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arms of the force proceeded together; and, on the 31st of October, intelligence reached them, that the Dinapore mutineers, with three guns, had crossed the Jumna, and were about either to attack Futtehpore or to march towards Oude. The strength of the united force now under Colonel Powell, consisted of about 700 men, having in their charge a large and valuable convoy of siege and other stores. They marched the same evening to the camping-ground of Futtehpore, where they were joined by some of the 93rd highlanders; and, on the morning of the 1st of November, a column of about 500 men marched to Kudjwa, with a view to intercept the progress of the rebels. The enemy was in a strong position at this place, with guns commanding the road, its right occupying a high embankment screened by a grove, and its left formed on either side of the road. Part of the British column at once advanced against the guns, while the rest supported either flank. A sharp conflict, of two hours' duration, ensued, during which the enemy kept up so severe a fire of musketry, that many of the English fell, and among them Colonel Powell, who received a musket-ball in his forehead, and died instantly. Captain Peel, although a naval officer, then took the command; and leading a portion of his men round the upper end of the embankment, he cleverly divided the enemy's forces, and drove them from all their positions, eventually capturing two guns, some tumbrils with ammunition, and the whole of their camp.

Exhausted by a march of seventy-two miles in three days, it was impossible the men could do anything in the way of pursuit. Collecting, therefore, his dead and wounded (which amounted in number to no less than ninety-five men), he marched back to join the reserve, left in charge of the convoy at a village called Binkee; and, after a brief halt, resumed his march to Cawnpore, which he reached on the 1st of November, without any further interruption by the enemy. It will be seen by the following report of the action, that the force of the rebels at Kudjwa was not less than 4,000 men, of whom half at least were mutinous sepoys from the Bengal army, and the remainder armed fanatics and rattle, picked up by the mutineers on their march through the country.

The despatch forwarded to the chief of the staff at Cawnpore, by Captain Peel, in

reference to the battle of Kudjwa, ran as follows:—

"Camp, Futtehpore, November 3rd, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to lay before his excellency the commander-in-chief the details of the battle of Kudjwa, with the circumstances which preceded it. Detachments amounting to 700 men, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Powell, of her majesty's 53rd regiment, in charge of siege-train, guns, and a large convoy, were proceeding from Allahabad to Cawnpore, and had arrived on the 31st of October, after a march of twelve miles, at the camping-ground at Thurra. The same afternoon, intelligence was received from Futtehpore that the sepoy mutineers of the Dinapore regiments, with three guns, had passed the Jumna, with the intention of either attacking Futtehpore, or crossing over into Oude. The camp was immediately struck, and we arrived at the camping-ground of Futtehpore at midnight. Colonel Powell then made arrangements for marching at daylight upon the enemy, who were reported to be about twenty-four miles distant, at Kudjwa, beyond the village of Binkee. The column of attack consisted of 162 men of her majesty's 53rd regiment, under Major Clarke; 68 of the royal engineers, under Captain Clerke; 70 of a depot detachment, under Lieutenant Fanning, of her majesty's 64th regiment; and 103 of the naval brigade, under Captain Peel.

"It marched at daylight, and was joined from the garrison of Futtehpore by a company of the 93rd highlanders, 100 in number, under Captain Cornwall, and two 9-pounder guns, under Lieutenant Anderson, Bengal artillery. After proceeding for sixteen miles the column halted for refreshment, and then resumed the march at a rapid pace, passing through the village of Binkee at about 1.30 P.M., where the intelligence was confirmed that the enemy were at hand.

"The troops pressed on without interruption, the highlanders advancing in skirmishing order, supported by the royal engineers, and followed by the 53rd regiment, in column, and then by the naval brigade. The depot detachment was with the baggage. We advanced along the road which led straight for the village of Kudjwa, and saw that the enemy's right occupied a long line of high embankments on our left of the road; which embankment, screened by a grove, continued towards the village; and that their left was higher up on the other side, with their guns posted in the centre on the road—two of them in advance, and one on a bridge near the village. A round shot coming down the road, opened the battle at about 2.20 P.M., and the column was ordered to edge to the right, and advance on the guns through the corn-fields; the skirmishers of the 93rd and royal engineers pushing on, on both sides of the road. The enemy's artillery was well served, and did great execution, and the flank fire of musketry from the embankment was very severe. The gallant Colonel Powell himself, on the left of the road, pressed on the attack, and had just secured the guns of the enemy, when he fell dead with a bullet through his forehead. In the meanwhile the naval brigade had advanced on the right of the 53rd, and carried the enemy's position in their front; it was then that the death of Colonel Powell was reported to me, and I was requested to assume the command. The great force of the enemy, the long line of their defences, and the exhaustion of both officers and men after such long marches, rendered



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[AFFAIRS AT CAWNPORE.]

our position truly critical. The front of the battle had become changed to the line of the road, and the enemy, with all their force behind their embankment, threatened to intercept our rear. I left Lieutenant Hay, R.N., supported by the two 9-pounder guns, to hold the position which his party had gallantly carried, and which secured our flank; and collecting as many fresh troops as were available, assisted principally by Lieutenant Lennox, royal engineers (Captain Clerke being unfortunately severely wounded), and by Ensign Traill, 53rd regiment, we rushed across the road, and passing round the upper end of the embankment, divided the enemy's force, and drove them successively from all their positions. The enemy then retired in confusion, leaving us masters of their camp, and with two of their guns, and a tumbrel, in our possession.

"The late hour of the evening (it was half-past four when the enemy fired their last shot), and the excessive fatigue of the troops, prevented any pursuit; we therefore spoiled their camp, and leaving it with cheers, formed on the road by the bridge near the village, and sent parties to collect our dead and wounded. With the body of the colonel on the limber of the gun he had so gallantly captured, we then returned, and encamped near the village of Binkee. Our loss in the action was very severe, amounting to ninety-five killed and wounded. Inclosed are the returns of the detachments forming the column of attack. The behaviour of the troops, and of the naval brigade, was admirable, and all vied with each other, and showed equal courage in the field. The marching of the 53rd, and the accurate firing of the highlanders, deserve especial commendation. I received the greatest assistance from Captain Cox, of her majesty's 76th regiment, whom I would wish to bring to the favourable notice of his excellency the commander-in-chief; and the arrangements of the field hospital, under Dr. Grant, of her majesty's 53rd, and those of the quartermaster's department, under Captain Marshall, were everything that I could wish.

"The total number of the enemy was reported to be about 4,000; 2,000 of whom were sepoys, who fought in their uniform. Their loss was estimated at about 300 killed.—I have, &c.

"WILLIAM PEEL."

"P.S.—I have the pleasure to inform his excellency that the remaining gun of the enemy, with three tumbrils, was brought in this evening by the police, having been abandoned by the rebels in their flight, about eight miles beyond Kudjwa; and that the sepoys have dispersed in all directions, pursued by the villagers."

The remarks of the commander-in-chief upon this report, were communicated by the deputy-adjutant-general of the army, to the secretary to the government of India, in the following despatch:—

"Calcutta, November 12th, 1857.

"Sir,—In forwarding the inclosed despatch, and the annexed returns to government, I am instructed by the commander-in-chief to remark, that the action of which it gives an account was peculiarly severe, the loss of the force engaged being at the rate of one to five. Success crowned the desperate efforts of the assailants; but it is evident, from the very lucid report of Captain Peel, C.B., R.N., that the attack was most hazardous, and that at one time the force

was in the greatest danger. The troops had been harassed by very long marches, and they were not in a state to attack, much less to follow up an attack.

"It is most providential that the 5th irregular cavalry, owing to some accidental cause, had not advanced with the rebel infantry from Banda. Had they done so, not a man of the detachment would have escaped to tell the tale. Although the late gallant Colonel Powell, C.B., fell gloriously at the head of his troops, the commander-in-chief conceives that he in some measure imperilled his most important charge, viz., that of the siege-train, and therefore exceeded his duty.

"A company of the royal engineers was taken out in this affair, and incurred loss; and this in the face of the repeated instructions of the commander-in-chief, that they should not on any account be employed on such duties: and what is more, instead of being used as a last reserve, they were pushed forward in the front, to support the skirmishers.

"The result, however, of all, was success; and although obliged to criticise the disposition of the force, his excellency gladly bears testimony to the brilliant courage and the untiring energy displayed by all ranks in conflict with the enemy, and in the great efforts made to come up with him. This fight affords one more instance of what the British soldier will perform, in spite of every disadvantage and extraordinary fatigue. This was a soldier's fight, if ever there was one.

"The commander-in-chief would especially direct the attention of the government to the manner in which the command was conducted by Captain Peel, C.B., R.N., after the death of Colonel Powell, C.B., at a moment of extreme danger and difficulty.

"I have, &c.—W. MAYHEW."

The state of affairs at Cawnpore, which had now become the base of operations for the relief of Lucknow, is pleasantly described in the following extracts from a letter dated "Intrenched Camp, Cawnpore, November 2nd:—"

"Here our position is daily becoming stronger. We have some 800 men in garrison, plenty of guns mounted, sufficiency of gunners, loads of ammunition, and, thanks to the unwearied exertions of our commissariat officers, provisions in abundance. Troops are pouring in daily. On the 1st of November, came 160 men of Peel's naval brigade, 200 of her majesty's 98th foot, and 200 more details of various regiments.

"Peel's Jacks are roaming about the camp in a remarkably free and easy manner. Queer fish these amphibious gentlemen are! One, *Crusoe*-like, has quite a menagerie in his cabin, as he calls his *palkis* (or cot.) Rough and ready, rollicking boys they are, and present a striking contrast to the prim dragoons you now and then meet striding majestically along. I hear that the 'niggers' have a horrible dread of them, having been told by some inventive individual, that 'they are cannibals, and



that it is their habit to eat their fill of the slain, and salt the remainder down for future use—which accounted for each man carrying a clasp-knife by his side.' Next to the Jacks, such of the highlanders as wear kilts seem to stand highest in the fear and reverence of the natives.

"Hanging still goes on pretty freely. The other day, Colonel Bruce discovered, that one of the men actually in his employ, had been engaged during the Nana's time in hunting up Europeans, and handing them over to that butcher. As he had played the part of a stealth-hound, so he

died a dog's death; having been hung on the gallows which stands alongside the house where our poor women were murdered."

After remaining some days at Cawnpore, for the necessary purposes of the garrison, Captain Peel, and 300 of his gallant blue-jackets, left the station, taking with them their enormous guns, which they are described as "handling like toys;" and, full of vigour and high spirits, proceeded on their way towards Alumbagh, at a convenient distance from which they halted to await the arrival of the commander-in-chief.

CHAPTER III.

LUCKNOW; THE RESIDENCY AND ALUMBAGH; IMPROVED CONDITION OF THE INMATES; DEFENSIVE OPERATIONS OF THE GARRISONS; SORTIES AND SUCCESSES; DIVISIONAL ORDERS BY SIR J. OUTRAM; A NEW KING OF OUDE; NOVEMBER AT THE RESIDENCY; MOVEMENTS OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF; NARROW ESCAPE; JOINS THE FORCE AT BUNNEE BRIDGE; INTELLIGENCE FROM THE BESIEGED; MR. KAVANAGH'S REPORT; ADVANCE OF THE TROOPS; THE ALUMBAGH RELIEVED; STORMING OF DIL KOOSHA AND THE MARTINIÈRE; CAPTURE OF SECUNDERBAGH, AND THE SHAH NUJEEFF; CAPTAIN PEEL AND THE NAVAL BRIGADE; THE MESS-HOUSE AND CHUTTUR MUNZIL CARRIED; JUNCTION OF THE RELIEVED AND THE RELIEVING FORCES; ORDER FOR THE ABANDONMENT OF THE RESIDENCY; REMOVAL OF THE FEMALES AND WOUNDED TO DIL KOOSHA; RETIREMENT OF THE TROOPS; AN ADVENTURE; GENERAL ORDERS; MASSACRE OF ENGLISH PRISONERS AT THE KAISERBAGH; DEATH OF GENERAL HAVELOCK; THE CONVOY ON ITS WAY TO CAWNPORE; DISASTROUS INTELLIGENCE; DEPARTURE FOR CALCUTTA; GOVERNMENT ORDER FOR THE RECEPTION OF THE LADIES AND WOUNDED.

We retrace our steps to the residency at Lucknow. It will be remembered, that the force under Sir Henry Havelock succeeded in penetrating to the fortified position so gallantly held by Brigadier Inglis and his devoted band, on the 25th of September, with the intention of removing, or at least effectually releasing from duress and suffering, the unfortunate individuals who had so long been confined to the narrow and dangerous limits of the residency. But the time had not yet arrived for the accomplishment of that much-desired object.

Immediately after the arrival of the relieving force at the beleaguered position, Major-general Havelock surrendered, as we have already stated,* the command so generously left in his hands by Sir James Outram, to that officer; and, at the same time, the command of the residency, so worthily held by Brigadier Inglis after the death of Sir Henry Lawrence, also passed into the hands of General Outram, who now became chief military authority in

Oude. At this juncture, the territory under the command of the eminent soldier was but of limited extent, as it embraced little more of the province than the area occupied by the intrenched enclosure of the residency and the Alumbagh. Contrary to expectation, the enemy, so far from abandoning the city or suing for terms after the arrival of General Havelock, continued their blockade, and were unceasing in their attacks at every point. Of the 2,500 troops of all arms that, concentrated under Havelock, Neill, and Outram, had left Cawnpore on the 19th of the month, nearly a third had been stricken down by the sword or by disease before the residency at Lucknow was gained; and, as the survivors were too few in number to afford an escort for the protection and defence of the host of women, children, and wounded soldiers—for whom it would be necessary to cut a passage through the rebel mass that had gathered around them—it became evident that the only chance of preservation for the whole, would be

* See ante, p. 42.



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[STATE OF THE BESIEGED.]

found in a determination to hold the intrenchments until the arrival of a much superior force should effectually relieve them. No time, therefore, was lost in preparations for a continued defence. All the old "garrisons" were strengthened, and new ones formed; the guns and mortars were again placed in positions most likely for effective work; and the soldiers and civilians were again told-off to regular garrison duty. The residency, as now described by Mr. Rees, again wore an animated aspect. Every now and then fresh troops were moving about, new faces were seen, and the horses and camels belonging to the relieving column were lying about the enclosure in all directions. It was not possible for the residents to leave the intrenchments, or venture into the city; but the position held was far more extended than before the 25th of September, as the troops had now possession of the Tehree Kothee, the Furreed Buksh, and the Chuttur Munzil—three palaces situated next the river, and bounding the north side of the enclosure. The occupation of these buildings was productive of immense advantage to the garrison, as the enemy's fire, which had hitherto been very destructive from them, could of course no longer annoy it.

One of the strongest batteries of the rebels had been placed near a gateway of one of these palaces, distinguished as the "clock tower," from there being a dial painted upon it; and in this tower, one of the late king's sharpshooters, an African eunuch, delighted to take his stand, and from thence, like his expert countryman at Johanne's house,* would send his unerring balls among the defenders of the residency. By the capture of this post, "Othello found his occupation gone," and a great source of annoyance was removed.

For several days after the arrival of Havelock's force, the people in the residency were gratified by a vast improvement in the quality, as well as quantity of their diet, and are described as being somewhat profuse in their indulgences; but this season of gastronomic enjoyment was purely transient. It soon became painfully evident to all, that the "relief" so ardently prayed for, and so enthusiastically welcomed, was, as far as personal freedom or comforts were concerned, a relief but in name only. It had certainly brought with it a valuable accession of brave men for the defence of

the place and its unfortunate occupants; and, to some considerable extent, had enlarged the limits of the enclosure to which the garrison and its charge were confined. But there the immediate advantage, beyond personal safety, stopped; for, with the accession of numbers ill-provided with food or stores, the increased daily strain upon the scanty resources of the residency commissariat very soon became an object of painful solicitude, and stringent rules had to be enforced in regard to the daily rations, which gradually became diminished in quantity and deteriorated in quality. At length, the rations, which had previously been reduced by one quarter, were brought down to the half of the quantity originally issued. Instead of *attah* (flour), wheat was served out, which the recipients themselves had to grind how they could: *dhal* (peas) was stopped entirely; and the allowance of salt was reduced. The allowance of meat (commissariat beef) was six ounces a-day, bones included, and no distinction was made in regard to the rank or sex of the parties rationed.

By the disposition of the rebel forces in the southern and eastern portions of the city, over which they had undisturbed control, all intercourse with the Alumbagh was effectually cut off, and the supplies and stores brought to that place by the relieving column, were consequently unavailable for the necessities of the garrison at the residency. At the Alumbagh, it will be also remembered, the baggage and ammunition of the relieving force had been left, together with an immense convoy of elephants, camels, horses, and camp-followers, with hundreds of carts laden with stores and provisions—it not having been imagined for a moment, but that, upon storming the city, the rebels would have fled across the Goomtee. This anticipation was unfortunately not realised; and, in a very short time, both the Alumbagh and the residency were surrounded by hostile masses. The system of communicating by signals of various-coloured flags, had not then been organised between the stations; and, consequently, each party was dependent for information as to the events around them, upon the precarious assistance of spies.

It seems, that the fact of a renewed siege being more than probable, was contemplated by the original defenders of the residency from the moment the actual numbers of the relieving force became

* See ante, p. 8.

known to them. They had already had sufficient experience of the indomitable perseverance of the enemy, to be assured that, however their courage might fail upon the open field, they would never think of leaving the city until driven out of it at the point of the bayonet; and that, until each fortified house and battery yet in their possession was stormed and cleared out, no portion of the city of Lucknow could be securely held. They knew that every man of the rebel host that swarmed around them, would fight, be beaten, and, if not killed, would return and fight again; for they were acknowledged rebels and murderers: and they knew, that for them to fall into the hands of the Europeans, was to meet with death in its most ignominious shape, unless they met it in the field. They fought, therefore, with the recklessness of a despair for which there was no remedy but extermination.

On the day following the entry of the relieving column, under General Havelock, it was found requisite to dislodge the enemy from some of the posts occupied by them, in too close proximity to the enclosure; and, with this view, 150 men of the 32nd regiment, under Major Lowe, of that corps, made a sortie, for the purpose of clearing the Captanka bazaar in front of the residency kitchen-garden, and the adjacent houses. Two detachments of this small force, led by Captain Bassano and Captain Hughes, issued out, under cover of some long grass and shrubs, near the Redan battery; while a third party, under Captain Lawrence, passing out by Innes' garrison, suddenly rushed upon the surprised enemy, captured a battery of three guns, and drove the panic-stricken rebels into the river, where those who were not drowned were shot down to a man.

The party led by Captain Hughes took the direction of the iron bridge, near which they spiked two mortars; and, before retiring, blew up a powder-magazine belonging to the enemy. Unfortunately, the gallant commander was mortally wounded in the daring exploit. As trophies of the success of his expedition, Major Lowe brought back to the intrenchments with him, one 18-pounder, one 9-pounder, one 6-pounder, and four smaller guns.

On the 27th, another sortie was made by Major Stephenson, with the whole of the 1st Madras fusiliers, the object being to destroy the Garden battery. The enemy,

on their approach, at first abandoned the post, but still fired on their assailants from all points; and at length collected in such force, that the English were compelled to return to the shelter of the intrenchments; first, however, spiking three guns, and destroying the battery. The object of the sortie was partly frustrated by the delay of the blasting party, who were to have burst the guns; besides which, the water intended for the purpose had been drank by the men as they came along. This affair was attended with the loss of valuable lives, as well as some degree of disappointment.

The attention of the enemy was kept alive by continuous sorties from the garrison, in most of which the object of the assailants was successfully accomplished; and it was attempted to make the Cawn-pore-road a line of communication by openings from house to house along the direct route; but the idea had to be abandoned when, in the course of the progress, a mosque intervened, so strongly fortified and garrisoned with native riflemen, that it could not be taken without an immense sacrifice of life. The houses progressively occupied as a covered way were therefore rendered untenable for the enemy, and abandoned; and redoubled exertions were made in repairing the defences of the old position, and in constructing batteries, and forming intrenchments within and before the new one. Owing to the great number of camp-followers who had come in with the Oude field force, the requisite labour was supplied far more readily than before; and the sepoys still in the garrison, who, in time of peace, would have urged their *caste* as a reason for not handling a spade, now worked for the common safety without remonstrance.

In this way, between sorties of the garrison, repelling attacks by the rebels, and strengthening the fortifications of the residency and its outposts, time sped on through the month of October. No reliable communication could yet be held with the world beyond the limits of the position held by the troops, and nothing remained for the inhabitants of the enclosure but to await with patience the arrival of a force that should really restore them to liberty.

Early in October, a division order, highly and deservedly complimentary to the garrison, was issued by Major-general Sir James Outram. By that document, the general tendered to Brigadier Inglis, and "to every



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[AN INFANT KING OF OUDE.]

individual member of the garrison, the assurance of his confidence, that their services would be regarded by the government under which they were immediately serving, by the British nation, and by her gracious majesty, with equal admiration to that with which he was himself impressed." The order then proceeds as follows:—"The major-general believes that the annals of warfare contain no brighter page than that which will record the bravery, fortitude, vigilance, and patient endurance of hardships, privation, and fatigue, displayed by the garrison of Lucknow; and he is very conscious that his unskilled pen must needs fail adequately to convey to the right honourable the governor-general of India, and his excellency the commander-in-chief, the profound sense of the merits of that garrison, which has been forced on his mind by a careful consideration of the almost incredible difficulties with which they have had to contend.

"The term 'illustrious' was well and happily applied by a former governor-general of India, to the garrison of Jellalabad; but some far more laudatory epithet (if such the English language contains) is due, the major-general considers, to the brave men whom Brigadier Inglis has commanded with undeviating success, and untarnished honour, through the late memorable siege; for while the devoted band of heroes who so nobly maintained the honour of their country's arms, under Sir R. Sale, were seldom exposed to actual attack, the Lucknow garrison, of inferior strength, have, in addition to a series of fierce assaults gallantly and successfully repulsed, been for three weeks exposed to a nearly incessant fire from strong and commanding positions, held by an enemy of overwhelming force, possessing powerful artillery, having at their command the whole resources of what was but recently a kingdom, and animated by an insane and bloodthirsty fanaticism.

"It is a source of heartfelt satisfaction to the major-general, to be able, to a certain extent, to confer on the native portion of the garrison an instalment of those rewards which their gallant and grateful commander has sought for them, and which he is very certain the governor-general will bestow in full; and though the major-general, as regards the European portion of the garrison, cannot do more than give his most earnest and hearty support to the recommendations of the brigadier, he feels assured that the

governor-general of India will fully and publicly manifest his appreciation of their distinguished services, and that our beloved sovereign will herself deign to convey to them some gracious expression of royal approbation of their conduct.

"Brigadier Inglis has borne generous testimony to the bravery, vigilance, devotedness, and good conduct of all ranks; and to all ranks, as the local representative of the British Indian government, the major-general tenders his warmest acknowledgments. He would fain offer his special congratulations and thanks to the European and Eurasian portion of the garrison, whom Brigadier Inglis has particularly noticed; but, by doing so, he would forestall the governor-general in the exercise of what the major-general is assured will be one of the most pleasing acts of his official life."

Soon after the promulgation of the above divisional order, the tide of promotion set in upon the heroic defenders of Lucknow, and most of the officers obtained a step in rank. The immediate recognition, by the governor-general, of the services rendered by the men, was embodied in a general order already referred to;* the effect of which was, that until their numbers were augmented by the native troops with Sir Colin Campbell, there was no longer a private among the native soldiers of the residency garrisons. Such recognition was prompt and generous on the part of the Indian government; but the honours at the disposal of the authorities at home were more tardily dispensed, so far as the troops in her majesty's service were concerned.

During the interval that had elapsed since the first investment of the English position by the rebels, the latter had chosen for themselves a king, by way of a rallying point for Indian loyalty. This puppet was a natural son of the deposed king of Oude, then in captivity at Fort William, whose successor his adherents proposed to recognise as a sort of tributary prince to the king of Delhi. Being a child only eight or ten years old, the real power was vested in a minister and a council of state. The office of the former was conferred upon a dignitary of the late court, named Shirreff-u-Dowlah. The post of commander-in-chief of the army of Oude was assumed by Hissamut-u-Dowlah; and the council of state was formed of the late king's principal servants, the chiefs and talookdars,

* See ante, p. 56.



and the self-elected leaders of the rebel army—the subordinate officers of which were elected by the sepoy; and they, in turn, chose their commander: and thus a framework for the future native government of Oude was presumed to be established.

The month of November dawned but gloomily upon the careworn inhabitants of the residency. Their resources were rapidly diminishing; their means of supply uncertain, and probably more distant than ever. But they were not without hope; for vague rumours had reached them of a powerful effort that would be made for the final relief of the garrison by the commander-in-chief in person; and they were compelled to endure the prolonged torture of suspense for a while, that they might the more enjoy the blessing of a glorious reality.

But while, during this tedious interval, the British residents at Lucknow were stoutly maintaining their ground against the merciless traitors by whom they had been so long surrounded, the position of the small detachment, with its helpless charge of sick and wounded left at Alumbagh, was at first almost as desperate. When General Havelock left 200 men at that post, with four guns, to protect the sick and wounded of his force, with a large convoy of vehicles, animals, baggage, ammunition, and stores, besides a crowd of camp-followers, he did not for an instant imagine, that he would be cut off from them, and that the residency and the Alumbagh would presently become objects of two separate and distinct sieges. Such, however, was the case. Not a soldier could pass from the one place to the other; and it was with the greatest difficulty that a messenger could convey a small note rolled up in a quill, or concealed between the soles of his shoe. The place was known to be tolerably well fortified, and capable of resisting an assault; but still, as far as mutual support was concerned, it was perfectly isolated and inaccessible. Fortunately, the enemy preferred to concentrate his numbers in and immediately around Lucknow, and, consequently, did not appear in any great numbers on the Cawnpore side of Alumbagh; and the effect of this arrangement was, that reinforcements were enabled ultimately to reach the Alumbagh, although they could not yet penetrate the armed masses that occupied the three miles of distance between the latter and the residency.

Thus, on the 3rd of October, a convoy of provisions, with 300 men of the 64th regiment, under Major Bingham, started from Cawnpore, and reached the Alumbagh without obstruction by the enemy; but could advance no further. On the 14th, a second convoy, under Major Barnston, of the 78th highlanders, was also dispatched from Cawnpore; but, on the way, it was attacked in such force that it could not reach the Alumbagh, and therefore returned—having, with great difficulty, and the loss of some valuable lives, prevented the supplies from falling into the hands of the enemy. A subsequent attempt was more successful; and, upon the whole, the Alumbagh was comparatively unmolested during the entire period; but much sickness prevailed within the place, owing to the deficiency of space and fresh air, as well as from scanty food in the intervals between the arrival of the different convoys of provisions, &c.

We must now direct attention to the movements of the commander-in-chief, who, it will be recollected, had remained at the seat of government after his arrival in India, for the purpose of concerting measures with the governor-general for the suppression of the revolt and the resettlement of the country, and also to mature the plan of operations for the campaign before him. That the delay in assuming the command in the field was not without beneficial result, as regarded the welfare of the future native army, may be conjectured from the promulgation of a most important order, in which the commander-in-chief observes, that "it is obviously necessary that all officers serving in India should make themselves acquainted with the Hindostani language;" and he desires that commanding officers of regiments will take measures for urging forward the instruction of their officers, and more particularly of the younger captains and subalterns of their respective corps. The order then proceeds thus:—

"The interpreter of the regiment, whose office has hitherto been almost a sinecure, will institute a class under the orders of the commanding officer, and will give, when it is possible, one lecture a-day on the Hindostani language. The subalterns and younger captains are to be ordered to attend these lectures. Commanding officers are directed to support the interpreter by occasional attendance at the lectures, as at an instruction parade; and they will assist



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[THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

the officers whom it is proposed to instruct, in procuring moonshees, with the help of the interpreter."

The commander-in-chief then declares his intention of acting up to the spirit of the instructions of his royal highness the Duke of Cambridge, as expressed in the government general order (No. 538, of 1857), by which the staff of the army in India was opened to her majesty's service; and observes, that "an officer is clearly not fitted for the lowest staff appointment in India, who has not at least a colloquial knowledge of the Hindostani language." Sir Colin then directed, that at the expiration of six months after their arrival in India, divisional generals should report as to the progress made by their aides-de-camp; and officers then in India, were not to be taken on the personal staff of any general, until they were declared to have acquired such colloquial facility.

Returns were to be sent in, on the 1st of January and the 1st of July, to headquarters, from regiments, showing the names of all the officers, and the progress made by them according to the order; such return being signed by the interpreter, and countersigned by the commanding officer of the regiment. Sir Colin then observes, in conclusion—"There is no time so favourable for the colloquial study of the Hindostani language, as when a regiment is encamped; and the commander-in-chief, therefore, will hear of no delay in the execution of this order, because the corps are not in quarters."

Had this regulation been in force only two years earlier, in all probability the tremendous conspiracy that has convulsed India would not have reached maturity; since, if the European officers of the native regiments had been able to understand the language of the men under their command, it is impossible but that the wide-spread plot must have been discovered before it was ripe for execution, and the evil could have been nipped in the bud. The promulgation of this order was a positive condemnation of the system hitherto tolerated, as regards the intercourse between the European officers and the native soldiers.

After having arranged with the governor-general the plans to be followed in the existing emergency, and provided for the transport of reinforcements as fast as they should arrive at Calcutta, Sir Colin Campbell himself left the capital on the 28th of

October, to take command of the army in the field for the relief of Lucknow.

The progress of the commander-in-chief from Calcutta to the scene of operations was unattended by any of the pomp or parade that had hitherto characterised the movements of personages holding distinguished rank in India. Merely accompanied by three or four officers of his staff, he rapidly pursued his course towards Oude, *via* Benares and Cawnpore; and, in his haste and recklessness of personal danger, had nearly rushed into a dilemma that might have materially influenced the future fortune of the rebels. On the 31st of October he arrived at Benares, where he held a military *levée*, and afterwards had an interview with the lieutenant-governor of the province. After these formalities had been disposed of, Sir Colin and his attendants left for Allahabad at one in the afternoon. Shortly after leaving, and while yet on the Benares side of Shergotty, the party suddenly came within view of a detachment of the fugitive and mutinous 32nd, who were leisurely crossing the country from Deoghur, in the Santhal district. The rebels had with them fourteen elephants, and a strong body of the 12th irregular cavalry; some of whom appeared to be inclined to approach the carriages in which the commander-in-chief and the officers accompanying him were riding. The discovery of the peril was fortunately made while there was yet time to escape by turning back, which the party did with all speed for a distance of ten miles, when they met with some soldiers in a bullock-train, by whom the commander-in-chief was then safely escorted on his route to Allahabad, from whence he proceeded with all possible dispatch to Cawnpore.

Remaining at the latter place no longer than was necessary to perfect his arrangements, Sir Colin, on the 9th of November, crossed the Ganges; and, on the same day, joined the force under the command of Brigadier Hope Grant, which awaited his arrival in camp at Bunnee bridge, about seven miles from the Alumbagh. The troops here collected by the 12th of November, consisted of her majesty's 8th, 53rd, 75th, and 93rd regiments of infantry; two regiments of Punjab infantry, and a small party of native sappers and miners; her majesty's 9th lancers, and detachments of Sikh cavalry and Hodson's horse. Here, also, awaited the commander-in-chief, Cap-



tain Peel's naval brigade, with eight guns, ten guns of the horse artillery, six light field-pieces, and a heavy field battery of the royal artillery; the whole force numbering about 2,700 infantry, and 700 cavalry.

It had become known to Sir James Outram, that the force commanded by Sir Colin Campbell was approaching Lucknow, and it was deemed essential that a plan of the city and residency should be forwarded to him for his guidance in the advance: it was also important that some intelligent person, well acquainted with the locality of both, who could explain the relative positions, and act as guide if required, should be employed on the hazardous mission. For this purpose, a civilian named Kavanagh, who had distinguished himself in several sorties he had accompanied in the capacity of assistant-field-engineer, volunteered to go to the commander-in-chief's camp; and, his offer being accepted, he set out, and fortunately succeeded in accomplishing his object. Mr. Kavanagh's narrative of his adventure is interesting; and the exploit altogether is entitled to more than passing notice, for its daring and its successful result. He says—

"While passing through the intrenchment of Lucknow about 10 o'clock A.M. on the 9th instant, I learnt that a spy had come in from Cawnpore, and that he was going back in the night as far as Alumbagh with despatches to his excellency Sir Colin Campbell, the commander-in-chief, who, it was said, was approaching Lucknow with five or six thousand men.

"I sought out the spy, whose name is ———, and who was in the court of the deputy-commissioner of Duriabad before the outbreak in Oude. He had taken letters from the intrenchment before, but I had never seen him till now. I found him intelligent, and imparted to him my desire to venture in disguise to Alumbagh in his company. He hesitated a great deal at acting as my guide, but made no attempt to exaggerate the dangers of the road. He merely urged that there was more chance of detection by our going together, and proposed that we should take different roads and meet outside of the city, to which I objected. I left him to transact some business, my mind dwelling all the time on the means of accomplishing my object.

"I had, some days previously, witnessed the preparation of plans which were being made by direction of Sir James Outram, to assist the commander-in-chief in his march into Lucknow for the relief of the besieged; and it then occurred to me that some one with the requisite local knowledge ought to attempt to reach his excellency's camp beyond or at Alumbagh. The news of Sir Colin Campbell's advance revived the ideas, and I made up my mind to go myself, at two o'clock, after finishing the business I was engaged upon. I mentioned to Colonel R. Napier, chief of Sir James Outram's staff,

that I was willing to proceed through the enemy to Alumbagh, if the general thought my doing so would be of service to the commander-in-chief. He was surprised at the offer, and seemed to regard the enterprise as fraught with too much danger to be assented to; but he did me the favour of communicating the offer to Sir James Outram, because he considered that my zeal deserved to be brought to his notice.

"Sir James did not encourage me to undertake the journey, declaring that he thought it so dangerous that he would not himself have asked any officer to attempt it. I, however, spoke so confidently of success, and treated the dangers so lightly, that he at last yielded, and did me the honour of adding, that if I succeeded in reaching the commander-in-chief, my knowledge would be a great help to him.

"I secretly arranged for a disguise, so that my departure might not be known to my wife, as she was not well enough to bear the prospect of an eternal separation. When I left home, about seven o'clock in the evening, she thought I was going on duty for the night to the mines, for I was working as an assistant-field-engineer by order of Sir James Outram.

"By half-past seven o'clock my disguise was completed; and when I entered the room of Colonel Napier, no one in it recognised me. I was dressed as a badmash, or as an irregular soldier of the city, with sword and shield, native-made shoes, tight trousers, a yellow silk koortah over a tight-fitting white muslin shirt, a yellow-coloured chintz sheet thrown round my shoulders, a cream-coloured turban, and a white waistband or kumurbund. My face down to the shoulders, and my hands to the wrists, were coloured with lamp-black, the cork used being dipped in oil to cause the colour to adhere a little. I could get nothing better. I had little confidence in the disguise of my features, and I trusted more to the darkness of the night: but Sir James Outram and his staff seemed satisfied, and, after being provided with a small double-barrelled pistol, and a pair of broad pyjamahs over the tight drawers, I proceeded, with Kunonjee Lal, to the right bank of the river Goomtee, running north of our intrenchment, accompanied by Captain Hardinge of the irregular cavalry.

"Here we undressed and quietly forded the river, which was only about four feet and a-half deep, and about a hundred yards wide at this point. My courage failed me while in the water, and if my guide had been within reach, I should, perhaps, have pulled him back and abandoned the enterprise. But he waded quickly through the stream, and, reaching the opposite bank, went crouching up a ditch for three hundred yards, to a grove of low trees on the edge of a pond, where we stopped to dress. While we were here, a man came down to the pond to wash, and went away again without observing us.

"My confidence now returned to me, and, with my tulwar resting on my shoulder, we advanced into the huts in front, where I accosted a matchlockman, who answered to my remark, that the night was cold, 'It is very cold; in fact, it is a cold night.' I passed him, adding that it would be colder by-and-bye.

"After going six or seven hundred yards further, we reached the iron bridge over the Goomtee, where we were stopped and called over by a native officer, who was seated in an upper-storied house, and



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[AN ADVENTURE.]

seemed to be in command of a cavalry picket, whose horses were near the place, saddled. My guide advanced to the light, and I stayed a little back in the shade. After being told that we had come from Mundeon (our old cantonment, and then in the possession of the enemy), and that we were going into the city to our homes, he let us proceed. We continued on along the left bank of the river to the stone bridge, which is about eight or nine hundred yards from the iron bridge, passing unnoticed through a number of sepoys and matchlockmen, some of whom were escorting persons of rank in palanquins preceded by torches.

"Recrossing the Goomtee by the stone bridge, we went by a sentry unobserved, who was closely questioning a dirtily-dressed native, and into the chuk, or principal street of the city of Lucknow, which was not illuminated as much as it used to be previous to the siege, nor was it so crowded. I jostled against several armed men in the street without being spoken to, and only met one guard of seven sepoys, who were amusing themselves with some women of pleasure.

"When issuing from the city into the country, we were challenged by a chowkeedar or watchman, who, without stopping us, merely asked us who we were. The part of the city traversed that night by me, seemed to have been deserted by at least a third of its inhabitants.

"I was in great spirits when we reached the green fields, into which I had not been for five months. Everything around us smelt sweet, and a carrot I took from the road-side was the most delicious I had ever tasted. I gave vent to my feelings in a conversation with Kunoujee Lal, who joined in my admiration of the province of Oude, and lamentation that it was now in the hands of wretches whose misgovernment and rapacity were ruining it.

"A further walk of a few miles was accomplished in high spirits. But there was trouble before us. We had taken the wrong road, and were now quite out of our way in the Dil Koosha park, which was occupied by the enemy. I went within twenty yards of two guns to see what strength they were, and returned to the guide, who was in great alarm, and begged I would not distrust him because of the mistake, as it was caused by his anxiety to take me away from the pickets of the enemy. I bade him not to be frightened of me, for I was not annoyed, as such accidents were not unfrequent even when there was no danger to be avoided. It was now about midnight. We endeavoured to persuade a cultivator, who was watching his crop, to show us the way for a short distance, but he urged old age and lameness; and another, whom I peremptorily told to come with us, ran off screaming, and alarmed the whole village. We next walked quickly away into the canal running under the Charbagh, in which I fell several times, owing to my shoes being wet and slippery, and my feet sore. The shoes were hard and tight, and had rubbed the skin off my toes, and cut into the flesh above the heels.

"In two hours more we were again on the right direction, two women in a village we passed having kindly helped us to find it. About two o'clock we reached an advanced picket of sepoys, who told us the way, after asking where we had come from and whither we were going. I thought it safer to go up to the picket than to try to pass them unobserved.

"Kunoujee Lal now begged I would not press him to take me into Alumbagh, as he did not know

the way in, and the enemy were strongly posted around the place. I was tired and in pain from the shoes, and would therefore have preferred going into Alumbagh; but as the guide feared attempting it, I desired him to go on to the camp of the commander-in-chief, which he said was near Bumeer (a village eighteen miles from Lucknow), upon the Cawnpore-road. The moon had risen by this time, and we could see well ahead.

"By three o'clock we arrived at a grove of mango trees, situated on a plain, in which a man was singing at the top of his voice. I thought he was a villager, but he got alarmed on hearing us approach, and astonished us too by calling out a guard of twenty-five sepoys, all of whom asked questions. Kunoujee Lal here lost heart for the first time, and threw away the letter entrusted to him for Sir Colin Campbell. I kept mine safe in my turban. We satisfied the guard that we were poor men travelling to Umroula, a village two miles this side of the chief's camp, to inform a friend of the death of his brother by a shot from the British intrenchment at Lucknow, and they told us the road. They appeared to be greatly relieved on discovering that it was not their terrible foe, who was only a few miles in advance of them. We went in the direction indicated by them, and after walking for half-an-hour, we got into a jheel or swamp, which are numerous and large in Oude. We had to wade through it for two hours up to our waists in water, and through weeds; but before we found out that we were in a jheel, we had gone too far to recede. I was nearly exhausted on getting out of the water, having made great exertions to force our way through the weeds, and to prevent the colour being washed off my face. It was nearly gone from my hands.

"I now rested for fifteen minutes, despite of the remonstrances of the guide, and went forward, passing between two pickets of the enemy, who had no sentries thrown out. It was near four o'clock in the morning when I stopped at the corner of a tope, or grove of trees, to sleep for an hour, which Kunoujee Lal entreated I would not do; but I thought he overrated the danger, and, lying down, I told him to see if there was any one in the grove who would tell him where we then were.

"We had not gone far when I heard the English challenge, 'Who comes there,' with a native accent. We had reached a British cavalry outpost. My eyes filled with joyful tears, and I shook the Sikh officer in charge of the picket heartily by the hand. The old soldier was as pleased as myself when he heard from whence I had come, and he was good enough to send two of his men to conduct me to the camp of the advanced guard. An officer of her majesty's 9th lancers, who was visiting his pickets, met me on the way, and took me to his tent, where I got dry stockings and trousers, and, what I much needed, a glass of brandy, a liquor I had not tasted for nearly two months.

"I thanked God for having safely conducted me through this dangerous enterprise, and Kunoujee Lal for the courage and intelligence with which he had conducted himself during this trying night. When we were questioned, he let me speak as little as possible. He always had a ready answer; and I feel that I am indebted to him in a great measure, more than to myself, for my escape. It will give me great satisfaction to hear that he has been suitably rewarded.

"In undertaking this enterprise, I was actuated



by a sense of duty, believing that I could be of use to his excellency the commander-in-chief, when approaching, for its relief, the besieged garrison, which had heroically resisted the attack of thirty times its own number for five months, within a weak and irregular intrenchment; and secondly, because I was anxious to perform some service which would ensure to me the honour of wearing our most gracious majesty's cross.

"My reception by Sir Colin Campbell and his staff was cordial and kind to the utmost degree; and if I never have more than the remembrance of their condescension, and of the heartfelt congratulations of Sir James Outram and of all the officers of his garrison, on my safe return to them, I shall not repine; though, to be sure, having the Victoria Cross would make me a prouder and a happier man.

"JAMES KAVANAGH.

"Camp, Alumbagh, 24th November, 1857."

At length, on the 13th of November, the troops were put in motion *en route* for the Alumbagh; but on approaching a small fort to the right of the position, named Jellalabad, the advanced column was suddenly attacked by a strong body of the rebels, who were there posted. A very short time sufficed to dispose of this obstruction, as they were broken up and dispersed by a brilliant charge of Hodson's irregular horse, led by Lieutenant Gough; and the fort being immediately taken possession of, was dismantled and rendered untenable by the enemy. This affair having been disposed of, Sir Colin proceeded to the Alumbagh, where he deposited his baggage under charge of the 75th regiment; and further reinforcements having come up, he availed himself of the information afforded by the plan and Kavanagh's explanations, and determined to approach the city by skirting the eastern and northern suburbs, and thus avoid the fortified buildings and street obstructions that lay in the direct route to the residency from the Alumbagh. His plan of operation in the direction chosen, was to batter down the enemy's defences step by step and day by day, so as to form a passage for his troops with comparatively trifling loss of life. He saw, by the plan, that at the eastern extremity of the town there was a large open space, in which the troops could act; and which, although sprinkled with mosques, palaces, and other large buildings, was free from those deep narrow lanes or defiles that had been so perilous in the advance of Havelock and Outram, and he proposed to make the capture of each of these buildings the base of operations for attacks on other posts nearer the heart of the city, until at length the residency could be reached.

On the morning of the 14th, Sir Colin

advanced from the Alumbagh, his first point of attack being a hunting-palace of the late kings of Oude, called Dil Koosha (Heart's Delight), situated on an eminence, in a beautiful and extensive park. As he approached the latter, his leading column was met by a long line of musketry fire: reinforcements were sent to the front, and, after a running fight of about two hours, the position was abandoned by the enemy, who were driven down the hill to the Martinière college, about half a mile distant, from whence they were speedily ejected, and pursued across the garden and park of that establishment, and thence beyond the canal into the streets of the city. The commander-in-chief then made the Dil Koosha palace his head-quarters, and some heavy guns being placed at the side of the canal, the enemy was kept in check for that night. The result of this day's operations was most propitious; for not only had an advantageous post been secured, which commanded the whole eastern suburb, but he had brought thus far in safety a large supply of provisions and stores for the use of the beleaguered garrison, of which he was now within view.

After completing his arrangements, and exchanging signals with Havelock and Outram on the 15th, the commander-in-chief resumed active operations on the following day. Leaving every description of unnecessary baggage at the Dil Koosha, and supplying every soldier of his force with food in his haversack for three days, he crossed the canal, and advanced to the Secunderbagh (Alexander's Garden), a very extensive building of strong masonry, in the midst of a large garden encircled by a high wall, and loopholed in all directions for musketry. Its natural advantages for defence were made the most of by the enemy, who had now become desperate, and were evidently resolved to defend it to the last. The post was strongly garrisoned by the insurgents, who also occupied a fortified village about a hundred yards distant from it, and through which the passage of the troops lay.

The attack upon the Secunderbagh was first made by the column under Brigadier Hope. As it advanced, a murderous fire was kept up on the troops, who were, consequently, ordered to move on in skirmishing order. The horse artillery and heavy field guns were quickly brought up to answer the enemy's fire, which they did effect-



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[THE SECUNDERBAGH.]

tually; and the brigadier gallantly dashing forward with his advance, after overcoming a well-sustained resistance, drove the enemy out of the village into the main building, which was then ordered to be stormed.

The 4th Sikhs had been directed to lead the attack; while the 93d highlanders, and detachments from the 53rd and other regiments, were to cover their operations. The Europeans, however, had not patience enough for this; and jealous and fearful lest the Sikhs should gain the greatest honour, they all rushed forward, vying with each other who should be first in.

A small breach had been effected in one of the walls, but only a small body could enter at once. Fortunately, the enemy had expected the attack from a different quarter, and this breach was in one of the most weakly-guarded points. A considerable number of men had therefore contrived to get in before the guard could obtain reinforcements; yet numbers fell. The men dashed in as quickly as the narrow breach permitted, but could not pass fast enough for their ardour. They approached under the very loopholes of the enemy, and, hoisting their caps on their bayonets as a decoy, lay down, while the insurgents fired a volley at their supposed heads; and then, before they could again load, started up, tore down the iron bars from the windows, and sprang into the midst of their enemies.

The rebels fought desperately, but vainly, against the stalwart avengers of Englishwomen and children. The slaughter was terrific; for nothing but blood would appease the infuriated soldiers. On the following day, 2,000 carcasses of the rebel host were counted within the walls of that fearful house of vengeance; and the gateway, the principal room, and the side chambers, were literally saturated with blood, and piled up with the dead and dying. No mercy was shown; and when some wretch had cowardice enough (which was rarely the case) to throw down his arms and sue for life, "Cawnpore" was hissed into his ear, and a thrust of the bayonet put an end to his existence.

These terrible operations occupied nearly three hours, and there was yet more work in store for the wearied troops, ere they could desist from the sanguinary labours of that day. While the attack on the Secunderbagh was at its height, the troops had been annoyed by a murderous fire, poured upon them from an extensive building,

from which it became necessary to dislodge the enemy. This was the Shah Nujeeff, consisting of a large mosque, having a domed roof, with a loopholed parapet; and four minarets, commanding the whole edifice, were filled with riflemen. This building was situated in a fine garden surrounded by high walls, loopholed, and filled with insurgent troops. The entrance had been blocked up with masonry, and, in every point, the Shah Nujeeff was carefully barricaded and fortified.

Against these buildings Captain Peel now advanced with the naval brigade, bringing his heavy 68-pounders within a few yards of the walls; and, aided by a mortar battery and a field battery of Bengal artillery, he commenced a heavy cannonade, which, during several hours, was answered by a well-sustained fire from the enemy. The moment for the assault having arrived, Brigadier Hope led on his highlanders, supported by the battalion under Major Barnston, who rushed through the breaches made by the heavy guns, and, in a comparatively short period, filled the Shah Nujeeff with the corpses of its defenders. The troops then ceased operations for the day, and, for the next few hours, reposed on the bloody scene of their triumphs. In his despatches relating to this spirited affair, the commander-in-chief said—"Captain Peel led up his heavy guns with extraordinary gallantry to within a few yards of the building, to batter the massive stone walls. The withering fire of the highlanders effectually covered the naval brigade from great loss; but it was an action almost unexampled in war. Captain Peel behaved very much as if he had been laying the *Shannon* alongside an enemy's frigate."

On the next day (the 17th), the building denominated the Mess-house was cannonaded by the heavy guns of the naval brigade. The building, which stood on a considerable eminence, consisted of a large two-storied flat-terraced house, flanked by two square turrets, and protected by a deep ditch and a loopholed mud wall. After the 68-pounders, aided by some shells from a mortar battery in the Fureed Buksh palace, had inflicted some damage, orders were given to storm the place; and the men of the 53rd and 90th regiments, followed by some Sikhs, rapidly stepping forward, surmounted all obstacles, and rushing into the building, carried dismay and death among the enemy. The Observatory, or Banks'



house, in the rear of the mess-house, was next taken by a party of Sikhs, who vied with British soldiers in valour and determination; and on that day, and the following one, Sir Colin Campbell from one side, and General Havelock on the other, obtained possession of all the houses between the new intrenchments, the mess-house, and the Motee Mahal (Pearl Palace.) To effect this co-operation by the forces, it had been agreed, by signal and messages, that as soon as Sir Colin should reach the Secunderbagh, the outer wall of the eastern garden of the Fureed Buksh, in which the enemy had already attempted several breaches, should be thrown down by mines previously prepared; that two powerful batteries, erected in the enclosure, should then open on the insurgents in front; and that, after the effect desired had been produced, the troops should storm two buildings, known as the Hern Khana, or deer-house, and the Engine-house. This was successfully accomplished. At about eleven o'clock the operations began. The mines were exploded, the wall demolished; the works beyond were shelled by mortars; two of the mines at the Hern Khana were charged with destructive effect; and the infantry, eager for a little active work after being many weeks pent up within their intrenchments, dashed through the Chuttur Munzil, and carried all before them at the point of the bayonet.

Every obstacle to the junction of the forces was now removed; and on the afternoon of the 17th of November, Sir Colin Campbell, while the fire was still heavy, was met by Generals Outram and Havelock: a loud, long-continued cheer burst from the troops, as the latter, with their staff, cordially shook hands with the commander-in-chief, and welcomed him as the deliverer of Lucknow.

The important operations in connection with this gratifying event were, during the second and third weeks of November, under the immediate personal control of Sir Colin Campbell, as commander-in-chief, General Mansfield officiating as chief of his staff. Brigadier Hope Grant was in command of the column formerly distinguished as Greathed's, which constituted the nucleus of Sir Colin's force. Colonel Greathed, raised to the rank of brigadier-general, in recognition of his services, commanded one of the brigades of infantry; and Brigadiers Russell and Adrian Hope were at

the head of two others. Brigadier Little commanded the cavalry; Brigadier Crauford the artillery; Lieutenant Lennox the engineers; and Captain Peel the naval brigade. The result of the operations in this quarter produced to Grant and Peel the honorary distinctions of K.C.B., and they consequently became Sir James Hope Grant, and Sir William Peel. The whole of the officers and troops employed were the objects of warm eulogium by the government, and of well-deserved admiration by all classes of their fellow-countrymen.

The commander-in-chief's crowning success at Lucknow was not obtained without severe loss; as 122 officers and men were killed, and 345 wounded; of whom many afterwards died of their wounds. Sir Colin himself received a slight wound, which did not incapacitate him from duty. The loss of the enemy was known to have been frightfully severe, and not less than from three to four thousand. They fought at the Secunderbagh and the Shah Nujeeff with a reckless desperation, which rendered immense slaughter inevitable; and the powerful artillery of the naval brigade mowed them down like grass.

The delight with which the unfortunate *détenu*s of the residency welcomed Sir Colin Campbell and his noble band, was only equalled by that with which the arrival of General Havelock's heroes had been greeted two months previous. The assurance of positive safety, and of freedom from the terrible thralldom in which they had existed for nearly six months, cheered all hearts; and the bodings of the most desponding were changed to aspirations of thankfulness and joy. They knew they were soon to be free; that they would once more taste the sweets of liberty, and realise the enjoyments that life had yet in store for them. A few hours enabled the newcomers to spread forth some of the supplies which their commissariat had provided; and once more the luxuries of wheaten bread, fresh butter, oranges, and other articles (which are not luxuries save to those unable to obtain them) were distributed: and then came the still greater enjoyment afforded by the arrival of several "cart-loads" of letters and newspapers from England. So long debarred as the occupants of the residency had been from all communication with the outer world, the intelligence thus conveyed to them was looked to with painful anxiety. The post-

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INDIAN MUTINY.

[PREPARATIONS FOR FLIGHT.

office was besieged with earnest inquirers; and the newly-resumed duties of the post-master were, for some time, anything but a sinecure.

In the journal of Lady Inglis, recording many incidents of the siege, this period of Lucknow life is described as follows:—

"To-day (18th of November) we have had a quantity of English letters, the first we have had for six months. The very sight of them made us feel quite bewildered; and I have not yet been able to read more than one. I need not say how much I have thought of you all—how many, many, sad hearts and homes there must be in England just now: and really, at present, one cannot see an end to our troubles. The whole of Bengal is in such an unsettled state, that no one can tell when or where a fresh disturbance may break out. Sir Colin is much liked; he is living now exactly as a private soldier; takes his rations and lies down wherever he can to rest. This the men like; and he is a fine soldier."

It was not the intention of the commander-in-chief to remain at Lucknow longer time than was necessary to rest his troops, and remove the people dependent upon them for protection. Meanwhile, he remained with his army in occupation of the positions they had taken outside, and once only visited the intrenchments, where he was welcomed with the acclaim due to a conqueror and a liberator. On the evening of his arrival, it was announced that every European was to leave Lucknow, and, for the present, retire to Cawnpore. The intelligence was received by many with a feeling of disappointment; for they had expected the immediate restoration of British authority in the place, and that the staff-officers and civilians would resume their former duties under their accustomed easy conditions. Such a pleasant transition had not, however, entered into the strategical arrangements of Sir Colin Campbell, who had fought his way to Lucknow expressly to liberate them from the foes that surrounded it, and not to maintain them there at a daily cost of valuable lives; seeing that the enemy—who notwithstanding the enormous losses sustained, still numbered 50,000 fighting-men in and near the city—showed no intention to retreat, but rather a determination to defend the portions of the place still in their hands, street by street and house by house. To

attack such an army with a force originally not more than a tenth part of their numbers, and already much reduced, would have been a wanton sacrifice of brave men, and might have risked the necessity for a third relief; it was, therefore, not to be thought of, while it could possibly be avoided. An order was consequently issued, not only that all were to depart, but to depart at once. The sick and wounded were to be removed directly from the residency to the Dil Koosha, a distance of four miles in a straight line, but over six by the circuitous route necessary to be taken to avoid the enemy. The women and children were to proceed to the same halting-place on the following day, and the bulk of the soldiers were to leave the position when all else had safely departed. An encampment was formed in the Dil Koosha park, with such necessaries and comforts as could be hastily brought together for the sick and wounded, during the brief sojourn necessary for organising a convoy to Cawnpore. As only a small amount of baggage was allowed for each person, most of the property of the residents was necessarily left behind; and, according to the description of the affair by Mr. Rees, "such a scene as the residency then presented was really sad to behold. Women's apparel, children's clothes, rich dresses, men's clothing, cooking-utensils, plate, and china-ware; all sorts of merchandise and household furniture, coverings, bedding, &c.—each and everything was left behind. Anything might be had merely for the taking of it; and everywhere were seen soldiers and civilians helping themselves to what but the day before only large sums could have purchased from the owners. It was really annoying to think that the insurgents would, after all, obtain what we could not take away. Fortunately, our European articles of dress could be of little use to them."*

Preparatory to the abandonment of the residency, the guns were removed from the batteries; and great caution was necessary to avoid exciting suspicion of the intended movement: the stores and the Company's treasure, amounting to twenty-three lacs of rupees, which had been safely preserved through all the perils of the past six months, were also to be removed to the Dil Koosha, with the non-combatants and state prisoners; the latter being placed under a guard of civilians.

* Rees' Personal Narrative, p. 342.



At length, the *exodus* commenced. Many ladies in delicate health, unprovided with means of conveyance, were compelled to walk as they best could over five or six miles of very rough ground, exposed at three different points to the constant fire of the enemy's musketry; but happily without injury to more than one person, who was wounded in the leg. Lady Inglis, in her journal, relates the occurrences of this departure as follows:—

"About 4 o'clock P.M. we made a start, and left the place where we had passed so many anxious hours. We were obliged to walk, having no carriage-horses; five of our horses were turned loose at the commencement of the siege. The road was quite safe except in three places, where it was overlooked by the enemy's position, and we had to run; one poor woman was wounded in one of these places. We arrived at Secunderbagh about six, and found every one assembled there, awaiting an escort and dhoolies to carry us on. When I tell you that upwards of 2,000 men had been hastily buried there the day before, you can fancy what a place it was: however, we met many friends, and were regaled with tea, and plenty of milk and bread and butter—luxuries we had not enjoyed since the commencement of our troubles. At ten o'clock we recommenced our journey; most of the ladies were in palanquins; but we had a covered cart, drawn by two obstinate bullocks. We had a force of infantry and cavalry with us; but we had not proceeded half a mile when the column was halted, and an order sent back for reinforcements. Some noise was heard, and it was feared we might be attacked. However, it proved a false alarm; and after two disagreeable and rather anxious hours, we arrived safely at this place (Dil Koosha), and were quartered in some tents prepared for our reception. To-day we have pitched our tent; and Mrs. Case, her sister, I and the children, occupy the half, having given the other to a poor sick lady. We are very comfortable, though rather pressed for room, and most thankful to breathe the fresh air once again."

Another passage relating to this migration from the residency, may be quoted from the *Lady's Diary*, the authoress of which, with two other ladies, had secured a carriage for the occasion; and thus describes their journey:—

"We had a pair of starved horses of Mr. Gubbins' to drag us; but the wretched animals had been on siege fare so long that they had forgotten the use of their legs, and had no strength, so came to a standstill every five minutes, invariably choosing the most dangerous parts of the road for their halt. At one place we were under so hot a fire that we got out and ran for our lives, leaving the vehicle to its fate; and two poor natives, who were helping to push it on behind, were shot. At the Fureed Buksh we had to wait a long time, as the carriage could not be got through a gateway till some stores were cleared away. Some officers of the 90th invited us inside, and gave us wine and water, which was very refreshing. We walked, after that, every step of the way to Secunderbagh, where we all had to wait several hours till dhoolies arrived to take on all the women; and we proceeded, under a strong escort, to Dil Koosha. The road to Secunderbagh was frightfully dangerous in places. In one spot we were passing a 24-pounder, manned by some sailors of the naval brigade; they all called out to us to bend low, and run as fast as we could. We had hardly done so when a volley of grape whizzed over our heads and struck a wall beyond. At Secunderbagh we found the place overflowing with women and children of the Lucknow garrison. About 9 P.M. we started again in dhoolies. The crowd and confusion were excessive, the enemy hovering round, and firing occasional shots, and we were only borne along in the most solemn silence. The only sounds were the tramp, tramp, tramp, of the dhooly bearers, and the screaming of the jackals. It was an awful time. One felt as if one's life hung in a balance with the fate we had so long dreaded; but our Merciful Father, who has protected us through so many and great dangers, brought us in safety to Dil Koosha, where we arrived about two o'clock in the morning."

Leaving the wounded and non-combatants encamped in the park of Dil Koosha, we must return to the garrison yet holding possession of the residency, the future disposal of which now became an object of consideration; and as the opinion of Sir James Outram, the civil commissioner of Oude, who viewed the question in a political light, and of the commander-in-chief, who simply looked to the military bearing of the subject, did not accord, the



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[A REFERENCE.]

following communication was forwarded by telegraph on the 20th November, from Sir Colin to the governor-general in council, that his decision might be obtained for the guidance of both authorities :—

"The garrison of Lucknow has been relieved, and I am now engaged in carrying the women and wounded to the rear. I propose to move the whole force to an open position outside the town, without further loss of life. Sir James Outram, on the contrary, desires that an attack on the Kaiserbagh should be made, and then to continue to hold the position in the town. He thinks that two strong brigades of 600 men would suffice to hold the town after the Kaiserbagh had fallen. But I am of opinion, that at least the same force would be necessary to preserve the communication now mentioned by me, to the Alumbagh, and constantly under the fire of the enemy; that is to say, four strong brigades would be required, unless it is wished that the garrison should be again besieged.

"I have always been of opinion that the position taken up by the lamented Sir Henry Lawrence was a false one; and after becoming acquainted with the ground, and worked my troops upon it to relieve the garrison, that opinion is confirmed. I therefore submit, that to commit another garrison in this immense city, is to repeat a military error, and I cannot consent to it.

"I conceive that a strong movable division outside the town, with field and heavy artillery in a good military position, is the real manner of holding the city of Lucknow in check, according to our practice with the other great cities of India. Such a division would aid in subduing the country hereafter, and its position would be quite sufficient evidence of our intention not to abandon the province of Oude.

"Such are the general grounds for my opinion. The more special ones are, the want of means, particularly infantry, field and musket ammunition for prolonged operations, owing to circumstances beyond my control, and the state of our communications in the North-West Provinces. The first of these is, of course, unanswerable; the second appears to me an insuperable objection to the leaving of more troops in Oude than such a division as I have mentioned, as evidence of the intentions of government. In the meantime, I await the instructions of your lordship in the position I have taken up.

"Owing to the expression of opinion by the political authority in the country, I have delayed further movement till I shall receive your lordship's reply."

The view taken by the commander-in-chief met with the immediate approval of the governor-general in council, who by telegram, on the following day, expressed his concurrence as follows :—

"I have received your message of yesterday. The one step to be avoided, is a total withdrawal of the British forces from Oude. Your proposal to leave a strong movable division with heavy artillery outside the city, and so to hold the city in check, will answer every purpose of policy."

Pending this correspondence, the garrison was not idle. On the 20th, Captain Peel, aided by General Havelock's batteries in the palaces, breached the Kaiserbagh, and continued to throw shells into the king's palace throughout the day. This practice was continued on the 21st and 22nd, up to the moment appointed for the evacuation of the residency and its outposts by the whole garrison. The effect of the bombardment was evidently very destructive, as the fire of the enemy in return, which at first was brisk and continuous, gradually slackened, and at last ceased altogether.

Many things remained to be done within the residency enclosure before the troops or Inglis and Havelock could follow the steps of the non-combatants, and leave the position they had so long and so gallantly maintained. As many of the stores as were yet remaining had to be carried away or destroyed: they had still many of their wounded companions to escort and protect through the ranks of the enemy, and, at the same time, to cover their ultimate object by keeping up the bombardment of the Kaiserbagh, and thereby deceive the rebels, whose attention was now centred upon that position, and who expected an attack as soon as the bombardment should cease.

At length the preconcerted hour arrived when the evacuation was to commence; and nothing being left to chance, the movement was carried out with success. At midnight on the 22nd of November, the last man of the rear-guard of the retiring garrison marched out of the residency quietly and cautiously, leaving the lights and fires burning, and the general aspect of the place such as to avoid exciting the suspicion of the enemy, who occupied themselves as usual, by keeping up a desultory fire of

matchlocks and musketry upon the enclosure; on emerging from which, the old, or Inglis's "garrison" was the first to pass through the lines occupied by the British troops, "each exterior line then retiring through its supporters"—the extreme posts on the left making their way by a road which had been explored for them, as soon as the commander-in-chief considered the time had arrived when, with due regard to the safety of the whole, their posts should be evacuated. It may be observed, that had the retiring movement been discovered, and the insurgents had ventured to attack the troops, the brigade under the command of Brigadier Adrian Hope was in readiness to repel them. So far, however, from this being necessary, the enemy, completely deceived, continued firing into the enclosure for two hours after the troops had left it. The commander-in-chief accompanied the last line of infantry and guns, and thus satisfied himself of the safety of all that preceded him.

The event was announced to government by the following telegram from the commander-in-chief:—

"Lucknow, 23rd Nov. Last Night.

"I caused the garrison of Lucknow to execute its retreat from the residency, covered by the relieving force, which then fell back on Dil Koosha, in the presence of the whole force of Oude. The women, wounded, and state prisoners, the king's treasure, and twenty-three lacs of rupees, with all the guns worth taking away, are in my camp. A great many guns were destroyed before the residency was given up; those that were worth bringing, having been transported with much labour, and made available for our own purposes. The state prisoners were brought with us."

The desertion of a post that had been maintained so long and so nobly in the face of innumerable difficulties, was not accomplished without many incidents of extraordinary and almost romantic interest; and among them, a circumstance connected with the fortunate escape of one officer, deserves special mention. Captain Waterman, of the 13th native infantry, who had been wounded in the siege, having, late in the evening, gone to his bed in a retired corner of the brigade mess-house, was forgotten by his men in the moment of departure, and over-slept himself. At two in the morning, two hours after the last of his comrades had left the position, he awoke,

and found, to his horror, that he was alone in that abode of desolation. He dared not believe that all had left the enclosure; but, hoping against hope, he wandered from post to post, and found all deserted—all silent! The truth flashed across his brain. He was the only living man in that open intrenchment, with 50,000 relentless enemies panting for slaughter around him. His situation became too horrible to contemplate, but his presence of mind did not forsake him. He determined to attempt to follow the rear-guard, and so escape from the terrible loneliness that prevailed around him, and from the death that awaited him should the enemy discover him alone in that vast charnel-house. He fled, at his utmost speed, through the intricate and slimy passages of the *Terre Kothee*, the *Fureed Buksh*, the *Chuttur Manzil*, and the *Motee Mahal*, frequently slipping along the gory pavements, or stumbling over the festering carcasses that lay scattered in his path. He reached the *Secunderbagh*, which seething with human decomposition, was poisoned by the horrible odour of 2,000 corpses; and passed the outer walls into the open ground towards the *Martinière*, scarcely breathing, lest, in the darkness, he should arouse a lurking patrol of the murderous host around him. Again, through the dreadful silence and desolation, he sped with almost maddened excitement, and at length came up with the rear-guard of the British troops, and was saved. The horror consequent on his position was too much for his nerves to sustain; and, for a time, his intellect was affected.*

The removal of the women and children has already been described; and the following extract from the letter of an officer, will give an idea of the retreat, as it concerned the soldiers. The writer says—
"An anxious night, indeed, it was. We left at twelve o'clock, having withdrawn all our guns from position, so that if the scoundrels had only come on, we should have had to fight every inch of our way while retiring; but the hand of Providence, which had held the little garrison for so long a time, never left it to the last. The eye of the wicked was blinded while we marched breathlessly, with beating hearts, from our post, and, forming into line, walked through the narrow defiles and trenches leading from the ever-memorable *Bailey Guard*. Out we went while the

* *Rees' Personal Narrative*, p. 347.



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[GENERAL ORDERS.

enemy's guns still pounded the old wall, and while the bullets still whistled over the buildings; and after a six miles' walk in ankle-deep sand, we were halted in a field, and told to make ourselves comfortable for the night. Here we were in a pretty plight—nothing to cover ourselves, while the cold was intense; so we lay down like so many sheep huddled together, to keep ourselves warm; and so lay till the morning, when we arose cold and stiff, with a pretty prospect of the chance of finding our servants in a camp of 9,000 men." (This included the camp-followers.)

The commander-in-chief allowed the men one day's rest at Dil Koosha; and, on the 23rd, they encamped in the park. For the first time in six months, many of them enjoyed the comfort of a good dinner.

On the 21st of the month, the following general orders were issued to the troops, from the head-quarters of the commander-in-chief at the Shah Nujeeff:—

"Although the commander-in-chief has not yet had time to peruse the detailed report of Brigadier Inglis respecting the defence made by the slender garrison under his command, his excellency desires to lose no time in recording his opinion of the magnificent defence made by the remnant of a British regiment (her majesty's 32nd), a company of British artillery, and a few hundred sepoys, whose very presence was a subject of distrust, against all the force of Oude, until the arrival of the reinforcement under Major-general Sir James Outram, G.C.B., and Sir H. Havelock, K.C.B. The persevering constancy of this small garrison, under the watchful command of the brigadier, has, under Providence, been the means of adding to the prestige of the British army, and of preserving the honour and lives of our countrywomen. There can be no greater reward than such a reflection; and the commander-in-chief heartily congratulates Brigadier Inglis and his devoted garrison on that reflection belonging to them.

"The position occupied by the garrison was an open intrenchment; the numbers were not sufficient to man the defences, and the supply of artillerymen for the guns was most inadequate. In spite of these difficult circumstances, the brigadier and his garrison held on; and it will be a great pleasure to the commander-in-chief, to bring to the notice of the government of India, the names of all the officers and soldiers who have distinguished themselves during the great trial to which they have been exposed.

"The commander-in-chief congratulates Sir James Outram and Sir Henry Havelock on having been the first to aid Brigadier Inglis. The governor-general in council has already expressed his opinion on the splendid feat of arms by which that aid was accomplished."

On the following day, the subjoined addition was made to the preceding order:—

"Head-quarters, Shah Nujeeff, 22nd November, 1857.

"When the commander-in-chief issued his order

of yesterday, with regard to the old garrison of Lucknow, his excellency was unaware of the important part taken, in aid of the soldiers, by the civil functionaries who happened to be at the residency when it was shut in by the enemy. His excellency congratulates them very heartily on the honour they have won in conjunction with their military comrades. This is only another instance that, in danger and difficulty, all Englishmen behave alike, whatever their profession."

The following completes the series of general orders issued by the commander-in-chief upon this memorable occasion:—

"Head-quarters, La Martinière, Lucknow, 23rd November, 1857.

"The commander-in-chief has reason to be thankful to the force he conducted for the relief of the garrison of Lucknow. Hastily assembled, fatigued by forced marches, but animated by a common feeling of determination to accomplish the duty before them, all ranks of this force have compensated for their small number, in the execution of a most difficult duty, by unceasing exertions.

"From the morning of the 16th, till last night, the whole force has been one outlying picket, never out of fire, and covering an immense extent of ground, to permit the garrison to retire scathless and in safety, covered by the whole of the relieving force. That ground was won by fighting as hard as it ever fell to the lot of the commander-in-chief to witness, it being necessary to bring up the same men over and over again to fresh attacks; and it is with the greatest gratification that his excellency declares he never saw men behave better.

"The storming of the Secunderbagh and the Shah Nujeeff has never been surpassed in daring, and the success of it was most brilliant and complete. The movement of retreat of last night, by which the final rescue of the garrison was effected, was a model of discipline and exactness. The consequence was that the enemy was completely deceived, and the force retired by a narrow tortuous lane—the only line of retreat open in the face of 50,000 enemies—without molestation.

"The commander-in-chief offers his sincere thanks to Major-general Sir James Outram, G.C.B., for the happy manner in which he planned and carried out his arrangements for the evacuation of the residency of Lucknow.—By order of his excellency the commander-in-chief.

"W. MATHEW, Major, D.A.G."

At the time the British troops were thus withdrawn from the residency, it was suspected, but not positively known, that several English prisoners were in the hands of the rebel leaders, in the Kaiserbagh; and this surmise unhappily turned out to be a fact. The unfortunates were eight in number—namely, Sir Mountstuart Jackson and his sister; Captain Orr, his wife and child; Lieutenant Barnes, Sergeant Martin, a little girl named Christian, and, it was believed, also another lady, a Mrs. O. Greene. Of the original intentions of the rebels towards these individuals, there are no means of judging; but of the ultimate



fate of most of them no doubt exists. The English troops following the women and children, the treasure and the state prisoners, had yet scarcely reached the Dil Koosha park, before the *ruse* by which the retreat had been accomplished was discovered by the insurgents, who rushed into the deserted enclosure, and in their rage at having been baffled, sought to gratify their hatred and revenge by the wanton destruction of whatever had been left by the Europeans: they then rushed to the Kaiserbagh, and demanded that the English prisoners should be given up to them. To the honour of womanhood, the demand was imperatively refused by the begum, so far as the females were concerned, and they were immediately taken under her care in the zenana of the palace. With the men it was different. They were given up to the furious and disappointed soldiery; who, without allowing them a moment for preparation, tied them to guns, and blew them into fragments. The victims of this atrocious act of vengeance, were Sir Mountstuart Jackson, Captain Orr, Lieutenant Barnes, and Sergeant Martin. Of the ladies, no tidings were heard for several months; but most of them were ultimately restored to their friends.

In a supplementary despatch of Sir James Outram, dated from Alumbagh, November 25th, that officer, in enumerating the successes of the troops under his command, writes of the defences of the residency enclosure as follows:—

"I am aware of no parallel to our series of mines in modern war; twenty-one shafts, aggregating 200 feet in depth, and 3,291 feet of gallery, have been executed. The enemy advanced twenty mines against the palaces and outposts: of these they exploded three, which caused us loss of life; and two which did no injury: seven have been blown-in; and out of seven others the enemy have been driven, and their galleries taken possession of by our miners—results of which the engineer department may well be proud. The reports and plans forwarded by Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B., "and now submitted to his excellency, will explain how a line of gardens, courts, and dwelling-houses, without fortified *enceinte*, without flanking defences, and closely connected with the buildings of a city, has been maintained for eight weeks in a certain degree of security; and notwithstanding the close and constant musketry fire

from loopholed walls and windows, often within thirty yards, and from every lofty building within rifle range; and notwithstanding a frequent though desultory fire of round shot and grape, from guns posted at various distances from 70 to 500 yards. This result has been obtained by the skill and courage of the engineer and quartermaster-general's departments, zealously aided by the brave officers and soldiers, who have displayed the same cool determination and cheerful alacrity in the toils of the trench, and amidst the concealed dangers of the mine, that they had previously exhibited when forcing their way into Lucknow at the point of the bayonet, and amidst the most murderous fire."

In the same despatch, the major-general, while eulogising several individuals of the garrison by name, says—"From the Rev. J. P. Harris, chaplain of the garrison, the sick and wounded received the most marked and personal kindness. His spiritual ministrations in the hospitals were incessant; his Christian zeal, and earnest philanthropy, I have had constant opportunities of observing since my arrival in Lucknow; and but one testimony is borne to his exertions during the siege, and to the personal bravery he displayed in hastening from house to house in pursuit of his sacred calling, under the heaviest fire. Daily he had to read the funeral service over numbers of the garrison, exposed to shot, shell, and musketry." The major-general then proceeds as follows:—"I cannot conclude this report without expressing to his excellency my intense admiration of the noble spirit displayed by all ranks and grades of the force since we entered Lucknow. Themselves placed in a state of siege—suddenly reduced to scanty and unsavoury rations—denied all the little luxuries (such as tea, sugar, rum, and tobacco) which, by constant use, had become to them almost necessities of life—smitten in many cases by the same scorbutic affections, and other evidences of debility which prevailed among the original garrison—compelled to engage in laborious operations—exposed to constant danger, and kept ever on the alert—their spirits and cheerfulness, and zeal and discipline, seemed to rise with the occasion. Never could there have been a force more free from grumblers, more cheerful, more willing, or more earnest. Amongst the sick and wounded, this glorious spirit was, if possible, still more conspicuous than



GENERAL SIR HENRY HAVELOCK, K.C.B.



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INDIAN MUTINY.

[DEATH OF HAVELock.]

amongst those fit for duty. It was a painful sight to see so many noble fellows maimed, suffering, and denied those comforts of which they stood so much in need. But it was truly delightful, and made one proud of his countrymen, to observe the heroic fortitude and hearty cheerfulness with which all was borne."

The ink that traced the foregoing generous recognition of endurance and valour was not yet dry, ere the camp was stricken by a calamity irreparable and unexpected. Overcome by fatigue and over-strained excitement, the good and gallant Havelock had suddenly closed his victorious career, and, on the 25th of November, at Dil Koosha, succumbed to an attack of dysentery, that in a few hours numbered him with the dead. But one feeling pervaded the army he had so often led in the path of glory—but one sentiment animated his countrymen throughout India, when the tidings spread abroad that the Christian soldier, for whom an admiring country was preparing its honours and its thanks, was beyond the reach of its gratitude; and that the shouts of welcome with which all Europe was prepared to greet his return to the land of his forefathers, would fall echoless upon the ear of death.

Major-general Sir Henry Havelock, Bart., K.C.B.—who thus died in the zenith of his fame, and who has bequeathed to his countrymen a name that will long be kept as a household word in the homes of England and of India—was a native of Bishopswearmouth, near Sunderland, where he was born on the 5th of April, 1795. He was the second of four sons of William Havelock, Esq., of Ingress-park, near Greenhithe, Kent, the descendant and representative of a family that had long flourished near Great Grimsby, in Lincolnshire. Educated at the Charter-house, at the period when that school was in the full tide of its prosperity, under the head-mastership of Dr. Russell, young Havelock numbered among his schoolfellows many whose names were destined, like his own, to shed lustre

* The following anecdote of this young officer is recorded in Napier's *Peninsular War*, vol. vi., p. 265:—"The Spaniards stopped, and though the adventurer Downie, now a Spanish general, encouraged them with his voice, and they kept their ranks, they seemed irresolute, and did not advance. There happened to be present an officer of the 43rd regiment, named Havelock, who being attached to General Alten's staff, was sent to ascertain Giron's progress. His fiery temper could not brook the check. He took off his hat, called the Spaniards to

upon the annals of their country. A *soubriquet*, "philosopher," by which he was distinguished among his companions, was applied in consequence of his gentle meditative disposition, and quiet manner—seldom taking part in the boisterous pastimes of the playground, but ever ready, with friendly offices and kind words, to sooth down the asperities of his more excitable and impulsive companions. In course of time, the appellation diminished to "Philos," and occasionally he was addressed as "Old Philos." Few, perhaps, who thus knew that thoughtful, unobtrusive boy, would have believed it possible that, in the "Old Philos" of the Charter-house, they beheld the future hero of Cawnpore and Lucknow—the noble victor of unnumbered fields.

While young Havelock was still at the Charter-house, a change came over the fortune of his family, that rendered his withdrawal from that establishment a measure of prudence. After a short interval, the youth was entered as a student at the Middle Temple, it being supposed that the law held out for him the fairest prospect of advancement. Here he attended the lectures of Chitty, the eminent pleader, and formed an intimate friendship with the no less eminent Talfourd. But the profession chosen for him was not to the taste of his noble nature, which could not be moulded to any affinity with a lifelong career of sophistry and chicanery, and to a sense of honour that could be regulated by the amount of a fee. Moreover, though mild in disposition, an in-door occupation did not accord with his temper. He pined for a life of action and enterprise; and, in a short time, he could exultingly say with Norval—

"Heaven soon granted what my sire denied."

The elder brother of Henry Havelock, who was in the army, had gained distinction in the Peninsula, and was mentioned in the despatches of his illustrious chief as even then, in his mere youth, "one of the most chivalrous officers in the service."* This officer was wounded at Waterloo, where he followed him, and putting spurs to his horse, at one bound cleared the *abattis*, and went headlong among the enemy. Then the soldiers, shouting for '*El chico blanco*' (the fair boy)—so they called him, for he was very young, and had light hair—with one shock broke through the French ranks." This noble youth terminated a career of honour by a soldier's death, falling at the head of his regiment, the 14th light dragoons, in a desperate but victorious charge on the Sikhs, at the battle of Ramnuggur, November 22nd, 1848.

acted as aide-de-camp to General Baron Alten; and he possessed sufficient interest and influence to obtain a commission for his brother; and, within a few weeks after Waterloo was won, had the satisfaction of seeing him gazetted to a second-lieutenancy in the rifle brigade. Unfortunately for the aspirations of the young soldier, peace supervened, and the prospect of active military employment in Europe was obscured. For eight years young Havelock, as a subaltern, was obliged to endure a life of mere military routine in various stations of the United Kingdom.

At length, in 1823, an opportunity was afforded him to exchange into the 13th light infantry, a regiment under orders for Indian service. The necessary steps for effecting this were taken, and Henry Havelock landed at Calcutta towards the close of that year. In 1824, the first Burmese war broke out, and he served in the campaign against the "Sovereign of the Golden Foot," as deputy assistant-adjutant-general to the forces, under Sir Archibald Campbell, and was present at the actions of Napadee, Patnagon, and Pagan. Upon the conclusion of the war he was associated with Captain Lumsden and Dr. Knox, in a mission to the court of Ava, and had an audience of the king when the treaty of Yandaboo was signed. In 1827, he was appointed by Lord Combermere to the post of adjutant of the military dépôt at Chinsurah, on the breaking up of which he returned to his regiment. Shortly after this he visited Calcutta, and, having passed the examination in languages at Fort William, was appointed adjutant of his regiment by Lord William Bentinck. The corps, at that time, was under the command of Colonel (afterwards General Sir Robert) Sale. In 1833, after twenty-three years of service as a subaltern, Lieutenant Havelock was promoted to a company, and attended Sir Willoughby Cotton as one of his staff in the invasion of Afghanistan. He served through the Afghan campaign with increased distinction, and was present with Sir John Keane at the storming of Ghuznee in 1839.

After a short leave of absence, Captain Havelock was sent to the Punjab in charge of a detachment, and was placed on the staff of General Elphinstone, as Persian interpreter. He next served in Cabul, under Sir Robert Sale, and was present at the forcing of the Khoord-Cabul Pass, the

action of Tezeen, and all the other engagements of that force until it reached Jellalabad. In conjunction with Major McGregor and Captain Broadfoot, he had, under Sale, the chief direction of the memorable defence of that place. For his services in Cabul he obtained his brevet majority, and was made a companion of the Bath.

Having accompanied Generals Pollock and Gough, as Persian interpreter, on one or two expeditions of minor importance in 1843, we find Major Havelock with the troops at Gwalior, and at the battle of Maharajpore: shortly after which, he obtained the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel; and, in 1845, he proceeded with Lord Hardinge and Lord Gough to the Sutlej; and was actively engaged at the battles of Moodkee, Ferozeshah, and Sobraon. In the first of those engagements he had two horses shot under him, and a third at Sobraon, but himself escaped without a wound. On the conclusion of the Sikh war, he was appointed deputy-adjutant-general of the Queen's troops at Bombay, and had scarcely received tidings of the appointment when the second Sikh war commenced. His own regiment, the 53rd, was ordered up from Bombay to take the field, and had proceeded as far as Indore (nearly 400 miles), when the order was countermanded, and he returned to the duties of his staff appointment. Lieutenant-colonel Havelock took advantage of a temporary lull in the discordant elements of Asiatic policy, and obtained leave of absence, on sick certificate, to England, where he spent two years, recruiting the health weakened by twenty-six years' continuous service, and returning to India in 1851. Upon his arrival, through the interest of Lord Hardinge, who had watched his career with admiration, and by whose side he had fought in the three great battles of the Sutlej, he was appointed first, quartermaster-general, and afterwards adjutant-general, of the Queen's forces in India, which latter post he held until the war with Persia broke out at the close of 1856. On the dispatch of the expedition against Persia, Colonel Havelock was nominated to the command of the second division of the army, and led the troops at Mohammerah. The glory of the action, however, such as it was, was reserved for the naval force employed in the expedition, as the Persian troops ignominiously deserted the field before a gun was fired. Upon the conclusion of peace with the government to whom such



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[A MODEL REGIMENT.]

warriors belonged, Colonel Havelock returned to India, and was wrecked off Ceylon, in the *Erin*, on his passage to Calcutta, in April, 1857. An interesting incident of his life is connected with this disaster. When the vessel struck between twelve and one o'clock in the morning, half a gale of wind blowing, Colonel Havelock sprang upon the deck, and seeing some confusion, said in that sharp military tone that always commands attention, "Men, be steady, and all may be saved: but, if we have confusion, all may be lost. Obey your orders, and think of nothing else." They did so; and behaved in the most exemplary manner. The lives of all on board were saved, and on the following day all were landed, together with the mails and specie. Immediately afterwards, Colonel Havelock mustered the men on the shore, and said, "Now, my men, let us return thanks to Almighty God for the great mercy He has just vouchsafed to us." They all knelt down: he uttered a short prayer of thanksgiving; and then, rising from his knees and looking benignantly upon the companions of his misfortune, he walked away as coolly as if leaving an ordinary parade.*

Upon his arrival at Calcutta, almost the first news that met him was a report of the mutinous outbreak at Meerut and Delhi. Colonel Havelock was not a man to be passed over in the emergency that had arisen, and he was immediately sent up to Allahabad as brigadier, to command the movable column employed against the rebel force under Nana Sahib. His subsequent victories over the Nana's troops, including several pitched battles with numbers far superior to his own, crowned by the action of July 16th, at Cawnpore, and his continuous successes until his arrival at Lucknow, have been recorded in the preceding pages.

For his first exploits in the early summer of 1857, Brigadier-general Havelock was re-

* At a meeting of the Hibernian Bible Society, held at Belfast in the summer of 1857, the Rev. Mr. Graham, of Bonn, repeated the following anecdote as one he had heard from the lips of Lady Havelock:—"When General Havelock, as colonel of his regiment, was travelling through India, he always took with him a Bethel tent, in which he preached the gospel; and when Sunday came, in India, he usually hoisted the Bethel flag, and invited all men to come and hear the gospel; in fact, he even baptized some. He was reported for this at the head-quarters, for acting in a non-military and disorderly manner; and the commander-in-

warded with a good-service pension of £100 a-year, all that the commander-in-chief then had in his power to bestow. The gallant officer was subsequently raised to the rank of general, and honours fell thick upon him. By his sovereign, the distinction of knight commander of the Bath was awarded. The houses of parliament voted him a pension of £1,000 per annum for two lives. The colonelcy of the 3rd Buffs was conferred upon him; and the *London Gazette*, of the 26th of November, announced that her majesty had been pleased to elevate him to the baronetcy, as Sir Henry Havelock of Lucknow. On the day preceding this announcement, the much and deservedly honoured subject of it had passed away from all consciousness of human distinction. In consequence of his demise the day previous to the notification of the baronetcy, a question arose—whether, not having been in actual possession, the title could pass to his descendants? The difficulty was, however, removed by the gracious act of the sovereign; and the *Gazette* of the 19th of January, 1858, announced that her majesty had been pleased to grant the dignity of a baronet to Captain Henry Marshman Havelock, son of the late Major-general Havelock; and had also ordained that the widow of the gallant general should "have, hold, and enjoy the same style, title, place, and precedence to which she would have been entitled had her husband survived and been created a baronet." Captain Sir Henry Havelock was promoted to a majority; and the admiration of the public for his deceased parent was expressed by a monument, to be erected by voluntary subscriptions; and a provision for the surviving daughters of the hero of Lucknow, whose bust was placed, by the citizens of London, in the council-chamber of their Guildhall.

General Havelock married, in 1827, the youngest daughter of the Rev. Dr. Marshman, of Serampore, by whom he had a

chief, General Lord Gough, entertained the charge; but, with the true spirit of a generous military man, he caused the state of Colonel Havelock's regiment to be examined. The reports descriptive of the moral state of various regiments throughout the presidencies, were obtained and laid before him. These were severally referred to for some time back, and he found that Colonel Havelock's stood at the head of the list: there was less drunkenness, less flogging, less imprisonment in it, than in any other. When that was done, the commander-in-chief said—"Go and tell Colonel Havelock, with my compliments, to baptize the whole army."



family of three sons and three daughters; the eldest of whom, now Major Sir Henry Marshman Havelock, was born in 1830.

Sir Colin Campbell, like all around him, mourned the loss of his gallant coadjutor; but there was little time to indulge in grief for the dead, while the safety of the living demanded every thought, and called for instant effort. The march from Dil Koosha to the Alumbagh, and from thence to Cawnpore, had yet to be effected. The women, children, and sick and wounded soldiers had to be preserved, the state prisoners guarded, and the treasure and stores conveyed beyond the reach of the rebel forces. These were objects that required all the consideration and energy of the commander-in-chief, and of the gallant men by whom he was surrounded; and in the bustle of a camp so circumstanced, private griefs could expect but silent sympathy.

The entire British force in Oude was now separated into two divisions: the one under Brigadier Hope Grant to form an escort from the Dil Koosha to the Alumbagh; the other, under General Outram, to keep the enemy at bay until the convoy was safely on its road. The distance to the Alumbagh was about four miles of very rough road; and on the 24th of November the convoy began to move towards it. On that and the following day the whole intermediate distance was covered by a continuous stream of bullock-carriages, palanquins, carts, camels, elephants, guns, ammunition, and store-waggons, soldiers, sailors of the naval brigade, and the non-combatants and prisoners. The stoppages were frequent in the comparatively trifling distance, and the fatigue endured, distressing and dispiriting; but by the evening of the 25th all eventually rested their weary limbs under the shelter of the Alumbagh, so far safe from the enemy.

It had been intended by Sir Colin Campbell to allow the troops and their convoy several days' halt at this place, for the purpose of repose, and to regain strength; but, on the 27th, a heavy and continuous firing was heard in the direction of Cawnpore. As no news from that place had reached the commander-in-chief for several days, the unexpected noise of artillery rendered him apprehensive of new dangers in that quarter, and he determined to push forward his troops and the convoy as rapidly as possible. Leaving General Outram in command of part of the force at Alumbagh, and

placing the rest under the immediate command of Brigadier Hope Grant, he resumed his march for Cawnpore at nine o'clock on the morning of the 28th. One of the individuals who had been liberated from the residency, and was now proceeding with the convoy, says of this unwelcome movement—"We left Alumbagh suddenly on the receipt, by Sir Colin, of some important message from the direction of Cawnpore, and never shall I forget that long, long, weary, weary march. To walk fifteen miles continuously, scarcely interrupted by a short ride on the back of a camel, or on the top of a primitive hackery—to arrive at a camping-ground tired to exhaustion (for, after our long sojourn in Lucknow, none of us could boast of a strong constitution), without knowing where to lay one's head, was bad enough for a man; but for a delicate lady it must have been terrible indeed. But we were not long allowed to remain at our second encamping-ground. A few hours, and another still longer march was begun. On, on we went, in one long, long line—certainly not less than seven or eight miles in length, and over a distance of more than thirty miles, till we arrived a very short way from the Cawnpore bridge of boats. Some bad news had reached the general, and the booming of cannon was distinctly heard across the river. A large fire, too, was visible; and as we approached we found ourselves again in the midst of war."

The message referred to in the preceding extract, told the commander-in-chief of a serious reverse sustained by General Windham (who had been left in charge of Cawnpore), through a daring attack of the mutineers from Gwalior. Sir Colin hurried forward the convoy with its escort; but himself and a few officers at once galloped off for the scene of disaster, where he arrived on the evening of the 28th. He then found that General Windham had been defeated; that a great quantity of stores and ammunition had been destroyed by the enemy; and that the entire of Cawnpore, to the north and east of the canal, was in the possession of a large army composed of the Gwalior and other rebels, headed by Nana Sahib, Koer Sing, and other insurgent leaders. Orders were immediately sent back to the approaching escort for the heavy guns to hurry on, and take up such a position as would prevent the enemy from destroying or attacking the bridge; while



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[ARRIVAL AT CALCUTTA.

a mixed force of infantry, cavalry, and horse artillery was directed to cross with all speed, and command the Cawnpore end of the communication across the Ganges; and, fortunately, this was effected just in time. When the passage was thus rendered safe, the artillery, the remaining troops, and the non-combatants, were ordered to file over the bridge; which they did, occupying it in an unbroken line for thirty-nine hours, unmolested by the enemy's guns, which, owing to the prompt and judicious movement of Sir Colin, could not be brought within range of the boats. Had it been otherwise, and the bridge occupied or destroyed by the enemy, the convoy, cut off from all communication with the English force on the opposite side of the river—having, at the same time, an enemy in the front and another in the rear—would have been desperately situated indeed.

All having, however, safely crossed from Oude, the troops forming the escort encamped around the ruined intrenchment, rendered memorable by the heroism and wretched fate of Sir Hugh Wheeler and his hapless companions; while the women and children, with the sick and wounded they had brought with them, were placed temporarily in occupation of the old foot artillery lines. All communication with the town was cut off; and it was for some time difficult for the great number of people in their new location to obtain provisions. Their speedy removal from Cawnpore consequently became an object of necessity. The commander-in-chief found he could accomplish little in active military operations while his movements continued to be fettered by the crowd of helpless beings that were now depending on him for protection; and the stay of those among them who, from age, sex, or sickness, could render no active service, was rendered as brief as possible. Vehicles, animals, provisions, and stores, were speedily collected; and, on the 3rd of December, notice was issued that, in two hours, the convoy would commence its march towards Allahabad. The escort consisted only of 500 men of the 34th regiment; but by making long forced marches, the whole party escaped injury on the road, and ultimately arrived in safety at Allahabad, where they met with an enthusiastic reception. From thence, proceeding by steamer down the Ganges to Calcutta, their approach to the capital of British India was announced to

the public by the following notification of the governor-general, published in a Calcutta gazette extraordinary:—

“Fort William, Home Department,
January 6th, 1858.

“Within the next few days, the river steamer *Madras*, conveying the first of the ladies and children, and of the sick and wounded officers of the Lucknow garrison, will reach Calcutta.

“No one will wish to obtrude upon those who are under bereavement or sickness, any show of ceremony which shall impose fatigue or pain. The best welcome which can be tendered upon such an occasion, is one which shall break in as little as possible upon privacy and rest.

“But the rescue of these sufferers is a victory beyond all price; and, in testimony of the public joy with which it is hailed, and of the admiration with which their heroic endurance and courage have been viewed, the right honourable the governor-general in council directs that, upon the approach of the *Madras* to Prinsep's Ghaut, a royal salute shall be fired from the ramparts of Fort William.

“The governor-general in council further directs, that all ships of war in the river shall be dressed in honour of the day. Officers will be appointed to conduct the passengers on shore, and the state barges of the governor-general will be in attendance.

“As soon as the telegraph shall announce that the *Madras* has passed Atecheepore, two signal guns will be fired from the fort.—By order, &c.—Cecil Beadon,

“Secretary to the Government of India.”

At length the *Madras*, with its interesting freight, arrived off the landing-place, and the passengers were brought on shore amidst the homage and admiration of the thousands that had assembled to offer them welcome and sympathy.

It is to be remembered, that although, for a season, Sir Colin Campbell had abandoned Lucknow to the rebel forces, he did not relinquish the Alumbagh to them. This post being a compact quadrangular enclosure, capable of defence on each side, would, he considered, if retained, afford an important base for future operations. He therefore left General Outram, with from three to four thousand men, to hold the position against all comers; furnishing him with as large a supply as possible of provisions and stores. The garrison consisted of all the available companies of her majesty's



5th, 72th, 84th, and 90th foot; the Madras Europeans, the Ferozepore Sikhs, three field batteries, some heavy guns, two squadrons of the military train acting as dragoons, and a body of irregular cavalry; and with this force, while the enemy were busily engaged in refortifying the city, and rendering it more formidable than ever, Sir James Outram, on his part, was employed in making the Alumbagh impreg-

nable to attack. The position he occupied now included not only the Alumbagh itself, but a standing camp some three-quarters of a mile distant, and the bridge of Bunnee, which was held for him by 400 Madras sepoys, with two guns.

And thus, for the present, we leave the British troops in Oude, that we may trace the progress of affairs in the Lower Provinces of Bengal.

CHAPTER IV.

EXCITEMENT IN THE LOWER PROVINCES; OUTBREAK AT PATNA; MURDER OF DR. LYELL; REPORTS OF THE COMMISSIONER; THE NATIVE REGIMENTS AT DINAPORE MUTINY AND DESERT; INEFFECTUAL PURSUIT; THE REBELS OCCUPY ARRAH; HEROIC DEFENCE BY MESSRS. BOYLE AND WAKE; RENEWED PURSUIT OF THE DINAPORE MUTINEERS; AN AMBUSCADE; DEFEAT OF THE ENGLISH TROOPS; REPORTS OF LIEUTENANT WALLER AND MAJOR-GENERAL LLOYD; KOER SING IN THE FIELD; DEFEATED BY MAJOR EYRE; DESPATCHES; GENERAL LLOYD'S OBJECTIONS; PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE; GENERAL LLOYD SUPERSEDED; HIS EXPLANATION; FATAL CONFLICT BETWEEN THE 10TH EUROPEAN REGIMENT AND SOME LOYAL SEPOYS; SECOND DEFEAT OF KOER SING AT JUGDESPORE; JUTOWRA DESTROYED BY MAJOR EYRE; MUTINY AND MURDER AT SEGOWLIE; MARTIAL LAW DECLARED IN BENGAL.

RETURNING to the earlier scenes of active rebellion in Bengal proper, it will be seen, that the effect of the outbreak in the North-Western Provinces, began very soon to exercise a dangerous influence over the troops and populations of the Lower Provinces of that presidency; and the lieutenant-governor, with a view to be kept well-informed of the state of feeling throughout the country, about the latter end of May, required the local commissioners to report direct to the government on the circumstances of their respective districts. During the early part of June, much excitement was reported to prevail in the province of Behar, in consequence of a belief inculcated by designing persons, that the government contemplated an active interference with the religion of the people; but no open demonstration of ill-feeling, or any overt acts of revolt, occurred before the middle of the month. The various magistrates throughout the division reported the existence of general tranquillity; but stated their belief, "that the safety of the province depended on the fidelity of the native corps at Dinapore—a military station about ten miles west from Patna; that the Mohammedan population was thoroughly disaffected; and that, in the event of any

disturbance occurring at the head-quarters of the division, they feared the rapid extension of the revolt, and its inevitable result, throughout the province." Precautionary measures were consequently adopted by adding to the police force; by carefully watching and regulating the ghauts; by guarding the frontiers of the neighbouring disaffected districts; and, in some stations, by appointing places of rendezvous for the European residents—so that, in the event of disturbances, they might have a known and combined plan of action. The treasure at Arrah and Chuprah was removed to Patna, where a volunteer guard of Europeans was formed; and the station was further strengthened by several companies of the Sikh police battalion from Scoree. Towards the middle of the month, a panic prevailed in Chuprah and Arrah, consequent on the occurrences at Ghazee-pore, Azimgurh, and other places adjacent, and most of the European residents and persons connected with the railway took refuge in Dinapore.* Confidence was, however, restored by the judicious conduct of the magistrates and other officials; and many of the fugitives returned to their proper abodes. Simultaneously with this supposed groundless

* See vol. i., p. 440.

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[OUTBREAK AT PATNA.]

alarm, three sepoys of the Behar station-guard presented themselves to the commissioner of Patna, and handed to him a letter received by them from sepoys at Dinapore; in which the Behar guards were urged to mutiny, and to seize the treasure at Patna before the arrival of the Sikhs. For this act of fidelity, performed at a critical moment, the men were handsomely rewarded in the presence of their own corps and the Sikhs, and necessary precautions were taken to render abortive any attack upon the treasure at the station.

The first event of importance in this direction, was an attempt at insurrection in the city of Patna,* on the night of the 3rd of July; in the course of which, Dr. Lyell, the principal assistant to the opium agent, was murdered. The occurrence is thus described in the report forwarded to the lieutenant-governor:—

“On the evening of the 3rd, a number of persons, amounting to about 200, assembled at the house of one Peer Ali Khan, a bookseller in the town; and, according to a plan which appeared to have been concerted some few days previously, issued into the streets with two large flags, and a drum beating: the cry of ‘Ali! Ali! Deen!’ was immediately raised; and the party proceeded at once to the Roman Catholic mission-house, with the declared intention of murdering the priest. He, however, had fortunately escaped before their arrival; and they left the house, reiterating their cries, and calling on the people to join them. Mr. J. M. Lewis, the magistrate at Patna, had by this time been informed of the outbreak; and, obtaining a guard of a hundred men of the Sikh police battalion, and accompanied by Captain Rattray, Lieutenant Campbell, and the assistant-magistrate (Mr. Mangles), proceeded to the scene of disturbance—on their way to which, they were informed that Dr. R. Lyell, the

principal assistant to the opium agent of Behar, had been murdered; and that a conflict had afterwards ensued, in which a darogah was killed, and one of the sowars wounded. A reinforcement of fifty men was then sent for; and, while waiting its arrival, the magistrate was informed that, on intelligence of the attack upon the mission-house reaching the opium godown, Dr. Lyell, attended by fifty of the Nujeeb guard, a subahdar, and eight Sikhs, went to meet the insurgents. By the time the doctor and his party came in sight of them, they had left the mission premises, and taken their stand on the chowk, where they planted their flags, and were shouting their religious watchwords. Dr. Lyell, it is supposed, with a design to expostulate with the rioters, advanced in front of his party, notwithstanding the entreaties of his friends that he would not so expose himself. The result of this fatal temerity was soon apparent. As he approached the rioters, a volley was discharged at him, and he fell to the ground; and, at the instant, several of the fanatics rushed forward, and ‘hacked the dying man’s face with their swords.’ The Nujeebs then fired upon the murderers: one man only was killed, but several were wounded; and they then dispersed. Upon the arrival of the reinforcement, Mr. Lewis and his escort proceeded to the place where Dr. Lyell had fallen, and where the eight Sikhs who accompanied him were still standing. Passing on, they came up with a darogah who had encountered the rebels, by whom he was desperately wounded; as, after firing and killing one of them, his servant had deserted him, carrying off his sword and ammunition, and leaving his master nothing to defend himself with but his discharged piece. A police sowar went to his assistance, and severely wounded one of the rioters, named Imam-ood-deen, who was

* Patna is situated on the southern bank of the Ganges, about 155 miles east of Benares. It is considered one of the largest cities of Hindostan, extending about four miles along the sacred stream. Some writers have supposed it to be the ancient Palibrotha. It contains numerous mosques and temples; but, excepting in the suburb of Bankipore, which is the quarter of the English residents, the houses are chiefly mud-built. In this quarter the most conspicuous object is a building in the form of a beehive, nearly a hundred feet in height, with walls twenty feet in thickness at the base. An exterior double flight of steps leads to the summit, to which, it is related, the late Earl of Munster on one occasion ascended on horseback. The building was

erected about the beginning of the present century, as one of a series of immense granaries to provide against famine or scarcity; but many causes operated to make this first attempt the last also; one of them being the fact, that large as was the building, it would not contain a week’s consumption of grain for so immense a province as that in which it was situated: another objection arose from the liability of its contents to ferment and blow it up, notwithstanding its massiveness; and finally, the doors from which the grain was to issue, were made to open inwards instead of outwards. The edifice has consequently been appropriated to other purposes, but still remains a monument of the folly that designed it.



taken prisoner: and, with the exception of those two men, none of the police would face the rebels, or make any effort to check their proceedings. Some gentlemen belonging to the opium factory then came up; and, as the rioters had gone off, they were enabled to raise and carry away the remains of Dr. Lyell without molestation. Meantime the alarm had spread among the European residents, who hastily resorted to the commissioner's house, which had been fortified in case of an emergency: guards were posted at the bridges which connected the parade-ground with the streets; and all necessary precautions were taken to prevent surprise. The affair, however, then passed off without further attempt at violence."

The scene of the disturbance being seven miles distant from the residence of Mr. W. Tayler, the commissioner of Patna, it was nearly two hours after the outbreak before that functionary received any reliable intelligence of it. Mr. Tayler says, in his report—"About ten o'clock, Mr. Anderson, an assistant in the opium department, galloped up to the house with a drawn sword, and, asking for me, exclaimed, 'The city is up! the Sikhs have retired! Dr. Lyell is shot dead; we were too few!' It was not very easy to obtain from him any accurate information; but on hearing this, I sent an express to the general for assistance. Before it arrived, however, we had received accounts from the spot that all was over, and the rioters had dispersed. Previous to Dr. Lyell's death, the khotegusht darogah had encountered the rebels, and cut down one of them, who was a prisoner, and I ordered him to be brought to my house, in the hope of eliciting some information from him. He, however, was not then disposed to be communicative. On the following day, the man, whose name was Imam-ood-deen, expressed his willingness to disclose what he knew of the affair; and on my going to him, he stated that he had been engaged by Peer Ali Khan, and, with many others, had been receiving pay for the last three months, on the understanding that when the time arrived, and he was called upon, he should fight for 'deen' and the padishah of Delhi. He named several of his accomplices, and gave other items of intelligence. Meanwhile the house of Peer Ali Khan, the bookseller, had been searched, and a quantity of arms, and some letters of importance, were found. Peer Ali had escaped, but was tracked and

captured, after some resistance, on the following evening. Thirty-six persons were afterwards arrested and tried by the magistrates and myself, under the commission, on the 7th instant. Sixteen were sentenced to death; fourteen were hanged within three hours after sentence—two being reprieved for some hours, with a hope of obtaining information from them; two others were transported for life; one sentence was deferred, and seventeen men were imprisoned for various terms. Some of the men who were hanged, exhibited the feelings of men who believe themselves martyrs; but the majority were silent and undemonstrative. On the 6th of July, a police jemadar, named Waris Ali, who had been detected in possession of some treasonable correspondence, was also tried under the commission, and capitally sentenced. He was executed the same day, and his last words were to ask if no Mussulman would assist him. Both this man and Peer Ali, at the time of their execution, requested that the money they had about them might be given to a fakir; but the application was refused. Waris Ali was said to be related to the royal family of Delhi. I postponed his trial for two or three days after his arrival, and had several private interviews with him, hoping, by such means, to elicit information; but he was evidently not in the secrets of the leaders, as he could tell me nothing more than what I already knew from other sources; and he was in such excessive alarm and despair, that I am convinced he would have done anything to save his life. When speaking in private with me, he implored me to tell him whether there was any way in which his life could be spared. I said, 'yes,' and his eyes opened with unmistakable delight; and when he asked again what the way was, his countenance was a picture of anxiety, hope, and terror. I told him, 'I will make a bargain with you; give me three lives, and I will give you your's.' He then told me all the names that I already knew, but could disclose nothing further. He was evidently not clever enough to be a confidant."

The khotegusht darogah, who recovered from his wounds, was rewarded with a present of 300 rupees, and promotion as a supernumerary from the third to the second grade. Peer Ali, who was proved to have been the principal in the riot, was defiant to the last; and in character, appearance, and manners, was described by the commissioner as a brutal but brave fanatic. His house was razed to



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[OUTBREAK AT DINAPORE.]

the ground, and a post placed on the site, with an inscription, telling of the crime and fate of the owner and his accomplices.

In a report on the 21st of the month, Mr. Tayler stated that, since the conviction of the rioters mentioned in his former communication, he had obtained information from the wounded prisoner, Imam-ood-deen, that had induced him to order the arrest of some fifty other individuals, upon a charge of complicity in the disturbance. This prisoner having received a promise of his life, and being apparently grateful for the care and treatment of his wounds, made many important communications in further elucidation of the plot; and, among other revelations, it was stated by him that the Dinapore sepoy had consented to the conspiracy, but that there was a difference of opinion between them and the townspeople as to the day; the sepoy wishing for Sunday—the townsfolk preferring Friday, which is the sacred day of the Mohammedans. The design, however, was ultimately abandoned; and the magistrate of Patna had reported, on the 18th of July, that the city appeared perfectly quiet, the shops were open, and the inhabitants, if possible, more respectful in demeanour than usual.

The proceedings at Patna, and in the adjacent districts, were not without damaging influence upon the native troops in cantonments at Dinapore, the distance between the two cities being so trifling. The barracks of the European troops at Dinapore were situated in a large square westward of the native town: beyond this were the native lines; and, still more westward, was the magazine in which the percussion-caps were stored. Major-general Lloyd, commander of the station and of a large military district called the "Dinapore division," was a man well advanced in years, infirm, and unable to mount his horse without assistance. That such a man, however gallant and high-spirited in his effective days, should have been left in possession of so important a command at such a crisis, was the fault of his superiors rather than of himself. He had, besides the physical infirmity which incapacitated him from active exertion, a strong leaven of the prejudice entertained by many of the old officers of the Company in favour of the sepoy. He was proud of them, and persisted in trusting them until it was too late to rectify the error. Thus, when the Calcutta people petitioned the governor-general to disarm

the native regiments at Dinapore, and the officers of the Queen's regiments at that station advocated a similar measure, Lord Canning, unfortunately, left the matter to the discretion of Major-general Lloyd; and the result was, that the favourable moment for accomplishing the object was neglected: and when at length, on the 25th of July, the appearance of affairs induced the confiding officer to feel less than his wonted reliance upon the native regiments, he shrank from disarming them, and sought to render them less dangerous by quietly removing the percussion-caps from the magazines. With the consequences that followed we shall presently be acquainted.

For some time prior to the actual outbreak at Dinapore, the European residents were exposed to continued anxiety from an undefined sense of impending mischief. The native troops at the station consisted of the 7th, 8th, and 40th regiments of Bengal infantry; but a portion of her majesty's 10th regiment, and two companies of the 37th, with a field battery of six guns, were also there: the whole, as we have seen, under the command of Major-general Lloyd; and there was not a British officer at the station, with the exception of the general himself, that doubted the possibility of disarming and controlling the whole native force, had an order been issued to that effect at the proper time. Occurrences at Azimgurh, Benares, and other stations, at length appeared to General Lloyd to warrant some precautionary measures, that his favourite sepoy might be prevented from committing themselves; and he reluctantly gave an order to remove the percussion-caps from the magazine: those caps, unfortunately, had to be brought in front of the entire length of the sepoy lines, on their way to the English artillery barracks. Early on the morning of the 25th of July, two hackeries went down to the magazine, under charge of an officer's guard: the caps were quietly placed in them, and the carts were drawn some distance towards their destination—the sepoy looking sullenly on. At length a cry was raised by the men of the 7th and 8th regiments—"They are taking away our ammunition! Stop it! Kill the sahibs!"—and the excitement of the two corps became formidable. The men of the 40th regiment being, however, yet faithful, and showing a disposition to prevent any attempt to get possession of the caps, the latter were safely conveyed to their destination. This demon-



stration being reported to General Lloyd, he determined to deprive the whole of the men of the fifteen caps each, reserved to them; and at 10 A.M., an order was issued that they should be collected by the native officers, and placed in store by one o'clock of the same day—thus allowing three hours for the men to consider whether to surrender them or not. They evidently determined upon the latter alternative, and occupied the interval by filling their pouches with cartridges, and quietly moving themselves, with their arms, out of the lines. The fact of their desertion was not known until half-past two o'clock, by which time the whole of the three regiments had withdrawn from the cantonments. The alarm was then given by a gun at the outpost of the European hospital. Some time elapsed before the facts of this wholesale desertion could be comprehended; and a delay then occurred before any guns were dispatched in pursuit. At length, these having proceeded about a mile, and fired some round shot (which had no effect), they returned to the cantonments, as it was impossible for them to follow the route taken by the deserters, on their way to cross the Soane at Arrah—a station about twenty-five miles distant. The brigadier-general, who was incapacitated by gout from walking, considered he could render more effectual service by following the track of the mutineers, which, he assumed, would be along the river-bank; and, with that view, he placed himself on board a steamer, which, keeping close abreast with the guns and Europeans sent in pursuit, would enable him to direct their operations. This arrangement was rendered futile, in consequence of the deserters avoiding the anticipated route, and taking to the swampy fields and across a nullah, which rendered pursuit by artillery impracticable. Upon the return of the column, the steamer, with the general on board, also returned to the station. The same evening, as fears were entertained for the safety of Patna, two guns, and a detachment of the 10th and 37th regiments, were sent thither; and the following morning, on it being reported that the mutineers were about to cross the river to Arrah, a detachment of the 37th regiment, with Enfield rifles, was sent up the Soane in an armed steamer, which, after proceeding about twelve miles, got aground, and, after a detention of several hours, returned in the evening to Dinapore, without having been able to reach the vicinity of the

mutinous force, which, meanwhile, had succeeded in crossing the river, and had then destroyed the bridge.

Early in the morning of Monday, the 27th of July, the rebels marched into Arrah—proceeding immediately to the gaol, where they released the prisoners. About 400 of the latter, with the gaol guard, and several hundreds of armed deserters and men on leave, that flocked in from the surrounding country, joined the mutineers; and, together, formed a body of about 3,000 men, the greater part of whom were disciplined soldiers. This force was presently augmented by an equal number of armed men belonging to Koer Sing, a native chief of large property and influence in the neighbourhood; and the united rebels at once took possession of the government treasury and public edifices, which they plundered, preparatory to committing deplorable outrages upon the persons and property of all who ventured to oppose their lawless proceedings.

Fortunately for the safety of the Europeans at this place, the acting magistrate, Mr. H. C. Wake, was a man of energy and judgment, and was equal to the crisis that had arrived. He was admirably seconded by Mr. Boyle, district engineer to the railway company; who, having anticipated the possibility of a visit from some of the predatory bands that were scattered over the country, had made timely preparation for the protection and defence of the community, by fortifying a detached two-storey house, fifty feet square, with a flat roof, which stood in the same compound with his private residence. This building Mr. Boyle had well provisioned and armed, to withstand a siege or attack; and within its shelter, on the evening of Sunday, the 26th of July, the civil magistrate, and the whole of the European residents at the station, took refuge from the storm that had gathered around them.

The spirit and determination with which the little garrison maintained their position during seven days' incessant attack, is well described in the following statement of Mr. Boyle, dated the 15th of August. He says—"On Sunday, the 26th, we heard that the mutinous sepoys were crossing the river Soane in large numbers, at a point eight miles from Arrah, and were on their march towards us. One of the government officers and I rode out half-way, but could not get any positive account or intelligence of their numbers; and, as the despatches



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INDIAN MUTINY.

[MR. WAKE'S REPORT.]

sent from Dinapore to warn us had been intercepted, we did not know whether one, two, or three native regiments had mutinied; and we hoped, but vainly, that they would immediately be pursued. We had fifty Sikh soldiers in Arrah, and, being sixteen ourselves, resolved to make a stand. Accordingly, on Sunday night we occupied the bungalow; and the mutineers, after securing the treasure on Monday, attacked us about nine o'clock A.M. Most of the Europeans, besides revolvers and hog-spears, had two double-barrelled guns, or a gun and a rifle, with abundance of ammunition, and, providentially, a large surplus; from which, when the Sikhs' supplies began to run short, we made some thousand cartridges. To describe the repeated attacks, the almost incessant firing, and the hairbreadth escapes we sustained until Sunday, the 2nd of August, at sunset, would form a lengthy narrative; and, as I have by me a copy of an official description of it, it occurs to me that the perusal of it will interest you, and save the time it would take me to write more at length. On Sunday afternoon (August 2nd) we saw an evident commotion among our assailants, and soon after heard faintly the firing of cannon at a distance to the westward. This afterwards proved to be a relieving force, which had marched from Buxar to our assistance, and which the main body of the insurgents went out to meet; but the latter being wholly defeated, we passed Sunday night unmolested, and next morning marched out of our shattered but still strong little fort triumphant, but I hope not vainglorious, in having kept at bay for a week a hundred times our number. Our miraculous preservation should be ever a continual cause of the deepest thankfulness to us all; for, excepting some scratches and bruises not worth mentioning, but one of our little garrison (a Sikh) was dangerously wounded. Numbers of the enemy were killed around us; and in my own dwelling-house, which was gutted, and afterwards partially burnt, everything of value was either destroyed or carried away by the back approach, which we could not command. What we were most apprehensive of for some days, was disease from the odour of dead bodies; and four or five of our own horses (including my best Arab riding-horse) were shot, and in a state of decomposition within fifty yards of us; but neither was this allowed seriously to affect us. I should now tell you of the terrible disaster

which befel a force of nearly 500 men sent from Dinapore to our relief during the middle of the siege. They had on Wednesday night (July 29th) incautiously approached Arrah, and fell into an ambush; and there, and in the retreat to the Ganges, lost one-third of their number killed, and a large proportion badly wounded, there being but a very few who escaped unscathed. When we heard from our fort (not a mile off) the sudden and heavy volleys about dark midnight, we guessed too truly what had occurred; and I believe there were few among us who did not feel far more deeply the reverse which (as the firing grew fainter) we knew must have befallen our countrymen, than that by their defeat we had lost our best and almost only hope of succour.

"The nightly treacherous harangues made to us by the mutineers from the cover of my dwelling-house, sixty yards off, were answered only by us when there was a pause, by a volley of bullets directed towards the speaker's hiding-place. It was agreed no other answer should ever be given them; and I do not believe there was a man among us who would have allowed himself, if possible, to fall into their hands alive. When water ran short, the Sikhs commenced digging a well under the house, and continued their labour until they came to a spring; and when all was happily ended, they asked me, and I have promised, to build the well into a permanent one, as a memento of their services, and that our fort shall have affixed upon it the name of 'Futtegur,' or 'House of Victory.' For some days after we had been relieved, I was engaged in erecting some bridges that had been broken down by the mutineers, and restoring the main lines of communication, as field-engineer to Major Eyre's force, when, in returning to Arrah, I received a severe kick from a vicious horse belonging to one of our party. Luckily, no bone was broken; but I was laid up for two days, and, on the force preparing to leave Arrah, I had to be carried into Dinapore. I am now able to go about a little; so that, in another week, I hope to be as well as ever."

The official report of Mr. Wake, the magistrate in charge of the district, to the commissioner of the Patna division, is dated the 3rd of August, and states as follows:—

"I have the honour to forward, for the information of his honour the lieutenant-governor, the following narrative of our



extraordinary defence and providential escape. On the evening of Saturday, July the 25th, I received an express from Dinapore, warning us that a disturbance was apprehended on that day, but giving us no other information. On the morning of the 26th of July, a sowar whom I had at Koelwar Ghaut, on the Soane, came in and reported that numbers of sepoys had crossed, and that many more were crossing. I found that Mr. Palin, the railway engineer stationed at Koelwar, had contented himself with sending over for the boats to the Arrah side the night before; but, when leaving, had failed to destroy them as he had promised to do. The police, I imagine, bolted at the first alarm. All efforts to ascertain the amount of the force of the rebels were unavailing; and the police left the city on Sunday, the 26th. Thinking it highly inadvisable to abandon the station when the rebels might be few, and having fifty Sikhs on the spot, and finding the rest of the officers of the station of the same opinion, and that the few residents of the district who had come in were willing to remain, we, on the night of Sunday, the 26th, went into a small bungalow previously fortified by Mr. Boyle, the district engineer of the railway company. Our force consisted of one jemadar and two havildars, two naiks, forty-five privates, a bhisti and cook, of Captain Rattray's Sikh police battalion; Mr. Littledale, judge; Mr. Combe, officiating collector; Mr. Wake, magistrate; Mr. Colvin, assistant; Dr. Halls, civil assistant-surgeon; Mr. Field, sub-deputy opium agent; Mr. Anderson, his assistant; Mr. Boyle, district engineer to the railway company; Synd Azim-oo-deen H. Khan, deputy-collector; Mr. Dacosta, moonsiff; Mr. Godfrey, schoolmaster; Mr. Cook, officiating head clerk of the collectorate; Mr. Tait, secretary to Mr. Boyle; Messrs. Delpeiron and Hoyle, railway inspectors; and Mr. De Souza. We had enough ottah and grain for some days of short allowance, and a good deal of water for ourselves; but owing to the shortness of our notice, nothing but the barest necessities could be brought in, and the Sikhs had only a few days' water; but as we expected the rebels to be followed up immediately, we had not much anxiety on that score.

"On Monday, the 27th of July, about 8 A.M., the insurgent sepoys, and the whole of the 7th, 8th, and 40th native infantry,

arrived in the station; and having first released the prisoners, rushed to the collectorate, where they were at once joined by the Nujeebs, and looted the treasure, amounting to 85,000 rupees. This did not take long, and they then charged our bungalow from every side; but being met with a steady and well-directed fire, they changed their tactics, and, hiding behind the trees with which the compound is filled, and occupying the outhouses and Mr. Boyle's residence, which was unfortunately within sixty yards of our fortification, they kept up an incessant and galling fire on us during the whole day. They were joined by numbers of Koer Sing's men; and the sepoys repeatedly declared they were acting under his express orders; and, after a short time, he was seen on the parade, and remained during the siege. Every endeavour was made by the rebels to induce the Sikhs to abandon us; heavy bribes were offered to them, and their own countrymen employed as mediators. They treated every offer with derision, showing perfect obedience and discipline.

"On the 28th, two small cannon were brought to play on our bungalow, one throwing 4lb. shot; and they were daily shifted to what the rebels thought our weakest spots. Finally, the largest was placed on the roof of Mr. Boyle's dwelling-house, completely commanding the inside of our bungalow; and the smallest behind it, at a distance of twenty yards. Nothing but cowardice, want of unanimity, and only the ignorance of our enemies, prevented our fortification being brought down about our ears. During the entire siege, which lasted seven days, every possible stratagem was practised against us. The cannons were fired as frequently as they could prepare shot, with which they were at first unprovided, and incessant assaults were made upon the bungalow. Not only did our Sikhs behave with perfect coolness and patience, but their untiring labour met and prevented every threatened disaster. Water began to run short; a well of eighteen feet by four was instantly dug in less than twelve hours. The rebels raised a barricade on the top of the opposite house; ours grew in the same proportion. A shot shook a weak place in our defence; the place was made twice as strong as before. We began to feel the want of animal food, and the short allowance of grain: a sally was made at night, and four sheep brought in:



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[GOVERNMENT RECOGNITION.]

and, finally, we ascertained beyond a doubt that the enemy were undermining us; a countermine was quickly dug. On the 30th, troops sent to our relief from Dinapore, were attacked and beaten back close to the entrance of the town. On the next day the rebels returned; and, telling us that they had annihilated our relief, offered the Sikhs and the women and children (of which there were none with us) their lives and liberty if they would give up the government officers. On the 1st of August we were all offered our lives, and leave to go to Calcutta, if we would give up our arms. On the 2nd, the greater part of the sepoys went out to meet Major Eyre's field force; and, on their being soundly thrashed, the rest of them abandoned the station: and that night we went out, and found their mine had reached our foundations; and a canvassed tube, filled with gunpowder, was lying handy to blow us up—in which, however, I do not think they could have succeeded, as their powder was bad, and another stroke of the pick would have broken into our countermine. We also brought in the gun which they had left on the top of the opposite house. During the whole siege, only one man (a Sikh) was severely wounded, though two or three got scratches and blows from splinters of bricks. Everybody in the garrison behaved well: but I should be neglecting a duty did I omit to mention specially Mr. Boyle, to whose engineering skill and untiring exertions we in a great measure owe our preservation; and Mr. Colvin, who rendered the most valuable assistance, and who rested neither night nor day, and took on himself far more than his share of every disagreeable duty. In conclusion, I must earnestly beg that his honour the lieutenant-governor will signally reward the whole of our gallant little detachment of Sikhs, whose service and fidelity cannot be overrated. The jemadar should be at once made a subahdar. Many of the rest are fit for promotion; and, when required, I will submit a list with details.—I have, &c.,

"H. C. WAKE, Magistrate."

The report was transmitted by Mr. Tayler to the secretary to the government of Bengal, on the 8th of August, with the following letter:—

"Patna, August 8th, 1857."

"Herewith I have the honour to forward a copy of a very interesting report from Mr. Wake, reporting officially the events

that occurred at Arrah since the mutiny. The conduct of the garrison is most creditable, and the gallantry and fidelity of the Sikhs beyond all praise. I have no time at present to make any lengthened remarks on the subject, but will submit a full report hereafter. Meanwhile, I beg to recommend that the thanks of government be conveyed to all who held the garrison, and especially to Mr. Wake and Mr. Boyle; that the native officers of the Sikhs be immediately promoted, and that twelve months' pay be given to all the soldiers concerned.—I have, &c.,

"W. TAYLER, Commissioner, &c."

On the 15th of the month, the report of Mr. H. C. Wake, with the letter accompanying it, was transmitted by the lieutenant-governor of Bengal to the governor-general in council; the lieutenant-governor observing, he had no doubt that his lordship would read the report with the same interest that he had himself felt; and he desired to express his sense of the excellent conduct of the officers and gentlemen concerned, as well as of the courage and loyalty evinced by the Sikhs, which, in his opinion, called for the most marked approbation and acknowledgments of the government.

To this honourable testimony from the local government of Bengal, his excellency the governor-general in council directed the following response to be forwarded by the secretary to the government of India:—

"August 20th, 1857."

"Sir,—I am desired to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 1,330, dated the 15th inst., with enclosure, describing the gallant defence made by the officers of the station of Arrah, and other gentlemen, and aided by a detachment of the Sikh police battalion, against the men of the three mutinous regiments from Dinapore, and a large number of insurgents, under the rebel Koer Sing, of Jugdespore.

"The right honourable the governor-general in council cordially joins the honourable the lieutenant-governor in acknowledging the admirable conduct of the officers and gentlemen who were engaged in this affair, and the courage and fidelity of the Sikh officers and soldiers who composed the guard. I am directed to request that these sentiments of his lordship in council may be made known to all concerned.

"His lordship in council sanctions the promotion of such of the native officers and men of the Sikh police corps as may be

recommended by the magistrate, and the grant of a gratuity of twelve months' pay to the whole of the officers and men of the detachment.—I have, &c.—C. BEADON."

Returning to the operations carried on at Dinapore for the pursuit of the rebels and the relief of Arrah, it appears that, on the evening of Monday, the 27th of July, a force consisting of a detachment of the 37th regiment and fifty Sikhs, was dispatched by the steamer *Horungotta* to Buhira Ghaut, on the Ganges, eight miles from Arrah. The unfortunate vessel took the ground after three hours' steaming, without any prospect of getting off unless by a rise of the river; and the object of this expedition was frustrated. At length, on the evening of the 28th, the steamer *Bombay* arrived off the station, on her downward passage, and the brigadier-general determined to send up on her, and the flat attached, 250 men of the 37th, with the head-quarters of the 10th regiment, to be joined by the detachment yet on board the *Horungotta*; this united force, under the command of Colonel Fenwick, being directed afterwards to proceed to the Buhira Ghaut, and there disembark. Part of this plan was, however, abandoned, in consequence of the commander of the *Bombay*, when the time for embarking the troops arrived, objecting to tug both flats; and as means were deficient for sending up more than 150 men, a detachment, reduced to that number, was placed under the command of Captain Dunbar, of the 10th regiment. This officer, as senior, eventually assumed command of the entire party destined for Arrah; and the result is thus described by the general and the surviving officers of the party.

On the 30th of July, General Lloyd reported, by telegraph, to the commander-in-chief as follows:—

"Dinapore, 4.20 P.M. (30th.)

"The result of the expedition to Arrah has been, I regret to say, very disastrous, owing entirely to the mismanagement of the officer in command, the late Captain Dunbar, of her majesty's 10th regiment. They arrived at the point of debarkation at 3 P.M. yesterday: landing, three hours and a-half. They marched off for Arrah at 7 P.M., having the moon for some hours: this was all right. They met with scarcely any opposition till they reached a bridge near Arrah: here Captain Harris, second in command, advised Captain Dunbar to halt till daylight; but he, trusting to false reports made to the magistrate, decided on proceeding in

the dark, and fell into an ambuscade close to the city. Here he is supposed to have fallen, and many men also. The column broke in confusion. After struggling some distance, the men rallied and re-formed 400 yards distant: awaited daybreak, when retreat was commenced. The men were hungry and exhausted; the rebels, in large bodies, pursued them hotly to the ghaut; latterly, their fire slackened for want of ammunition. At the ghaut the Europeans became uncontrollable, and rushed to the boats, drawing on themselves a heavy fire, by which they suffered greatly, and one boat was burnt. The retreat seems to have been a hurried flight."

The report of Lieutenant Waller, of the 40th native infantry, to the assistant-adjutant-general, Dinapore, dated the 31st of July, describes the affair thus:—

"I have the honour to report, for the information of the major-general commanding the station, that hearing, on the evening of the 29th, that a party of her majesty's 10th regiment was ordered to proceed to Arrah, I volunteered to accompany them. We started from here (Dinapore) at daylight on the 30th, in the steamer *Bombay*, and proceeded up the river to where the flat attached to the government steamer *Horungotta* was, and took her in tow, with a party of her majesty's 37th regiment, and fifty Sikhs of Captain Rattray's police corps, on board—the *Horungotta* being aground. We then proceeded to Buhira Ghaut, and anchored. Lieutenant Ingilby, 7th native infantry, then gave me command of the fifty Sikhs; Ensign Anderson, 22nd native infantry, and Ensign Venour, of my own regiment, volunteering to do duty with me.

"Lieutenant Ingilby then proceeded with fifteen men (Sikhs of the 7th and 8th native infantry, whom he had taken from Dinapore with him) to a nullah about two miles off, for the purpose of seizing the boats to cross the detachment. About twenty minutes after Lieutenant Ingilby had left, I heard shots in the direction of the nullah, and immediately started with my fifty men; but when I got up to the place the firing had ceased, except a few shots which were fired to stop a boat that was sailing up the river. Although desired to stop, Lieutenant Ingilby then crossed the nullah with his fifteen men, leaving me on the other side.

"I then sent off one of my men to Captain Dunbar, to tell him we needed no assistance, hoping I should be in time to prevent his



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coming with his detachment, who were cooking when I left; but they had got about half-way before my messenger reached them. Upon the arrival of the 10th and 37th regiments at the nullah, the order was given to cross, which took up a long time, as the current of the river was very strong, and the boats large and heavy: we had finished crossing by 6 o'clock P.M., and then commenced our march. Except that the road was dreadfully uneven, and very distressing to the feet, we had no difficulties of any kind: it was a moonlight night, and the only armed men we saw from the time we left the steamer until our arrival at Arrah, were the few men who fired at Lieutenant Ingilby, and who were left (so the villagers said) by Baboo Koer Sing, to give him news as soon as we arrived; which showed, with what occurred afterwards, that they were well aware of the party having been sent against them. We arrived in Arrah about eleven o'clock; it was then quite dark, as the moon had gone down; and were proceeding quickly through the outskirts of the town, in the following order:—Lieutenant Ingilby a short way ahead of the column with his fifteen men; then her majesty's 10th, followed by my Sikhs; and her majesty's 37th brought up the rear: when in going by a large tope of mango trees, which Lieutenant Ingilby had passed without seeing or hearing anything, we received a most dreadfully severe fire, which I heard killed a good number of our men, who, not being prepared, and the fire being so heavy and so very close to us, ran off the road into the fields on the other side, and from thence commenced firing on the tope. I lost on the road the native officer, a first-rate fellow, who was shot close to me, and also some men, but how many I do not know, as we did not go near the place again. The men were dreadfully scattered, and there was great difficulty in collecting them; some did not join us till next day, and others were dropping in all night. We then retreated to another road, and lay down behind a small 'bund,' which rose along both sides of the road facing the topes in which the rebels were, and which afforded a capital shelter from the fire, which was kept up at short intervals all night. It was after retreating to this bund that Ensign Anderson was killed; poor fellow! he was shot dead through the heart. We remained here during the whole night, and at daylight started back for the steamer, a distance

of about thirteen miles. We were followed in large numbers by the rebels: the main body would not come within range, but they sent out a great number of sepoys (picked shots, I fancy) right and left, who took advantage of every tree and inequality of the ground the whole way, and kept up, without the least cessation, a most severe fire on our column the whole march—nearly all, or a great part, of their shot telling on us; whereas they were so much scattered, and so well covered, that they did not suffer much loss: however, although we lost a great number of men, we arrived at the ghaut with comparatively very little loss to what we expected.

"When we arrived at the nullah we found a number of large boats on this side, into which the men immediately rushed, and commenced trying to shove the boats across; but most of them were aground, and the others were so large that the men could not manage them, and all the boatmen had been driven away by the sepoys: every time a man showed himself outside a boat he was fired at from the village, which was close by, and at last the men gave up altogether the idea of getting across in boats, and, taking off all their clothes, those that could, swam across. Upon getting down to the nullah, Ensign Venour and I got into a boat with some of the men, and, while I was shoving out the boat, we tried with a rifle to shoot some of the fellows who were making a mark of me. He knocked over one, but, unfortunately, got shot himself immediately after through the thigh, and dropped. I tied up his leg as well as I could, and, getting some more help, I succeeded in getting the boat off; but the fire was so hot, as they saw a chance of our getting away from them, that I and four men left the boat and swam ashore, being fired at the whole way across. Ensign Venour also left the boat a short time afterwards, and, although wounded, managed to swim ashore; the fire from the village the whole time was most severe, killing and wounding a great number.

"After those who could swim got away, the sepoys first opened a most severe fire on the few who remained in the boats that were aground, and, after wounding most of the men in them, they all rushed down and set fire to the roofs. It was here that poor Lieutenant Ingilby was killed; and a great number of wounded, who had been carried so far, were obliged to be left; a few escaped



in a small boat in which some Sikhs took some wounded officers across (Ensign Erskine amongst others), whom they brought for above five miles on a bed, procured in a village. They returned a second time with the boat, in despite of the fire.

"Nothing could be better than the way in which the Sikhs behaved from the time I got command of them; they made themselves extremely useful in every way, and were always cool, steady, and under perfect control.—I am, &c.,

"H. WALLER, Lieutenant,
"40th Regiment Native Infantry."

The report of Captain Harrison to the assistant-adjutant-general is as follows;—

"Dinapore, July 31st, 1857.

"Sir,—It is with much concern that I have to report, for the information of the major-general commanding division, on the following occurrence connected with the expedition to Arrah, for the purpose of relieving the European inhabitants at that station. At three o'clock p.m., of the 29th instant, the steamer carrying detachments as per margin,* arrived off the point of debarkation, about three miles from the mainland. The party of Sikhs were detached, and shortly afterwards reached the shore for the purpose of seizing boats to enable the detachments to pass over: on arriving there under the command of Lieutenant Ingilby, 7th native infantry, the party were fired upon by some of the rebels posted on the spot to prevent the seizure of the boats by us; there, however, we landed after some shots were fired in that direction, and, after about three hours and a-half, the passage was accomplished.

"Having formed, the detachments commenced their march towards Arrah at seven o'clock p.m., and, with the exception of a few shots being fired at the Sikhs thrown out on our flanks, we reached, without opposition, a bridge distant from Arrah about one mile and a-half: this was the place where I had represented to Captain Dunbar the expediency of halting until daylight; to which he replied, he had heard from the magistrate of the improbability of our meeting with any opposition—he thought it was preferable to push on. After advancing from the bridge about half-an-hour, we were assailed from the embankment of a wood on the right of the road, by a large body of the

rebels firing, about thirty yards' distance, on the flank of the column, which at once did severe execution, and was followed up by a continued running fire that caused great destruction amongst officers and men; here I believe Captain Dunbar fell. The men endeavoured to gain shelter on the other side of the road, but, it being quite dark, they fell down a steep embankment (about six feet), and many men lost their firelocks: after straggling some distance, the officers succeeded in re-forming the men in a field some four hundred yards from the ambuscade, and took up a position for the night (it was then about midnight and very dark) in a field adjoining, which seemed to afford some protection. Here we remained until daylight, the rebels keeping up a fire during the night on our position. We then commenced our retreat towards the steamer, twelve miles distant: in consequence of the men of both regiments having fasted such a long time, they were too exhausted and tired to act as skirmishers; however, our rear-guard and files on the flanks frequently kept up a fire until all their ammunition was expended, by which time we arrived at the bank of the river: we were compelled to march in column, the rebels pursuing us in large bodies the whole distance to the ghauts, both on flank and rear; but their fire visibly slackened the last two miles: the rebels, it was supposed, were running short of ammunition, and wished to reserve it. On our arriving at the ghauts, notwithstanding the efforts of the officers, the men made a rush to the boats, immediately upon which the rebels advanced upon us, and commenced a heavy fire of musketry and two guns upon the boats, which were forsaken by the boatmen: this caused great loss; and one fired one of the boats. The remnants of the detachment gained the steamer, which I immediately ordered to Dinapore, to gain assistance for the wounded. The loss we inflicted on the rebels I believe to be small on account of the darkness, and the men being too exhausted to fire. The people of the country turned out against us.

"I have, &c.—R. P. HARRISON,

"Captain, commanding Detachment of
Her Majesty's 37th Regiment."

Appended to the above report, is a return of killed and wounded; showing of the former 135, of the latter 60, as the cost of this most unfortunate affair.

These reports were transmitted by Major-general Lloyd, to the deputy-adjutant-gen-

* Her majesty's 10th regiment—three officers, 150 men; ditto 37th regiment—seven officers, 190 men; Sikhs—one officer, 65 men: total, 405.



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[MAJOR EYRE AT ARRAH.]

eral of the army, on the 1st of August. After briefly referring to the circumstances attending the embarkation, and the result, the major-general observes—"The report of Captain Harrison, the senior surviving officer of the party, will put his excellency the commander-in-chief in possession of the very untoward events which attended the subsequent progress of the expedition. From what is apparent on the face of the report, and from information I have derived, it seems to me that this disastrous affair may be attributed, 1st, To the men commencing the land journey without previously taking food; which evidently much impaired their efficiency during the harassing circumstances in which they were placed. 2ndly, From the late commanding officer of the detachment, when in the immediate vicinity of the mutineers, and with the knowledge that his movements were watched (two sowars being seen in the distance on landing, who disappeared in the direction of Arrah), pushing on in the dark against the strong representation of the second in command, and others of the party, and thus allowing himself to be entrapped in an ambuscade, the effects of which quite disheartened and demoralised the troops, and, combined with their physical exhaustion, led to a complete rout, defying the endeavours of the officers to restore order in their progress back to the ghaut."

On the 2nd of August, the major-general reported, by telegraph, to the commander-in-chief as follows:—

"Troops here inadequate to cope with Koer Sing and mutineers in Arrah. One hundred and sixty of 5th fusiliers, and three guns, under Major Eyre, landed at Buxar, and were supposed to be in its neighbourhood. Koer Sing said to have mustered strongly on his own account; sometimes said to meditate an attack on Patna, but real intentions not known. All the boats on the Soane are in his possession."

In reference to the above telegram, it appears that Major Eyre, of the artillery, with a force consisting of 150 men of the 5th fusiliers and three guns, left Buxar on the 30th of July, *en route* for Patna; and, on reaching Shawpore, distant about twenty-eight miles, received intelligence of the occurrences at Dinapore and Arrah. Changing his route, he arrived near the latter station on the 3rd of August, and found himself in front of the enemy, between 2,000 and 2,500 strong, besides a

large number of irregulars belonging to Koer Sing, who commanded the whole force in person. After a sharp engagement, in which Major Eyre was gallantly supported by a reinforcement from Dinapore, under the command of Captain L'Estrange, the enemy, signally defeated, fled panic-stricken in all directions; and the heroic band that preserved Arrah was relieved. The following are the official details:—

"Major Vincent Eyre to the Assistant Adjutant-general at Dinapore."

"Camp near Arrah, August 3rd, 1857."

"Sir,—I have much pleasure in reporting, for the information of Major-general Lloyd, commanding Dinapore division, the safe arrival here of the field force under my command, and the relief of the party defending themselves at Arrah, with whom I have just opened a satisfactory communication; and have received your letter, dated the 31st ult., from which I exceedingly regret to learn the severe loss sustained by the detachment co-operating with us on the Dinapore side; but I venture to affirm confidently, that no such disaster would have been likely to occur had that detachment advanced less precipitately, so as to have allowed full time for my force to approach direct from the opposite side; for the rebels would then have been hemmed in between the two opposing forces, and must have been utterly routed.*

"My former letters of the 30th ultimo, and 1st instant, will, I hope, have informed you of my advance from Buxar on the evening of the first-named date: we pushed on with all practicable speed to Shawpore, distant twenty-eight miles, where rumours of the Dinapore disaster reached us. Hearing that the enemy designed to destroy the bridges *en route*, we again pushed on at 2 p.m., as far as Ballowtee, where we found the bridge just cut through. An hour's halt sufficed to repair it, which we employed also in burning the villages on either side, since we had caught their inhabitants in the act of destruction. Arriving at Goojerajunge by nightfall, I was delighted to find the bridge entire, where we bivouacked for the night, and at day-break next morning resumed our march; but had only proceeded about a mile beyond Goojerajunge, when we discovered the enemy in great force in possession of the

* This view of the case was objected to by General Lloyd.



CSL

woods to our front and flanks. The road by which we had to reach the wood in our front was bounded by inundated paddy-fields on either side. I halted to observe the best course to pursue; and finding that the enemy were weakening their front, to take us on both flanks, I boldly pushed forward, throwing out skirmishers in every direction. The Enfield rifles kept our foes at a distance, and we succeeded in forcing the wood, beyond which, as far as Beebeegunge, it lay across an open swamp, which greatly befriended us. Meanwhile, the baffled enemy were observed hurrying round to oppose us at Beebeegunge, which is situated on the opposite side of a bridge, by which we had hoped to cross the river. There I again halted, to refresh the troops and to reconnoitre.

"Finding the bridge had been destroyed, extensive earthen breastworks raised on the other side, flanking the bridge, and the mutinous regiments in force occupying the houses in the village, I determined on making a detour to the right as far as the railway earthworks, about a mile off. I masked this movement for a time by the fire of my guns; but no sooner did the enemy discover our purpose, than they hurried with their entire strength to intercept us at a wood which it was necessary for us to pass: a portion of them followed us up in the rear, and, by the time we reached the wood, we found quite as much on our hands as we could manage.

"They mustered some 2,000 to 2,500 strong in sepoys alone, besides Rajah Koer Sing's irregular forces, of whom, however, we made little account. The rajah was apparently present in person; and, for upwards of an hour, we were compelled to act solely on the defensive. The sepoys, apparently emboldened by their recent success beyond Arrah, advanced to the assault with a vigour quite unexpected; and twice, with their bugles sounding first the 'assembly,' then the 'advance' and the 'double,' made determined rushes upon the guns; but were, on both occasions, repulsed with showers of grape. Meanwhile, Captain L'Estrange, with the gallant 5th, was not idle, as will be seen by his own report, hereto appended. Finding, at length, that the enemy grew emboldened by the superiority of their numbers and the advantage of their positions, I determined on trying the effect of a general charge of the infantry, and sent Captain the Hon. E. P.

Hastings to Captain L'Estrange, with orders to that effect. Promptly and gallantly he obeyed the order; the skirmishers on the right turned their flank; the guns, with grape and shrapnel, drove in the centre; and the troops advancing on all sides, drove the enemy panic-struck in all directions. Thus our road was cleared; all beyond the country was open, and we proceeded without further interruption to within four miles of Arrah, when we were suddenly brought up by an impassable river, and have since been employed in attempting to bridge it over.* In this work, the railway engineers, headed by Mr. Kelly, have rendered the most valuable aid. Meanwhile, most of the rebels returned to Arrah; but precipitately left it during the night. Rajah Koer Sing accompanied them to save his family. Their loss is reported to have been severe. We hear that not a sepoy now remains in Arrah, and that the mass have gone off towards Rhotas, or scattered themselves in various directions.

"I have now to commend to the notice of the major-general the gallant conduct of the officers and troops whom I had the honour to command on this occasion: under circumstances of great peril and difficulty they have exhibited those soldierly qualities which seldom fail to ensure success. To Captains L'Estrange and Scott, of her majesty's 5th fusiliers, my special thanks are due, for the prompt and gallant way in which they seconded my efforts, more particularly in the final charge, which was executed against twenty times their number of brave and disciplined troops. Captain L'Estrange reports highly of Ensigns Oldfield, Lewis, and Mason. To Captain the Hon. E. P. Hastings, staff-officer of this force, much of the success of this expedition may be attributed; whether on the march, or in action with the enemy, he was everywhere to be found, at the right time and in the right place, to aid us with his energy in overcoming all difficulties. Of the others who especially distinguished themselves, I feel bound to make honourable mention of Messrs. Kelly, Barber, Burroughs, Nicholl, and Hughes, of the Buxar gentlemen volunteers, who rendered excellent service under their gallant leader Lieutenant Jackson, 12th native infantry. Assistant-surgeon Eteson, in charge of the field hospital, and Staff-sergeant Melville, of the 1st company 5th battalion of artil-

* The guns crossed safely at 11 A.M.

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[PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.]

lery, also merit particular notice for their zeal and energy on duty.

"My future movements must be guided, in a great measure, by the information I may receive from other quarters. Meanwhile, a good supply of ammunition is earnestly required for her majesty's 5th fusiliers, to the extent of eighty rounds per man, and grape for two 9-pounders and howitzer. Enclosed are the returns of casualties on the 2nd instant.*—I have, &c.,

"V. EYRE, Major,
"Commanding Field Force."

"P.S.—Mr. Wake, the magistrate of Arrah, has just ridden into camp; his defence of his house seems to have been almost miraculous."

A report from Captain F. W. L'Estrange accompanied the above, and detailed the successful operations of the auxiliary force under his command, consisting of 160 men of the 5th European regiment, who had ably seconded the proceedings of the force under Major Eyre.

The very strong opinion expressed by Major Eyre in the concluding sentences of the first paragraph of his report, drew from Major-general Lloyd a distinct repudiation of the inference sought to be conveyed by it; and, on the 10th of August, that officer wrote to the deputy-adjutant-general from Dinapore in the following terms:—

"Sir,—In a despatch from Major V. Eyre, dated 'Camp, near Arrah, 3rd instant,' forwarded with Colonel Cumberlege's† letter of the 4th idem to your address, he adverts to the severe loss sustained by a detachment dispatched to Arrah, under my orders, on the 29th of July; adding, 'I venture to affirm, confidently, that no such disaster would have been likely to occur had the detachment advanced less precipitately, so as to have given full time for my force to approach direct from the opposite side; for the rebels would then have been hemmed in between two opposing forces, and must have been utterly routed.'

"Lest the foregoing observation and opinion should be accepted, I deem it a duty to myself to state, that the first intimation received by me of the debarkation at Buxar of Major Eyre's forces, was contained in a letter dated the 30th ultimo (which reached me by steamer the same day), the Dinapore

detachment having started on its expedition to Arrah the day before; also, that Major Eyre made no previous communication whatever concerning his movements, nor had I reason to suppose that any land operation would have been attempted by him; hence, at the time, any undertaking from Dinapore, in concert with Major Eyre, was obviously impracticable.—I have, &c.,

"G. W. A. LLOYD."

The station at Arrah having been effectually relieved from the presence of the rebellious soldiery and their improvised leader Koer Sing, with his followers, a brief reference to correspondence descriptive of the occurrences at Dinapore and Arrah, may not be out of place.

Commencing with a letter from a medical officer attached to her majesty's 10th regiment at Dinapore, under date of August the 2nd, we read as follows:—

"Since I last wrote to you the native regiments here have mutinied, but without any loss of life to us. I told you all along the rascals would never attack the 10th. We are all so much disgusted here with the whole affair, that really, as an officer of the regiment, I have neither patience nor time to give a full account of the very bad management of the general and his staff in allowing the three regiments to escape. They went off in the direction of the Soane river, which they managed to cross, and afterwards marched towards Arrah. The day of the mutiny, and a few hours before it broke out, the general commanding gave orders for the removal of the percussion-caps from the magazine situated at the top of the native lines. This was done at an early hour of the morning; and as the artillery cart passed down where the native regiments were parading, the 7th and 8th gave a shout, and showed evident symptoms of their desire to stop it; but they were prevented, and the cart was brought safely on to our mess-room. These two regiments were in open revolt at six o'clock A.M. The general was informed of the fact; and in place of ordering up the guns and the 10th to disarm the 7th, 8th, and 40th, on the spot, he only issued the supine order for the native officers to collect the caps that the sepoys were in possession of, and to report to him by twelve o'clock that this was effected. When the native officers went to carry, or pretended to carry, this contemptible and temporising order into effect, the 7th and 8th would not give up their caps, but some

* The returns give a total of two killed and sixteen wounded.

† The officer who superseded General Lloyd in command at Dinapore.

of the 40th complied. The European officers belonging to the regiments afterwards went up to the rebels, and endeavoured to get them to do so, but their efforts were unavailing. The sepoys told their officers to be off, and fired upon them, but, happily, without killing or wounding any of them.

"The hospital guard saw all this; and perceiving the officers running towards the 10th's lines, the signal guns were fired off from the hospital. The whole of my patients got on the top of it. They kept up a steady fire, and managed, infirm in health as they were, to kill about a dozen of the scoundrels. The regiment turned out, and every one was in his place in the course of a few minutes. I galloped round the houses, and got all the ladies, women, and children brought down to the barracks. The order was given—'Guns to the front;' and on we went in the fond anticipation of cutting these three rebel regiments to pieces. Some of the 37th (Queen's), who arrived here the day before, were thrown out in skirmishing order. The 10th advanced with their guns; and great was our mortification when we perceived the sepoys running across the country like deer. We fired six guns after them without effect; and here ended this most disgracefully mismanaged affair. One fellow fired at myself as I was carrying an order, but the ball did not hit me. Some of the men saw where it came from, and found him concealed in one of the huts; they soon dispatched him. We only killed about thirty of the mutineers; had they stopped, and given the gallant 10th a chance, they would have bagged the whole, or at all events the greater proportion of them; and it is galling and most mortifying to the regiment to think that it has been prevented doing so by the imbecility of the general, whose conduct, for many weeks past, has been the means at least of bringing a heavy affliction upon her majesty's 10th. I must here explain, that after the rebels ran off, an order was given (two days afterwards) for the head-quarters of the regiment to proceed to Arrah by a steamer, to relieve some Europeans besieged in that place. This order was, however, cancelled, and a small detachment of the 10th was sent, under the command of one of our senior captains (Dunbar.) The strength of the detachment amounted to 150 men and four officers. There were also 230 men of the 37th, and a proportion of officers; the whole force constituting nearly 400 men, including eight or ten officers

of the native regiments from here, who volunteered. The boat containing the 37th got aground, but they were taken on board of the one which was proceeding up with the 10th men. They all landed safely, and continued their march towards Arrah; the whole being under the command of Captain Dunbar, who made a sad mess of it. He did not, it appears, take the precaution of throwing out an advanced guard; and when our gallant soldiers were marching on in the full hope of doing good work, they were, about two o'clock in the morning, fired upon by 2,000 sepoys, who were lying in ambush for them. Captain Dunbar was killed on the spot, as well as three officers of the 37th. The men became panic-stricken, and they retreated in the direction of the steamer, which lay two miles out in the stream. Both detachments were severely handled, and the 10th have lost seventy men killed and wounded in this unfortunate expedition. The 37th sustained pretty much the same loss. The remainder of the detachment arrived back here on Friday. All our men are badly wounded; and for the last two days I have had hard work amputating and extracting balls. I wash the blood from my hands to go and write this to you, and again to return to the hospital. In the absence of Dr. Gordon on medical certificate, you are aware that I have had full medical charge of the regiment for nearly twelve months past; and in the present untoward emergency I have had plenty to do, and with little assistance, on account of Dr. Tulloch, the second assistant, being with a detachment at Benares, and from Mr. Tucker, the junior assistant, having been sent off to Patna in medical charge of another detachment on the very day the wounded arrived back from Arrah; but I have now got assistance, and will manage to get a sleep to-night. Poor Erskine was mortally wounded in the abdomen; he expired yesterday. Sandwith and Battye were also wounded; but both, I am happy to say, are doing well. The names of the officers of the 37th killed are—Lieutenant Bagenall and Ensigns Birket and Sale. Mr. Ingilby, of the 7th regiment, was also killed. He was one of the European officers of the native regiments who volunteered, several of whom have come back here badly wounded; some have been drowned, and others are missing. The medical officer sent in charge was also wounded; and all the medical stores I sent for the use of the



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[THE 10TH REGIMENT.]

men have been lost. I need not say that the poor ladies and wives of the men are in great distress about their husbands. All the ladies are ordered from this to Calcutta. The 10th, now here, are greatly reduced in numbers, and we have at this time only four officers fit for duty; but we expect more troops daily. The treasure has been removed from here, and we are all in great excitement. If you will refer to my letters written more than two months ago, you will read in them that I then advocated the disarming of these regiments, and frankly stated that the general would some day regret his misplaced confidence in them. That day has at last arrived. In the whole of her majesty's army there is not a corps in higher discipline than the 10th. The gallant Colonel Franks made them a model regiment. Their movements were as one man; and I will not admit that even the guards could have gone through their evolutions with the same, or at least with more, precision and soldierlike bearing than this regiment to which I have the honour to belong; and although three regiments were opposed to us, we were burning to get at them, notwithstanding we had little more than 400 effective bayonets; for, what with the detachment at Benares and the sick in hospital, the above number was all we had here. The discipline and efficiency of the regiment are well preserved by the gallant officer, Colonel Fenwick, now in command; and had it been his lot to take charge of the small expedition sent to Arrah, this catastrophe, I think, would not have happened, because he would have been more cautious.

"General Lloyd had been, I am informed, nearly fifty years in India, and, from bodily infirmity, is altogether unfit for such a command in such troublesome times. Surely it is high time for any field officer to retire when he requires help to be put on and taken off his horse. We are all vexed beyond measure that he has prevented the brave 10th from proving to the world that, with only 400 men, they would have licked, and that most effectually, three regiments of insurgent sepoys.

"We hear that large supplies of troops are coming to our aid. I hope the British government will bear in mind the necessity of keeping up a continued flow of fresh regiments for some time to come, so as to supply the deficiency which sickness will create. It is not the mere sending of 50,000 men that will do in this presidency

alone, unless that number is steadily kept up by an infusion of healthy men sent out for some years to come, to supply the place of invalids sent home and the sick in hospital. This, believe me, is a most trying climate for Europeans."

Another letter describes the disastrous night march near Arrah, in the following language:—

"Patna, July 31st.

"I thank God that I am alive and well, and able to write to you once more. I have been in great danger, and never expected to reach this place alive again; but God has been most merciful to me. As I dare say you would like to hear the whole story, I will begin at the beginning. About a week ago, as we have long anticipated, the three native regiments at Dinapore mutinied. The general, an old man in his second childhood, managed the whole affair very badly, or rather did nothing at all. No one knew who was in command of the Europeans; no one knew who to look to for orders; the general was not to be found; and the consequence was, that the three regiments managed to get clear off with their arms and ammunition, and almost without losing a single man! The general was advised and asked to send men after them; but this he altogether declined to do, and determined to keep every European in Dinapore, to take care of that place. A day or so after the mutineers left, we heard that they had gone to Arrah, where they were attacking poor Wake and party, consisting of about twelve or thirteen Europeans, and fifty Sikhs. Wake had strongly fortified a puckha house, and laid in lots of ammunition and food. Directly we heard of this, and that they were holding out well, Mr. Tayler wrote to the general to send out aid to them. At first he refused; but after receiving a strong letter from Mr. Tayler, he consented, and sent off 200 Europeans in a steamer. The next day, we heard that the steamer had stuck in the river, and that the general had sent orders to recall them. Of course, as Englishmen, we were in a great rage at this—leaving a number of poor fellows to their fate; so off — and I started, at twelve at night, on Tuesday last, to ascertain the facts. When we got to Dinapore, we found that he had been made to change his mind, and had consented to send another steamer off, which luckily happened just to have come in. In this started 150 Europeans and 50 Sikhs; we

altogether made up a force of 400 men. As Wake is one of the greatest friends I have got, I determined to give him a hand if I could, and so volunteered with seven other fellows, five of whom are dead. Well, I was up all that Tuesday night, and, at daylight on Wednesday, off we started. We reached the nearest point to Arrah, on the banks of the Ganges, at about two o'clock, and were beginning to get dinner ready (so as to start with a good feed, as we could not expect to get anything on the road), when we heard our advanced guard firing. We immediately all fell in, and went off to the place, about two miles off, where we found them drawn up before a large nullah (river) about 200 yards wide, firing away at some sepoy on the other side. The sepoys, when they saw us coming, ran away; and then, as we had got so far, we thought we might as well go on. After a delay of two or three hours in getting boats and crossing over, it was nearly seven o'clock before we got well off. From the villagers we heard that Wake was still all right and holding out, which was confirmed by the firing we heard, in the direction of Arrah, of big guns. It was a beautiful moonlight night, the road a very bad one (a kutchra one in the rains), and wooded country on both sides of us. We did not see a soul on the road, though we passed through several villages, until we came to within five miles of Arrah, where we saw a party of horsemen ahead of us, who galloped off before we got within shot. About eleven o'clock the moon went down; however, as we did not expect that the mutineers would face us, we still went on, till we came to within about a mile of the fortified house. We were passing a thick black mango-grove to our right, when all of a sudden, without any warning, the whole place was lit up by a tremendous volley poured into us at about thirty or forty yards' distance. It is impossible to say how many men fired into us: some say 500; some, 1,500. The next thing I remember was finding myself alone, lying in the middle of the road, with a crack on the head, and my hat gone. I suppose I must have been stunned for a minute. When I recovered, there were several men lying by me, but not a living soul could I see. There were lots to hear, though; for the bullets from right to left were whistling over my head. I was just thinking where our men could be, and which way I should run, when I saw the sepoys advancing out of the grove

with their bayonets, within a dozen yards of me. I fired my double-barrel right and left into them, and then ran towards our men, whom I could hear shouting on the left, under a tremendous fire from both parties. Everything now was in a most dreadful confusion; the men were all scattered in groups of fifties and twenties, firing in every direction, and, I fear, killing each other. At last a Captain Jones, a very fine fellow—our commander was never seen again after the first volley—got hold of a bugler, and got the men together in a sort of hollow place, a half-filled pond. There we all lay down in a square. I was in the middle, with the doctor, helping him to tie up the wounds of the poor fellows, and bringing them water. The firing was all this time going on. The enemy could see us, as we were all dressed in white; while they were nearly naked, and behind trees and walls. However, the men fired about at random. At last the poor doctor was knocked over, badly wounded. It was dreadful to hear the poor wounded fellows asking for help.

"I shall never forget that night as long as I live. We held a consultation, and determined to retreat, as the enemy was at least 3,000 or 4,000 strong, and had, besides, several cannon. Directly morning dawned, we formed order and began our retreat. The whole distance, sixteen miles, we walked under a most tremendous fire; the ditches, the jungles, the houses, and, in fact, every place of cover along the road, was lined with sepoys. We kept up a fire as we went along; but what could we do? We could see no enemy, only puffs of smoke. We tried to charge, but there was nobody to charge: on all sides they fired into us, and were scattered all over the country, in groups of tens and twenties. Dozens of poor fellows were knocked over within a yard of me on my right and left; but, thank God! I escaped in the most wonderful way. The last five miles of the road I carried a poor wounded fellow, who begged me not to leave him; and though we had had nothing to eat for more than twenty-four hours, and I had had no sleep for two nights, I never felt so strong in my life, and I stepped out with the man as if he had been a feather, though he was as big as myself. Poor fellow! the men, most of them more or less wounded, were leaving him behind; and the cowardly sepoys, who never came within 200 yards of us, were running up to murder him. I got the poor fellow safe over the nullah; I swam