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the attractions of a beautiful mosque, was the Hall of Audience—the Dewan Khass of the imperial palace of Delhi, which, with its then accessories, cannot be more graphically presented to the reader than in Mr. Russell's own words:—"We drove from the outer square under a high-arched gateway, piercing one side of the huge block of buildings, into a smaller square surrounded by fine edifices, connected by corridors and colonnades. The gates of this passage are remarkable for massive construction, and for rich ornamentation in brass and metal. The walls on each side of it have been selected by our soldiery for the exercise of their graphic talents; and portraits of the ex-king, with a prodigious nose and beard, ornament more than one of the compartments. On emerging into the square, we saw, facing us, a long low building, white and clean-looking, flat-roofed, and raised above the level of the court, on an esplanade or terrace of the same material as the building itself, which we discovered to be marble. This is the Dewan Khass. It is 150 feet long, and 40 in breadth. At each angle there is a graceful cupola, which, in some degree, relieves the impression of meanness, caused by the flatness of the building. There was a babble of voices in the English tongue resounding from the inside. On ascending by a flight of steps four or five feet in height, to the terrace on which the Dewan Khass is built, and looking in through the wide, arched doorways, or rather between the rows of pillars on which the roof rests, we saw anything but the dazzling magnificence for which our reading had prepared us. In fact, the hall was filled, not with turbaned and jewelled rajahs, Mogul guards, and Oriental splendour; but with British infantry in its least imposing, and prepossessing aspect—namely, in its undress, and in its washing and purely domestic hours. From pillar to pillar, and column to column, extended the graceful curves of the clothes-line; and shirts, and socks, and drawers flaunted in the air in lieu of silken banners. Long lines of charpoys, or bedsteads, stretched from one end of the hall to the other; arms were piled against the columns; pouches, belts, and bayonets depended from the walls; and in the place where once blazed the fabulous glories of the peacock throne, reclined a private of her majesty's 61st, who, with brawny arms bared to the shoulders, as if he were engaged in a matter

requiring no ordinary exertion of muscular strength, was occupied in writing a letter. The hall was so obscure, that the richness of the decorations and the great beauty of the interior were not visible, until the eye became accustomed to the darkness, and penetrated through the accidents of the place to its permanent and more pleasing characteristics. The magnificent pavement has indeed been taken up and destroyed, and the hand of the spoiler has been busy on the columns and walls of the divan; but still, above and around, one sees the solid marble worked as though it had been wax, and its surface inlaid with the richest, most profuse and fanciful, and exquisite designs in foliage and arabesque—the fruits and flowers being represented by sections of gems, such as amethysts, cornelian, blood-stone, garnet, topaz, and various coloured crystals, set in the brass-work of the decorations. Every one of the columns are thus decorated, and covered with inscriptions from the Koran; and the walls have the appearance of some rich work from the loom, in which a brilliant pattern is woven on a pure white ground, the tracery of rare and cunning artists. When the hall was clean and lighted up, and when its greatest ornament, the Takt Taous, or Peacock Throne, and the great crystal chair of state were in the midst, the *coup d'œil* must have been exceedingly rich and beautiful. The crystal chair is still in existence; but I know not whether the peacock throne, which cost one million and a quarter sterling, fell into the hands of Nadir Shah or of some smaller robber. I do not know, however, what became of the bath cut out of a single block of agate, and beautifully carved, which was talked of all over Hindostan. Our soldiers broke it into pieces. They were also very clever in poking out the stones from the embellishments of the Dewan Khass with their bayonets; but that exercise of their talents is now forbidden."

From this part of the ruined palace of the Moguls, Mr. Russell was conducted, by his friendly guide, to the apartments now appropriated to the use of the ex-king and his attendants; the visit to whom is thus described:—"We drove out of the court, and turned into a long parallelogram surrounded by mean houses, in various stages of ruin. Nearly all of them were shut up and deserted. The lower stories of others were open, and used as magazines of corn and shops, for the encouragement of a sickly

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traffic with the few miserable men and women who found shelter within the walls of the palace. At one end of the court there is a fine tower, surmounted by cupolas. In the apartments which were formerly occupied by officers of the royal household, are now lodged some of our officers, who do not find them very comfortable quarters. Sentries of the Ghoorka rifles, or of her majesty's 61st regiment, are on duty in every court. Within the walls of this palace there was a population of more than 5,000 souls, of which no less than 3,000 were of the blood-royal, and descendants of Timour-lung, who had sunk into a state of abject debasement, and of poverty unredeemed by self-respect or by usefulness. We turned out of this court near the tower by a breach made in the wall of some houses, and, passing over the bricks, came to a large garden in a state of utter neglect, and overrun with weeds; in which were a crazy kiosk and some tottering outhouses or offices. Several soldiers, some on duty, others lounging about their piled arms, were stationed close to the breach in the wall, at the foot of a rude stone staircase, some twelve or fifteen feet in height, which led from the garden to the top of one of the houses of the court, or enclosed space of the palace, through which we had just passed. The staircase was intended to form a communication between the rear of the house and the garden; and, ascending it, we found ourselves in a small open court at the top, which was formed by the flat roof of the house, and which might have been designed for another story, as the side walls were left standing. Two sentries were on duty at the doorway of this little court at the top of the stairs, and several native servants were in attendance inside.

"In a dingy, dark passage, leading from the open court or terrace in which we stood, to a darker room beyond, there sat crouched on his haunches, a diminutive, attenuated old man, dressed in an ordinary and rather dirty muslin tunic, his small lean feet bare, and his head covered by a small thin cambric skull cap." This individual was the actual descendant of the mighty Timour, into whose presence, little more than a year previous, no one dared penetrate until many forms had been observed, and upon petition addressed to his majesty the king of the world, by the resident, through a great officer of state. At the moment a sentiment of delicacy for the infirmity under

which the ex-king was labouring, induced the visitors to turn into an adjacent court, where another seion of the royal house met their view. "In one corner, stretched on a charpoy, lay a young man of slight figure and small stature, who sat up at the sound of our voices, and salaamed respectfully. He was dressed in fine white muslin, and had a gay yellow and blue silk sash round his waist; his head was bare, exhibiting the curious tonsure from the forehead to the top of the head, usual among many classes in the east; his face, oval and well shaped, was disfigured by a very coarse mouth and chin; but his eyes were quick and bright, if not very pleasant in expression. By the side of his charpoy, stood four white-tunicked and turbaned attendants, with folded arms, watching every motion of the young gentleman with obsequious anxiety. One of them said, 'He is sick;' and the commissioner gave directions that he should lie down again; and so, with another salaam, Jumma Bukht—for it was in the presence of that princely offshoot of the house of Delhi that we stood—threw himself on his back with a sigh, and turning his head towards us, drew up the chudder or sheet of his bed, to his face, as if to relieve himself of our presence. * * * The indisposition of the king at length abated, and we went into the passage. He was still gasping for breath; and replied by a wave of the hand and a monosyllable to the commissioner. That dim-wandering-eyed, dreamy old man, with feeble hanging nether lip, and toothless gums, was he indeed one who had conceived that vast plan of restoring a great empire—who had fomented the most gigantic mutiny in the history of the world; and who, from the walls of his ancient palace, had hurled defiance, and shot ridicule upon the race that held every throne in India in the hollow of their palms? Who could look upon him without pity?—yes, for one instant, pity, till the rush of blood in that pitiless courtyard swept it from the heart! The passage in which he sat contained nothing that I could see but a charpoy, such as those used by the poorest Indians: the old man cowered on the floor on his crossed legs, with his back against a mat, which was suspended from doorway to doorway, so as to form a passage about twelve feet wide by twenty-four in length. Inside the mat we heard whispering, and some curious eyes glinted through the mat at the strangers, informed us that the king was not quite



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alone. He seemed but little inclined for conversation; and when Brigadier Stisted, who was with us, asked him how it was he had not saved the lives of our women, he made an impatient gesture with his hand, as if commanding silence; and said, 'I know nothing of it. I had nothing to say to it.' His grandchild, an infant a few months old, was presented to us; and some one or two women of the zenana showed themselves at the end of the passage; while the commissioner was engaged in conversation with one of the begums, who remained inside the curtain, and did not let us see her face."

The portrait of the fallen majesty of Delhi, as drawn by Mr. Russell, may have been at the time scrupulously life-like, but it is far from prepossessing. That gentleman observes—"I tried in vain to let my imagination find out Timour in him. Had it been assisted by diamond and cloth of gold, and officers of state, music and cannon, and herald and glittering cavalcade, and embroidered elephantry, perhaps I might have succeeded; but as it was, I found—I say it with regret, but with honesty and truth—I found only Holywell-street! The forehead is very broad indeed, and comes out sharply over the brows; but it recedes at once into an ignoble Thersites-like skull; in the eyes were only visible the weakness of extreme old age—the dim, hazy, filmy light which seems about to guide to the great darkness; the nose, a noble Judaic aquiline, was deprived of dignity and power by the loose-lipped, nerveless, quivering and gasping mouth, filled with a flacid tongue; but from chin and upper lip, there streamed a venerable, long, wavy, intermingling mustache and beard of white, which again all but retrieved his aspect. His hands and feet were delicate and fine, his garments scanty and foul. Recalling youth to that decrepit frame, restoring its freshness to that sunken cheek, one might see the king glowing with all the beauty of the warrior David; but as he sat before us, I was only reminded of the poorest form of the Israelitish type, as exhibited in decay and penurious greed in its poorest haunts among us." In the following sentences, which occur towards the end of Mr. Russell's most interesting narrative, there is food for reflection, and it may be, also, just cause for regret:—"I could not help thinking, as I looked on the old man, that our rulers were somewhat to blame for the crimes he had com-

mitted, in so far as their conduct may have led him to imagine that success in his designs was feasible. In what way did the majesty of Britain present itself before the last of the house of Timour? With all the grandeur of a protecting power, and the dignity of a conquering state? No. At least with the honest independence of an honourable equality? No. Our representative, with 'bated breath and whispering humbleness,' aye, with bare feet and bowed head, came into the presence of our puppet king. More than that, the English captain of the palace guard, if summoned to the presence of the king, as he frequently was, had not only to uncover his feet, but was not permitted to have an umbrella carried over his head, or to bear one in his own hand, while proceeding through the court-yards—a privilege permitted to every officer of the royal staff. This was the case in the time of the last resident, up to the moment of the revolt, and in the time of the last captain of the guard, up to the time of his assassination!" Surely if we contrast this abject submission within the walls of the palace, with the haughty and irritating assumption of superiority that pervaded European society without those walls, proclaiming hourly a living lie to the astute people of India, we have little cause to feel surprise at the consequences of our own conduct, characterised as it had been by duplicity and arrogance.

Of the actual condition of the once imperial city at the time of Mr. Russell's visit, and its probable future, the following remarks by him are pertinent, and may be referred to when the history of its pristine magnificence shall be contrasted with the desolation that, at no distant period, is likely to succeed it:—"Although, in the very environs of Delhi, there are striking evidences of the power of man over the work of his hands, and of the possibility of completely destroying vast cities, it remains to be seen if such strength lies in the hands of civilisation, and whether it did not pass away with the race of barbaric conquerors. Delhi is, or was, famous for its gold and silver embroidery, and its worked shawls and laces; but that trade is already withering. The mechanics, it is true, rescued their quarter by a ransom, some of which has been remitted to them, but only some half-dozen of these skilled artisans are now permitted to remain in the town; and thus the trade will die out, or seek shelter



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elsewhere. The Delhi jewellers have become pedlars and packmen. One of these people, a famous engraver, who has the names of crowned heads in Europe, and many great Indians, in his book of customers, showed us the impression of a seal made for the ex-king of Delhi; and added, that he had to summon him to the court of law before he was paid for his labour. An itinerant jeweller, who displayed as part of his valuables certain worthless bits of paper, in the shape of promissory notes from English officers and ladies, to pay certain sums of rupees and interest which he assured us he never received, was one of the greatest sufferers by the revolt. 'What could I do?' said he; 'the sepoys rushed in at once, and guarded the gates. Had I tried to get out, I should have been robbed and killed. So I had to remain, and the sepoys came and took all my jewels. Then the siege began; and then the English took the city, and your soldiers broke in, and cleared off what the sepoys had left.' The people say that Delhi will never recover the siege, do what we like; and that it will not be much affected, one way or other, by any effort of ours to make it prosperous, or the reverse. 'You will not act,' they say, 'like the Mahrattas or the Persians. You will not destroy holy places which they spared, or waste the people with universal massacres; but the thousands who depended on the court of Delhi are gone for ever. You close the city gates against all but a few; and there are none now who care for Delhi, except those to whom it would be a sacred place, if all its buildings were razed to the ground.' '*

However this may have been as it concerns the native population, it is quite clear that the policy which recommended the demolition of the fortifications of the city, the divergence of the intended railway, the levelling of the city gates, and the abandon-

ment to decay of its palaces and temples, had been overruled; and that, instead of utter neglect, the prospect of a more cheerful future had already dawned upon the once imperial city. Thus, by the beginning of October, the old fort of Selimghur had been effectually repaired, the magazine removed into the palace, and two heavy batteries were in progress of erection near the latter, to command the Chandnee Chouk. The railway, which was to have been diverted from the city, had been again marked out upon the plan to follow its original track; and, on the whole, it became doubtful whether, instead of demolition and abandonment, there was not to be restoration and aggrandisement for Delhi.

Before resuming the narrative of current events in the progress of the war, from July to the close of the year, it may be permitted to refer to a most interesting letter respecting the final disposition of the Europeans murdered at Lucknow, on the 19th of the previous November. The communication was dated from Lucknow, August 23rd, 1858, and was as follows:—

"As anything tending to throw light on the fate of some of our helpless countrymen is always interesting, I give you the following particulars of the disposal of the remains of Sir C. M. Jackson, Captain Orr, and Sergeant-major Norton,† as related by a Madrassee who came with Havelock's force to the relief, and was one of the few with General Neill when that officer was killed—himself escaping by rushing into a house held by the sepoys, and declaring he was of the Sweeper caste, and faithful to the begum. This man states, that the unfortunate gentlemen were killed on the 19th of November, the day Sir Colin Campbell relieved the garrison; and that their bodies were left lying about one hundred yards outside the gateway of the Kaiserbagh. After the chief had retired, the Madrassee, with other

* In closing the remarks connected with Delhi, Mr. Russell says—"I shall not attempt a description of the city—of its grand canal—of the mosques—of the historical spots sacred to Mussulmans—of the ruins of the ancient city some miles away—of the fantastic grandeur of the Kootub, or of the great mausoleums, where, as a small stone in a huge setting, repose some famed members of the imperial house of the Mogul;—among which, the investigations of the inquiring traveller may sometimes receive very peremptory and characteristic interruption. The morning I visited the Kootub, I had a great wish to climb the interior of the fantastic and extraordinary monumental pillar which stands in the midst of the ruins—a tapering cylinder

of sculptured stone, as high as St. Paul's, and engraved like a fine gem from the base to the summit. My infirmities, however, prohibited the attempt, very fortunately for myself; for it appeared that a leopard had taken up his residence in a recess in the dark interior staircase, and that he had, on the very previous day, attacked and nearly killed a native at the foot of the pillar. Saifu Jung's tomb was also the residence, at this time, of a tiger or leopard, which carried off several goats and sheep, and had eaten some bullocks; but none of our party were in a condition for hunting, and the tiger (or ourselves) escaped."—*Vide* Letter of special correspondent of the *Times*, Sept. 3rd, 1858.

† See *ante*, pp. 93, 94.



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prisoners, was brought out to bury the remains. They were tied arm to arm; and in the waistcoat pocket of one of them, described as a short person, a prayerbook was found. Another had a jingal bullet sticking in the left side. All the bodies were dressed in European clothes, excepting one, who wore native shoes. A leathern helmet-shaped hat lay near another. All three were in a row, lying on their backs: their faces and hands were so black from decomposition, that at first the Madrassee thought they must be natives. A trench was near; and, according to orders, he helped to untie their arms, and assisted to place them in it. They were interred one above the other, and the hat and book placed on the body of the uppermost. The sepoys looking on were indulging in jests; addressing each other, they inquired who these great men were. One said they were new governors; when the others shouted, 'Oh yes—this is the governor of Madras; that of Bombay; and the other of Bengal!' This was the burden of their song till mother-earth took its own unto herself again; but the bright spirits that once dwelt within those perishable tenements, were for ever beyond any earthly requirement. On receiving the above information, Captain Hutchinson, the military secretary to the chief commissioner, determined to find, if possible, the last resting-place of the brave men thus mercilessly sacrificed to sepoy vengeance; and taking with him the Madrassee, they started on the search from a gateway of the Kaiserbagh, which the man recognised as the one near which the gentlemen were murdered. After a long search, and much conversation with native carpenters and masons, who had apparently seen the last fortifications constructed, he ascertained the spot where a house had stood, under cover of which the Madrassee remembered crouching on his way to inter the bodies, and from which point he hoped to trace his next landmark—a kutchra wall. After digging and clearing away much rubbish, everything was found as described by the Madrassee. Then came the difficulty of tracing a mud wall, along which he had gone, until he reached a trench, in which the bodies were interred. The carpenters remembered the existence of a wall; but not the least trace of it now remained. At length a point was decided on to which it ran, when the Madrassee declared that the sought-for trench lay about thirty feet in

the direction of the Chuttur Munzil; but here Captain Hutchinson was completely foiled. The first day the carpenters maintained no trench had existed there at all; and, on the second, imagined they recollected a trench, but that it had been completely swallowed up, and dug out in the vast canal the mutineers dug round the Kaiserbagh, in their last fortifications thrown up. The ground was examined very carefully; but the bones of our murdered countrymen were not found. It was certain, however, that the locality was within fifty yards either way. As they then stood at the junction of two or three newly-formed roads, it has now been decided to raise a monument on the spot, with an inscription recording the names, and the words, 'Victims of 1857.' The last rites could not be performed; but the prayerbook on the uppermost body silently whispered the Christian burial-service for the dead."

It will be remembered, that a force, under Sir Hope Grant, marched from Lucknow on the 21st of July, for the purpose of occupying Fyzabad, and also of relieving Maun Sing, who was then beleaguered in his fortress of Shahgunje by a large rebel force. Both these objects were accomplished; but while the English troops were yet fourteen miles from Fyzabad, the rebel commanders broke up their army into three divisions, and decamped with such haste, that the troops had no chance whatever of coming up with them. The first and second of those divisions, it was ascertained, had taken the direction of Sultanpore, on the Goomtee; and a column was forthwith dispatched, under Brigadier Horsford, in pursuit. The force arrived before Sultanpore on the 12th of August, and, on the following day, after a strong resistance, it occupied the town; and, having driven the rebels across the river, shelled them on the opposite bank. As they were not pursued by the brigadier, they regained courage, and returning to the bank of the Goomtee, opened a severe fire on the town; their main body, under the command of the Amaithee rajah, and said to be 16,000 strong, being at Hosseinpore, four miles west of the English position at Sultanpore. At this place, a chief of importance, named Beni Madho, joined the rebel army, and called upon the talookdars of Bunswara to oppose the Sultanpore column.

On the 29th of July, General Grant entered Fyzabad, and, on the 30th, Maun



Sing, who had been relieved at Shahgunge, came into the camp. Of this individual, who occupied an important position throughout the progress of the revolt, the following details may be considered interesting. A few years previous, two brothers, Bucktawar Sing and Dursun Sing, were in the military service of the nawab, Saadut Ali Khan, of Oude—the second-named holding a command under the chuckledar of the Fyzabad district. He there married the daughter of a Brahmin, Gunga Misar; and his first act was to eject his father-in-law, and seize upon his village, which thus became the foundation of the “Bainamah,” or purchased estate, as Maun Sing’s dominions are generally styled, in reference to the supposed mode of acquisition, and as contrasted with territory passing by adoption or descent. From this small beginning, Dursun advanced till he reached the dignity of chuckledar; and, after adding one by one to his villages, left at his death a vast territorial property to his son, Maun Sing, who, at the period of the outbreak, was the recognised owner of 761 villages. An individual possessing the influence that so large a property naturally invested him with, was not one to be rashly irritated, and certainly not to be wantonly injured; and yet, in 1856, a year preceding the outbreak, this man was chased out of his estates by a regiment of the Company’s cavalry, upon a plea of default in payment of a head-rent or assessment to government, which he objected to as enormous and unjust. This affront was in some way or other condoned, and he returned to one of his residences near Fyzabad, where he continued until symptoms of disaffection among the troops at that station became apparent. At that time he was upon the most amicable terms with the English authorities, and had offered to secure the safety of the women and children of the station, in the event of their being imperilled. Unfortunately this moment was chosen by the chief commissioner at Lucknow to renew the insult of the previous year, by placing him under arrest, as “a suspicious person, likely to be troublesome in the then state of the country.” From this indignity, he was, after much difficulty, released, at the earnest solicitation, and upon the protest, of the superintendent commissioner at Fyzabad, who appreciated the value of his friendship at the crisis too evidently approaching. Maun Sing’s revenge for the unprovoked

wrongs was indeed magnanimous; he had no sooner been released from captivity, than he exerted himself to provide for the safety of English fugitives from Fyzabad, twenty-seven of whom he conveyed to his fortress at Shahgunge, and there protected them until the taint of rebellion infected his own people; when he informed the officers under his roof, that the troops were clamorous for *their* lives, and he could no longer protect *them*, though he would answer for the safety of the women and children.* Ultimately the whole of the fugitives were put on board some boats secured by him for the purpose, and were conveyed down the river to Gopalpore, where they continued in safety until they could be forwarded to Allahabad. In September, the importance of his friendship appeared manifest to the government; and, on the 12th of that month, the governor-general in council, by a telegram to General Outram, referred to the chief in the following terms:—

“Maun Sing may be assured, that if he continues to give the governor-general effective proof of his fidelity and good-will, his position in Oude will be at least as good as it was before the British government assumed the administration of the country; while the proprietors in Oude, who have deserted the government, will lose their possessions.

“Whatever promises may have been made to Maun Sing, or to others, by Sir Henry Lawrence, are confirmed, and shall be fully redeemed. None, however, have been reported to me.”

Almost immediately after this communication, it seems that Maun Sing, instigated by a report no doubt purposely spread to entrap him into hostilities with the government, collected a large body of troops, and, placing himself at their head, was said to have joined the forces of the begum at Lucknow. There is no proof that he actually joined, or that he personally took an active part in, any operations of the rebel army, although it was rumoured that a portion of his followers manned a battery against the Baille guard, until its relief by General Outram on the 25th of September. This conduct of the rajah was afterwards explained, as appears by the following communication from Captain Bruce, for Major-general Outram, to the governor-general:—

(Telegraphic.) “Cawnpore, October 21st, 1857.

“Rajah Maun Sing has written to me, with inclosure for General Outram. The purport of these is as follows:—Says he never intended to go to Lucknow at all, had not the rancee of the late

* See vol. I., p. 393.



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Rajah Buktawar Sing, been seized there by the rebels.* He went with Mr. Gubbins (of Benares) sanction to rescue her; he could not get away until all the rebels opposed the British at Alumbagh; he seized this opportunity of rescuing her, making every arrangement to move back twenty coss from Lucknow. He swears on his oath, up to this time, he did not connect himself with the rebels. It was willed his name now should be connected with the rebels, and himself fall under displeasure of government thus. He suddenly heard the rebels were defeated, and the British, attacking the place, were about to disgrace his majesty's seraglio. He at once marched to protect it, for he had eaten the king's salt. If the general views with justice his actions, he will see that he did not join the rebels. He protected the British authorities in his district, and could not keep himself aloof from protecting the king's honour. Now he is ready to obey all government orders; and if his vakeel's life be spared, he will submit the whole facts: he hopes the general will let him know his design, that he may carry it out.

"To this letter I sent the following reply:—"I have received your letter and inclosure for General Outram. The British do no injury to helpless women and children, however humble their rank; and you ought to have known that those of the king would not have been dishonoured. I have written to-day to General Outram, who is now in the Lucknow residency; and in the meantime, if you are really friendly to the British government, you are desired at once to withdraw all your men from Lucknow, and communicate with the chief commissioner. I have sent to tell your vakeel, that if he likes to come in and see me, he will meet with no injury."—The vakeel has since come, and having expressed his master's willingness to comply with the terms of my letter, departed for Lucknow."

That Maun Sing was truthful in his avowal of motives, and non-participation in the objects of the rebels, may be fairly inferred from the following passage in a telegram from the lieutenant-governor of the Central Provinces, to the governor-general, dated on the 13th of the month:—"Nana Sahib has returned from Lucknow to Futtehpore Chowrassie, opposite Bithoor, having had a turn-up with Maun Sing before he left."

At any rate, it cannot be denied that there was, throughout the entire conduct of this chief, a glow of chivalric disinterestedness and recklessness of personal safety that eminently distinguished him from others of his influential countrymen. He had rendered to the Company's government benefits for insults offered and unatoned for: he had protected its fugitive subjects; and he had now advanced in arms towards Lucknow, to rescue a female relative from the hands of the rebels, and had then with-

drawn; but learning that the honour of his sovereign (for such the king of Oude still was, until his allegiance had been formally transferred to the English government) was likely to be imperilled by the wild license of a conquering army, he again came forward to protect the inviolability of the zenana. In none of these acts can we trace any fair indication of hostility to the British. According to the testimony of Mr. Rees,† Maun Sing stood in the first rank among the most distinguished of the "insurgent" (?) rajahs, and the most powerful landed barons of the kingdom of Oude; and the testimony of that author, which is certainly not marked by any strong bias in favour of the chief, exonerates him from the charge of active co-operation in the rebellion. He says—"During the whole of the siege, I believe his troops (10,000 in number) never aided the other insurgents in their operations against us; but preserved a sort of armed neutrality." Mr. Rees further states, that, "shortly after Sir James Outram's assumption of the command of the Oude field force, Maun Sing sent a messenger to him, offering to mediate with the rebel government for the safety of the prisoners in its hands, and stipulating for a guarantee, as the price of his doing so, and fighting on the side of the British, that his own life would be spared, and all his estates be restored. He was told to withdraw his troops and return to his estate. Government was generous, and would no doubt act well towards him; but he must trust to that generosity alone. After this," observes Mr. Rees, "Maun Sing had the insolence to offer to escort our women, children, and wounded to Cawnpore, with his 10,000 men! This would have been like entrusting the safety of a flock to a wolf. We had learned to distrust natives now." So much for opinion on the spot. To a distant observer it might appear possible, that whatever seemed doubtful or unfriendly on the part of this powerful chief, could have fairly been attributed to the distrust of him unworthily manifested at the early stage of the revolt, and never entirely concealed even in the face of his most generous and disinterested services.

By the middle of September, the general aspect of affairs in Oude was considered satisfactory; and with the exception of the military operations then progressing in the

* The lady referred to was a widow of the uncle of Maun Sing. See preceding page.

† Personal Narrative of the Siege of Lucknow, p. 265.



neighbourhood of Sultanpore, matters looked hopeful. The districts then in the hands of the British were represented as lying in an ellipse, of which Lucknow and Durriabad were foci—the ends of one diameter being Cawnpore and Fyzabad, which cities were situated almost due east and west of each other. The civil jurisdiction of the government extended, on an average, to about twenty-five miles round Lucknow, and nearly the same distance round Durriabad; and the line of communication was uninterrupted from Cawnpore to Fyzabad, bordering upon the Goruckpore district in the North-West Province. To the south of this region, the rebels, under different leaders, and in various districts, numbered in the aggregate about 45,000 men and 30 guns; and to the north were the forces of the begum and her partisans, the sum of whose power was represented by about 60,000 men and 50 guns. These numbers were exclusive of about 6,000 men under Balla Rao, at Bareitch, and such gathering as might still adhere to the Nana Sahib, who had esconced himself in the fort of Churda, in the north-east of Oude. It was therefore evident that some heavy work was still before the British troops, when the arrival of cold weather should enable them to resume operations of magnitude in the open field. Among the villagers and townspeople matters were quietly settling down, and many of the chief zemindars appeared desirous to send in offers of submission and allegiance; but were prevented doing

so with safety by the numerous bands of rebels that were scattered over the country. The great event, however, to which all eyes were now directed, was the approaching campaign in Oude. It was naturally assumed, that the plan of that campaign had been formed by the commander-in-chief upon principles that would lead to the most successful results; but it was also remembered that the tactics of the enemy were to avoid any grand operations, and to harass and wear out the European troops by an incessant repetition of forced marches and tedious and desultory engagements in a country difficult of passage; a plan which would necessarily render the forthcoming campaign one of extreme embarrassment. The great problem to be solved was, not how to defeat the enemy, but how to reach them, spread as they were over a vast extent of country, interspersed with wide and interminable jungles and intricate passes, and studded with fortresses in every direction—under circumstances, also, that rendered it next to impossible to bring the rebels to bay, and at the same time to preserve the European soldiers from the debilitating effects of exposure to the sun. Wisdom and energy were, however, paramount both in the council-chamber and the camp; and the hearts of the loyal in India and in Europe, were calmed by the assurance that the direction of affairs was in the hands of men whose past achievements indisputably entitled them to all confidence as to the future.

CHAPTER XIV.

CALCUTTA: UNPOPULARITY OF LORD CANNING; PETITION FOR HIS RECALL; POLICY OF HIS GOVERNMENT; TRIBUTE TO SIR HENRY LAWRENCE; ARRIVAL OF TROOPS FROM ENGLAND; FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT; THE PUBLIC DEBT; GROWING DEFICIENCIES; PROPOSED REDEMPTION OF THE LAND-TAX; POSITION OF THE EX-KING OF OUDE; THE ARMS ACT; PRESENTATION OF COLOURS TO THE CALCUTTA VOLUNTEER GUARDS; CORRESPONDENCE; THE BRANDING ACT; GRAND REVIEW OF BRITISH TROOPS BY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL; LORD CANNING'S EXPLANATION OF HIS POLICY; MR. GRANT AT CAWNPORE; RECEPTION OF THE LUCKNOW FUGITIVES; DEATH OF THE BISHOP OF CALCUTTA; THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AT ALLAHABAD; A PANIC AT CALCUTTA; PROCEEDINGS OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

To preserve the continuity of our narrative, it will be necessary to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by a cessation of important military operations in the revolted

districts, to revert to the state of public affairs at the seat of the Anglo-Indian government.

The extreme unpopularity of Viscount



A.D. 1858.]

INDIAN MUTINY.

[POLICY OF LORD CANNING.]

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Canning at an early stage of the insurrectionary movement, has already been noticed; and the feeling adverse to his general policy was greatly extended by the measures introduced by him for restricting the press, as well as by the tone of discouragement with which all suggestions for the maintenance of tranquillity in the home presidency were met by his lordship in council. One consequence of the feeling thus engendered was shown in a petition to the queen from the inhabitants of Calcutta, which prayed for the immediate recall of the governor-general,* and in another petition to the parliament of the United Kingdom, in which the British inhabitants of Calcutta prayed that measures might be adopted for substituting the direct government of the crown in place of that of the East India Company,† in reference to whose mismanagement the following strong allegations were submitted:—“Your petitioners can look for no redress to the powers to whom the government of this great country is delegated, they having shown themselves unequal to the task. The government of the East India Company have neither men, money, nor credit; what credit they had was destroyed by their conduct in the last financial operations. The army has dissolved itself; the treasuries have either been plundered by the rebels, or exhausted by the public service, and a loan even at six per cent. would scarcely find subscribers.” The petitioners further said—“The system under which the country has been hitherto governed—utterly antagonistic as it has ever been to the encouragement of British settlement and enterprise in India, has entirely failed to preserve the power of the queen, to win the affections of the natives, or to secure the confidence of the British in India.”

These weighty charges had certainly, to a great extent, been warranted by the effects of the policy adopted by Lord Canning and his immediate predecessors; and, as we have already observed, “there were truths enunciated in the petitions that it was impossible to deny, and that it had now become hazardous to neglect the serious consideration of.” Even among the most cautious observers of Lord Canning’s administrative policy, who at the moment thought it but just to abstain from avowed censure, there were many who did not deny that, in the midst of the unprecedented difficulties with which the governor-general had to contend, errors

of action or of judgment might have been committed; and the pertinacious incredulity with which the early rumours of the gathering storm were received at Calcutta, and thence officially transmitted to the home government, certainly did not tend to encourage confidence on the part of the European community of Bengal in the wisdom of the government. Possibly, much of the irritation that existed in the popular mind during the early stages of the revolt, might have been accounted for by the want of tact on the part of those to whom the government had delegated responsible duties at a perilous crisis, and some of whom had shown themselves utterly incompetent to deal with the circumstances around them; while the odium of their inefficiency fell with redoubled weight upon the individual by whom they had been entrusted with authority.

At the first outbreak of the revolt, it is quite obvious that the Indian government could not have used any language, or adopted any general line of action, that would, at the same time, have satisfied the European and the native populations. While every Englishman was filled with alarm and with just indignation, professions of impartiality and of confidence in the good-will of the natives, jarred against the prevalent desire for vengeance, and the irritated pride of race. On the other hand, the loyal feeling of every yet faithful Hindoo and Mussulman might have been destroyed, if official proclamations had echoed the language adopted by the press and in private society. Lord Canning might perhaps have been more careful to soothe the susceptibilities of his alarmed and enraged countrymen; but it was his most pressing duty to take care that a mere military mutiny, which at the outset it appeared to be, was not goaded on, by injudicious treatment, to a great national revolt. With this object before him, the governor-general, in the case of the doubtful regiments, affected to hope even against hope; and, in some degree, it was afterwards found that, by this appearance of confidence, he succeeded in giving the Company’s government a fresh hold on the loyalty of a large portion of the people of India. There was a purpose in the public and almost ostentatious display of his determination that, in the midst of the anarchy which raged over the country, all subjects of the Company’s government should be equal before the law. If by this he offended

* See vol. i., p. 592.

† *Ibid.*, p. 597.



the English residents of the capital, the consequences were likely to fall on himself personally; while the advantages derivable from the gratitude and confidence of the native community, would be secured by his act to the government and the country. It has been truly observed, "that politicians trained under a free constitution, seldom desire that their rulers should be found in advance of a popular movement; public feeling supplies the force which is required for great achievements; and it is the business of high functionaries, by regulating the impulse, to take care that it is not wasted in a wrong direction." In the present instance, the nation was unanimous in the determination, at whatever cost, to effect the restoration of its supremacy, and the punishment of the guilty; but its best efforts might have been thrown away, if the supreme government had, from deference to wild clamour and reckless indignation, given occasion for general disaffection among the millions of its Indian subjects. The Calcutta malcontents were, however, able to console themselves by the reflection, that the neglect of compliance with their wishes for the establishment of martial law, implied, in a certain sense, absolute confidence in their own loyalty. It was probably anticipated by the governor-general, that the disappointed would become agitators; but he had no fear that any contingency would convert them into rebels. At the worst, even if the results of his policy had confirmed their gloomiest predictions, he knew that he could have commanded their wealth, and even their lives, to ward off the dangers they had denounced, and to the suppression of which they had pledged themselves; and, in the meanwhile, he felt that he would be justified in disarming a more possible enemy by generous forbearance and undisguised confidence, than by confining himself to merely strengthening the attachment of natural and tried friends, from among whom no possible chance of danger could arise.

As time progressed, the fact became daily more apparent, that the governor-general had deserved well of his country, and was entitled to its most generous interpretation of his conduct. He had prosecuted the war with vigour to the utmost limit of his means, and had also preserved the loyalty of the great bulk of the native populations. The capture of Delhi, the relief of Lucknow, the victory at Cawnpore,

alike reflected a portion of the honour acquired by each on the administrative head at Calcutta; while the unbroken tranquillity of the province under his immediate care, and the good feeling manifested by many of the native princes, might fairly be attributed to the calm and thoughtful policy which, with a generous disregard of his own personal feelings, he consistently pursued through the hurricane of opinions that raged around his path.

At length, the more influential portions of the community—the gentry, landowners, and capitalists of Bengal and the neighbouring provinces—showed they had not been insensible to the prudent impartiality of Lord Canning's language and conduct. In two energetic and well-written addresses, they thanked him for his resistance to the clamour against the native populations, and congratulated him on the success of the British arms at Delhi. More than 2,000 memorialists reminded the government of the fact, that "natives of Bengal—men, women, and children—have, in every part of the scene of the mutinies, been exposed to the same rancour, and treated with the same cruelty, which the mutineers and their misguided countrymen have displayed to the British within their reach." The memorialists recognised as equal merits, the determination to crush the disaffected and rebellious, and the resolution to protect and reassure the loyal and obedient. Every civil and military official, every soldier, and almost every European upon the soil of India, might have claimed to share the credit of the vigour that had been displayed; but the honour of steadily discriminating between the rebels and the peaceful community, was assigned, by the common voice of enemies and friends, principally to the governor-general. A second memorial, bearing 5,000 signatures, more directly referred to the demands put forth in the Calcutta petition to which we have already referred.* "It has become notorious," said the memorialists, "throughout this land, that your lordship's administration has been assailed by faction, and assailed because your lordship in council has refused compliance with capricious demands, and to treat the loyal portion of the Indian population as rebels; because your lordship has directed that punishment for offences against the state should be dealt out with discrimination; because your

* See vol. i., p. 592.



lordship, having regard for the future, has not pursued a policy of universal irritation and unreasoning violence; and finally, because your lordship has confined coercion and punishment within necessary and politic limits."

The importance of such declarations as the above, did not so much rest upon the soundness of the reasoning, or the accuracy of the statements, contained in them, as upon the position and influence of the individuals from whom they emanated, and the effect they were likely to produce upon native opinion. The Calcutta opponents to Lord Canning's administration, complained that the wishes and opinions of aliens were placed in competition with their own, and that the policy eulogised by the former, had been adopted in preference to that recommended by themselves; but, fortunately, the government of India remembered that its subjects were principally Indians; and that although rajahs and zemindars, talookdars and merchants, might possibly be perfidious, yet it would have been exceedingly inconvenient if their unquestioned influence over their countrymen had been employed to embarrass the government. Lord Canning happily discerned the true policy to be adopted; and if, in pursuing it, he occasionally seemed to incline too much to a system of conciliation, it must be remembered, also, that his error was on the side of prudence, since he had not only to suppress and extinguish the fires of a wide-spreading rebellion, but to be careful that, in doing so, he did not render British rule in India impossible for the time to come.

During the months of September and October, 1857, the proceedings of the supreme council of India appeared to find little favour in the eyes of the journalists of Calcutta; and rumours circulated upon the alleged authority of advices from London, by which, on one day, the immediate recall of Viscount Canning, and the appointment of Earl Granville as governor-general, were confidently affirmed. On another, the Earl of Ellenborough was declared to be the sage to whose wisdom and moderation the future destinies of India were again to be entrusted; this *canard* being succeeded by another, giving the date of the cabinet council at which the recall of Lord Canning was determined upon, and the promotion of Lord Elphinstone from the government of Bombay, to the exalted position of gov-

ernor-general of India. It is superfluous to observe, that the foundation for these various rumours were simply based upon the imagination of the authors of them, and that the only point, but one, upon which the Calcutta journals were agreed at this particular juncture, was the utter ignorance of each in respect to the intention of the home government and the Court of Directors. The exceptional point had reference to the government notification of the 19th of September, which paid a just tribute to the merits of the late Sir Henry Lawrence and Mr. J. R. Colvin.* The reappointment of General Outram to the chief commissionership of Oude, in place of Sir Henry Lawrence, and to the command of the troops in the Dinapore and Cawnpore divisions, was also received with unanimous satisfaction and approval. The private minute of the governor-general, on the death of Sir Henry Lawrence, has already been given;† and the following is the government notification:—

"Fort William, Foreign Department, 19th Sept., 1857.

"*Notification.*—The right honourable the governor-general in council having appointed a successor to the late Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.B., in the post of chief commissioner of Oude, desires to take the opportunity of testifying publicly in this form, as he has already testified in addressing the Hon. Court of Directors, the deep sorrow with which he laments the loss of that eminent man. In the course of a service extending over thirty-five years in Burmah, in Afghanistan, in Nepal, in the Punjab, and in Rajpootana, Sir Henry Lawrence was distinguished for high ability, devoted zeal, and generous and self-denying exertions for the welfare of those around him. As a soldier, an administrator, and a statesman, he has earned a reputation amongst the foremost. Impressed with a sense of his great qualifications, the governor-general in council selected him to be chief commissioner in Oude. In that position, from the first appearance of disaffection amongst the troops quartered in the province, his conduct was marked by foresight, calm judgment, and courage; and if anything could have averted the calamitous outbreak, which has been followed by the temporary subversion of British authority in Oude, the measures which were taken by Sir Henry Lawrence, and the confidence which all men, high and low, European and native, felt in his energy, his wisdom, and his spirit of justice and kindness, would have accomplished that end. As long as there was any hope of restraining the wavering soldiery by appeals to their sense of duty and honour, he left no becoming means untried to conciliate them. When violent and open mutiny called for stern retribution, he did not shrink from the (to him) uncongenial task of inflicting severe punishment. When general disorder and armed rebellion threatened, he was undaunted; and the precautionary preparations which from the beginning he had had in view, were carried out rapidly and

* See ante, pp. 7; 56.

† See ante, p. 68.



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effectually. He has been prematurely removed from the scene; but it is due mainly to his exertions, judgment, and skill, that the garrison of Lucknow has been able to defy the assaults of its assailants, and still maintains its ground. The loss of such a man in the present circumstances of India is indeed a heavy public calamity. The governor-general in council deplores it deeply, and desires to place on record his appreciation of the eminent services, his admiration of the high character, and his affectionate respect for the memory of Sir Henry Lawrence.

"By order of the governor-general of India in council.

"G. F. EDMONSTONE, Secretary to the Government of India."

The native feeling in Calcutta was naturally influenced by the mild and equable policy of the governor-general; and to manifest their appreciation of the efforts of his government for the maintenance of tranquillity at the capital, the chief Hindoo families in Calcutta resolved to dispense with the usual *nauches*, and other entertainments at the Puga festival, in consequence of the troubled state of the country; and the leading Mohammedans also presented an address to the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, expressive of their satisfaction at the measures taken to prevent disturbances during the Mohurram. Meantime, reinforcements of troops from England began to arrive in the Hooghly, and the dawn of a brighter future for India was gradually developed in the revival of the military *prestige* and uncompromising supremacy of its English rulers.*

By the middle of October the reinforcements from England began to arrive in India, and public attention, in Calcutta, was principally directed to the reception and dispatch of troops to the various points of disturbance, and to the monetary operations of the government, which were rendered

extremely embarrassing by the financial difficulties that had arisen from the disordered state of the country, and the consequent inability of the bank of Bengal to make further advances on government securities. In some instances it was found impracticable to raise money for immediate purposes on the deposit of state paper; and the heavy sacrifices necessitated in consequence by the holders of such securities, had the effect of still further depressing the money-market, and thereby complicating the difficulties under which the government already laboured. The refusal of the bank came upon the public by surprise, and added considerably to the state of alarm and excitement occasioned by the insurrectionary proceedings in the North-Western Provinces; while the eagerness with which the occasion was seized by a large number of indigo planters and railway contractors, to press their claims to compensation for losses sustained through the mutiny, upon the notice of the government at the earliest possible moment, by no means tended to mitigate the anxieties of the governor-general and his council, or to encourage a general feeling of confidence in the policy which had to develop itself amidst daily accumulating difficulties.

With regard to the financial state of the Indian government at the time, it is to be observed, that at the close of 1856, five months only before the outbreak at Meerut, the balance-sheet of revenue and expenditure exhibited a deficiency of £972,791, to be provided for from the income of the ensuing year. The number of men in the Indian army, including all her majesty's and the Company's troops, with the various contingents and irregular corps, officered

* The *Calcutta Englishman*, of September 22nd, 1857, noticed these arrivals in the following passage:—"Fresh European regiments are arriving. In particular, on Sunday, September the 20th, H.M.'s 93rd highlanders arrived in H.M.'s ship *Belle Isle*. As the ship arrived off Garden Reach, where were a party of ladies and gentlemen, enjoying a day's pleasure in the botanical gardens, the latter saluted them with the waving of handkerchiefs, and the usual demonstrations of welcome. On this, the men on board, who swarmed like bees along the ship's side, set up a cheer, which appeared 'to make the welkin ring again'; this was several times repeated, and followed by the martial sound of the highland pibroch playing some of Scotland's national airs. Much to the disappointment of the men, they have not as yet been able to land, in consequence of the temporary difficulty experienced in obtaining suitable accommodation for the number of troops daily expected from England, China, and elsewhere;

but they have expressed a strong desire, we are told, to disembark as speedily as possible, to be off without delay. 'Up and at them!' is their cry. It was in allusion to this gallant regiment, of which both officers and men so highly distinguished themselves during the late Crimean campaign, that the Parisian *Charivari* hit off a happy sketch, representing a highlander keeping sentry upon the brink of a precipice, with his back turned towards a Crimean Tartar and a French Zouave. Upon the former expressing his dread lest the highlander should take a step to the rear and be lost, he is reassured by the Zouave, who significantly enough replies:—'Ne craignez rien, mon ami, ces Gaillards là ne réculent jamais.' Neither do we think they will; if ever men were eager for the fray, it is they. The *Teignmouth* and the *Himalaya*, which were among the arrivals on September the 10th, both contained troops. The former we believe is the first of the ships sent from England with reinforcements."



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INDIAN MUTINY.

[INDIAN FINANCE.]

from the line, amounted, before the rebellion, to 323,823 men. The annual expense of maintaining this force was estimated at £10,417,369, or nearly ten millions and a-half sterling. At the end of 1857, not more than 100,000 of the native army were in mutiny; and the expenses of the force, it was calculated, would be reduced, by consequent forfeiture, some three millions and a-half; but, on the other hand, recruiting was progressing in the Punjab and in Seinde; so that the actual saving upon the estimates from the revolt, could not be taken at more than two millions. There were also, up to the beginning of October, about 30,000 troops on their way from England, the passage-money to be paid for each man being £49. The cost of the maintenance of these reinforcements could not be calculated in India at less than £2,000,000; and thus, in one item alone, the estimated saving from the pay and maintenance of the native army, was certain to be absorbed. There was then to be provided the one million and a-half required to cover the expense of the passage, which was placed against the probable saving derived from the stoppage of public works. So far, therefore, the military expenses of the government appeared to be brought within the limits of the previous year's expenditure; but a difficulty then arose, from the fact that not half the usual revenue was likely to be collected from the north-west, and from some parts of Bengal; that vast expenses must be incurred in transmitting the European reinforcements to various parts of the country, and to meet the enhanced charges in the Punjab: it was, consequently, deemed impossible, by Indian financiers, that any government could conduct the affairs of the presidencies, and bring them to a successful issue, without large funds, which, as they could not be obtained from the resources of British India, had necessarily to be sought for in England. The disinclination of the Company to raise money by a European loan, of course added to the difficulties of its servants in India; until at length, it was confidently asserted, that unless assistance was obtained from Europe, the government must come to a dead-lock. "We are not now," said one of the most influential of the European community at Calcutta, "living in the times of Ochterlony and Malcolm; when the native army trusted so implicitly to British honour, that they sub-

mitted to be kept twelve, and, in some instances, twenty months in arrears without a murmur. The *prestige* of the British government has been sadly shaken; and it will only be by the most prompt and energetic measures, and by the speediest and severest justice, that we shall return once more to those days when, to be an Englishman in India, was to be respected and honoured, instead of to be hunted down and reviled."

The gross debt of the Anglo-Indian government, at the commencement of 1857, amounted to £62,095,175—equal to three times the ordinary revenue of the country; and involving an annual net charge of £2,924,577 for interest. To meet the actual cost of government, taxation had been already strained to the utmost possibility of tension; and every shilling that could be wrung from the people, by the ingenuity of the tax-collector, was grasped for the exigencies of the state. By the close of the year the liabilities of the Company's government had increased to an enormous amount; while the resources, from which they should have been met, were by the same time frightfully diminished.

It was calculated that the increased charges upon revenue, arising from the rebellion, would amount, for the year 1857, to six millions sterling; and that including the losses by plunder of the public treasuries, the destruction of public property, and the non-collection of revenue, the deficit for the year would amount to between ten and fifteen millions of pounds; to meet which it was believed there were no other resources available than a heavy loan in the English market, or a vastly increased and oppressive system of taxation over a country already impoverished and fainting under the struggle to which it had been exposed, and the inexorable grasp of the tax-gatherer. That under such circumstances the administration of Lord Canning should become unpopular, was but a natural consequence of his position, and of the tremendous responsibilities that had suddenly devolved upon himself and his colleagues.

In the midst of the difficulty thus created, a scheme was at length devised by which it might be overcome, and the incubus of hopeless debt be removed from the shoulders of the government. The main source of revenue in India being derived from the land-tax, and it being notorious that in such provinces as were exposed to an excessive

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or even fluctuating scale of the impost, great distress prevailed, from lands going out of culture, or perpetually changing hands, as one tenant after another was sold-up to pay the balances due to government; while among the opulent owners scarcely any would invest money in improvements which would be sure to bring with them a proportionate increase in the government demand:—the consequence of this very natural disinclination to expend money upon the land was, that funds which, under a different state of things, would be spent in works of irrigation, or other beneficial enterprise, were hoarded, invested in personal ornaments, or squandered on marriage festivals and pilgrimages. A system of settlements for long terms of years had already been substituted in many places for yearly renewals of revenue bonds; but, after the expiration of thirty years, the door was again opened for fresh and increased demands; and none could be assured what those might be, since, in all the fiscal machinery of government, there existed an abundance of vexatious interference and extortion on the part of its subordinate officers.

To counteract the growing evil, a Mr. George Norton proposed a scheme for the gradual extinction of it by the progressive redemption of the land-tax throughout India, and by suffering the ryots to become holders of land in fee-simple. He estimated the land revenue of India at twenty millions, which, at twenty years' purchase, would be worth four hundred millions—a sum that would enable government to pay the expenses of the war, clear off the Indian debt, and invest money in improvements so advantageously as to maintain the revenue at its then amount, until the reclaimed jungle lands could supply all that was at present raised. He assumed that the landholders who would thus become owners of the soil, would be inalienably attached to a government under which their rights would be safe, and that they would naturally be averse to a change of rulers, by which their freeholds might be endangered. The projector of this scheme admitted that it would take a number of years, perhaps a century, to carry out his measure; but he contended that at least four millions a-year might at once be raised, and that, in the meantime, a revised scale of taxation could be introduced, so as to prevent the possibility of loss to government.

Taking for granted that the scheme would

be favourably appreciated by the ryots, its practicability then became a question, since it was far from certain that, as a class, they would be able to avail themselves of it by the requisite purchases. It, however, carried upon the face of it a degree of feasibility; and, as a similar experiment had been in operation in Ceylon, from the year 1813, with beneficial results to all parties—a vast extent of land having been altogether enfranchised, and other portions, from paying one-half of their yearly produce, had had their burdens reduced to one-tenth of the original amount—the plan of Mr. Norton was not thought inapplicable to the then existing exigencies of the Indian government.

Among other sources of personal anxiety that exercised a depressing influence on the councils of the governor-general towards the end of the year, the policy that had been adopted in reference to the ex-king of Oude by the Indian government, was not one of the least embarrassing. That personage had now, for some months, been detained a state prisoner in Fort William,* and, as yet, was ignorant of the actual charge upon which he had been deprived of his liberty, and of the indulgences pertaining to his rank as sovereign. His mother and immediate friends were in England, seeking, at the foot of the throne, for the restoration of his kingdom, and the recognition of his rights. Whatever suspicion might have existed of his complicity in the designs of the mutinous armies of Bengal and of Oude, five months had now elapsed without any definite charge against him, personally; and it was not unreasonable that he should become impatient of the restraint to which he was subjected. Under this feeling, the ex-king, in November, 1857, petitioned the governor-general in council, that he might be apprised of the nature of the offence alleged to have been committed by him, and that the probable limit of his captivity might be defined. Either from a difficulty in framing a charge against the captive monarch, or from a certainty of the impracticability of substantiating one if made, no official reply was vouchsafed to the application; but his majesty was curtly informed, that “he would know all about the affair in a very little time.” How far this treatment might accord with a sense of justice towards a state prisoner, was, doubtless, for the con-

* See vol. i., p. 586.



A.D. 1858.]

INDIAN MUTINY.

[THE DISARMING ACT.]

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sideration of the authorities by whom the arrest had been deemed justifiable; but, taking an English view of the transaction, it certainly did not agree with our notions of equity, to arbitrarily place an individual in confinement for an unlimited period, and refuse to enlighten him as to the charges he might be called upon to answer. To any man, the loss of liberty would be doubly irksome under such circumstances; and it might be imagined that, in the case of one who had from his birth been surrounded by the pomp and indulgences of sovereignty, such a privation would be intensely irksome. The sins of a race were, however, to be expiated in his person; and Wajid Ali Shah, ex-king of Oude, separated from his family and adherents, remained a captive in the hands of those who had overturned his throne, and wrenched the sceptre from his feeble grasp.

The odium attached to the administration of Lord Canning, again became sensibly increased by the introduction of an act to the legislative council, for regulating the possession of arms, which received the assent of the governor-general in October, 1857, and met with the universal disapprobation of the Christian inhabitants of Calcutta, who embodied their objections to the measure in the following memorial to the governor-general in council:—

"The respectful petition of the undersigned Christian inhabitants of Calcutta, on behalf of themselves and of all the other Christian inhabitants of this presidency, sheweth,—That your petitioners have read the act which passed the legislative council on the 5th of September, and received the assent of the governor-general on the 12th instant; and have observed, with alarm and regret, that the said act is framed so as to apply to all the unofficial classes alike without distinction, within the districts to which it shall be extended, by order of the governor-general in council, or of the executive government of any place. The object and justification of such an act being, as your petitioners conceive, to enable the government to take arms out of the hands of disaffected and dangerous persons, your petitioners had hoped that the said act would have been confined, in express terms, to those classes from whom alone danger could be apprehended.

"Your petitioners feel strongly, that to apply the act to them equally with the rest of India, is to confound the loyal with murderers, mutineers, and rebels, and to cast an unwarranted reflection on a body who, having the same interest with the government of India, have in every way supported it, and exhibited their loyal feeling since the commencement of the present outbreak.

"Your petitioners are further of opinion, that to give the proposed power to a magistrate or commissioner of police, of disarming all persons within his district who, in his judgment, may endanger the public peace, is to give to one official who may be

acting under the influence of panic, prejudice, or error, the power to leave all Christians within his district wholly defenceless, or to force them into opposition to government if they shall resist being placed in such a position; and your petitioners are led strongly by certain recent proceedings in this town of Calcutta, to the conviction that this is no idle or speculative apprehension, and that such powers cannot be safely entrusted to all officials of the proposed classes.

"Your petitioners believe that the only result of extending such an act to the Christian population of India, will be to oppress and irritate the loyal; while it will be wholly ineffectual as regards the disaffected, who will neither register or expose their arms till the moment for using them shall have arrived.

"Your petitioners submit that the Christian inhabitants of this presidency are entitled of right, as loyal men, between whom and the rest of the population of the presidency there is a broad and unmistakable line drawn, to have that distinction acknowledged by the government at this time, and in the like manner as was done with regard to Europeans at the disarming of the Punjab, to be exempted from the operation of a law which is wholly inapplicable, and therefore highly offensive to them.

"Your petitioners, therefore, respectfully pray, that the governor-general in council would be pleased to make a declaration, such as is contemplated by the exemption clauses of the said act, for the exemption of all Christian inhabitants of this presidency from the application of the said law.

"And your petitioners, &c."

This appeal was acknowledged in due course by the secretary to the government of India; who, on the 15th of October, informed the petitioners, that "the governor-general was unable to comply with the prayer of the petition;" but, at the same time, he was directed to state, that all exemptions which might be just and reasonable, would be made by the local governments, wherever the act, or any part of it, should be put in execution. The reply then proceeded as follows:—

"The governor-general in council cordially appreciates the loyal feelings of the petitioners, and of those in whose name they speak, as also the support which they have given to the government; but he cannot admit that the fact of the Arms Act being general in its terms, is any reflection upon their body.

"The governor-general in council does not share in the apprehension of the petitioners, that any powers which under the act may be entrusted to magistrates or to the commissioner of police will be abused in the manner supposed by them.

"Neither does his lordship in council agree in viewing the case of the Punjab as parallel to that of Bengal. The Punjab, when the disarming took place, was a newly conquered country, peopled with a hostile race; and it was reasonable to draw a broad line of demarcation between its whole native population and all Europeans who might become resident there. In Bengal, on the contrary, a large portion of the population is loyal and well-affected



to the British government; and many have given proofs of this, by exercising influence and risking property and life in support of the government.

"If, then, the law should undertake to lay down a line of distinction, and should class these men with those who are not to be trusted, it would do a great injustice. If, on the contrary, it draws no distinction, but leaves all exemptions to be made according to circumstances by the government which administers the law, no such injustice is committed; and it appears to the governor-general in council scarcely possible that any Englishman, or any Christian viewing the case dispassionately, should find offence to himself in such law. Most assuredly no such offence is intended; and the governor-general in council has directed me to furnish this explanation to the petitioners, in proof that such is the case."

This effort to conciliate where only an imaginary wrong existed, failed of course; and a current of public opinion adverse to government, ran for a time, with increased virulence, through the capital of British India.

On the 20th of October, the Calcutta volunteer guard, consisting of artillery, cavalry, and infantry, and numbering, together, about 900 men, were presented with colours and standards by Viscountess Canning, at the request of the governor-general, who sought, by this mark of attention to those of the inhabitants of the city who had stepped forward at a moment of supposed danger, to soften, in some degree, the prejudice that existed against himself and every act of his administration. The military display upon the occasion was imposing and effective. Her ladyship arrived on the ground on horseback, at 5 P.M., accompanied by the governor-general, the commander-in-chief, and Generals Wyndham and Beatson, with a numerous and brilliant staff. A guard of honour had previously been dispatched to government-house to receive the colours, and escort them to the ground, where they remained furled until the arrival of the official *cortège*, preceded by the viscountess, who rode along the line of troops, and took a position in front. Meanwhile, orders were given to close the ranks, and form three sides of a square, on the artillery and right wing of the infantry—the colours still remaining cased, and resting upon drums, about forty paces in front of the centre of the line. After a brief interval, Lady Canning and the staff moved forward to the spot where the colours were deposited; the guards of cavalry and infantry, as escorts, also moved forward, accompanied by the ensigns and colour-sergeants, who took post in rear of the

colours; the cavalry escort being on the right, and the infantry on the left of them. Her ladyship then, with much grace, went through the ceremony of presenting the colours to the ensigns and cornets, who knelt to receive the honourable charge from her hands. Her address to the troops was as follows:—

"Calcutta Volunteers,—I have great pleasure in presenting you these colours.

"The readiness with which you came forward at a time of trouble and anxiety, and sacrificed your leisure, your ease, and the comforts of your homes on behalf of the safety of the public, and the zeal with which you have applied yourselves to the study and discharge of your self-imposed duties, assure me that these British colours will be confided to trustworthy hands.

"Take them, and remember that it behoves you to guard and defend them zealously; and by ready attention to your duties, by strict and unhesitating obedience to your commanding officers, and by cheerful submission to discipline, to raise and sustain the character of your corps, and keep unsullied the honour of your colours."

At the conclusion of this address, Major Turnbull, the commandant of the volunteer corps, stepped forward, and replied thus:—

"Lady Canning,—In the name of the volunteers I have to thank you for the honour you have conferred on us in presenting these colours, an honour fully appreciated by every member of the Calcutta volunteer guards.

"Although the tide of events has turned favourably, so that in all probability the volunteers may never be called upon for active service; yet, should they ever be, judging from the high tone and soldierly bearing pervading all ranks, I am convinced that they are not only ready, but capable and willing, to do good services.

"Every encouragement has been afforded to the volunteers by the governor-general graciously acceding to the requisitions that have been made for their improvement. We are now favoured with an additional and lasting one by these colours being presented by your ladyship, which, confided to their care, the volunteers will defend to the last, on all occasions, with true devotion and loyalty. Again I beg to repeat our thanks in the name of the Calcutta volunteer guards."

From 20,000 to 25,000 persons, including all the *élite* of the city, were present at the ceremonial, which had the effect, for a short time, of allaying the irritation that prevailed in the presidency; and the demand for the recall of the governor-general gradually began to lose much of its force and acrimonious tone.

As a specimen of the disposition to cavil at, and censure, every act of Lord Canning during the latter part of the summer of 1857, the following extract from a letter written in Calcutta may be adduced. The



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writer says:—"Since I wrote you last, our affairs are getting in a bad state indeed; the rebellion is extending, and coming by inches nearer Calcutta, where I cannot any longer say we are secure. The imbecility of our government has so emboldened the natives, that openly, and without attempt at concealment, all sorts of things are plotting. An immense concourse of blackguards of all sorts has assembled in the town. The police magistrates coolly say there is no law which empowers them to deal with such people, and the legislative council declare the law to be quite sufficient for all our wants. Clever, sharp natives who are caught planning and sketching the fort, counting and measuring the guns, even taking their bearings from various points, if brought before a magistrate cannot be punished, but must be admonished and let go. In Fort William, all sorts of vagabonds are allowed to wander about, endeavouring to open communication with the king of Oude. Lord Canning does not like severity, nor does he like to do anything he should do, unless driven to it; thus he has been implored to proclaim martial law, because all Calcutta and the country around has been for some time openly disaffected; and of course he refuses. Man after man is brought to him, discovered in some treasonable correspondence; he is only to be reprimanded. His own private moonshee was to have stabbed him after breakfast one fine morning; and gets a severe reproof, but neither flogging nor hanging. Two men were caught in the act of hauling down the colours in Fort William, and hoisting the green flag of the holy prophet; this was to have been the signal for 13,000 nice young men to make a dash at the fort. Nothing but fears of a mutiny among the European troops, wrung from Lord Canning the order for their execution, which was done this blessed morning. We have (D.G.) escaped one very dangerous period—the Mohammedan festival of the Buckre Eed: but the Mohurrum is approaching; it lasts ten entire days; and such unusual masses of people are flocking here, I feel certain we must have not simply a row, but a fight for our very lives; and God alone knows how we shall get out of it. Already there is a talk of sending every woman and child aboard ship. But as for any useful measures of preparation, our authorities do not dream of them. Our militia was a measure forced down Lord Canning's throat; but government have

thrown every discouragement they could in its way. The wealth and respectability of the community have formed a fine body of cavalry. The poorer class, after undergoing all sorts of snubbing as infantry, have got only some 550 bayonets left, the other 900 odd having resigned. Government now would most gladly coax us back and make much of us; but it is too late; we will fight for our own houses and neighbourhoods—not for them. As for turning out some 3,000 men fit to bear arms, that is not to be thought of: it would be far too energetic a measure."

Again, a letter of the 24th of September, says—"It is more than ninety days since the first of the transports for India left Portsmouth with troops for our protection; but they may as well have the benefit of the sea air a little longer, for nothing is ready for them here (Calcutta). The same incapacity, the same 'red-tape' imbecility that killed our soldiers in the Crimea, are rampant here. Thus, although these troops have been sighed for and expected these last two months—though every English soldier who can be added to the force in the field is equal to one hundred of the enemy, and though our poor beleaguered countrymen, in many places, are hourly praying for help, 2,000 of our noble soldiers—fusiliers and highlanders—are kept kicking their heels for days on board transports or in the fort, because there are no means ready for conveying them up the country; and those that are detained on board the transports, are kept there because there are no quarters ready for them on shore. The authorities well know, that a ship crowded with men, moored by the bank of a river in September (the worst month of the year), is about the best encouragement to cholera that can be devised. They know it so well, that, out of the crew of H.M.S. *Sansperiel*, they have sent 400 men into the fort. But highlanders and fusiliers, who come out to save India, our women and children from torture and death, are better on board ship, with malaria around them, than in wholesome quarters, or on the river on their way to the rescue. Sometimes English soldiers in Calcutta are forgotten altogether. Witness the case of the detachment of her majesty's 53rd foot, stationed at the Normal school during the Mohurrum, who were kept literally forty-eight hours without food. If English soldiers are thus forgotten when they are so few, what, in the name of good-

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ness, will be the result when the reinforcements come pouring in, and are detained here? And now another difficulty has arisen in reference to these troops, and simply because (really it is the case) there is no one here connected with this government who knows his business. When H.M.S. *Belle Isle* was at Sandheads, the *Underwriter*, an American steam-tug, ran down to her to take her in tow, and demanded 2,500 rupees (£250). This sum was refused; and the *Underwriter* would not tow the ship to Calcutta for less, and steamed away from her. Now be it remarked, that the price demanded was the ruling price paid by large merchant vessels. But because the *Underwriter* refused to tow the *Belle Isle* to Calcutta for less, the marine authorities have, in consequence, interdicted all their pilots from bringing in any vessel towed in by the *Underwriter*. The consequence is, that, as every ship must have a government pilot on board, the *Underwriter's* occupation is gone. The American merchants in Calcutta are in such a state of excitement, that they have caused the English owners of steam-tugs to take the matter up; and I understand that the latter have given directions to the commanders of all their tugs, not to take any government vessel in tow, or any vessel having government troops on board. Thus the government interests, the public interests, must suffer from the imbecility of the marine authorities."

A letter from Bombay expresses the views entertained by the European community of that presidency, in the following strain:—

"The fatuity and blindness of the government officials continue to the present day; and they have, mail after mail, it is now discovered, been wilfully misleading the queen's ministers as to the real state of affairs in India. I fancy we have seen the last of the East India Company; and it is time. Excess and abuse of patronage—almost every member of the Company's service, being nearly related to the directors, who promote according to stupidity, incapacity, and nearness of relationship, whenever the latter is combined with the former—maladministration of India, and misgovernment, will about sound their dying knell; and time it should. Last March, several fakirs (or religious mendicants), tattooed and besmeared, were observed to be travelling all over Bengal and the north-west on elephants, which excited

general remark from every one but the government officials. They allowed these men to pass unquestioned; and it now turns out that they were the king of Delhi's sons and nephews, calling for the chupatty cakes, and settling arrangements for the mutiny. * * * The government is very anxious to tide over, if possible, the next four or five months without exhibiting their want of resources; and with this view, all public works' expenditure in every quarter has been stopped; while, in many districts, officers are kept in arrear of pay for three or four months. That a loan to a large amount, here or at home, must be resorted to before long, on terms such as to induce subscribers, is the very general impression; and if the money required for Indian purposes were to be borrowed in England, it is probable that government securities here will be beneficially influenced by it. The native hoarders of gold and silver are gradually showing their confidence in our supremacy, by reselling the gold at 16s., which they purchased some time ago, when things looked gloomy, at 17s. per sicca weight—a result to which the British bayonets which have been landing on the banks of the Hooghly during the past month, may have possibly contributed."

In November, a bill was introduced into the legislative council, for the purpose of enabling the government to order delinquent sepoys to be branded with the letters M, for mutiny, and D for desertion, in the same way that European soldiers were liable to those ignominious marks. The punishment had not hitherto been inflicted in the native army, from deference to the high-caste prejudices of the men of which it was chiefly composed. About the same time, a ship of war was dispatched to the Andaman Islands, for the purpose of surveying and selecting a site for a penal settlement, to which the defeated mutineers and rebels might be dispatched, with assurance of the impossibility of escape. On the 9th of December, a grand review of the British force at Calcutta and adjacent stations, which then amounted to about 8,000 men, was held by the commander-in-chief, in the presence of the governor-general, who had announced his intention to remove the seat of government for a short time to Allahabad, for the greater facility of communication with the commander-in-chief, and superintending the general movements



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[EXPLANATION OF POLICY.]

of the army. The commander-in-chief, as we have before mentioned, also left Calcutta to take the command of the army in the field, having, by this time, perfectly matured all his arrangements for the campaign, and for facilitating the transmission of troops as they should arrive from England, to the various points at which their services were required in the prosecution of the war.

Previous, however, to the departure of Lord Canning for a temporary sojourn in the Upper Province of Bengal, the following explanation of the policy and conduct of his government, which had been so vehemently assailed, was forwarded to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, by the governor-general and his colleagues in council :—

“Fort William, Dec. 11th, 1857.—(No. 144.—Public). ”

“It appears that very considerable misapprehension prevails as to the measures which have been taken for the punishment of those who have been guilty of mutiny, desertion, and rebellion, during the recent disturbances in India, and as to certain instructions which have been issued for the guidance of civil officers charged with carrying out those measures, and vested with extraordinary powers for the purpose. Therefore, although our proceedings have been regularly reported to your honourable court, and have as yet been honoured with your entire approval, we deem it right specially and briefly to recapitulate them, in order that the policy of the government of India may not be misunderstood, and that mistaken representations regarding it may be corrected.

“In the first place, it has been made a matter of complaint against the government of India, that the country was not put under martial law after the occurrence of the mutinies.

“The reply to this is, that the country was put under martial law wherever it was necessary, and as soon as it could answer any good purpose to do so.

“Martial law was proclaimed by the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces, as the mutiny broke out, in the Delhi,* Meerut,† Rohilkund,‡ and Agra§ divisions, and in the districts of Ajmere and Neemuch.||

“It was proclaimed by the government of India, in the Allahabad and Benares divisions, on the 9th of June, 1857, as soon as the mutiny at Benares and Allahabad, and its consequences, became known.

“It was proclaimed by the lieutenant-governor of Bengal, in the Patna¶ and Chota Nagpore** divisions of the Lower Provinces, immediately after the mutiny of the Dinapore regiments and the Ramgurun battalion occurred.

“Lest it should be supposed by any, that in thus dealing with the country by divisions and districts,

a hesitating and uncertain policy was pursued, it may be added, that of the above-named tracts of country, the smallest is equal to any English county, and the largest is as large as Ireland.

“In the Punjab and Oude (non-regulation provinces) there was no need to proclaim martial law. The authorities acted as if it had been proclaimed.

“But, in truth, measures of a far more stringent and effective character than the establishment of martial law, were taken for the suppression of mutiny and rebellion.

“Martial law, in the ordinary acceptance of the phrase, is no law at all, or, as it has been described, the will of the general. But martial law in India is proclaimed under special regulations applicable only to the regulation provinces in the three presidencies, whereby the government is empowered to suspend, either wholly or partially, the functions of the ordinary criminal courts, to establish martial law, and also to direct the immediate trial, by courts-martial, of all subjects who are taken—(1) in arms in open hostility to the British government; or (2) in the act of opposing, by force of arms, the authority of the same; or (3) in the actual commission of any overt act of rebellion against the state; or (4) in the act of openly aiding and abetting the enemies of the British government.

“Neither the effect of martial law, nor the mode in which courts-martial are to be constituted under the regulation, has ever been defined. But it seems clear that courts-martial cannot be composed of any but military officers, for there is nothing in the regulation so show that courts-martial, as therein described, can be otherwise constituted.

“Moreover, it should be borne in mind, that in Bengal, beyond the limits of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, there was no regulation which provided for the punishment of treason or rebellion; and that the Mohammedan law, which in the absence of express regulation constitutes the criminal law of the country, does not provide any specific punishment for such crimes. Regulation X., of 1804, rendered a person guilty of treason or rebellion, liable to the punishment of death only in the event of his conviction before a court-martial; and even a court-martial under that regulation had no power to try for treason or rebellion, unless the offender was taken in arms in open hostility to the British government, or in the act of opposing by force of arms the authority of the same, or in the actual commission of an overt act of rebellion.

“The power of trial by court-martial did not extend to persons guilty of rebellion, unless taken in the actual commission of an overt act.

“Under these circumstances the government might have been much embarrassed had Indian martial law alone been relied upon; and seeing that the number of military officers at the disposal of the government, was in many parts of the country wholly insufficient for the summary trial of mutineers and rebels, the government of India took a course much more effectual than the establishment of martial law. Having first, by Act No. VIII., of 1857, strengthened the hands of officers by giving them greater powers for the assembling of courts-martial, and by making the proceedings of those courts more summary, the government adopted measures which should give them the services not only of their own military and civil officers, but of independent English gentlemen not connected with the East India Company—indigo planters, and other persons of

* 16th and 25th of May.

† 16th of May and 1st of June. ‡ 28th of May.

§ 27th of May; 4th and 12th of June.

¶ 12th of June. ** 30th of June.

• 10th of August.

intelligence and influence. These measures were as follows:—

"On the 30th of May, when it was known that the mutiny of the sepoys had been followed in many places by rebellion of the populace, Act No. XI, of 1857, was passed. By this law persons guilty of rebellion, or of waging war against the queen or the government, or of aiding and abetting therein, were rendered liable to the punishment of death, and to the forfeiture of all their property; and the crime of harbouring rebels, &c., was made heavily punishable; the supreme and local executive governments were empowered to issue a commission in any district in a state of rebellion, for the trial of rebels or persons charged with any other crime against the state, or with any heinous crime against person or property: the commissioners were empowered to act singly, and were vested with absolute and final powers of judgment and execution, without the presence of law officers or assessors; and, finally, the possession of arms in any district in which it might be prohibited by the executive government, was made penal.

"By Act No. XIV., of 1857, passed on the 6th June, provision was made for the punishment of persons convicted of exciting mutiny or sedition in the army; the offender was rendered liable to the punishment of death, and the forfeiture of all his property; and persons guilty of harbouring such offenders, were made liable to heavy punishment. Power was also given to general courts-martial, to try all persons, whether amenable to the articles of war or not, charged with any offence punishable by this or the preceding act; and the supreme and local executive governments were authorised to issue commissions in any district for the trial, by single commissioners, without the assistance of law officers or assessors, and with absolute and final power of judgment and execution, of any crime against the state, or any heinous offence whatever; the term 'heinous offence' being declared to include every crime attended with great personal violence, or committed with the intention of forwarding the designs of those who are waging war against the state.

"By Act No. XVI., of 1857, all heinous offences committed in any district under martial law, or in any district to which this act might be extended, were made punishable by death, transportation, or imprisonment, and by forfeiture of all property and effects.

"These enormous powers have been largely exercised. They have been entrusted not to military officers only; but to civil officers and trustworthy persons not connected with the government, who, under martial law properly so called, would have had no authority; and the law has thereby been put in force in parts of the country where there were few troops, and no officers to spare for such purpose.

"In all the three above-mentioned acts, Nos. XI, XIV., and XVI., European British subjects are expressly exempted from their operation.

"By Act No. XVII., of 1857, power was given to sessions judges, and to any person or persons, civil or military, to whom the executive government might issue a commission for the purpose, to try for mutiny or desertion any person subject to the articles of war for the native army, with final powers of judgment and execution. Police officers were empowered to arrest, without warrant, persons suspected of being mutineers and deserters; and zemindars and others were made penally responsible for giving early intelligence of persons suspected of mutiny or desertion resorting to their estates.

"Lastly, by Act No. XXV., of 1857, the property and effects of all persons amenable to the articles of war for the native army, guilty of mutiny, were declared forfeit, and stringent means were provided for the seizure of such property or effects, and for the adjudication of forfeiture in all cases, whether the guilty person be convicted, or whether he die or escape before trial.

"Not only therefore is it not the case that martial law was not proclaimed in districts in which there was a necessity for it; but the measures taken for the arrest, summary trial, and punishment of heinous offenders of every class, civil as well as military, were far more widely spread, and certainly not less stringent, than any that could have resulted from martial law.

"To an application of certain inhabitants of Calcutta for the proclamation of martial law in that city and in the rest of Bengal, where, notwithstanding the mutinous spirit of the native troops, not the smallest indication of disaffection on the part of the people had or has been manifested, an answer was given, setting forth at length the reasons which made the adoption of such a measure inexpedient.

"It may be affirmed with confidence, that no one useful object would have been attained by the proclamation of martial law throughout India, or in any part of India wherein it was not proclaimed, which has not been attained in a far more effectual way by special legislation adapted to the condition of a country throughout vast tracts of which military authority was altogether unrepresented, and by the executive measures consequent thereupon; while the mere proclamation of martial law, without such special legislation, though it might have sounded more imposingly, would have cramped the action of government, by debarring the government from the assistance of its civil officers in the suppression of mutiny and of the crimes which have accompanied it.

"We now advert to the resolution of the 31st of July, containing directions to civil officers respecting the punishment of mutineers, deserters, and rebels, and the burning of villages.

"It has been shown that, before this resolution was passed, civilians had been authorised to try for mutiny and desertion (offences previously cognizable only by courts-martial), and that enormous powers had been given by the legislature for the punishment of the crimes of rebellion, mutiny, and desertion, and others of less degree, to such individual civil officers as might be appointed special commissioners by government, or to such other officers as the government should invest with the power of issuing commissions; and gentlemen, both in and out of the regular service of government, had been appointed special commissioners under the acts. The appointment of special commissioners might have been restricted to the governor-general in council, or to the executive governments, had there not been any interruption to the free communication between the governments and their principal civil officers in the districts; but when communication was cut off, the working of the acts would have been very much impeded if a special commissioner could not be appointed except by government. It was therefore considered necessary in many cases, while the power of communicating existed, and before the telegraph wires were cut, to invest the



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principal officers, such as the chief commissioners, the commissioner of Nagpore, commissioners of districts, &c., with the power of appointing special commissioners under the acts.

"It afterwards came to the knowledge of the government, both officially and through private channels, that in some instances the powers given to special commissioners were being abused, or at least used without proper discretion, and that capital punishment was inflicted for trivial offences committed during a period of anarchy, and on evidence which, under ordinary circumstances, would not have been received; and that in some quarters the fact of a man being a sepoy was enough, in the state of excited feeling which then prevailed, to insure his apprehension and immediate execution as a deserter.

"There were then many native officers and soldiers of the Bengal army, who, though absent from their regiments, were wholly innocent of the crime of desertion, and some who, so far from being guilty of mutiny, had used their best endeavours to prevent it, saving the lives of their European officers at the risk of their own.

"To punish these men indiscriminately with death, as deserters or mutineers, would have been a crime. To prevent their punishment was an imperative duty of the government.

"The instructions in question were issued for the guidance of civil, not military officers, and were of necessity in force only where civil power was exercised. They prescribed discrimination between the guilty and those who might reasonably be supposed to be innocent. They sanction no lenity to the guilty. They give to the civil authorities no power of finally releasing even the innocent. They do not exempt mutineer or deserter, or, in fact, any officer or soldier from trial by court-martial; but as regards military offenders, they lay down rules for the guidance of civilians in the exercise of the powers newly vested in them by Act XVII., of 1857, by which cognizance was for the first time given to them of offences of a purely military character.

"First, in regard to men belonging to regiments which have not mutinied, the civil authorities were directed to punish as deserters those only who were found with arms in their hands. If guilty of rebellion they could be punished as rebels apart from their military character; but if charged with or suspected of desertion alone, and not found with arms in their possession, they were to be sent back to their regiments, or detained in prison pending the orders of the government. If sent back to their regiments, they would of course be dealt with by the military authorities according to their guilt or innocence.

"Second, in regard to men belonging to regiments which have mutinied, but which have not killed their officers or committed any other sanguinary crime, or whose regiments cannot be ascertained, the civil officers were directed to punish as mutineers only those who were found with arms in their possession, or who were charged with a specific act of rebellion, or whom for special reasons it might be necessary to punish forthwith. All others were to be sent to Allahabad, or to such other place as the government might order, to be dealt with by the military authorities.

"Third, in regard to men belonging to regiments which have mutinied and killed any European, or committed any other sanguinary outrage, the civil

authorities were directed to try and sentence as mutineers all such persons, and to punish forthwith all who could not show either that they were not present at the murder or other outrage, or that, if present, they did their utmost to prevent it. These exceptional cases were to be reported to the government.

"It has not been found that these orders are difficult of execution, or that they have tended in the least degree to weaken the hands of the civil power in dealing with those who have been really guilty of mutiny or desertion, to say nothing of graver crimes. If they have saved innocent men from unjust punishment, their object has been so far attained. Upon the action of courts-martial, or upon the proceedings of any military authority whatsoever, they neither were intended to have, nor have they had, any restrictive effect. Their tendency, on the contrary, so far as military tribunals are concerned, is to extend the jurisdiction of those tribunals, and to transfer to them cases which in ordinary course would have been dealt with by civil officers. They impose no labour upon the European troops, the transport of the arrested men to Allahabad or other military stations being assigned to the police or local guards.

"In regard to the treatment of rebels not being mutineers, we warned the civil authorities to whom the power of life and death had been intrusted, that though it is ' unquestionably necessary in the first attempt to restore order in a district in which the civil authority had been entirely overthrown, to administer the law with such promptitude and severity as will strike terror into the minds of the evil-disposed among the people, and will induce them by the fear of death to abstain from plunder, to restore stolen property, and to return to peaceful occupations; ' yet, when this object was once in a great degree attained, that ' the punishment of crimes should be regulated with discrimination; ' and in the tenth paragraph, after pointing out the difficulties that would probably be caused by the administration of the law in its extreme severity after the requisite impression had been made upon the rebellious and disorderly, and after order had been partially restored, we desired the civil authorities to encourage all persons to return to their occupations, postponing all minute inquiry into past political offences, but punishing the principal offenders, and making examples of those who, after the partial restoration of order, might be guilty of serious outrages, or of promoting the designs of the rebels.

"We cannot believe that these instructions need defence. They are addressed only to civil authorities; to men who, scattered far and wide through the country, are wielding terrible powers, but powers which in the actual condition of India we have not hesitated to confer. It is not conceivable that they should have hampered the action of a single soldier. Wherever troops have been available for the purpose, they have been employed without any practical restriction on their acts but the humanity and discretion of their commanding officers. In such cases, when forcible resistance has been met with, quarter has been rarely given; and prisoners, whether tried on the spot by the officer in command, or made over to the civil power, have been punished immediately with extreme, but just and necessary severity. If in such a lamentable condition of affairs errors have been committed, it is assuredly not on the side of undue leniency.



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"Lastly, as regards the burning of villages, our instructions—still, be it remembered, only to civil officers—were that, though a severe measure of this sort might be necessary as an example in some cases, where the mass of the inhabitants have committed a grave outrage, and the individual perpetrators cannot be reached, anything like a wholesale or indiscriminate destruction of property, without due regard to the guilt or innocence of those affected by it, was to be strongly reprehended. Can there be a doubt of the justice of this order? To ourselves, not only the justice, but the necessity of it was manifest from unofficial but perfectly trustworthy accounts which reached us of the proceedings of some of the authorities, both in the Allahabad and Benares divisions, shortly after the outbreak, and of the deserted state of the country within reach of the principal stations at the commencement of seed-time for the autumn harvest. Its success is shown by the return of the villagers to their occupations, and by the fact that even in the most disturbed districts the breadth of cultivation has not been very seriously diminished.

"On the whole, we may observe, that the effect of the resolution, as regards the native public in the Bengal presidency (the vast majority of whom have shown no sympathy with the rebellion), has been to allay, in a great measure, the apprehension of a general and indiscriminate war against Hindoos and Mussulmans, guilty or not guilty, in revenge for the massacres of Delhi, Cawnpore, and Jhansie, which evil-disposed persons have industriously raised.—We have, &c.,

"CANNING,

J. DORING,

"J. LOW,

B. PEACOCK.

"CECIL BEADON, Secretary to the Government of India."

This important document was forwarded to the Court of Directors, with sundry enclosures, of which the following is a brief outline. The first was the "humble" petition of one Mr. C. Williams, and 252 other inhabitants of Calcutta and its suburbs, to the governor-general, urging his excellency to proclaim martial law at once throughout the presidency of Bengal. Mr. C. Beadon, the secretary to the government of India, replied to this address on the 21st of August, 1857, declining to accede to the request to proclaim martial law, on the ground that such a measure would not in any way be useful or expedient, and that the substitution of military courts in Calcutta for the ordinary courts of judicature, would infallibly be accompanied with much private uncertainty, inconvenience, and hardship, without any commensurate advantage to the community. In Calcutta, the petitioners were reminded that there were troops enough for the protection of the city and its suburbs against any disturbance, and that in the divisions of Behar and Chota Nagpore (under a very different condition of things), martial law had already been proclaimed by the lieutenant-governor.

A copy of the resolution of the Indian government, dated the 31st of July, 1857, issuing detailed instructions for the guidance of civil officers in the treatment of mutineers, deserters, and rebels, with the view of preventing the hasty resort to measures of extreme severity, was also forwarded.* By this, no native officer or soldier belonging to a regiment which had not mutinied was to be punished as a mere deserter, unless found or apprehended with arms in his possession. Such men were to be sent back to their regiments, to be dealt with by the military powers. Native officers and soldiers, being mutineers or deserters, taken by the civil power without arms in their hands, not charged with any specific act of rebellion, and belonging to regiments which had mutinied, but had not murdered their officers, or perpetrated any other sanguinary crime, were to be sent to Allahabad, and there made over to the commander, to be dealt with by the military power. Mutineers or deserters taken by the civil power, and found to belong to regiments which had killed European officers, or had committed other sanguinary crimes, might be tried and punished by the civil power. The minute continued thus:—

"The governor-general in council is anxious to prevent measures of extreme severity being unnecessarily resorted to, or carried to excess, or applied without due discrimination, in regard to acts of rebellion committed by persons not mutineers.

"It is unquestionably necessary, in the first attempt to restore order in a district in which the civil authority has been entirely overthrown, to administer the law with such promptitude and severity as will strike terror into the minds of the evil-disposed among the people, and will induce them, by the fear of death, to abstain from plunder, to restore stolen property, and to return to peaceful occupations. But this object once in a great degree attained, the punishment of crimes should be regulated with discrimination.

"The continued administration of the law in its utmost severity, after the requisite impression has been made upon the rebellious and disorderly, and after order has been partially restored, would have the effect of exasperating the people, and would probably induce them to band together in large numbers for the protection of their lives, and with a view to retaliation—a result much to be deprecated. It would greatly add to the difficulties of settling the country hereafter, if a spirit of animosity against their rulers were engendered in the minds of the people, and if their feelings were embittered by the remembrance of needless bloodshed. The civil officers in every district should endeavour, without condoning any heinous offences, or making any promises of pardon for such offences, to encourage all persons to return to their usual occupations, and,

* See vol. i., p. 589.



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punishing only such of the principal offenders as can be apprehended, to postpone as far as possible all minute inquiry into political offences, until such time as the government are in a position to deal with them in strength after thorough investigation. It may be necessary, however, even after a district is partially restored to order, to make examples from time to time of such persons, if any, who may be guilty of serious outrages against person or property, or who, by stopping the dawk, or injuring the electric telegraph, or otherwise, may endeavour to promote the designs of those who are waging war against the state."

In a despatch to the East India Company, of the 24th of December (No. 154, also inclosed), Lord Canning (in council) gave explanations of his reasons for the issue of the above orders, beyond and apart from the despatch No. 144. These reasons were to the effect, that great and excessive severity had been exercised in the punishment of persons supposed to be inculpated in the mutiny, to the exasperation of large communities not otherwise hostile to the government. The despatch proceeds—

"If we had refrained from taking measures to this end (the checking of undue severity)—if we had allowed the spirit of bitterness and hatred which was rapidly rising up and laying fast hold of the minds of men of every class and race, to develop itself unchecked—we should have miserably failed in our duty, and should have exposed ourselves to the charge of being nothing better than instruments of wild vengeance in the hands of an exasperated community.

"We have felt that we had a higher function to discharge.

"We have felt that neither the government of India, nor any government, can wisely punish in anger; that punishment so dealt may terrify and crush for a season, but that with time and returning calm the acts of authority are reviewed, and that the government which has punished blindly and revengefully, will have lost its chief title to the respect of its subjects.

"We have felt that the course which the government of India may pursue at this crisis, will mainly influence the feelings with which, in time to come, the supremacy of England will be viewed, and the character of their rulers estimated, by many millions of the queen's subjects; we have therefore avoided to weaken, by any impatience of deliberate justice, the claim which England has established to the respect and attachment of the well-affected natives of India.

"That numbers of these, of all classes, religions, and castes, have supported the government with true loyalty, is known to your honourable court. This loyalty it has been our study to confirm and encourage.

"That our motives should have been misunderstood and our acts misrepresented—that instructions issued for the guidance of civil officers in the performance of their duty, should have been described as a restriction on the free action of the military authorities, to whom they were not addressed—is not surprising. But we look with confidence to the

time when, in a less excited condition of the public mind, and upon a calm view of the events which are now passing in India, the orders contained in our resolution of the 31st of July will be no longer misconstrued."

A series of reports from local authorities was also transmitted, with a long list of persons tried and punished under the acts of 1857, principally by hanging.

From these reports, it was manifest that the indiscriminate burning of villages had done much harm in India; and the practice was denounced in a letter (unofficial) from Allahabad, of the 6th of July, as "most suicidal and mischievous." Another letter, from the same place, of the 22nd of July, complained of "the dangers and difficulties created by lawless and reckless Europeans" there; and a third letter, also inclosed, dated "Benares, July 25th," says—

"The governor-general need not be afraid of our letting off mutineers. Our object is to pass over all the mutual plunderings of the village communities during the time of anarchy; and, now that matters are coming straight, and regular government is beginning to show its face over the troubled waters, to let bygones be bygones, wipe out all these 'dacoities,' as they might be termed, and induce all parties to return to their fields. In clear cases of plunder we are arranging for the restoration of stolen property, or its value; in short, we are acting as a sensible schoolmaster would act after a barring out, and trying to get our children into order again. There is really no vice in these Rajpoot communities; they were made to believe by the Mohammedans that it was all up with us, and each village began plundering on its own account; but as soon as regular government appeared, they subsided into their original position. I really believe that some of the very men who were ready to fight the Europeans, and, in fact, some of those who actually did stand against both Europeans and guns in our little battle here the other day, are now quite friendly, and willing to go and fight for government wherever desired. It would never do to have a servile war with our Hindoo peasantry."

A more triumphant refutation of the calumnies that had been showered upon the governor-general and his administration, could not have been placed upon record, than was contained in the first of the above documents. At the time it was dated, about a year had elapsed since the first discontent became

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visible in the sepoy army; and the intervening period had been so completely filled with great events, and the necessities of action had left so little time for calm inquiry, that no one could be justified in saying how far the Company, or the Board of Control, or the Indian military discipline, or the civil government at Calcutta, were or were not to blame for the mutiny, or for the unprepared state in which it found the government. As regards the Anglo-Indian government itself, the only test to be used was the fact of success—not immediate, sweeping, unresisted success, but fair success, such as boldness, energy, and prudence might be expected to obtain in the midst of unexampled difficulties. Tried by that standard, the Calcutta government might well claim to have done its duty efficiently, and that Lord Canning and his advisers had proved themselves to be successful administrators at a most momentous crisis. A few months previous to the date of this important state paper, all India was expected to rise in arms against the domination of England. From Delhi to Lucknow the country was in a flame; and Central India, with its multitude of little sovereignties, was almost entirely out of our hands; while, in England, the public were dreading to hear by every mail that the armies of Bombay and Madras were in revolt, and that the Punjab was again a hostile province in the hands of the Sikhs. But in December, 1857, these prospects, or rather these evil forebodings, had undergone a vast change, and the great Indian mutiny was transformed into a mere provincial insurrection, requiring, instead of a gigantic scheme of operations against an enemy dispersed over a million and a-half of square miles, the comparatively minor exertions called for by a war that seemed to have dwindled into a local campaign.

By some means or other, never thoroughly understood, a report had obtained currency through the London newspapers, that, after the departure of General Neill from Cawnpore, in August, 1857, Mr. J. P. Grant, who had been sent up by the governor-general to fulfil the important functions of civil governor of the Central Provinces, had so far intermeddled with the retributory arrangements of the general, as to pardon and set at liberty upwards of a hundred of the rebels and mutineers of Cawnpore, whom General Neill had previously selected for extreme punishment. At the time, the

popular cry throughout Europe was for justice, even to extermination, if necessary; and the rumour that such an interference as that charged upon Mr. Grant had been permitted, or afterwards sanctioned, by the governor-general, added much to the unfavourable opinion that prevailed in many quarters, of his lordship's policy. At length the report assumed so tangible a shape, that it attracted the attention of Lord Canning's friends, who lost no time in referring to him for the actual facts upon which so serious a charge rested. A correspondence with Mr. Grant naturally ensued; and the following official documents show his lordship's proceedings in the matter, and also contain an unqualified denial, as well as a complete refutation of the alleged imprudence, or even greater fault, said to have been committed by the lieutenant-governor of the Central Provinces:—

Service Message from Mr. Talbot, Private Secretary to the Governor-general, to Lieutenant-colonel R. Strachey, Secretary to the Lieutenant-governor of Benares, dated 19th December, 1857.

"The English newspapers, received by the last mail, contain articles condemning the lieutenant-governor for having pardoned and liberated 150 of the Cawnpore mutineers and rebels, who had been seized by General Neill; and in some papers it is said that the lieutenant-governor punished with death English soldiers who assaulted the mutineers.

"The governor-general is well aware that nothing like this can have taken place; but he requests Mr. Grant to write to him, stating whether there is any conceivable foundation, however slight, for such a story; and whether Mr. Grant at any time saw reason to find fault with any of General Neill's measures.

"The governor-general will be glad to receive Mr. Grant's letter by the 24th instant, in order that the truth may be known in England as soon as possible."

From the Hon. J. P. Grant, Lieutenant-governor of the Central Provinces, to the Right Hon. Viscount Canning, Governor-general of India, dated Benares, 20th December, 1857.

"My dear Lord,—I am greatly obliged by your lordship's telegraphic message received to-day through Mr. Talbot, mentioning that the English newspapers, just received, condemn me for having, as they allege, pardoned and liberated 150 of the Cawnpore mutineers and rebels who had been seized by General Neill; and that in some papers it is said that I punished with death English soldiers who assaulted the mutineers. One story is not true, and the other could not possibly be true; but your lordship asks me to say, in order that the truth may be known at home, if there is any conceivable foundation, however slight, for such stories, and whether I at any time saw reason to find fault with General Neill's measures.

"There is no conceivable foundation, however slight, for either story. I have not pardoned a single person, or commuted a single sentence, and I



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have not released a single person, seized by General Neill or any one else, since I have been in these provinces. No case connected with any assault by European soldiers on mutineers, and no case of any similar nature, has come before me in any way whatsoever.

"I have never seen reason to find fault with any of General Neill's measures. As it has happened, I have never had any relations, direct or indirect, official or unofficial, with General Neill, or any concern of any sort with any act of his. I have never had any correspondence with or about General Neill, and I do not remember ever to have seen him. I am sure that in my private conversation I have never spoken of the character of this lamented officer but with the admiration of his noble, soldierly qualities, which I have always felt.

"I arrived here on the 28th of August, and General Neill left these provinces with Sir James Outram for Lucknow a few days afterwards. I am confident that no occurrences such as these stories describe, relative to released prisoners or condemned soldiers, happened at all within that period, and I never heard of any such occurrences having happened at any other time. For myself, since I have been here, I have not had the slightest approach to a difference, I do not say with General Neill at Cawnpore, but I say with any military officer in any such position as his anywhere. Neither I nor any one about me can guess what led to the fabrication of these stories.

"I will only add that the stories are in one sense badly invented, as they impute to me a tendency which all who have ever heard me speak on the subject know that I have not. I have the same feelings towards these perfidious murderers that other Englishmen have, and I am not chary of expressing them. No man is more strongly impressed with the necessity of executing, on this occasion, justice with the most extreme severity, than I am; and it is impossible that any one, who had the least reason for judging what my opinions are on this point, could have mistaken them.—Your lordship's very faithful servant,

(Signed) "J. P. GRANT."

Minute by the Right Hon. the Governor-general, dated 24th December, 1857.

"I wish to place on official record the telegraphic message, and the private letter, which accompany this minute.

"On the arrival, four days ago, of the mail which left England on the 10th of November, I became aware, for the first time, of a report having been transmitted about three months ago from India to England, to the effect that the Lieutenant-governor of the Central Provinces had liberated 150 mutineers or rebels placed in confinement by Brigadier-general Neill. I learnt that this story, sometimes with amplifications, but always the same in the main, had not only been current in newspapers, and had created, as well it might create, a general feeling of indignation in England, but that it was not altogether disbelieved even by persons generally well-informed on Indian matters.

"I knew that nothing of the kind had happened; but I did not know that the story might not be traceable to some cause or source in fact; and I was at all events desirous of giving to one of the ablest servants of the government, placed in a post of heavy responsibility, and who has been the mark

of malignant and unfounded attack, an opportunity of returning the speediest denial to the misrepresentations by which he has been assailed.

"The telegraph has enabled me to do this; and Mr. Grant's answer will go to the Hon. Court of Directors by the mail of this day.

"I leave the question and the answer to speak for themselves.

"It is probable that the tale will have run its course and died away before this contradiction of it can reach England; but I think it important that the honourable court should be made aware how very cautiously the most positive and unhesitating assertions regarding passing events in India are to be received at the present time.

"It seldom happens that a false charge assumes so plain and categorical a shape, and one which can be so completely grappled with, as that which has been levelled against the lieutenant-governor of the Central Provinces.

(Signed) "CANNING—J. DORIN—J. LOW."

It may be remembered, that in the month of August following the outbreak at Meerut, the British residents at Calcutta had presented a petition declaring their distrust of the existing precautions, and praying that martial law might be proclaimed at once. The refusal of the governor-general to assent to this was a principal cause of the excessive violence with which he was subsequently assailed by the Calcutta public and the press. Lord Canning's explanation of the course he adopted in the despatch quoted, completely exonerated his administration from the charge of imbecile and unpardonable lenity, so often brought against it. His defence was, that he had established a power which acted far more summarily, vigorously, and effectively than courts-martial could have done in so vast a country, where soldiers were few, and where martial law had always been considered as only applicable to the cases of rebels or enemies actually in arms. On the whole, the letter was looked upon as a substantial defence to the charges insisted upon against him; and it was at length considered that he who had exercised supreme power during the period of the outburst, was fairly entitled to credit for the success that had attended his efforts for the preservation of the Indian empire.

The progress of the ladies and children, and of the wounded soldiers of the garrison of Lucknow, from the scene of their suffering to Calcutta, was marked by a series of ovations. Their departure from Lucknow and from Cawnpore has already been noticed; and the following extract from a communication dated "Allahabad, Dec. 7th, 1857," marks the deep interest which their heroic endurance had excited at that

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place also:—"For the last two or three days, the brigadier and all his staff have been making the best arrangements they could for the accommodation of the ladies, women, and children expected from Lucknow. The brigadier selected our brigade-major to proceed yesterday by rail to Chamer, to escort the ladies down, who were expected to arrive here at noon to-day. At that hour all the carriages in the place were assembled at the railway. About 2 P.M., a distant whistle announced the approach of the train, which was answered by a spontaneous shout of pent-up feeling from all assembled. The train arrived; and was received by such cheers as British soldiers and sailors only know how to give, that would have done your kind heart good to hear. When all were fairly out of the train, the fort-adjutant called out, 'One cheer more for our women, boys!' and I think it will be many a long year ere they forget the entire heartiness with which that call was responded to."

It should be observed, that the line of carts and conveyances, of various sorts, which had brought the wayfarers from Cawnpore to Allahabad (a distance of 143 miles), extended five miles in length; and when it is considered that the escort detached for its protection was limited to about 500 men only, and that a large body of insurgents was stationed in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore, while formidable parties hovered about the line of march for nearly the whole distance, the ultimate safe arrival of the convoy at Allahabad, may be looked upon as a special intervention of Divine Providence, which thus watched over the wounded and the most helpless of its people, and brought them, with grateful hearts, to a haven of safety.

A young officer of the rescued garrison, who had been severely wounded during the defence of Lucknow, in a letter dated from December 28th to January 5th, describes some incidents of the progress of the convoy towards Calcutta, as follows:—

"Dinapore, Dec. 28th.

"I think my last letter was from Allahabad, giving you some account of our troubles on the way from Cawnpore, after the relief of Lucknow, and defeat of the enemy at the latter place by the commander-in-chief. On the whole, I think the journey, although a rough one, has done me no harm. We found everything very comfortable, and every one most kind and attentive

to us on our arrival at Allahabad, and we remained there ten days. Lieutenant H—— and I intended going down country by dak; but the day we proposed to start, an order came up to stop any more officers travelling in this way; we were obliged, therefore, to wait for the steamer, and, even on board, could not manage to get a cabin; rather than wait for one in the next, we took deck passages, and started on the 18th. As yet, we have only got so far on our voyage. We remained one day at Benares; and, while there, I took a walk through that famous city, reputed to be the wealthiest in India, and noted at present for being the hotbed of conspiracy and treason, at the same time assuming to be the most religious. Every third or fourth house is a Hindoo temple, or a mosque dedicated to some unknown god. It was very ridiculous to see the wretched natives prostrate themselves before their images of wood and stone, and place garlands around their necks. This is also a great emporium for Brahmin bulls—sacred animals in the eyes of the Hindoos. In the narrow streets, where two persons can scarcely walk abreast, if you meet one of these bulls, you must give way. To attempt to strike the beast, or drive him before you, would immediately raise a mob, and you would run a good chance of being pelted out of the city, if not worse treated. Next to Benares we came to Ghazeepore, and there learned that, about twelve miles down the river, the water was so shallow, that nine steamers had stuck fast in the mud, and were unable to proceed. We remained three days at Ghazeepore, including Christmas-day. Most of our people went out to dine, but I did not leave the steamer; I had a bad dinner, and felt very miserable. All the passengers, chiefly poor widows of officers, and orphans, were in black; not even a bottle of wine to be had worth drinking to absent friends. Notwithstanding the fate of the nine steamers, we started to make trial of the dangerous position; and, strange to say, after sticking fast and getting off again two or three times, we passed all the steamers, and got over the difficulty right gallantly. We reached Buxar last night, and hope to arrive at Dinapore this evening. No change has taken place in the character of my wound since I last wrote, either for better or worse. I fear it will be necessary to undergo an operation; there is a large piece of loose bone in the interior of the wound, and the



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aperture has closed up so much, that it will be difficult for it to work its way out to the surface without surgical aid. We have sixteen of the ladies of the garrison of Lucknow on board, and thirty children; they are nearly all the widows or orphans of officers who fell in the defence of that place; the greater number of these poor things are without a second pair of shoes or stockings, or change of clothing of any kind.

"Dec. 29th.—Here we are at Dinapore, and intend going on again to-morrow morning. No news, except that the day before yesterday the troops here went out to Chuprah, about fourteen miles off; licked the rebels most delightfully, and took four large guns. No loss on our side.

"Jan. 5th.—I now write from Coolna: we have had a fair passage up to this time, considering the low water in the river; but we left the Ganges, I may say, two days ago, and are now in one of its small branches. I think three days will land us in Calcutta. I am now anxious to reach the end of our journey. My poor head has been constantly probed to get out that piece of bone, and also the musket-ball, without effect till yesterday, when the refractory bit of skull was at last extracted. The leaden mark of the ball is evident on the flat surface. It was a great matter to get it out; but I am thankful to say the surgeon also discovered the ball, and hopes, in a few days, to remove it also; then the wound will speedily heal up. But I must undergo an operation for this after I reach Calcutta."

At length the rescued band approached within sight of the capital of British India; and as the steamer *Madras* slowly glided along the bosom of the Hooghly with its honoured freight, the sympathies of the people who lined the banks and landing-places of the river, found expression in joyous congratulations and fervent thanksgiving. It will be remembered that, in anticipation of the arrival of the Lucknow fugitives, Lord Canning had, a few days previous, issued a government notification announcing the event, and suggesting the most decorous mode of reception for individuals so painfully circumstanced as were many of the party.* How well his lordship's thoughtful precautions were carried into effect, will be seen from the following extract from a communication dated "Calcutta, January 10th, 1857:"—

"On Friday, the 8th, at 5 P.M., two guns

* See ante, p. 99.

from the ramparts of Fort William announced that the *Madras* was passing Acheepore; and almost everybody that had horse or carriage rode down to Prinsep's Ghât, where it was intimated the passengers would land. The *Madras* having, however, a heavy up-country boat in tow, made, notwithstanding the tide in her favour, but slow progress; and, as it soon became evident that she could not come up ere the night set in, a telegraphic message was dispatched to the commander of the steamer to anchor below Garden-reach, and to come up next morning. At six o'clock on Saturday morning, a crowd of people assembled at Prinsep's Ghât; but a dense fog delayed the arrival of the *Madras*, and it was not until a quarter to eight that she could be sighted. A royal salute of twenty-one guns from the ramparts of Fort William announced her arrival, and other salutes followed from the men-of-war in the river. All vessels in the river, with the exception of the American ships close to Prinsep's Ghât, were dressed out with all their flags, and presented a very imposing sight. Along the steps from the ghât down to the water's edge was a sort of gangway, guarded by policemen; and, along the whole, red carpeting was laid out, such as it is customary to use on state occasions. At last the *Madras* arrived off the ghât; but owing to some cause or other, considerable delay took place before the passengers could be landed; the public, in the meantime, looking on in stern silence, as if afraid lest even now some accident might happen to those whose escape from the hands of a barbarous and bloodthirsty enemy was decreed by a merciful Providence. The whole scene partook of a solemnity rarely witnessed; and, indeed, the expression on the face of the bystanders betokened universal sympathy for those they were about to welcome to the hospitable City of Palaces. Mr. Beadon, the secretary of the home department, on behalf of government; the Hon. — Talbot, private secretary to the governor-general, on behalf of Lord Canning; and Dr. Leckie, as secretary to the Relief Committee, went down to the water's edge to receive the ladies. A sudden rush towards the river, a thronging towards the gangway, and a slight whisper of voices, indicated that the landing had begun. Cheers were given at first, but only slowly responded to—people evidently being too much occupied with their



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own reflections to think of cheering; but as the ladies and children proceeded up, people doffed their hats almost mechanically, silently looking on as the heroines passed up. At this moment another ship in the harbour fired a salute; but it did not sound joyfully; it appeared rather like minute-guns in remembrance of those whose widows and orphans were now passing in solemn review before us.

"The black dresses of most of the ladies told the tale of their bereavement; whilst the pallid faces, the downcast looks, and the slow walk, bore evidence of the great sufferings they must have undergone both in mind and body. And yet how thankful should we be that they have been spared other trials, in comparison to which death itself would be relief. As they passed, a chaos of sad recollections forced itself upon our minds, and we asked—where are those who, for the sake of saving English women and children from dishonour and death, have willingly sacrificed their own lives? Where is the illustrious Havelock? where the heroic Neill? where so many others that have stretched forth the arm for the rescue of helpless women and innocent children? Alas! they are no more; but their names will live for ever in the heart of every true Briton. And, though there is no monument to mark the place where they sleep the everlasting sleep, their blood has marked in indelible ink, in the bosoms of their surviving brethren, the word 'retribution.' The solemn procession thus passed on, and was handed into carriages which conveyed them to their temporary home. Home, did we say? It sounds almost like mockery to call the solitary room of the widow and her orphan by that name. Though the government *Gazette* intimated that the governor-general's state barges and carriages would be in attendance, by some oversight none of them came up to the ghât; and we confess that, in our humble opinion, the presence of Lord and Lady Canning on such an occasion would have been as desirable as gratifying to all."

One more extract from a letter of the wounded officer already referred to,* expresses the gratification felt by the sufferers at their most considerate reception:—

* See ante, p. 402.

† Among many graceful tributes to the worth of a prelate so eminently qualified to adorn the hierarchy of the Christian church in India, the following remarks of the *Bombay Gazette* are selected, as specially recording the claims of Dr. Wilson to the esteem

"We arrived safely at Calcutta this morning, and were received by the authorities and all the European inhabitants with enthusiasm. A salute was fired from the fort; the men-of-war also saluted; and all the vessels in the harbour were dressed out in flags, according to a general order of the governor in council. A crimson carpet was laid from the steamer to the carriages which were in waiting to take us off to most comfortable quarters. The cheering, as we passed up the carpet, was vociferous: our reception was altogether of the most gratifying character."

Although not necessarily connected with the incidents of the revolt, it may here be noticed as an historical fact, that on the 2nd of January, 1857, the aged and much venerated Dr. D. Wilson, bishop of Calcutta, died at the episcopal residence in that city, in the eighty-second year of his age. This eminent divine, and worthy successor of the inspired Heber, was to the last in the full possession of his faculties, and in his personal movements was as active as most men at fifty. Bishop Wilson, although not popular, was greatly missed in society; for, in India, it had not been usual to expatiate on the errors of European society. In Burmah, he openly, from the pulpit, taxed the Europeans with their concubinage; and, in his diocese, he never hesitated one moment to reprehend any one who deserved it, however elevated might be his official or social rank. There was a keenness of perception about him that penetrated far below the glittering surface presented to the world. Liberal to the last degree, he upheld that which he believed to be right in the uncompromising spirit of John Knox. Of blameless purity of life, he was rigidly just in all his transactions with the world. He continued, to the end of his career, strongly attached to the evangelical section of the English church, and invariably displayed a preference for fellow-labourers in the vineyard of similar tendencies. His magnificent library, collected at a vast expense from all parts of the world, was bequeathed by him to the city of Calcutta.†

Early in 1857, the hostile feeling entertained by the people of the Bengal presidency against the governor-general, which and reverence of the flock committed to his charge. The writer says—"A fine old English gentleman has departed, full of years and honours; one that, in his time, was an able servant of that church of which, even to the end, he was an ornament. While the physical capability remained with him, Bishop



had in some degree abated for a short time, revived with a tone of increased virulence, of which the following extract from Calcutta correspondence, supplies ample proof. The writer, dating January 10th, says—"Lord Canning is still of opinion that the mutiny will speedily be put down. Public feeling and public judgment, among all classes, are very strong against him. Apparently nothing can or will open his eyes. At this moment the greatest insolence of demeanour is tolerated in the sepoys at Barrackpore. They salute no one; and General Hearsey has in vain endeavoured to obtain permission to bring to trial and condign punishment a havildar and two sepoys known to be most deeply implicated in some of the greatest atrocities. He cannot succeed. The answer is, 'The governor-general is averse to measures of severity.' Do not be misled by the excuse that Lord Canning is in the hands of bad advisers, and that his civilian councillors are the persons to blame for his absurd apathy, obstinacy, and weak-minded attempts at conciliation and clemency. They are incompetent enough; and their measures have been sufficiently pernicious to justify the conviction that the curse of India has been the preposterous interference of civilians in military affairs. But Lord Canning is alone answerable for his own acts. He began by professing that he would act independently of council and secretaries, and thereby en-

Wilson was a watchful and diligent overseer of the establishment committed to his charge. As bishop and metropolitan, he went about, by land and by water, from the Sutlej to Singapore, from the Irrawaddy to Kurrachee. We have heard of his travelling in a native 'gig'; and it is on record, that the pilot-boat in which he was voyaging was brought to by a shot from a royal man-of-war, for having presumed on his presence to hoist the union-jack. But his days of active duty had long been past; and we should gladly have seen the octogenarian prelate retire, to make room for an overseer of greater physical competence. His continuance in an office the duties of which he was unable to perform, was, however, induced by no sordid motive. He had shown, if only by his magnificent contribution—at least a lac of rupees—to the building of the new Calcutta cathedral, that he had no inordinate regard for filthy lucre. But the old man, ever ready to magnify his office, determined long ago to cling to it to the last—to die Bishop of Calcutta and metropolitan of India, and to be buried in the sepulchre which he prepared for himself under the altar of the new cathedral. His remains will have been attended to this resting-place by an unusual gathering of very sincere mourners; for, with all the eccentricities of his character and his age, he was much liked and respected in Calcutta. One of the worst results of Bishop Wilson's retention of office was, that it

listed public sympathy strongly in his favour; but he has proved himself thoroughly incompetent. Nothing but the support of Lord Palmerston can keep him in India; and on this he relies. Even Calcutta civilians have had their eyes opened by facts. Even Mr. John Peter Grant—whose mission to Benares at such a crisis, when soldiers and not members of council were required, was the signal for a unanimous shout of derision—even he has come to the conclusion that swift, sharp justice is now indispensable; but Lord Canning cannot be stung into patriotism or roused into righteous indignation. The feeling against him is well-nigh unanimous; and civilians of real talent, who know something of India beyond the Calcutta ditch, condemn him as strongly as the sternest and most fiery soldiers. Much of the blame of his inane proceedings has been thrown upon the military secretary, Colonel Birch; but most unjustly, since he is far from holding his lordship's views, or having that influence to which his high position and experience entitle him."

Another writer says—"Lord Canning has been so frightened by the accusation of missionary zeal, that he is ready to do anything to clear himself from it. The old policy of protecting Mohammedanism and Hindooism is in greater force than ever. It cannot be too often repeated, that our duty, both as a just government and as a

offered a pretext, such as it was, for demanding 'more bishops for India!' The Bishop of Calcutta could not possibly supervise his see, although it was only coincident with that of the governor-general and the commander-in-chief; so the necessity for a Bishop of Agra, at least, was apparent. The old man's death, and the appointment of a more physically able and active successor—say Dr. Deaitry, of Madras, who last year performed the visitation tour for the metropolitan—will abolish this poor excuse for a further appropriation of the revenue to sectional religious purposes. Bishop Wilson, as many of our readers are aware, was a gentleman of handsome and aristocratic countenance. He was for a long time the most popular preacher in his diocese, and retained his place so long as he could be heard. His sermons were liked as much for their intellectual character and wholesome doctrine, as for an originality, bordering on eccentricity, which often distinguished them, and which spiced them with personal and social allusions often of a very pungent flavour. Formerly there were few public meetings at Calcutta at which a bishop could properly attend, whence Dr. Wilson was missing. At one held after our Affghan disasters, he closed his speech with the exclamation, 'Only let us get at them!' and the energy and enthusiasm of this burst of natural feeling caused it long to be remembered."



Christian one, is to tolerate all false religions, but not to protect them. Hitherto we have fostered and encouraged them, and we have especially patronised Mohammedanism as being the most dangerous. During the Mohurrum this year, the governor-general and Mr. Halliday gave the strongest assurance of protection to the Mohammedan community—exhorted them not to fear any interference, and actually sent European policemen to keep the roads, and to walk at the head of the processions. So completely did the Mohammedans take possession of the road, that gentlemen wishing to pass to another part of the town were turned back. I am at a loss to conceive on what principle the disaffected Mohammedans of Calcutta are to receive a degree of protection, and to be allowed exclusive privileges, which would not be accorded to any class of religious procession at home. The business of the police should be to keep Europeans or Hindoos from breaking the heads either of Mussulmans or of each other; and, on the other hand, to keep any procession from interfering with the rights or convenience of the remainder of the inhabitants. But, unless the strongest pressure from home is applied, the 'old Indian' system of pampering and cockering the most disaffected of our subjects, will be pursued as of old, and with the same sort of ruinous results. Even the lamented Sir H. Lawrence was so far infected with this mania as seriously to damage his plan of defence at Lucknow, by requiring the engineer to 'spare the holy places,' i.e., Mohammedan mosques, where prayers are daily offered for our destruction, and thanks returned for the slaughter of our wives and children, 'and private property.' This undue softness was the one blemish in his noble character. In such a case, neither Westminster Abbey nor St. Peter's should have been spared. To save the life of any one woman or child killed within the residency, would have been a sufficient reason for laying the whole of Lucknow in ashes. But such is the effect of a long residence in India, that few even of our best public men escape being Mohammedanised or Brahminised, with what results has been seen during the last six months. Red tape still reigns triumphant. Will it be believed at home, that the first British troops who arrived, instead of being received with open arms as deliverers, were actually suffered to stand for hours on the Maidan, or plain,

not knowing where to go! because, as the officials expressed it, 'they had not reported themselves,' and therefore they had no official knowledge of their arrival. The consequence was, that when at last shelter was found for the men, many of the officers having none provided for them, and in utter ignorance where to go or what to do, they actually passed the night in the open air."

How far the statement in the last paragraph was, or was not, warranted by facts, might have been easy of proof; but as the alleged neglect does not appear to have called forth the indignant remonstrance of a commander so watchful for the comfort and accommodation of his troops as Sir Colin Campbell was well known to be, it is likely that the charge against the government-house officials in this instance, rested upon no better foundation than did the accusation against Mr. Grant, which had already been stripped of every pretension to truthfulness.*

On the 31st of January, the governor-general, for the greater facility of communication with the commander-in-chief, proceeded with his immediate staff to Allahabad, where he arrived on the 7th of February, and, on the following day, had an interview with the commander-in-chief, who came down from the camp at Cawnpore for the purpose. At this meeting, arrangements for the campaign in Oude were finally agreed upon, and an order was issued for raising a native force, composed wholly of *low-caste* men, who, being without the prejudices that influenced the Brahmin class of the old native army, were less accessible to the temptations offered by their disaffected countrymen, and were also naturally better adapted for the exigencies of the seasons, and for police and local purposes, than the European troops, whose strength might thereby be husbanded for occasions when it could be beneficially exerted.

Calcutta, during the spring months of 1858, was shorn of much of its splendour, as the capital of British India, by the absence of the governor-general; and was, moreover, subjected to occasional alarms, that produced considerable excitement among the inhabitants. On the 3rd of March, a telegraphic message was received from Barrackpore, announcing that the sepoys of two native regiments at that station—namely, the 2nd and 23rd Bengal

* See *ante*, p. 400.



native infantry, were deserting from their lines in parties of ten and twelve together, and were believed to be on their way to Calcutta, for the purpose of plundering the inhabitants. The volunteer guards were at once called out, and pickets were stationed at the posts selected, on occasions of the Bukre Eed and the Mohurram. The various rendezvous appointed for the corps were occupied by companies of infantry and artillery, and detachments of cavalry patrolled the thoroughfares of the city. In connection with this report, it was also asserted, that a native of high rank in Calcutta had engaged to supply the deserters with arms on their arrival. Some arrests consequent upon the discovery of the proposed visit of the sepoys, were made; and among them, that of the individual charged with offering arms to the deserters; but nothing serious resulted from the proceedings either way, nor did it appear, upon investigation, that any real cause for alarm had actually existed.

The continuous arrivals of European troops at Calcutta during the preceding winter, and the obvious necessity that had arisen for permanently increasing the British force in India, induced the government to greatly enlarge the accommodation hitherto provided for them. Barrackpore, the military station of the capital, from which it was distant about sixteen miles, although abundantly furnished with lines for the accommodation of native troops, had little capabilities for quartering Europeans; and it was resolved, instead of constructing new European barracks at that place, to increase those at Chinsurah—a town about twenty miles from Calcutta, in a more healthy situation, on the banks of the Hooghly, and which already possessed a fine European barrack and military hospital. Preparations were accordingly made for the necessary additions; and several hundred native workmen were for some time occupied in increasing the barrack accommodation to an extent equal to the requirements for 5,000 men, and in destroying and removing buildings, &c., within 500 yards on each side, to obtain space for the parade-grounds.

The temporary residence of the governor-general was not without its occasional quietudes, shortly after his lordship had arrived there. Towards the end of March, owing to some defective information concerning the movements and strength of the enemy, a small European force, consisting

of two companies of H.M.'s 54th regiment, and a hundred Sikhs, with some Madras cavalry and two guns, was dispatched for the purpose of dispersing a body of rebels, who, it was reported, had appeared at Suraon, a village situated between Allahabad and Gopeegunge. By accident or by design, the force was misdirected as regarded the locality in which the enemy were stationed; and, upon approaching a spot in the route, surrounded by a dense jungle, it was suddenly attacked by a large body of rebels, who with six guns were there concealed. They at once opened fire upon the little force thus taken by surprise, and a hasty retreat became inevitable. The loss was, however, but small, and the affair itself trifling, except as it tended to give encouragement to the rebels, by whom it was magnified into a splendid triumph; and the circumstance had also the effect of rendering the authorities uneasy, since it showed that, within a few miles of the provincial capital, in which the governor-general had taken up his quarters, there were not only rebels prepared for mischief, but that the intelligence, upon which much depended for success in military operations, could not safely be relied on.

Amidst the serious anxieties inseparable from his exalted position, the governor-general did not lose sight of those claims upon his attention which were connected with works for the improvement of the country over which he presided; and thus, on the 24th of March, his lordship, with much ceremony, opened an extension of the great Indian railway between Allahabad and Futtehpore. The state trip to the new station at the latter place was, under the circumstances, somewhat remarkable; for, as the line throughout nearly its whole extent traversed an enemy's country, it was considered prudent first to burn down the villages on either side of it, and to post a strong body of troops, with guns, at every station. "The affair," says the *Calcutta Englishman*, "went off very well; as the guard at the several stations prevented the rebels from attempting to carry off the governor-general, or obstructing the line."

The question of compensation for losses sustained by the proceedings of the rebels, was warmly agitated at Calcutta in the early part of the year; and, on the 20th of April, a meeting of parties interested was held, to take into consideration measures to be adopted for obtaining redress from



government. Upon this occasion, it was resolved—"1. That, in the opinion of the meeting, all *Christian* subjects of the British government, whose property in the disturbed districts has suffered loss in consequence of the recent rebellion, are undoubtedly entitled to compensation from government for their losses. 2. That the time has now come when it is expedient to take steps to press such cases on the notice of the government, and that a committee be appointed to communicate with the authorities, and take such steps as may appear advisable in substantiation of those claims." The consequence of this movement was shortly apparent in a government order, which applied to the cases of civilians only, and did not extend beyond the presidency of Bengal. By this notification, it was declared that the compensation to be afforded would be for loss of property and effects only, leaving questions affecting loss of life or health to be otherwise disposed of. A commissioner (Mr. E. Jackson) was appointed at Calcutta to inquire into claims, and a limit was fixed for the reception of them—namely, the 25th of August following; after which, no claim was to be received from persons resident in India; but an extension of time was allowed for those absent from the country. In all cases where the amount claimed did not exceed 50,000 rupees, the application to the commissioner was to be accompanied by a detailed statement of the particulars of the claim, and of the evidence adducible in support of it; but where the property was of higher amount, the regulation required only a general estimate to accompany the application—a further period of three months being allowed for the preparation and submission of the detailed statement of losses. It was at the same time declared, that the preliminary operations described were not to be understood as constituting an actual claim upon the Company for any compensation whatever; nor did the registry of applicants required, imply any recognition of claims to compensation; the Court of Directors "having expressly reserved their final decision upon the question whether or not compensation for losses sustained by the mutiny shall be awarded." A similar notification appeared also at Allahabad, applicable to the North-West Provinces; and Messrs. C. Grant and E. H. Longden were there named commissioners, to receive and register claims.

The conditions were generally the same as those in Bengal; but an announcement was added, that "applications will be received, subject to the same rules, from *natives of the country*, for compensation on account of loss of property, caused by their known loyalty and attachment to the British government." A similar announcement, some time afterwards, extended the boon to the loyal sufferers of Oude.

Besides the above regulations for the benefit of those who had sustained loss of property by the mutiny, a government order of the 25th of May, announced that provision would be made for the relief of the destitute families of persons who had died after the loss of their property, even though the death was not directly consequent upon the rebellion; and it was determined that grants of money, to be regulated on the same principle as those allowed to European and native officers of the government, should be given to such families as were impoverished by the double visitation of plunder and of death.

Another resolution of the Indian government, in connection with the revolt, gave very general satisfaction; although some few of the "old Indian" class affected much alarm at the "encroachment," as they termed it, upon the exclusive privileges of the army. The resolution, which, whether it originated in England or in India, was an excellent one, declared that *civilians* who had distinguished themselves in the field since the commencement of the mutiny, or who should so distinguish themselves before the mutiny ended, should be allowed to participate in the honours which had hitherto been considered peculiar to the military service. The civil servants of the Company, as a body, had greatly raised themselves in the estimation of their countrymen at home, by the gallantry which many of them displayed under circumstances of great peril, not only in defending their posts against large bodies of insurgents, but in sharing those field and siege operations which were more especially the sources of honour to military men. What those honours were to be, depended upon the will of the crown and of the Company; but the intent of the resolution was to declare, that the civil position of a gallant man should no longer necessarily be a bar to his participation in the honours hitherto conferred by the country upon military men only.



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A.D. 1858.]

INDIAN MUTINY.

[INCENDIARY FIRES.]

An affair with a body of insurgents between Allahabad and Gopeegunge in March, has already been noticed as productive of some uneasiness to the government; and towards the end of May, another occurrence took place which considerably increased the local disquietude. The circumstances are detailed by a correspondent in the following extract from a letter dated "Allahabad, May 24th :"—"It seems that there is some kind of a fatality hanging over this unfortunate place. Yesterday, between 1 and 2 P.M., a fire broke out in the new barracks erected on the parade-ground, near what is at present government-house. Five ranges were completely destroyed, the officers and men losing everything they had. The fire fortunately did not reach the hospital, in which were a great number of sick; but one poor fellow was burned to death, and others were severely wounded. It is evidently the work of an incendiary, as a man was found lurking in an empty barrack; who, it is suspected, can give some clue to the origin of the fire. Since the affair occurred, the governor-general has had all his valuables sent into the fort, and will probably take up his residence there, as the neighbourhood is anything but safe; and part of the road between Futtehpore and Cawnpore is entirely commanded by a rebel force, consisting of some 1,500 men and two guns, under one Maharaj Sing. Passengers, *en route* to Cawnpore, have been obliged to return to Futtehpore; and our state of anxiety here is certainly not diminished by the fact of an incendiary fire under the very eyes of the governor-general! We are, however, told that the commander-in-chief is coming to take up his quarters here, while awaiting for the resumption of operations in next cold weather; and as his name is already 'a tower of strength,' we suppose we shall be tolerably safe for some time to come."

Another letter from the same station, which had acquired much additional importance by being selected for the temporary residence of the governor-general, says—"The country about Allahabad is considered more unsafe now than it ever has been during the worst part of the rebellion, if we are not now passing through that phase of it. In fact, though systematically organised resistance in masses has ceased, the opposition to our rule has assumed a guerilla character, which may be as well, if not better, conducted than when operations

were on a large scale. The rebels, though in arms much worse, are decidedly in foresight more advanced; and they seem resolved to bring to the unequal contest all their resources in knowledge of the country, and the sympathy of the population. Their movement is evidently downwards; so that Lower Bengal may, ere long, become the scene of their last struggle."

Among other indications of returning tranquillity, the disbandment of the corps of volunteer cavalry, which was composed almost wholly of officers from the revolted regiments, and civilians of property, and which had rendered eminent service at a time when European troops were scarce, was a measure that in its operation caused some degree of regret. It was, however, considered imperative at the time; and, on the 19th of June, the following notification directed the breaking up of the gallant band :—

"(General Order). Calcutta, June 19th.

"The services of the volunteer cavalry being no longer required, the right honourable the governor-general is pleased to direct, that the infantry soldiers now attached to it shall rejoin their respective regiments, and that the corps shall be finally broken up from the date of receipt of this order at Lucknow."

"In testimony of the governor-general's appreciation of the services of the volunteer cavalry, his lordship authorises the bestowal of a gratuity of three hundred rupees each, on all members of the corps not being officers or soldiers."

"The volunteer cavalry took a prominent part in all the successes which marked the advance of the late Major-general Sir H. Havelock from Allahabad to Lucknow; and on every occasion of its employment against the rebels, whether on the advance to Lucknow or as part of the force with which Major-general Sir J. Outram held Alumbagh, this corps greatly distinguished itself by its gallantry in action, and by its fortitude and endurance under great exposure and fatigue."

"The governor-general offers to Major Barrow, who ably commanded the volunteer cavalry, and boldly led them in all the operations in which they were engaged, his most cordial acknowledgments for his very valuable services; and to Captain Lynch, and all the officers and men who composed this corps, his lordship tenders his best thanks for the eminent good conduct and exemplary courage which they displayed during the whole time that the corps was embodied."

This formal announcement was communicated to Major Barrow, with the following gratifying testimonial from Major-general Sir James Outram—a mark of esteem that, in some measure, compensated for the disappointment felt by the members of the corps upon their dispersion :—

"My dear Barrow,—We are about to separate, perhaps for ever; but, believe me, I shall ever retain

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you in affectionate remembrance, and ever speak with that intense admiration which I feel for the glorious volunteers whom you have commanded with such distinction. It would afford me much pleasure to shake every one of them by the hand, and tell them how warmly I feel towards them. But this is impossible; my pressing duties will not allow me even to write a few farewell lines to each of your officers; but I trust to your communicating to them individually my affectionate adieu, and sincerest wishes for their prosperity. May God bless you and them."

A tribute like the above, from an officer so capable of appreciating the merits of the corps to whose commander it was addressed, became doubly valuable at the moment of separation.

A project for the exaltation of the city of Allahabad into the capital of a presidency, which had been for some time under the consideration of government, became now a subject of serious attention. The peculiar features of this important station have already been noticed.* Occupying the point of a peninsula formed by the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna, Allahabad could scarcely be paralleled for advantageous position by any other city in India; the one river bringing down to it a stream of traffic from Kumaon, Rohilcund, Furruckabad, Cawnpore, Futtehpore, and the south-western districts of Oude; while the other conveyed to it that from Kurnaul, Meerut, Delhi, Agra, Calpee, and a wide extent of country in Rajpootana, Bundelcund, and the Doab. Besides these commercial advantages, Allahabad was nearly surrounded by an extraordinary number of large military and trading stations, all within easy reach of it, and of each other. At one time it was in contemplation to have elevated Agra to the position of a presidential city; but for some reason the intention was not carried out; and, in lieu of it, the North-West Provinces were formed into a lieutenant-governorship, with Agra as the seat of its local government. As the mutiny progressed, events of growing importance showed the necessity for holding the position of Allahabad as a centre of influence, which, from the important facilities surrounding it, there could be little difficulty of establishing. Bounded, as we have seen, by two fine rivers on the north, south, and east sides, it was susceptible, on the west, of any degree of enlargement desired, simply by inclosing additional ground; and could also be made, at the same time, one of the strongest forts in India; while its

rivers, aided by the railway then in progress, unite to make it the great centre of trade from Peshawur to Calcutta. By the plan submitted to the government for the proposed improvement, it was seen that the river frontages could be rendered defensible against any possible attacks that Orientals could bring against them. On the west, or land side, it was proposed to construct a line of intrenchment four miles in length, from river to river. This fortification would consist mainly of two great redoubts on the river-banks, each capable of holding an entire regiment of Europeans. With these redoubts, another midway between them, and an earthen embankment to connect the three, it was considered the city would be rendered impregnable to any hostile force that could be brought against it. Within the space between the embankment, the city, and the river, was included an encampment, a European town, and a native town. The cantonment, which was designed to embrace a complete military establishment for half-a-dozen regiments, was to be near the western boundary, on the Jumna side. Eastward of this was arranged the new English town, to be built on plots of ground leased for the purpose to builders, native or European, who were to be bound to conform to a general plan, having reference to the railway station as a centre of trade. Nearer the Ganges was to be built a native town; while, at the point of junction of the two rivers, the existing fort would be strengthened and enlarged, so as to form, if needed, a last stronghold for all the Europeans in Allahabad and its vicinity. Such were the general features of a scheme for the improvement of the proposed capital of a new presidency; and, on the 5th of May, 1858, a notification by government specified the terms upon which building leases were to be granted.

On the 14th of August, the first division of the naval brigade—composed of the men of the *Shannon*; who, under their lamented commander, Sir William Peel, had eminently distinguished themselves in the war of the mutinies—returned to Calcutta from the scenes of their heroic daring. These brave men were deservedly honoured with a public reception by the president in council and all the officers of government at the presidency. The troops in garrison were paraded; the ships of the port were dressed upon the occasion; and about 20,000 of the native and European inhabitants assembled to give them welcome. The brigade had

* See vol. i., p. 249.



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been reduced, by the vicissitudes of service, far below its original strength; but the greater part of the survivors had all the vivacity of lads of twenty years of age.

Before closing the present chapter, it may be well to remind the reader, that throughout the greater portion of the period embraced by the events of this volume, the position of Lord Canning, as governor-general of India, had been one of great anxiety, and occasionally of serious embarrassment, owing to the extreme virulence with which popular feeling, both in India and in Europe, found expression upon the subject of punishment due to mutineers and rebels. At first, when the outbreak was in its earlier stage, the friends and relatives of the victims of sepoy cruelties, vented their grief and indignation in a wild demand for vengeance, that could only have perpetuated the horrors which had already moistened the soil of India with blood and tears, and which it would have been impossible for any government professing to be guided by the precepts of Christianity, to have sanctioned. This feeling, after the first excitement had subsided, was deplored by all moderate people, and its repression became an object of policy. By not lending himself to this cry for blood, Lord Canning became unpopular with the unthinking public, and with that portion of the press which is ever ready to lend its aid to a popular cry, whether right or wrong, for the purpose of a transient success over its rival contemporaries. This unprincipled section of the press in India and in England, unhesitatingly joined in the cry, and provided stimulants for the popular frenzy by its terrible representations, the bulk of which had little foundation but in the imagination of the writers.

The following specimen from a Calcutta journal, affords a moderate sample of the tone which became popular during the three consecutive months beginning with May, 1857:—"Not the least among the many evils which will follow in the steps of this rebellion, is the permanent effect it will have upon the feelings of the European community hereafter. As to our countrywomen, whose feelings have been tortured by the horrible details of atrocities perpetrated around them, we know that among them are many hundreds of English ladies, who lie down nightly to dream of terrors too agonising for utterance, who are scarcely able to converse but upon one dreadful

subject, and who, if opportunity presented itself, would now be found almost as willing as their husbands and fathers, to go out and wage battle with the murderers of their sisters, if they could only thereby insure the infliction of a deep and bloody vengeance. They feel that it is a contest with murderers, who are not satisfied with blood alone—that they must live in daily expectation of. They suspect that the very servants around them are in league to betray and destroy them; and thus they suffer, almost hourly, worse than the pangs of death. Many have already died by homicidal hands, more from the pangs of starvation and terror, the agonies of mental torture, and the slower process of exposure and exhaustion; and, while all this is going on, friends and relations *sigh vainly for the coming day of vengeance*, and are prated to about moderation, when nothing short of exemplary and unsparing retribution, can possibly atone for the villainies of the accursed race we have pampered to our undoing."

It has already been shown, that orders and proclamations were issued from time to time by the governor-general in council, and by his lieutenants in the provinces, declaratory of the line of conduct to be pursued in relation to punishments to be inflicted upon mutineers and deserters, and the treatment to be accorded to non-military natives who should exhibit signs of disaffection. Upon these topics, the line of policy contested between the lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces (Mr. John Russell Colvin) and the governor-general in council, has been already adverted to.† The former, it will be recollected, had issued a proclamation to the mutineers of the provinces under his superintendence; in which, among other things, he promised that "soldiers engaged in the late disturbances, who were desirous of going to their own homes, and who gave up their arms at the nearest government civil or military post, and retired quietly, should be permitted to do so unmolested;" whereas Lord Canning insisted, that this indulgence or leniency should not be extended to the men of any regiments which had murdered or ill-used their officers, or committed cruel outrages on other persons. There were, in addition to these orders, others—proclaiming martial law in particular districts; appointing commissioners to try mutineers by a very summary process; authority to military officers to deal with offending civilians, as well as

* See also vol. i., pp. 142, 143. † *Ibid.*, p. 137.

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with the revolted sepoys; permitting the police to arrest suspected persons without the formality of warrants; and making the zemindars and landowners responsible for the conduct of persons upon their estates; with other measures of a similar tendency, each of which, in turn, became a subject of controversy, and generally of severe animadversion, on the part of those who, commenting upon the various topics from a distant view of their merits, were least entitled to express an opinion upon the proceedings of the governor-general, whose conduct was alternately represented as influenced by an imbecile exhibition of ill-directed clemency, or a perfectly Draconian

thirst for blood. Thus, when in the month of July, 1858, Lord Canning found it requisite to check the over-zeal of some of the tribunals at Allahabad, where the authorities were prone to execute accused persons without waiting for formal evidence of their guilt, he was loudly accused of interference with the righteous demand for blood; but when, some few months previously, his proclamation to the people of Oude came to the notice of the English public, a peer of parliament was among the first to charge the governor-general with undue severity, and with a policy that, by its rigour, had thrown insurmountable difficulties in the way of the pacification of the country.

CHAPTER XV.

LORD CANNING'S POLICY AS VIEWED IN ENGLAND; APPREHENSIONS AS TO THE FUTURE CONDITION OF INDIA; ARRIVAL OF PUGITIVES, FROM LUCKNOW AND CAWNPORE, AT SOUTHAMPTON; POPULAR DECLAMATION ON INDIAN AFFAIRS; SIR E. B. LYTTON AND MR. DISRAELI; A FAST PROCLAIMED; THE RELIEF FUND; CARDINAL WISEMAN; ARCHBISHOP CULLEN AND LORD ST. LEONARDS; MEETING AT NEW YORK; OPINIONS OF AN EAST INDIA DIRECTOR; MR. J. P. WILLOUGHBY; SIR JOHN PAKINGTON; LORD ELLENBOROUGH'S ADDRESS TO THE YEOMANRY ON ENLISTMENT FOR THE MILITIA; RUMOURED CHANGES AT THE BOARD OF CONTROL; MR. ROEBUCK; THE PRESS; PUBLIC FEELING; PROJECT FOR RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NATIVE ARMY; CHRISTIAN CONVERTS; EARL GRANVILLE AND VISCOUNT PALMERSTON; CONFIDENCE OF GOVERNMENT IN LORD CANNING; SCHEME FOR FAMILIARISING THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA.

DURING the interval between the prorogation of parliament, in August, and the close of the year 1857, public attention continued to be riveted to the events connected with the military revolt in Bengal, which had then acquired the characteristic features of a wide-spread insurrection; and as the successive details of operations reached this country, alternately bringing with them tidings of ruthless cruelty, of heroic achievement, and of still-increasing disaffection, the question of competency to grapple with the exigencies of the crisis, as it regarded the supreme Anglo-Indian government (and was evidenced by its proceedings), became a theme of earnest discussion among all classes of society in this country, as it already had been in India. The points most angrily and pertinaciously urged against the administration of Lord Canning, were based upon the erroneous estimate formed, by himself and colleagues, of perils that were apparent at the very outbreak of the mutinies; and of which, it was con-

tended, he had most inexcusably underrated the nature and serious extent of, in the face of positive and ample evidence of their hourly increasing importance. It was charged against his government, that it was neither prepared for the contingency that had arisen, nor disposed, by a candid avowal of its error, and an energetic effort to struggle against the consequences of it, to prove its capability to rule at a crisis of such imminent difficulty; that, on the contrary, his government had depreciated the importance of the hostile movement, by which its native army was falling to pieces; that it had, from the first, neglected to avail itself of the resources at its command for the repression of disorder; and that it had eventually prolonged the horrors of the catastrophe of May, 1857, by wilfully and weakly misrepresenting its true character to the home government.

To some extent, it must be allowed, that the charges, or rather the faults upon which they rested, were so perfectly accordant with



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the general tendencies of human nature, that they were clothed with something more than mere plausibility—they were just possible to be, *in a degree*, correct. The members of the Indian government, as the actual rulers of the immense empire entrusted to their administration, must, naturally, have been reluctant to admit the seriousness of a revolt which would not only carry with the fact of its existence a condemnation of the policy they had pursued, but would threaten also an entire disruption of the system from which they derived their power; and it was not extraordinary that they should resist, as long as possible, any such conviction. At the same time, it is only fair to the governor-general and his council, to remark, that the true character of the movement which had developed itself so suddenly and mysteriously, was, for a long time after its mischievous effects were apparent, but imperfectly appreciated by those who, in the midst of the disturbed districts, were considered to be most intimately acquainted with the sepoys and their grievances. It was doubted by many of the best-informed among the civil officers of government, and experienced military men also, whether the insurrection, even when it presented the extraordinary spectacle of an entire army in a condition of revolt against the state to which it had sworn allegiance, was originally an organised and concerted national movement, or merely the result of local irritation, and without any ulterior design against the stability of the Company's government. At any rate, a singular inconsistency was presented in the language of many who held opinions condemnatory of the government of Lord Canning, because it did not at once perceive the germs of a great national insurrection in the outbreak of the 10th of May, at Meerut; but who yet affirmed, in the same breath, that the whole rebellion could have been stifled in its birth, if the European soldiers on the spot had been properly employed in intercepting the flight of the mutineers towards Delhi. On

the one hand, they insisted upon a vast combination, which should have been prepared for by all the resources of government; on the other, a mere local mutiny, which the few European troops at hand, if efficiently commanded, might have quelled without difficulty.*

It may be urged, on the part of the Indian government, that it had not, at the crisis of the outbreak, any machinery in existence for the purpose of discovering a latent conspiracy against its authority. The European refinement of a detective police had not yet been grafted upon the state mysteries of British Indian polity; nor had it been the practice of the present or preceding administrations to employ agents to keep it informed as to the tone of popular opinion within the limit of its own territories—the residents at the courts of native princes being the only channels through which the government received intelligence, or to which it looked for information. The complications of official duties and responsibilities were also impediments to the chances of any revelation reaching the quarter most immediately interested in its importance, through the intervention of a pernicious system of “routine” and “circumlocution,” which retarded the progress of everything on its way to the governor-general in council, and rendered the voice of warning utterly useless, as well as dangerous, to a too officious transgressor of official etiquette.

It is also observable, that, up to the moment of the outbreak, Englishmen lived and ruled in India with as much reliance upon the elements of security (that is, the power of government), and as much confidence in their safety as the dominant race, as they could possibly have done at home. Everything around them indicated patient submission to British authority; and even after the deplorable atrocities at Meerut and Delhi, officers of the mutinous battalions, from the colonel to the junior ensign—men whose own lives would be the first and crushing a military mutiny. Mr. Brougham further observed—“So it will be in the Peninsula, if you give your subjects a share in administering your laws, and an interest and a pride in supporting you. Should the day ever come when disaffection may appeal to 70,000,000 against a few thousand strangers who have planted themselves upon the ruins of their ancient dynasties, you will find how much safer it is to have won their hearts, and universally cemented their attachment by a common interest in your system, than to rely upon 150,000 sepoys' swords, of excellent temper but in doubtful hands.”



mediate forfeit in the event of error—persisted to the last in affirming that they knew their troops, and that their loyalty was above suspicion! It was not surprising that government should be lulled into a sense of security by such assurances from such a source; and although it *afterwards* became apparent that the first symptoms of a mutinous spirit displayed at Barrackpore and Dumdam, portended worse evils than were then anticipated, and that if the European force at hand had been sufficient for the vindication of authority as those instances of insubordination occurred, it would have been better to have cut down the mutineers as they stood, in the first act of mutiny, and thereby check the spirit of revolt—it is by no means certain that the conduct of the governor-general would have escaped censure and condemnation for adopting such policy. If the example had actually sufficed to deter others from insurrection, its necessity would have been called in question from the very fact; and those who were loudest in charging culpable supineness on the part of the governor-general, would have been among the first to condemn him for a hasty and uncalled-for effusion of blood.

But if, after the Indian government became sensible of the importance of the crisis which had arrived, the measures adopted by it were as prompt and energetic as they possibly could be, its previous acts could be of little comparative importance, so far as position and immediate results were concerned; and certainly the ground of inactivity, upon which much stress was laid, does not seem to be perfectly clear. It is indisputable, that when the revolt was once unveiled in its full proportions, the first great duty of Lord Canning's government consisted in procuring forces to suppress it; and this duty was performed by rapidly collecting European battalions from every quarter to which a despatch could be transmitted, and from which a British soldier could be spared: the next step was to provide for their conveyance, with all possible speed, to the various points of disturbance. This duty, it is admitted, was so efficiently performed, that not a single quarter from whence aid could be drawn was overlooked or untaxed. At the outburst of the insurrection, the far greater portion of the European troops attached to the Bengal establishment, as also some of the best-trained and disciplined corps of irregulars,

were distributed over the Punjab, from whence the necessary succours were drawn for the force before Delhi, leaving barely sufficient European troops to ensure the safety of the widely-extended territory over which Sir John Lawrence presided: from this quarter, therefore, no assistance could be afforded; but to the governments of the sister presidencies of Madras and Bombay, as well as to the adjacent colonies and to the mother country, urgent requisitions for immediate aid were dispatched. The soldiers with whom Havelock fought his way to Cawnpore through a succession of brilliant victories, were drawn partly from Madras and partly from Bombay. One-half of those who marched against the rebel hordes at Arrah, were contributed by the governor of Ceylon: and of the two English regiments sent up the Ganges to the aid of Havelock at Lucknow, one came from the Mauritius, and the other was intercepted on its way to China. Of the energy displayed by Lord Canning in collecting and appropriating these elements of strength, there can be no question; and as the charge of weakness died away, it was sought to affix upon his government an odium of another character, and the *sobriquet* of "Clemency Canning" was sarcastically applied to him, as indicative of the ultra-moderation of his policy when dealing with the rebels at his feet.

It is more than possible, if a crisis like that produced by the mutiny of the Bengal army, and the insurrection in Oude, could have been foreseen, that the individual selected to go forth and encounter the emergencies of a struggle on which the future mastery of India depended, might not have been Viscount Canning; nor is it likely, judging from his lordship's antecedents, that he would have been at all desirous of a post in which the attributes of splendour and dignity would be overwhelmed by the responsibilities and perils of a most arduous command. But it is due to him to acknowledge, that if, in the position in which he suddenly and unexpectedly found himself, he did not display the intuitive genius of a CLIVE or a HASTINGS, for conquest and for government, he certainly exhibited abilities that were not unequal to the occasion. His principal and most determined opponents did not deny him the credit of unimpeached integrity and undoubted courage; and if his policy, in the main, expressed the views of his council



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rather than his own convictions, the fault lay in the system of government to which he succeeded, and which, fortunately, has been compelled to succumb to the more enlightened and statesmanlike arrangements of an imperial government. The system, as he found it, involved a complicated and cumbrous machinery of administration, but no real or individual responsibility. The president of the Board of Control represented one species of authority; the Court of Directors another; and the governor-general in council a third. Among these rival authorities it was difficult to determine where any course of policy should originate; and sometimes, through the one of them relying upon another to initiate a measure, it occurred that neither party moved at all, and, consequently, nothing was done. At all events, the circumstances by which Lord Canning was surrounded, were of a nature to enlist the sympathies of reflecting minds: and it was no trifling test of his ability, to command success under the pressure of extraordinary difficulties;—that although, up to the middle of September, some four months from the outbreak of the revolt, he had not received the assistance of a single soldier from England, he had withstood the full force of that terrible shock which it was predicted would shiver the Anglo-Indian empire into fragments; and, at the close of 1857, still held the imperial trust delegated to him—firmly and enduringly. We shall now turn to the progress of events connected with the revolt, as they arose in this country.

The occurrences in India, as they were brought to the notice of the English public by successive mails, continued to excite the most lively apprehensions, and the deepest sympathy among all classes. The interval of the parliamentary recess was fruitful of public meetings, both in the capital and the provinces, at which the views of leading men of all parties were expressed upon the all-important topic of the mutinies; and although opinions were as wide apart as the poles, with regard to the past and present policy of the Indian government, and the capacity of its members, there was no question about the necessity for the adoption of vigorous and uninterrupted measures for the re-establishment of order and authority. The contributions to the European fund for the relief of those who had suffered during the outrages, continued to pour in with

characteristic liberality, and the energies of every department of the public service were called into requisition to facilitate the operations of government in its efforts to strengthen the hands of its representative in India.

The period at length arrived when vague surmises, and fears that had been long and painfully excited by rumour (darkly shaded by exaggeration), were to be satisfied by the authority of individual survivors of the frightful catastrophe that had drenched a large portion of Bengal with innocent blood. On Thursday, September 25th, the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steam-ship, *Colombo*, arrived at Southampton, bringing with her 184 passengers from Calcutta. The approach of the ship had been telegraphed the preceding day, and most considerate preparations were immediately made for the reception of its interesting freight, among whom was the wife of Brigadier Inglis, who had shared with her gallant husband the fatigues, the privations, and the dangers of the residency at Lucknow. In accordance with a regulation of a committee of the Relief Fund, the lady mayoress had already arrived at Southampton, to await the approach of the steamer; and upon its anchoring in the roads, her ladyship, accompanied by one of the under-sheriffs of London, proceeded to the vessel, to carry solace and comfort to the mourners—herself also a mourner, through the same dispensation that had bowed the heads of all with deep affliction.* The mayor of Southampton, accompanied by the superintendent of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, and by Dr. Symes, a resident of Southampton (who had fitted up apartments in his house for the reception of any of the destitute sufferers who would avail themselves of his hospitality), were early on board the *Colombo*. The lady mayoress, upon reaching the deck, being conducted to a cabin by the captain, the object of her visit was communicated to the passengers with much delicacy and feeling. A correspondent, describing the interesting scene at the moment, says—"Many relatives and friends of the passengers, who had anxiously awaited their arrival, also came on board, and their meeting was an affecting sight. They embraced each other in

* The lady mayoress was in mourning for the loss of her brother, Colonel Finnis, killed at Meerut on the 10th of May, 1857. See vol. i., p. 57.



seeming unconsciousness of the presence of strangers, and paced the deck with their arms encircling each other's waists. A great number of the passengers went ashore in one of the small steamers. A crowd of persons was in the dock; and here also affectionate greetings took place between long-absent friends and relatives, which drew tears from many a bystander. There were about sixty children on board the Indian mail packet, a large portion of whom were infants in arms—all of them hurried out of India on account of the fearful atrocities committed there. The scene on board the *Colombo* was very different from that which usually takes place on board homeward Indian packets. The usual female passengers on board these ships are ladies in the gayest spirits, and dressed in the gorgeous silks and shawls of the East; but many of the lady passengers of the *Colombo* bore marks of great sufferings and anxieties; and their dresses betokened their losses, and the rapidity of their flight from the mutinous districts. Many of these passengers escaped from Delhi, Lucknow, and other parts of Oude. Fortunately they started from those places at the commencement of the mutinies. The language of their husbands was, 'Get out of the country with the children as soon as you can, and never mind us.' Many of them have never heard anything of their husbands since. Some of the ladies escaped nearly naked—lived in the jungle for days with their infant children, starving, and rarely able to get a handful of rice to satisfy the cravings of hunger. Few villagers were willing to assist them; and many of those who were willing, were afraid to do so. Not the least interesting refugee on board the *Colombo*, was a little dog. It had escaped from Delhi by faithfully following its mistress and her children. It had nearly paid a heavy penalty for its fidelity. Its back had been literally burnt by the sun, and is not healed yet. Some of the passengers give a frightful picture of the state of Calcutta and the interior provinces of India."

Among the passengers by this vessel were Miss Graham, whose father, Dr. Graham, was shot down while riding by her side, on the 9th of July, at Sealkote; * Mrs. Baker, one of the sufferers at Cawnpore, and two other ladies, who, in their efforts to escape, were during a whole month hunted in the jungles; the scenes they passed through

* See vol. i., p. 568.

were heartrending, and their hair-breadth escapes perfectly miraculous: a child only six years of age, named Nina Bailey (the daughter of Captain Bailey, 7th Bengal native infantry, which mutinied at Dinapore),† was also on board; the poor child was motherless, and had come to England in charge of a stranger, rather than be left exposed to the perils of the revolt; of her father's fate she was ignorant: another child, ten years of age, named Clara Dunbar, was on board also—the daughter of Captain Dunbar, of the 10th regiment, killed at Arrah.‡ One of the most affecting cases on board the *Colombo*, was that of Sergeant Owen, of the 53rd regiment, with his wife and three young children. "The sergeant was late superintendent of roads between Peshawur and Lahore, and received a sun-stroke in India, which has taken away his reason. In May, and when the youngest child was but fourteen days old, the mutinies occurred in the district in which they resided; and the poor woman, weak from her late confinement, and with an imbecile husband and three children, was compelled to flee for her life. The history of this family from that period till the time when they arrived at Calcutta, was one of great suffering and distress. The poor woman told her tale of hardship and privation, of endurance and grief, of hair-breadth escapes, and deeds of cruelty which they had witnessed and passed through, with tearful eyes, and an utterance choked with emotion. The loving wife, the fond mother, and the heroic woman, shone in her careworn and sunburnt features as she related the wailings of her infant for nourishment, which fatigue and want of food had rendered her incapable of supplying; the cries of her two other children for food, when for days they were wandering in the jungle, or subsisting on the scanty pittance they were enabled to get from casual relief; the apparent indifference of her husband to everything that was passing around, save and except the safety of his children—for the sad affliction which had befallen him had not bereft him of affection for his offspring. 'And now,' she said, addressing the party who had sympathised with her, 'here we are all in England, quite safe. There's my baby, whom I never expected to have kept alive from one hour to another; there's my other two children, and there's my poor husband'—and she

† See ante, p. 103.

‡ Ibid., p. 108.



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pointed to a stout, well-formed man, who was nursing the infant, and whose vacant stare at everything around most probably gave cause to another burst of grief which the poor woman indulged in."

A few days after the *Colombo* had discharged her valuable burden, another vessel (the *Indus*) arrived at Southampton, bringing also 150 fugitives who had fled from the inhospitable soil of Hindostan. Many of these individuals were from Cawnpore, Allahabad, and other places in the Upper Provinces; and some had fled from Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, through an undefined sense of impending evil. The scene presented at the meeting of these passengers with their friends, was one of overwhelming excitement; and many around were moved to tears by the unutterable anguish that was presented to their gaze. About forty children, many of them orphans, came by the *Indus*; and among the passengers was Lieutenant Chapman, nineteen years of age, who was shot by the mutineers at Benares,* when a bullet went through his cheek, and carried away part of the roof of his mouth, so that his speech was now scarcely intelligible. Captain Montague also came home in the *Indus*, wounded. He belonged to the irregulars, and was in command of a company of Sikhs, with General Havelock's army, and fought on the march to Cawnpore. He lost his two children from want and exposure while coming down the Ganges from Allahabad. This officer well knew Nana Sahib, and was present at a ball given by him at Cawnpore about a month before the mutiny broke out. It was the most magnificent ball ever given at Cawnpore; all the English were present, most of whom were afterwards mercilessly slaughtered by order of their quondam host. Captain Montague and his wife left Cawnpore before it was captured by the mutineers. Among other reports, the passengers said, that almost the only man who escaped the massacre of Cawnpore, had gone raving mad. This was an officer named Brown, who, after he got away, suffered great hardships, and lay hidden in a nullah, without food, during three days and nights. It was also stated by them, that Miss Goldie, a very beautiful young lady, was taken by Nana Sahib to his harem, and was believed to be living.

Many English were still at Calcutta

* See vol. i., p. 229.

when the *Indus* left that port, who had had narrow escapes from the infuriated wretches who were devastating the English stations. These were expected to follow by successive mail packets; and, upon the authority of some of the passengers of the *Indus*, it was reported, that a lady had arrived at Calcutta previous to the departure of the vessel, who had had both her ears cut off by the rebels. This was, perhaps, one of the least horrible in the series of outrages alleged to be systematically perpetrated by the Hindoo and Mohammedan fanatics, in their wild attempt to gratify their hatred and revenge.

The leisure for public men which periodically occurs after the prorogation, was chiefly occupied by some of the most distinguished of the class, in efforts to enlighten the various constituencies upon the Indian difficulty—as it was sometimes modestly termed; and the members of the upper house of legislature vied with their compatriots of the Commons in the "diffusion of useful knowledge," by a series of itinerating lectures to the people, at town-halls, mechanics' institutes, and agricultural and other meetings. Among the most prominent of the orators of the day, were Sir E. B. Lytton, one of the representatives of Hertfordshire; and the Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli, the member for Buckinghamshire; both of whom, from their position and public influence, might be supposed to express the sentiments of important sections of the community, and were, therefore, entitled to special attention upon the subject. At a meeting of the Herts Agricultural Society, held at St. Alban's on the 30th of September, the first-mentioned statesman gave utterance to the following sentiments, which, in the main, very accurately described the general feeling at the time:—"The war that has now broken out, is not, like the Russian war, for the assertion of an abstract principle of justice, for the defence of a foreign throne, or for protection against a danger that did not threaten ourselves more than the rest of Europe—it is for the maintenance of the British empire. It is a struggle of life and death for our rank among the rulers of the earth. It is not a war in which we combat by the side of brave and gallant allies, but one in which we fight single-handed against fearful odds, and in which we must neither expect nor desire foreign aid."

Referring to the enthusiasm that had

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been manifested by the people in this cause, the honourable baronet said—"I think it is no wonder that the heart of England is up—that the slow progress of recruiting for the regular army, and even the constitutional resource of the militia, should not satisfy the ardour of an aroused people. It is no wonder that our journals should teem with offers of volunteers, and from a class that has never before furnished us with private soldiers. I am told that it is difficult for the war-office to avail itself of these offers. Difficult! why, of course it is. There is nothing worth having that is not difficult. My life, and, I suppose, the life of every man among you who has worked with hand or head, has been one long contest with difficulties; and none of us would be the men we now are if we had tamely allowed difficulties to conquer us. Therefore, I say, it will not be to the credit of the government or the war-office if they cannot devise some practical means by which to discipline and organise so much ardour. I should be sorry if we lost the occasion to show to Europe, how England, when necessary, can start at once into a military nation, without the tyranny of conscriptions, and without the ruinous extravagance of large standing armies. The blood of many a stout English yeoman must have run cold in his veins when he read of the atrocious massacres of Delhi and Cawnpore; and he must have panted to show, as his forefathers often did before, that there is no metal for a sword like the iron ploughshare. Of volunteers in such a cause there can be no lack. If I were but ten years younger, I would remember that I am the son of a soldier, and would be a volunteer myself; and even now, if I thought it possible that the young, the robust, and the adventurous needed an example from those whose years, habits, and station might be supposed to entitle them to refuse, I declare I should be among you to canvass, not for votes, but for men, and should myself lead them against the enemies of our race." He then proceeded to say—"The present is not the time, nor is this the place, to criticise the policy which has produced the revolt in India; but I may be permitted to say, that revolutions or revolts are never sudden. Those which appear to us to have been so, had always given long previous, though it might be neglected, warnings. Revolts and revolutions are like the springing of mines. The ground must be hollowed, the barrels

filled, the train laid, and the match fired before we can be startled by the explosion; and therefore the man who tells us that a revolt which must have taken months, if not years, to organise, no prudence could have foreseen, or no energy could have prevented, simply asks us to believe that policy is an accident and government a farce. But the whole of that question it will be the duty of parliament to examine, not with the view of bringing the force of party to bear against individuals, who may have committed mere human errors of judgment—and, after all, the public itself is not free from blame for its long indifference to our Eastern empire—but for the purpose of obtaining knowledge and guidance for the future."

Upon the same subject, the Hon. Mr. Disraeli, at Aylesbury, spoke as follows, at a meeting also held on the 30th of September:—"One of the greatest calamities that ever befel this empire, has fallen upon us. It is not for us at present to enter into the causes of those great disasters, or to enquire who are the individuals upon whom the responsibility for them must ultimately rest; but there are two considerations which cannot, at such a moment, be absent from the minds of Englishmen. In the breast of every man, there must now exist a feeling of profound sympathy for those of our fellow-subjects in India, whose sufferings have dimmed every eye and pained every heart in the kingdom. And there must be equally present in every mind, an anxiety that the government should at this crisis take those steps which may be adequate to the occasion, to vindicate our empire and maintain our glory. I believe it is now also the universal conviction, that the description originally given of these unfortunate and extraordinary movements in India, was not authorised by the circumstances of the case. Day by day, we have seen that that which was at first characterised as a slight and accidental occurrence, is in fact one of those great events which form epochs in the history of mankind, and which can only be accounted for by considerations demanding the deepest attention from statesmen and nations. But, although three months have elapsed since the startling news of these disasters originally arrived in England—although every succeeding mail has brought to us gloomy intelligence showing that these disasters are culminating to a proportion infinitely more