



1857

FOR CONSULTATION ONLY

THE HISTORY

AS-003281

OF THE

# INDIAN MUTINY:

GIVING

A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE SEPOY INSURRECTION IN INDIA; AND A CONCISE  
HISTORY OF THE GREAT MILITARY EVENTS WHICH HAVE TENDED TO  
CONSOLIDATE BRITISH EMPIRE IN HINDOSTAN.

BY CHARLES BALL.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

BATTLE SCENES, VIEWS OF PLACES, PORTRAITS AND MAPS

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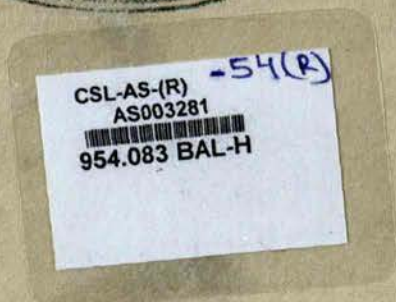
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## INDEX.

## VOL. II.

- Accession** of the Derby cabinet, 467; resignation of, 644.
- Addiscombe College**, speech of Lord Stanley at, 637.
- Afghans**, the, expelled from Lucknow, 589.
- Agra**, surprise of Greathed's column at, 61; defeat of the rebels, *ib.*; letters from, 65, 66; memorandum of chief commissioner, 70.
- Ahmedabad**, attempted revolt at, 142.
- Aldwell, Mrs.**, evidence of, on the trial of the king of Delhi, 174.
- Allahabad**, arrival of governor-general at, 406; alarm at, 407; opening of railway to Futtehpore, *ib.*; a proposed capital, 410; proclamation of the royal government at, 520.
- Allypore**, energetic movement at, 60; attempted mutiny prevented, 368; punishment of rebels at, *ib.*
- Alumbagh**, the, 40, 84, 86; held by General Outram, 99; operations near, 238, 240; letters from, 241, 244, 246; attacked by the rebels, 242, 244; despatch from, 242.
- Amathie**, the rajah and fort of, 529; preparations for attack, 532; description of the fort, 533; surrender of, 536.
- Andaman Isles**, the, 178.
- Anderson, Miss Georgiana**, an orphan from Cawnpore, 590.
- Annuities of honour** voted by the East India Company, 443, 489.
- Anticipation of an Indian revolt**, by Mr. Brougham, 413.
- Arrah**, arrival of Dinapore mutineers at, 104; correspondence from, 115; disasters at, 118, 120; repulse of Europeans near, 288.
- Arrangements for October campaign in Oude and Central India**, 512.
- Arraignment of the Europeans in India**, 636, 637.
- Arrival of fugitives from India at Southampton**, 415.
- Assam**, rebellious proceedings crushed at, 162.
- Assumption of the government of India by Queen Victoria**, 517; petition of the East India Company against the measure, 447; royal proclamation, 519.
- Auckland, Lord**, letter of, to the king of Oude, 459.
- Aurangabad**, state of the city of, 140.
- Asimgarh**, unfavourable reports from, 69; approach of rebel force to, 285; occupied by Koer Sing, *ib.*
- B.**
- Baillie, Mr.**, notice of inquiry into causes of rebellion, 457.
- Bainie Madhoo**, rajah of Shunkerpore; summons to, 537; negotiation with, 538; flight and pursuit of, 539.
- Bankee**, conflict at, 554.
- Banks, Major**, death of, at Lucknow, 10.
- Barcelly**, operations of rebel troops in, 306; advance of Sir Colin Campbell against, 327; flight of rebel chiefs from, *ib.*; the first shot, 329; the town captured, 330; incidents of the fight, 333; victims of the outrages of May, 1857, *ib.*; statement of Mrs. Decamp, *ib.*
- Barrow**, Major, commandant of volunteer cavalry in the field; thanks of government to, 409; negotiations of, with the rajah of Amathie, 530, 532, 535, 536.
- Batta**, parliamentary discussion respecting, 468, 470.
- Begum of Oude**, proclamation of, 543; terms offered to, 551; carried off by her troops, 552; requisitions of, 556; position of, in Nepal, 579; interview with, 580; movements of, 593.
- Bengal**, errors in the military code of, 607; extent of military revolt in, 608; report of military commission on the reorganisation of the army, 609.
- Berar**, operations of field force in, 577.
- Berhampore**, doubtful conduct of the troops at, 163; arrival of H.M. 90th regiment at, *ib.*; native troops disarmed at, 164.
- Beulah**, halt of the Oude force at, 529.
- Bheels**, outrages perpetrated by the, 151.
- Bhowsee**, repulse of the Gwalior rebels at, by General Windham, 189.
- Bill to transfer the government of India**, introduced, 454; debate thereon, 455, 462; text of Bill No. 1, 463; objects of the bill explained, 466; Bill No. 2, 470; debate thereon, 470, 471, 474; Bill No. 3, text of, 486; remarks upon, 488; debate thereon, 489, 490; petition of East India Company against, 490; passed, 491; amended text, 491, 499.
- Birjies Kuddr**, interview with, at the camp of the begum of Oude, 580; letter of, to Jung Bahadoor, 591.
- Bithoor**, the town and fort of, 25; action near, 26; despatch from, 27.
- Bombay**, disturbances in, 130; plot discovered at, 154; punishment of ringleaders, *ib.*; proclamation of the royal government at, 521, 522; reforms in administration at, 629.
- Bombay Telegraph**, extracts from the, 362.
- Booby**, orders respecting the Delhi, 170, 184.
- Boyle, Lieutenant**, 78th highlanders, at Oonao, 18.
- Boyle, Mr.**, heroic defence at Arrah, 104; narrative of occurrences, 105; thanked by the governor-general, 107; munificent reward of, 641.
- Buldeo Sookul**, arrest of, at Kuttungee, 148.
- Bullunghur**, correspondence from, 58.
- Burton, Major**, murder of, at Kotah, 159, 160.
- Bushrut-gunge**, actions at, 18, 21.
- C.**
- CALCUTTA**, state of public feeling in, 388; arrival of troops from England at, *ib.*; presentation of colours to volunteers at, 392; arrival of fugitives from Lucknow, 401; progress of the convoy described, 402; the disembarkation, 403; death of the bishop of, 404; alarm at, 406; compensation meeting at, 408; volunteer cavalry disbanded at, 409; return of naval brigade to, 410; proclamation of the royal government at, 519, 520; public meeting at, 524.
- Calpee**, flight of the Rana of Jhansie to, 296; telegram from Sir Hugh Rose, 300; address to the troops, 348.
- Cambridge**, defence of General Windham by the Duke of, 202.
- Campbell, Sir Colin**, on recommendations for the Victoria Cross, 29; despatch to Major-general Havelock, 31; to General Outram, 32; remarks on the battle of Kudjwa, 77; opens the Oude campaign, 83; joins the army at Lucknow, 88; enters the residency, *ib.*; orders the evacuation, 89; message to governor-





- general, 91; general orders by, 93; hasty return to Cawnpore, 98, 194; arrival of convoy from Lucknow, 194; defeat of rebels at Cawnpore by, 195; memorandum of, 196; despatches from, 197, 199, 207; operations in Oude, 250; arrival of, at Futtoghur, 231; return to Cawnpore, 232; details of operations, 248; crosses into Oude, 249; arrangement of the Oude field force, 250; attack upon, and defeat of, rebels at Lucknow, 254, 256; incidents of the victory, 256-269; despatches from Lucknow, 270-275; general order to the troops, 275; departure for campaign in Rohilcund, 324; conference with General Penny at Futtoghur, 326; joins Brigadier Walpole at Tingres, *ib.*; capture of Bareilly, 329, 330; despatch from, 331; general order, announcing the Queen's thanks to the troops, 334; peril of, at Shahjehanpore, 337; general order, 338; return to Futtoghur, 375; elevation to the peerage announced, 458; *Clyde*, Lord, annuity of £2,000 voted by the East India Company, 489; peerage gazetted, 500; departure for final campaign in Oude, 529; proclamation to the inhabitants, 529; arrangements of, 551; accident to, at Mujidiah, 552; defeat of rebels at Bankes, 554; interview with rebel chiefs at the Raptee, 562; despatch from, 563; notification of end of the war in Oude, 567, 568; visit to Nana Sahib's residence at Churdah, 568; despatches aid to Jung Bahadoor, 570; arrival at Delhi, 606; instructions for guidance of courts-martial, 615; farewell order to the troops, 617; despatch from, 662.
- Canterbury, speech of the Archbishop of, on Christianity in India, 435.
- Carthew, Brigadier, operations of, at Cawnpore, 195; memorandum of commander-in-chief respecting, 196.
- Causes of discontent considered, 632; native opinion as to, 633.
- Cavanagh, Patrick, heroism of, 18.
- Cawnpore, departure from, of General Havelock to relieve Lucknow, 16; returns to, 22; letters from, 35, 39; meeting of Outram, Havelock, and Neill at, 37; second departure from, 38; arrival of troops at, 72; letters from, 77; its importance as a military position, 188; advance of Gwalior and Indore mutineers against, 189; repulse of General Windham at, *ib.*; details of the action, 190; defensive arrangements, 191; repeated attacks of the enemy, 191, 192; gallantry of 64th regiment, 193; arrival of Sir Colin Campbell, 194; the Lucknow convoy, *ib.*; Brigadier Carthew censured at, 197; losses of General Windham, *ib.*; despatches from, 197, 198; letter of an officer from, 200; position of opposing forces at, 205; defeat and rout of the rebels, 206, 207; details of occurrences, by a native, 210; concentration of troops at, 233; arrival of convoy from Agra, 253; the king of Delhi at, 524; the royal government proclaimed at, *ib.*
- Censure, vote of, proposed, 481; rejected, 482; carried, 664.
- Central India, disturbed state of, 161; operations of Sir Hugh Rose and General Whitlock in, 234; distribution of the field force of, 360; operations in, 509, 558.
- Chandnee Chouk, Delhi, appearance of the, 180, 185.
- Chapman, assistant-magistrate; report of death of Lieutenant Henry at Nandoor Singolsh, 151.
- Cheeton, death of the Mahratta chief, 362.
- Chittagong, mutinous outbreak at, 219; movements of rebels from, 224.
- Christianity, influence of, in India, 423; movement in aid of, 435; neglect of, 638.
- Chuprah, alarm at, and flight from, described, 118.
- Churdah, visit to the fort of, 568.
- Churnuck Poojah, cruelties at the festival of, 649.
- Claims of the late Company's troops to discharge and re-enlistment, 657; Court of Inquiry ordered by Lord Clyde, to report on the claim, 658; petition of the troops to parliament, 659.
- Clyde, Lord. See Campbell, Sir Colin.
- Colombo, arrival of the, at Southampton, with fugitives from India, 415; the passengers, 416; scene on board, *ib.*
- Colvin, the Hon. John Russell, death of, 66; notice of public services, 67; government notification, 68.
- Commencement of October campaign, 514.
- Compensation, the question of, agitated, 408; resolutions of claimants, *ib.*
- Condemnatory secret despatch of Lord Ellenborough, 479.
- Control, proposed change in the Board of, 425.
- Cooper, Lieutenant, murder of, at Deoghur, 160.
- Cost of life to the rebels, to June, 1858, 364.
- Cotton, Lieutenant-colonel, successful operations at Agra, 63; despatch from, 64.
- Courts-martial, notification of the commander-in-chief respecting, 615.
- Cullen, General, conduct of, at Travancore, 588; embarrassing result to the government, 592.
- Cullen, Archbishop, on the Indian Relief Fund, 421.
- D.
- Dacca, outbreak at, 221; native troops disarmed at, 222.
- Daily News, strictures of the, on General Windham's failure at Cawnpore, 202; on the India Bills 1 and 2, 472.
- Davidson, Colonel, narrow escape of, at Hyderabad, 585.
- Debate on India Bill No. 1 (Fahuerston's), 455, 462, 467; on Bill No. 2 (Ellenborough's), 470, 471, 472, 477; on Lord Ellenborough's condemnatory despatch, 478, 479, 481, 482, 484; on Mr. Disraeli's resolutions, 476, 478; on Bill No. 3 (Stanley's), 489, 491.
- Debroghur, establishment of a naval brigade for the protection of, 162; insubordination of the men, *ib.*; arrest of the nawab of, *ib.*
- Decamp, Mrs., narrative of outbreak at Bareilly, 333.
- Deccan, movements of Arabs and Rohillas in the, 348; murderous attempt in the, 585.
- Dehree, action at, 374.
- Delhi, departure of movable columns from, 57, 58; state of the city after the recapture, 166; alleged indulgences to the king and his son, contradicted, 168; visit to, 169; charges against the king, 171; trial commenced, *ib.*; sentence, 178; Mr. Layard's misstatement respecting, 179, 180; opinions respecting the future (of Delhi), 182; Mr. Russell's visit to, 375; the palace, 376; the king, 378; departure of the king for Rangoon, 629; arrival of, at Cawnpore, 524; at Calcutta, 629; at Rangoon, 630; manifesto of, *ib.*; Sir John Lawrence's administration at, 181, 612, 613.
- Delhi Gazette, native manifesto in, 630.
- Deoghur, revolt of troops at, 160.
- Deportation of the king of Delhi, 629.
- Dera Ismael Khan, a conspiracy detected at, 373; punishment of mutineers at, 373, 374.
- Derby, Lord, new cabinet of, 467.
- Dewool, Captain, report of murderous outbreak at Chittagong, 220.
- Dhoondia Kera, junction of the forces at, 539; battle at, 540.
- Dikhoosha, the, 86.
- Dinapore, the cantonments at, 100; outbreak at, 103; desertion by the troops, 104; disastrous pursuit, 108; correspondence from, 113; affray between European and native soldiers at, 125.
- Direct government of the crown, proposed for India, 425.
- Discipline, on the importance of, in a native army, 610.
- Discontent among the late Company's troops, 657.
- Disraeli, Mr., speech on Indian affairs, at Aylesbury, 418; in parliament, 454, 463, 467; introduces Bill No. 2, for transferring the government of India to the crown, 470; resolutions proposed by, 476, 478.
- Dissolution of the East India Company's rule in India, 499.
- Distribution of the European army, 617; farewell order of the commander-in-chief to, 620.
- Doab, insurrectionary movements in the, 339; state of the, 375.





Dorin, Mrs., death of, at Lucknow, 11.  
Douglas, Brigadier, operations of, 287, 289.  
Dowell, Lieutenant, report of occurrences at Dacca, 222.  
Dusseerih, the Hindoo festival of, 144.

## E.

EAST INDIA COMPANY, announcement of direct government by the crown, 444; correspondence with Lord Palmerston thereon, 446; petition of, to the House of Commons, 447; discussion thereon, 454, 457; the bills for transferring the government of India to the crown discussed, 474; resolution thereon, 475; petition against Bill No. 3, 490; extinction of the territorial government of, 499; last official acts of, 508.  
Education of European officers directed, 82.  
Ellenborough, Lord, address to his tenants, on the Indian crisis, 424; bill of, for the government of India, 470; statement on the Oude proclamation, 478; condemnatory despatch of, 479; resignation of, 482.  
Ellichpore, mutinous assault at, 518.  
Elphinstone, Lord, letter to, on the restoration of order in India, 235.  
Errors, parliamentary, corrected, 640.  
Etawah, murder of railway clerks at, 584; capture and punishment of the assassins, 599.  
Eyre, Major Vincent, defeat of rebels by, at Koondhun Putee, 34; arrival at, and operations near, Arrah, 111; defeat of Koer Sing at, *ib.*; capture of Jagdispore, 120; report of operations, 127.

## F.

FANSHAW, Captain, escape of, near Perozepore, 340.  
Farewell address of the East India Company to its officers and servants, 527.  
Fast-day for the rebellion in India proclaimed, 420.  
Feroze Shah, defeat of, at Moradabad, 308; enters the Doab, 546; movements of, 556, 583.  
Finance, Indian, discussions on, 641, 642, 648.  
Fitchett, Joseph, adventures of, at Cawnpore, 591; his account of the massacre there, *ib.*  
Fulton, Captain, death of, at Lucknow, 15.  
Furruckabad, the city of, 185; surrender of the nawab of, 561; sent to Futteghur for trial, 562; negotiates for escape, 594; trial and sentence, 595, 596; banished to Mecca, 661.  
Futteghur, the station of, 183; rajah of Furruckabad imprisoned at, 596.  
Futteghunje, arrival of the Rohilkund field force at, 328.  
Fyzabad, operations of the moulevis of, 307, 337; death of, 347; advance of Brigadier Grant to, 381.

## G.

GAZEES, an attack by, 61; desperate encounter with, at Kukerowlee, 318; at Bareilly, 330.  
Ghoorhas, advance of, from Nepaul, 165, 228; operations of, at Goruckpore, 227; at Lucknow, 257; homeward march of, 275, 276.  
Gonda, murderous project of the rajah of, frustrated, 144; defeat of rebels at, 606.  
Goonjaree, defeat of rebels at, 599, 600.  
Goruckpore, defeat of rebels at, by Jung Bahadoor, 227.  
Governor-general, memorandum of the, on the defence of Lucknow, 43, 45, 47; on the death of Sir Henry Lawrence, 56, 387; orders a gratuity to the troops, 387; notification of the death of Mr. Colvin, 63; instructions to the government of the Central Provinces of India, 69; telegram to the commander-in-chief, 91; order for the reception of the Lucknow fugitives at Calcutta, 99; on the death of Lieutenant Henry, 154; general order of, respecting General Windham, 202; on the advance of Jung Bahadoor, 224; notification of the

recapture of Lucknow, 270; proclamation to the people of Oude, 276; explanatory letter of, 277; correspondence with Sir James Outram, chief commissioner of Oude, thereon, 278, 279; notification of the death of Sir William Peel, 322; on operations in Rohilkund, 331; on the conquest of Gwalior, 355; promise of, to Maun Sing, 382; unpopularity of Lord Canning, 385; movement in favour of, 396; Regulation of Arms Bill, 391; strictures on the policy of, 393; explanatory despatch of 11th December, 1857, to the Court of Directors, 395; minute of council of, 31st July, 1857, 398; despatch of 24th December, 399; correspondence with the Hon. T. P. Grant respecting mutineers at Cawnpore, 400; minute of the governor-general thereon, 401; accused of missionary zeal, 405; removes to Allahabad, 406; opens railway between Allahabad and Futtehpore, 407; Calcutta volunteer cavalry disbanded by order of, 409; his policy assailed, 411, 412; administration of, reviewed in England, 412; defence of, by Lord Granville at the Mansion House, 430; by Lord Palmerston at Guildhall, 433; letter of, on the Indian Relief Fund, 439; policy defended in parliament, 442; his co-operation with the commander-in-chief shown, *ib.*; thanks of parliament to, 454; the secret condemnatory despatch of Lord Ellenborough to, 479; letter from secret committee of the Court of Directors to, 480; discussion in parliament thereon, 481; resignation of Lord Ellenborough, 482; instructions to the governor-general from the Court of Directors, *ib.*; resolution of continued confidence in, 484; despatch from Lord Canning to the Court of Directors, 501; acknowledgment of vote of confidence in, 506; instructions to civil officers in Oude, 513; proclamation to the inhabitants, 514; proclamation of the royal government, and appointment of Lord Canning as viceroy, 518; inauguration of the royal government at Allahabad, 520; despatch from Lord Clyde to, announcing termination of the war in Oude, 553; government notification thereof, 567; return of, to Calcutta, 515; regulations of, in cases of confiscation, *ib.*; answer to inquirers after compensation, 516; amount of claims, *ib.*; appeal of claimants to the British parliament, 617; obnoxious financial measure of, 621; discussion in council thereon, 623; popular excitement, 624; resolutions of Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, 625; proceedings at Madras, 626; alleged collision with Sir John Lawrence refuted, 639; letter of Lord Stanley to, 644; vindication of his council by, 646; discussion on the Stanley correspondence, 647; thanks of parliament to, 650, 653; created Earl Canning, 651; commutation of sentence on the nawab of Furruckabad, by, 661.  
Graham, Miss (Sealkote), arrival of, in England, 416.  
Grant, the Hon. J. P., correspondence of, respecting Cawnpore rebels, 400, 401.  
Grant, Mr. G. H., escape of, from Deoghur, 160.  
Grant, Brigadier Hope, affair of, at Mynpoorie, 72; arrival at Cawnpore, *ib.*; defeat of rebels at Bithoor, 210; at Serai ghat, *ib.*; report from, 211; advance to Baree, 307; skirmish with rebels at, 343; capture of Nuwahgonge, 345; report of, 346; advance from Lucknow, 372; relieves Maun Sing at Shahgunje, 372.  
Granville, Lord, defence of Lord Canning's administration by, 430; questions of, to Lord Ellenborough, 478; motion for papers, 478, 479, 484.  
Grenthed, Brigadier, defeat of rebels at Bolundshuhar, by, 60; arrival at Agra, 61; surprised by the enemy, *ib.*; defeat of the rebels, 62; report of, 63, 64; general order by, 68; instructions for future operations, 69; letters from his column, 73.  
Gubbins, Martin, Esq., his garrison at Lucknow, 3; correspondence of, 5.  
Guiler, defeat of Lucknow rebels at the village of, 239.  
Gwalior, defection of the contingent of, 187; desertion of the troops, 188; alarm at, 349; approach of rebel force under Nana Sahib and Tantia Topse, *ib.*; flight of Scindia, 350; taken possession of by rebels, *ib.*;





advance of Sir Hugh Rose, 351; defeat of rebels at the Morar encampment, *ib.*; the city recovered, 353; restoration of Schudia, 351; government notifications, 355, 356; incidents of the capture, 356; native treachery exhibited at in August, 1858, 397.

## H.

HAILEYBURY COLLEGE, closing session at, 439.

Harrison, Captain, report of disaster at Arrah, 110.

Havelock, Brigadier-general, tidings of the success of, at Cawnpore, 14; enters Oude for the relief of Lucknow, 16; action at Oonao, 17; at Busherutgunge, 18, 21; telegrams from, 18, 20, 22, 24; his troops retire to Mungulwar, 19; gun Lascars disarmed, 21; action at Bourseekie Chowkee, 23; retires to Oonao, *ib.*; recrosses the river to Cawnpore, *ib.*; state of the troops described, 25, 28, 31; attack and capture of Bithoor, 26; return to Cawnpore, 27; congratulatory order to the troops, *ib.*; report of action at Bithoor, *ib.*; list of triumphs, *ib.*; recommendations for the Victoria Cross, 28; objections to, and correspondence thereon, 28, 29; report of the commander-in-chief, 30; detail of his services and position, 30, 31; reply of the commander-in-chief, *ib.*; telegram from Brigadier Inglis to, 35; the command of the Lucknow relief force conceded to, by General Outram, 37; General Havelock's acknowledgment, and order to the troops, *ib.*; recrosses the Ganges into Oude, 38; drives the rebels from Mungulwar, 39; advances to Lucknow, 40; capture of the Alumbagh, *ib.*; enters the city, 41; conflict in the streets, *ib.*; enters the residency enclosure, *ib.*; joy of the relieved garrison, *ib.*; cost of the triumph, 42, 44; surrenders the command to Sir James Outram, 42; despatch from, *ib.*; government notification of his success, 44; communication cut off between the residency and Alumbagh, *ib.*; beleaguered by the rebels, 45; movement of troops for his relief, 69; approach of the commander-in-chief, 86; the garrison rescued, 91; death of General Havelock at Dilkosha, 95; personal notice of, 95, 97; posthumous honours and rewards, 97, 439, 442.

Havelock, Lieutenant Henry, recommended for the Victoria Cross, for conspicuous gallantry at Cawnpore, 28; correspondence thereon, 28, 29; decorated by the Queen, 645.

Havelock, Lieutenant Charles, death of, at Jaunpore, 286.

Healey, an English lunatic prisoner, found at Bareilly, 330.

Heathfield, Eusign, murder of, at Kolapore, 131, 132.

Henry, Lieutenant, death of, at Nandoor Singoleh, 151.

Hidayat Ali, loyal conduct of, rewarded, 184.

Highlanders, native dread of, 73.

Hodson, Major (captor of the king of Delhi), mortally wounded at Lucknow, 255.

Hogg, Colonel, explanations of, respecting the prince

Jumna Bukht, 169.

Holmes, Major, murder of, and lady, at Segowlie, 127.

Horne, Lieutenant, of Delhi, killed by a mine at Malahur, 60.

Hope, Brigadier Adrian, death of, at Rooya or Rhodamow, 311, 314.

Horne, Major, drowned in the Raptée, 555, 556, 565.

Horsford, Brigadier, defeats fugitive rebels from Oude, in Nepal, 581.

Hossein Majoo Khan, nawab of Moradabad; capture of, 308.

Hot-weather campaign of 1858, field operations in the, 284.

Hume, Mr., magistrate of Etawah; gallantry of, in the field, 547.

Hume, Lieutenant, death of, at Hurchundpore, 547.

Hussun Ushkurie, the king of Delhi's soothsayer, execution of, 184.

Huzrut Mahal, first wife of the king of Oude; assumes the regency of the kingdom, and promotes the rebellion in favour of her son, 247; conditions offered to,

256; driven from Lucknow, *ib.*; purchases the Lucknow prisoners from Loonee Sing for 8,000 rupees, 257; reorganising her army, 265; in the field at Khyrabad with 10,000 men, 281; movements of, 335, 344, 372; proclamation of, 543; terms of surrender offered to, 551; carried off by her troops, 552; demands of, 556; driven from a position on the Raptée, 560; flight into Nepal, 561; condition of her troops there, 579; interview with, in camp, 580; recrosses the Gunduck, and subsequent movements of, 593.

Hyderabad, attempted assassination at, 585.

## I.

INDIAN finance, state of, 388; scheme for improvement of, 390. See, also, 641, 642, 648.

Indian Relief Fund, correspondence respecting, 439.

Indus, arrival of fugitives by the, at Southampton, 417.

Inglis, Colonel, appointed by Sir Henry Lawrence to the command at Lucknow, 8; telegram from, to Brigadier-general Havelock, 35; report of the defence of the residency, 45-56; promotion, 56, 453; succeeds to the command at Cawnpore, *vice* Windham, removed to Umballah, 230.

Inglis, Lady, diary of, 89; arrival in England, 415.

Instructions from Court of Directors to Lord Canning, 482.

Interference of civilians with military arrangements, injudicious effects of, 70, 71.

Ishmael Khan, surrender of, 550; influence of his example, *ib.*

## J.

JACKSON, Sir Mountstuart and Miss Georgiana, murdered at Lucknow, 258, 380.

Jackson, Miss Madeline, rescue of, 258; her marriage at Calcutta, 596.

Jamieson, Colonel, letter to, from rebels of Jubbulpore, 146; his reply, 147.

Jeerum, concentration of rebel troops at, 212; dispersed at, by Captain Tucker, 213.

Jellalabad, occupation of the fort of, 86; English troops arrive at, 327; an execution, *ib.*

Jelapoor, arrest of mutineers at, 142; arrival of rebel force at, 222; desertion of troops from, *ib.*; letter from, 223; unsuccessful expedition from, *ib.*

Jhanna Bowen, pillage of the town of, 59.

Jhansie, attack of, by Sir Hugh Rose, 289; duplicity of the Rana, *ib.*; letter from, 290; advance of Tantia Topee to relieve it, *ib.*; storm and capture of the fort, 291; flight of the Rana, *ib.*; fatal explosion at, 292; incidents of the storm, 292, 295; recollections of the massacre of June, 1857, 296.

Jones, Brigadier, despatch from, at Moradabad, 309; advance to Bareilly, 317.

Jones, Colonel, report of battle of Kukurawlee, 319.

Jubbulpore, alarm at, 143, 144; execution at, 146; desertion from, *ib.*; details of occurrences at, 148, 150.

Jugdispoore, capture of the fort and palace of, 126; disaster at, 287.

Jung Bahadoor, of Nepal, assistance offered by, 165; spirited conduct of his troops at Mundoree, *ib.*; government notification of his advance, 224; visit to, 226; Gorakhpore relieved by, 227; arrival at Fyzabad, 228; battle of Sohunpore, 229; advance towards Lucknow, 253; gallant conduct of the Ghoorkas, 255, 257, 269, 268; returns to Nepal, 275, 276; correspondence with rebel leaders, 370, 580; misunderstanding with British resident at Khatmandoo, 560; proclamation of, 570; offers an asylum to the begum of Oude and family, 579, 580, 605; rebels take shelter in Nepal, contrary to his wish, 579; requires British aid to expel them, *ib.*





## K.

- Kaiserbagh**, the, at Lucknow, 41, 267.  
**Kavanagh**, Mr., adventure of, from Lucknow to the Alumbagh, 84, 86; at Rahimabad, 511; rewarded by government, *ib.*; presented to the Queen, and obtains the Victoria Cross, 645.  
**Kerr**, Lieutenant, gallantry of, at Kolapore, 136.  
**Kerr**, Lord Mark, dispatched to the relief of Azimgurh, 286.  
**Khatmandoo**, reception of the Queen's proclamation at, by the Nepaulese, 560.  
**King** of Delhi, visits to, 169, 179, 378; trial of, 171-177; Mr. Layard's report of visit to, 179, 180; arrival at Cawnpore, 524; deportation of, 629; arrival at Rangoon, 630.  
**Kirwee**, assault and capture of, by General Whitlock, 367; repulse of rebels at, 558.  
**Koer Sing**, followers of, at Arrah, 104; routed by Major Vincent Eyre, 111; retires to Jugdispore, 126; popularity of, 163; defeated at Azimgurh, 286; reward offered for, 287.  
**Kolapore**, outbreak at, 130; murder of officers at, 131; details of the occurrence, 131, 132, 135; fidelity of the rajah of, 136; punishment of rebels at, 137, 138.  
**Konch**, triumph of Sir Hugh Rose at, 297.  
**Konce**, surprise and defeat at, 147.  
**Kotah**, the frontier town of, 159; murder of Major Burton at, *ib.*; capture of, 300; fatal explosion at, 302.  
**Kota-ki-Serai**, occupation of, by Sir Hugh Rose, 351.  
**Kudjwa**, attack upon the rebels at, 76.  
**Kukerowlee**, death of General Penny at, 318.  
**Kurrahee**, the port of, 156; revolt prevented at, *ib.*; punishment of rebels, 157, 158; frightful explosion at, 614.  
**Kuttungee**, flight of rebels from, 148; mutilated corpse of Lieutenant Macgregor found at, *ib.*

## L.

- Lady's diary** of the siege of Lucknow, extracts from, 42, 90.  
**Lahore**, proclamation of the royal government at, 521.  
**Lall Madhoo Sing**, rajah of Amathie, conduct of, 530; surrenders to Lord Clyde, 531; his fort evacuated, 532.  
**Lambton**, Captain, success of, at Nahirgurh, 575.  
**Languages**, the, of India, proposal to Anglicise them, 434.  
**Lawrence**, Sir Henry, desperate condition of, at Lucknow, 3; telegram from, 6; death of, 7; notification of, by the government, 56, 387; annuity voted to the eldest son of, 474.  
**Lawrence**, Sir John Muir, assumes the administration of the Delhi and Punjab districts, 181, 184; compensation, scheme of, 181, 612, 613; baronetcy conferred upon, 500; pension voted to, *ib.*; nominated to the council of India, 508; report of administration of the Punjab, 612.  
**Layard**, Mr., misstatements of, respecting the king of Delhi, 179; correction of the, 180.  
**Leaders** of the rebel forces in June, 1858, 363.  
**Le Grand**, Captain, death of, near Jugdispore, 288.  
**Leonard's**, Lord St., reply of, to Archbishop Cullen, 421, 422.  
**Lloyd**, Major-general, conduct of, at Dinapore, 103; reports from, 108, 111; letters to the deputy-adjutant-general, 118; removed from command, 121; explanations of, 121, 125; alleged feeling against at Dinapore, 125.  
**Loans** authorised for the service of India, 454, 641, 642, 648.  
**Lone Sing**, rajah of Mitawlee; treason and punishment of, 596.  
**Lowther**, Captain, arrest of the rajah of Debroghur by, 162.

- Lucknow**, the residency and fortifications at, 3, 4; siege of, commenced, 6; death of Lawrence at, 7; Colonel Inglis appointed to the command, 8; incidents of the siege, 8, 11, 12; condition of the inhabitants, 10, 13, 15; advance of Havelock for the relief of, 16; arrangement of force for, 37; the Alumbagh, 40, 73; entry of Havelock's troops, 41; report of General Havelock, 42; death of General Neill at, 43; the relief shut up in, 44; Brigadier Inglis's report of the defence of the residency, 48-56; fidelity of native soldiers at, 57; instructions for the effectual relief of, 69, 70; state of the besieged garrison in the residency, 78, 79; divisional order of General Outram at, 80; approach of Sir Colin Campbell to, 83; Mr. Kavanagh's adventure to convey intelligence, 84, 86; the Dilkooosh and Scunderbagh, 86; operations of the naval brigade at, 87, 88; the residency delivered, 88; the women and children withdrawn from, 89, 254; evacuated by the garrison, 91; peril of Captain Waterman at, 92; general orders of the commander-in-chief, 93; despatch of General Outram, 94; death of Havelock at Dilkoosha, 95; concentration of rebel forces in and around the city, 242; the Alumbagh assaulted, 243, 244; temper of the rebel troops at Lucknow, 245; new defensive works at, 246; rebel leaders at, 247; British force assigned for the final recapture of the city, 250; incidents of the march, 251; attack upon the city, 255, 256; the result, 256; fatal accident at, *ib.*; narrative of treatment of English prisoners by the rebels, 257; extract from letter in *Bombay Standard* respecting the Jacksons and Orrs, murdered at Lucknow, 259, 260; correspondence describing incidents of the siege, 260; of the recapture, 265, 268, 269; official notification of the capture, 270; despatches of Sir Colin Campbell, 271; general order to the troops at, 275; plans for the future occupation of, 280; state of the troops at, 281; temper of the people around, 282; arrival of Mr. Montgomery at, as chief commissioner of Oude, 305; arrangement of the protecting force, 306; menaced by the rebels, 343; improvements in the city, 369; details, by a native, of the murder of Sir Mountstuart Jackson and others, 380; search for the graves, 381; visit of Lord Clyde to, 342.  
**Lugard**, Sir Edward, appointed to the command of the Azimgurh field force, 281; advance of, to relieve Azimgurh, 284, 286; defeat and pursuit of Koer Sing by, 287.  
**Lyell**, Dr., murder of, at Patna, 102.  
**Lytton**, Sir E. B., speech of, at St. Alban's, on Indian affairs, 417.

## M.

- Macgregor**, Lieutenant, carried off by mutineers from Jubbulpore, 146; correspondence with them respecting, 146, 147; mutilated corpse of, discovered at Kuttungee, 148.  
**Madhoo Rao**, surrender of, at Kirwee, 367.  
**Madras**, disquietude at, 128; antipathy of native races, 129; letter from, on popular feeling, 130; proclamation of the Queen's government at, 523.  
**Madras 1st fusiliers**, address to, by the governor-general, 619; reception of, at Madras, 620.  
**Mahomed Suraj-on-deen**, ex-king of Delhi; charges against, 171; trial of, 171-178; visits to, 169, 179, 378; arrival at Cawnpore, 524; at Rangoon, 630.  
**Maladministration** of military affairs by the Indian government, 70.  
**Malaghur**, destruction of the fort of, 60.  
**Mansfield**, General, report of operations at Cawnpore, 209; defeat of rebels at Mujidiah, 552.  
**Manson**, Mr., murder of, by the chief of Nurgood, 341; official notification of, 342.  
**Massacres**, general notice of, 590; corroborative testimony of, 591; survivors of, 592.  
**Maun Sing**, rajah of Shahgunge; fidelity of, 36; besieged





by the rebels, 372, 381; doubtful movements of, before Lucknow, 382; his conduct reviewed, 383.  
 Maun Sing, rajah of Powrie; treachery of, 599, 601; personal appearance of, 604.  
 McDowell, W., magistrate of Chuprah; narrative of proceedings at, 117.  
 Meen-Meer, mutiny of 26th regiment at, 141.  
 Mehidpore, disastrous affair at, 161; attack on the Malwa contingent at, 217; Europeans murdered at, *ib.*; report of occurrences at, *ib.*; arrival of Hyderabad contingent at, *ib.*; flight and dispersion of rebels at, *ib.*; detail of operations at, 218.  
 Mehundie Hussein, nawab of Furruckabad; surrender of, at the Raptree, 561; trial of, 595; banishment of, 561.  
 Mewatties routed from Delhi, 58; engagement with, 59.  
 Military commission, proceedings of, at Delhi, 170; report of, on the state of the Bengal army, 610.  
 Missionaries, papers relating to the, 648, 649.  
 Mitawlee, treason and punishment of the rajah of, 595.  
 Mitchell, General, defeat of Tania Topee by, 514; letter from the camp of, 517.  
 Mohumdee, operations of Brigadier Jones at, 338.  
 Mohurum, the Mohammedan fast of, 144.  
 Montgomery, Mr., judicial commissioner for the Punjab; decisive proceedings of, 219; appointed chief commissioner in Oude, 323.  
 Moradabad, defeat of Feroze Shah at, 308; despatch from, 309; loyal address of the nawab of, 524.  
 Morar, cantonment of, at Gwalior, captured by Sir Hugh Rose, 351.  
 Moulvie of Fyzabad, operations of the, 307.  
 Movable columns from Delhi, operations of the, 59, 61.  
 Mujidiah, the battle of, 552; accident to the commander-in-chief at, *ib.*; the fort of, 553.  
 Mundisore, revolt at, 155; defeat of rebels at, 218.  
 Mungulwar, the camp at, 21, 24; defeat of rebels at, 38.  
 Mushurruf Khan, conduct of, at Goruckpore, 228.  
 Mynpoorie, capture of, by Colonel Seaton, 186.

## N.

NABIRGURH, affair of Captain Lambton at, 576.  
 Nairs, caste privileges of the, 588.  
 Nana Sahib, intelligence of, 511; letter of, to Jang Bahadoor, 580.  
 Nandoor Singoleh, affair with Bheels at, 151; death of Lieutenant Henry at, *ib.*  
 Napier, Brigadier, pursuit of Tania Topee by, 353.  
 Nargarell (Travancore), caste disturbances at, 587.  
 Narrayan Rao, defeat and surrender of, at Kirwee, 366.  
 Native army, suggestions for the reorganisation of, 429.  
 Native ferocity and hatred, an instance of, 614.  
 Native religious festivals discontinued, 649.  
 Naval brigade (*Shannon*, Captain Sir W. Peel) dispatched to the assistance of Havelock, 32; arrival at Cawnpore, 72; notice of, 74; gallant conduct at Kudjwa, 76; attack of the Shah Nujee, Lucknow, by, 87; services at the Kaiserbagh, 91; recover a gun at Cawnpore, 191; mentioned in despatches, 197, 198, 270, 274; at Lucknow, 280; return to Calcutta, 410.  
 Naval brigade (*Pearl*, Captain Sotheby), summary of its services, 618; mentioned in despatches, *ib.*; return to Calcutta, 619.  
 Neemuch, advance of rebels upon, 213; the fort of, 214; operations before, 215; narrative of incidents, 216.  
 Neill, Brigadier-general, report of, from Cawnpore, 16; death of, at Lucknow, 43; services of, *ib.*; posthumous honours awarded to, 439; annuity to widow of, 443.  
 Nepal, extent and territory of, 225; advance of Ghoorkas from, 226; operations of, at Goruckpore, 227; at Lucknow, 257; return of, to, 276; rebels from Oude take refuge in, 579; defeated upon the frontier of, 581.  
 Nerbudda and Sangor districts, disquietude of the, 150.  
 Nicholson, Brigadier, posthumous honours awarded to, 443; annuity granted to the mother of *ib.*

Nimbhaira, expulsion of a rebel force from, 155.  
 Nizam, attempted assassination at the court of the, 585.  
 Norris, Lieutenant, murdered at Kolapore, 131, 132.  
 Nurgood, the rajah of, 340; murder of Mr. Manson by, 341.  
 Nuwabgunge, battle of, 345; despatches from, 346; details of the action, 347.

## O.

ODDAG, battle of, 17.  
 Orr, Major, advance of, to Mehidpore, 217.  
 Orr, Captain, imprisoned at Lucknow, 257; murdered, 258; search for the grave of, 381.  
 Orr, Mrs., and infant, rescued by British officers, 258.  
 Oude, hostility of the people of, 21; operations of Sir Colin Campbell in, 33, 35, 212; recapture of Lucknow accomplished, 276; proclamation to the people of, *ib.*; disposition of the Oude force, 305; administrative commission of, 324; renewed disquietude in, 344; general state of the country in June, 1858, 368; rebel force in, 372; operations in, 510; instructions to civil authorities of, 513; proclamation of the governor-general, 514; of the begum, 543; termination of hostilities in, 571; progress of general disarmament, 589; the causes of revolt considered, 632.  
 Oude, the king of, his embarrassing position, 390, 391.  
 Oude, the queen-mother of, her death and funeral at Paris, 453.  
 Outram, Major-general, at Dinapore, 32; despatch from Sir Colin Campbell to, *ib.*; his plan of advance to Lucknow, 33; generous self-denial, 37; accompanies Havelock, as a volunteer, to the relief of Lucknow, 38; wounded at the Charbagh, 43; takes the command in Oude, 78; despatches of, from the Alambagh, 94; instructions to, from Cawnpore, 235; correspondence with the commander-in-chief thereon, 236, 238; defeats rebels at Guilee, 239; divisional orders of, 240; despatch from, 242; popularity of, in the army, 305; letter to Major Barrow, 409; grant of annuity to, 489.  
 Owen, Sergeant (53rd regiment), and family at Southampton, 416.  
 Oxford, speech of the Bishop of, on Christianity in India, 436.

## P.

PAKINGTON, Sir John, M.P., address of, to his constituents, on Indian affairs, 423.  
 Palmer, Miss, wounded at Lucknow, 8.  
 Palmerston, Lord, speech on the policy of Lord Canning, 433; announces the direct government of India by the crown to the Court of Directors, 444; correspondence thereon, 446, 447; moves the thanks of parliament to the governor-general, and to the civil, military, and naval services in India, 454; motion for bill to transfer the government of India to the crown, *ib.*; Bill No. 1, introduced, 463; resignation of the Palmerston cabinet, 467; assents to the introduction of Bill No. 2 (Ellenborough's) by Mr. Disraeli, 471; the two measures compared, 472, 474, 485, 489.  
 Panmure, Lord, explanation of relations between the governor-general and the commander-in-chief in India, 442.  
 Parke, Brigadier, defeat of Tania Topee by, 545.  
 Parliamentary session of December, 1857, commencement of, 441; thanks of parliament voted to governor-general, &c., 454; petition of East India Company to, 447; bill introduced by Lord Palmerston for transferring the government of India to the crown, 454; debate thereon, 455—457, 462; debate on Mr. Baillie's motion for inquiry into causes of the war, 457, 462; the Bill No. 1, 463; second reading postponed, 467; Mr. Rich's motion for papers, *ib.*; discussion on the question of batta for services at Delhi, 468; Lord Ellenborough's Bill No. 2, introduced by Mr. Disraeli,





- 470; discussion thereon, 471; defects of, 473; opposed by the East India Company, 474; resolutions proposed to be substituted, 476; debate thereon, 477; Lord Granville moves for papers, 478, 484; the secret despatches produced, 479, 482; Bill No. 3 (Stanley's), 486; adopted by the Commons, 490; petitioned against by the East India Company in the Lords, *ib.*; text of the bill as passed, 491; session of February, 1859, opened, 639; financial affairs of India, 641, 647; Lord Stanley's letters to the governor-general, 644, 648; discussion thereon, 647; parliament dissolved, 656; reassembled, 664.
- Patna, the city of, 101; murder of Dr. Lyell at, 102; punishment of rebels, 103.
- Peel, Captain Sir William (naval brigade), advance of, to the assistance of Havelock, 32; at Cawnpore, 72, 74; at Kadiwa, 76; Lucknow, 87, 91; wounded, 265; death of, 321; official notification of, 322; honourable mention of, in parliament, 652.
- Peer Ali Khan, seditious conduct of, at Patna, 101; punishment of, 102, 103.
- Penny, General, death of, at Kukurawlee, 318.
- Personal narrative of the siege of Lucknow, extract from, 41.
- Pertabgarh, defeat of Tantia Topee at, 557.
- Peshawar, the 10th irregular cavalry disarmed at, 141.
- Petitions of East India Company against the government measures, 447, 474, 490.
- Polehampton, Rev. Mr., wounded at Lucknow, 8.
- Policy of the government in Oude, 284.
- Poonah, the city of, 139; conspiracy frustrated and punished at, *ib.*
- Popular feeling in England on the Indian war, 426.
- Prize-money for Delhi, reported amount of, 184, 612.
- Proclamation to the people of Oude, 276; effect of, 280; of the government of the Queen, 518; ceremonials thereon, 519—526; of the begum of Oude, 543; of the king of Delhi, 630.
- Promotions for services at Lucknow, 56, 81, 511.
- Panderpore, alarm at the sacred town of, 142, 143.
- Punjab, quiet state of the, 233; plot discovered in, 373; administration of Sir John Lawrence in, 612.
- Puttiala, defeat of rebels at, 186; reward to the rajah of, 641.
- R.**
- RADA GOVIND, defeat and slaughter of, 559.
- Rajpootana, disturbed state of, 155, 212.
- Rampore, attack of the fort of, 566.
- Rao Sahib, personal appearance of, 550.
- Raptee, appearance of the river, 555; concentration of rebel forces upon, 560; submission of rebel chiefs at the, 561.
- Rawul Pindce, conspiracy detected at, 539.
- Reade, Captain, death of, at Jeerum, 213.
- Rees, Mr., description of the residency at Lucknow, 79; of the removal from, 89.
- Relative merits of India Bills No. 1 and 2, discussed, 472, 474; No. 3, 488.
- Religion in India, conduct of the government respecting it, 637.
- Reorganisation, the great difficulty of, 627.
- Residency (Lucknow), condition of, in May, 1857, 3, 4; details of the siege, 8—15; relieved by Havelock, 41; state of the occupants, 44, 78; official details of the relief, 45; report of Brigadier Inglis, 48; operations of the relieving force, 89; divisional order, *ib.*; Mr. Kavanagh's escape from, 94; relieved by Sir Colin Campbell, 88; the women, children, and wounded withdrawn, 89; abandoned by the garrison, 91, 92; general orders to the troops, 93; despatch of Sir James Outram, 94.
- Resignation of the Palmerston cabinet, 467; return to power, 664.
- Resolutions of the Court of Directors, 475.
- Resolutions as a basis for legislation on Indian affairs, 475.
- Restoration of arms to the 33rd native infantry, 614.
- Rewards for fidelity, 596, 640, 641, 645.
- Roberts, General, assault and capture of Kotah by, 300.
- Roebuck, Mr., M.P., on the double government of India, 425.
- Robileund, disturbed state of, 161, 233; concentration of rebel forces in, 306; plan of campaign in, 308; instructions to the authorities of, 320; departure of Sir Colin Campbell for, 324; hostility of the people, 366.
- Rohillas, unsettled state of the, 576.
- Ronald, Mr., murder of, at Kotah, 160.
- Rooya, or Roodhamow, assault of the fort of, 311; death of Brigadier Hope at, 311, 314; operations before, 313, 315.
- Rose, Sir Hugh, movements of, in Central India, 231, 289; operations before Jhansi, 289; defeats Tantia Topee, 290; storm and capture of Jhansi by, 291; telegram from, 296; relieves Konch, 297; details of operations, 297, 299; report from Calpee, 300; farewell address to the troops, 348; resumes field operations, 351; defeats Gwalior rebels at the Morar encampment, *ib.*; recovers the capital of Gwalior, 353; restores Scindia to his throne, 354; general order on relinquishing command, 358; notice of services, 359.
- Rose, Lieutenant, death of, at Gwalior, 354.
- Rowcroft, Colonel, report of operations near Chota Gundah, 228.
- Roy Bareilly, arrival of Lord Clyde at, 539.
- Russell, Lord John, speech of, on Indian affairs, 460.
- Russell, Mr. (*Times*' commissioner), extracts from letters of, 251, 254, 266, 323, 336, 375, 380, 540, 568.
- S.**
- SALA JUNG, attempt on the life of, at Hyderabad, 585.
- Santhal districts, disquietude of the, 161.
- Sattara, arrest of the rajah of, 139.
- Saugor and Nerbudda districts, rebellious state of the, 150.
- Scindia, maharajah of Gwalior, difficult position of, 187; defection of his troops, 188; approach of rebel force under Rao Sahib, 349; retires from his capital, 350; restored by Sir Hugh Rose, 354.
- Scindwa, defeat of Tantia Topee at, 514.
- Seaton, Colonel, operations of, 185, 186.
- Secunderbagh, attack upon the, 86.
- Seetapore, fugitives from, at Lucknow, 257, 258, 381, 596.
- Selimpore, conflict with rebels at, 512.
- Sepoys, submission of the, 589.
- Sepoy press, specimen of, 421.
- Shaftesbury, Lord, vote of censure proposed by, 482.
- Shahjehanpore, rebel attack upon, 331, 334.
- Shanars, condition of females belonging to the, 588.
- Shannon (the naval brigade), the services of, 32, 72, 76, 87, 91, 260, 410.
- Sherer, Captain, report of occurrences at Jelpigore, 222.
- Showers, Brigadier, operations of, 185.
- Shunkerpore, the fort of, 537, 538.
- Shunker Shah, rajah of Gond, treason of, 144; metrical prayer of, *ib.*; punishment of, 146.
- Sikhs, hostile prophecy of the, 594.
- Sinar, the town of, invested by Bheels, 154.
- Sirsa, defeat of rebel force at, by Brigadier Walpole, 316.
- Smith, Brigadier, affair of, at Kota-ki-Serai, 352; at Tinsia, 600.
- Sotheby, Captain (*Pearl* naval brigade), services of, enumerated, 618, 619.
- Spencer, Major, murder of, at Meer-Meer, 141.
- Stanley, Lord, appointed secretary of state for India, upon the resignation of Lord Ellenborough, 482; address of, to the students at Addiscombe, 637; despatch of 4th





December, 1858, to the governor-general, 644; parliamentary discussion thereon, 646; resigns office, and is succeeded by Sir Charles Wood, 664.

State of affairs in India, in June, 1858, 361, 366.

Stubbs, Ensign, murder of, at Kolapore, 131, 132.

Succession, the claims to, a cause of disquietude, 128.

Sudras, peculiarities of the caste of, 537.

## T.

TANTIA TOPEK, attempt of, to relieve Jhansie, 290; defeat of, by Sir Hugh Rose, *ib.*; entrenched at Konch, 297; intrigues of, at Gwalior, 349; defeat and rout of, from Gwalior, 353; reappearance of, 513; defeated at Scindwa, 514; at Korral, 515; subsequent movements of, 516, 544; pursuit of, by Brigadier Parke, 545; defeated at Chota Oodeypore, *ib.*; proclamation of, 546; movements of, 548; interview with a spy, 549; personal appearance of, 550, 601; pursuit of, 557; defeated at Pertabghur, *ib.*; at Seekur, 574; at Koosana, 575; movements of, 582, 584; surrounded by British troops, 598; defeated at Tinsia, 600; betrayed by Mann Sing of Powrie, 601; trial and death of, 602; personal notice of, 603, 604.

Taylor, Mr., commissioner of Patna, reports of, 102, 107.

Taylor, A. L., report of conflict with Bheels, 153.

Thanksgiving, national, for successes in India, 650; the prayer adopted, 656.

Thanks of parliament to the governor-general and army in India, 454, 650.

Thatcher, Lieutenant, report of conflict with Bheels, 151.

Thompson, General, extraordinary speech on the war in India, 460.

Thorantaye, insurrectionary movement at, 548.

Tinnevely, caste disturbances at, 586.

Tinsia, defeat of rebels at, by Brigadier Smith, 600.

Tooleypore, affray with rebels at, 606.

Treachery, a characteristic of Hindoo nature, 597.

Trevelyan, Sir C., reforms introduced by, at Madras, 628.

Tucker, Captain, defeats a rebel force at Jeerum, 213; his death, *ib.*

Tullowan, attack of, by rebels, 234.

Tytler, Lieutenant-colonel, telegram from, 16.

## U.

UMBALLAH, General Windham appointed to the command of, 202.

## V.

VICTORIA CROSS, the correspondence of Sir Colin Campbell respecting nominations for, 29; declared attainable by civilians for gallant conduct during the revolt in India, 612; conferred upon Lieutenant-colonel Sir Henry M. Havelock, by the Queen, 645.

## W.

WAKE, Mr. H. C., gallant conduct of, at Arrah, 104, 105.

Waller, Lieutenant, report of operations near Arrah, 108.

Walpole, Colonel, junction with Sir Colin Campbell at Futteghur, 232; attacks the fort of Rooya, 311; details of action, 313; defeats rebels at Sirsa, 316.

Waris Ali, treasonable correspondence of, at Patna, 102.

Waterfield, Major, murder of, near Ferozeabad, 340.

Waterman, Captain, perilous adventure of, at Lucknow, 92.

Whitlock, General, defeats rebels at Kirwee, 366, 367.

Willoughby, J. B., speech on the Indian crisis, 422.

Wilson, Rev. Dr., Bishop of Calcutta, death of, 404.

Wilson, Sir Archdale, of Delhi, relinquishes command at Lucknow, 257; created a baronet, 439; annuity voted to, 443.

Windham, General, disastrous operations of, at Cawnpore, 98, 188; notice of, 201, 202; despatch from, 202; explanation in parliament, *ib.*; removed to command at Umballah, *ib.*

Wiseman, Cardinal, pastoral letter of, 420.

Wood, Sir Charles, appointed secretary of state for India, 664.

## Z.

ZENAT MAHAL, queen of Delhi, visit of English ladies to, 169; alleged intrigues of, 180; accompanies her husband in his exile, 629; embarks at Calcutta for Rangoon, 630.





144

# THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN MUTINY.

## CHAPTER I.

LUCKNOW; THE RESIDENCY AND ITS DEFENCES; STRENGTH OF THE GARRISON; DISMISSAL OF NATIVE TROOPS BY SIR HENRY LAWRENCE; ATTACK UPON THE REBELS AT CHINHUT; TREACHERY OF THE GUNNERS, AND OF THE OUDE CAVALRY; RETREAT OF THE BRITISH TROOPS; CONCENTRATION OF THE EUROPEAN INHABITANTS WITHIN THE RESIDENCY; COMMENCEMENT OF THE SIEGE; DEATH OF SIR H. LAWRENCE; BRIGADIERE INGLIS SUCCEEDS TO THE COMMAND; VIGOROUS OPERATIONS OF ATTACK AND DEFENCE; A MESSENGER FROM CAWNPORE; MINES AND COUNTERMINES; DEATH OF MAJOR BANKS; CONDITION OF THE BESIEGED; WEEKLY PROGRESS OF EVENTS; STATE OF THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN; ADVANCE OF GENERAL HAVELOCK FROM CAWNPORE; BATTLES OF OONAO AND BUSERUT-GUNGE; RETROGRADE MOVEMENT; JUNCTION WITH OUTRAM; SECOND ADVANCE TO LUCKNOW, AND PARTIAL RELIEF OF THE GARRISON.

THE story of the relief of Lucknow will ever occupy one of the brightest pages in the annals of British heroism. The unquenchable spirit of the besieged, amidst the perils of war, the ravages of disease, and the wear of anxiety; the indomitable energy and perseverance of the noble band sent forth to the rescue; and, finally, the glorious triumph by which their united efforts were crowned, present to the world a continuity of events as interesting in detail, as they were supremely important in result. The lives and honour of Englishwomen were imperilled, and the brave hearts and strong arms of their indignant countrymen were irresistible, as they sprang forward to save or to avenge them.

Turning from the crime-polluted streets of Cawnpore, while yet reeking with the blood of the victims of treachery and lust, and echoing with the despairing shrieks of the miscreant slaughterers of the defenceless and the weak, as they writhed in the retributive grasp of the avenger Neill; we have now to trace the progress of the lamented Havelock, as, with his noble band, progressively augmented to about 2,500 British soldiers, he fought his way step by step through a country whose entire population was in arms against him, and whose

every town, village, and even house had been converted into a fortress, only to be reduced by blood and toil. With but one practicable road along which he could advance, he found on either side impenetrable jungle, or death-exhaling swamps, that rendered the slightest deviation from the main route perilous, if not fatal, to the troops under his command. The bridges over the intervening rivers and streams, between Cawnpore and Lucknow, which at the period were swollen to an enormous height, had been carefully destroyed by the people of Oude; and on the further banks, as he approached, innumerable bands of armed rebels, consisting of the mutinous soldiers of the Bengal native army, and of regiments of the several contingents in revolt, had taken their position—strongly intrenched, amply supplied with artillery and ammunition, and all burning with hatred and fanaticism; impatient to avenge their imagined wrongs by exterminating the whole race of their benefactors, whom they felt they had outraged by crime so sanguinary, and insults so foul, that a life of despair, or a felon's doom, had left no alternative for them but a war of reckless desperation. Yet, under a leader whose name had now become synonymous with assurance of victory, the band





of Havelock overcame in detail every obstacle as it presented itself; and though for a moment checked in its triumphant career by a swollen river, or by the visitation of disease, neither paucity of numbers, increasing difficulties, or unavoidable privations, could prevent the accomplishment of the glorious task enjoined them, or could avert the just punishment it was their mission to inflict upon the merciless and unmanly destroyers of helpless women and innocent children.

Anticipating the result of General Havelock's advance upon Lucknow, we must pause for a moment before the vista opened to us by three weary months of daily-increasing peril and diminishing resources, to compare with the generous perseverance and resistless valour of the rescuers, the heroic spirit and unwavering faith of the rescued;—to contemplate the exertions of that small but glorious band, whose vigilance and bravery preserved the priceless treasures of womanly honour and infant purity, dependent upon it for protection, and for even more than existence;—to trace, with exulting admiration, the ceaseless energies called into action by the inspiring examples of a Lawrence and an Inglis, and their co-rivals in a glorious emulation; sustained by which, a few worn-out heroes, regardless of wounds or fatigue, had, from June to September, successfully repulsed the assaults of an enemy outnumbering them by thousands, as day by day they rushed upon a position ill-provided to withstand a siege; and whose defence consisted in the brave hearts and strong arms of its handful of defenders, rather than in the walls by which it was partially surrounded. And thus it was, that, sustained by the impulses of their true English hearts, and by their faith in the outstretched arms and sleepless anxiety of their advancing countrymen, no impatient cry, no desponding wail was heard, though the women and children far outnumbered their defenders, every one of whom, as he fell, struck down a barrier behind which they were sheltered, and left a gap through which the tide of horrors that surged around them, might rush in to desecrate and destroy. No wonder, then, that while the defended thus bravely sustained the spirits, and cheered the energy of the defenders by their inspiring faith and patient endurance of hardship and of peril, the assaults of the rebel hordes that thirsted for their blood, were shorn of half their

terrors, and assurance of ultimate deliverance became daily yet more strong, as the counter-attacks of the little garrison occasionally forced the assailants to reel backward in dismay, and by well-timed and judiciously-planned sorties, found opportunity to drive into the beleaguered inclosure, the herds and stores of provisions collected by the besiegers for the necessary use and sustenance of their own troops, and the hungry multitudes that swarmed around them.

The relief of Lucknow from the rebel host that surrounded it, involved a struggle in which every nerve was strained to its utmost power of tension, both by our beleaguered countrymen and by those who fought their way through hostile myriads to relieve them; and the capability of English endurance was, indeed, then tested. Before the gates of the residency could be thrown back to welcome the generous rescuers, death had already thinned the ranks of its defenders: the wisest and bravest—where all were wise and brave—had fallen in the shock of war; physical weakness had prostrated the strength, though it could not subdue the indomitable spirit, of the heroes of Lucknow; and famine had already unveiled its ghastly face amidst the beleaguered band. One day—perhaps but a few hours longer, and the unsurpassed heroism displayed by all, for the sake of all, might have proved unavailing; and three months of unsurpassed endurance and unshaken faith would have been succeeded by an hour in which the shrieks of dishonoured and dying women and children would have mingled with the expiring groans of their mutilated and overpowered defenders. Already the mines of the insurgents had penetrated within the line of defence, and a short time need only have elapsed before the extemporised bulwarks of the residency would be blown into the air, and the infuriated and ferocious host that panted for slaughter, with their no less brutal abettors from the bazaars and the gaols, would have been streaming over the ruins to glut themselves with the blood of the defenceless victims. It was the will of Providence that this crowning atrocity of the sepooy war should be wrested from the grasp of the murderous host that designed its consummation; and Lucknow, its women, and its children were saved! but some of the best blood of England bathed the laurels that were implanted to immortalise the memory of their deliverance.

The position of Sir Henry Lawrence had





CSL

A.D. 1857.]

## INDIAN MUTINY.

[THE RESIDENCY ENCLOSURE.]

become extremely onerous after the events of the latter end of May, to which reference has already been made;\* and it was impossible he should avoid being deeply impressed with a sense of the importance of an approaching crisis. In anticipation of this, he had already begun to make preparations for the defence of the residency, in which he purposed to collect the whole of the European community, both civil and military, then in Lucknow; and, with this view, had thoroughly armed several important points of defence within the enclosure, distributing his European soldiers to the best advantage over the place. Two squadrons of the 2nd Oude irregular cavalry were at the dāk bungalow, half-way between the residency and the cantonment; and at the latter were stationed about 340 men of her majesty's 32nd regiment. The cantonment was situated about six miles from the city, and the residency was itself entirely isolated from both.

According to a plan recently published of the residency and a part of the city of Lucknow, the former appears to have been, in its entirety, an irregular, lozenge-shaped enclosure, having its acute angles nearly north and south; the southern extremity being contiguous to the Cawnpore-road, and the northern point approaching near to the iron suspension-bridge over the Goomtee, which separated the cantonment from the city and residency. Near the south point of the enclosure was the house of Major Anderson, standing in the middle of a garden or open court, and surrounded by a wall; the house was defended by barricades, and loopholed for musketry; while the garden was strengthened by a trench and rows of palisades. Next to this house, and communicating with it by a hole in the wall, was a newly-constructed defence-work, that received the name of the Cawnpore Battery; mounted with guns, and intended to command some of the houses and streets adjacent to the Cawnpore-road. A house next this, occupied by a Mr. Deprat, had a verandah, which, for defensive purposes, was blocked up with a mud wall six feet high, and two feet and a-half thick: this wall was continued in a straight line to that of the next house, and carried up to a height of nine feet, with loopholes for musketry. Next to this was a house occupied as a school for boys of the Martinière college—strengthened by a stockade of

beams placed before it; and adjacent was a street or road, defended by stockades, barricades, and a trench. Further towards the western angle of the enclosure was a building known as the Daroo Shuffa, or King's Hospital; but then called the Brigade Mess-house; having a well-protected and lofty terrace, which commanded an exterior building called Johanne's House. In its rear was a parallelogram, divided by buildings into two squares or courts, occupied in various ways by officers and their families. Then came groups of low brick buildings, around two quadrangles, called the Sikh Squares, on the tops of which erections were thrown up to enable the troops to fire upon the town. Separated from these by a narrow lane was the house of Mr. Gubbins, the financial commissioner; the lane was barricaded by earth, beams, and brambles; the buildings were strengthened in every way; and the extreme western point formed a battery, constructed by Mr. Gubbins himself. Then, passing along the north-west side, were seen in turn the racket-court, the slaughterhouse, the sheep-pen, and the butcher-yard—all near the boundary of the fortifications, and separated one from the other by wide open spaces: there was a storehouse for cattle-food, and a guard-house for Europeans; and all the buildings were loopholed for musketry. In the rear of the Bhooza Intrenchment (as this post was called), was the house of Mr. Ommaney, the judicial commissioner; guarded by a deep ditch and cactus-hedge, and provided with two pieces of ordnance. North of the slaughterhouse, a mortar battery was formed. The English church was the next important building towards the north: it was speedily converted into a granary; and in the churchyard was formed a mortar battery, capable of shelling all the portion of the city between it and the iron bridge. This churchyard was afterwards destined to receive melancholy proofs of the sacrifices required for the defence of the station. Beyond the churchyard was the house of Lieutenant Lanes, in dangerous proximity to many buildings held by the rebels, and bounded on two sides by a garden; and it was a difficult but most important duty to strengthen this house as much as possible. The extreme northern point of the whole enclosure—not 500 yards from the iron bridge—was scarcely susceptible of defence in itself; but it was fully protected by the Redan

\* See vol. i., p. 183.





CSL

battery, constructed by Captain Fulton. This was decidedly the best battery in the whole place, commanding a wide sweep of the city and country on both banks of the river. Along the north-east side, connected at one end with the Redan, was a series of earthworks, fascines, and sand-bags, loopholed for musketry, and mounted with guns. A long range of sloping garden-ground was turned into a glacis, in front of the line of intrenchment just named. In the centre of the northern half of the whole place was the residency proper, the official abode of the chief commissioner. This was a spacious and beautiful brick building, which was speedily made capable of accommodating several hundred persons; and as it stood on elevated ground, the terrace roof commanded a view of the whole city—for such as would incur the peril of standing there. The hospital, a very large building near the eastern angle of the whole enclosure, had once been the banqueting-room for the British resident at the court of the king of Oude; but it was now occupied as a hospital, a dispensary, officers' quarters, and a laboratory for making fuses and cartridges: it was defended by mortars and guns in various directions. The Ballee, or Bailey Guard, was near the hospital, but on a lower level; various parts of it were occupied as a store-room, a treasury, and barracks: the portion really constituting the Bailey Guard gate (the station of the sepoy's formerly guarding the residency), was beyond the limits of the enclosure, and was, therefore, productive of more harm than good to the garrison: and as a means of security, the gateway was blocked up with earth, and defended by guns. Dr. Fayer's house, south of the hospital, had a terrace roof, whence rifles were frequently brought to bear upon the insurgents; and, near it, a few guns were placed in position. Southward, again, was the civil dispensary; and near this the post-office—a building which, from its position and construction, was one of the most important in the whole place. Soldiers were barracked in the interior; a shell and fusee-room was set apart; the engineers made it their headquarters; several families resided in it; and guns and mortars were planted in and around it. The financial office, and the house of Mrs. Sago (the mistress of a charity-school), were on the south-east side of the enclosure; and were, with great difficulty, put in a defensive condition. The judicial

office, near Sago's house, could only be protected from an open lane by a wall of fascines and earth. The gaol near the Cawnpore gate was converted into barracks, and the native hospital became a tolerably sheltered place. The Begum's kothee, or "lady's house" (formerly belonging to a native lady of rank), was in the centre of the whole enclosure: this comprised many buildings, which were afterwards converted into commissariat store-rooms, cooking-rooms, and dwellings for officers' families.

The residency at Lucknow, it will be seen from the above description, was a small town, rather than a mere single building, occupied by the chief commissioner. Before the defences were commenced (in June), it could be approached and entered from all sides; and, at the beginning of July, only a part of the defence-works above described were completed. The brave occupants of the improvised fortress had to fight and build, to suffer and work, to watch and fortify, day after day, under privations and difficulties it is almost impossible for those at a distance to appreciate. The various houses, frequently denominated "garrisons" by those engaged in the siege, did really deserve that title in a military sense; for they were gradually transformed into little forts or strongholds, each placed under one commander, and each bravely defended against all attacks of the enemy, until the triumphant advance of Havelock gave all that survived of the heroic band a respite from their labours.

Of the Europeans collected together within the enclosure of the residency, on the 30th of May, 1857 (numbering, altogether, 794 persons), the women and children alone amounted to 522; besides whom were 138 civilians: the entire military force for their immediate protection, consisting of 144 men of all grades—from the chief commissioner downward. At a subsequent period, when the whole of the European troops had been withdrawn from the outposts, and were concentrated within the enclosure, the residency became necessarily the shelter of a much larger number of persons, including as well the English troops as also a number of men belonging to the native corps, who as yet professed to be loyal to the government.

After the affair of the 30th of June (hereafter referred to), the discomforts of the individuals shut up within the line of defences began to be seriously augmented. The un-





A.D. 1857.]

## INDIAN MUTINY.

[DISMISSAL OF NATIVE TROOPS.]

fortunate result of the affair near Chinhut, rendered it apparent that every European or native Christian who valued existence, must look for its preservation within the walls of the residency; and many who had risked remaining in the city until that time, now rushed into the enclosure, without having made any preparation for flight, and, in most instances, divested of every article of property but the clothing they happened to be wearing at the moment of their panic. The confusion for the first few days after this sudden influx, was indescribable. Numbers who had thus come in at the eleventh hour, vainly for a time sought to find, or to make, something which they might call a home; and the consequent excitement, aided by the clamour and perplexities of the native servants, rendered the enclosure for a short time a perfect Babel in miniature.

Without further anticipating events which will be better understood in their due course, it is necessary here to observe, that, after the defection of a portion of the native troops at Lucknow, on the 31st of May, and their flight towards Seetapore,\* some 700 men of the several corps who still remained, or professed to remain, faithful to the government, continued to be employed in their military duties as usual; but as time progressed, and it became evident to the keen perception of Sir Henry Lawrence that the whole surface of Oude was seething with rebellion; when, day by day, intelligence reached him that station after station had been a scene of sanguinary outrage, and that regiment after regiment had, after murdering its officers, either dispersed in lawless gangs over the country, or, in a mass, had joined the rebel hordes that were directing their steps towards the capital; it was no longer prudent that reliance should be placed upon the loyalty of men so closely connected by blood and religion with the rebellious soldiery, and whose presence had become a source of embarrassment rather than of strength. At length, intelligence reached the residency that the deserters from Lucknow had succeeded in exciting their co-religionists at Seetapore to mutiny; and the danger of an explosion among their comrades who still remained, became hourly more imminent. No time, therefore, was to be lost in removing this cause of anxiety, and, in all probability, of danger also; and Sir Henry Lawrence at once determined upon getting rid of the whole of the native

troops that remained in the cantonment. This object was accomplished by giving each man the arrears of pay due to him, with leave of absence from duty for three months. The plan succeeded, without, at the moment, exciting suspicion of the motive; and nearly the whole of the men availed themselves of the proffered indulgence; thus relieving the European garrison from much anxiety, and greatly strengthening its confidence in its own means for surmounting the difficulties that appeared likely to surround it.

In a non-official communication from Mr. Martin Gubbins (the finance commissioner already mentioned), to his brother, the assistant judge at Benares (printed among the Indian correspondence laid before the House of Commons),† that gentleman observes as follows:—"Here in Oude we have lost every station but Lucknow. We hope to hold against all the world for a length of time. We hold two positions—that is, the residency and Muchee Bhowun, separated by about three-quarters of a mile; and we have 225 Europeans and three guns in the Muchee Bhowun cantonment. We have, thank God, got rid of the remnants of the mutinous regiments of Lucknow—that is, the 48th, 21st, and 39th native infantry, and 7th light cavalry. Sir H. Lawrence was so ill that a provisional council has been appointed. We ordered commanding officers to recommend their men to go home for three months after receiving their pay; it succeeded, in most cases, with a mere trifling exception: none remain of all our disciplined troops. About 1,200 Seetapore mutineers threaten us on the north; six regiments and a battery on the Fyzabad side, and two regiments and a battery from beyond the Gogra, also threaten us. I have no fear if we are true to ourselves, and go at the first force which approaches. We have plenty of elephants to carry the Europeans, and the fellows fear us immensely; but if, as I expect, we may be hemmed in, though I do not fear the result, yet we must needs undergo the misery and sorrow of a siege."

Although the residency was the main point of defence, the city and cantonment were still under British control up to the end of June; and, on the 27th of that month, Sir Henry Lawrence apprised the authorities at Allahabad, that he still held the residency and the Muchee Bhowun, having

\* See vol. i., p. 183.

† See Blue Book (Indian Mutiny), No. 3; p. 75.





then concentrated his force upon those points only; and that his supplies were equal to two months' consumption: adding, that although he felt assured that Lucknow was at that moment the only place in Oude where British influence was paramount, and he dared not leave the city for twenty-four hours without risk of a popular rising; he declared his belief, that if he could be strengthened by one additional European regiment, and a hundred artillerymen, he could re-establish British supremacy in Oude. It was not the will of Providence that he should have an opportunity for testing the soundness of his faith.

The next authentic information received by the Indian government, in reference to events at Lucknow, was conveyed by the following telegrams from the officer commanding at Allahabad, and the chief commissioner at Benares, to the governor-general in council. The first is dated "Allahabad, July 10th, 1.30 p.m. This just came in to officer commanding here:— 'Lucknow, June 30th. From Sir H. Lawrence. Went out this morning eight miles to meet the enemy, and were defeated, through misconduct chiefly of artillery and cavalry, many of whom deserted. Enemy followed us up, and we have been besieged for four hours. Shall likely be surrounded to-night. Enemy very bold, and our Europeans very low. Looks upon his position now ten times as bad as it was yesterday: it is very critical. We shall be obliged to concentrate, if we are able. We shall have to abandon much supplies, and blow up much powder. Unless we are relieved in fifteen or twenty days, we shall hardly be able to maintain our ground. We lost three officers killed this morning, and several wounded—Colonel Case, Captain Steevens, Mr. Brackenbury.'"

The second telegram, dated from Benares, July 11th, 6.15 p.m., is more explicit:—"A man belonging to the commissariat-office in Lucknow, deposed that, on June 29th, it was rumoured that 7,000 or 8,000 insurgents were encamped on the opposite side of the Kookral canal. Sir Henry went out to meet them with two companies of her majesty's 82nd, eleven guns, and sixty sowars. After a severe contest of two hours, and a loss of sixty men, he was forced to retreat. The sowars were panic-struck, and fled. At Allygunge, about two miles from the Kookral canal, the enemy attacked and captured six guns.

Sir Henry said to have been wounded there. The British fought their way to the residency, closely followed by the insurgents, who entered the city, and began plundering the inhabitants, who would not join them in their excesses."

The siege of Lucknow commenced on the 1st of July—the day succeeding the disastrous affair above-mentioned; and it was, for duration and severity, even more truly such than was that to which the ill-fated Sir Hugh Wheeler had been subjected at Cawnpore; since, in addition to the incessant firing of musketry, cannon, and mortars, there were also, in its progress, subterranean mines or galleries dug by the mutineers from the outer streets, under the enclosing wall of the position, intended to blow up and destroy the defences. To detect these proceedings, it was necessary to maintain strict and unceasing watchfulness at every point of the residency at all hours. The concentration of the European troops being now indispensable, a telegraph, established upon one of the buildings, signalled to the officer in command at the Muchee Bhowan, directing him to blow up the fort, and retire to the residency with the treasure and guns. This affair was successfully accomplished; and 240 barrels of powder, and 600,000 rounds of ammunition, were blown into the air to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy; the officers and soldiers meanwhile taking their departure for the residency, where they helped to strengthen the ranks of its valiant defenders.

As yet, nothing had occurred seriously to depress the spirits of the garrison; but the period approached when the master-mind that had hitherto successfully grappled with every difficulty opposed to it, was destined to succumb to the lethargy of the tomb, by an accident as extraordinary as it was unexpected. After repeatedly facing the perils of treason, and the more honourable dangers of the battle-field, it was the fate of Sir Henry Lawrence to be stricken down in a moment of comparative repose, and beneath the shelter of his own roof. It had happened, during the morning of the 1st of July, that an 8-inch shell, from a battery of the rebels, entered a small apartment of the residency, in which at the time Sir Henry Lawrence was sitting, in conversation with his private secretary, Mr. Couper. The missile burst between them, without injuring either; and now as the





A.D. 1857.]

## INDIAN MUTINY.

[REPULSE OF THE ENEMY.

advantages so small as these; and, consequently, such acts of heroism were not encouraged by the brigadier.

The indignation and anxiety of the garrison became much increased during the third week of the siege, in consequence of the enemy having commenced firing at the brigade mess-house, where the ladies and children had taken refuge. In perfect keeping with the sepoy tactics, attacks were thus persistently made upon those who could not defend themselves; and thus the officers and soldiers found their attention distracted from necessary duties at other points. Anderson's house had by this time become so riddled with shot, that the stores were removed from it; and Deprat's house, similarly battered by the enemy, in like manner became uninhabitable. The buildings near the boundary suffered most, and, as a consequence, those nearer the centre became more crowded with inmates. Day by day, and hour by hour, did officers and men work hard to strengthen the defences. Mortars were placed behind the earthwork at the post-office, to shell the battery at Johanne's house; and stockades and traverses were made to screen the entrance to the residency, within which so many persons were sheltered. Nevertheless, the attack increased in vigour quite as rapidly as the defences gained strength. The custom of the insurgents at this time, was to fire all night, so as to afford the garrison no rest, and wear them out with a want of it. They also now placed a mortar that sent shells directly into the residency building, and commenced a new battery to bear upon Gubbins' house; and their cannon-balls fell upon and into Fayer's and Gubbins' houses, the post-office, and the brigade mess-house. On the 20th, a shot swept through a room in which several of the officers were breakfasting, and a mine was sprung inside the Water-gate, intended to blow up the Redan battery; while, at the same time, vigorous attacks were made on almost every point of the enclosure, as if to bewilder the garrison with crushing onslaughts on every side. Almost every building was the object of a distinct attack. The Redan battery was fortunately not destroyed, the enemy having miscalculated the distance of their mine; but the explosion was followed by a desperate struggle on the glacis outside, in which the insurgents were mowed down by grapeshot before they would abandon their efforts to

enter at that point. At Innes's house, Lieutenant Loughnan maintained a long and fierce contest against a body of insurgents twenty-fold more numerous than the little band that aided him; and before they desisted, a hundred of their dead and wounded were carried off by the rebels. The financial office and Sago's house, entirely defended by military men, bore up bravely against the torrent that sought to overwhelm them. In short, every point was attacked with vigour; but every attack was also vigorously repelled.

When the muster-roll was called after these exciting struggles, it was found that many valuable lives had been lost; though, happily, not more than thirty persons of all grades were killed or wounded on the 20th. But it is asserted by the author of *A Personal Narrative of the Siege*, that the loss of the enemy during seven hours of incessant fighting, could not have been less than 1,000 men—a result attributed to the showers of grapeshot poured forth from the beleaguered garrison.

In the course of the fourth week, a gleam of hope brought transient joy to the besieged. On the 23rd, a messenger who had succeeded, amidst imminent peril, in reaching Cawnpore and returning, entered the residency, bringing news of Havelock's victories in the Doab. He was immediately sent off again, with an urgent request to the general to advance with his column to Lucknow as speedily as possible. Now, indeed, the anxiety of the English residents was painfully augmented; they began to count the days that must elapse before Havelock could arrive—a hopeful idea at the moment, but bitterly disappointing afterwards; for succour came not, and they knew not why; and, at last, the “deferred hope that maketh the heart sick,” shed its chilling influence around them. Meanwhile, the enemy were not idle: on narrowly watching, the engineers detected the rebels forming a gallery beneath the ground, from Johanne's house to the Sikh Square and the brigade mess-house. They could hear the miners at their subterranean work, and immediately ran out a countermine, and destroyed the enemy's work by an explosion. On the 25th of the month, a letter arrived from Colonel Tytler at Cawnpore—the first received from any quarter throughout the month of July; for the former messenger had merely brought rumours concerning





Havelock, and not a letter or message. The assurance that that general intended to advance to Lucknow, again awakened hopes that had almost ceased to exist; and the messenger was dispatched to him with a plan of the city, to aid his proceedings, and to urge his prompt advance; the messenger being promised a reward of 5,000 rupees if he safely brought back an answer.

To add to the distress of the Europeans, Major Banks, the civil commissioner named by Sir Henry Lawrence, was shot dead while reconnoitring from the top of an out-house. The Rev. Mr. Polehampton was also killed; as were Lieutenants Lewin, Shepherd, and Archer. Dr. Brydon was severely wounded; and the death of Major Banks greatly increased the care and responsibilities of Brigadier Inglis; who, now that there was no chief commissioner, felt the necessity of placing the community under strict military garrison rules.

The following picture of the condition of the occupants of the residency during July, is drawn by one of themselves:—"The commissariat chief was ill; no one could promptly organise that office under the sudden emergency; the food and draught bullocks, unattended to, roamed about the place, and many of them were shot, or tumbled into wells. Terrible work was it for the officers to bury the killed bullocks, lest their decaying carcasses should taint the air in the excessively hot weather. Some of the artillery horses were driven mad for want of food and water. Day after day, after working hard in the trenches, the officers had to employ themselves at night in burying dead bullocks and horses, the men being all employed as sentries, or on other duties. As the heat continued, and the dead animals increased in number, the stench became overpowering, and was one of the greatest grievances to which the garrison was exposed; and the officers and men were troubled by painful boils. Even when wet days occurred, matters were not much improved; for the hot vapours from stagnant pools engendered fever, cholera, and other diseases. The children died rapidly, and the hospital rooms were always full; the sick and wounded could not be carried to upper apartments, because the enemy's shot and shells rendered such places untenable. The officers were put on half rations early in the month; and those

they had to cook for themselves, as most of the native servants had run away when the troubles began, and many of them ended their service by plundering their unsuspecting masters." The English ladies suffered unnumbered privations and inconveniences, as may be conceived from the following account in the Diary before alluded to; which, recording the first day of the siege, says—"No sooner was the first gun fired, than the ladies and children (congregated in large numbers in Dr. Fayer's house) were all hurried down stairs into an underground room, called the Tye Khana—damp, dark, and gloomy as a vault, and excessively dirty. Here we sat all day, feeling too miserable, anxious, and terrified to speak, the gentlemen occasionally coming down to reassure us and tell us how things were going on. — was nearly all the day in the hospital, where the scene was terrible; the place so crowded with wounded and dying men, that there was no room to pass between them, and everything in a state of indescribable misery, discomfort, and confusion. In the preceding month, it had been a hardship for these ladies to be deprived of the luxuries of Anglo-Indian life; but they were now driven to measure comforts by a different standard. They were called upon to sweep their own rooms, draw water from the wells, wash their own clothes, and perform all the menial duties of the household; while their husbands and fathers were cramped up in little out-houses or stables, or anywhere that might afford temporary shelter at night. When food became scanty, and disease prevalent, these troubles were of course augmented, and difference of rank became almost obliterated, where all had to suffer alike. Many families were huddled together in one large room, and all privacy was destroyed. The sick and wounded were, as might be supposed, in sad plight; for, kind as others were, there were too many harassing duties to permit them to help adequately those who were too weak to help themselves. Officers and men were lying about in the hospital rooms, covered with blood, and often with vermin; the *dhobees*, or washermen, were too weakhanded for the preservation of cleanliness; and few of the British had the luxury of a change of linen: the windows being kept closed and barricaded to prevent the entrance of shot, the pestilential atmosphere carried off almost as many unfortunates as the enemy's mis-

\* *Rees' Personal Narrative of the Siege.*





A.D. 1857.]

## INDIAN MUTINY.

[THE PLAGUE OF FLIES.]

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siles." Of the flies, it is said—"They daily increased to such an extent, that we at last began to feel life irksome, more on their account than from any other of our numerous troubles. In the day, flies; in the night, mosquitos: but the latter were bearable; the former intolerable. Lucknow had always been noted for its flies; but at no time had they been known to be so troublesome. The mass of putrid matter that was allowed to accumulate, the rains, the commissariat stores, the hospital, had attracted these insects in incredible numbers. They swarmed in millions; and though we blew daily some hundreds of thousands into the air, this seemed to make no diminution in their numbers—the ground was still black with them, and the tables were ever covered with these flies. We could not sleep in the day on account of them. We could scarcely eat. Our beef, of which we got a tolerably small quantity every day, was usually studded with them; and when I ate my miserable boiled lentil-soup and unleavened bread, a number would fly into my mouth, or tumble into and float about in my plate."

The fifth week of the siege opened with the same dreary prospect as the last, only deepened in intensity: the enemy did not, it is true, attack with more vigour, but the defenders were gradually becoming weaker in all their resources except courage, and the resolution to bear all rather than yield to the enemy. Colonel Tytler's letter had inspired hope that the relieving column, under General Havelock, would arrive at Lucknow before the end of July; but when the 30th and 31st had passed, and the 1st and 2nd of August had passed also, then, indeed, were their hopes cruelly destroyed, and it required all the energy of the brigadier to keep up the spirits of himself and his companions under the disappointment.

About the beginning of the month a great accession to the number of rebel sepoys had occurred, thereby increasing the phalanx opposed to the British, and requiring yet more strenuous exertions to repel their constant attacks. During the operations of this week (the fifth), one of the ladies, Mrs. Dorin, was among the number who fell from the shots of the enemy—an event which was peculiarly distressing to all. A soldier learns to brave death on his own account, but he is inexpressibly grieved when he sees tender women falling near him by bullets intended for men alone.

Shortly after the sixth week had commenced, the brigadier succeeded in obtaining the services of a native, who undertook the perilous duty of conveying a small note to General Havelock at Cawnpore. On the 8th of August, the garrison could hear and see much marching and countermarching of troops within the city, without being able to discern its cause; but fondly hoped, when the booming of guns was heard, that Havelock was at hand. This hope was, however, speedily and bitterly dashed; for, on the following day, a great force of rebels was seen to approach from the direction of the cantonment, cross the river, and join the main body of the insurgents in Lucknow. On the 10th, they made a desperate assault on all parts of the enclosure; but the attacks were again frustrated by the heroic valour and determination of the besieged.

Up to the time when the seventh week of the siege had commenced, there had been twenty letters sent for succour; first by Sir Henry Lawrence, and then by Brigadier Inglis; and to only one of these had a direct reply been received. Few of them had reached their destination; and of those few a reply to one alone safely passed through all the perils between Cawnpore and Lucknow; and this was not of a nature to impart much comfort. At length, on the 13th (each intermediate day being occupied with fighting), a letter was received from General Havelock, telling of his inability to afford present succour. The residency had by this time been so shaken by shells and balls, that it was no longer a secure retreat; but a great increase of discomfort was yet in store for the numerous persons who had been hitherto accommodated within it. On the 18th, a terrible commotion took place, the enemy having exploded a mine under the Sikh Square, or barrack, and made a breach of thirty feet in the defence boundary of the enclosure. Instantly all hands were set to work: boxes, planks, doors, beams, were brought from all quarters to stop up the gap; while muskets and pistols were brought to bear upon the assailants. Not only did the gallant fellows within the enclosure repel the enemy, but they made a sortie, and blew up some of the exterior buildings which were in inconvenient proximity.

By the eighth week, the report of fire-arms had become so familiar to the residents of the enclosure, that they ceased to notice the missiles as they whistled past their ears.





Every day was now marked with some vicissitudes. On the 20th, the enemy opened a tremendous cannonading, which knocked down a guard-room over the mess-house, and lessened the number of places from which the garrison could obtain a look-out. The enemy were, on that day, also detected in an attempt to run new mines under the Cawnpore battery and the Bailey Guard. This led to a brilliant sortie, which resulted not only in the spiking of two of the enemy's guns, but also in the blowing up of Johanne's house, which had been such a perpetual source of annoyance to the garrison. It was one of the best day's work yet accomplished, and cheered the poor, hard-worked fellows for a time; but they had still enough to trouble them. The Cawnpore and Bedan batteries were almost knocked to pieces, and needed constant repair; the judicial office became so riddled with shot, that the women and children had to be removed from it; while the enemy's sharpshooters were deadly accurate in their aim: their miners began new mines as fast as the old ones were destroyed or rendered harmless; and, worst of all, Inglis's little band was rapidly decreasing.

The last week in August was the ninth of a perilous life in the residency at Lucknow. As the days passed slowly and sadly by, they exhibited variations in the degree of danger; but they brought no comfort to the hearts of the garrison and its charge. The advantage gained by the successful mining and blowing up of Johanne's house (the post from which the African eunuch before mentioned had kept up a most accurate and fatal fire into the enclosure, bringing down more Europeans than any other person in the enemy's ranks), was more than balanced by abundant miseries in other quarters. Gubbins' house had become so shot-riddled, that the ladies and children placed there for shelter, were too much imperilled to remain longer: they were necessarily removed to other buildings; adding to the number of inmates in rooms already sadly overcrowded.

Distressingly severe as the labours of the besieged had been from the commencement, they now became doubly so; for the enemy had erected a new battery opposite the Bailey Guard, and commenced new mines in all directions. As the defenders could seldom venture on a sortie to examine the enemy's works of attack, they were driven to the construction of listening galleries—

underground passages, where the sound of the enemy's mining picks and shovels could be heard. And then would be renewed the digging of countermines, and a struggle to determine which party should be the first to blow the other into the air.

During this harassing week, another letter was received from General Havelock; whose intimation, that a period of three weeks, at least, must yet elapse before he could possibly reach them, threw them into a state of despondency; the more painful because the announcement that a letter from him had reached the residency, had raised their hopes and expectations to the utmost: when, therefore, the delay was made known, the disappointment of all was excessive. The sick and wounded, and the women and children, suffered in health and comfort much more terribly in August than in July: every kind of peril and discomfort had increased in severity; every means of succour and solace had diminished in prospect. Death struck down many; disease and wounds prostrated a still greater number; and those who remained were a prey to apprehensions that weakened mind and body together. The poor women, shut up by dozens together in small rooms, yearned, but yearned in vain, for the breathing of a little air free from impurities. They dared not move out, for the balls and bullets of the enemy sped into and across every open space. Sometimes an 18-pounder shot would burst into a room where two or three of them were dressing, or where a large number of them were at meals. In some of the houses where many ladies formed one community, they would take it in turn to keep awake for hourly watches during the night. One of these said in a letter—"I don't exactly know what is gained by these night watchings, except that we are all very nervous, and are expecting some dreadful catastrophe to happen." The little children now died off rapidly, their maladies being more than could be met with the resources at hand; and those who bore up against the afflictions were very much emaciated. The husbands and fathers, worn out with daily fatigue and nightly watching, had little solace to afford their families; and thus the women and children were left to pass the weary hours as best they could. A few little creatures ("siege babies," as their poor mothers called them) came into the world during this stormy period; and with them each day was a struggle for life.





To the officers and men, much additional misery arose from the fact, that the commissariat quarter, offensive to every sense, on account of the organic accumulations inseparable from the slaughtering and cutting up of animals, was one of the weakest parts in the whole enclosure, and required to be guarded at all hours by armed men, who loathed the spot for the reasons mentioned. The chaplain, also, now found the churchyard getting into such a horrible state, that he dared not go near the graves to read the burial-service. An instance is mentioned by Mr. Rees, which illustrates the mental sufferings of many who, however willing to endure suffering themselves, were almost crushed by the contemplation of the miseries around them. "One of the officers," he says, "had at first told me of his wife being feverish, and quite overcome with the abominable life she had to lead. And then he talked to me of his boy, Herbert; how he was attacked with cholera, and feared he was very ill; and how, instead of being able to watch by his bedside, he had been all night digging at Captain Fulton's mine; and then, how his child, next night, was convulsed, and what little hope of his darling being spared to them; how heartrending the boy's sufferings were to his parents' feelings; how even his (the father's) iron constitution was at last giving way; how he had neither medicine nor attendance, nor proper food for the child; and how the blowing-up of the mine so close to his sick child had frightened him. And then to-day he told me, with tears in his eyes, that yesterday—the anniversary of his birthday—his poor child was called away. 'God's will be done,' said he; 'but it is terrible to think of. At night we dug a hole in the garden; and there, wrapped in a blanket, we laid him.'" This case, says the narrator, is not singular: many another poor parent's heart was similarly torn in this terrible ordeal.

The necessary supply of provision for the garrison was naturally a constant source of anxiety to Brigadier Inglis and the other officers, and the distribution of food became a work of some difficulty, as the store rapidly diminished, and no prospect appeared of replenishing it. Fresh meat could be obtained for the garrison as long as any healthy bullocks remained; but in other articles of food, the deficiency grew serious as the month advanced. An immense store of attah (the coarse meal from

which chupatties, or cakes, were made) had been provided by Sir Henry Lawrence; but this was now nearly exhausted, and the garrison had to grind corn daily from the store kept in the impromptu granaries. The women and elder children were much employed in this work by means of hand-mills. The store of *bhoosa*, or animal food, was also diminishing; and the commissariat officers saw clearly before them the approach of a time when the poor bullocks must die for want of food. The tea and sugar were exhausted, except a little store kept for invalids. The tobacco was all gone; and the soldiers, yearning for a pipe after a hard day's work, smoked dry leaves, as the only substitute they could obtain. A few casks of porter still remained, to be guarded as a precious treasure. Once now and then, when an officer was struck down to death, an auction would be held of the few trifling comforts he had been able to bring with him into the enclosure, and then the prices given by those who possessed means, plainly told how eager was the desire for some little change in the poor and insufficient daily food. A few effects left by Sir Henry Lawrence were sold: among them £16 was given for a dozen bottles of brandy; £7 for a dozen of beer; the same amount for a dozen of sherry; £7 for a ham; £4 for a quart bottle of honey; £5 for two small tins of preserved soup; and £3 for a cake of chocolate. And these prices were moderate, compared with those given towards the close of the siege.

September brought with it the commencement of the tenth week of the captivity. New mines were everywhere discovered, and the officers and men attended sedulously to the underground "listening galleries" before mentioned, and there obtained unmistakable evidence that the enemy were running mines towards Sago's house, the brigade mess, the Bailey Guard, and other buildings, with the intent of blowing them up, and making a forcible entry into the enclosure. Unceasing exertions at countermining alone prevented this catastrophe, and its attendant horrors. On one day the upper part of the brigade mess was smashed in by a shot; on another, a breach was made in the wall of the Martinière temporary school, requiring instant barricading to prevent the entrance of the enemy; on another, a few engineers made a gallant sortie from Innes's house,





and succeeded in blowing up a building from which the enemy had kept up an incessant fire of musketry; and on one occasion, an officer had the curiosity to count the cannon-balls, varying from three to twenty-four pounds each, which had fallen on the roof of one building alone (the brigade mess-house), and they amounted to the incredible number of 280 in *one day*!

On the 5th of September, the enemy appeared, by their activity, to be determined upon the accomplishment of some extraordinary object. Five thousand of them advanced towards the residency, and having formed a battery on the opposite side of the river, they exploded two mines near the Bailey Guard and the mess-house. They then rushed forward to Gubbins' House and to the Silk Square, bringing with them long ladders to effect an escalade. In short, they seemed determined to carry their point on this occasion; but their efforts were vain. The garrison, though worked almost to death, gallantly rushed to every endangered spot, and repelled the enemy, hastily reconstructing such defence-works as had been destroyed or damaged; and the two mines, being short of their intended distance, fortunately wrought but little mischief.

At length, vague rumours reached the residency that General Havelock had a second time defeated the troops of Nana Sahib at Cawnpore, or Bithoor; and, as much unusual marching and activity were occasionally visible among the troops in the city, apprehension became painfully excited as to the effect such intelligence might have upon the passions of the enemy, who had been continually receiving reinforcements, and appeared resolutely determined to possess themselves of the enclosure, if not by hand-to-hand fighting, by the utter exhaustion of its defenders. Thus, the nights now became to the residents more terrible than even the days; for the rebels, as if to destroy all chance of sleep for the wearied garrison, kept up an unceasing torrent of musketry close to the walls, accompanied by the most unearthly yells and shouts, the very sound of which was enough to strike dismay into the hearts of the women and children, who vainly sought to shut their ears against the hellish din.

The peril of the garrison had, as may be supposed, increased as time wore on; and, by the beginning of the eleventh week, wounds and fatigue had weakened the

physical energies of the strongest among them. Still the spirits of all were buoyant; they knew that their extremity would have a triumphant end—that help would come; and, although still left in uncertainty as to the movements of the force under Havelock, not a doubt was felt that its approach would be sudden, and their deliverance sure. Still they did not rely with blind confidence upon the efforts of friends without the enclosure; while instant and increasing effort was indispensable for the safety of those within it. In short, there was no time for reflection upon the probabilities of what others might do for them, since every moment was necessarily devoted to the bare preservation of existence. The officers, who had from the first been driven from place to place for their scant opportunities of repose and food, had for some time messed in one of the buildings of the Begum's kothee; and this fact appeared to be known to the rebels, who were from the first better informed of what took place within the enclosure, than the garrison were with the transactions beyond the walls: they therefore directed their shells and balls so thickly on that spot, that access to it became exceedingly difficult and dangerous. Two sides of Innes's house were blown in, and the whole structure made little else than a heap of ruins. The residency proper had become so much shattered by the continual firing to which it had been exposed, that great caution was necessary on the part of those as yet sheltered within its walls. New mines were also discovered, directed to points underneath the various buildings; and the enemy sought to increase their means of annoyance, by throwing shells filled with abominable and filthy compositions.

One of the most annoying perplexities, because the most constant, was the uncertainty in which the men and officers were kept as to the point at which their efforts would be next required: then there was the constant anxiety as to whether they were mined or not; and they could not be sure a moment that the ground would not open under their feet, or the buildings around them fly into the air, by the explosion of a mine. Shells came smashing into their rooms, and knocked the furniture, &c., into fragments; then followed round shot, and down tumbled huge blocks of masonry, while splinters of wood and bricks flew in all directions; beds were literally blown to





A.D. 1857.]

## INDIAN MUTINY.

[THE ENEMY'S BATTERIES.

atoms, and trunks and boxes smashed into little pieces. Nevertheless there was still no flinching: if a mine were discovered, a countermine was speedily run out to frustrate its purpose. If a wall or a verandah were knocked down by a shot, the mine was instantly converted into a rampart, barricade, or stockade; and the persevering obstinacy of the rebel assailants was thus more than met by the indomitable spirit and energy of those assailed.

A loss was incurred on the 14th of September, which occasioned much grief to the whole garrison. Captain Fenton, who had succeeded Major Anderson as chief engineer, and whose skilful operations had justly earned for him the admiration of all, while his kindness of manner had rendered him a general favourite, was struck by a cannon-ball, which took his head completely off. His loss was severely felt by Brigadier Inglis, and mourned by everyone.

At length the period had arrived when deliverance was near. The twelfth week of the siege was the last in which the beleaguered garrison and its helpless charge were destined to suffer the perils and suspense of a cruel captivity. Its approach found them with spirits much saddened, but with determination firm as ever. They had now lost a number of valuable officers and estimable friends, and could not choose but feel the deprivation. Within the last few days Lieutenant Birch had fallen; then Mr. Deprat, a merchant, who had worked and fought most valiantly at the defences; then Captain Culliffe; and then, most mournful loss of all, Lieutenant Graham, whose mind, over-worn by exertion and fatigue, had given way; and his own hand had sadly terminated a career of honour. As a natural consequence of these and similar losses, harder work than ever pressed on those who remained alive. Not for a moment could the look-out be neglected. At all hours of the day and night, officers were posted on the roofs of the residency and post-office, finding such shelter as they could while watching intently the river, the bridges, the roads, and the buildings in and around the city. Every fact they observed, serious in its apparent import, was at once reported to Brigadier Inglis, who made such defensive arrangements as the circumstances called for, and as his gradually lessened resources rendered possible. The enemy's batteries were now more numerous than ever: they were con-

structed near the iron bridge; in a piece of open ground that formerly comprised the kitchen-garden of the residency; near a mosque, by the swampy ground on the river's bank; in front of a range of buildings called the Captan Bazaar; in the Taree kothee, opposite the Bailey Guard; near the clock-tower opposite the financial office; in a garden and buildings opposite the judicial office and Anderson's house; in numerous buildings that bore upon the Cawnpore battery and the brigade mess; in fields and buildings that commanded Gubbins' house, and in positions on the north-west of the enclosure;—in short, the whole place was surrounded by batteries bristling with mortars and great guns, some or other of which were incessantly firing shot and shell into it.

The personal life of the inmates of this abode of peril, during the last three weeks of their occupancy, was fraught with wretchedness to everyone. If the men toiled and watched in sultry, dry weather, they were nearly overcome by heat and noisome odours; if they slept in the trenches in damp nights, after great heat, they suffered in their bones, for they had neither tents nor change of clothing. Such was the state to which the whole of the ground was brought by refuse of every kind, that a pool, resulting from a shower of rain, soon became an insupportable nuisance; and sanitary cleansings were unattainable by a community who had neither surplus labour or opportunity at command. Half the officers were ill at one time from disease, over-fatigue, and insufficient diet; and when thus laid prostrate, they had neither medicines nor surgeons sufficient for their need. There was not a sound roof in the whole enclosure, and provisions of every kind had at last become short. A crisis could not be distant. Such, then, was the state to which the garrison of Lucknow, and the women and children under its protection, were reduced, when the third week of September was closing upon them. Endurance, almost superhuman, had brought them thus far through suffering and peril. Deliverance was now at hand.

And here, for the present, we leave the noble band of valiant men, and high-spirited women, and confiding children, assured of their speedy emancipation from the toils that surrounded them—to trace the progress of the gallant army, led by the victorious Havelock to the rescue, and to inscribe upon future pages the record of its





trials and its triumphs. It will be remembered, that the previous detail of the operations of the force under Brigadier-general Havelock, closed with a telegraphic announcement from that officer to the commander-in-chief, on the 21st of July, that he was then "free to cross the Ganges" from Cawnpore; and that a portion of the troops, with five guns, which had already passed over, were in position at the head of the road to Lucknow.\* From this date, therefore, the narrative of proceedings for the relief of the capital of Oude are properly resumed.

By a telegram from Lieutenant-colonel Tytler (assistant quartermaster-general with the force), to the commander-in-chief, on the 23rd of July, that officer reports as follows:—

"We have 1,100 men across the river. Passage most difficult on account of the breadth and strength of the stream. I hope to complete the passage in two days; but can't say for certain—all working hard at it. Sent thirty-five elephants across to-day, but fear I have lost one. Lucknow holds out bravely, and in no danger—can easily hold their own until the 5th of August, and longer, if necessary. Enemy's fire very slack. Large bodies of men who occupied the villages on the road, have abandoned them on receiving intelligence of our passing the river. It is a great pity we can't keep up our old system, seen and felt at the same moment; but this river is a fatal obstacle: all possible baggage is left behind. No one takes tents—only a change of clothes, and some food and drink, and yet we are delayed. We shall resume our old ways in three days, please God! and relieve Lucknow in six. Give us 3,000 Europeans and six horsed guns, and we will smash every rebel force one after the other; and the troops coming up in the rear can settle the country."

On the 26th of the month, Brigadier-general Neill reported to the commander-in-chief, that the whole of the force destined for the relief of Lucknow, had crossed from Cawnpore, and would be ready to move on by the 28th; on which day Brigadier-general Havelock, who had waited to collect his troops at Mungulwar (six miles from the landing-place on the left bank of the Ganges), informed the commander-in-chief that the chances of relieving Lucknow were hourly multiplying against him; that Nana Sahib

\* See vol. i., p. 388.

had collected 3,000 men, with several guns, and was then on his left flank at Futehpore Bhowrassee, with the avowed intention of cutting in upon the rear of the British force when it should advance. The telegram then proceeded thus:—

"The difficulties of an advance to the capital are excessive. The enemy has intrenched, and covered with guns, the long bridge across the Solee at Bunnee, and has made preparations for destroying it, if the passage is forced. I have no means of crossing the canal near Lucknow, even if successful at Bunnee. A direct attack at Bunnee might cost me one-third of my force. I might turn it by Mohan, unless the bridge there is also destroyed.

"I have this morning received a plan of Lucknow from Major Anderson, engineer in that garrison; and much valuable information in two memoranda, which escaped the enemy's out-posted troops, and were partly written in Greek characters. These communications contained much important intelligence orally derived from spies, and convince me of the extreme delicacy and difficulty of any operation to relieve Colonel Inglis, now commanding in Lucknow. It shall be attempted, however, at every risk, and the result faithfully reported.

"Our losses from cholera are becoming serious, and extend to General Neill's force as well as my own. I urgently hope that the 5th and 90th can be pushed on to me entire, and with all dispatch, and every disposable detachment of the regiments now under my command may be sent on. My whole force only amounts to 1,500 men, of whom under 1,200 are British; and ten guns imperfectly equipped and manned."

Carrying out the intention expressed in the preceding telegram, Brigadier-general Havelock, on the morning of the 29th, commenced his march towards Lucknow. The force moved off their camping-ground at Mungulwar as the day broke, aware that opposition awaited them at a village called Oonao, about three miles from their starting-point; and, consequently, they were not surprised when, on nearing the place, three guns opened upon them. Two field-pieces were immediately brought forward, and silenced them; but, as the troops moved on, a line of white puffs of smoke from the orchard and garden walls surrounding the place, indicated that the matchlockmen intended to stand their ground. On this the skirmishers rushed forward, and drove





A.D. 1857.]

## INDIAN MUTINY.

[BATTLE OF OONAO.]

the enemy out of the orchard into the village, leaving the three guns in the possession of the British, who, pushing forward, attempted to clear the village, but met with a resistance they were not at the moment prepared for.

The mud-walled villages of Oude, and their fighting inhabitants, are among the peculiar features of the country. Every hamlet is at chronic feud with its neighbour; and all of them look upon open rebellion against the farmer of their taxes as a sacred duty. The consequence is, that a century of practical experience in the art of self-defence, had converted those villages into almost impregnable fortifications, and the villagers themselves into excellent garrison troops. A hundred Oude men would flee from the attack of ten English soldiers on an open plain; but if ten Oudians are placed behind a loopholed mud wall, they will hold their position without shrinking, nor consider it much of an achievement. Such was the case in the petty village of Oonao. The enemy were completely hidden behind walls: the British troops were in the place and all round it, and yet they could comparatively do nothing, and were dropping fast under the bullets of their unseen foes. Thrice did a portion of them charge a mud-walled enclosure filled with men, and thrice were they driven back with heavy loss. At length it was determined to fire the place; the artillery drew back, portfires were laid to the thatch, and the men of the light companies stood waiting around the outskirts, with eager eyes and rifles cocked, like terriers waiting for the rats to rush out.

Just at this moment, while the thatch was crackling amidst the spreading flames, the field engineer of the force, who had gone round to the front of the village by himself to reconnoitre, came spurring back in hot haste with the information that a very large force of infantry, cavalry, and guns, was rapidly advancing from the other side upon Oonao. Upon this, the task of finishing off the rebels in the burning village was left to the Sikhs; and the whole British force was ordered to turn the position by the right, and move on to the front as quickly as possible. This, however, was no easy matter as far as the artillery was concerned; for the ground was heavy, and the guns frequently stuck fast in the swamp for five minutes together, under a galling fire of matchlocks. At length the

main road was reached again, and the force pushed on through the groves which encircled the place.

Beyond the trees lay a level, swampy plain, of vast extent, traversed by a main road, along which was seen approaching, a force of about 6,000 men, bearing down on our right and left flanks, with their guns in advance; the distance between the opposing columns being about 1,500 yards. The leading gun of the English troops was immediately unlimbered, and opened upon the insurgents, with a view to arrest their progress, and give the infantry time to deploy; while the other guns, as they came up one by one, went into action in line with the first. By this time the enemy's artillery had closed to within a thousand yards, and opened fire. The sun, fortunately, was at the back of the English gunners, and they could distinctly see the objects they were to fire at; and, consequently, in about ten minutes they had silenced the enemy's leading guns, and the whole of the English force moved forward, with the artillery in the centre. The immense disproportion between the attacking column and the force of the enemy, was a subject of hilarity among the troops, as their small thin line struggled forward knee-deep in swamp, with sloped arms, to encounter the vast masses of infantry and cavalry that swarmed in front of them. Not one of those grim and bearded Englishmen but felt confident of victory, and a groan ran through the line, "Oh that we had cavalry, to cut the dogs up!"

During this advance, the artillery came into action as opportunity occurred, and, still pressing forward, gun after gun was abandoned on the road; while those in the front, and on the left flank, stuck in the swamp, and were left to their fate. At last the English artillery got up near enough to tell upon the rebel infantry; while the saddles of the cavalry began to empty rapidly under the fire of the Enfield rifles. Presently the enemy's horsemen went threes about; there was a wavering among the infantry; and then, as if a sudden panic had seized them, they rushed off the field to a village in the distance, across the plain, where they were afterwards discovered huddled together like a flock of sheep, leaving the British in possession of the road and of fifteen captured guns. It was now past two o'clock P.M., and the troops halted





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where they stood for a couple of hours, to cook and eat.

After this refreshment the force again marched forward about eight miles, to a large walled village named Busherut-gunge, also surrounded by swamps, to which the enemy had retired, and where they showed an intention to make a stand. On approaching this place, three more guns were found to be in position; two behind a mud wall built across the road, and one on an elevated mud bastion. The two guns on the road were quickly silenced by the fire of the English artillery; but the one on the bastion continued to give some trouble until a well-directed 9-pounder dismounted it, and prevented further annoyance from that quarter. The sepoys at this place made but a feeble defence, and were quickly driven out of the village; but the matchlockmen, on the contrary, fought boldly and well, although uselessly; for Havelock's men had now become fierce and flushed with success, and nothing could withstand their impetuosity, as house after house was stormed and carried, until the village was finally evacuated.

The pertinacity of one of the villagers at this place was remarkable. He had stationed himself in a little mud fort at the entrance of the place (which was almost the first position carried), and had contrived to hide himself, thus escaping the fate of his comrades in the general bayoneting. As soon as the main body of the English had passed on, this man emerged from his shelter, and plied his solitary matchlock with effect at the guns, the baggage, the elephants, or anything that came within range. His bravery amused the men of the rear-guard, who, as he was not a sepoy, would have spared him if possible, and they repeatedly called to him to desist; but their humanity was thrown away; and the result was, that a party of Sikhs went and smoked him out of the fort, and the poor wretch was shot through the head as he was crossing over the parapet for a last hit at his enemies.

The result of the above actions was communicated by Brigadier-general Havelock to the deputy-adjutant-general of the army,

\* From this despatch, it is evident that the incident of valour recorded in vol. i., p. 373, was attributed erroneously to the brave man, now named by General Havelock; and it is to be regretted that, through the confusion of names which has frequently occurred in details of actions during the sepoy war, the identity of the individual who so gallantly

in a despatch, from which the subjoined passages are extracted.

"Camp, Busherut-gunge, July 29, 1857.

"I moved forward from the strong position of Mungulwar on the 29th instant, and soon became engaged with the enemy near the town of Oonao. It is necessary to describe the enemy's position: his right was protected by a swamp, which could neither be forced nor turned; his advance was drawn up in a garden enclosure, which, in this warlike district, had purposely, or accidentally, assumed the form of a bastion. The rest of his force was posted in and behind a village, the houses of which were loopholed. The passage between the village and the large town of Oonao is narrow. The town itself extended three-quarters of a mile to our right. The flooded state of the country precluded the possibility of turning in this direction. The swamp shut us out on the left. Thus an attack in front became unavoidable.

"It was commenced by the 78th highlanders and 1st fusiliers, with two guns, and soon became exceedingly warm. The enemy were driven out of the bastioned enclosure; but when our troops approached the village, a destructive fire was opened upon them from the loopholed houses. It became necessary to bring up the 84th, under Colonel Wilson, R.H. Here some daring feats of bravery were performed. Private Patrick Cavanagh, 64th, was cut literally in pieces by the enemy, while setting an example of distinguished gallantry. Had he lived I should have deemed him worthy of the Victoria Cross. It could never have glittered on a more gallant breast.\*

"Lieutenant Boyle, 78th highlanders, in an attempt to penetrate into a house filled with desperate fanatics of the Mussulman faith, was badly wounded. The village was set on fire; still its defenders resisted obstinately. Finally the guns were captured, and the whole force was enabled to debouch by the narrow passage between the village and the town of Oonao, and formed in line. It found the enemy rallied and re-formed in great force. Infantry, guns, and cavalry were drawn up in line on the plain. They were attacked in direct *échelon* acquitted himself upon the field before Cawnpore, on Thursday, the 16th of July, should have been suffered to remain doubtful, since it is hardly probable that two men of precisely the same name, regiment, and rank, could have rendered themselves so enviably conspicuous within a few days of each other, and with a like result in both cases.





CSL

A.D. 1857.]

## INDIAN MUTINY.

[RETURN TO MUNGULWAR.]

of detachments and batteries, their guns taken, and the infantry and horse put to flight. During the whole of the action a large detachment of the troops of Nana Sahib threatened our left flank.

"The troops halted three hours, and then moved on towards Buserut-gunge. It is a walled town, with wet ditches. The gate is defended by a round tower, on and near which four pieces of cannon were mounted; the adjacent buildings being loopholed and otherwise strengthened. In the rear of the town is a broad and deep inundation, crossed by a narrow *chaussée* and bridge. The guns pushed on in admirable order, supported by the 1st fusiliers (skirmishing) and the 78th highlanders, and 64th regiment in line. The enemy's cannonade was well sustained, nevertheless our force continued to gain ground. The 64th were then directed to turn the town by our left, and penetrate between it and the swamp, thus cutting off the enemy from their *chaussée* and bridge. The fusiliers and highlanders precipitated themselves on the earthworks, broke through the intrenchment, and captured the town.

"The whole of the guns of the 5th company of 7th battalion artillery were taken by us, with nearly all its ammunition. It had come from Fyzabad and Lucknow. The ground on both sides the road at Oonao was so flooded that it was impossible for cavalry to act. My volunteer horse were, therefore, reduced to inactivity, though most anxious to engage.

"The loss of the enemy at Oonao is estimated, by native report, at 1,500 killed and wounded. It might, in truth, amount to 500: it was lighter at Buserut-gunge. In these two combats nineteen guns were captured from the enemy. I must praise the conduct of all my staff-officers. Lieutenant-colonel Tytler, hardly able from indisposition to sit on his horse, set throughout the day an example of daring and activity. Lieutenant Havelock, deputy assistant-adjutant-general, had a horse shot under him. Lieutenant Seton, my acting aide-de-camp, was severely wounded. Major Stephenson, at the head of the Madras fusiliers, showed, throughout the day, how the calmest forethought can be united with the utmost daring.

"The victorious troops encamped on the night of the 29th, on the causeway beyond the village of Buserut-gunge, having fought from sunrise to sunset, with an interval of

three hours during the heat of the day, and captured nineteen guns; amongst which were two complete 9-pounder English batteries, new from the Cossipore foundry.

"The loss during the day's fight was heavy for the small force engaged—namely, 100 men, killed and wounded; and as the number of wounded took up nearly the whole available sick carriage of the force, considerable embarrassment might have arisen on account of the wounded in a future action, before the supply had been augmented. The contingency was, however, foreseen and guarded against."

On the 30th of July, Brigadier-general Havelock again reported to the commander-in-chief as follows:—

"Camp, Buserut-gunge, July 30, 1857.

"The loss of the enemy, in killed and wounded, has on every occasion been considerable; but as I have no cavalry, they carry off both dead and wounded. How, then, did I capture their guns? I advanced steadily on their lines, and they abandoned their guns. The horses, bullocks, and equipments generally, if not always, escaped me."

It was probably owing to the want of cavalry, and of sufficient hospital carriage, coupled with the certainty of further opposition on the road, and that a heavy fight before Lucknow awaited the force, that General Havelock was induced reluctantly to make a retrograde movement on the day after his double victory. The troops accordingly marched back to their fortified station at Mungulwar, and proceeded further to strengthen it by loopholing it, throwing up breastworks, and adopting other essential measures, until, after two days' labour, an intrenched camp was formed that might have been sufficient to defy the whole force of Oude, had it been deemed expedient to await its attack. The return of the force was announced to the commander-in-chief by the following telegram from General Havelock:—

"Camp, Mungulwar (six miles from Cawnpore), July 31st, 1857.

"My force is reduced, by sickness and repeated combats, to 1,364 rank and file, with ten ill-equipped guns. I could not, therefore, move on against Lucknow with any prospect of success, especially as I had no means of crossing the Solee, or the canal. I have therefore shortened my communications with Cawnpore by falling back two short marches, hitherto unmolested by an enemy. If I am speedily reinforced by 1,000

14





CSL

more British soldiers, and Major Olphert's battery complete, I might resume my march towards Lucknow, or keep fast my foot in Oude, after securing the easier passage of the Ganges at Cawnpore by boats and two steamers, or I might recross and hold the head of the Grand Trunk-road at Cawnpore. A reinforcement of 1,000 British soldiers, from which it would be necessary to make a detachment to defend the bridge-head on this side, might yet enable me to obtain great results; but with a smaller addition to my column, little could be effected for the interests of the state."

On the same day, Lieutenant-colonel Tytler reported to the commander-in-chief as follows:—

"Mungulwar, July 31st, 1857.

"We crossed the river on the 28th; encountered the enemy at and between Oonao and Busherat-gunge on the 29th; took nineteen guns of sorts, one battery included; but only six horses were captured. We inflicted a heavier loss than usual—I should say some 400 killed and wounded; our own loss was eighty-eight, reducing us to 1,000 European infantry. We could now only place 850 in line, our numerous sick, wounded, and baggage, requiring strong guards in this country, where every village contains enemies. We were diminishing daily from cholera, diarrhoea, and fighting. The Bunnee bridge, 120 yards long, strongly intrenched, and said to be destroyed, had to be passed. We could not hope to reach Lucknow with 600 effective Europeans. We had then to pass the canal, and force one and a-half miles of street. We found we thrashed the Oude people easily in the open, but failed to force two small occupied serais: the men hung back. One of our guns was left under fire; it was some time before I could get the 64th rifles to keep down the fire: had then to dismount: called for volunteers to run it out; the artillery, on this, did the work.

"Busherat-gunge is a strong place on our line of communication; it is in rear of an extensive jheel, traversed by a narrow raised road and bridge: 150 men might hold it against us, and cut off our retreat. We had not a man to hold it with. It is absurd to see our handful of men outflanked by the numbers of the enemy. The Ganges was also in our rear. Neill says his guns command the opposite bank: its breadth is, at the lowest esti-

mate, three-quarters of a mile. I make it more: the range of a 24-pounder is 1,400 yards. His shot would do more harm to us than to the enemy. Under these circumstances, when asked my opinion as to the probability of at once relieving Lucknow, I decided against it; for the following reasons:—if we failed (and I saw no chance of success), Lucknow was inevitably doomed, and government in a worse position than ever; while, if we waited for reinforcements, we might still be in time to save it, as the garrison say they can hold out to the 5th of August, and longer if necessary, and warn us not to approach Lucknow with less than from 2,000 to 3,000 Europeans. We retired to this place (Mungulwar, six miles from the Ganges), as the Nana threatened our rear. We are constructing a work to cover the passage when we require to pass the river. One thousand infantry for the field, and 300 to hold Busherat-gunge and the Bunnee bridge, when repaired, will enable us to bring off the garrison. Cawnpore is threatened by the 42nd from Saugor, and some rabble."

The force remained in camp at Mungulwar until the 4th of August, when it again moved towards Lucknow, having, in the meantime, received a reinforcement of about 150 men and two 24-pounder heavy guns. This augmentation to his column, is adverted to in a telegram from Brigadier-general Havelock to the commander-in-chief on the 4th, which reports as follows:—

"Camp, Mungulwar, Aug. 4th, 1857.

"I was joined this morning by the half of Major Olphert's battery, under Lieutenant Smithett. I inquired of him minutely how his detachment had behaved. He told me that the conduct of all had been very good, except his gun lascars. They had, in April last, threatened to spike the guns whenever they might be engaged with the enemy. At Benares, Major Olphert informed me that they had conducted themselves ill on the night of the mutiny.

"So far as depends on me, I cannot afford to have a single traitor in my camp. I paraded the detachment, and spoke to them all, both British and natives. I congratulated the former on having come into a camp of heroic soldiers, who had six times met the enemy, and every time defeated him and captured his cannon. The lascars at this moment were facing the detachment. I turned to them, and told them what





A.D. 1857.]

INDIAN MUTINY.

[RETROGRADE MOVEMENT.]

miscreants I had this morning discovered them to be—traitors in heart to their fostering government. I made the British soldiers disarm them, and ordered them out of the camp under a light escort, to be employed under General Neill in the labours of the intrenchment. He will look after them. If they attempt to desert, I have ordered them to be punished with death, the same if they refuse to work with the other soldiers. They shall do no other duty till I am better instructed. I have given the same orders regarding a detachment of sepoy of the 60th regiment, now on duty at Cawnpore."

General Havelock left his fortified camp at Mungulwar on the 4th, bivouacked for the night at Oonao, and, on the following morning, received intelligence that the enemy had reoccupied the town of Busherrut-gunge in considerable strength. He immediately commanded the advance, and, on reaching a serai about six miles distant from the bivouac, found the information correct. Two heavy guns and two 24-pounder howitzers were at once pushed forward by the road; while six guns, with the 78th highlanders and Sikhs, under Colonel Hamilton, proceeded to turn the left of the village; and the 1st Madras fusiliers and 84th foot covered the turning column with the heavy guns. By this movement the enemy was speedily expelled from the serai, but still obstinately held the villages on the other side of the street beyond it. At length they were driven out by the artillery, and the troops advanced the heavy guns, silencing some guns of the enemy, posted on the right and left of the road; which were, however, withdrawn by the rebels, who retired slowly—forced back but not beaten. The troops then passed through the village and came to the causeway, crossing the swamp, from the other side of which a hot fire of matchlocks and guns was kept up both on the causeway and on the right wing of the English force, which returned their fire across the water with interest. Taking advantage of the diversion thus made, the 84th dashed across the causeway, and began skirmishing on the other side. The heavy guns followed, and opened fire at grape-range on the enemy's cavalry, who were scattered to the winds by four volleys.

The troops were now in a richly-cultivated country, studded with hamlets, every one of which swarmed with matchlockmen. Cross-

ing the causeway, the whole force spread out to the right and left, engaging the villagers, and driving back the sepoys in front, and thus passed through the belt of cultivation, emerging upon an extensive open plain, on which were half-a-dozen different camps crowded with troops, and as many fortified villages occupied by matchlockmen. The artillery immediately opened fire on a camp in which a large red-and-white striped tent rose above the rest, surrounded by a strong body of cavalry and infantry, with several guns; the whole of whom made a precipitate retreat the moment the 24-pounder grapeshot and shrapnel began to drop amongst them. Unfortunately the British guns were too far in advance of the infantry, and could not venture to follow without support. A halt was therefore sounded, to allow the remaining troops time to come up; and, when the whole had joined, the men were ordered to cook and eat, while a consultation was held as to the expediency of pursuing the advantage already gained, or of returning to Mungulwar. The result of the deliberation was an order to return thither without delay.

In the opinion of Lieutenant-colonel Tytler, this transaction was altogether unsatisfactory, as it resulted in the capture of two small iron guns only; and it had become painfully evident that the present force could never reach Lucknow: it had three strong positions to force, defended by fifty guns and 30,000 men. One night and a day had already cost, in sick and wounded, 104 Europeans and a fourth of the gun ammunition, besides ten men killed: the whole effective strength numbered but 1,010, and not more than 900 of those could be paraded. In short, according to the lieutenant-colonel, there was no alternative but to retire, inasmuch as he says, in a report to the commander-in-chief on the 6th of August:—"The men are cowed by the numbers opposed to them, and the endless fighting. Every village is held against us, the zemindars having risen to oppose us. All the men killed yesterday were zemindars. We know them to be all around us in bodies of 500 or 600, independent of the regular levies. I therefore had no hesitation in giving it as my opinion, that the force had no chance whatever of forcing its way into Lucknow, and that it was sacrificing it without a chance of benefitting the garrison; that Cawnpore, with 500 men (half sick), would be in great danger, and had no





CSL

chance of being reinforced. All were of the same opinion; and we retired to our position five miles from the river, to prevent Oonao and Buserut-gunge being occupied in our rear."

The report of General Havelock to the commander-in-chief, in reference to this affair and his subsequent arrangements, was as follows:—

"Camp, Mungulwar, Aug. 6th, 1857.

"I yesterday received information that the enemy had reoccupied in great force the town of Buserut-gunge. I advanced upon it, turned the position by its left, and drove the mutineers and rebels out of it with great slaughter. They had eight or ten guns beyond the causeway—two on this side of it: two of those beyond were 24-pounders. The whole were kept at such a distance, and withdrawn so rapidly, that we never got a fair sight of them; none, therefore, fell into our hands but two on the walls, which had been captured on the 29th ultimo, and dismantled by the commandant of artillery so imperfectly, however, that the enemy again fired out of them. The enemy's dead strewed the town. I estimate their loss at 300 killed and wounded. I returned to this position in the evening.

"I must prepare your excellency for my abandonment, with great grief and reluctance, of the hope of relieving Lucknow. The only three staff-officers in my force whom I ever consult confidentially, but in whom I entirely confide, are unanimously of opinion, that an advance to the walls of Lucknow involves the loss of this force. In this I concur. The only military question that remains, therefore, is, whether that, or the unaided destruction of the British garrison at Lucknow, would be the greatest calamity to the state in this crisis. The loss of this force in a fruitless attempt to relieve Colonel Inglis, would of course involve his fall. I will remain, however, till the latest moment in this position, strengthening it, and hourly improving my bridge communication with Cawnpore, in the hope that some error of the enemy may enable me to strike a blow against them, and give the garrison an opportunity of blowing up their works and cutting their way out. The enemy is in such force at Lucknow, that to encounter him five marches from his position, would be to court annihilation."\*

From the evening of the 6th until the morning of the 11th of August, the troops

\* Parliamentary Blue Book—No. 4; p. 83.

remained in camp at Mungulwar, during which time a council was held as to the expediency of recrossing the Ganges, and falling back upon Cawnpore. That measure was ultimately decided upon, and arrangements for the purpose were made by the field engineer, who selected a spot for the embarkation, considerably lower down than the place formerly crossed by the troops. The river at this place was much narrower; but, to reach it, a succession of swamps and creeks had to be crossed. Causeways were thrown across the first; and the second was bridged with boats in an incredibly short space of time, considering the amount of work to be done, and the very inefficient means at the disposal of the engineer officers. The commissariat stores and baggage were sent down daily, and passed over; and, finally, on the morning of the 11th, an order was issued that all the bedding (the only article of baggage the troops had been allowed to keep) was to be sent across the river immediately. The troops, consequently, anticipated that they would have to follow during the night; but their astonishment may be conceived when, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the bugles sounded the "turn-out;" and they learned that they were, for the third time, to advance to the front, in consequence of information that the enemy had come down to Oonao, with the intent to attack them during their passage across the river. The troops, accordingly, marched off with their arms in their hands, and their clothes on their backs, and not another thing. When they reached Oonao it was found that the information was false, and not a single rebel was to be seen. During the halt, however, preparatory to retracing their steps, information reached the general that the enemy, under the impression that the British troops had actually crossed the Ganges two days previous, had come down in force to Buserut-gunge; and that 4,000 infantry and 500 cavalry, with one horse battery and some guns, were then lying encamped in front of that place. Having now advanced so far, it was felt to be impossible to retreat in the face of the enemy without exchanging shots; and accordingly the troops, after a scanty supper, bivouacked that night on the plain, and, with the first streak of dawn, marched to the encounter.

Meantime the enemy, having intelligence of the advance, had worked hard all night, intrenching themselves; and when the





troops arrived in front, they were found strongly posted; their right resting on the village of Boursekee Chowkee, in advance of the town, which they had strongly fortified; their left on a mound, about 400 yards distant, which they had cut down into a battery, and mounted with three guns—the interval between being connected by a ditch and breastwork, lined with infantry; having cavalry massed on their left flank, to act as opportunity might offer. To oppose the troops thus strongly posted, the British force did not consist of more than 800 effective men in the field, 200 having been left behind to guard the approaches to the river.

The plan of battle was soon formed. The 78th fusiliers, and four guns, moved off on the right, to attack the left of the enemy's position; the heavy guns on the left, supported by the 84th, went along the road to engage the enemy's right battery; and the remaining part of the force and guns took the centre. General Havelock was much retarded in bringing his battery and supporting-troops across the deep and wide morasses that protected the enemy's front; during which operation, the shot and shell of the rebels caused him severe loss; but on the right of the column the ground was good; and the men, being fresh, moved fast, and soon came into collision with the enemy's left. This movement appeared to annoy them much, and they turned the principal part of their guns in that direction. An officer writing of this engagement, says—"I certainly was never under so heavy a fire in my life. In five minutes after we came into action, every man at the gun I was laying was wounded with grape, except the sergeant and myself; and four of our gun cattle were knocked over by round shot. The other three guns suffered nearly as much, and we found our fire had little effect on the battery in front; their guns were too well protected. So we limbered up, and got away as fast as we could, taking ground more to the right, and then found it was possible to move still more forward, and take the adverse battery in flank. This was accordingly done, and then we had our revenge; for they could only bring one gun to bear on us; while we, with our four, enfiladed their whole position. At this time we were within 500 yards of the enemy's cavalry, who, if they had had one atom of pluck, could have charged and taken our guns

with the most perfect ease; but a handful of fusiliers with their Enfields, lying down on our right, and the small body of volunteer horse drawn up in our rear, made us feel perfectly secure, and so we went on pounding the battery, without paying the slightest attention to the horsemen. Presently an artillery waggon was seen creeping out of the battery—that was instantly knocked over; and soon after a lucky shrapnel silenced the one gun which was firing direct at us. Our fire grew hotter than ever, and at last a swarm of men was seen rushing back in confusion from the trenches. Hereupon a cheer ran along the whole of our advancing lines. The 78th quickened their pace before breaking into one of their magnificent charges, and the fusiliers on our right dashed forward with a yell, in loose skirmishing order, at the left flank of a large grove which extended along the rear of the enemy's position, and was full of men. The 78th went straight at the battery, which still remained crowded with men, the gunners working their two remaining guns to the last, and only bolting when our men were at the foot of the slope, carrying off with them one gun, the team of which had escaped the shrapnel of our artillery. After bayoneting all they could catch, the 78th turned the two captured guns on the enemy. Some artillerymen came into the battery immediately after, and we had the intense satisfaction of giving the flying foe three rounds from each of their own guns."

The position was carried about the same time at all points, the enemy flying in headlong haste from the chastisement they had provoked. On the left of the position, as they had the advantage of the road, they managed to carry off their guns, the cavalry being unable to pursue them through the swamps, and the infantry were too much exhausted by fatigue and hunger to follow them up. Having contented themselves, therefore, with driving the enemy clear through and away from the village, the force halted for a short time to breathe, and then leisurely marched back to Oonao, where they cooked some food; and, in the cool of the evening, retraced their steps to Mungulwar. On the following morning (the 13th) the troops moved down to the river; and, owing to the excellence of the arrangements by the engineer, they were all crossed over, and housed on the Cawn-pore side by nightfall of the same day.





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The following official report of this affair was conveyed by telegraph, from Brigadier-general Havelock to the commander-in-chief:—

“Mungulwar, August 12th, 1857.

“I was yesterday prepared to cross over the bridge of boats equipped, which Colonel Tytler and Captain Crommelin have established; but I had determined that, if there should be any assembly of hostile troops, my front should not wait their attack in this strong position, but take the initiative, and strike a blow against them. In the course of the day, a detachment of Sikhs brought me information of about 4,000 men, with some guns, having come forward from Nuwabgunge to Buserutgunge. I at once put my force in motion, although its baggage and spare ammunition, additional dhoolies, &c., were already on the right bank. My advanced guard pushed the enemy's parties out of Oonao, where my force bivouacked under trees. Marching at dawn, we found them for the third time prepared to defend Buserutgunge, and thus came on our eighth combat since the 12th of July. The insurgents were about 4,000 in number, with six field guns. They had varied their mode of attack by intrenching the village Boursekee Chowkee, in advance of Buserutgunge. My superior artillery fire would soon have crushed them; but I could only slowly bring my battery and supporting-troops across the deep and wide morasses which protected their front: meanwhile their shot and shell caused some loss in my ranks; but when these obstacles were passed, our success was speedily achieved. The highlanders, without firing a shot, precipitated themselves with a cheer upon the principal redoubt, and captured two out of the three horse-battery guns with which it was armed. The highlanders, at the same time, drove the enemy's extreme left before them, and their line was speedily in full retreat. I estimate their loss at 200 killed and wounded; my own was thirty-five. I retraced my steps leisurely to this position. A body of troops of Mansoollee Ally (a rebellious talookdar) made an effort to interrupt our progress by a demonstration on our right flank; but was compelled to retreat by our artillery fire. This action has inspired much terror amongst the enemy, and I trust will prevent his effectually opposing our embarkation at Cawnpore, which is a difficult operation.

“August 13th.—The whole force came across in the best order in six hours. Not a rebel dared to show his face. So much for the lesson of yesterday!”

A letter from the camp furnishes the following details of the incident referred to in the preceding pages. The writer, an officer attached to the Allahabad movable column under General Havelock, proceeds thus:—

“Camp, Cawnpore, head-quarters of Gen.

Havelock's army, Aug. 17th, 1857.

“On the 5th of August we marched towards Lucknow, about nine miles, and then encamped on a large plain for the night. You must bear in mind that we have no tents with us; they are not allowed; so every day we were exposed to the burning hot sun, to the rain and dew by night. No baggage or beds were allowed; but every soldier wrapped his cloak around him, grasped his musket, and went to sleep, and soundly we slept too. My Arab horse served me as a pillow. I used to lie down alongside of him, with my head on his neck, and he never used to move with me, except now and then to lick my hand. Next morning (6th August, a memorable day for India) we started at a quarter-past four in the morning, and at about half-past six, A.M., came in sight of the enemy, about 10,000 strong, with lots of guns, and about 2,000 cavalry. Our little army consists of only 900 infantry, eighty-five cavalry, and fifteen guns. We were tired with a two hours' march, and the sun was getting quite hot enough to be pleasant. However, directly they saw us they opened fire, which we took no notice of, as we were too far off to give it them with good effect. The enemy had the strong town of Buserutgunge in their rear, which they had intrenched, and had lined the tops of the houses with musket-men. We soon formed line, and the infantry were ordered to lie down on their backs while we (artillery) answered their guns. It fell to my lot to have against me four 9-pounders, which I silenced after a few rounds, without losing a man. I had, however, two drivers wounded, and two of my waggons injured by the enemy's shot. After fighting till eleven o'clock, the enemy were dispersed in all directions, and we entered the village of Buserutgunge, where we found the ground covered with the dead and wounded of the enemy; some injured most frightfully by round shot. I saw one man with his





A.D. 1857.]

## INDIAN MUTINY.

[SICKNESS IN THE CAMP.]

leg at least seven yards apart from his body. We then encamped on the field of battle and had breakfast, which we did ample justice to. You cannot think how grateful you feel after the action is over, to think you have not been killed or wounded, and how jolly to see the different officers one knows come up and shake hands, and congratulate you on your escape. We found that it was impossible for us to proceed on to Lucknow on account of our army being so small; for though we are a brave little band, and could easily fight our way to Lucknow, yet we could not compel them to raise the siege when we got there, as we should have no men to do it with. So we turned back to our old quarters, where we rested for about four days."

There can be little doubt that the fact of this retreat—for such practically it was—encouraged the enemy in a very considerable degree, as they regarded it as a concession to their superior strength and resources, and as an acknowledgment that the British force was unable to penetrate to Lucknow, through the masses that could be opposed to them. Thus, while it elated them, for the same reason it chagrined the little band that already had achieved so much, and suffered so severely; and the general himself was grieved, as well for the shade that overclouded the *prestige* of the British arms, as for the increased difficulties this forced delay would throw around Brigadier Inglis and his beleaguered companions. But it was not in his nature to sit down depressed and inactive in the face of duty to be performed, and his spirit rose with the emergency that called for exertion. While fighting his way through Oude, bravely but vainly endeavouring to advance to Lucknow, the arch-traitor, Nana Sahib, had been occupied in collecting a motley assemblage of troops near Bithoor, for the purpose of re-establishing his power in that direction; and this swarm of hornets it was necessary should be destroyed or dispersed. A whole month had been available to the Nana for the purpose of collecting troops—namely, from the middle of July to the middle of August; during which time he had been strengthened by the accession of the 31st and 42nd regiments of native infantry from Saugor; the 17th from Fyzabad; portions of the 34th, disbanded at Barrackpore; the troops of three cavalry regiments, and a vast gathering of Mahrattas; with whom he now intended to advance upon, and reoccupy

Cawnpore. On the other hand, it was determined by Generals Havelock and Neill, to rest the troops on the 14th, attack the left wing of the enemy on the 15th, and, on the 16th, march to Bithoor. Pending these movements, the state of the troops (among whom cholera was making direful inroads) became a subject of intense anxiety to General Havelock, who, on the 15th of that month, reported to the commander-in-chief as follows:—

"Camp, August 15th, 1857.

"It is now that I should report to your excellency the fearful inroads cholera is making in my little force; to-day there have been eleven fatal cases. The total sick and wounded is 335. The total British strength is 1,415. I do not despond. I must march to-morrow against Bithoor; but it seems advisable to look the evil in the face, for there is no chance but between reinforcements and gradual absorption by disease. I don't halt while the enemy keeps the field; and, in truth, our health has suffered less painfully when in bivouacs than in Cawnpore. I will not return to the cantonments if I can help it, but stay either in camp at Nuwabgunge, or further from the city.

"A number of widows of Christian drummers murdered by Nana Sahib, represent that they and their children are starving. I will, if your excellency sends me the sanction of government, order them an advance from the military chest, to the amount of their regulated pension, from the day of the murder. They have no certificates of last pay, but assert their husbands were two months in arrears."

On the 15th, according to arrangement, Brigadier Neill, with a mere handful of men, went out of his intrenchment at Cawnpore, and surprised the left wing of the Nana's forces, occupying a position in the vicinity of Cawnpore; and, after a short action, drove them back in confusion to Bithoor. This being accomplished, General Havelock, on the following day, proceeded to attack the main body of the rebels.

The town of Bithoor is situated upon the Ganges, about eleven miles north of Cawnpore: it is built on a rising ground, surrounded by orchards and dense cultivation, and protected by a deep muddy creek, which runs up from the Ganges round the base of the hill. This naturally made it a strong position; but it was still further pro





ected by a battery of guns, and a breastwork thrown up beside the bridge which crossed the creek; there were also some intrenched enclosures (quadrangles) filled with armed men, and two villages with loop-holed houses and walls, also filled with troops.

On the morning of the 16th of August, 1857, Brigadier-general Havelock marched from his camping-ground at Cawnpore, for the purpose of attacking the enemy in his stronghold. The British force at the time consisted of about 1,300 men, being nearly the whole of the effective troops under the command of himself and Brigadier Neill at Cawnpore. About mid-day he arrived within sight of the enemy, whose cavalry were as usual found hovering on the flank of the advancing force. A couple of long shots were fired to make the rebels unmask their position, and those were immediately replied to by two guns from the battery in front. After surveying the ground, General Havelock sent his artillery—which consisted of Maude's battery, and Olphert's battery, recently forwarded from Allahabad—along the main road, supported by infantry on the right and left. A portion of the troops, consisting of the 78th fusiliers, and horse battery, were now ordered to deploy on the right, and advance towards the intrenchment. The guns opened at 1,000 yards, and, after firing a few shots, limbered up for the purpose of advancing to within 700 yards' range, when suddenly a severe musketry fire opened on them from a village on the right flank. Two companies of the fusiliers instantly went off to attack this place; and the guns getting again into action at 700 yards, fired with such effect, that an order was given to limber up, and fire within canister-range. This was done; and the battery quietly advanced, supported by the 78th and the fusiliers, when a regular hailstorm of musketry came from the breastwork in front. The mutineers, contrary to their usual practice, had coolly waited until the troops came within range, before they fired a shot. The consequence of this unexpected reception fell severely upon the troops, who immediately moved off to the right, where they got under cover of some sugar-cane; and, passing through it, came out at the left of the breastwork, which they stormed and entered. Then turning, they went along inside, and, after about ten minutes' hard fighting, drove the sepoys out, across the bridge, into the town

and surrounding sugar-cane fields, and thus captured the battery. This was the first time the troops fairly got at the enemy with the bayonet, for the sepoys stood manfully, and fought with unflinching determination, until the steel was within an inch of their breasts, and then they fled in confusion. Had the men not been so thoroughly exhausted with their morning's march in the sun, the slaughter that ensued would have been much greater. As it was, about 300 of the enemy were killed, of whom sixty fell by the bayonet alone. While this was proceeding in one direction, the remaining portion of the British force was engaged with the enemy posted in the sugar-cane fields on the left; and, having driven them out of their cover, the whole force rushed forward in pursuit of the rebels, who retreated fighting through the town, till they finally broke on the other side of it, and fled in the direction of the Great Trunk-road to Delhi. The old residency, now used by the rajah as his palace, stood on the far-side of the town: the gardens were occupied by tents, now deserted; and the place had evidently been full of cavalry, some of whom, unmindful of the flight of their comrades on foot, were busily occupied in plundering and carrying off whatever they could lift. A fair opportunity for capturing or cutting down the whole of this party of rebels, was frustrated by the noisy impetuosity of the Sikhs, ordered to attack them; but who, by their shouts and excitement, gave an alarm before they had surrounded the gardens; and the rebels lost no time in seeking safety by flight—an object they accomplished much to the chagrin of the English troops. It was impossible for General Havelock to pursue the rebels beyond the town, as he had now scarcely a dozen European horse left him, and his infantry were utterly exhausted by their march and conflict in an intensely hot day. As soon as the fight had ended, General Havelock rode along his lines, and was vehemently cheered; but, saluting the men in return, he said, "Don't cheer me, my lads; you did it all yourselves." In this engagement, the 64th and 84th regiments, with the Ferozepore Sikhs, were prevented taking a full share, through a bend or branch of the unfordable stream that intercepted their intended line of march, and, consequently, the chief glory of the day rested with the 78th highlanders and the Madras fusiliers. Worn out with fatigue and heat, the British troops bivou-





A.D. 1857.]

## INDIAN MUTINY.

[THE LIST OF TRIUMPHS]

acked that night near Bithoor, and, on the 17th, returned to Cawnpore. They had now been fighting under an Indian sun almost from the day they left Allahabad, six weeks previously, and were enfeebled by disease and overstrained excitement. Slowly and sadly they marched back from the field of their ninth victory; and, on the morrow, the general endeavoured to rally the drooping spirits of his men by the following order of the day:—

"Camp, Cawnpore, Aug. 17th, 1857.

"The brigadier-general commanding, congratulates the troops on the result of their exertions in the combat of yesterday. The enemy were driven, with the loss of 250 killed and wounded, from one of the strongest positions in India, which they resolutely defended. They were the flower of the mutinous soldiery, flushed with the successful defection at Saugor and Fyzabad; yet they stood only one short hour against a handful of soldiers of the state, whose ranks had been thinned by sickness and the sword. May the hopes of treachery and rebellion be ever thus blasted; and if conquest can now be achieved under the most trying circumstances, what will be the triumph and retribution of the time when the armies from China, from the Cape, and from England, shall sweep through the land?

"Soldiers! in that moment, your labours, your privations, your sufferings, and your valour, will not be forgotten by a grateful country. You will be acknowledged to have been the stay and prop of British India in the time of her severest trial."

The result of the action at Bithoor, was reported the same day to the deputy-adjutant-general of the army, in the following despatch:—

"Bivouac, Bithoor, Aug. 17th, 1857.

"Sir,—I have to request the favour of your informing the commander-in-chief that I marched to this place yesterday.

"The mutineers of the 31st and 42nd from Saugor, the 17th from Fyzabad, and sepoys of other regiments, with troops of the 2nd light cavalry and 3rd irregulars, united to a portion of Nana Sahib's troops, were, with two guns, in one of the strongest positions I have ever seen. They numbered 4,000 men. The plain, densely covered with thicket, and flanked by villages, has two streams flowing through it, not fordable by troops of any arm, and only to be crossed

by two narrow bridges, the furthest of which was protected by an intrenchment armed with artillery. The road takes a turn after passing the second bridge, which protects defenders from direct fire, and behind are the narrow streets and brick houses of Bithoor. I must do the mutineers the justice to pronounce that they fought obstinately, otherwise they could not for a whole hour have held their own, even with such advantages of ground, against my powerful artillery fire. The streams prevented my turning them, and my troops were received, in assaulting the position, by a heavy rifle and musketry fire from the rifles and battalion companies engaged; but, after a severe struggle, the enemy were driven back, their guns captured, and infantry chased off the field in full retreat towards Seorajpore. Had I possessed cavalry, not a rebel nor a mutineer could have reached that place alive. As it is, they shall not long remain there unmo-  
lested.

"The loss of the enemy is estimated at 250 killed and wounded. Mine is forty-nine; and my numbers are further reduced by sunstroke and cholera.—I have, &c.,

"H. HAVELOCK, Brigadier-general,  
"Commanding Allahabad Movable Column."

The campaign of General Havelock, up to this time, had been most extraordinary, if not entirely unprecedented in the annals of warfare. Between the 12th of July and the 17th of August, he had fought and won three battles in the Doab, east of Cawnpore; three in the vicinity of Cawnpore and Bithoor; and four in Oude—making ten battles in thirty-seven days: and this unbroken chain of triumph was won from an enemy immensely superior in numbers, by an army which naturally became weaker with each victory, until at length its fighting power was nearly exhausted.

In this affair of Bithoor, the ill-effects of marching Europeans in India by day instead of by night was clearly manifested. The men came into action so fatigued by the heavy road and hot sun, that before half the fight was over, they were utterly powerless; but then it was also apparent that, upon this occasion, the enemy seemed to be quite as much overcome by the heat and fatigue as the European troops were; and it is recorded as a fact, that some of the rebels actually threw themselves down from sheer exhaustion, and were shot or bayoneted without resistance. The cause





of this extraordinary prostration of the native troops, was afterwards explained by one of the thanadars attached to the English force, who had been made prisoner, but managed to escape during the confusion of the fight. The day previous to the battle had been a Hindoo fast, which was strictly kept by all the sepoys, who therefore had to fight upon empty stomachs. "Had we," said the thanadar, "been able to follow up the fugitives for another four miles, we might have killed almost the whole of them, for I saw the sepoys throw themselves down on the ground by scores, utterly unable, from exhaustion, to stir another step." The condition of the British troops as they marched back from Bithoor was also described as pitiable. The 78th highlanders had left Allahabad, a few weeks previous, over 300 strong; it was then reduced to less than 100 fighting-men. The 64th regiment, that a few months before had started for Persia 1,000 strong, was then reduced to the proportion of two companies—about 140 men in all! And similar havoc had been made, by disease or wounds, in the ranks of each of the other regiments composing the Allahabad movable column.

At this juncture, the state to which General Havelock's little force had been reduced, necessitated a constant appeal for reinforcements, which could not be supplied him. On the 19th of August he had seventeen officers and 466 men on the sick-list at Cawnpore; while those who were not ill, were so worn out as to be scarcely fit for active service. Both himself and Neill desired to encourage their handful of men by some brilliant achievement; but they were now not strong enough to attempt the relief of Lucknow, however ardently they desired to do so; and the rebels, who had excellent information of their condition, were inspired by this state of affairs, and assembled in great force on the Oude side of the Ganges, threatening to cross in three places; namely, at Cawnpore, at a spot twelve miles lower down, and at Futtehpore; while, on the other side, the small British force was threatened by the Gwalior contingent from Calpee.

In a despatch from Brigadier-general Neill to the commander-in-chief, dated "Cawnpore, August 18th," he writes of the Havelock column as follows:—"On the 16th, Havelock moved out in one column to Bithoor—carried the enemy's position;

captured two guns; but men too much exhausted to follow them up. Returned on 17th. Had lost, in all three operations (besides by enemy), from sunstroke, cholera, and effect of exposure and fatigue, 324; including six wounded officers sick, and twelve soldiers killed by sunstroke on 16th. All this telling on the men severely. *Rest they must have.* Nothing can be done towards Lucknow from this until reinforced. An advance now, with reduced numbers (and those nearly used up from exposure and fatigue), would be madness. Cholera still among us, but confined to those who have been exposed."

Depressing as these circumstances certainly were, General Havelock was not unmindful of the claims of such of his officers as had specially distinguished themselves in the presence of the enemy, to the notice of government; and accordingly, on the 18th of August, the following recommendations for the Victoria Cross were forwarded by him to the commander-in-chief:—

"I recommend for the Victoria Cross, Lieutenant Crowe (78th highlanders), who was the first to enter the redoubt at Boursekee Chowkee, the intrenched village in front of Buserut-gunge, on the 12th instant.

"I also recommend for the same decoration, Lieutenant Havelock, 10th foot. In the combat at Cawnpore he was my aide-de-camp. The 64th regiment had been much under artillery fire, from which it had severely suffered. The whole of the infantry were lying down in line, when, perceiving that the enemy had brought out the last reserved gun (a 24-pounder), and were rallying round it, I called up the regiment to rise and advance. Without any other word from me, Lieutenant Havelock placed himself on his horse, in front of the centre of the 64th, opposite the muzzle of the gun. Major Stirling, commanding the regiment, was in front, dismounted; but the lieutenant continued to move steadily on in front of the regiment, at a foot-pace, on his horse. The gun discharged shot until the troops were within a short distance, when they fired grape. In went the corps, led by the lieutenant, who still steered steadily on the gun's muzzle, until it was mastered by a rush of the 64th."\*

\* The selection, by General Havelock, of his son for the much-coveted decoration upon the ground stated, occasioned much dissatisfaction in the 64th regiment; not because the gallantry of the young





A.D. 1857.]

INDIAN MUTINY.

[MOVEMENTS OF THE ENEMY.]

Had the expected reinforcements from the lower provinces arrived at Cawnpore when due, General Havelock would doubtless have made another effort for the relief of Lucknow; but the mismanagement of the officer commanding at Dinapore, by which the whole plan of operations in Oude was disconcerted, and the very existence of the handful of men under the command of

Havelock imperilled, had entirely prevented the desired junction, and left him for a time incapable of moving from his intrenched camp at Cawnpore.

On the following day (the 19th of August), Brigadier-general Havelock reported to the commander-in-chief as follows:—

"Cawnpore, Aug. 19th, 1857; 1.10 P.M.

"There is a combination against us, which

officer was not appreciated, but because he, being at the time totally unconnected with the corps, had availed himself of an opportunity afforded him as one of the general's staff, to usurp the position and proper duty of the officers of the regiment, who were equally competent with himself to lead their men to victory; and they naturally were annoyed at the apparently invidious selection of a stranger to the regiment for the distinction that should have properly belonged to one of its own officers. This uncomfortable feeling at length attracted the notice of the lieutenant-colonel of the gallant corps, and by him it was represented to Sir Colin Campbell, who subsequently expressed his idea of the affair in the following communication to the adjutant-general:—

"Head-quarters, Camp before Lucknow,  
March 30th, 1858.

"Sir,—I have the honour to bring to the knowledge of his royal highness the general commanding-in-chief, that a feeling of dissatisfaction, which has been testified in the most respectful manner, has arisen among the officers of the 64th foot, in consequence of a telegraphic despatch by the late Sir H. Havelock, K.C.B., which was published a short time back in the *London Gazette*. In the despatch alluded to, the most prominent notice was given to the fact of Lieutenant (now Captain Sir Henry) Havelock, Bart., having led the 64th foot into a redoubt, which was the object of attack, under the late Sir Henry Havelock's orders. The despatch is so worded as to make it appear, that the late Major Stirling, who afterwards became a lieutenant-colonel, was not properly leading his regiment; at least, such is the opinion of the officers of the 64th foot. Lieutenant-colonel Bingham, in the name of those officers, while he deprecates the idea of refusing just credit to Captain Sir Henry Havelock, maintains, in the most positive manner, that the late Lieutenant-colonel Stirling then commanded the 64th foot, as he did on all such occasions, most nobly and gallantly; and that he was on foot at the time, because, in consequence of a shell bursting, his horse had become unrideable. In short, he infers that it is very painful to the regiment that the memory and reputation of their late gallant commanding officer should have been so unfairly tampered with. I confess to have a strong feeling of sympathy with the officers of the 64th regiment, and it would be a matter of great satisfaction to me if you would have the goodness to move his royal highness to give a gracious expression towards the memory of the late Lieutenant-colonel Stirling, for the benefit of the 64th regiment. This instance is one of many in which, since the institution of the Victoria Cross, advantage has been taken by young aides-de-camp and other staff-officers to place themselves in prominent situations for the purpose of attracting attention. To them life is of little value, as compared with the gain of public honour; but they do not reflect,

and the generals to whom they belong also do not reflect, on the cruel injustice thus done to gallant officers who, besides the excitement of the moment of action, have all the responsibility attendant on this situation. We know that the private soldier expects to be led by his regimental officers, whom he knows and recognises as the leaders to whom he is bound to look in the moments of the greatest trial and danger, and that he is utterly regardless of the accidental presence of an aide-de-camp or other staff-officer, who is an absolute stranger to him. There is another point, also, having a great importance. By such despatches as the one above alluded to, it is made to appear to the world, that a regiment would have proved wanting in courage, except for an accidental circumstance. Such a reflection is most galling to a regiment of British soldiers, indeed almost intolerable, and the fact is remembered against it by all the other corps in her majesty's service. Soldiers feel such things most keenly. I would, therefore, again beg leave to dwell on the injustice sometimes done by general officers when they give a public preference to those attached to them over old officers, who are charged with the most difficult and responsible duties.—I have, &c.

"C. CAMPBELL, Commander-in-chief.  
"The Adjutant-general, Horse-guards, London."

The letter of General Campbell was laid before the Duke of Cambridge in due course, and by command of his royal highness, the following reply was transmitted to the commander-in-chief at Lucknow:—

"Horse-guards, S.W., May 17th, 1858.

"Sir,—I have had the honour to lay before his royal highness the general commanding-in-chief, your letter of the 30th of March last, referring to a telegraphic despatch of the late Major-general Sir Henry Havelock, in which it is made to appear, that Captain Havelock led the 64th regiment to the attack of a redoubt, and that the character of the late Lieutenant-colonel Stirling, who commanded the regiment and fell in the attack, had suffered accordingly. His royal highness regrets sincerely that any unfavourable imputation of the courage or conduct of the lieutenant-colonel should ever for a moment have been supposed to attach to the character of that gallant and excellent officer. His royal highness enters fully into the feelings of Lieutenant-colonel Bingham, who has, in vindication of the character of his late commanding officer and of the 64th regiment, so honourably appealed to your sense of justice, and he has much gratification in now recording his entire satisfaction with the whole conduct of Lieutenant-colonel Stirling, and of the excellent regiment which he commanded with so much credit to himself and advantage to the service.

"I have, &c.—G. A. WETHERALL A.G.

"General Sir Colin Campbell, &c."





will require our best exertions to baffle. The troops from Oude have come down to the left bank, and will threaten Cawnpore; meanwhile boats are collecting at Futtehpore, to enable a portion of their troops to cross there, and intercept the communication with Allahabad, whilst the Gwalior contingent (strong in artillery, and provided with a siege-train) passes at Calpee, and attacks my diminished force. I will do my best against them, but the risk is great.

"I have sent the steamer down to destroy the boats at Futtehpore. I should bring into the field eight good guns; but the enemy are reported to have from twenty-nine to thirty. These are great odds, and my 900 soldiers may be opposed to 5,000 organised troops. The loss of a battle would ruin everything in this part of India. I could entice the enemy at Calpee, and prevent their crossing the Jumna, or permit them to cross and drive them back into it, if my force were adequate to the effort; but it is fearfully weak, and disease daily diminishes my numbers.

"As I am told in the camp that your excellency has heard nothing of my movements since the 4th of the month, I will mention that hitherto everything has gone on prosperously. I struck a heavy blow against the Oude troops on the 12th, at Busherut-gunge (third fight there), and re-crossed the Ganges that day in less than six hours, without the slightest interruption. On the 16th, I defeated the Saugor troops at Bithoor, and destroyed everything there. I will make head against this new danger with the like determination; but, without reinforcements, I do only hope for success."

It was, as yet, a novelty in this Asiatic warfare, that the steam navigation of the country should be employed for other purposes than the quiet transport of men and material; and yet such employ would at this juncture have been most important in several directions, had the means for it been available. Unfortunately they were not; and it furnished ground for serious comment, that while England could encircle the earth with a zone of floating castles, and had innumerable gun-boats, and other craft of every size and denomination, actually rotting and falling to pieces for want of use, in her harbours and ports throughout the world, there was not at this juncture, upon the Ganges or the Jumna,

or any one of their tributaries, such a thing as a steamboat adapted for the purposes of war! It is true that the navigation of those rivers, supplied by mountain torrents, and flowing through immense alluvial plains, with frequent inundations and shiftings of channel, was not very easy, or, indeed, always practicable; but in the months of August and September, there was at least depth of water for vessels capable of steaming with two or three guns and a hundred or two of men. Of all the vast marine appliances of naval England, but one steamer of the kind required, could be found available by General Havelock! This one, however, he dispatched as mentioned in his report, to prevent the rebels of Oude from crossing the Ganges at Futtehpore. But he was without any means of obstructing their passage across the Jumna at Calpee, to which point the Dinapore mutineers were directing their steps, with the intention of swelling the numbers gathered against him.

Sir Colin Campbell had now arrived in India, and assumed command of the whole British forces;\* but hitherto no correspondence had arisen between himself and Brigadier-general Havelock. His presence in Calcutta had, however, the effect of infusing greater energy into the movements of the executive government of India; and from this time European troops were pushed forward to Cawnpore with all possible celerity.

Further details of his operations were now forwarded by Brigadier-general Havelock, for the information of the commander-in-chief, by the following telegram:—

"Cawnpore, August 20th, 1857.

"I was appointed to the command of the Allahabad movable column in July last. Between the 12th of that month and the present date, I have been engaged with the enemy at Futtehpore, Pandoo Nuddee, Cawnpore, in Oude, at Oonao twice, at Busherut-gunge, at Boorjah Keechowkee, and Bithoor. On every occasion I have defeated him, and captured in the field forty guns, besides recovering for the state sixty more. But I am unable, for want of troops, to march on Lucknow.

"My force, which lost men in action, and has been assailed in the most awful way by cholera, is reduced to 700 in the field, exclusive of detachments which guard the intrenchments here, and keep open communication with Allahabad. I am threatened

\* See vol. i., p. 600.





A.D. 1857.]

## INDIAN MUTINY.

[CORRESPONDENCE.]

by a force of 5,000 men from Gwalior, with some twenty or thirty guns. I am ready to fight anything; but the above are great odds; and a battle lost here would do the interest of the state much damage. I solicit your excellency to send me reinforcements. I can then assume the initiative, and march to Agra and Delhi, or wherever my services may be required. With 2,000 British soldiers nothing could stand before me and my powerful artillery. I shall soon have equipped eighteen guns (six of siege calibre); but I want artillerymen and officers, and infantry soldiers."

The first communication direct from the new commander-in-chief (Sir Colin Campbell) to Major-general Havelock, was as follows, by telegraph, dated August 19th, 1857:—

"I have received your despatches, by telegraph, of the 6th and 12th instant, reporting the successful result of the attacks made on the enemy by the force under your command on those days respectively.

"The sustained energy, promptitude, and vigorous action by which your whole proceedings have been marked during the late difficult operations, deserve the highest praise; and it will be a most agreeable duty to me to make known to his lordship the governor-general, the sense I entertain of the able manner in which you have carried out the instructions of Sir Patrick Grant.

"I beg you to express to the officers and men of the different corps under your command, the pride and satisfaction I have experienced in reading your reports of the intrepid valour they have displayed on every occasion they have encountered the vastly superior numbers of the enemy, and how nobly they have maintained those qualities for which British soldiers have ever been distinguished—high courage and endurance.

"I entirely concur in the soundness of the view you have taken of your position in your telegraph of the 6th instant from Mungulwar, and of all the reasons which influenced you to defer, for the present, active operations.

"I esteem myself most fortunate in having the benefit of your assistance, and that I should find you in the important situation in which you are placed at the moment."

The highly gratifying communication of Sir Colin was acknowledged by the brigadier-general as follows:—

"Cawnpore, Aug. 21st, 1857; 12.30 P.M.

"I cannot express the gratification with

which I have perused your excellency's telegram of the 19th instant, which has just reached me. The approbation of my operations and views, conveyed to me by so distinguished a soldier, more than repays me for the labours and responsibilities of two arduous campaigns, undertaken of necessity at a most unpropitious season: my soldiers will as highly and deeply value your excellency's commendation.

"I am for the present unable to give them shelter from the extreme inclemency of the weather, and the repose of which they stand in need; but sickness continues in our ranks. We lose men by cholera in the number of six daily. I will frankly make known to your excellency my prospects for the future. If I can receive prompt reinforcements, so as to make up my force to 2,000 or 2,500 men, I can hold this place with a high hand, protect my communications with anything that comes against me, and be ready to take a part in active operations on the cessation of the rains. I may be attacked from Gwalior by the mutinous contingent, with 5,000 men and thirty guns; or by the Ghoorkas who are assembling at Furruckabad, under rebellious nabobs, and have a formidable artillery; but as they can only partly unite, I can defeat either or both in fights; still if regiments cannot be sent me, I see no alternative but abandoning for a time the advantages I have gained in this part of India, and retiring upon Allahabad, where everything will be organised for a triumphant advance in the cold season.

"It is painful to repeat that, in the latter event, Cawnpore and the surrounding countries, in fact the whole of the Doab, would be abandoned to rapine and misery, and Agra will fall unsupported. I do not consider that our force would be compromised; for, in truth, the case\* of the operation is, strange to say, like the Panjab. I have endeavoured briefly to state my case, and must leave the decision of the important question involved in it to your excellency.

"I do most earnestly hope that you will be able to provide prompt reinforcements. My communications with Allahabad will be quite safe as soon as detachments begin to pass upwards. I had sufficiently explained the danger to which I am exposed, should the enemy at Gwalior take the initiative, and move on Calpee with his imposing

\* See in original.





force; it is to my left rear; and a force would at the same time endeavour to cross from Oude to Futtchpore. This would cut in my rear, and prevent even the advance of my reinforcements. I have sent a steamer to destroy his boats; but have no news of its success. The Furruckabad force would also assail me; and this column, hitherto triumphant, would be destroyed. The Gwalior force on the Jumna is 5,000 strong, with thirteen guns. The forces threatening Lucknow swell to 20,000, with all the disposable artillery of the province. The Furruckabad force is 12,000 men, with twelve guns. If I do not get any promise of reinforcement from your excellency by return of telegraph, I will retire at once towards Allahabad. I can no longer bear a defenceless intrenchment; that on the river being taken in the rear by the enemy assembling on the right bank of the Ganges."

It is to be presumed that the promise of reinforcements so urgently requested, was made, as the retrograde march to Allahabad did not occur; and the remainder of the month of August was spent by Havelock hopefully, though inactive. Although he was at this time almost surrounded at Cawnpore by gathering hosts of rebel forces, who looked upon his diminished band as certain prey, his communication by telegraph with Allahabad, Benares, and Calcutta was still open, and enabled him to learn that every possible effort was being made by the governor-general and the commander-in-chief to push forward the aid he so much wanted; and he now wrote repeatedly to Brigadier Inglis at Lucknow, urging him to remain firm to the last, in full confidence that succour would reach him before the pressure of despair should compel him to surrender to the enemy by which he was surrounded. He also learned, that some 2,000 men, belonging to the 5th, 64th, 78th, 84th, and 90th regiments, the Madras fusiliers, and the artillery, were either on their way from Calcutta, or would speedily be so; and that the naval brigade, consisting of 500 blue-jackets, under Captain Peel, of her majesty's steam-frigate *Shannon*, had left Calcutta on the 20th of the month, for the purpose of co-operating with his land force. It was known at the time, at the seat of government, that the public treasure at Lucknow, in charge of Brigadier Inglis, amounted to about a quarter of a

million sterling; and telegrams were forwarded, by command of the governor-general in council, to Havelock and Neill, directing both to convey, if possible, instructions to Inglis not to care about the money, but rather to use it in any way that might best contribute to the liberation of his heroic and suffering companions.

On the 18th of August, just two days after General Havelock had completed an unbroken series of ten successive victories, Major-general Sir James Outram—who, after his successful termination of the Persian war, had been appointed to the military command of the Cawnpore and Dinapore divisions—arrived at the latter place to assume the delegated authority, which placed under his control the whole of the British troops engaged in the various struggles at Lucknow, Cawnpore, Allahabad, Benares, &c. &c. Sir Colin Campbell, who still remained at Calcutta, maturing his plans, and organising his forces for the ensuing campaign, immediately arranged with Outram the necessary measures for reinforcing Havelock, that no longer delay might take place in an effort to relieve Lucknow; and with this view, on the 22nd of August, the commander-in-chief telegraphed to Major-general Outram as follows:—

"I am rejoiced to hear of your arrival at Dinapore. The force under General Havelock is reduced by casualties on service, and by cholera (which has been and still rages in his camp), to 700 men in the field; exclusive of detachments which guard the intrenchment, and keep open the communication with Allahabad. He is threatened by a force of some 5,000 men, with twenty or thirty guns, from Gwalior, besides the Oude force. He says he 'is ready to fight anything; but the odds are great odds, and a battle lost here would do the interest of the state infinite damage: I solicit reinforcements.' His applications for assistance have been frequent; and deeming his situation to demand immediate aid, I ordered the 90th regiment to be sent to him with all possible speed, as also the detachment of the 5th regiment, which was on board the *Benares* steamer, if it could be spared. Pray send the 90th regiment at once to his aid. I will write to you again on this subject to-morrow."

On the 24th of the month, Sir Colin Campbell further communicated with Major-general Sir James Outram, by the following despatch:—





A.D. 1857.]

INDIAN MUTINY.

[PLANS OF ADVANCE.]

*"The Commander-in-chief to Major-general Sir J. Outram.*

*"Calcutta, August 24th, 1857.*

"Sir,—I am extremely happy, and deem myself most fortunate, to find myself associated with you on service, and to have the advantage of your able assistance in carrying on the duty in which we are now engaged. I send you, herewith, the different telegraphs received from General Havelock since my arrival: they will make you fully acquainted with his operations in Oude; his reasons for recrossing the Ganges; his subsequent operations in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore, with account of his loss by sickness and casualties in the field; his present numbers, and their condition as to health and efficiency. I have been favoured by the governor-general with a perusal of yours to his lordship of the 19th instant, in which you propose to collect a force of about 1,000 infantry and eight guns at Benares, with a view to march to the relief of our garrison in Lucknow, by the most direct route from thence, and that the force under General Havelock at Cawnpore should co-operate with you in this movement, by crossing the Ganges at Futtehpore and the Saye, subsequently (with your assistance) at Rye Bareilly, and forming a junction with you beyond that place.

"General Havelock states, in his telegraph of the 20th instant, that his force is reduced to 700 men in the field, exclusive of the detachments required to guard his intrenchments and keep open his communication with Allahabad; and so inadequate does he consider his force to be for the defence of his post, that he states, in his telegraph dated August 21, 12.30 p.m., that, if not assured of reinforcements by return of telegraph, he will retire to Allahabad. Hope of co-operation from General Havelock (by a force equal to accomplish the movement you propose, by crossing the Ganges at Futtehpore) is not to be entertained. The march from Benares, by the most direct route, to Lucknow, is a long one—some 150 miles—and the population through which you would have to pass, hostile. Its great recommendation I presume to be that you (by that route) turn, or rather come in rear of, the many nullahs which, I am told, interpose between Cawnpore and Lucknow, and this would be an important advantage. But if the force you propose to collect at Benares were to be moved by the river to Cawnpore, and united

with Havelock's reduced numbers, do you think it would be equal to force its way over the numerous nullahs (necessarily full of water at this season) which are to be found on the road from the latter place to Lucknow? By this route all incumbrances, such as sick, &c., would be left at the different stations or posts along the road, and the troops, on being conveyed by steam, would suffer less than if obliged to march, and Havelock's anxiety about his post would be removed.

"In offering these remarks or suggestions to you, who are acquainted with the country, people, and difficulties attending the movements you propose, it is not with any view to fetter your judgment and perfect freedom of action; but I mention these as they occur to me in writing to you; and I think I may venture to say, that the measures you may deem most advisable to pursue, will receive the approval of the governor-general. I hope to have the pleasure of hearing from you.—COLIN CAMPBELL."

It will be observed by the above communication, that Sir James Outram, as superior in military rank to Brigadier-general Havelock, had himself arranged a plan for advancing on Lucknow, entirely different from that on which the latter proposed to act. Sir James intended to advance from Benares direct to the besieged residency, by way of Jounpore, a route which would take him north-east of the Ganges and the Doab, leaving it to Havelock to join him on the march, provided he could overcome the difficulties likely to impede his progress; but when it became apparent that Brigadier Inglis could not cut his way out of Lucknow, and that Havelock was himself endangered at Cawnpore, a reconsideration of Outram's plan became imperative, inasmuch as it was obvious that the advance of 189 miles from Benares to Lucknow, through a country almost entirely in the hands of the enemy, must, under any circumstances, be very perilous; while a march by Allahabad to Cawnpore would be less open to difficulty. The latter route was therefore adopted, and instantly acted upon. On the 1st of September, having made the necessary military arrangements for the safety of the Dinapore district, Major-general Outram arrived at Allahabad, making a brief sojourn at Benares on his way. On the 7th of September he left that city, taking with him *en route* for Cawnpore, the 5th fusiliers and 90th regiment, with detachments of the