the Nipál troops should guard the roads leading eastward, and Richardson with his cavalry should watch the right bank of the Kúsí, Yule's infantry should attack Chattra. Yule and Richardson were aware that it would have been far better that the Nipál commander should watch the left as well as the right bank of the river, for the upper part of the left bank could not, from the nature of the country, be effectually guarded by cavalry. But, under the circumstances, it was the best thing to be done, and, after all, they both believed that the rebels would fight. To give time to the Nipál commander to make his arrangements, the 21st was fixed upon as the day for the attack.

Plan of the allied forces to hem them in.

Delay in its execution

This delay proved fatal to the success of the plan. Yule crossed the Nipál frontier on the 14th, and on the 19th reached Pirára, about ten miles from Chattra. Richardson meanwhile had advanced to Cháoría, a place which commanded the only path by which he believed the mutineers could possibly proceed westward, should they cross the river above it. But whether the mutineers had been warned, or whether they gained information from their scouts, it is certain that as soon as they heard that Yule had reached Pirára, they crossed the river, and marched westward. Yule and Richardson pushed after them, but as it was seen that the rebels were following a line of country totally impracticable for cavalry, Richardson proceeded by rapid marches to Dar-

proves fatal to its success,

and the rebels escape

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bangáh to cover Tirhút, whilst Yule * returned to his division—which was not subsequently disturbed. The mutineers succeeded in making their way into north-eastern Oudh, only eventually to fall by the bullet and the sword.

into Oudh.

1857.

Before proceeding to western Bihár, I propose to say a few words regarding the extensive district known as Chútia Nágpúr. In a preceding page of this volume † I have briefly recorded how Major English had, on the 2nd October, inflicted a severe defeat upon the rebels at Chattra.‡ But this victory, important as it was in effecting the security of the grand trunk road, was far from restoring order to the country. From that period, and for several months following, the energies of Captain Dalton, Major Simpson, Lieutenant Graham, Lieutenant Stanton, R.E., of Colonel Forster and the Shekawáti battalion, and other excellent officers, were devoted to the arduous task of repelling attack, of checking petty risings, of suppressing pretenders to power, of hunting down armed freebooters, of recovering places which had been surprised, and of avenging the injuries, in some cases amounting to death, inflicted upon the unarmed and unoffending.

Chútia Nágpúr after October 1857.

Reasons why it is unneces-

To enter into full detail of the various marches

* In the month of May following, when the return of Kúnwar Singh had again thrown the affairs of Western Bihár into confusion, Mr. Yule offered to the Government the services of himself and twenty well-mounted gentlemen to act against the rebels in that province. The offer was declined.

† Page 141.

‡ Not to be confounded with the Chattra within the Nipál frontier.

and counter-marches of the companies and small detachments engaged for months in this desultory warfare, would require far more space than could be fairly allotted to a subject which, however important in itself, forms only an adjunct to the main story. No officers deserved better of their country than those who served in Chútia Nágpúr: none exhibited greater zeal, greater energy, greater self-reliance, greater devotion; but after the defeat of the rebels by English at Chattra, their action affected the course of events, not generally throughout Hindustán, but in Chútia Nágpúr alone. For this reason I shall be justified, I believe, if I recount in less detail than I have given to the actions of Sir Colin Campbell and his lieutenants, and to occurrences bearing directly on the main story, the principal events which marked the period of disturbance in the country forming the south-west frontier of Bengal.

sary to enter into full detail.

In the district called Palámao, affairs seemed, so late as November 1857, to be very critical. There Lieutenant Graham, with a handful of men, occupied a large house containing from three hundred to four hundred native women and children. The house belonged to a loyal Thákur, and was encircled by a strong wall. In this Graham was besieged by a body of rebels, whose numbers, amounting at first to two thousand, gradually rose to six thousand. Whilst a portion of these blockaded Graham, without daring to assault him, the remainder plundered the country all about.

Palámao in November.

To relieve Graham two companies of the 13th

The rebellion in Palámao collapses.

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1857. Nov.-Dec.

Light Infantry, under Major Colter, were despatched from Sahasrám on the 27th November. Thither also was directed the Shakawáti battalion under Major Forster. Colter relieved Graham on the 8th December, but, though the presence of two companies of English troops in the rebellious district would have been invaluable, the necessity of guarding the grand trunk road was paramount, and Colter was ordered to lead back his men to Sahasrám. But though he was forced to leave, the good he had effected remained behind him. Graham had employed the first hours after his relief in seizing the person of Débi Bakkas Rái, a man suspected of being the real prompter of the rebellion. Graham's bold action proved the suspicion to be well founded, for the rebellion in Palámao at once collapsed. Then, too, did well-disposed chiefs, previously held in check by fear of the rebels, declare themselves in favour of the British; and Graham, though not strong enough without reinforcements to assume the offensive, was confident, notwithstanding the departure of Colter, to be able to hold his own.

Singhbhúm

The wave of insurrection passed then into the district of Singhbhúm. A large party, composed of the representatives of no less than three tribes, assembled at a place called Ayúdhya, and proclaimed the brother of one of the local rájás, the Rájá of Porahát, to be their ruler. Fortunately a party of Rattray's Sikhs, commanded by Captain Hale, was in the neighbourhood. Hale, supported by the followers of one

of the local chieftains, attacked and dispersed the followers of the pretender. But for some time the insurrection remained unsubdued.

Dangerous position of Mr. Lushington and his followers.

This victory was succeeded by a multitude of small affairs in the several districts, in most of which the advantage inclined to the side of authority. It was not, however, always so. On one occasion the Commissioner of the Mánbhúm and Singhbhúm divisions, Mr. Lushington, attended by Dr. Hayes and accompanied by Captain Hale, Lieutenant Birch, and fifty Sikhs, who had been engaged in seizing men convicted of murder, found themselves suddenly surrounded by not less than three thousand to four thousand infuriated Kóls, armed with arrows, who had stolen up unperceived. Nothing but the steady gallantry of the Sikhs extricated the party from their perilous position. They had to fight their way through their numerous opponents, and it was only by great perseverance, and at the expense of a large casualty roll that they ultimately succeeded. Twenty-five Sikhs were wounded, one mortally; one was killed. Captain Hale was wounded in four places; Lieutenant Birch had his arm pinned to his side by an arrow: Mr. Lushington and Dr. Hayes were also wounded. Of the enemy one hundred and fifty are said to have fallen. The British party was, however, forced to abandon its camp equipage in order to effect a secure retreat.

He is extricated by the valour of the Sikhs.

Sambalpúr.

Some time before this the spirit of insurrection had travelled to the southerly district of Sambalpúr. Up to the month of September that district had

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1857. Sept. 25.

been guarded by two companies of the Rámgarh battalion, and a sergeant's party of Ramgarh Horse. But no sooner had the men composing this small force heard of the mutiny of their comrades at Házáribágh than they displayed a disposition to follow their example. In this emergency Captain Leigh, who represented the civil authority of the Government in the district, applied to Katak for, and obtained the assistance of, two companies of the 40th Madras Native Infantry. In October, finding these troops insufficient to repress the disorder caused by mutinous sepoys and the followers of the rebel landowners, Leigh again applied to Katak for aid. His demand was complied with—Lieutenant Hadow, Madras Artillery, being sent with two mountain guns, escorted by another company of the 40th Madras Native Infantry, to reinforce him.

Leigh applies for reinforcements,

which are supplied.

Hadow reached Sambalpúr on the 4th of November. The next morning he marched out with a small party, commanded by Captain Knocker of the 40th, to storm the pass of Shérgáti. This was effected without much loss. The small column then scoured the district, destroying the villages and mud forts belonging to the disaffected. In these operations, and in those of a similar nature which followed, fever was more fatal to the British officers than was the enemy's fire. At one time all the officers in the district, Captain Leigh and Lieutenant Hadow excepted, were prostrated with this disease.

Operations in the Sambalpúr district.

In spite of the efforts of the authorities the rebellion showed no signs of abating. In Decem-

The insurgents still gain ground.

ber, Dr. Moore, on his way to Sambalpúr, was intercepted and murdered by the rebels. Apothecary Hanson, who was following him, had a narrow escape. Captain Leigh, hearing of his approach, sent a party of native police on an elephant to bring him in. This party started from the one side about the same time as a party of the rebels set out on the other—the distances being nearly equal, and the objects identical—to obtain possession of the person of Hanson. The race was very exciting: the British just won it.

Dalton is unable to furnish aid;

The excesses committed by the rebels reached so great a height at this period that Captain Leigh applied to the Commissioner, Captain Dalton, for further assistance. Such was the demand, however, for troops elsewhere that Captain Dalton was unable to comply with his request. Captain Leigh was in despair. More than half the troops at his disposal were prostrated by sickness, and but one officer, Lieutenant Hadow, was fit for duty.

but Cockburn supplies it.

At this conjuncture, Mr. Cockburn, of the Civil Service, Commissioner of Katak, taking a clear view of the situation, resolved, at all hazards, to support British authority in Sambalpúr. Not only did he write to the Madras Government to transfer a body of its local troops for special service in that district, but he took upon himself the responsibility of ordering thither the remaining wing of the 40th Madras Native Infantry. At the same time he directed the enlistment at Katak, for the same service, of two companies of sepoys known as Sebandis. With

a view to ensure prompt action the district was temporarily transferred to the zealous and watchful superintendence of Mr. Cockburn. Mr. Cockburn assumed charge on the 19th of December.

Captain Wood defeats the rebels.

Before the wing of the 40th could reach Sambalpúr Captain Leigh was strengthened by the arrival on the 29th of December of a squadron of the Nágpúr Irregular Cavalry, under Captain Wood. Drawing to himself one hundred and fifty men of the 40th Madras Native Infantry and fifty of the Rámgarh Infantry, Wood attacked the main body of the rebels the following morning. Not only did he defeat them and slay three of their chiefs, but he surrounded the village in which the principal leader of the insurrection, Súrandar Sahi, lay concealed. This fact having been ascertained, the men began searching the houses for him.

but misses the main point of his victory.

Then occurred one of those untoward events, wrongly called accidents, which spoil the best-laid plans. The capture of this chief would have probably caused the rebellion in the district to cease, and half an hour's further search would have ensured his capture. But Captain Wood had been wounded, and just as the search promised to be successful, the bugle sounded the recall. That bugle-sound was not only a reprieve to Súrandar Sahi; it gave fresh life to the rebellion.

Tranquillity is gradually restored.

But, notwithstanding this, affairs throughout Chátia Nágpúr began to mend with the dawning year. On the 7th January Major Bates forced the Shérgáti pass; two days later Captain Shake-

spear stormed the Singhora pass and over-ran the country with his cavalry; on the 21st January Captain Dalton and Lieutenant Graham completely defeated the rebels near the Palámao fort; and about the same time Colonel Forster, with the Shakawáti battalion, restored order in Singhbhúm. These successes were followed by others of a similar character. Captain Dalton pursued the rebels from place to place. Ably seconded by Mr. Cockburn—who had strengthened the disposable force by the addition of a wing of the 5th Madras Native Infantry—and assisted by Colonel Forster, by Ensign Wardlaw, by Captain Moncrieff, and by other officers placed at his disposal, he re-established everywhere British authority. The embers of disaffection continued, however, to smoulder long after every enemy had disappeared from the field, and it was not before the close of 1858 that perfect tranquillity could be said to reign in every corner of Chútia Nágpúr.

BOOK XII.

CHAPTER II.

Retrospect of western Bihár.

TAKING the reader with me north-westward, I propose to narrate now the state of affairs in western Bihár; to explain how the communications between Kánhpúr and Allahábád had been preserved; then, proceeding to the A'zamgarh districts, to show how insurrection triumphed there for a moment, only to be driven back to seek a refuge, destined to be of long duration, in the districts and jungles which owned the authority of the remarkable landowner, Kúnwar Singh.

I have told in the first volume how the important division of Western Bihár, saved by Mr. William Tayler during the dark and terrible days of June and July 1857, then exposed, by the wilful blindness of the Government, to dangers more acute, more vivid, more active, had been preserved from immediate destruction by the gallantry of Vicars Boyle, of Wake, of Colvin, and their companions, and finally, completely rescued by the splendid daring of Vincent Eyre. I have recorded the ingratitude with which one of

these gentlemen, Mr. William Tayler, had been treated by the Government he had served with an energy all-absorbing and a success most signal, and how the other principal actor in the drama, Vincent Eyre, after storming the stronghold of Kúnwar Singh, had been ordered to join the avenging army of Outram. From the hour of their departure a new era was inaugurated in western Bihár—an era in which truckling took the place of independence, and a desire to discover mistakes in Mr. Tayler's administration the determination to suppress, before all, the dangers threatening the State.

Patná under Mr. Tayler's successor.

For some weeks after his departure the effect of Eyre's victories continued to be felt in western Bihár. The Government, alive at last, after one revolt had been quelled, to the advisability of preventing another, had placed under the orders of Mr. Samuells, the successor of Mr. Tayler, two hundred Europeans, for the safeguard of Patná, and had despatched a gun-boat, under the orders of the Magistrate of Chaprá, to patrol the banks of the Ghághrá. But as time went on, the misguided spirits in the province began to be sensible that Eyre had left them, and that the spirit of William Tayler no longer inspired the administration. Though Patná, thanks to the presence of British troops, was reported to be quiet, strong precautionary measures were not the less taken. The opium godown was fortified, six guns were placed in position bearing on the town, and the most stringent measures were taken to avert a collision between the townspeople and the Europeans.

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1857. Aug.-Sept.

The aspect in the district was even less assuring. Kúnwar Singh, with one thousand men, had taken up a position on the Són river, and it became known that dangerous and discontented characters, such men as his brother Ammar Singh, Nisban Singh, and Júban Singh, were flocking to his standard. At the same time, the 5th Irregular Cavalry, whose disarming Mr. Tayler had before ineffectually recommended, and whose mutiny in eastern Bihár I have already recorded,* were allowed to spread over the districts in the western province, and to plunder with impunity.

The difficulties in western Bihár aggravated by risings elsewhere.

The difficulties of the position in western Bihár were greatly aggravated by the evacuation of Gorákhpúr by the British civil authorities, one alone excepted,† on the 13th August, and subsequently by all; by the consequent pressure of rebels into British districts from Oudh; and by the exposure of the districts of Chaprá, Champáran, and Mozaffarpúr to the incursions of the leader of the Oudh rebels, Mehndi Husén.

The mutinous 5th Irregulars approach Gayá.

These difficulties soon came to a head. The mutinous 5th Irregulars, finding no one to oppose their course, destroyed the public buildings at Noáda, and marched in the direction of Gayá. Rattray, with a small force of Sikhs and Europeans, numbering about two hundred, had been posted to protect Gayá. But, learning that the rebels were approaching that place, he, acting on the strongly pressed advice of Mr. Alonzo Money, marched out on the 8th September to attack

Rattray marches to meet them,

* *Vide* page 133.

† The exception was Mr. F. M. Bird, the joint magistrate.

them. But the rebels, almost all mounted,* took advantage of Rattray's advance from his base to go round his position—inflicting upon him in his vain attempts to hinder them, a loss of twenty wounded —and to reach Gayá some hours before he could fall back. Arrived at Gayá, they liberated four hundred prisoners from the jail, and attacked the fortified house which the residents had prepared as a place of refuge. But in this attempt they were repulsed, owing mainly to the spirited conduct of Mr. Skipwith Tayler, son of the late Commissioner of Patná.

and is defeated.

The disorder was subsequently further aggravated by the mutiny, on the 9th October, of two companies of the 32nd Native Infantry at Déogarh and by threatened movements on the part of Kúnwar Singh. The Commissioner had at his disposal Rattray's Sikhs, a portion of the Naval Brigade, under Captain Sotheby. Colonel Fischer's brigade of Madras troops entered the western Bihár districts early in October. Besides which, Lieutenant Stanton of the Engineers was at Sahasrám and its vicinity, and the energy, the zeal, and the activity of this officer compensated to a very great extent for the paucity of fighting men.

Two companies of the 32nd mutiny.

Forces at the disposal of the Commissioner.

Rattray was the first to come in contact with the rebellious sepoys. This officer had avenged his disaster of the 8th September by defeating a body of rebels on the 7th of the following month

* They consisted of the 5th Irregulars and other horsemen who had mutinied, amounting to six hundred. Accompanying them was a large party of marauders, some mounted on ponies, some on foot.

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at Akbarpúr, and he now went in pursuit of the mutinous 32nd. On the 6th November he caught them at the village of Dhanchúa. The numbers on both sides were equal, and the contest was severe. Night fell whilst the combat was raging; then, covered by darkness, the rebels effected a retreat.

The events which followed each other in western Bihár until the formation of Colonel Rowcroft's force in November, present a constant succession of skirmishes, of movements against petty forts, and similar occurrences of a purely local character. To Rowcroft I shall return shortly.

The road between Kánhpúr and Allahábád.

But before doing so it seems incumbent upon me, for the clearness of the subsequent narrative, to describe, as concisely as may be, the occurrences in the districts and on the grand trunk road between Allahábád and Kánhpúr during the period intervening between Sir Colin Campbell's battle of Kánhpúr and the final fall of Lakhnao.

Carthew at Fathpúr.

After the battle of Kánhpúr Brigadier Carthew was detached, with the Madras brigade, to command at Fathpúr. The command was an important one, as it was exposed to attacks from the districts south-west of Kánhpúr—from Kálpi, from Jhánsi, from Bandalkhand. Fathpúr, moreover faced—a narrow strip of land on the right bank of the Ganges alone intervening—the south-western frontier of Oudh, and was at any moment liable to incursions from flying parties of rebels. It devolved, therefore, upon Carthew, not only to thrust back attacks from these opposite quarters, but to guard intact the trunk road

—the line of communication between Kánhpúr and Allahábád. The fact that troops and well-guarded convoys were constantly marching up the road doubtless facilitated his task, and enabled him to employ advantageously such passing troops to aid him in clearing the districts lining the road.

The task which devolved upon him.

The duties devolving upon the officer commanding at the south-eastern end of the line of which I am writing—the station of Allahábád—were of not less importance. Situated at the confluence of the great rivers the Jamná and the Ganges, abutting alike on Bandalkhand, on Oudh, and on the disturbed districts of A'zamgarh and Jánpúr, Allahábád was a place always threatened, and yet to be preserved at all risks. Allahábád was, in fact, at once the outlying frontier fortress of the province of Bihár, and its key.

Campbell at Allahábád.

At the time of which I am writing, December 1857 and January 1858, the officer commanding at Allahábád was Brigadier Campbell.

Carthew took up his command at Fathpúr on the 19th December. Just before he arrived (11th December) a small party under Colonel Barker, R.A., had made a raid amongst the disaffected villages in the district, had burned some, and had expelled the turbulent villagers from others. In this way the district had been purged of its disloyal citizens. The revenue returns and the supply of provisions to the headquarters proved, almost at once, how very beneficial had been these domiciliary visits.

Fathpúr.

The expelled villagers had fled across the

The rebels assemble on

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1857-8. Dec.-Jan.

Jamná, and it was on the right bank of this river, from Kálpi down to Bandá, that mutineers from Gwáliár, Jhansi, and Bandalkhand, even fugitives from Fathgarh, now began to assemble. Amongst them were the Rájá of Chikáni and a brother and nephew of Náná Sáhib; some accounts even spoke of Náná Sáhib himself. Certain it is that the rebel leaders who had their headquarters at Julápúr on the Bétwa, near Kálpi, exercised the right of sovereignty by calling upon the landowners west of the Jamná to furnish money and recruits for the service of the representative of the Péshwá.

the right bank of the Jamná.

Across the Jamná it was not possible to act. The Commander-in-Chief, however, deemed it especially advisable that the districts to the east of that river should be kept clear of the mutineers. In accordance, then, with instructions which he issued, Carthew marched on the 10th January with a small force (two horse artillery guns, four companies Rifle Brigade, two hundred 17th Madras Native Infantry) along the Kánhpúr road. On reaching Jahánábád, he turned westward towards Kálpi, communicated with the 34th Regiment, sent from Kánhpúr to co-operate with him, and then moved on Bhognipúr. The occupation of this place, the locality of which has already been indicated,* forced the several rebel parties who had come over from Kálpi to recross the river. Carthew then, in compliance with an order received from Brigadier Inglis, pushed on to Sikan-

Carthew clears the country on the left bank.

* *Vide* page 228.

dra, and then returned leisurely, *viâ* Kánhpúr, to Fathpúr. He had thoroughly purged the district of rebels.

Brigadier Campbell clears the country across the Ganges.

About the same time (5th January) Brigadier Campbell, with a brigade composed of the 79th Highlanders, a regiment of the Rifle Brigade, some foot and horse artillery, and a newly-raised cavalry levy, the Banáras Horse, effectually cleared the districts near Allahábád, on the left bank of the Ganges. His operations were in every respect successful, and in three encounters which he had with the rebels the latter admitted a considerable loss.

Moveable columns patrol the district.

But the efforts of these columns occasionally despatched into the districts could not prevent a fresh appearance of the enemy after their departure. It was natural that so long as the Lakhnao question remained unsolved the delta west of Kánhpúr, that is the narrow strip lying between the two great arteries the Ganges and the Jamná, should be constantly threatened, and almost as constantly invaded. It was necessary, therefore, to patrol the entire district. In March a moveable column,* commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Christie, engaged in this work, moved down to the village of Dhána, near the left bank of the Jamná, to prevent a threatened passage of the river at that point. Christie found the enemy occupying Siráoli, a town in the Hamirpúr district,

* One 12-pounder howitzer, one 6-pounder gun; seventy men, 8th Irregular Cavalry; two hundred and forty-four men, 80th Foot; two hundred and fifty-seven, 17th Madras Native Infantry.

on the right bank opposite Dhána, and engaged in firing on that village. By a judicious advance of his artillery, he drove the enemy from Siráoli, and set fire to the town, but the want of boats prevented him from crossing in pursuit.

Effect on the district of the fall of Lakhnao.

Occasional raids still continued. On the 26th March a corps of rebels crossed the Jamná near Hamirpúr, plundered and burned the village of Ghátampúr, and then returned. But this was an expiring effort. The fall of Lakhnao placed an overwhelming force at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief, whilst, on the western side of the Jamná, another active leader, whose name will occupy a most prominent part in the succeeding volume, was pressing, with all the decision and enterprise of a great commander, the chiefs and leaders whose troops had so long been attempting to harass the British line of communications. It was just after the fall of Lakhnao that the action of Sir Hugh Rose and General Whitlock began to make itself felt. Just then, too, Sir Colin Campbell despatched a small force, under Colonel Maxwell, to Kálpi. The proceedings of these several forces will be narrated in their due course. Meanwhile it may be stated that the work of supervision and control exercised by Brigadier Carthew had been eminently useful to the Commander-in-Chief.

Rowcroft and Sotheby.

What Rowcroft and Sotheby had effected with their brigades up to the time of their occupation of Gorakhpúr, I have already narrated.*

* Pages 321 to 324.

I propose now to take up the story of their action from the point where I left them, and to show how it was that the Ázamgarh and Jánpúr districts fell again into extraordinary confusion.

Sotheby defeats the rebels at Chandipúr.

Rowcroft, arriving at Gorákhpúr on the 19th February, had defeated the rebels on the 20th, and on the 25th had been left, by the departure towards Lakhnao of the Nipalese, in command at Gorákhpúr. Two days prior to his arrival, Captain Sotheby, R.N., of the Naval Brigade, who was escorting boats up the river Gághrá with a force of one hundred and thirty men of that brigade, thirty-five Sikhs, and sixty Nipalese, had attacked and captured the fort of Chandipúr, garrisoned by three hundred men. This fort was situated on the left bank of the river, in the midst of a dense bamboo jungle. Yet so well planned was Captain Sotheby's attack, that the capture of the fort and the guns and the property it contained cost his force a loss of only four wounded! Amongst these was Captain Charles Weston, of the 36th Native Infantry, a very gallant officer. It is due to add that the attack was most efficiently aided by the guns of a river steamer—the *Jamná*.

The intrenched camp of the rebels at Bélwá.

Within the British district of Gorákhpúr, sixty-eight miles to the west of it, and nine miles east of Faizábád in Oudh, is the town of A'mórha. Thither Rowcroft now marched, and on the 4th March took up a position not far from the intrenched camp of Bélwá, then occupied by a large rebel force. The rebel force alluded to was com-

posed of upwards of fourteen thousand men, led by the pseudo-Názim Méhndi Húsén, the Rájás of Gondah and Chardah, and other disaffected chiefs. Included in their ranks were two thousand five hundred trained sepoys, composed of the 1st, 10th, and 53rd Native Infantry, recently completed to five hundred men each, seven hundred men of the 2nd Oudh Police, and about three hundred of the 5th Regiment Gwáliár contingent.

They march to attack Rowcroft,

The approach of Rowcroft disconcerted the hopes which these rebel chieftains had entertained of taking advantage of the concentration of the main British army before Lakhnao to make a raid down into A'zamgarh and Jánpúr districts, and if possible to reach Banáras. But there was, it seemed to them, one mode—and a very certain mode—whereby to rid themselves of Rowcroft and his following, and then to prosecute their intentions. This was to attack him, with the vastly superior force at their disposal, as he lay at A'morha.

and are totally defeated.

Thus thinking, they acted. Early on the morning of the 5th March they marched towards the British camp, distant from them some seven miles. They had approached at half-past 8 within a mile of it when they were met by Rowcroft and Sotheby and Richardson. A severe contest ensued. The trained sepoys of the rebel force fought with great courage and determination, but they lacked the cool leading of the European officer, which, under other circumstances, had so often led them to victory. Sotheby's Naval Brigade greatly distinguished itself

The enemy were already shaken when Richardson ordered the Yeomanry Cavalry to charge. The first charge caused the enemy to waver, another compelled them to give ground, a third drove them in headlong flight from the field. They were then pursued to their intrenchments at Bélwá, losing between four and five hundred killed and wounded, and abandoning eight guns on the field. The intrenchments at Bélwá gave them a safe refuge, for the cavalry could not penetrate within them.

The charge of the Yeomanry Cavalry.

Rowcroft remained at A'mórha waiting for reinforcements to enable him to attack the strong position of the rebels. Subsequently, on the 17th April, and again on the 25th, he met and defeated them in the plain between the two positions; but before this had happened, events had occurred in the districts to his left rear—the districts of A'zamgarh and Jánpúr—which compel me to return thither.

Rowcroft remains at A'mórha.

I have already related how Kúnwar Singh, after his expulsion by Vincent Eyre from Jagdispúr, had hung about the districts of western Bihár to the terror of the successor of Mr. William Tayler and of the Government of Bengal. One of the three natives of India thrown up to the surface by the mutiny, who showed any pretensions to the character of a strategist—the others being Tántia Topi and the Oudh Moulvi—Kúnwar Singh had carefully forborne to risk the fortunes of his diminished party by engaging in a conflict which, however favourable might be its commence-

Kúnwar Singh in western Bihár.

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ment, must certainly end in his complete defeat. Shahábád, though the region of his birth, the district in which lay his confiscated estates, was too carefully watched, he felt, to present the chances which would alone justify in his eyes a departure from his system of reserve. His actual force was small. He had with him about twelve hundred sepoys, trained in the Indian army, and a few hundreds of untrained adherents, dependents of himself, his brother, and other discontented land-owners of the province. With such a force he could not hope to make a serious impression. But when he saw how British troops were being hurried up from every quarter to take part in the attack on Lakhnao, when he heard that the Nipálese and Franks had pushed on for that city, leaving the western frontier of the British provinces bordering Oudh comparatively denuded of troops, then he saw his opportunity, then he resolved to make a push for eastern Oudh, and combining with the numberless rebels still at large in that part, to make a dash on A'zamgarh, and, successful there, to avenge the storming of Jagdispúr by a dash on Allahábád or Banáras.

His policy.

His force.

He resolves to make a diversion in eastern Oudh.

Fortune greatly favoured him. At the moment when he crossed into Oudh, Rowcroft at A'mórha was confronting the intrenched camp of the rebels at Bélwá. His inability to storm that position had singularly encouraged the enemy. They, too, like Kúnwar Singh, had designs on A'zamgarh, and though their main plan had been for the moment baffled by the defeat inflicted upon their attacking columns on the 5th March, yet Rowcroft's inability

to follow up his victory had incited them to pursue their original design by other means. Still holding the camp at Bélwá, they detached then a considerable force to the south-east, and this force, during its march, attracted to itself many detachments which had escaped the bayonets and horsemen of the victorious Franks. With these troops, Kúnwar Singh succeeded in effecting a junction at A'tráolia on the 17th or 18th March.

The Ázamgarh district was then guarded by a small British force consisting of two hundred and six men of the 37th Regiment, sixty Madras cavalry, the 4th, and two light guns, under the command of Colonel Milman of the 37th. At the time when Kúnwar Singh and his rebel allies took up their position at Atráolia, Milman was encamped in the district at Koelsa, not far from Ázamgarh. The distance between Ázamgarh and Atráolia is twenty-five miles. The reader will recollect that Atráolia is the fortress which, on the 9th November preceding, had been captured by Colonel Longden, and by him partially burnt and destroyed. Dependent upon it was a small fort, comparatively insignificant. The fortress itself covered a number of strong buildings, all loop-holed. The outer wall was fifteen feet high.

Atráolia.

Milman beats the enemy near Atráolia.

On the afternoon of the 21st March, Milman received from Mr. Davies, magistrate of Ázamgarh, the intelligence of the vicinity of the rebels. He at once broke up his camp, marched all night, and at daybreak on the 22nd, came upon the advanced guard of the enemy's force, not occupying the forts, but posted in three or four mango-

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groves, contiguous to each other. Without giving them time to recover from their surprise, he attacked and defeated them, the 4th Madras Cavalry behaving with great dash and resolution. The enemy being dispersed, Milman determined, before advancing further, to give the men their breakfasts. He accordingly halted in the mango-groves whence he had expelled the rebels, and his men, piling their arms, prepared to enjoy the matutinal meal. But the cup was dashed to the ground just as the hand was about to raise it to the lips. The breakfast was almost ready when information was suddenly brought to Milman that the enemy were advancing in great force!

then halts to breakfast,

when the rebels march on him.

Milman's position as Kúnwar Singh pictured it.

It was too true. At last the opportunity for which Kúnwar Singh had longed through so many dreary months had come to him. An enemy, though European, yet vastly inferior in numbers; an enemy worn out by a long march, by deprivation of sleep, by fasting; an enemy twenty-five miles from his base and with no supports! What more could a general long for? Everything was in his favour. Kúnwar Singh, then, marched to a victory which he deemed assured. The imagination can almost picture him making to the confidant by his side an exclamation near akin to that which burst from the lips of Wellington when he noticed the false movement of Marmont which brought on the battle of Salamanca! *

Milman endeavours to check the

Yes, Milman was lost. Galloping forward, followed by some skirmishers, as soon as he re-

* "Mon cher Alava, Marmont est perdu."

ceived the news of which I have spoken, the English leader beheld the enemy in great strength, some covered by a mud wall, others in fields of sugarcane and in topes of trees. Still, hoping that a daring movement on his part would check their further progress, he ordered an advance. But the numbers of the enemy exceeded his in the proportion of eight to one. Outflanked, it was impossible to advance. Forced back, he at least maintained a bold front. The enemy, never attempting to charge, contented themselves with a steady advance and a steady musketry fire. Once, indeed, as the British troops neared the camp at Koelsa, which they had quitted the previous evening, the rebels made a desperate effort to outflank them. But a timely charge of the 4th Madras Cavalry, which had shown remarkable steadiness, frustrated this movement. Then it was that, tired, worn out, wearied, having lost many men in killed and wounded, the survivors found their way into the encamping ground of Koelsa.

advance of the rebels.

He falls back on Koelsa.

Not, however, to find a refuge there. The rumour of their mishap had preceded them. A panic had seized the camp-followers, most of whom had fled taking their bullocks with them. The foe was still near; the camp was not defensible; there was no food. Milman, then, abandoning the camp equipage, continued his retreat to Ázamgarh. He reached that place the same day, and whilst making every preparation to defend it in case it should be attacked, sent off expresses to Banáras, Allahábád, and Lakhnao for assistance.

Thence on A'zamgarh, whence he despatches messengers for aid.

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Some reinforcements reach Ázamgarh.

The express despached to Banáras reached that station on the 24th March. Forty-six men of the Madras Rifles were instantly despatched to Ázamgarh. The following day one hundred and fifty men of the 37th Regiment from Gházipúr, and two days later one hundred and thirty of the same regiment, reached Ázamgarh, and penetrated within the intrenchment before it had been attacked by the rebels. Colonel Dames of the 37th then assumed the command. On the 27th he attempted a sortie with two hundred Europeans, two guns, and sixty Madras cavalry, and though successful at first, was repulsed with the loss of one officer and eleven men killed and wounded. He then retreated into the intrenchment, and thenceforward acted on the defensive.

Lord Canning hears of Milman's disaster,

The express despatched to Allahábád reached that place on the 27th. Lord Canning was at Allahábád. The news caused him anxiety. Knowing what sort of a man Kúnwar Singh was, that he possessed audacity and courage, and that he knew the value of time in military operations, he realised at once the danger of the situation.

and at once realises its magnitude.

He saw how possible it was for the Jagdispúr chieftain, reinforced as he daily was by troops who had escaped from Lakhnao, to overwhelm Milman at Ázamgarh, and then rapidly traversing the eighty-one miles which separated that place from Banáras, then almost ungarrisoned, to seize that important city, and thus sever the communications between Calcutta on the one side and the Governor-General of India at Allahábád and the Commander-in-Chief of the army at Lakhnao on the other.

He orders Lord Mark Kerr to push on to A'zamgarh.

Just then the headquarters and right wing of the 13th Light Infantry happened to be at Allahábád. The officer commanding that regiment was Colonel Lord Mark Kerr. Lord Canning at once ordered Lord Mark to proceed with all haste with his regiment to Banáras, and picking up there whatever troops might be available, to push on to Ázamgarh and check Kúnwar Singh.

Lord Mark Kerr, responding promptly to the call, set out that same evening, reached Banáras on the 31st March, picked up there a troop—fifty-five men and two officers—of the Queen's Bays, seventeen gunners and one officer, with two 6-pounder guns and two 5½-inch mortars, and started thence for Ázamgarh at 10 o'clock on the night of the 2nd April. With the wing of the 13th were three hundred and seventy-two men and nineteen officers. His entire force consisted, then, of twenty-two officers and four hundred and forty-four men.

Lord Mark Kerr arrives within eight miles of A'zamgarh, and halts for the dawn.

Marching with all speed, Lord Mark Kerr reached Sarsána, eight miles from Ázamgarh, the evening of the 5th. There he received, and during the night continued to receive, most pressing letters from the staff officer at Ázamgarh, begging him to push on without a moment's delay. But to march a force of four hundred and forty-four men across a country utterly unknown to any of them, to relieve a place besieged by an army whose numbers certainly exceeded five thousand, and might amount to fifteen thousand, was an idea not to be entertained by a prudent commander. Defeat would

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1858. April 6.

but precipitate the evil he had been sent to avert. Lord Mark Kerr, then, wisely resolved to defer his march till the day should approach its dawn.

He marches on the 6th and comes on the rebels

He set out at 4 o'clock on the morning of the 6th—a reconnoitring party of the Bays, with whom was Lord Mark, leading the way. After a march of two hours, Lord Mark observed some buildings and a mango grove to the left of the road, and the banked ditches of the fields to the right of it, to be crowded with sepoys lying in ambush and evidently on the look-out for him. Making as though he had not observed them, he made his cavalry dismount, and halted till his train of elephants, camels, and carts had closed up; he then despatched a company of the 13th to the right with the view of forcing back the enemy's left, and of thus opening a way for the progress of the train. In this he so far succeeded, that the rebels fell back on the left, but almost at the same time a heavy fire opened from the buildings and the mango groves of which I have spoken, and which, on the left of the road from the British advancing line, constituted the enemy's right. Lord Mark threw out his men in skirmishing order and brought up the guns, which, at a distance of five hundred yards, began to throw shrapnel into the buildings. The enemy, however, were so numerous, and were so completely on all four sides of him, that it required all the soldierly skill of the British leader to keep them at a distance. His position was complicated by the necessity of defending the large train of animals accompanying the force, and the capture of which would, naturally, be a special object of

and fights them.

Great difficulties of his position.

the rebels. These animals, when the action had begun, had turned round with fright and bolted to the rear, the mahouts clinging to the elephants, whilst the drivers, descending from the carts, had run off, calling upon the trees and bushes to cover them. Everything now depended upon Lord Mark's ability to make head against the enemy. Up to this time, when the fight had lasted an hour, though he still held the position he had taken up, he had made no impression upon them; and just at the moment he could discern in rear of their skirmishers their reserves forming up in quarter-distance column, whilst a large body was being detached with the evident purpose of penetrating between him and the baggage animals. In this, before long, the rebels partly succeeded; for they set fire to many of the carts.

The rebels receive accession of strength.

The situation was critical. The two 6-pounders had been gradually brought to within sixty yards of the main building, without, however, producing the required effect. Lord Mark was anxious to try the effect of shelling, but the two mortars were so located, that, to use them with effect, it had become necessary to cause the gunners and their supports to fall back, and Lord Mark had noticed that the smallest retrograde movement caused the enemy to rise to their feet and, with loud shouts, display their numbers with a view to encircle him. But he felt the main building must be carried at any price. At last the two 6-pounders effected a small breach, and volunteers being called for, some thirty or forty men rushed to the storm. They found the breach not quite practicable, but,

Critical situation of Lord Mark Kerr.

The slightest hesitation would have lost him.

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1858. March.

His splendid perseverance

far from falling back, they set to work vigorously to enlarge it. Their labours disclosing an inner wall yet uninjured, Lord Mark recalled them, and resumed practice with his guns. Before the men fell back, they set fire to the wooden portions of the building. The guns then re-opened fire, but the effect they produced was slight, since, to maintain his position, Lord Mark was forced to use one of them to throw shrapnel at the rebels in the rear of his right flank. Gradually, however, progress was made, and Lord Mark was meditating a second assault, when the flames, which, despite the efforts made to subdue them, had been gradually spreading, forced the rebels to evacuate the building. Instantly, a pursuit was ordered, the Bays rushed to the front, and the day was won!

is crowned with success.

The rebels are repulsed in an attack made, meanwhile, on the baggage.

But while the position of the rebels in front was being thus forced, they had completed the circle, and were now attacking the rear of Lord Mark's small force. In this part of the field a high embankment crossed the road. This embankment the enemy now seized. Captain Wilson Jones of the 13th, commanding the company of that regiment which formed the rear guard, at once faced about and charged them. He drove the enemy back, but lost his own life.

Lord Mark leaves the baggage with Major Tyler,

Lord Mark's position was now peculiar. He had pierced the enemy's centre; the way to Ázamgarh lay open to him; on his left, the rebels, terrified by the defeat in the centre, were rapidly falling back; but on the right, notwithstanding the success of the charge just narrated, they still occupied a menacing position. The

drivers and the cartmen had run away, and the baggage remained exposed. Under these circumstances, Lord Mark resolved to leave a sufficient force to hold front to the right, whilst he should push on to Ázamgarh, and return with the Madras sepoys he might find there, who, on a pinch, would drive the carts. No doubt he calculated that the enemy, believing themselves threatened by the movement, would be glad to retreat while they could. Sending, then, Major Tyler of the 13th, a cool and capable officer, to command the rear and baggage guards, he pushed forward on the Ázamgarh road. The enemy's right wing, noticing the movement, beat a hasty retreat.

and moves on A'zamgarh.

No sooner had the enemy retreated than many of the carters and drivers and mahouts reappeared, and Major Tyler pushed on rapidly after his chief. No further opposition was offered. A village which had to be traversed, and which might have been easily defended with a few men, was abandoned. The bridge across the river leading to the intrenchment was reached at 11 o'clock. This bridge had been rendered impassable by the rebels, and after their flight they still continued to maintain a heavy fire on it. It was repaired under this fire by Lieutenant Colomb, R.A., acting under the orders of Lord Mark. As soon as it had been rendered serviceable, the Madras Rifles crossed it in compliance with a request made by Lord Mark, and the convoy was brought in in safety.

He is rejoined *en route* by Major Tyler,

and enters A'zamgarh.

This gallant little action reflects the greatest credit on the troops and the commander. Lord

Credit due to Lord Mark Kerr.

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Mark was accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Longden of the 10th Foot and Mr. Venables, the daring indigo-planter, whose previous gallant achievements have brought him more than once before the reader; and no doubt the previous experience of these two gallant men was useful to him. But he was the leader; upon him it depended whether to advance against numbers or to retreat before numbers. Upon his shoulders rested the responsibility, and to him must be accorded the praise. When it was urged upon him to abandon the convoy and to make for the intrenchments, he merely replied "Wait a bit: we'll win yet," and persevered. The number against whom he contended did not, at the lowest computation, fall short of four thousand men, and probably greatly exceeded it. Against these, deducting his baggage guards, he could not put in line more than three hundred men. In the daring, the conduct, and the success of the achievement, Lord Mark Kerr's relief of Ázamgarh may be classed with Vincent Eyre's relief of Árah.

His prudence equalled his daring.

Nor, whilst awarding Lord Mark Kerr this high praise for his daring, can History deny him the not inferior merit of military prudence. The imploring letters he received for immediate aid on his arrival at Sarsána might have induced a less prudent commander to start that night on an errand, the accomplishment of which successfully might well be supposed to depend on the most absolute promptitude. There can be no more tormenting pressure on the mind of a commander than the knowledge that his countrymen within a few

miles of him may perish for want of immediate relief; that the few hours of the night, well employed, would bring them that relief; but that prudential considerations compel him not to use those hours. Lord Mark Kerr felt that pressure, and yet had the wisdom to resist it.

State of affairs in A'zamgarh.

The state of affairs at Ázamgarh was bad indeed. Milman's force, after its precipitate and disastrous retreat, had marched straight into the intrenchments within the jail, leaving the town to the mercy of the rebels. But these moved so cautiously that the reinforcements of which I have spoken * were able to enter. Two days later the rebels occupied the town and beleaguered the jail. Fortunately, this was surrounded by a deep ditch, and Kúnwar Singh did not care to risk an assault. He invested the place, and trusted to the effects of famine and an unremitting fire. He even had it in contemplation to blockade the jail and to march on Banáras, and there can be no doubt that this programme would have been carried out but for the splendid achievement of Lord Mark Kerr.

Defects in Kúnwar Singh's

The action fought by Lord Mark had cost the British a casualty list large in proportion to the number engaged, eight officers and men being killed and thirty-four severely or dangerously wounded. At such a price the defeat of Kúnwar Singh was cheaply purchased. That leader had showed himself greater as a strategist than a tactician. His plan of campaign was admirable, but

* *Vide* page 458.

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in carrying it into execution he committed many serious errors. Milman gave him a great, an unexpected opportunity. He had that officer at his mercy. When Milman's men were waiting for their breakfast in the mango grove near Atráolia, it was in the power of Kúnwar Singh to cut them off from Ázamgarh. He preferred to attack them in front. Then the pursuit was not pressed on with sufficient vigour. A capable commander would still have cut them off. Once having seen them housed in Ázamgarh, he should have left a portion of his force to blockade them, pressed on with the remainder towards Banáras, and occupied a position in which he could have engaged Lord Mark Kerr with advantage. He had at his disposal, it subsequently transpired, about twelve thousand men. To oppose these the few men led by Lord Mark were alone available. Everything was within his grasp had he dared to stretch out his hand. The chances are that, capable man as he was, he saw all this. It was his misfortune to have under him many petty leaders, all wishing to be supreme!

Probable cause of his false tactics.

I have now recorded the result of the message sent from Ázamgarh to Banáras and Allahábád. Another result was produced by the message despatched to Lakhnao. What that was will be narrated when I return to the army still massed in the conquered city.

BOOK XII.

CHAPTER III.

I LEFT Sir Colin Campbell master, on the 21st March, of Lakhnao. I propose to narrate now the measures which he adopted to reap every possible advantage from his conquest.

The action still remaining to be accomplished.

Three main objects first presented themselves to his attention. The first was the strengthening of the weak places which had been threatened during his advance; the second, the formation of a moveable column for the reconquest of western and north-western Oudh; the third, the reconquest of Rohilkhand. Combined with this last was the necessity of holding out a hand to the brigade of Seaton, left at Fathgarh, and to the columns of Jones and Penny still accomplishing, or about to accomplish, the work which had remained to be carried out in the north-west.

On the 24th March Sir Colin detailed a considerable force to constitute, for the moment, the

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Sir E. Lugard is ordered to A'zamgarh.

garrison of Lakhnao.* The command of this force was entrusted to Sir Hope Grant.

On the 28th the Military Train, the 10th Regiment, and a field battery left for Allahábád. The same day Sir Colin received information of Milman's disaster near Ázamgarh, narrated in the previous chapter. His movement to repair the misfortune was as prompt as could be desired. On the 29th Sir E. Lugard was despatched, with a brigade of infantry (10th,† 34th, 84th), seven hundred Sikh sabres, and eighteen pieces of artillery, by the direct road to Ázamgarh, taking Atráolia *en route*. Whilst Lugard would thus relieve Ázamgarh, the advance of Jang Bahadúr's force towards Faizábád, on their return to Nipál, would, it was hoped, relieve Rowcroft, whom I left encamped at Amórah.

I propose, in the first instance, to follow the course of Sir E. Lugard. But before setting out with him I may state that there still remained at Lakhnao four regiments of cavalry and eight of infantry, with artillery in proportion, to be accounted for. These were constituted as a moveable column, at the head of which was placed Brigadier-General Walpole. To him I shall revert in due course.

* Two troops horse artillery; two field batteries; four garrison batteries; one company engineers; three companies pioneers.

The 2nd Dragoon Guards; the Lahór Light Horse; 1st Sikh Cavalry; Hodson's Horse; the 20th, 23rd, 38th, 53rd, 90th, 97th Regiments, and 1st Madras Fusiliers; Headquarters 27th Madras Native Infantry; 5th Panjáb Infantry.

† The 10th had started on the 28th *en route* to England, but were recalled by an express that night.

Lugard left Lakhnao on the 29th March. The distance to Ázamgarh was fifteen marches. Pushing on as rapidly as possible he reached Súltánpúr the 5th April. It had been his intention to cross the Gúmti at this place, and march direct on Ázamgarh. But to carry out this plan would have necessitated a week's delay. The bridge had been destroyed by fire, and there were no boats. Under these circumstances he resolved to continue his march down the right bank, and to make, in the first instance, for Jánpúr.

He sets out 29th March,

A few miles only from Jánpúr, to the north-west of it, and on the direct road from Sultánpúr, lies the village of Tigra. Within four miles of this village a rebel force of three thousand men, one third of whom were trained sepoys, and two guns, under the command of Ghúlám Húsén, had appeared on the 10th April, threatening Jánpúr. The following day this rebel force attacked and burnt a considerable village within six miles of Tigra. The afternoon of that day Lugard reached Tigra, and heard of the vicinity of the rebels. He had made a sixteen-mile march, his troops were exhausted, the heat of the day excessive. He therefore resolved to remain where he was for the day. Towards evening, however, he received information that the rebels were on the move. He at once turned out his men, dashed after them, caught and attacked them. The rebels attempted for a moment to stand, but they could not resist the terrible onslaught of the cavalry. After a short resistance, they turned and fled, leaving eighty killed and

and defeats the rebels near Tigra.

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their two guns on the field. On the side of the victors six sowars were wounded. There was but one killed—but the loss was the loss of a most gallant officer, who had rendered excellent service during the mutiny. He who fell was Lieutenant Charles Havelock, a nephew of the renowned general.

Death of Charles Havelock.

Lugard marched on the next day to Didarganj, relieved the Gúrkahs at Jánpúr by three companies of the 37th Regiment, and then pushed on for Ázamgarh. On the 14th he was within seven miles of that place. Ázamgarh was still invested by the force under Kúnwar Singh, computed to be thirteen thousand strong; but if that leader had been unable to force his way into the British intrenchment when it was occupied by Milman's small force, still less was he capable of making an impression upon it after the reinforcements from Ghazipúr and Banáras had reached the place. Indeed, the British garrison had been so greatly increased that, had it taken the field, it might have ended the campaign at a blow. Colonel Dames, who commanded, was, however, restrained from action by the express orders of Sir Colin, and directed to await in his intrenched position the arrival of Sir E. Lugard. The rebels, therefore, still occupied the town, and still threatened the intrenchment. On the approach of Lugard, on the 15th, Kúnwar Singh drew up his forces along the banks of the little river Tons, commanding the bridge of boats across it, and resolved to dispute the passage. But the wily chieftain had matured plans far deeper than even

A'zamgarh.

Plans of the British garrison.

Plans of Kúnwar Singh.

those about him could fathom. He knew very well that the soldiers who had failed to stop the small force of Lord Mark Kerr would have no chance against the more considerable brigade of Sir E. Lugard. He therefore so arranged his forces that whilst those upon whom he could most depend should defend the passage of the Tons as long as possible, the great bulk, traversing the town, should march with all speed to the Ganges, and, crossing that river at or near Gházipúr, should endeavour to reach his native jungles at Jagdispúr, there to renew the war.

Lugard forces the passage of the Tons.

Lugard attacked the rebels with great vigour. But for some time he failed to make any impression upon them. They held the bridge of boats with a resolution and perseverance worthy of veterans, and it was not until they had by their long resistance ensured the safety of their comrades that they fell back. Lugard then crossed the Tons, and at once detached half a troop of horse artillery, the Military Train, and two squadrons 3rd Sikh Cavalry in pursuit. In this action Mr. Venables, the indigo-planter, always to the front, always daring, and always, from his intimate acquaintance with the country, eminently useful, was severely wounded. To the regret of every soldier, he died of his wounds. He had rendered splendid and unpaid service to his country. In the earlier days of the mutiny, when all had been clouded and gloomy, he had set a noble example to everybody, and, when his station had been abandoned by the civilians, had

Death of Mr. Venables.

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1858. April 15.

shown the power of preserving order which even one resolute Englishman can wield in India.

The rebels retreat, but are not beaten.

The rebels had taken every advantage of the firm resistance made by their comrades at the Tons, and the pursuers had a gallop of twelve miles before they caught sight of them. And when they did see them, the sight was far from reassuring. Instead of a defeated and scattered host seeking safety in flight, they came upon a body of men retiring unbroken and in good order. They were the men of the old Dánápúr brigade, of the 7th, 8th, and 40th Native Infantry. But the pursuers did not hesitate. They charged —to make, however, no impression. "It was all we could do," wrote one of the officers engaged, "to hold our own against such odds. Immediately our cavalry charged they stood and formed square, and used to abuse and tell us to come on."

The pursuers make little impression upon them.

The loss of the British was considerable. Hamilton of the 3rd Sikhs, a very gallant officer, was killed charging the squares. And although, by greatly daring, the British force succeeded in cutting off three of the enemy's guns, they found it useless to continue the pursuit. They therefore halted at Nathupúr, where they had fought, watched the enemy disappear in the direction of the Ganges, then sent their killed and wounded into Ázamgarh, with a request for reinforcements.

Lugard sends Douglas in pursuit.

Lugard, after crossing the Tons, had encamped at Ázamgarh, and drawing to himself the garrison of the place, was preparing to move actively against two rájás, allies of Kúnwar Singh—who, after the battle, had taken a northerly direction

towards Oudh—and to watch the reuniting portions of Ghúlám Husén's force. But the moment he received the report of the pursuing column halted at Nathupúr, he detached Brigadier Douglas at the head of a wing of the 37th, the 84th, one company Madras Rifles, four guns Major Cotter's battery Madras Artillery, two 5½-inch mortars, to reinforce them. Douglas started at once, and reached Nathupúr that night (16th April).

1858. April 16-17.

Meanwhile Kúnwar Singh had halted at the village of Naghai, near Ázamgarh, about fourteen miles from Nathupúr. The reasons which influenced Kúnwar Singh, at so critical a conjuncture, cannot be divined. It is fair to believe, however, that knowing, from the custom of his enemy, he would be pursued, he hoped to be able to strike him a blow so disabling as to permit him to continue his retreat without further molestation. Certain it is that he had occupied a strong position, and arranged his forces with considerable skill. Occupying groves of large trees, he had covered his front with breastworks, and had disposed his guns so as to reap the greatest possible advantage from their working. Here Douglas found him on the morning of the 17th, and here he attacked him. But again did Kúnwar Singh display great tactical ability. He kept Douglas at bay till he had secured two lines of retreat for his main columns, which he had divided. He then fell back leisurely, and though many of his men were cut up, they maintained to the end of the day their determined attitude. As soon as

Kúnwar Singh halts at Naghai.

Douglas attacks him there.

Kúnwar Singh falls back skilfully.