



CSL

A.D. 1857.]

INDIAN MUTINY.

[AFFAIRS AT CHUPRAH.]

out and got a boat, put him in, and went over with a lot of others. The poor fellow thanked me with tears in his eyes. At the crossing of the nullah we lost a great many men; they threw away their muskets to pull the boats and to swim over, and were shot down like sheep.

"I never before knew the horrors of war; and what I have gone through, I hope, will make a lasting impression on my mind, and make me think more of God, and His great goodness to me. I am sure God spared me because He knew I was not fit to die; and I pray God that He will prepare me, for we can truly say, we know not what a day may bring forth. I had several extraordinary escapes; one bullet went between my legs as I was walking, and broke a man's leg in front of me; another bullet hit me on the back of the head, knocking me down, but hardly breaking the skin. Everything here is quiet as yet, but people are in a great panic. I cannot say that I am. Out of the 400 fine fellows that started for Arrah, nearly 200 were killed; and of the remainder, I do not think more than 50 to 80 were not wounded; out of seven volunteers, five were knocked over, four killed, and one wounded. This has been the most disastrous affair that has happened out here. I hope, however, we may soon get some more troops from Calcutta, and get back our name. I cry to think of the way we were beaten, and of the number of poor fellows who were killed. I will send this letter at once; for, perhaps, the dāk may be stopped, and I may not be able to send a letter in a day or two. I will write again if I can, but do not be alarmed if I do not. The crack on my head hardly broke the skin, and is nothing; the bullet hit me sideways, and the folds of cloth I had round my hat saved me.

"August 1st.—I have just heard that about thirty men came in last night who got separated from us in the dark, and wandered to the river, where they got off in a native boat. The authentic return I have just seen; 150 men killed, the rest wounded, except about fifty men, who escaped untouched. I suppose such a disastrous affair was never heard of before in India—most dreadful mismanagement throughout. Of course we did not relieve poor Wake and his garrison."

The following narrative is contained in a letter from Mr. William M'Donell, magistrate of Chuprah, who writes from that

place, on the 3rd of September, as follows:—

"On the evening of the 25th of July, or rather in the middle of the night, a note came from Dinapore, saying that the troops were very shaky, but that her majesty's 10th, and the guns, were ready for them. Next morning we got an official despatch from the brigade-office, telling us that all three native corps had gone off in a westerly direction (this was at 11 A.M.), and that the 10th were after them. About half-an-hour afterwards, we got a note from Dault at Peiprah (an indigo factory, about fifty miles north of Chuprah), that the 12th irregular cavalry had, on the 23rd, mutinied, murdered all their officers and their wives, and had then set off towards Sewan. He said he wrote on the chance of our not having heard it, though it had occurred three days before. On hearing this, we held a cabinet council, and determined that Chuprah was no longer safe. So Martin, Richardson and his wife, set off at once; the doctor and his wife followed soon afterwards; and about two o'clock I was thinking of following them, when I remembered that all my prisoners, owing to cholera having broken out in the gaol, were in the opium godown. Now, as they could easily escape from there, I went and saw them all into the gaol. By this time everybody knew that the officials had bolted; and people seemed so alarmed, that I determined on staying a little longer. About 6 P.M. I got a note from Mr. Gars-ton, asking if I was in the station, as he heard I was alone. He was returning from the district. I said I was, but I advised him to bolt; but, instead of that, he very pluckily came in and stayed with me. We rode round the town, to show the people we had not bolted, and then came home, and went to bed without undressing; and we had our horses saddled, standing all night at the door. About twelve o'clock that night I got a pencil note, not signed, but written, I saw, by Lynch, saying he had escaped from Sewan with his life, and that the cavalry were there. Early in the morning I got a second note, saying that the troopers had come down the Chuprah-road, searching for Lynch and M'Donell, the deputy opium agent. About 10 A.M. I heard that the Dinapore mutineers had reached Arrah; and while in cutcherry, about three o'clock, a man on a pony came galloping in, saying that the cavalry were

within ten miles of Chuprah. I finished the case I was about, and I fear rather hastily, and then rode home; and Garston and I agreed it was time to bolt; so we made a start for it, going through the town, and to the police-station, and also to the missionaries, to tell them we were going, and advising them to do the same. We rode down to Doreegunge, about eight miles, and saw the smoke of a steamer in the distance, so we waited until she came near. We found Martin, and Richardson, and the doctor on board, with a party of the 5th fusiliers, and some thirteen Sikhs. On hearing that the cavalry were on their way here, and that the rebels were at Arrah, all agreed it would be folly to go back with only thirteen Sikhs, so we got a party of the 5th fusiliers to go with us, and we started off in boats for Chuprah, which we reached at 11 P.M. We went to the collector's, and all assisted in packing treasure, and we started back for the steamer with some 90,000 rupees. If they had left me fifty men I would have stopped at Chuprah, but not with only thirteen Sikhs. As the men could not be spared, back we went; and, on the way, we heard that the Arrah people, consisting of my friend Wake, officiating magistrate; Little-dale, the judge; Coombes, the collector; Boyle, railway engineer, and some six or seven others, were besieged in a small bungalow by the three Dinapore corps. On reaching Dinapore, I found that 200 men of the 37th (Queen's), and fifty Sikhs, had been sent to relieve Arrah; but, unfortunately the steamer grounded, through treachery, I believe, on the part of the pilot. There the steamer lay, quite close to Dinapore, and the authorities doing nothing. I went to the general, and urged upon him, that unless relieved soon, the garrison must all be murdered; and that if he would send a fresh detachment in boats, I could show them another way to Arrah, where the steamer was sure not to stick, and that I knew the road from the ghaut to Arrah. He said, if I would really go with them, he would send some of the 10th. Just then, another steamer came in: it was agreed that all the passengers were to be landed and put into the church, and that 500 of the 10th were to start at three next morning. While making arrangements, I got a note from Tayler, the commissioner, saying, he had heard I had volunteered to show the way, but that he could not spare

me; so I at once got into a native cart at ten at night, and drove to Patna, which I reached about half-past 11 P.M. I saw Tayler, and begged him to let me go, as, humanly speaking, it was the only way of saving the little garrison. At last he said, that if the general really laid any stress on my going he would not object. He ordered his carriage, and I drove down with him and young Mangles to Dinapore. It was then nearly two o'clock. We woke up the general, and he told Tayler that it was very important that I should go, as I knew the road, and he would trust to me. By this time it was the hour fixed to start. We drove down to the steamer, and, to my disgust, found all the passengers still on board. There was great delay and squabbling; and, at 5 A.M., the general said, 'Oh, if there is not room in the steamer, never mind; the flat takes only 150 men.' So all the others went back. This caused endless confusion. Colonel Fenwick would not go with only 150 of his men; and ordered Captain Dunbar to take the command. At last we got off, and came up to the other steamer—got her flat, containing 200 of the 37th and 50 Sikhs; steamed on, and landed at Buhira Ghaut about 2 P.M. Of the disasters that befel us on that occasion you must have seen a long account, but I will give a brief sketch. About two miles from the ghaut there is a river, after crossing which you get on the public road to Arrah from Chuprah, a distance of about twelve miles. As I was not sure I should find boats, as we were in an enemy's country, I offered to go on with a small party of Sikhs, and secure the boats, while the Europeans had their dinner on the bank. So off Ingilby, of the 7th native infantry (who volunteered, and commanded the Sikhs), Garston and myself, with twenty men, went to the river side. On reaching the river's bank, we found all the boats drawn up on the other side, and about 200 men assembled. They had four or five of those long native guns stuck on three sticks, and began blazing at us; whereupon two of our party said they would return for aid. We told them particularly not to disturb the Europeans, but to ask for the rest of the Sikhs, fifty being sufficient to dislodge the enemy. We immediately set to work, and blazed across the river, and soon set all the fellows running. Two Sikhs then swam across, and got a small boat, in which Ingilby, Garston and myself, with



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[DEFEAT AT ARRAH.]

ten Sikhs, crossed. We were hardly across, when, to our disgust, we saw all the Europeans coming up at the double-quick—these fools having reported that we were surrounded; so the 10th came away without getting their dinners, or even a drop of grog, and had brought nothing with them. We all crossed, and by the time we were in marching order it was four o'clock. Ingilby, Garston, myself, and twenty Sikhs, formed the vanguard; then came 150 of the 10th; then 50 Sikhs; and, lastly, 200 of the 37th (Queen's.) We marched four miles all right, when we saw some ten or twelve horsemen in front. However, they galloped off before any damage could be done to them. The men got very footsore, and we halted at the Kainnugger bridge, about three miles from Arrah, at 10 p.m.; and here we ought to have remained for the night; but, after stopping about half-an-hour, on we marched. I fancy poor Dunbar thought it useless halting, considering his men had nothing with them, and that it would be better to push on. What possessed us I know not: up to this time we had made the Sikhs throw out skirmishers; but now we marched in a body—Ingilby and Dunbar, who was talking to me, with about twenty Sikhs, some 200 yards in advance of the main body. After marching to within half a mile of Arrah, we arrived at a thick tope of trees, and the moonlight hardly showed through; in fact, the moon was setting. Well, we had got nearly through, when, like a flash of lightning all along our left side, came one blaze of musketry, and then another, and a third volley. By the light the firing made we could see we were surrounded. We got behind the trees, and tried to return the fire; Dunbar, myself, three of the 10th, and two Sikhs, got together and blazed away. Foolishly, I had given my powder-flask and bullets, &c., to a native to carry: of course, he disappeared; and, after firing off two barrels, I was powerless—not for long, however; for the next minute we got a volley into us. I fancy our firing showed where we were. Poor Dunbar fell against me, mortally wounded. I was covered with his blood. A ball hit me in the thigh, cutting it slightly only; at the same time, two of the 10th and one Sikh also fell. I immediately picked up an Enfield rifle belonging to the 10th man, and his cartridge-box, and began blazing away. I then shouted

out that Dunbar was killed; that the first officer in command had best give orders. This brought another volley on us, and another man dropped. We then tried to join the main body, and ran from tree to tree: the Europeans seeing us coming (all Sikhs nearly), thought we were the enemy, and fired into us, killing several; in fact, I fear as many of our men were killed by their own comrades as by the enemy. In the night, it was difficult to tell friend from foe; and, after having to dodge round a tree, you, in the dark, could hardly tell where your friends were, and where your foes. At last, most of us got together, and beat a retreat towards a tauk, near which was a high bank: we got to the other side of this bank, and lay there all night, the enemy firing into us every five minutes; and, foolishly, our men would return the shot. It was bad policy—it showed where we were; and we could not afford to throw away a single shot. Young Anderson, a very nice young fellow of the 22nd native infantry (a volunteer), was standing up behind the hedge; he was shot through the head, and jumped up like a buck—of course, killed on the spot. About daylight we counted our forces, and found that we were about 350 strong—100 missing; afterwards, about 50 of these joined us, being concealed in a village close by; the rest were killed. We could see the enemy, and tried to make out their number. There were the three Dinapore regiments drawn up in order, with bugles sounding the advance; about 2,000 men, with long matchlocks, belonging to, and headed by, Baboo Koer Sing; and more than 1,000 of the disbanded sepoy, who had managed to join him; and a large rabble armed with swords, spears, &c.—not formidable in themselves, but who were occupied in killing all the wounded, beating them like dogs. We tried to make the men charge; but they were tired, wet, and a great number wounded. My leg, from lying on the damp ground, and from the bleeding, was so stiff I could hardly walk; however, I soon warmed up. Unfortunately, the doctor was one of the first wounded; and, though he did his best, poor fellow! he could not bind up the wounds properly. There were no dhoolies, so that the wounded had to march with the rest. Then commenced our retreat. They completely surrounded us, and fired into us all the way back—twelve miles—men dropping every



minute; and some, badly wounded, were, I fear, left behind and killed by the enemy. By the time we reached the boats, a hundred must have been killed—and then commenced the massacre. The boats, which we expected to have been taken away, were all there; so, with a cheer, we all rushed to them, when, to our dismay, we found they had fastened them securely to the shore, and had dragged them up out of the water, placing, about 300 yards off, a small cannon, with which they blazed into us. (I forgot to say, that all the way they pitched into us with four small cannons.) The men, to escape the shot, got into the boats; and, of course, as long as they were in them, it was impossible to push the boats off: so a number of men stripped themselves, throwing away their rifles and everything, and some of them managed to reach the other side. The wounded men, of course, could not swim, and some of us knew that we could never reach the shore; so out we jumped, and managed to get two of the boats off: well, then we were at the mercy of the wind and stream, for not an oar had they left us. The wind was favourable, and we started off splendidly, when, lo and behold! we gradually turned towards the shore; and then I saw they had tied our rudder, so as to bring us in again. I told the men to cut it; but no one moved, and so I got a knife and climbed up to the rudder. It was one of those country boats, covered in except just at the stern. The moment they saw what I was at, they blazed at me; but God in His mercy preserved me. Two bullets went through my hat, but I was not touched. The rope was cut, and we were saved; but about half-way across we struck on a sand-bank, and then the bullets poured in so fast, that nearly every one jumped overboard. One young officer jumped over as he was, with his sword on, and down he went; another (Ingilby) was shot in the head, and either drowned or killed. I threw my pistol overboard; my coat I had thrown away early in the morning, as, being a coloured one, it made me conspicuous among the soldiers, who were all in white. How I swam on shore I know not, as it is not an accomplishment I am a 'dab' at. When once on shore, we were pretty safe; and 250 out of 450 reached the steamer alive. Since then, nearly 100 more, from wounds, exposure, &c., have died; making a loss of 300 out of 450—the

worst that has befallen us yet; nearly every one was wounded."

A lady, apparently one of the fugitives from Arrah, dates her letter, of the 28th July, from "Boat off Dinapore," and describes the events in which she had participated thus:—

"You cannot imagine the horrors we and many others have had to go through, but, thank God! we have still been spared, though we had a very hard run for our lives, and are now refugees without home or anything but a few clothes, which we had just time to secure. Our house is burnt to the ground, and everything in and about it. On the evening of the 25th we got a private note from the brigade-major in Dinapore, under official cover, to say the troops were expected to mutiny every moment, and to make our arrangements accordingly. We had been so often frightened before that we did not think so much of it, but got a boat anchored close to our house, and as many of the ferry-boats on our side of the river as we could. Went to bed, and about four o'clock in the morning heard that sepoys were gathering on the opposite banks; did not believe it, but got up and went to the boat; saw nothing unusual ourselves, so went home again. Presently another alarm came, and we all coolly walked to the river side, and, to our dismay, saw something very like sepoys opposite. Before we knew where we were, they had, many of them, got into boats and were firing at us, and we saw the houses and works beginning to smoke.

"We got into our boat half dead with fright, and made off as fast as strength could get us. It was awful; ten minutes more and we could not have escaped; or if our villagers had proved treacherous nothing could have saved us, as we should, if we had got from the banks, have been fired at on passing, as they have done but too effectually in many places. We took the river for Dinapore, and all the way down we saw nothing but fires—bungalows, villages, anything the villains could fire.

"We got near Dinapore, and found all the sepoy lines in a blaze; and after about six hours we got the news that 3,000 of the native troops had mutinied, and made direct for Knockar on their way up to Arrah, and the stations up country. It is dreadful that nothing was done to prevent these three regiments from marching off with arms and ammunition, and that the 10th were not even allowed to fight them.



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[GENERAL LLOYD'S DEFENCE.]

"All Dinapore is perfectly incensed about it; and what should we be? We have had a good deal of news since of their doings; it is perfectly awful. We met a steamer going up with five companies to our rescue: they got but half-way, and had to come back for want of water. — might have sent some detachments on elephants; but it is too late by a couple of days. The first thing they fired on the east side was our new house; and then they crossed and destroyed everything, and every building belonging to the works: but, before that, they butchered a poor inspector, his wife and daughter; and burnt, robbed, and committed all imaginable atrocities: my poor pet buggy horse was killed in his stable, and every living thing destroyed. They fired the coal heap, and wantonly threw the sheep, &c., on the top. Out of all the houses and immense works and materials collected for the bridge, not a stick is left. What the sepoys could not take or destroy, the villagers plundered.

"We had no time to get the treasury from Knockar-house; and it, of course, is gone. It is a sad thing—the work of years; and property to an enormous extent. All our European inspectors escaped, mostly without a single thing save what was on their backs; except one, a fine young man: poor fellow! he was butchered—was too late to get into the boats. It is feared many between us and Arrah are gone. As for Arrah, we are in great alarm about it. Some of the up-country engineers and civil servants fled to a small bungalow they had fortified. Arrah we know is in full possession of the rebels. The prisoners are let loose, and are destroying everything. But the fate of the poor people we cannot tell. There has been no news since five in the evening of the 26th. If they stand out some six or eight days, against 2,000 or 3,000 sepoys, it will be by a miracle. It is a sad thing that human lives and property should be left in charge of such generals. Our own unfortunate position prevents my dwelling upon that of many others. But there have been dreadful accounts from up-country; official reports of engineers' deaths—wives and all, in some cases. The country is in a fearful state all over. Patna is expected to go next. What we shall do, or where to go to, I know not; the steamers going down are too full of up-country refugees to leave room for us. Dinapore is so full, that for any amount we could not get a

single room. We have no help but to live as we have been doing, which is, I must confess, very wretched—five of us in an open boat, with a thatched bamboo chopper over part of it to keep off the sun. I need not tell you we are very harassed both in body and mind; but if God gives us health we shall yet be very thankful."

The conduct of Major-general Lloyd in this unfortunate affair, appears to have been early brought to the notice of the government of Bengal; which felt itself called upon to relieve that officer from the responsibility of further command of the division: and the following paragraph in the "official narrative of events within the presidency, up to the 8th of August," as transmitted by the governor-general in council to the Court of Directors on that date, expresses very plainly the feeling that prevailed upon the subject at the seat of government:—

"Major-general Lloyd has been removed from his command (at Dinapore) for his culpable neglect, and the commander-in-chief has been requested to institute the usual preliminary inquiry preparatory to his trial by court-martial."*

It is only fair, that an officer whose professional reputation had been so rudely assailed by private individuals, and whose conduct had been stigmatised by his superiors (*previous to inquiry*) as involving "culpable neglect," should be allowed to vindicate himself in the same pages that record his alleged misconduct. The following passages from a letter addressed by the major-general to his brother, the Rev. A. F. Lloyd, dated "Dinapore, September 3rd," may enable a disinterested reader to form a just estimate of the whole affair:—

"On the 25th of July, 1857, I was far from well; and on that day the crisis occurred here; and, in consequence, my manner may not have been so firm and decided as it used to be. But my acts will, I think, bear the strictest scrutiny; and although from my gouty feet I am physically unequal to active bodily exertion, I assert, that in judgment and intellect I am fully equal, if not superior, to any of the younger commanders at Dinapore. The way I have been vilified and abused by the press, forces me thus to assert my own qualifications in a style which might otherwise be thought unbecoming. However, the shortcomings of some of those who had previously talked much, but, when the time came, did little, have been visited

* Parl. Papers (No. 4), 1857.



very hardly on me; and the difficult nature of the country, and the peculiar one of the locality of the Dinapore cantonment at this season, as well as the small available European force at Dinapore, have been quite lost sight of by those who have seen fit to publish their dogmatical opinions as to what should or should not have been done on the occasion of the late outbreak here. Dinapore cantonment is a narrow strip of land, bounded on the north by the river Ganges, and on the south by a deep muddy nullah and bay; and it is swampy ground—rice-fields—in short, a perfect sea in the rains; and this description answers for the nature of the country from Dinapore to Koelwar Ghaut on the Soane—with this difference, that the swamp extends in a great degree to the Ganges and Soane, westward of Dinapore, and renders the country quite impassable for artillery in the rainy season, and very difficult for the passage of infantry. I must here remark, that from the 27th of June to the 25th of July, there was nearly incessant rain, but the river Ganges had not risen to within eight or ten feet of its highest level.

"On the 4th of June (without any apparent cause, except it be that the 17th regiment of native infantry at Azimgurh* had deserted with their arms, after shooting the interpreter and quartermaster only, though they had all the rest of the officers in their power, escorting them in safety to Ghazee-pore), it seems to have been determined by the military authorities at Benares† to disarm the 37th regiment of native infantry; and ultimately this was attempted, but in such a manner, that though the men of the 37th had lodged their arms in their bells of arms, they were fired on with grape and musketry. The Sikhs present, and most of the 13th irregular cavalry, joined them in resisting this attack; and as it was everywhere stigmatised as 'Feringhee ka Daghhah,' it caused the instant revolt of the 6th regiment, at Allahabad, on the 6th of July,‡ and revolt at Fyzabad on the 8th of June.§ It created the greatest excitement in the three native regiments here on the 7th of June; and had it not been for the great exertions of the European officers, the men of those three regiments would have deserted with their arms that very night. Subordination was, however, preserved, and the men were reassured and remained faithful. I had landed 150 men of the Madras fusiliers,

with the intention of disarming the native corps; but, as I was quite aware the men might have decamped with their arms in spite of anything I could do, I was glad to be able to defer such a measure for the present, particularly as it was of great importance to push on European troops towards the north-west, as the only means of saving our officers and men still holding out in those parts.

"Contemplating the possibility of a mutiny of the native troops here, and feeling sure that in such an event they would make off towards Arrah, it was with satisfaction I heard that measures had been adopted by the magistrate of Shahabad (of which district Arrah is the Sudder station), to have all the boats on the Soane river collected on the western bank; and in case of an outbreak of the native corps at Dinapore, they were to be destroyed or sunk, so as to hinder the crossing of the river. When the time came, the man entrusted with the duty—a Mr. Pahlen, of the railway works—thought only of his own safety, and fled with his iron boats, without an attempt to carry out the plan.

"As I was quite aware of the likelihood of a mutiny of the native troops here, and feeling sure that in such an event they would make off towards Arrah, I, in June last, issued written instructions relative to the course to be pursued by the European troops acting against them, and this was fully made known to Colonel Fenwick, the commanding officer of the 10th, who was then the senior. Subsequently Colonel Huyshe, of the artillery, joined (senior to Colonel Fenwick, though I was not aware of this till after the 25th of July), and I took an early opportunity to inquire from him whether he had made himself acquainted with the orders given, and arrangements for meeting an outbreak—whether Lieutenant Smothel had told him all those things; and I received a reply in the affirmative. The colonel said the bullocks could be harnessed in a moment, as they were close by, in the tan-yard, or old magazine-yard, and he would not be caught napping—an expression I particularly remarked.

"On the 24th of July I made up my mind, as a precautionary measure, to have all the percussion-caps in the native magazines at the western extremity of the cantonments removed, so as to render the sepoys almost harmless, without subjecting them to the degradation of being deprived

* See vol. i., p. 267.

† See vol. i., p. 224.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 393.



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[THE STEAMER.

of their arms, with the contingent probability that, so disgraced, they would take to flight and disorganise the whole country around, thereby causing serious embarrassment to government when all its force was urgently needed above. The same consideration having influenced me since June last, no overt acts of a mutinous nature had been evinced by the native corps, and they were all performing their duties as usual. The whole of the caps were safely removed on the morning of the 25th, leaving the men with only fifteen each, which they would have been allowed to retain, had not the 7th and 8th regiments shown a sudden spirit of mutinous feeling when they saw the carts with the caps pass along the road, at which time the 40th regiment made a decided demonstration in favour of the cause of order and discipline, being ready to oppose any attempt to rescue the caps. This demonstration decided me on depriving the men of their remaining caps. But wishing to avoid driving them to oppose or to disperse, and thinking that the men would feel it quite madness to attempt resistance with only fifteen caps per man, I, finding no commanding officer of a native corps had any doubt of the success of the measure, gave orders for their collection in the lines by the native officers quietly by 1 p.m., it being then near 10 a.m. It was thought they would be given up without any demur. The two commanding officers of European troops urged me to at once effect the disarming the native troops on their mutinous demonstration in the morning. Colonel Fenwick was then, and had often been before (when there was no apparent reason, unless that it not being done involved less duty, particularly night duty, on his men), urged to disarm the three native corps; and could it have been attempted with a probability of success, it would have been with the certainty of rendering the three corps useless, and a burden to the state. But, otherwise, the result would have been the same as occurred in the afternoon; the sepoys would have fled with their arms on the first approach of the guns and Europeans; and this dispersion I was most anxious, if possible, to avoid. About 2.30 p.m., the 7th and 8th regiments rose in open mutiny: the 40th did not at first join; but being fired upon by men of the 10th from the roof of the European hospital, they went off and joined the mutineers. I had no horse in cantonments. My stable was two miles distant;

and being unable at the time to walk far or much, I thought I should be most useful on board the steamer with guns and riflemen, in which I proceeded along the rear of the native lines, the river being only 200 yards, or thereabouts, distant from the right of the advancing column of guns and Europeans, and expecting to get some shots at the sepoys on shore, or escaping by the river. Considering that I had fully previously given instructions for the attack and pursuit of the sepoys by the guns and her majesty's 10th, under their respective commanding officers, I left it to them to follow up the mutineers by land. On embarking, I sent Captain Turner, deputy junior-adjutant-general, to order the guns to advance, as I thought they were long in setting off; and I sent Lieutenant Needham, deputy assistant-quartermaster-general, to order the commanding officer of the detachment of her majesty's 37th foot to place himself under Colonel Fenwick's orders.

"The guns and European troops advanced; and, debouching from barrack squares, found that the mutineers were making off towards the western end of cantonments. The guns opened at a long range on the whole mass, who were then near the native infantry magazines. Her majesty's 10th and 37th commenced firing on them also at impossible distances, and the whole of the three regiments fled *en masse*; even the sick in the hospitals went. Instead of flying along the Arrah-road, as was expected, and where, as it ran along the bank of the river, the steamer would have been on their flank and done good service, they went off across the swampy fields, behind the magazines, across the nullah, which was full of water, and beyond which Colonels Fenwick and Huyshe found it impracticable to follow them. By this time, the steamer (which had run down and sunk some boats loaded with fugitives from the rear of the lines, who had been observed and fired on by the Europeans on the roof of the hospital, and who had returned the fire from their boats, showing they were sepoys) having arrived at the vacant lines opposite the magazines and hospital, the state of the case was reported to me by Captain Turner, who had arrived there. Colonel Fenwick, also, was in the vacant lines; and as I saw the mutineers in the distance, on the other side of the swamp and nullah, in an apparently unapproachable position, I turned towards the Arrah-road; and, believing I saw



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some sepoys beyond Daudpore, on that road, within range from the steamer, I went on some distance, but found only unarmed people, apparently villagers, on whom, of course, I did not fire.

"The mutineers' position being on the road from Patna, *via* Phoolwaree, towards Arrah, with the road to Gyah open in their rear, it was uncertain which road they would take; or they might have taken all three, and visited the three places. Two guns and a detachment were therefore sent off, to protect Patna, leaving only 500 men and four guns at Dinapore. The high-road to Arrah was quite impassable for guns, and even the infantry would have had a difficult and slow march along it, to reach the Koelwar Ghaut, on the Soane.

"It is, perhaps, to be regretted, that some were not sent that night or next morning; but only a small party, in comparison to the strength of the mutineers, could have been detached: no guns could have gone; and as the mutineers avoided the road, and kept to the fields, where they could scarcely have been effectively followed by a small party of Europeans, they would probably not have been of much use. However, as the readiest means of following them, to prevent their crossing the Soane, I next day, the 26th, sent off some riflemen in a steamer up that river, expecting that, at this season, there would have been sufficient water; but, unfortunately, the steamer could not get up high enough, and returned in the evening without having effected anything. Troops being required at Buxar, this steamer was started off next day with some of her majesty's 5th fusiliers, arrived from Calcutta; and in the evening, when the other steamer arrived from Patna, she was at once sent off with another detachment, to be landed at a point nine miles from Arrah—to march thence and bring away the civilians, &c., there besieged. This was a much nearer way than their marching by the Arrah-road; the boats at the Koelwar Ghaut, moreover, having been all removed by the rebels after crossing to the other side of the river. Most unfortunately, this steamer ran on to a sand-bank, and could not be got off. No other steamer was available all day. In the evening, a steamer and flat arrived from Allahabad, full of passengers for Calcutta. It was at once arranged that they should be all landed, and accommodated in the church, and that the steamer should, with her own flat, embark the head-quarters and 250 men

of the 10th, and some Sikhs—go and pick up the other flat at the sand-bank, and tow up both flats, with a detachment (altogether consisting of about 500 men), to the ghaut on the Ganges, nearest to Arrah. This was all arranged, and Colonel Fenwick was to command. Early next morning the commander of the steamer changed his mind, and said he could not tow two flats; consequently, the party had to be reduced by 100 men; and therefore Colonel Fenwick remained, and sent Captain Dunbar in command—an officer of whose unfitness for such a command I suspect Colonel Fenwick may have been unaware; at any rate, he subsequently proved himself to be utterly so. He marched his men fasting (though he might have given them a meal, as he had taken three days' provisions with the detachment) towards Arrah—pushed on, against advice and common sense, in the dark—got his column into an ambuscade, from which they were suddenly fired upon by the rebels, and were thrown into utter panic, broke, and scattered. Captain Dunbar was killed, and about thirty killed and wounded. Next morning, the panic seems still to have prevailed. The men were weak and hungry; and, unfortunately, a retreat was resolved on, though they were but half a mile from Arrah. The mutineers, of course, grew very bold on seeing the Europeans retreat, and followed them keenly. The retreat was hurried, and seems to have more resembled a disorderly flight than a retreat: the men were scarcely under any control, and, consequently, their loss was fearfully great. They rushed into the boats, threw away arms and accoutrements into the water, and leaving seven officers and about 145 men dead, the remainder, with many of them wounded, re-embarked on the steamer, and, returned with the disastrous news to Dinapore. This unfortunate result was entirely caused by the mismanagement of poor Captain Dunbar. Well handled, and marching by daylight, the force was ample; and no blame can, with any justice, be attached to me for the disastrous consequences. There were now not enough men to send another party, and it seemed to be unavoidable to leave the little beleaguered garrison at Arrah to its unhappy fate. Fortunately, Major Vincent Eyre, with three guns and 145 Europeans, had marched from Buxar towards Arrah, of his own accord, to co-operate with the attack he expected us to make. Hearing of the disaster to our party, he bravely



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pushed on—managed admirably his small force, defeated and dispersed the rebels with considerable loss to them, and relieved the hard-pressed little garrison of the fortified house at Arrah. Major Eyre's position was at one time critical; but the 145 Europeans of the 5th fusiliers with him charged the rebels, some three thousand strong, with such gallantry and determination, that they fled, scattered before them like a flock of sheep, and abandoned the field."

Writing again to his brother, from Dinapore, on the 17th of September, the major-general says—"You will see that my endeavour to preserve the three native regiments here in a serviceable state, has resulted in my being severely punished by the loss of my divisional command. As to disarming the regiments here, it was an impossibility. I had no cavalry; and as all proceedings were narrowly watched by the sepoys, the appearance of any movement of guns or European troops towards them, would have been the signal for the flight of the sepoys with their arms. I could never have disarmed them, from the nature of the locality. If you were at one end of a lane, and I was a mile away up the said lane, and could run faster than you, it would be self-evident that you could never catch me; and such was the position here."

It is not necessary to dwell further upon this unpleasant subject: but whatever may have been the military blunder that permitted the desertion of the native regiments from Dinapore on the 25th of July, it can hardly be consistent with justice, that the catastrophe of the night of the 29th, near Arrah, should be charged against an officer who was not within twenty-five miles of the scene of disaster, and had no possible means of directing the movements of the troops engaged. It should also be remembered, that the veteran soldier had served his country for more than half a century, and that he wore upon his breast an honourable distinction awarded for merit and valour in the field.

In the state of European society in India at this time, frenzied outbursts of popular feeling had ceased to surprise those who were enabled, by distance, to look calmly upon events as they progressed. We read, therefore, in the *Calcutta Phoenix*, that a "scene of a most painful character took place at Dinapore, on the arrival there of the remnant of the forces sent against Arrah. As soon as the news of the repulse,

and consequent loss, spread among the women of the 10th regiment, they rushed in a body to the bungalow of General Lloyd, and would have literally torn him to pieces, had he not succeeded in barricading his bungalow."

The paragraph is recorded as a fact, without comment or attempt at explanation: not so, however, the following occurrence, which met with the most severe reproof from the general commanding the forces in Bengal:—

On the night of the 16th of August, an affray, the original cause of which is not known, took place between some men of her majesty's 10th regiment and a party of sepoys of the 40th regiment, about a hundred in number, who had refused to desert with their comrades on the 25th ultimo, and remained true to their allegiance. These men were encamped at the back of the north quarters of the grand square, near the river, and were peaceably and inoffensively occupied, when, about nine o'clock in the evening, a sudden attack was made upon them by the men of the 10th European regiment; and, in the *mêlée* that ensued, one subahdar, two naiks, and one sepoy were killed, and eleven sepoys and one woman were wounded. The alarm occasioned by repeated discharges of musketry was prodigious; and when the authorities reached the scene of disturbance, the sight presented to them was most distressing. Wounded sepoys lay around, dead and dying: one poor fellow had five bayonet thrusts; one shot in the centre of the forehead; another with his mouth and jaws shattered by a shot—and all screaming with alarm, or groaning in their agonies. The occurrence was immediately reported to the commander-in-chief and to General Outram, and a court of inquiry assembled to investigate the affair; but no conclusion could be arrived at, other than that suggested by a probability that the attack was perpetrated by the soldiers of the 10th regiment, in revenge for the slaughter of their comrades at Arrah. Such, at any rate, appears to have been the opinion of General Outram; who, in a letter of the 19th of August, stated, that the military duties of the town could not safely be entrusted to the 10th regiment, under the lax discipline and exasperated feelings it displayed towards natives of all classes just at that time.*

* Parl. Blue Book (No. 4), p. 153.



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An attempt was made to give the affair a more distinct character, in consequence of the recent murder of a canteen sergeant belonging to one of the European regiments; and the *Calcutta Englishman*, in giving currency to the report, expressed its regret that such serious quarrels should arise; but, at the same time, intimated, as a matter of course, that "in the present temper of the European soldiers, it cannot be expected that they will allow their comrades to be assassinated without taking prompt vengeance."*

Upon his expulsion from Arrah, Koer Sing, with the greater portion of his discomfited army, retreated with all possible expedition to a fortified residence belonging to him at Jugdespore, about twelve miles distant; whither Major Eyre—who, on the 8th of the month, had been reinforced by the arrival of 200 men of the 10th regiment—immediately followed him; and, on the 12th, the rebel force was again signally defeated and dispersed, after sustaining severe losses in their useless resistance and eventual flight. The result was communicated by Major Eyre, in the following despatches:—

"Koer Sing's Palace, Jugdespore, Aug. 12.

"Sir,—I have the pleasure to report the total rout of the rebel force under Koer Sing this day, by the force under my command, as per margin†. The enemy mustered, as far as can be ascertained, about 3,000 strong, of whom 1,500 were sepoys. The action commenced at the village of Dulloor, at 11 A.M., where a strong position had been taken up, and intrenchments raised: Here they made a resolute stand for about an hour, when they fell back upon the dense and formidable jungle, which extends from thence about a mile and a-half to Jugdespore. A running fight was kept up to that place, which we entered in triumph at one o'clock, and immediately occupied Koer Sing's residence, where much promiscuous property fell into our hands. Two guns were captured in the action.

"Koer Sing has fled to the south, and I hear that his army is dispersing; and I trust the blow now struck may be the means of effectually destroying his influ-

ence. In my next I will give full details of my march from Arrah, and of the services performed by my force, making special mention of those who distinguished themselves. A return of killed and wounded shall be sent with my next despatch: our loss was trifling; that of the enemy severe.

"I have, &c.—V. EYRE, Major."

On the following day (the 13th) Major Eyre transmitted a detailed account of his operations, in which he says—"Leaving Arrah at 2 P.M. on the 11th, I marched eight miles, and encamped for the night on the banks of the Gagur Nuddee. Resuming the route next morning at 6.30, I proceeded without difficulty as far as Ramnealon, where, for two miles, the road passed over rice-fields, and was in many places under water. Had heavy rains fallen, this road must have been impassable for guns.

"At 9 A.M. I halted to refresh the troops and animals for an hour; at 10.30, we detected parties of the enemy's horse and foot occupying the village of Tola Narainpore, evidently with the view of disputing our passage of the river immediately beyond it. I forthwith pushed forward skirmishing parties in that direction. This elicited a sharp fire, which was maintained on both sides with great spirit. As our main body approached nearer, I advanced two guns to the front, and opened a fire of grape on a party of the enemy, whose heads I could just discern in ambush about 300 yards distant. This caused them to rise in some confusion, discovering large masses who had been lying in close concealment. The men of her majesty's 10th now became so impatient to be led to the charge, that, instead of continuing the fire from the guns, as I had intended, I yielded to them the honour of putting the enemy to flight. With loud and continued shouts they advanced and charged, led on in the most noble manner by Captain Patterson, impetuously driving all before them. The sepoys fell back on the large village of Dullaur, across the river, where intrenchments had been thrown up. There they endeavoured to make a stand; but were driven out by the joint efforts of the gallant 10th and 5th fusiliers—the latter under Captains L'Estrange and Scott.

"Thence our route lay through a dense and difficult jungle, for one mile and a-half, to Jugdespore, throughout which a running fight was maintained, during which two guns were captured. Jugdespore was but

* *Englishman*, August 24th, 1857.

† In round numbers:—Artillery, three light field guns—36 men; her majesty's 5th—140 men; her majesty's 10th—190 men; Rattray's Sikhs—140 men; yeomanry—16 men: total, 522.



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feebly defended; and at 1 p.m. we took possession of Koer Sing's noted stronghold, wherein we found large stores of grain, ammunition, and other materials of war. Koer Sing has fled to the Jutowra jungle, south of this, with a few followers; and the villagers around Jugdespore are sending in tokens of their submission."

Among the individuals recommended by Major Eyre to the favourable notice of the commander-in-chief and of government, for their gallantry and zealous exertions, he specially distinguishes the defender of Arrah in the following paragraph:—

"Mr. A. C. Wake, of the Bengal civil service, at the head of his Arrah Sikhs, nobly sustained the reputation already acquired by his heroic defence of the fortified house at Arrah, against overwhelming odds."

Following up his success at Jugdespore, Major Eyre, on the 14th, again writes of victory:—"Early this morning, I detached a company of her majesty's 5th fusiliers and a hundred Sikhs, with the yeomanry volunteers (the whole under Captain L'Estrange), to Jutowra, where Koer Sing has a residence. The party has just returned with information that the place is empty, though Koer Sing had recently been there. He is reported to have gone towards Rhotas: the sepoys have dispersed entirely, and the country hereabouts is quite quiet."

"I am destroying the town, and preparing to blow up the palace and principal buildings around it. To-day I partially destroyed a new Hindoo temple, on which Koer Sing had recently lavished large sums. I did this because it is known that the Brahmins have instigated him to rebellion."

"Captain L'Estrange reports having destroyed Koer Sing's new palace at Jutowra; and Lieutenant Jackson, with the volunteers, on their way back to the camp, set fire to the residences of Omar Sing and Dhyal Sing, the two brothers of Koer Sing."

The reports from Major Eyre were transmitted to government by desire of the commander-in-chief, with the following letter, the last paragraph of which is significant, as expressing Sir Colin's view of the policy in which the war in India should be carried on:—

"The Deputy Adjutant-general to the Secretary to the Government of India."

"Head-quarters, Calcutta, Aug. 21st."

"I have the honour, by desire of the commander-in-chief, to forward, for submission to government, letters in original,

relative to the military operations that have been carried on by Major V. Eyre against the mutineers, under Koer Sing, in the Arrah district.

"I am to request you will be good enough to inform the governor-general in council, that his excellency highly approves of the judgment evinced by Major Eyre throughout these movements, and of the gallantry and perseverance of the officers and men under his command, in bringing them to a triumphant conclusion."

"Sir Colin, I am to add, recommends to the favourable notice of his lordship, the persons brought prominently forward in these despatches; but regrets to have to disapprove of the destruction of the Hindoo temple at Jugdespore by Major Eyre, under a mistaken view of the duties of a commander at the present crisis.—I have, &c.,

"W. MAYHEW, Major."

Upon the removal of General Lloyd, pending the court of inquiry, the command of the Dinapore division of the presidency was given to General Sir James Outram, who had then recently returned from the Persian expedition. Under the guidance of that energetic officer, no time was lost in gathering together the different European detachments as they arrived up country from Calcutta, and in organising a movable column for the purpose, as we have seen, of relieving Lucknow.

The effect of the mutiny by the native regiments at Dinapore, was both calamitous and wide-spreading; since whole districts, containing, together, a population of from twenty-five to thirty millions of people, were agitated by it. At Segowlia (a small military station not far from the Nepaul frontier), it will be remembered, that the officer in charge (Major Holmes) had taken upon himself to proclaim military law*—a step which did not meet with the approval of the government; and the unfortunate officer, who had only a party of the 12th regiment of native irregular cavalry to depend upon for carrying out his mandates, very soon ceased to exercise the authority he had assumed. On the 24th of July, these troops broke into open mutiny; and, while the major and his wife were riding out, four of the troopers rode up to the vehicle, and beheaded both of them as they sat. This being the signal, the rest of the regiment threw off all restraint. They first proceeded to murder the Europeans at the

* See vol. I., p. 450.

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station; and among them, the surgeon, his wife and children, fell a sacrifice to their indiscriminating vengeance: they then plundered the treasury and the houses of the Europeans, and finally departed with their booty towards Azimgurh. This terrible and sudden atrocity caused great alarm; for the 12th irregulars were looked upon as a corps whose known gallantry was a pledge of its fidelity. As soon as the events at Dinapore became known at the seat of government, the authorities did not

hesitate to adopt the views of the unfortunate Major Holmes; and, on the 30th of July, martial law was declared, not only in the northern districts of Sarun, Tirhoot, and Chumparam, but also in the districts of Patna, Behar, and Shahabad, south of the Ganges. No further mutinies took place in those places during August; but the various stations were kept in a constant state of excitement and apprehension, by the threatened irruption of insurgents from other quarters.

CHAPTER V.

POPULAR FEELING IN THE MADRAS AND BOMBAY PRESIDENCIES; ENMITY OF THE MOHAMMEDAN TROOPS; DISQUIETUDE AT MADRAS; OUTBREAK OF 27TH BOMBAY REGIMENT AT KOLAPORE; MURDER OF THE OFFICERS; NARRATIVE OF THE OUTRAGE; DEFEAT AND PUNISHMENT OF THE REBELS; CONSPIRACY DETECTED AT POONAH AND SATTARA; THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS; OUTBREAK AT HYDERABAD AND AHMEDABAD; DISTURBANCES AT MEAN MEER, JELPIGORREE, GUZERAT, AND PUNDERPORE; BARODA ABANDONED; THE SAUGOR AND NEBUDDA PROVINCES; INDICATIONS OF MISCHIEF AT JUBBULPORE; ARREST OF THE GOND RAJAH AND HIS SON; PRAYER TO DEEVA; EXECUTION OF TRAITORS; DESERTION OF THE 32ND REGIMENT N.I.; LETTER TO COLONEL JAMIESON, AND REPLY; AFFAIR AT KONEE; MURDER OF LIEUTENANT MACGREGOR; DEFEAT OF MUTINEERS AT KUTTUNGEE; PERILOUS STATE OF THE COUNTRY; AFFAIR WITH WHEELS IN KANDEISH; A PLOT DETECTED AND PUNISHED IN BOMBAY; RECAPTURE OF NIMBAIRA; ALARM AND PUNISHMENT AT KURRACHEE; THE KOTAH MURDERS; MUTINY AT DEOGHUR; PANIC AT MYNEE TAL; STATE OF CENTRAL INDIA; ASSAM; CAPTURE OF THE RAJAH OF DEBROGHUR; TROOPS DISARMED AT BIRHAMPORE; GHOORKA VICTORY AT MUNDOREE; STATE OF REVOLTED DISTRICTS IN DECEMBER, 1857.

BEFORE proceeding to describe those minor operations in the field which filled up the interval of time between the commencement of the outbreak in the North-West Provinces of Bengal and the close of the year 1857, it will be proper to refer to the state of feeling that prevailed during that period among the native armies and populations of the sister presidencies of Madras and Bombay; and to glance briefly at certain facts, of themselves calculated to provoke disaffection in those quarters; although, happily, the practical effects of such feeling were neither permanent or serious.

The insubordinate conduct of the men belonging to the 8th regiment of Madras light cavalry, when under orders for service in Bengal, and the disgraceful consequences that resulted to the whole corps, have already been noticed. The affair, ostensibly a mere question of pay, was at the time productive of no serious inconvenience, except to the delinquents themselves; but the Madras government was not long in discovering, that the spirit which prompted the irregular conduct of the 8th light cavalry,

was not confined to that regiment only. The mistaken economy, or parsimony, by which the rates of pay and pension to the native troops were materially reduced, had aroused a feeling of discontent (among the cavalry especially, which consisted chiefly of Mohammedans) that might have required but little effort to nurse into open mutiny—an event rendered still more probable through the excitement kept up amongst the troops by means of the exaggerated reports that were disseminated, from time to time, respecting the state of affairs in the northern districts of the presidency. Another source of disquietude was also furnished by the policy of the supreme government, in regard to questions of succession among the families of the native princes; one instance of which, about this time, became a tangible point, around which native discontent might find nourishment, although the grievance was not sufficiently popularised to ripen into mischievous results. The cause for disquietude was, curiously enough, almost identical with that which had given offence, and produced such

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fearful consequences, in Oude, at Bithoor, and at Delhi; namely, the refusal of the Company's government to recognise, in the heir of a deceased native prince, any inherent right to ascend the vacant throne, however justly he might be entitled to do so by the laws of his country. Upon the recent death of the nawab of the Carnatic, his uncle Azim Jah, who had been theretofore recognised by the Court of Directors, in their official documents, as the legal heir and representative of the nawab, claimed the musnud by right of succession; but his pretensions were, for some state cause or other, ignored, or else disregarded, by the Company—a circumstance that occasioned much ill-feeling among the people, who had been accustomed to look up to the family as that of their natural rulers. Moreover, the troopers of the Madras army were chiefly collected from among the Mohammedan population of the Carnatic; and it was not unnatural that a race so haughty, and impatient of interference with their traditions and usages, as to maintain an habitual state of discontent and rooted hatred to its European conquerors, should seize upon such an occurrence as a national wrong, and, like the mutineers of Bengal, or the insurgents of Oude, should sympathise with the living descendant of their ancient sovereigns, and desire to avenge his wrongs. Fortunately, however, for the welfare of this portion of India, there had not yet been any successful attempt to import into the *reasonable* grievances of the Madras army, any question respecting the "conversion" of the troops; no alarm had been excited among them on the score of "greased cartridges;" nor was there any unpardonable insult to be avenged, as in the case of the 3rd light cavalry at Meerut,* and thus the direct personal stimulus was wanting that might otherwise have fanned the smouldering fires of discontent into the lurid flames of rebellion.

There was also a solid ground upon which, at this crisis, the government of Madras could reasonably depend for security, owing to the curious but undeniable fact, that between the Mohammedans on the Ganges and in Oude, and the Mohammedans of the Carnatic and the Deccan, there was not the slightest sympathy or union of interests. Among each, there are yet extant, traditions of old and bitter animosities; and the severe struggle which the Mussulmans of Southern

India maintained against their ultimate conqueror Aurungzebe, is still a theme which fills their bosoms with inextinguishable hatred towards the descendants of the conquerors by whom their fathers were enslaved. This feeling extends towards the inhabitants of all the northern provinces, whom the Mohammedans of the south look upon as their natural and hereditary enemies, and hate with an intensity only exceeded by that with which both hate their Christian rulers.

As regards this long-cherished animosity of races, it has long been notorious that it pervades all classes, and that the sepoy of Madras would rejoice in any opportunity that might bring them into collision with those of Bengal. Where regiments of both presidencies have been quartered at the same station, it has been with the utmost difficulty that conflicts have been prevented; while frequent encounters in the bazaars, in which the combatants on either side have been armed with *lattees* (heavy iron-shod sticks), and in which the Bengal sepoys have invariably been overcome, afford the plainest evidence of the feelings of determined hostility with which the rival services regard each other.

Another reason for such confidence existed in the fact, that the larger, and by far the worthiest, portion of the Madras army consisted of a race utterly antagonistic in spirit and habits to the Mohammedan element with which it was associated, but did not mingle. It was therefore a check upon that most excitable branch of the service, and was able of itself to have crushed any effort at revolt, had such been offered. The Hindoo bulk of the native army of Madras, unencumbered by the trammels of caste, and unswerving in its loyalty, would have been alone sufficient to extinguish the torch of rebellion upon its own territory; though, possibly, in the struggle to do so, deeds might have been perpetrated that would have brought indescribable misery among the European and native Christian inhabitants.

Notwithstanding these various grounds for reliance on the fidelity of the native troops of the two presidencies, there were sufficient indications of an uneasy feeling among the civil populations of both to excite apprehension, and to demand incessant vigilance on the part of the authorities. In the latter end of August, the defiant tone of the Mussulman inhabitants of

* See vol. i., p. 55.

Madras became obtrusively prominent in their intercourse with the European residents; and it was deemed prudent to increase the precautionary measures against a possible danger, by placing a volunteer corps on active duty. The impression entertained by the Europeans at this time, may be collected from the following letter of a member of the Company's civil service, dated "Madras, August 25th;" in which the writer says:—

"Daily, on entering my office, I have about twenty prostrate foreheads before me; and yet those, and others, are people who would murder you if they had a chance, and who cheat to the utmost whenever they can. Lately, the Mussulmans in Madras have been very insolent in their looks and behaviour, and are evidently intending mischief. We are only in Madras, soldiers and all, about 2,000 Europeans against 3,000,000 natives. If the sepoys are faithful, it will not matter; but if not, Heaven help us. The fort has been provisioned for 10,000 men for six months, and sixty sailors have just been landed from the various ships. We have one ship of war opposite Triplicane, ready to batter it in pieces if the 35,000 rebels there show fight.

"The Mohurum, which commenced on Monday, lasts ten days; and it is in the latter part of that period that a disturbance is expected. The volunteer guard will be on duty from Thursday till Tuesday. Fortunately for the inhabitants, our company is near our house (St. Thome); for, it being five miles from the fort, in case we had to retreat we should get intercepted, and be cut to pieces if the rebels fought well. We are forty strong, and shall relieve guard night and day without intermission, during our period of duty."

The much-dreaded festival of the Mohurum passed over without the expected explosion; and, after a short time, Madras settled down to its accustomed repose.

Bombay, like its sister presidency Madras, was, as yet, affected but slightly by the storms that troubled Bengal and the North-West. The Bombay troops, though not altogether equal in fidelity to those of Madras, nevertheless had passed through the fiery ordeal very creditably until a later period, when they fell into a lamentable error. The chief native community of Bombay consisted of the Parsees, who embraced nearly all the wealth and influence of the place. These were, to a man, firm

and consistent adherents of the government, and greatly strengthened the hands of Lord Elphinstone in his efforts to preserve order in the capital; which, consequently, was undisturbed by any rebel demonstration; although the adjacent districts, north, south, and east, demanded extreme vigilance. The first point at which the mutinous spirit showed itself in this direction was at Kolapore—a station situated about 180 miles south from Bombay; where, on the night of the 1st of August, the men of the 27th Bombay native infantry, without alleging any grievance, or affording the slightest hint of their purpose, broke into open mutiny, murdered several of their officers, plundered the treasury of 45,000 rupees, and deserted. The *emeute* commenced about ten o'clock in the evening; and the mutineers proceeded in parties to the respective bungalows of their European officers. The native adjutant, and two havildars of the regiment, who were loyal men, had fortunately, although at the last moment, become aware of their intentions; and, by anticipating the murderous ruffians in their visit, gave some of the intended victims opportunity to escape. Exasperated by their disappointment, they commenced firing into the bungalow of Major Rolland, who was in command of the regiment. The family of this officer had been warned of the approaching danger by the mother of the native adjutant, and had escaped; but the unfortunate woman to whom they were indebted for safety, paid with her life for her devotion to the Europeans. Upon learning what was going forward, Captain McCulloch hastened down to the lines, and managed to gather around him about fifty men; but they would neither fire upon their mutinous comrades, nor obey his orders to rally round their officers. He was therefore compelled to leave them, that he might seek the safety of others. In the meantime, Lieutenant Norris, and Ensigns Heathfield and Stubbs,* had ran towards the quarter-guard, calling upon the men to follow them; but they were answered with threats and imprecations. The unfortunate gentlemen, who were ignorant of the locality, or bewildered by the darkness of the night, wandered for some distance in search of an asylum, and reached a village called Solunkore before daylight on the morning of the 3rd of

* Lieutenant Norris was quite a young man; and Ensigns Stubbs and Heathfield mere boys.



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[ESCAPE OF EUROPEANS.]

August; and there, while taking some food, they were murdered by men of their own regiment, who had happened to cross their track. The villagers afterwards threw their bodies into the Doodgunga river, where they were subsequently found, and recovered for the rites of sepulture.

Many of the incidents connected with this unexpected outbreak are detailed in the following extracts from letters of the surviving officers, and from reports forwarded to the seat of government. The first selected is from a narrative of facts, chiefly referring to the murdered officers—gathered from the confessions of mutineers, and the testimony of native eye-witnesses; which, as they agree in the main with that of the surviving officers of the regiment, may probably be depended on as correct. This document says—"On the night of the 31st of July, no apprehensions were entertained by the English at Kolapore; no precautions had been taken, nor any place of rendezvous or refuge appointed, in case of a mutiny amongst the sepoy. The night was very dark and rainy. After mess, about ten o'clock, the officers separated as usual; some went to have a game at billiards, some went home to bed. The major (commanding the regiment) was at home; the doctor and his wife were spending the evening at the house of a friend; Norris and De Lancey, who lived together, had gone home to bed; Stubbs (who was adjutant of the regiment) was one of the party at billiards; his younger brother had gone home to bed. The alarm was given in the billiard-room that there was a row in the lines. Stubbs' servant brought him his cloak, and ran to awake his brother. Stubbs went off to the lines, where he was soon joined by the major. They tried to get the faithful portion of the regiment together; and a few did follow them, but could not be got to act in quelling the mutiny, saving the arms and treasure, or the lives of the officers, more than by giving them warning to fly. Heathfield and Jones rushed into Norris's house, and begged him and De Lancey to 'Get up quick,' saying, 'The men have mutinied, and are coming up here.' Norris, at first, would not get up, nor take alarm; but, on De Lancey's request, he got up and loaded his gun—De Lancey loaded his pistols, and they went towards the lines, having previously been joined by Ensign Stubbs. On

the way they met Captain McCulloch, who advised them to go back to their house and wait till he sent them word what to do. They returned, and sat in the verandah listening to the firing and noise in the lines. Suddenly, an havildar rushed in and said, 'For God's sake fly for your lives! There are 150 men coming to murder the officers; they are now in the mess!' Norris's house was within two doors of the mess. The four officers rushed through the house, Norris calling out, 'Come along, I know a capital place.' De Lancey, however, stepped into his room for his sword; and this saved his life; for when he attempted to follow his comrades, he could not see them for the darkness, but found himself alone with his sepoy servant, who urged him to 'run, or he had no chance of escape, as the men were mad with drink, and longing to kill the Europeans.' He made for the residency, not without fear that the irregulars quartered there might also be in mutiny, and fire on him; but he resolved to risk it, having no other place in view, and afraid to call out to his friends, lest he should attract the attention of the mutineers, who were plundering the major's house next-door. At the residency he found the major and his wife; and, by degrees, with much danger and difficulty, all the Europeans of the place assembled there. Mrs. Rolland, and the other ladies and children, had escaped as by miracle—for the most part in their night-dresses; and their first act on reaching the residency, was to kneel down and thank God for their safety.

"De Lancey volunteered to assist Captain Schneider that night, and went off to command seventy men of his irregulars, protecting the magazine, &c. Stubbs, McCulloch, and other officers, got together about a hundred men, and took up a position at the mess-house; but the men were seized with a panic, fired off their guns, and rushed into the mess, and would not be persuaded to come out again.

"The night of the 1st of August came, and no tidings of the missing officers. Four thousand pounds had been taken from the treasury, lots of ammunition carried off, and the shops and the major's house looted. A poor old woman, mother of the havildar who had given the alarm at Major Rolland's house and at Norris's, was found murdered in her house. The mutineers had gone; but all was confusion and distrust in the camp—not a native could be



trusted, and there were no European soldiers. When De Lancey found that Norris was not in the fort or the neighbourhood, nor to be heard of anywhere, he volunteered to scour the country for the three missing officers, if he might have five mounted men; but he was told 'they could not be spared—all were wanted to protect the station.'

"Meanwhile, the three poor fellows were seen by some Coolies on the Phonda-road. They carried their boots over their shoulders, and walked barefoot, because of the deep mud and difficult roads. They are supposed to have left the main road on the 2nd of August, and turned to the left till they reached the village of Solunkore before daylight on the 3rd. Here the villagers gave them some food: they were eating it in a temple, when a party of fifty mutineers came up; a woman told them there were three Kaffirs in the temple, and they instantly surrounded it and shot the two unarmed men (Stubbs and Heathfield.) Norris ran a little distance, and turned to fire upon the murderers; but before he could draw the trigger, three bullets entered his left side. The mutineers passed on; and the villagers, fearing to be blamed, threw the bodies into the Doodgunga river. The bodies of Norris and Heathfield have since been found and buried.

"Thus fell three promising young men, the eldest not twenty-four years old, beloved and regretted by all who knew them. His commanding officer says of Norris, that 'he was a great favourite with his brother officers; and, from his abilities, would have been a great ornament to the service which has lost him. Nothing but their innate fiendish disposition could have induced the mutineers to murder him, as he was always conciliatory and kind towards the men.'

"One of his brother officers speaks even more warmly of him, as 'the best fellow in the regiment, and my greatest friend, with whom I have always lived, and never had a quarrel, or anything like a quarrel. Poor, dear old Norris, whom I loved as a brother! I miss him more and more every day; he was so good and kind, and never hurt a living thing. I am so unhappy I scarcely know what to do. How I feel for his poor parents! It seems almost like a dream; and I can scarcely imagine I shall never see him again.'

"Heathfield is also spoken of as an officer of great promise for the very short

time he had been in the service, and was much esteemed and loved in the regiment; as was poor Stubbs, 'whose sweetness of temper won him all hearts.'

"It has been said, that these three 'missed their way to the residency;' but there is no reason to suppose they intended to go there, or thought they would be more secure at Colonel Maughan's than elsewhere. In fact, they knew nothing of its being a partial mutiny. All the troops at Kolapore were native to a man; and the three officers probably thought to escape, as Norris's words would imply, to some of their old haunts in the ghauts, where they were frequently in the habit of hunting and shooting.

"Since their deaths, Kolapore has been, like many other places in India, a scene of terrible and bloody retribution. Up to the 6th of September, daily courts-martial were sitting. Six men have been blown from guns, eleven shot, and many more hung; the gaol was still full, and the work going on. Such are the scenes of 'evil' from which these three young souls have been suddenly and awfully 'taken.' May God have mercy on their murderers! 'Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord.'"

The second extract is from a letter dated "Kolapore, 12th of August," which proceeds thus:—

"On the 1st instant, at half-past 8 P.M., Stubbs, Dr. Broughton, young Heathfield, Keith, and myself, after having dined at mess, were playing a game at billiards, when suddenly there was a violent knocking at the door, and in rushed the native adjutant and a drill havildar; and as soon as they had recovered their breath, said there was a mutiny in the lines. We were all so excited, and everything in such a state of confusion, that I cannot well describe the events of that night; only I know that, at three o'clock in the morning, the major, Captain M'Culloch, Stubbs, De Lancey, Keith, and myself, took refuge, with 100 men, in a little school-house near the local corps' lines, after having walked the whole night through pelting rain, among ploughed fields, dressed in white mess jackets and trowsers. At five o'clock in the morning we marched down with our 100 men, all the local corps (about 600 men), and 50 of the Southern Mahratta irregular horse, to our regiment's lines, where we expected the mutineers would defend themselves. We found, however, that about 210 men had gone away, taking



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[A PLOT DISCOVERED.]

their arms and lots of ammunition with them. The rest of the regiment either quietly joined us in the lines, or had run away and hidden themselves in the fields and villages about, when they heard the firing. The mutineers had broken into the treasure-chests, and taken away about 60,000 rupees. They had torn the regimental colours, and trampled them in the mud; they had taken away or destroyed all the arms and ammunition in stores; they had killed one old woman, the native adjutant's mother, and she had only saved his children by hiding them under the beds; they had riddled the major's door and windows with balls, and broken open several of his boxes. The resident got information that the mutineers had shut themselves up in a strong square building, with loopholed walls, and flanking towers at the corners, near the city of Kolapore. He accordingly marched all the local corps out to attack them. When they got there, however, they were greeted by a volley from inside, fired through the loopholes in the wall. He then marched the locals straight home. This was on the morning of the 2nd inst.; from that until the 10th, nothing was done. Our men were kept under arms all day, ready to turn out the instant the bugle sounded; and small parties of cavalry were continually scouring the country, to get intelligence of where the mutineers went, and to warn the head-men of villages not to give them food or shelter. On the 6th, a party who had been out at a village about sixteen miles off, said that the people of the village had told them that the three unfortunate young officers who had not been heard of since the night of the row, had been caught and murdered here by the mutineers, and they showed the marks of bullets and the blood on the floor of a native temple. They said their bodies had been thrown into a river that runs near the place; but they have not been found. On the 3rd, a man named Hossein Ali came in from the city to our lines, where he went to our subahdar-major's house, and said to him, 'All the Englishmen in India are to be killed. Get the regiment to rise; the city will join you. We will kill the officers, and then the Mussulman religion will again be the religion of India.' He also said that a native officer of the S. M. horse would join them with 100 men. The old subahdar put food before him, and said he would go and call some other native officers, and they would consult about how it

was to be done. He got two other faithful officers into the house, and told them quietly to keep the man engaged in conversation, and not let him go, while he himself ran up and told the major. He then went back, and brought the man quietly up through the lines to the major's house. He was then tied and sent into the city, where he was put in irons in the gaol. The next day four of our officers and I went into the city and tried him by court-martial, after having his irons knocked off. He was then taken out, and shot by six of the S. M. horse in the gaol-yard. The man who commanded the firing party was the native officer who, he said, was to join them with 100 men. In the meantime, about ninety men had come in from the fields and villages about, who said they had only run out there on hearing the firing, to place their wives and children in safety, not knowing where else to go to; several men had also been brought in by the village authorities, and by the parties of irregulars who were riding about the country. They were all sent into the city of Kolapore, where they were put into the gaol in chains, and guarded by the rajah and his people. At night we all sleep at Maughan's, where there is a very strong guard kept; we have also outlying pickets of horse and foot in every direction, and a regular chain of videttes all round camp.

"We telegraphed, on the night of the 1st, to Sattara about the row; Kerr, the adjutant of the S. M. irregulars, started on the morning of the 2nd, and was with us, bringing fifty men, on the morning of the 3rd; having ridden with his men the eighty miles in twenty-four hours, and swam their horses over three very deep and rapid rivers, which in the rains are considered quite impassable. He is a very fine fellow, and a capital specimen of an irregular horseman; the other day he rode 240 miles without stopping. Immediately the row occurred, Maughan telegraphed to Bombay for Europeans; but they have not been by any means so expeditious as Kerr; for, though a steamer was dispatched from Bombay immediately, with 200 of the 2nd Europeans to Wargoten, and they arrived there on the 3rd, they have not been able to get here yet on account of the nullahs and rivers being all so flooded. A troop of horse artillery, too, started from Poonah, but they have not arrived here yet for the same reasons. It was at one time feared the whole country had risen: we might have been cut to pieces for all they



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knew; so that they are very much to blame for not having made more haste. Up to the 10th, the mutineers had met with no check; on that day, however, we had the great pleasure of doing for a few of them. On the night of the 9th, Maughan received intelligence that twenty-five of the mutineers, with muskets in their hands, were coming back in the Kolapore direction, from a place sixteen miles out on the Wargoten-road, where they had all gone to at first. Kerr mounted at twelve o'clock at night, and set off through the rain, with thirty men, to meet them. He rode out about twelve miles, and caught three men; but he heard from them, that at half-past eleven o'clock the main body of them had marched in and occupied the same position which Maughan had tried to take before. Kerr left his men round about the place, to see that they did not go away during the night, and rode in to ask Maughan to give him some more men, and let him try to take the place. Accordingly, at ten o'clock next morning, Captain M'Culloch and I set off with thirty volunteers from our regiment, and Kerr brought out thirty more of his irregulars. When we got there, we found the fellows inside all ready to receive us, with two sentries walking up and down between the wall and the lake, and a man at each of the corner towers, who occasionally fired when any of us came too near. We passed behind the small native huts which line the road, to a little stone temple, which they had not been able to occupy, as it is solid stone, without a door or window; in fact it is a monument, not a temple. From here we could see what sort of a place it was. It was a double square, hollow in the middle, like a farm square in Scotland, with a low, tiled shed inside the wall, for putting horses and cattle in. The four doors were of tremendously hard wood, into which a musket-ball did not penetrate half an inch; and the main gate was of the same wood, bound and studded with iron, and about eight or ten inches thick. The two men who were walking up and down the place in front of the little door which looks out towards the lake, began firing at us behind the monument, and our fellows returned shot for shot; but as neither of them hit, it was not of much use, only keeping our fellows from going nearer. M'Culloch then told me to take some of our men and some of the S. M. horse round the lake, to a place near the rajah's house, where there were trees and bushes

which afforded capital cover for skirmishers. From here we soon dislodged the two men, one of whom was hit on the thigh, and they ran inside the square. We could not, however, get very near the square, as there was a small temple at that corner, which they had occupied, and from the little windows of which they fired at us. We remained here behind the trees for a long time, answering their shots, on the chance of some balls going in through the loopholes or windows. After a while a fellow came riding round the lake, to say that all our officers had come down with twenty more men, and that they had got two of the rajah's guns, and were going to blow the main gate open, and storm the place. I was told accordingly to collect my men, and prevent any of the fellows escaping by the road towards our camp. I therefore formed my men up, and made the horsemen mount, so as to be ready to chase them if they came past. I was here concealed by a bank from the fort. The fellows with M'Culloch then began blazing away with the guns at the main gate, and I expected every minute to hear that they had broken the gate open and gone in, and was feeling very much disgusted at not being able to go and see the fun; but I felt obliged to stay and watch that road. The guns soon stopped firing, and I supposed all was over. However, I was soon undeceived; for Kerr and the major came round to the lake where I was, and said they were going to bring the guns there, to see if they could open a way in. They said that the guns could only be brought to fire obliquely, and therefore did not have much effect on the gate, for the balls merely went through, leaving only a small round hole in the wood, but not breaking it so as to make it passable. The guns were then placed in a new position, and we began firing at the little side door. Two balls went through it, but only left little round holes, as in the other door; and no two balls hit on the same spot; for the balls were too small for the guns, and the fellows could not aim them at all—so much so, that several balls went right over the place, and did considerable damage in the city. While here, a native gunner was killed from the walls, and one shot cut my trowsers on the left leg, but did not touch the skin. The major, seeing that the guns were not likely to open a way into the place, said to me, 'Will you take a party and turn those fellows out who are firing from the windows of that little temple?' I got twelve

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[THE CAPTURE.

men to volunteer, and we rushed up the road with a shout, six of the men firing their muskets at the windows while running up, the remaining six reserving their fire for closer quarters. I ran up to one window and fired a cavalry carbine, which I had used all day, right into the place, and one of the men did so to the other. We found, however, that the fellows who had been there had left it, and gone into the main building. From round the outside of this temple, we could keep them almost entirely from firing from that side of the building; for if one shot was fired from a loophole, it was immediately answered by a dozen; and we were so near, that a lot of our balls always went in. The biggest gun was here hauled up close to the little door. Here two natives were killed; one was hit on the month, and the other had the whole of the back part of his head carried away. A ball grazed the toe of my left boot. Here seven men came out of the place and gave themselves up; one of them had his eye shot out, and another his left arm broken by a cannon-ball. All of a sudden we heard a whole lot of shots inside the place, and were told that Kerr had got in on the opposite side by a gate, which they had neglected to guard. We should have battered the little door down in a few more shots, but we could not get it opened at once, as they had piled a lot of big stones inside against it. We rushed at a little door which had not been tried before, because it was so difficult to get at. We found it not so strong as the others, and broke it in with a pickaxe and the butts of our muskets. Several men were shot down inside, and three prisoners taken. It is very extraordinary that not one of our men was touched, though they fired a lot of shots at us. Six men took refuge in a little room in the middle of the square. This was made of immense blocks of solid stone. There was a small door looking towards the main gate, up to which there were four stone steps; there was a little stone verandah round it, to which the window looked, and which was raised about four feet above the ground. The window was about two feet above the verandah, and about four feet square. The door and wooden shutter of the window were shut. We sent a lot of balls through the door and windows; and they returned them, each on the chance of hitting the other. They hit one colour-havildar on the head, and one sepoy on the knee. After a while, finding we could not

turn them out without having some of our men hurt (which we did not wish), we resolved to smoke them out, and accordingly threw a lot of lighted grass before the door. One man, seeing that they were to be burnt out, sprang out of the little window like a tiger, with his loaded musket in his hand, evidently resolved to sell his life dearly. I happened to be standing close to the window, and shot him through the head with the carbine I had used all day. He fell all in a heap, stone dead. On finding the smoke insufferable, they came out one by one, only to be shot down by our men immediately. The square was now an awful sight, with eight or ten dead bodies lying on the ground, the whole place streaming with blood, and the prisoners, some of them, frightfully wounded."

A singular feature connected with the mutiny of this regiment, was presented by the fact, that no non-commissioned officer took part with the mutineers; and also that only one-third of the regiment were Hindostani men, the rest being Mahrattas, and Deccan and Concan Hindoos: the virus of sedition had affected all in this instance, without distinction of country.

Another account, after describing the first movement of the mutinous soldiers, and the flight of the three officers, announces the punishment of the rebels, and the entire suppression of revolt in that quarter of the presidency of Bombay. The writer says—"The mutineers, by threats of instant death, made numbers join them. They plundered the tumbril of 45,000 rupees, and the stores of several thousand rounds of cartridges. While all this was going on the Kolapore infantry came up, and surrounded the mess-house. Some fifty of the 27th, still faithful, were there also, with the whole of the officers of the regiment. They had not been there for any length of time before a sentry took the alarm, or purposely discharged his piece, and every one followed his example. The 27th ran like cowards into the mess-room, out of which they refused to stir. Nothing then remained but to retire on Bowrah, a place distant about half a mile. The fifty men of the 27th occupied the school-house as a picket, and lit a fire, round which they coolly seated themselves; while Major Rolland and Captain McCulloch performed sentry-go—a duty which their own men declined! Next morning, 120 of the Kolapore infantry, and a party of the irregulars, went to dislodge 150 of

the mutineers from a position they held in the city. On arrival, it was found to be impracticable without guns. The position was surrounded by high, strong loopholed walls, and, without scaling-ladders, nothing could be attempted. After returning some shots our force retired without accident, save a slight graze which Colonel Maughan received from a fall.

"Late in the day a new character appeared on the scene. The whole of the European community had retired to the residency, the compound of which was strongly guarded by the Kolapore infantry. They were all anxious and praying for succour, and they had not long to wait for it. Covered with skirmishers, they soon saw a small body of men riding to their relief. As they advanced nearer, they described the leader to be Lieutenant Kerr, of the Southern Mahratta horse; and he had fifty sabres at his back. His welcome was a warm one. His face, radiant with daring, inspired every breast with confidence; and as they glanced at his swarthy troopers, reeking with their recent ride, they felt that if their gallant leader were only permitted, his horse's hoofs would soon be red with rebel blood. The march of Lieutenant Kerr was wonderful. As soon as the mutiny broke out at Kolapore, a telegraphic message was sent off to Colonel Malcolm at Sattara. When it was received, Lieutenant Kerr was at the engineer stores, in the European guard, putting irons upon a man who had enlisted in the horse with a view of corrupting the allegiance of the troopers. While so engaged, the colonel's orderly galloped up, and gave him a note stating that he required him at his house, and that he was to prepare to march at once with fifty sabres upon Kolapore. In a very short time Lieutenant Kerr and his men were in their saddles. When they started they were loudly and heartily cheered by the men of the 3rd European regiment, who wished them God-speed. The rivers Khonia-warna, Punch-gunga, and the nallahs, were brim-full; the roads fetlock-deep; even the elements seemed to conspire against the little party: yet without a sick horse or man, and all, comparatively speaking, fresh, Lieutenant Kerr did the whole distance (seventy-six miles) in twenty-four hours, and entered Kolapore in the manner we have described. The celerity of this march requires no comment at our hands; it speaks for itself; and we can only

hope that the government will not look over a service which turned the tide of victory against the mutineers.

"On the morning of the 8rd of August, two hours before daybreak, the mutineers left the Ghaum, and took the road to Farala, where they remained until the 6th instant. They then descended into the Concan by a passage near the ghauts.

"Lieutenant Kerr offered to attack the rebels before they left Farala, but Colonel Maughan would not permit him. It is the general belief, that had he been allowed to have done so, he would have ridden them down, and sabred them to a man.

"The Mahratta horse were also endeavoured to be tampered with; but the traitor was discovered, tried, and shot forthwith. The rajah of Kolapore, and all the native chiefs in the neighbourhood, have evinced the best of feeling throughout. It is a pity that more promptitude was not displayed by Colonel Maughan. Had he attacked the rebels with the forces at his disposal, he might easily have overcome them. The risk, however, was great; as, in the event of a reverse, the consequences would have been fearful. He had not only his troops to protect, but a number of helpless women and children; and such a responsibility renders even the bravest irresolute. Up to the 9th instant but little seems to have been done beyond strengthening our position. On the evening of that day, twenty-six of the mutineers returned to Kolapore, and shut themselves up in an enclosure close by a tank, in front of what formerly was the quarter-guard of the native regiment in the old camp. This position they managed to strengthen, and there they were attacked. After nine hours' hard fighting, the place was carried at the point of the bayonet. Lieutenant Kerr first received information of the arrival of these men when he was out on picket duty. He instantly went up and surrounded the place with his irregular horsemen. He then left Dr. Broughton in charge, and galloped off to camp to give the news to Major Rolland. This officer immediately went to the lines for volunteers. All volunteered, but only 100 were taken. The rest remained ready in their lines. Lieutenant Kerr led the storming party, and did his duty nobly. He has been thanked in orders for his 'devoted bravery.' Two men were killed in this attack, and some few wounded. Lieutenant Kerr got a smash over the shoulder from



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[RETRIBUTION.]

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the butt of a musket, but had ample vengeance by shooting his assailant dead, and running another man through with his sword. The storming party first burst in a small door of the enclosure, three feet wide, and then jumped in amongst the mutineers, shooting and bayoneting all they met. They then burst in another door of the inner keep, and killed all they encountered.

"The remainder of the mutineers have been since captured and destroyed—some in the Concan, and others in the districts. Many have been blown away from guns; and such a terrible example has been made as is likely to keep the Southern Mahratta country quiet for years to come. Colonel Le Grand Jacob is at Kolapore, and has assumed the chief command of the field force. The garrison has also been reinforced by two companies of the 2nd European light infantry, two 12-pounder howitzers, mountain train, and the 4th troop of horse artillery. All danger may therefore be said to have passed away.

"The 27th regiment was disarmed on the 18th, and all went off quietly. Indeed it could not be otherwise. The guns were loaded with canister, and laid. The infantry also had loaded. Colonel Jacob, who speaks fluently in Hindostani, addressed the 27th regiment on the subject of the late disgraceful proceedings. He then called Lieutenant Kerr and two of his brave sowars to the front, complimented them on their distinguished conduct in the attack on the enclosure, and explained their deeds to the Europeans, who instantly evinced their approval with three hearty cheers.

"There were seven more arrests on the 18th. Two hundred will die in all. Two courts-martial are at work—one a native, and the other a European. Twenty mutineers were to die on the evening of the 19th. Those concerned in the murders of the officers are to be hanged; the remainder will be disposed of between guns and musketry. Respecting the latter kind of punishment, volunteers from the 27th regiment are to form a strong firing party. The Southern Mahratta horse have earned a reputation for valour and fidelity which some may equal, but none surpass. Without a murmur they have been on duty, night and day, since the 31st, in awful rain, and under no cover. The lives of the European society, and the interests of the state, were entirely in their keeping, and nobly have they done their duty. Naib Russoldar

Sheik Shamoodeen has been recommended for promotion to rissaldar, with the 'Order of British India;' and a gallant little Mahratta sowar, already mentioned, who saved Lieutenant Kerr's life in the attack at the enclosure, is also recommended to be promoted to the rank of kote duffadar, with the 'Order of Merit.'

"There was also a detachment of 250 men of the 27th regiment of native infantry at Rutnagherry. It was deemed expedient to disarm them, and accordingly arrangements were made in Bombay for that purpose. The disarming took place on the 12th instant. The detachment of the 27th yielded up their arms without a murmur, and were quietly marched back to their lines. Major Stuart, of the 86th, with the majority of his troops, then left for Goa *en route* to Dharwar, leaving a detachment of European artillery and sailors for the protection of Rutnagherry."

The Kolapore mutineers were within twenty miles of Goa, when they heard that a steamer, with European troops, had arrived there. They then at once turned their faces towards the interior, and marched up the ghaut again, where they were disposed of in the manner already described.

The following extracts, from a communication dated "Belgaum, August 23rd," record the punishment inflicted upon a portion of the Kolapore mutineers. The narrative is in the form of a diary.

"Aug. 10th.—Intelligence reached us to-day of the slaughter of twenty of the Kolapore mutineers by their own regiment. It appears these men could not get on at all below the ghaut where they at first went. They could get no money and no food, so they came back, and, on being observed, barricaded themselves in a temple. The officers led out the regiment, who broke into the place where the men were, and after a sharp hand-to-hand fight in close quarters, they bayoneted the whole. A few of the men of the regiment had trifling wounds. Now there are but twenty-five of the mutineers loose in the country.

"Aug. 11th.—Two companies of the 2nd European light infantry came in this morning. The poor fellows were drenched to the skin, and had eaten no food for two days. The officers all marched on foot; and they were, for the most part, lame when they arrived. These companies are to go on to Dharwar, on being relieved by two companies of the 86th. We have now 400

available Europeans; and I think, with them and the artillery, we are equal to anything. I attended the court-martial on Sheik Usman—a greater rogue than the moonshee. He appears to have directed his letters in English. I saw the letters written inside in the native character, and also the English translation; to the effect that everything was in readiness here. Several leading men in the town, and in the native regiments (no names), were ripe for the insurrection. The plan for taking the fort, making the commander prisoner, and cutting the throats of all Christians, was also laid out. The English were a parcel of fools, and did not 'smell the rat.' There were many other subjects discussed in the epistles, but the pith I have given you; and if these had not been intercepted we should not have been in the land of the living. I afterwards rode up to the camp, and passed the European lines. The soldiers looked much more comfortable with their clean kit, and were enjoying their pipes.

"Aug. 13th.—To-day most exciting events have happened. Two men have been sentenced to death, and are to be blown away from guns to-morrow. The moonshee's trial came to a close to-day, when he was found guilty. Another man, a Perdassie, was tried by a court-martial at the artillery mess-room. The chief witness was the adjutant of one of the regiments; and his testimony was corroborated by the jemadar. This man, it seems, had come to try and incite the sepoys to insurrection; and the jemadar, an havildar, and naik, directly they were aware of his intentions, informed the adjutant, who accompanied them to the lines, when they hid him in a hut, behind a plain deal door with chinks in it. They then introduced the Perdassie, and the adjutant took down on paper the mutinous conversation. Under such circumstances the rascal was, of course, convicted, and to-morrow will meet the fate he deserves. I shall go and see him executed, as I think that every European ought, by his presence, to show to the natives his concurrence with the justice of the sentence; and I am sure, when we consider for a moment that had those letters of the moonshee not been intercepted we should all have had our throats cut, it takes away all pity that one might otherwise have felt for these wretched men. I read the translations of the moonshee's letters, three in number. Like those of the

Perdassie, their plans were all arranged as nicely as possible. One was to the moulavie of Poonah, telling him the English were quite in ignorance as to what was going on. He also wrote to Kolapore; and the mutiny in that place is attributed to him. S—— has been indefatigable in getting evidence, and keeping spies. It was entirely through his means that these letters were intercepted. These are indeed exciting times. God grant all may be well yet in Bengal, and that no such insurrection may break out here! S—— had to announce the sentences to the prisoners this evening, and to obtain a confession, which I believe he got with little trouble.

"Aug. 14th.—This day the traitors were blown away from guns at half-past 4 P.M. I mounted my horse, and on the way met the prisoners in a cart, guarded by a detachment of the 64th; presently we arrived at the place of execution. It was on the little course. There was a square formed. On one side were the Mahratta horse; on the other some Shetsandi police from the villages at the bottom; and in the direction in which the guns were pointed were the rabble, and at the other face were the 29th and 15th native infantry and the 2nd Europeans drawn up; and between them and the guns all the 'Sahib log' stood. Every one was present, from the general downward. The adjutant-general read the sentence out to the prisoners, and they were then led to the guns; and at a given signal off they went. That rascal of a moonshee was drawing 150 rupees a-month for instructing officers of regiments in Hindostani, at the very time he was plotting their death. I should have mentioned that an havildar and four men of the 29th were given up by the regiment this morning for plotting against government.

"Aug. 16th.—I went down to the lines, and was present at the parade assembled to promote the jemadar, havildar, and naik respectively, on account of the painful discharge of their duties in making known the plot got up by the Perdassie. The general addressed each of them; he also called out the adjutant and complimented him, and informed him he had brought his conduct to the notice of the commander-in-chief. This was a more gratifying spectacle than that of the day before yesterday. The general has been indefatigable; he told me of the number of providential interferences that had occurred for our benefit; but, under



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INDIAN MUTINY.

[POONAH AND SATTARA.]

Providence, nothing has tended more to the safety of the Southern Mahratta country than the judicious measures taken by General L——, and the sudden throwing in of detachments of European troops. General L—— has throughout acted promptly, firmly, and judiciously; and, aided by Mr. S——, the superintendent of police, has frustrated the plot, which, had it not been discovered, would have caused the rising of all the native regiments in the division.”

This event at Kolapore was not without an irritating influence over the adjacent districts of the Southern Mahratta country. At Poonah, Sattara, Belgaum, Dharwar, and other places, the traces of a wide-spread Mohammedan conspiracy were detected; but, fortunately, the germs of insurrection were nipped in the bud. At Poonah* a plot was concerted, between the moulvies of that place and those of Belgaum, for blowing up the arsenal, and murdering the Europeans and native Christians of the place. This was timely discovered by letters intercepted at the post-office; and the authorities were enabled to guard against the impending evil. Many arrests of Mussulman conspirators were made, and the natives of the cantonment bazaar were disarmed. From the out-stations the European families were called in for safety, and were sent under military escort to Bombay. Much of this alarm was not justified by subsequent events; but, at the moment, “discretion was esteemed the better part of valour;” and timely caution had more advocates than unnecessary daring had admirers. The Poonah conspirators, having been tried and convicted of high treason, were securely lodged on board the Company’s receiving-ship *Akbar*, preparatory to transportation for life to the Straits settlements.

At Sattara,† the commissioner, Mr. Rose, had reason to believe the rajah and his family were in communication with the Mohammedan conspirators at Poonah, and

determined to nip the mischief in its bud. Accordingly a force, consisting of two guns, a party of her majesty’s 14th dragoons, with some Southern Mahratta horse, and some men of the 22nd native infantry (the whole under the command of Colonel Malcolm, and accompanied by Mr. Rose and his assistants), marched into the city of Sattara before daylight on the morning of the 6th of August, and surrounded the palace, placing the guns in position in the front. The commissioner then directed his officers to inform the rajah that it was necessary he should take up his residence for a time at Poonah, and that carriages were then in readiness for the conveyance of himself and family. His highness, offended at the unceremonious announcement, at first refused compliance; but, after satisfying himself that he had no choice but to obey, he consented to the removal, and, with the rane in company, was safe on his way to Poonah before eight o’clock; whence, upon his arrival, he was transmitted, with several of his adherents, under a strong guard to the naval depôt at Butcher Island, in Bombay harbour, where he remained under strict surveillance, until the storm of rebellion had passed over his territory. Some timely exhibitions of punishment followed this abduction; six prisoners, implicated in the outrage at Kolapore, who had been taken at Sattara, having been blown away from guns; and the two events struck wholesome terror into the minds of the surrounding populations.

While these occurrences were progressing, the three presidencies were alike anxious about the state of feeling in the country around Hyderabad, in the Deccan; and, as the territory of the Nizam bordered upon Nagpore in the north-east, and, on the south-east and on the west, adjoined districts belonging to Madras and Bombay respectively, its condition naturally became an object for serious attention. The two largest cities

church, and an excellent library in the cantonments, for the use of the soldiery.

* Poonah, formerly a capital city of the Mahratta states, is situated at the confluence of two rivers, the Mootai and Moota; about 98 miles S.E. from Bombay. It stands in an extensive plain 200 feet above the level of the sea, and is surrounded by hills, most of which were formerly crowned by fortresses. The great street of Poonah is spacious and handsome, many of the houses being adorned with mythological paintings and devices. The ancient palace, or fort, is surrounded by massive and lofty walls, with four circular towers; and has only one entrance. A Hindoo college has been established at Poonah by the government; and there is also a spacious and convenient English

† Sattara is a fortified town, situated between the Krishna and Tournai Ghaut, in the province of Bejapore, fifty-six miles south of Poonah. The place is singularly devoid of the usual features of an Indian town, consisting only of one long street, without a temple or other building to denote that it is a Hindostani settlement. The fort crowns the summit of a hill about 800 feet in height, at the bottom of which the town is built; and in the neighbourhood are many hill-forts belonging to Mahratta chiefs, some of which are of considerable strength, and have, at times, occasioned embarrassment to the government.



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of the Nizam—namely Hyderabad, in the south-east portion, and Aurungabad, in the north-west—contained at the time, besides the establishment of the residency near the former city, many English families belonging to military and civil servants of the Company, which, by the terms of various treaties, had a right of maintaining a large military cantonment at Sekunderabad, a few miles north from Hyderabad city. The infantry cantonment was three miles in length, well provided with all requisites for a military station; and the cavalry lines were situated about two miles north of the cantonment. The military station for the troops of the Nizam was at Bolarum, a short distance from Sekunderabad. Matters had continued perfectly quiet in this quarter until the 16th of July, when it was communicated to the resident political agent that a number of the people in the city were much excited, and that a scheme was in agitation to coerce the Nizam to attack the British residency, which was situated outside of the city, but some miles distant from the English cantonments. Accordingly, early in the evening of the 17th, about 4,000 budmashes, led by 300 Rohillas, marched upon the residency, ostensibly to demand the release of a jemadar of the 1st Nizam cavalry, who had been delivered up to the resident as a mutineer, by order of the Nizam. Major Davidson, who was then at the residency, acted with promptitude and vigour: an express was at once sent off to cantonments for aid; and he then marched out with the European guard and three guns to attack the insurgents. Upon coming in front of them, he opened a fire of grape with such rapidity and effect that the rebels were stricken with terror, and fled, leaving many of their companions on the ground, among whom were several of the Rohillas. Some prisoners were made; and among them the Rohilla chief, who was mortally wounded, and afterwards died. So quickly had the affair been managed, that, when the cavalry and horse artillery arrived from Sekunderabad, the rebels had been dispersed, and the city of Hyderabad resumed its ordinary aspect. This was almost the only approach to an outbreak that occurred in the portion of the Deccan near the borders of the Carnatic.

An officer of the 30th Madras native infantry, in a letter descriptive of this affair, writes thus:—

"I must tell you that last Friday even-

ing, the 17th of July, the resident got information that the Rohillas were assembling in large numbers for an attack. Well, in the evening, about half-past six, Georgie and myself were sitting in the verandah, when we heard the three alarm guns sound the signal for the troops to fall-in and be off at once to the general parade. I went off to the mess of the 7th cavalry to find out what was amiss, when I was met by a cavalry officer rushing home as hard as he could go for his horse. He shouted to me, 'The alarm is sounding'—magic words, as you may suppose. I turned, ran home as fast as my legs could carry me, got out the horse and carriage, dressed and put dear G—— and the son in, and rattled off to the barracks, where we found all the riflemen out, and the cavalry getting to saddle. By this time an express came in to say that they—i.e., the Rohillas—were attacking the residency. Off galloped the cavalry and horse artillery; we remained at the barracks; all the ladies together at the adjutant's house. The whole force was out: we were all bivouacked on the parade-ground till about 1 A.M. About seven, the report of guns told us that the work had commenced. But we were, as the saying is, one too many for them. They came on and got nine rounds of grapeshot, which knocked them over like ninepins. They then got into a house in the bazaar, from which they kept up a fire on our fellows and the residency all night. This house was so situated that the guns could not be brought to bear upon it, so it was resolved to wait till the morning, and then have at them with the infantry. However, at 4 A.M. they walked off. We know of twenty-nine Rohillas picked up dead; how many wounded, of course, we cannot find out; but the quantity of blood on the floor of the house, when taken possession of in the morning, told that they must have suffered heavily. The troops turned out splendidly; so people have little fear of the Madrasees following suit with Bengal. The residency has now been strongly fortified. It is supposed we shall have a row to-morrow again, as it is Friday (the Mussulman Sunday), on which day they think it a mark of zeal for their prophet to try and murder us; but as our sepoys are staunch, they are likely to get more than they bargain for. On Friday last all the ladies (our depôt excepted) were put into the arsenal and European hospital. You may imagine the scene; drums beat-



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[MEEAN MEER.

ing, bugles and trumpets sounding the alarm, and, in all directions, carriages rushing off to the above-mentioned places. All the Europeans who lived in the city came rushing into cantonments, or took refuge in the residency. We had not a single man on our side touched, though they were being fired at all night. The 12th lancers were telegraphed for from Poonah, and are likely to be here in about a fortnight. Their approach is hailed with great glee."

On the 30th of July, the 26th regiment of native infantry mutinied at Meean Meer, about noon. Major Spencer, who commanded the regiment, immediately went into the lines, and for some time appeared to have succeeded in pacifying the men; but he, with the quartermaster-sergeant, the havildar-major, a pay havildar, and some others, lost their lives in the vain attempt to maintain order. The major appears to have been slain from behind, by blows dealt him with a hatchet. The miscreants attempted to inveigle some other officers into their lines; and Lieutenant M. White had a most narrow escape. Just as he was on the point of dismounting, to aid, as he imagined, his commanding officer, he was warned by a sepoy that he would be murdered, and got away with difficulty, and with a slight scratch from a sword. The mutineers fled rapidly to the eastward, across the grand parade, and got into the dense jungle without being overtaken. About thirty of the mutineers were killed by the new Sikh and Punjabee battalion, and seven were captured and summarily executed.

Accounts were afterwards received from Mr. F. Cooper, deputy-commissioner of Umritsir, of the almost total destruction of the 26th regiment. The mutineers continued their flight without ceasing, for a distance of forty miles, up to the left bank of the Ravee, which they in vain tried to cross opposite Ujwala. On Mr. Cooper's reaching the place, about 4 P.M. on the 31st of July, he found that about 150 men had been shot or drowned by his police, aided by the villagers; 160 were captured on the island in the river; 35 were counted drowning in trying to get off. Numerous fugitives were brought in from all quarters during the night: 237 were summarily executed when taken; 41 died from fatigue; and about 21 more had been apprehended in neighbouring villages. In round numbers, 500 men were thus accounted for. If

to these be added the furlough and sick men, the Bhoojoore men, the Sikhs and Punjabees, and some guards which remained, the total strength of the whole regiment is approximately given.

A letter from Peshawur, of about the same date, describes an exciting affair that had recently come off at that station, as follows:—"I am always picturing to myself the horror of people at home when they hear of the succession of atrocities perpetrated by the scoundrel sepoys, and of the narrow escape we have had of losing India. We disarmed the 10th irregular cavalry here, and then disbanded them for not charging the 55th native infantry (who were in open mutiny), when ordered to do so. We managed to get these 'doves,' as they are called, dismounted within a hundred yards of the guns; sent a party to seize their horses at their pickets; then commanded them to lay down their arms; then sent searchers to relieve them of their paraphernalia; made them take off their coats; then ordered them to take off their boots. Fancy a cavalry regiment hard at work taking off each other's boots, under the influence of artillery! Each man was then given eight annas (1s.); the whole secured, and marched off to the river side, where they are to be embarked in boats and sent down the Indus, where I expect every mother's son will have a chance of being drowned in the rapids. To-night we pick out horses to complete the battery from the disbanded cavalry. We had a night-alarm a short time since; you know we (the artillery) all sleep at the guns. I awoke and heard 'boom,' 'boom;' hearing guns fired (for so it seemed) at regular intervals from the fort, we thought the city had risen, and a night-alarm all through the cantonments was the consequence: we were all at our rendezvous in notime. This was caused by the explosion of little mines in the city, in honour of a wedding. Well, next morning, the persons concerned, and those who worked at the mines, were tied up, and received such a flogging as they will not easily forget. In these times of danger and treachery, we don't bother ourselves about the quirks of law, but hang, shoot, or flog, as circumstances arise. We stand no nonsense here. The general swears he will maintain discipline."

At Jelpigoree the elements of discord were at work also. In the neighbourhood of this station, at which the 73rd Bengal



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native infantry was quartered, no European troops whatever were in cantonments, and every facility was therefore afforded to the evil-disposed of the regiment to coerce, or, if need be, to destroy their English officers. An effort to that end was made towards the end of July; but the corps was not then ripe for revolt, and the plot was discovered in time to render it harmless. The details of this affair are given by an officer of the 73d regiment; who says, in a letter dated 30th July—"We have been a little unsettled lately, in consequence of a discovery that there were some twelve or fifteen men in the regiment who were disposed to mutiny, and, if possible, kill their officers. We at once arrested the ringleaders, tried them by court-martial, and sent them to the gaol, heavily ironed. The putting on of irons is almost the greatest indignity which can be offered to a high-caste sepoy, so we naturally felt anxious during and after the process. However, all went smoothly, and they are now on their way to Calcutta. After this we breathed a little more freely; but the sequel will show how nearly we brought the storm on our own heads. A day or two after, information was brought us by a faithful sepoy, that two men had been to him, regretting that they could not get up a party to attack the officers at mess; they expressed themselves as ready to do so if they could induce three more to join them. Our informant promised to join them. The next day they got their party augmented to six, and made their arrangements for that very evening; they were to have a boat waiting on the river, which runs close under the mess-house, to make a dash at the officers while at dinner, jump into the boat, and escape into Bhotan. They dared not trust themselves on this side, as the regiment would not join them. We heard all this just as we were going to a grand entertainment given by our regiment to the irregular cavalry. We thought it better to go, and we therefore went. We remained three hours in the midst of them all, knowing that some few were contemplating our murder in the evening. Up to this time we had had no opportunity of consulting as to what was to be done; in fact, nothing was settled till I mounted my horse, and went down to the lines in a tremendous storm of rain. I had the whole party arrested. They were taken up by sepoys, guarded by them all night, and packed off by them in

a boat next morning for Calcutta. This seems to prove fully that we may rely on the regiment as a body; they never would have imprisoned their own companions had anything like a mutinous spirit been rife among them."

Throughout the country between the northern districts of the Bombay presidency and Malwa, many events occurred sufficiently marked to show, that in all directions the native troops were in an agitated state, as if wavering between the opposite principles of fidelity and revolt. It was, however, worthy of notice, that the troops so affected, were, in very few instances, of the Bombay army; being chiefly Mahrattas or Rajpoots, or men of various contingents, imbued with the same ideas as the Hindostanis and the Oudians. Towards the close of July, a few troopers of the Guzerat irregular horse, at Ahmedabad, attempted to get up a mutinous demonstration, by rushing through the lines of the corps with a green flag, and calling on all true followers of the people to join them, and exterminate the unbelievers. The effort, however, failed; and, in an attempt to seize them, two were killed by the Coolie police corps. Captain Taylor, the commandant of the regiment, was wounded in the affray; and the mutineers were eventually secured, and sentenced to be hanged. The execution took place in presence of the whole force at the station; which was drawn up in line, the Guzerat irregular horse being placed in front of the European troops, and facing the gallows; so that if they had dared to attempt a rescue, their destruction was certain. The mutineers were permitted to address the men of their regiment previous to being turned off; and one of them, profiting by the opportunity, called aloud to them—"Why do you not do as they did at Neemuch, and charge these Kaffers?" But the reply to his question came in a low murmur of reprobation from the ranks before him, and the traitors met their doom without sympathy.

At Panderpore—a sacred town about 108 miles south-east of Poonah—an *émeute* occurred in July, during which the *mamlutdar* (or native magistrate) was killed; but the disturbance was quickly repressed, and no serious result followed to the Europeans in that quarter. About the same time, some engineers of the Baroda Railway Company, stationed at that town, created unnecessary alarm by precipitately abandon-



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[SAUGOR AND NERBUNDA.]

ing the station and fleeing into Surat, where they declared that a large body of insurgents were marching towards the Guicowar's capital. The momentary panic was, however, without any permanent injury to the quiet of the city; and the terrified fugitives were derided for their pusillanimity, instead of being thanked for their timely warning.

The Saugor and Nerbudda provinces were in a somewhat precarious state during the whole of August. At Jubbulpore, the conduct of the troops had not ceased to excite alarm since the first symptoms of disorder became apparent in June; but still the two following months passed away without any attempt at actual mutiny. At length, certain symptoms among the men of the 52nd regiment, induced Major Erskine (then in command) to take extraordinary precautions against danger, and to fortify and provision the residency. An officer of the 52nd, writing of this occurrence on the 17th of July, says—"This is a beautiful place, so we all came here one evening, and such a business you never saw. There were ten ladies, with ever so many children, and a number of sergeants' and writers' wives. The next morning we began intrenching ourselves, bricking up all the verandahs, only leaving holes to fire through. We put quantities of sand-bags on the top of the house, all round; cut down all trees within a certain distance of the house; laid in stores of grain for three months; and staked the ground all round to prevent a rush. We also managed to find two old 4-pounder guns, which we planted on the front side of the house, where they present an imposing appearance. During this time our men kept quiet, and have done so ever since. Of course, we did not admit them within the fortifications; but permitted them to give us two guards, of fifty men each, at some distance outside. We number, inside, about forty-five fighting-men, twenty women, and as many children. We feel quite safe now, and nothing but guns can dislodge us. We have just heard that a force is coming up from Kamptee, consisting of the 33rd Madras infantry, two squadrons of horse, and a detail of artillery. They are going to pass through this country to avenge the atrocities of Jhansie, Nusseerabad, Banda, Nowgong, &c. Two companies of our regiment are to accompany the force, and O—and myself are the lucky ones to go. Won't we just avenge

our countrymen! Our orders are to destroy, burn, kill, and hang; and if the order is not carried out it won't be my fault. Some of the worst atrocities took place at the stations I have named. At Jhansie, for instance, fifty-three Europeans, including civilians and officers, were starved out and had to surrender. The rebels tied them to trees—ladies and gentlemen; then laid down the children in front; and, after cutting the latter in two, cut the men's heads off, and then ended by violating and murdering all the women. I have seen the depositions taken by the chief commissioner here, of natives who were eye-witnesses,* and had escaped; but they are too heart-rending to relate. Cawnpore is said to have gone, and every European murdered—among them Captain and Mrs. Wiggins, of our regiment, and two children. No punishment can be too great for these brutes; and our revenge will be awful, as we have no fear now of speeches about the mild Hindoos. We expect to be out about six or seven months; so, should I not be able to write, that will be the reason. The revolver you sent me is always round my waist, loaded. I could get £50 for it now, as there are only two others here. I have but a short time to write, having the charge of the west side fortifications. We are, of course, improving every day, and shall soon be impregnable. My own battery consists of a musket from my company, a double rifle, two double guns, besides the Colt. If you could look in upon us you would not think we were a very lugubrious set, but rather that we were met on some festive occasion. At this moment I hear the piano and singing. We are a queer lot, we Britons: day after day we hear of atrocities too horrid to write about, and of the murder of friends and relatives, and never seem to think of our own fate. Laughing, talking, eating, drinking, music, singing—all seems to go on much as usual."

The movable column from Kamptee, mentioned in the preceding extract, duly arrived at Jubbulpore, where it halted for a day or two, and then proceeded on its mission of justice. A small detachment was afterwards sent back to the station, for its better protection, in case any disturbance should occur.

* This would seem to be tolerably conclusive as to facts previously recorded of the sepoy atrocities, notwithstanding they have been questioned by parties at a distance from the scene.



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For some time, nothing occurred to increase the anxiety which the European inhabitants of Jubbulpore, in common with those of the surrounding districts, naturally felt in the unsettled state of the country; but at length, some appearance of mystery in the conduct of several of the influential inhabitants, towards the latter end of the Mohurram,* excited suspicion of impending evil; and, by the exertions of Lieutenant Clarke, the deputy-commissioner of Jubbulpore, information was obtained that it had been the intention of the rajah of Gond (Shunkur Shah), and his son, Ragonauth Shah, accompanied by several zemindars with their followers, and in concert with some sepoys of the 52nd regiment, to attack the cantonments on the last day of the Mohurram, murder all the Europeans, burn the cantonments, and afterwards plunder the treasury and city; and that it had not taken place on the appointed day for two reasons—first, that they were uncertain how many of the sepoys would join them; and, secondly, because two of the zemindars of the rebel party had refused to act with them. It was also ascertained, that the attempt would probably be made during the Dusserah.†

Upon receiving this information, Lieutenant Clarke sent a chuprassy, in the disguise of a fakir, to find out more of the alleged conspiracy; and the scheme succeeded admirably; for the rajah and his son were completely deceived by the disguised emissary, and, without hesitation, disclosed to him their intentions, as well as the means they had resolved to employ for carrying them into effect. Acting upon the report of the chuprassy, a party of twenty sowars, with a strong body of police, was assembled at Lieutenant Clarke's bungalow; and, accompanied by that officer, proceeded towards the rajah's house, in a village about four miles from Jubbulpore. When about a mile from the place, the lieutenant galloped forward with some sowars, and surrounded the village, until the foot police arrived; when, the arrangements being complete, the rajah and his son, with some thirteen people in his house, were arrested, and conveyed to the military prison in the English cantonments without the slightest difficulty.

* The Mohurram is a fast, kept by Mohammedans in commemoration of the death of Hossein and Hussein, the two sons of Ali, by his cousin Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet.

On searching Rajah Shunkur Shah's and Ragonauth Shah's house, several papers of a rebellious tendency were found. One of them was a prayer by Shunkur Shah, invoking his deity to aid him in the destruction of all Europeans, to upset the government, and to re-establish his own. The paper was found in a silk bag in which he kept his fan, by the bed from which he rose as the lieutenant and his party entered the house. The prayer was written on a scrap of paper torn from a government proclamation after the massacre at Meerut; and the remainder of the proclamation was afterwards found in the house. A second prayer, differing immaterially in one or two words, was also found, in the handwriting of Ragonauth Shah. The following is a literal translation of the prayer of the rajah:—

Shut the mouth of slanderers, bite and
Eat up backbiters, trample down the sinners,
You, "Sustrsingharka."¹
Kill the British, exterminate them, "Mat Chundee."²
Let not the enemy escape, nor the offspring of such,
Oh! "Singharkah!"³
Show favour to Shunkur,
Support your slave!
Listen to the cry of religion,
"Mathalka."⁴
Eat up the unclean,
Make no delay,
Now devour them;
And that quickly,
"Ghormatkalka."⁵

¹ A name of the goddess Deeva; signifying "Destroyer of the Enemy." ², ³, ⁴, ⁵—other names, expressive of her various attributes.

On the second night after the imprisonment of the conspirators, a report was forwarded to Lieutenant Clarke, from the regimental lines, that it was the intention of some of the sepoys to attempt to rescue them. The Madras force was immediately turned out, and remained under arms all night. The prisoners were removed, for greater safety, from the gaol to the residency, where no attempt of the kind was likely to be made. In the course of the night, a few shots were fired in the lines; and a picket was fired on, but from a long distance; after which, eight of the worst men in the 52nd regiment set fire to a bungalow, and deserted, taking their arms with them.

A court was held on the following day, for the trial of the rajah and his son; and proof of their complicity in the plot for the

† The Dusserah is a Hindoo festival, continuing for ten days, which are appropriated to religious ceremonies, and to the public exhibition of the idols, to whom offerings are presented.



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INDIAN MUTINY.

[AN EXECUTION DESCRIBED]

destruction of the Europeans being conclusive, they were sentenced to suffer death by being blown from guns—this mode of execution being resorted to in preference to hanging, in consequence of the excitement then visible in the lines of the 52nd, which suggested an idea of a possible attempt at rescue; an event that would have been facilitated by the delay afforded while constructing the gallows. Accordingly, at eleven o'clock on the morning of the 18th of September, two guns were advanced a few hundred yards in front of the residency, covered by a company of her majesty's 33rd regiment—a strong party of Madras light cavalry being on either flank; and the two principal offenders were brought upon the ground, under a guard of armed police, and an escort of the 33rd. The old man walked up to the guns with a firm stride and haughty demeanour; and but for the defiant tone in which he breathed his last aspirations for revenge, his snow-white hair and venerable appearance might almost have excited a feeling of compassion in the breasts of those he had plotted to destroy. The son, Ragonauth Shah, was less determined in his manner, as he placed himself in front of the gun that was to annihilate him. The requisite preparations occupied but a few moments. A signal was given, and instantaneously the torn and shattered remains of two human beings were strewn, in a shower of blood, over the residency compound. Of these the kites and vultures had a share; but such parts of them as could be gathered up at a later period of the day, were given over to the ranees—terrible memorials of what once had been a husband and a son.

The rajah of Gond, although for many years shorn of territory and power, had still possessed the ancient name of his dynasty; and the traditional *prestige* of his family afforded the disaffected a rallying-point which they were ready to avail themselves of. In former days, the Gond rajahs had held absolute rule over a large extent of

country, and could trace their descent through the mists of sixty generations. Cast down from their independence as sovereigns by the Mahrattas, who despoiled them of their territories, the living descendants of the family were in utter poverty, when the armies of the Company beat down the spoiler and oppressor. The government commiserated the fallen condition of the once-powerful family, and hoped, by restoring to it a share of its former importance, to secure its gratitude, and, at the same time, strengthen the southern frontier of its acquisitions against future aggression by the neighbouring states. This considerate policy was accordingly adopted; and the result we have seen.

An officer present at the scene of death, describes some of the incidents as follows:—

"I have just come back from seeing the rebel rajah and his son blown from guns. It was an awful sight; but they richly deserved a far worse fate. Fancy—it has been found out that we were all to be roasted alive when caught! *He prayed, as he was being lashed to the gun, that his surviving children might be spared to burn us!!!* We went down to where the two guns were drawn up, with a detachment of infantry and cavalry, to prevent surprise—the cavalry rushing about to keep the people back from the front of the guns. Soon afterwards the prisoners arrived, looking very apathetic and *nonchalant*; their fetters were knocked off on the ground. I was quite close to them, as we officers were inside a circle, close to the guns, into which the crowd was not allowed to come. They were then bound to the mouths of the cannon. The way is this:—You stand with your back to a cannon mouth, which is pointed to the back of the heart: you have now a very good idea of it. The artillery officers, when all was ready, gave the command in a loud, clear voice, 'Division! ready! fire!' A boom—a thud, as of a body falling—and all was over.* You know I have a very soft heart, and would most likely have fainted, falling down in a stinking shower. One wretched fellow slipped from the rope by which he was tied to the gun, just before the explosion, and his arm was nearly set on fire. Whilst hanging in his agony, under the gun, a sergeant applied a pistol to his head, and three times the cap snapped, the man each time wincing from the expected shot. At last a rifle was fired into the back of his head, and the blood poured out of the nose and mouth like water from a briskly-handled pump. This was the most horrible sight of all. I have seen death in all its forms—never anything to equal this man's end."

* A medical officer of the Bombay presidency gives the following description of an "execution parade":—"This first parade was a horrible sight, but the blowing away from guns is most appalling. After the explosion, the grouping of the men's remains in front of each gun was various and frightful. One man's head was perched upon his back, and he was staring round as if looking for his legs and arms. All you see at the time is a cloud like a dust-storm, composed of shreds of clothing, burning muscle, and frizzing fat, with lumps of coagulated blood. Here and there a stomach or a liver comes



or got sick at home, if I had seen the same before these massacres; but I can assure you, that although I felt the awful solemnity of two souls going, with a prayer for murder upon their lips, before their God, yet I went up afterwards, with almost gratified feelings, to look at their faces, still thinking of Cawnpore, Delhi, Meerut, Jhansie, Bareilly, Fyzabad. The old man's face was quiet and severe (he never had moved a muscle the whole time before), as was also the young one's (a man of forty.) Their legs and arms fell close to the cannon mouths, they being tied; the head and upper part of the body being blown about fifty yards in front. Quite untouched their faces were, and quite quiet. It is a very quick death, as they can feel no pain, the region of the heart being at once blown away. This is nearly the only form in which death has any terrors for a native. If he is hung, or shot by musketry, he knows that his friends or relatives will be allowed to claim his body, and will give him the funeral rites required by his religion; if a Hindoo, that his body will be burned with all due ceremonies; if a Mussulman, that his remains will be decently interred, as directed in the Koran. But if sentenced to death in this form, he knows that his body will be blown into a thousand pieces, and that it will be altogether impossible for his relatives, however devoted to him, to be sure of picking up all the fragments of his own particular body; and the thought that perhaps a limb of some one of a different religion to himself might possibly be burned or buried with the remainder of his own body, is agony to him."

The execution was over, and the troops had returned to quarters before the hour of noon; and then, with a view to assure the sepoy that only the guilty had any cause to apprehend severe measures on the part of the government, Colonel Jamieson, with two other officers, went down to the lines, and remained talking to the men for some time—ultimately leaving them with an impression that all was quiet, and that their visit had produced a good effect. About sunset, however, one of the sepoy, who had already given proofs of fidelity, reported to the adjutant, Lieutenant Miller, that some plot was brewing, and that he expected the whole regiment would desert during the night. To have then acted on the offensive, and deprived the men of their arms and ammunition, would have been the wisest course; and, in all probability, would have

been resorted to; but, unfortunately, three officers of the regiment were out on detachment at Saleemabad and Patun, and any extreme measures would, it was felt, seriously compromise their safety. The officers had assembled at mess; when, between nine and ten o'clock, the regiment rose in a body, excepting one native officer and ten men, and quietly left their lines, taking with them their muskets and the ammunition in their pouches; all their other property being left behind. The mutineers remained for some time in the vicinity, and afterwards moved off round the city, taking the road to Patun: in passing, they fired a few shots, but without effecting any damage; they, however, announced their intention to return in two or three days to plunder the city.

The Tuhseddaree of Patun, on the left bank of the Herun river (where a company of the regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Macgregor, was stationed), was distant about twenty miles from Jubbulpore; and thither, in the first place, the mutineers directed their steps, for the purpose of taking up the detachment, and also another of about forty men at Kuttungee, a station yet higher up the river. Both these detachments joined the mutineers, except a jemadar of the Kuttungee party, who alone remained faithful. Upon arriving at Patun, sentries were placed over Lieutenant Macgregor, whom they compelled to accompany them on their march—announcing their intentions respecting him by a letter to Colonel Jamieson, of which the following is a translation:—

"To his Excellency, the Lord of Clemency, the Bountiful of the Age, his Excellency Colonel Sahib Bahadoor: may his power be perpetual!"

"After respects, the representation is this—that Shaikh Dianuth Allee (havildar-major), and Salar Buksh (naik), and Dirguz Sing (naik)—[here follow the names of ten sepoy]—and others whose names are unknown, these sepoy, sir, send here; and this regiment the havildar-major ruined, and said that the Major Sahib and Mason Sahib told the Madras sepoy to seize all the arms of the regiment and kill the men; then you will receive thirty rupees per man as reward, and be promoted to subahdar bahadoors. This speech the havildar-major made to the havildars on duty. If he had not said this we would not have deserted and saved our lives by flight, as only from the havildar-major's speech we deserted: it is proper that these men should by some means or other be sent to us—let them be seized and sent; we have committed no injury to the government; and as for the muskets and cartridge-boxes which we brought away with us, we have left our property in lieu thereof; having sold it, take the price; each sepoy left about thirty rupees' worth of property;

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[SEPOY CORRESPONDENCE.]

also send pay for one month and fifteen days. We are men of honour, and are doing government service here. Your lordship answered, that 'the Madras sepoys are not under my authority'; then, having become helpless, we came away here by your order to save our lives; and on the 19th of May, when your officers fled, then we, being faithful to our salt, did not say anything to your lordship, and at that time the Madras regiment was not present; and when the Adjutant Sahib was attacked by a sepoy with a bayonet, if we had not been true to our salt, why did we seize the sepoy and make him over to you? And your highness is our lord and master; but when we did not find any way to save our lives, we fled and came here; and we had regard to your lordship's salt; if not, at that time we might have killed you. And if you do not let those sepoys go, then this Sahib* we will not kill, but, having bound him, will take him to Delhi; and if you will send those sepoys, then we will cause the Sahib to arrive where you are. Moreover, having seized those sepoys, send them with a guard of police, and it will be well; and if life remains, we will again be present in your service; we will not run away. This letter is written on the part of all the sepoys and non-commissioned officers. All sepoys, non-commissioned and commissioned officers, send salam."

Having dispatched this letter to Jubbulpore, a portion of the mutineers proceeded to Saleemabad, about thirty miles on the Mirzapore-road, where Lieutenants Barton and Cockburn were on duty with a detachment of the regiment. Upon their arrival, the two officers were ordered by the rebels to depart for Jubbulpore—the men who had been under their command bidding them farewell with, apparently, much regret, and with tears in their eyes. They were also permitted to bring away with them some 2,000 rupees of treasure; but the mutineers appropriated 1,400 rupees to themselves, as "their pay up to date."

The above letter from the sepoys would have been unnoticed, but for the hope that, by replying to it, some of the men who might have been induced to leave with the regiment against their will, would, upon reflection, return to their duty, and bring with them the captive lieutenant. The following letter, written in Hindoo, was consequently transmitted to the mutinous troops:—

"To Buldee Jewarree, subahdar, and as many non-commissioned officers and sepoys who are well-wishers of the state, this advice is given—that the acts you have committed were without reason, and your ignorance and folly were great; in fact, what has happened has happened. But there is one way for your good, which, if you pay attention to, for your whole life you will remain saying, 'Bless the Colonel Sahib, and all the officers who wish our good.' The advice is this:—You have deserted, and all know that the punishment for desertion is great; but you do one thing, and you will not be punished

here by us; on the contrary, we officers will solicit the governor-general to forgive your offences. The work is this:—Having brought Mr. Macgregor with you, come here without fear, and never think that any one will practice deceit with you, because when we have once written that no harm shall come to you, it shall not come. Again, what you write to send the havildar-major, &c., such a bad thing we cannot do, or ever will do; and when we showed them your petition, they expressed their willingness to go; but we will never let them go. Understand all of you, that up to this time nothing so bad has been committed which might not be pardoned; but if Mr. Macgregor is in any way hurt, or any robbing takes place, you will not escape by our endeavours to save you. Understand, also, that you have committed a very bad action; but the Colonel Sahib believes that many men have been taken away against their will, and to these men only is this advice given; for why should good men be ruined in company with the bad characters? Understand, also, that no further communication will be held with you, and not one single letter will be written; therefore, if you intend following this advice, do so quickly, because, after a delay of one or two days, your pardon will be hopeless. Whatever you do, do on seeing this letter. Why do you strike an axe in your own feet?

"P.S.—On arrival here you must make over your muskets to the colonel; afterwards—as the order comes from the governor-general—your pardon will be seen."

This attempt to conciliate was, as might have been expected, fruitless. The mutineers were determined to detain Lieutenant Macgregor in their hands as a hostage, until the ten men of the regiment, who had remained faithful, were delivered up to them to be massacred. It was impossible to purchase the liberation of even a British officer by an act so treacherous and cruel. A handsome reward was offered for the restoration of the lieutenant; but beyond that, no effort seems to have been made for his deliverance.

The regiment that had thus identified itself with the rebel cause, took up a position, on the 26th of September, at Konee, on the west of the Herun river, about twelve miles below Kuttungee. The corps then consisted of about 500 rank and file, having with them 1,000 insurgent matchlockmen; and as there was a probability that they would seize and destroy the boats on the Herun, Colonel Miller, in command of the Kamptee movable column at Srirangampore (*en route* for Jubbulpore), dispatched a company of the 33rd Madras native infantry, with twelve troopers of the 4th Madras cavalry, in charge of Lieutenant Watson, accompanied by Major Jenkins, assistant-quartermaster-general, to secure the boats. About three hours after their departure, and just as the column had prepared to re-

* Lieutenant Macgregor.



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sume its march, two troopers galloped into the camp, with intelligence that the advanced party had been surprised by the rebels of the 52nd regiment; that the two officers had been killed, and the men were retreating upon the column. Colonel Miller forthwith set his troops, consisting of 384 men, with four guns, in motion, and advanced to the village of Golera, about three miles in advance of Srirangampore. He had scarcely had time to get into position, when the 52nd were seen marching along the road, in columns of sections. Two guns were fired at, or rather, into them, on which they left the road, and advanced through the jungle on either side, accompanied by the matchlockmen. Colonel Miller, finding the jungle practice rather to his disadvantage, fell back upon some open ground, followed by the enemy. A brisk fire was kept up for half-an-hour, and the enemy was driven back. The column then advanced slowly through three or four miles of very jungly country driving the enemy before it, and halting occasionally, to favour them with a few rounds from the guns, by way of accelerating their flight.

On reaching the open country near Kuttungee, the cavalry was pushed on in pursuit, the enemy being discovered in full retreat among the hills in rear of the town; but, from the nature of the ground, the horses could not follow; and before the infantry could get up, the greater number had effected their escape: a few only were killed; and some prisoners taken on the hill and in the town, were summarily disposed of by the provost-marshal.

On the column approaching Kuttungee, it was agreeably surprised by Major Jenkins and Lieutenant Watson, whose deaths had been reported, riding up to it. They had succeeded in cutting their way through an ambuscade in the dark, and had concealed themselves on the hills, until the advance of the column enabled them to rejoin it. Lieutenant Watson had been wounded on the cheek by a musket-ball, and knocked off his horse. His escape was miraculous. Major Jenkins' charger had two bullets through him, but brought his master safe before he dropped. At the entrance to the town, the column came up with the mutilated remains of Lieutenant Macgregor. His throat had been severed; a bullet discharged into his breast, and his body pierced with bayonets. This foul murder had been perpetrated at three o'clock the same morning,

immediately before the mutineers attacked the advanced party before mentioned.

The capture of one of the ringleaders of the mutiny, is detailed in the following extract from a report of Lieutenant Pereira, commanding the rifles of the 1st Nagpore irregular corps. He says—"On seeing a number of men in red jackets, supposed to be mutineers, running hither and thither among the thick jungles skirting the hills of Kuttungee, I advanced the rifles in skirmishing order, and proceeded in that direction. On arriving at the base of one of the hills, private Ramchurren saw a man hid behind one of the bushes. He cried out, 'Who are you?' and, on receiving no reply, havildar Huttah Tewarree and private Ramchurren immediately seized the man. Private Shaik Emam, who was one of the files adjoining, immediately went to their assistance, and seized the man's musket, who was just on the point of full cocking it. On seizing him, they discovered he was a colour-havildar of the late 52nd Beugal native infantry. He begged for mercy, and said that he would give them a hundred rupees to shoot him dead. They replied, 'We are government servants, and don't require your money; government pays us well.' At this time I came up to them, and ordered him to be brought on as a prisoner. On arriving near the encamping-ground, I caused him to be brought before the commissioner of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, who asked his name; to which he replied, Buldeo Sookul; and then he was ordered to be executed. This man is supposed to have been one of the principal ringleaders of the mutiny."—Lieutenant Pereira concluded by recommending the havildar and two privates to the favourable notice of the commanding officer; the result of which was the promotion of the former to the rank of jemadar (lieutenant), and of the two latter to the rank of havildar (sergeant.)

The subjoined extracts afford some interesting details connected with the mutiny of the 52nd regiment, and also throw some light upon the movements of the rebels in the districts to which the writers refer. The first selected is dated from Jubbulpore, October 8th, 1857; but is written by one of the officers in charge of the detachment at Saleemabad. This gentleman says:—

"I will now give you, as well as I can recollect, an account of my escape and the mutiny of the regiment. On the morning of the 18th of September I got an express from M—, dated September 17th,



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[LIEUT. MACGREGOR'S DEATH.]

8 P.M., saying that they had every reason to believe that the regiment intended to mutiny that night, and to take the treasury and magazine with them, as well as to release all the prisoners. The letter went on to say, that I was to act to the best of my judgment, and that the colonel would bear me out in anything I did or ordered. I at once told my men; some would not believe it; but all took the native oath to remain true, and, under those circumstances, I had not the heart to leave them. I told them I did not wish them to fight the regiment, as I made sure it would come my way to proceed to Mirzapore. I wanted, on the arrival of the regiment, that one man should go and tell them that my company would not join them; at the same time I felt sure, that if the whole regiment had mutinied my men would not stand. I got no more news that night. I did not sleep at all; but, at daylight, I went outside, and, by the gloomy looks of the men, and their talking together, knew that something was wrong. I walked among them for some time, longing to see my native officer; at last he came. I asked him what was the matter; he threw up his hands and said, 'The regiment has gone, and these men won't obey, but are going off to Delhi.' I said I should order them to march into Jubbulpore; he said, 'You had better not; mount your horse and be off.' I then saw that nothing but a bolt would save us, so I went and called C—, ordered our horses, put on my revolver, and took my double rifle, giving my gun to C—. I saw we could not leave without being seen, so I thought I had better go away openly. We found our horses saddled outside, and a number of my men all round them. I saw they had put a sentry over my luggage and the government treasury. I walked quietly up the road, followed by some of my better-disposed men; they saluted me, and many wanted to shake hands; some actually cried, but not a single man offered to accompany me, so hopeless did they consider my escape to be. On we rode, at a foot pace, for fear of tiring our horses, expecting to see the mutinous regiment at every turn of the road. After going fifteen miles we arrived at a village, where we heard that the regiment had really gone, but were not coming this way. I found a dozen irregular cavalry there; and, though I could not trust them, I knew, if they wanted to murder us, they could always overtake us, so I ordered them to mount and come on with us, and made them bring along whatever government treasure there was in the village; and, after having a draught of milk, on we went, having first sent on a trooper at a gallop with a letter to say we were coming. At every village through which we passed the people turned out, and only looked at us, as our small cavalcade was too strong for them. When we got within a few miles of the station, we found a buggy which had been sent out for us, and a couple of bottles of beer. It was quite dark, and pouring, having rained nearly all day. I was glad to see the buggy, as we then knew that the station was all right. We arrived at last at about half-past nine o'clock, and were received with cheers. Of course every European was in the residency; and ladies, in all stages of undress, rushed out of their rooms to shake hands. My dress consisted only of a coloured flannel shirt and canvas trousers, shoes, and a leather hat, besides being dripping wet; so that I myself was not very presentable. I then heard that poor Macgregor had been taken prisoner; but all were in great

hopes that he would be released, as a free pardon and 5,000 rupees were offered to any party who would bring him in. As soon as the Madras column heard of the regiment going, they retraced their steps; and, on the 27th, as they were marching through some very thick jungle, they were attacked by our regiment and about 1,000 Burdeelas. They were only two marches off, and we could hear the guns plainly. The mutineers were driven back with some loss; those who were taken prisoners were hung up at once, to the intense delight of the European artillerymen. Poor Macgregor was murdered that morning: he was found with his arm broken, five bayonet wounds, and a shot through the neck. He was brought in, and we buried him with the usual military honours. He was our senior lieutenant, and had been brought up at the school I was at, at Worthing. I was one of the committee of adjustment of his estate, and had to go to his old quarters, where everything reminded me forcibly of him; and although we were not great friends, it is most distressing, after being for nine years together, to see a brother officer lose his life in so terrible a manner. It was only on hearing of his horrible fate that I could realise my providential escape; and I am convinced, that if I had waited five minutes, I should have been made a prisoner. That day was an eventful one for me. I can assure you, that it is not a comfortable feeling to be surrounded by men who, after being under one's command for so many years, suddenly throw off all obedience and discipline. I felt perfectly powerless, besides having a junior officer with me, whose life depended on my acts. On seeing how things were going on, I thought perfect coolness our best safeguard, and this I kept up to the time of leaving Saleemabad. I left orders with the company to provide carriage for my tents and luggage, and called to my colour-sergeant to bring me whatever money he had of mine. To my great surprise he brought it, and I put the money in my belt. Two days after my arrival here, in came my things—nothing missing; so they actually obeyed my last order. * * * Some of our men are being brought in prisoners, and will be hung. Two men of the 1st company came in this morning; they could not look me in the face. I hear they have just been hung. * * * Great dissatisfaction is felt at the order that no sepoy is to be hung except it is proved that he was present at a murder. Who is to bear witness to the murders of our unfortunate countrymen at Cawnpore, Futteghur, Shahjehanpore, &c.?"

The following is from Jubbulpore, dated October 9th:—

"We are still at Jubbulpore, you see; and I do not see much prospect of our being able to get away in a hurry, as it is rather dangerous to go along the road without an escort, and I am not likely to get one at present. My last would tell you of the mutiny of the 52nd; how one detachment of the regiment allowed two officers to escape, while another had made a prisoner of poor Macgregor; and how the two companies, with the Kamptee column, had been quietly disarmed—that Dumoh had been abandoned, and the column was on its march back to Jubbulpore. On the 26th the column was at Sringsampore. The next morning the column was to march to Kuttungee (ten miles) at daylight; but at two o'clock A.M., the grenadier company of the 33rd, under Lieutenant Watson, started with

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the intention of securing the boats on the Herun river. Major Jenkins, quartermaster-general, went with Watson. After riding about three miles, they had got about 200 yards in front of the company. Suddenly a bugle in front of them sounded the fire; 'snick, snick' went some muskets, then a regular volley. 'Holloa,' said Jenkins, 'here we are in the midst of them.' Dark though it was, they could see they were surrounded by sepoys; they were the rebel 52nd advancing to attack the Kamptee column. One sepoy stepped close up to Watson, and fired in his face; the ball only gave him a gash under the eye. He rode the man down, but he himself fell in doing so. He regained his feet, but fell again and again. Somehow he managed to catch hold of Jenkins's stirrup, and ran on; his horse trotted up to him, and he contrived to mount. Both then cantered on, but immediately came on the rear-guard. 'Halt, who comes there?' called out the leading file. They gave no reply, but dashed through unhurt, though exposed to the fire of the whole guard. Was it not a wonderful escape? Jenkins's horse had two balls in him, and Watson's boy, carrying his rifle, was shot dead; they hid in the jungle till the column came up in the forenoon; they were received with shouts and cheers, for every one thought them killed. The mutineers had no bayonets fixed. The grenadier company fell back on the column in good order; which, being warned of the state of affairs, advanced at daylight, and soon came in sight of the mutineers, advancing steadily along the road in columns of sections; when within 300 yards of them our guns were unmasked; but just as they opened fire, the mutineers wheeled backwards right and left, and got into the jungle, which was very thick, and came quite close to the road. It is believed, that in the course of the morning the mutineers lost about 120 men; there were many hundred Bundeelas with them. Our loss was trifling; a few men wounded, and a trumpeter killed. On coming near Kuttungee, the body of poor Macgregor was found, pierced with eight or nine bayonet wounds, a shot in the neck, his arm gashed and broken; we were all grieved to hear of his sad fate; his body was brought in here, and buried the next day at noon. A wounded havildar and sepoy were taken prisoners at Kuttungee, and hung on the spot. After the column moved on, the mutineers returned, cut down the bodies, and buried them with military honours! The column came in here on the 1st, and Colonel Miller assumed command of the station. We intended to have left this on the 7th; but on the 5th the road was found to be unsafe: it has been unsafe any day for the last three months! Bergee, fifteen miles from this, on the high-road to Kamptee, was burnt by rebels. On the 27th or 28th ult., a large *kafila* was plundered at the Silwa Ghaut, five miles further on. Sixteen mutineers of the 52nd were at Bergee on the 4th; they cut off the noses of some Bunyahs who had gone to buy ghee; and one of them, known to be the principal in the murder of poor Macgregor, sent a message to Captain Moxon, 52nd—that they hoped to serve him the same way; he had offered 200 rupees for the colours; they had intended to collect a party, and attack Jubbulpore; that they would bring the colours with them, and he might then take them if he could! Yesterday morning a party from this were sent to clear the road of the villains; and as Camberlege, with the 4th cavalry, *en route* here, was only three miles beyond Bergee, it was hoped that the rebels might

be captured or done for. I hear to-day that the expedition was unsuccessful; it is said that the rebels have retired to a hill like a natural fortress. I imagine some effort will be made to dislodge them, as the infantry have not returned, and the cavalry are still on the other side of the river. Gunnesgunge, another place on the road, is also occupied by rebels—Gonda, I believe. The main body of the mutinous 52nd are gone up the Mirzapore-road; we heard of them at Sahora (twenty-five miles from this) two days ago. Our Calcutta *dak* has been interrupted for two or three days, but is now open, so I dare say the mutineers have left the high-road. The officers of the 50th Bengal native infantry, with 250 stanch men, have arrived at Allahabad in safety. Three sepoys of the 52nd have been captured, brought in here, and hanged, and five Bundeelas were turned off two days ago. These affairs are taken as a matter of course."

At the close of September, nearly the whole of the territories of Saugor and Nerbudda were in a state of revolt. In Saugor, distant ninety miles north-west from Jubbulpore, a small garrison of 130 Europeans, with about 170 women and children, and a small force of sepoys, were, during the months of September and October, shut up in a scarcely defensible fort, surrounded by many thousand insurgents, and occasioning the most painful apprehensions for their safety; the whole country being in the hands of chiefs who were ready to rise up in open rebellion at news of any discomfiture of the British. Numerous Thakoors had risen, and were plundering the villages in all directions. Jaloun, Jhansie, and Dumoh—all important towns—were in the hands of the insurgents; and only the presence of a few hundred Madras troops stood between the authorities of these important provinces and total anarchy. The commissioner of Nagpore could send no more Madrases from the south; in the north, Mr. Grant was unable to spare a single company from Benares; while the independent and unreliable state of Rewah lay on one side; and Banda, in a state of open rebellion, lay on the other. In this dilemma, the charge entrusted to Major Erskine, as commissioner of the Saugor and Nerbudda districts, became one of painful responsibility. As the autumn drew to a close, his reports to the government became daily more gloomy. In one letter he said—"The mass of native chiefs disbelieve in the existence of a British army; and nothing but the presence of troops among them will convince them of their error." Again and again were such representations sent to the governor-general; and as often as they came, was he compelled to answer that he had no British troops to spare.



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INDIAN MUTINY

[BHEELS AT NANDOOR.]

On the 4th of October, a very spirited affair took place with some rebellious Bheels at the village of Nandoor Singoleh, Kandesh; which, in spite of a brilliant display of gallantry on the part of the officer commanding the loyal force, in which he was admirably seconded by his men, terminated in the death of that officer, and without any satisfactory result to compensate for his loss. The idea of attacking a strong position, held by from four to five hundred men well armed, with a force, altogether, of thirty men of the police corps (of whom not more than twenty took part in the affray), could only have emanated from the highest degree of military enthusiasm, and justifies the lengthened details preserved in the subjoined documents. The first of these is a letter from the assistant-magistrate of Ahmednuggur, to the political secretary to government (Bombay), dated "Nassick, October 6th, 1857;" in which he says—"I have the honour to forward the accompanying statements regarding the affair which took place the day before yesterday with the Bheels at Nandoor, and in which Lieutenant Henry, the superintendent of police, was unfortunately killed, while charging at the head of his men. From the accompanying statements, I think it is clear that, while every credit is due to the memory of the late Lieutenant Henry, for the gallant and determined way in which he led the attack, yet that the attack itself was, owing to the enormous superiority of the Bheels in point of numbers, and their strong position, a very ill-advised one. They were to the number of four to five hundred, armed with matchlocks and bows, posted on the top of a steep hill, surrounded by an abrupt scarp. They met our advance by a volley of some fifty shots, and by a shower of arrows. This strong position was, nevertheless, carried and cleared by Lieutenant Thatcher, supported by some fifteen men of the police corps.

"Lieutenant Henry was almost immediately shot down by two men; one shot passing through the lungs, and the other through both thighs. The Bheel who fired the second shot was killed by Lieutenant Thatcher. Both Lieutenant Thatcher and Mr. Taylor are united in their praises of the gallant way in which Lieutenant Henry fell in the execution of his duty. In him I have lost a highly valued friend; and the behaviour of the men of the police corps at his funeral, testified to the esteem in which he was held by them.

"Lieutenant Thatcher's conduct throughout, appears, to my humble judgment, to have been admirable. From the first, poor Lieutenant Henry underrated the strength and pluck of the enemy. Lieutenant Thatcher did all he could to persuade him to await the arrival of the reinforcements, which were daily expected from Poonah and Nuggur. Finding his remonstrances of no avail, he placed himself by the side of Lieutenant Henry, and the two raced together up the hill. His subsequent behaviour was, I venture to think, as gallant as it was judicious. Lieutenant Thatcher spoke in the warmest terms of the spirit displayed by Mr. Taylor, the inspecting postmaster, and of the assistance he afforded him. He also mentions that Amut Buksh, the rissaldar of the Poonah horse, behaved with very great gallantry. He will bring to the notice of the police commissioner the several men of the corps who chiefly distinguished themselves. Out of probably some twenty men, who took a prominent part in the fight, four were wounded—two, I fear, very severely. No idea can be formed of the number of Bheels that were killed and wounded, as they were all carried off. Lieutenant Thatcher himself wounded two men, and he believes mortally.

"Up to the time of writing this, I have heard nothing further of the movements of the Bheels. I trust, therefore, that the attack of the day before yesterday may have cowed them. The reinforcements from Poonah have arrived, and those from Nuggur will most likely arrive during the course of the day. The Bheels can, therefore, I think, never have such another opportunity for assembling so numerously.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"(Signed) F. S. CHAPMAN,

"First Assist. Magistrate of Ahmednuggur."

The paper referred to in the above, is a statement of Lieutenant Thatcher, assistant-superintendent of police; which ran as follows:—

"Lieutenant Henry arrived at 6 A.M. on the 4th instant. I had previously been at Nandoor with a party of thirty police, watching the enemy, who, to the number of between 200 and 250, were occupying a strong position in the hills. On the first day of my arrival at Nandoor, I sent off an express to the magistrate of Ahmednuggur, desiring a reinforcement of 150 men and two guns. I had previously heard that Lieutenant Carr was on his way to join



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me with fifty men from Poonah. I had also sent in to Nassick, to the first assistant-magistrate, for more men; but as I had only left sufficient men there to carry on the duties of the place, I stated at the time that I did not expect him to be able to comply with my request. The above will show what appeared to me the necessity for reinforcements before commencing an attack.

"On the night of the 3rd instant, I made a night march on the village of Dappoor, in order to prevent the enemy from gaining the ghauts, and also with a view, when reinforcements arrived, to attacking them from higher ground. As I have before stated, Lieutenant Henry arrived at 6 A.M. on the morning of the 4th, and, of course, took the command. I gave him all the information I had as to the number of the enemy, who were then reported to be increased to 500, and to be posted in different positions. Lieutenant Henry appeared to treat my information lightly, and to think I had been imposed upon. My words to Lieutenant Henry were, to the best of my recollection, to this effect:—'Mr. Henry, you having arrived, of course have taken the command; but I warn you, we have not sufficient men to lick these fellows. My advice is to wait until reinforced by Mr. Carr and the Tannah party; and (pointing to a road above the hill) go and get above them.' His reply was, 'It is a d—hard case if we have not sufficient men to thrash all the Siur Bheels.' Lieutenant Henry then called the mamlutdar and two fujdars, and told them to go to Ragojee, and say, 'Henry Saheb *aya*, and orders you to come to Nandoor Singoleh, on which village he is going to march now; if you have any petition to make, come and make it in a proper manner.' Henry told the officials to speak to Ragojee coolly, and tell him if he did not come quietly, he (Henry) would come and take him.

"At 7 A.M. we marched on Nandoor; and as we were going there, I pointed out to Henry the officials talking with Ragojee. Henry cantered up to them; and on this I turned round to Mr. Taylor, who was riding with me, and said, 'Henry's going will cause a fight; he had better leave the niggers (meaning the officials who were parleying with Ragojee) alone.' I halted the men under some trees, at a distance of about a mile from where parleying was going on. I did this by Henry's order. Shortly after a sowar galloped up, with

orders for me to advance. I brought the men up to Henry, and asked him how it (the conference) had ended. He said Ragojee had refused to come, and pointed me out a scarped hill, which he said we were to attack. He drew the men up in single file, and sent me with sowars to the left flank, to examine the enemy's position. I did so; and reported to him that no men were visible to the extreme left. I again pointed out my objections, in a military point of view, to attack at the proposed place, and showed him another spur of the hill of easy ascent; but it was in vain. Henry ordered the advance, and desired me to take the left, while he took the right of the line. We advanced, Henry and myself, on horseback. The position of the enemy was a most difficult one, being a high hill, with a scarped rock. On the top of the scarp, concealed amongst rocks and bushes, were numbers of matchlockmen. The first shot was fired by the enemy, and was evidently aimed at Henry. It missed him, and hit a man to rear of him. Lieutenant Henry, in a loud voice, ordered, 'Charge bayonets!' We rode together in advance of the men. At a distance of about forty yards the enemy gave us a tremendous volley. Finding we could ride no higher, we simultaneously dismounted. Henry drew his revolver, and I my sword. We both took off our hats, and cheered on the men, which was answered by a tremendous yell from our own men. We rushed to the top of the hill, together with about fourteen of our men, about twenty yards to my right rear. Henry pointed his revolver at a man, and I said, 'Your pistol is not cocked.' He put it down, staggered against me, and said, 'I'm hit in the shoulder, but never mind me; go on, old fellow.' He jumped up again; and, finding our pistols useless, we each took a musket from the men who had come up. We jumped on to the scarp, and pointed both our muskets at one man, who had evidently been watching the path. We went up; Henry again called out, 'Good God! I am hit again!' and fell. The man who fired this last shot was, I believe, shot by me just as Henry spoke. I knelt down by Henry, and asked him if he was mortally wounded. He said, 'Forward, old fellow—forward!' Seeing I could do no good, I pulled him out of the line of fire. I then, with fourteen or fifteen men, charged two of the hills on which the enemy were strongly posted, and made myself



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[DEATH OF LIEUT. HENRY.]

master of the position. The fight, after this, lasted upwards of an hour, when Mr. Taylor sent me a message by a native officer that I was being outflanked. I retired leisurely, exchanging shot for shot with the enemy, until a great number of my men had exhausted their ammunition.

"On returning to Nandoor Singoleh, I broke up the remainder of my detachment, and strengthened the following treasuries:—1st, Neemohum; 2nd, Ankola; 3rd, Sinur. I had four men wounded; two, I fear, very seriously. I have no idea of the number of the enemy that were killed and wounded. I shot two myself, and, to the best of my belief, my men hit a great number. The behaviour of about half my detachment was admirable. I will make a nominal report of them. The rissaldar of the Poonah horse, in particular, behaved most gallantly. Armed with only a pistol, he tried to race in front of me. The remaining half of the detachment did not come under my observation. Having only such a few men left, I considered it my duty to detach them, as before stated, and not make any further attack. Before concluding this statement, I feel it only due to myself to state, that the attack was made against overwhelming numbers; that I strongly dissuaded Lieutenant Henry from making it, and that the position of the enemy, in a military point of view, was as strong as could be conceived. I beg to state that I received great assistance from Mr. Taylor, inspecting postmaster in the Deccan, not only in his duties as postmaster, but also by his gallant bearing throughout this fight. I beg to refer to him for a corroboration of what I have stated.

"(Signed) TORIN THATCHER,
"Assistant Superintendent of Police."

The following is the statement of Alexander Law Taylor, Esq., inspecting postmaster in the Deccan, regarding the fight with the Bheels in front of the village of Nandoor Singoleh, on the 4th October:—On Friday, the 2nd, whilst at Sungunnair, on a tour of inspection, I heard that the Bheels had risen. The same evening, I heard that Lieutenant Thatcher was in the neighbourhood, and went and joined him. I was present yesterday when Lieutenant Henry arrived. I overheard their conversation; and from the tenor, am of opinion that Lieutenant Henry viewed the matter lightly. Lieutenant Thatcher, on the other hand, remonstrated, and said he thought it not safe to attack with so few men. Lieutenant

Henry said the force was quite sufficient to take double the number of the enemy; that it was a pity they had not been attacked before; and that he would lay anything not a shot would be exchanged. I, too, asked Lieutenant Henry whether he thought it judicious to attack, with so few men, such a difficult and strong position? He said, 'Yes; they will run like dogs.' Just before the assault, Lieutenant Thatcher again remonstrated, and proposed to attack by an easier ascent, and from one that afforded a more commanding position.

"When the assault took place, I was to the rear of the men, about their centre. I was about twenty yards from Lieutenant Henry when he received his second wound. I ran up to him, and found him insensible. I gave him some water, which revived him. He opened his eyes, and said, 'I'm all right now—forward.' I left him, to follow up the attack, which was being led by Lieutenant Thatcher, who was about fifty yards in front of me with about twelve men. I perceived a flank movement of the enemy to cut off Lieutenant Thatcher from where I was. I immediately dispatched the rissaldar, who was on foot, to warn him of his danger, and beg of him to retreat, which he did, disputing every foot of ground, and exchanging shot for shot. After dispatching the rissaldar, I returned to Henry, and ordered him to be removed, which was done: as soon as he was removed, he put his hand to his chest, and said he felt pain, and asked for water, which I gave him. I knew he was dying—put my ear to his mouth, and tried to catch the words he uttered, but could not. I fancied I heard him utter the name of some female; but could not catch it distinctly.

"About one-half of the armed police behaved right well; the remainder were below. When the order to charge was given, Henry and Thatcher raced with each other up the hill, cheering on the men. When the former was hit, the latter was almost touching him. There were, in all, four of our men wounded, two of whom fell by my side, severely wounded. There appeared to be between 450 and 500 of the enemy. The first volley fired was from a good fifty muskets. I counted only one of the enemy severely wounded; he had been hit by Thatcher. I can form no idea as to how many of the enemy were hit, as the wounded were dragged away. The enemy's position was completely carried. I have read Lieutenant

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Thatcher's statement, and most fully concur in the version he has given.

"(Signed) A. L. TAYLOR,
"Officiating Inspecting Postmaster, Deccan."

Resolution of Government.

"The right honourable the governor in council has received, with the deepest regret, the melancholy intelligence of the death of Lieutenant Henry, the superintendent of police at Ahmednuggur. This most able and gallant officer died in the zealous discharge of his duty. Undeterred by a severe wound, which he received while leading on his men, he still advanced; and when prostrated by a second and mortal wound, his word to those who tendered to him their aid, was, 'Forward!' The fate of one so young, so gallant, so energetic, will be mourned by all the services; and it will especially be deplored by the government which Lieutenant Henry served faithfully and devotedly.

"The right honourable the governor in council directs that the thanks of government be communicated to Lieutenant Thatcher, for the gallantry so conspicuously exhibited by him on this melancholy occasion. The right honourable the governor in council also considers that Mr. Taylor, the inspecting postmaster in the Deccan, and Amut Buksh, rissaldar of the Poonah horse, are deserving of the high commendation of government, for their gallant conduct on the 4th inst. Mr. Chapman should be informed that his further report will be awaited."

Immediately upon this affair being reported at head-quarters, the 26th regiment of native infantry was dispatched to Nandoor Sinur by rail, for the purpose of dispersing the rebels: the report current respecting whom was then as follows:—

"Sinur is surrounded by about 1,500 Bheels, with matchlocks and swords, and their women armed with bows and arrows, and quite naked. Another body of them have taken up a position on the top of a higher hill than that occupied by them when Lieutenant Henry charged them, and about eight miles farther on towards Bombay. The Bheels of the town of Sinur, before joining their comrades, removed all their property, and set fire to their houses. The leader of the band was a naik in the Company's service, and had been dismissed and imprisoned for two years by Lieutenant Henry for misconduct. He gratified his desire for revenge by shooting the unfortu-

nate officer. From the strength of the position occupied by the Bheels, and their Amazonian wives, it was considered prudent to defer an attack upon them until the arrival of a further reinforcement."

About the second week in October, a plot was discovered among the sepoys of the marine battalion stationed in Bombay; having for its object the extermination of the Europeans, and the plunder of the place. It was proposed by the conspirators, that the three native regiments in garrison should each take a separate district, and, on the last night of the Mohurrum, rise and commence the massacre; they were then to plunder the treasury, &c., and depart northward, to join the mutinous forces in Oude and Bengal. Fortunately, the superintendent of police (a Mr. Forgett) had obtained some information of the project, and, without causing alarm by a premature disclosure, waited quietly till the proper hour for action had arrived, and then seized the whole of the ringleaders without difficulty. Two of the most active of the traitors were an havildar of the marines and a private of the 10th native infantry; and of these men it was determined to make an immediate example. They were tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be blown from guns; and on the 15th of October the sentence was carried into execution. An eye-witness of the terrible scene has thus described the proceedings:—

"The men of the marine battalion, and of the 10th regiment, were paraded upon the ground, with their arms, but without ammunition; and the guns were so placed as to sweep them down if they should make any effort to rescue their guilty comrades. A strong guard of the 95th Europeans covered the guns, and faced the native regiments. Two guns (from which the prisoners were to be blown) were placed in the centre of the space between the two forces, with portfires lighted; and the troops having taken their ground, the prisoners were marched into the area, under a guard of the 95th regiment. After a delay of some minutes, the preparations were completed, and the artillery and Europeans were ordered to load. The sentence of the court was then read to the prisoners. The man belonging to the 10th regiment (a Bengalee) was terribly affected, and begged piteously for his life. The other (a Mohammedan) was much firmer; but although he tried to look bold, and threw into his face a look of defiance and thirst for vengeance, his



quivering lip showed he, too, was shaken. The poor wretches were stripped of their uniform, and marched up to the guns, and, with their backs to the muzzles, were lashed to the wheels. It was a terrible sight, after the men who had bound them withdrew, to see the poor creatures thus bound to the guns—living men, in another minute to be in eternity. The suspense was sickening, but it did not last long. 'Ready—fire!'—an explosion, a cloud of smoke, a shower of undistinguishable fragments tossed above and around the guns, and all was over. I was at a little distance, and my feelings were much less terrible than I expected; but those who were nearer, and beside whom the ghastly fragments fell, said it was very dreadful. It is not a pleasant subject to enlarge upon. After a few minutes the native troops were marched back to their quarters; and as they passed off the ground, the guns were brought round, so as always to bear on them in case they might, in a fit of desperation, attempt a retaliation. All, however, went off quietly. The sepoys, as they marched away, cast furtive, frightened glances at the guns pointed so ominously at them; but they marched on steadily."

After this example, the trials of some other prisoners followed, and for several days the place of execution continued to be resorted to. The native troops were agitated by rage and fear; but it was only by sullen looks they dared express the feelings that, but for the extraordinary watchfulness of the authorities, would probably have broken out into maddening excitement and pitiless revenge.

→ The condition of Rajpootana, during the period just referred to, was very far from satisfactory; and, for some time, the town of Neemuch appeared to be one of the centres around which the rebels gathered from all quarters; the consequence being, that the surrounding districts were in a continual state of alarm and uncertainty.

The town of Mundissore, about twenty-four miles from Neemuch, had revolted from the rule of Scindia, and raised the green flag of the prophet, to show its defiance of British power. The English mails were stopped at this place, and the letters and papers wantonly destroyed. The town, also, was fortified by the rebels, who had thirteen guns mounted on the walls. Recruits were encouraged from the mutinous bands straggling about the country, and heavy bribes were offered to the native

troops at Neemuch to join the rebel force. This state of things, of course, could not be tolerated; but, while making preparations to dispatch troops for the recovery of Mundissore, a difficulty presented itself in another direction, that required instant attention. The town of Nimbhaira, situated about sixteen miles distant from Neemuch, on the high-road to Nusseerabad, was in the possession of a host of rebels, paid by the nawab of Tonk, who had declared against the British government. The place was walled round, and had a considerable number of guns mounted for its defence; but it was necessary the rebels should be displaced, and the town restored to obedience. A force, consisting of seventy men of her majesty's 88th regiment, eighty men of the Bombay 12th native infantry, and 150 men of the 2nd Bombay cavalry, with two 9-pounders and a mortar (the whole under the command of Colonel Jackson, of the 2nd Bombay light cavalry), was dispatched from Neemuch, for the purpose of expelling the rebel force from Nimbhaira. The following account of the attack and capture is from the pen of an officer engaged in the affair; who writes thus:—

"The force, as above, arrived on their ground at about nine o'clock A.M., on the morning of the 20th of October. They halted on the bank of a river which lay between them and the town, at about 700 yards' distance from its walls. A party first went forward, calling on the town to surrender and deliver up all arms. The Ameer, or representative of the Tonk nawab, came forth from the gates and agreed to surrender, but begged an hour's time for the arms to be given up. Slowly a few ragged-looking warriors came outside the gates, and placed some weapons on the ground; but it was evident, that whatever might have been their chief's ideas, they were loth to give up their means of defence; for an hour passed, and they had only given up a few guns and pistols of British make—plunder which had evidently been taken at the late mutiny at Neemuch. One half-hour more was allowed, and then a herald went into the town and proclaimed, that if a complete surrender of arms were not effected in a quarter of an hour, the town should be attacked. The herald was made mince-ment of within the walls. British troops were not to be treated thus; so 'wish' went a shell from our side into the midst of the town, and hostilities began. The cavalry hemmed the enemy in at the gates. The 9-pounders were drawn up within 500 yards of the town, the infantry within 100 yards—whence they commenced a rattling fire at all heads that appeared above the walls; and now there was warm work on both sides. The enemy returned our fire well, but were careful in concealing their persons. The fire of musketry and matchlocks through the loopholes was tremendous; but aim appeared to be a thing of little importance, or our loss would have been severe. From half-past one to half-past five this work was continued; but the



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stubborn gates remained firm, and little or no impression was made upon the walls. Then the guns advanced through deep mud, under a galling fire, to within about 100 yards of the walls, where our infantry had been keeping up a continued fire of musketry from the beginning of the fight.

"Our plan now was to blow up the gates, make a breach, if possible, in the walls, and take the town by assault with the whole of the infantry, and a party of dismounted Bombay cavalry—the party to be led by Colonel Jackson, commanding the force. Everything was in preparation; Sergeant Taylor had the bag of powder on his shoulder to blow up the gate, and was ready for a run. Her majesty's 83rd had been told-off as coolly and steadily as if for parade, and every one was worked up to the highest pitch of eagerness and excitement, when, lo! our hopes were doomed to be disappointed; the order was passed that, evening coming on, the troops were to retire; and most slowly and unwillingly they fell back. Nothing could exceed the bravery of all the troops; the 12th native infantry, firm as a rock, caring nothing for the balls that flew like hailstones around them, were only eager that our own 83rd—who, of course, behaved as British soldiers do—should not be before them on the walls. In the action, one corporal of the 83rd was killed within thirty yards of the fort. Dr. Miles, 83rd foot, was severely wounded; and an officer, Mr. Charles Burton, of the officers' volunteer corps, was slightly wounded; fifty of the cavalry had volunteered their services to dismount and join in the assault; and one jemadar (or native subaltern officer), who was bravely advancing to the walls, was shot through the liver, and now lies in a dangerous state; seventeen men of all ranks were wounded. The troops, when they went out of action, had tasted no food since the day before, and now they were too tired to eat; they slept on the damp ground, on which the rain had fallen heavily that day, with no tent or covering of any sort over them. The gallantry of the native troops on this occasion, afforded us, their officers, peculiar gratification, as the previous mutinous behaviour of some of the men (all of whom we hope are captured now, or have fled not to return) had cast a stigma on the two corps as a body, which we were only too glad to see their bravery and loyalty this day wipe out.

"In the morning the commandant of the force received intelligence that our brave enemy had deserted the fort—a contingency we could hardly have prevented with our small force, and mud up to the horses' knees all round the fort. The end seems a poor one after the high hopes that had been entertained by the force, and considering the facility with which, with another hour's daylight on the previous evening, they might have triumphantly stormed and cut their way into the town; many were the lamentations among the British soldiers

* The seaport of Kurrachee (or Corachie) is situated near the western extremity of the coast, in lat. 24° 51' N., long. 67° 2' E., near the base of the southern extremity of the Pabb, or Brahoie mountains, on a level space intervening between them and the sea; and is the only port in Scinde for vessels drawing more than ten feet of water. The port is protected from bad weather by Munorah, a bluff rocky headland leaving a space of about two miles between the extreme point and the coast to the east. On the promontory of Munorah, which is about 150 feet in height, a fort was built in 1797.

that they had been robbed of a chance of avenging the horrible murders of their countrymen and countrywomen. Any native is fair game to a British soldier now; he takes him as the representative of the Bengal sepoy as a race. But our political point was gained. The troops walked quietly in, the British flag was erected on the principal building, and Nimbhaira, and the territory of which it is the principal town, is now British property, to yield the government a revenue of £2,000 per annum. The individual who cut up our herald, or messenger, into little pieces, has been captured and blown away from a gun." (←)

At Kurrachee,* the chief port of Scinde (situated about 105 miles east of Hyderabad), a design of the 21st regiment of Bombay native infantry, to revolt and massacre the Europeans, was happily frustrated under the following circumstances:—About eleven o'clock on the night of the 14th of September, two of the native officers of the regiment reported to Major M'Gregor, the commanding officer, that they had overheard some sepoys declare, that at twelve o'clock the same night the whole corps were to rise, and loot the treasury, murder their officers, and make off for Hyderabad. The major at once mounted his horse, and rode quickly to the town, where he communicated the report to the authorities. The 2nd European light infantry immediately fell-in under their commanding officer, Colonel Stiles; and the first step taken by him was to strengthen the mess-guard, and order all the ladies of the station to rendezvous there—the soldiers' wives and children being protected at the quarter-guard of the regiment: a strong guard was dispatched to the collector's treasury; and the remainder of the regiment (about 200 strong) marched down, with Major Blake's troop of horse artillery, to the rear of the lines of the 21st regiment. Having wheeled into line opposite the parade-ground, with half the troop on either flank (loaded with canister), the "assembly" was sounded, and the men of the 21st regiment, taken by surprise, had no choice but to obey the order to fall-in at quarter-distance column. The roll was then called, and twenty-seven men were absent,

The position of this fort was thought to be such as to be unassailable by shipping; while, on the other hand, musketry from the rocks could clear the decks of an enemy. In 1839, however, the fallacy of this opinion was shown; as in one hour, the fire of the *Wellesley*, of 74 guns, dismantled the fort, and it was immediately occupied by British troops. The country from Kurrachee to the coast is very low; and when the snows melt, and the rains fall in the remote mountains of the north, it is flooded by the Indus. The estimated population of the town is about 16,000.



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[THE PUNISHMENT.]

having decamped with their loaded muskets. This scrutiny having been perfected, the whole were ordered to pile arms, and file away on the reverse flank, to a distance of about fifty yards. The 2nd Europeans and artillery then took up a position between the arms and the regiment; and the men of the latter were ordered to take off their belts. Their lines were then searched, and all swords, fire-arms, and ammunition were taken away; the muskets and belts, being in the meantime piled on commissariat carts, were taken under guard to the arsenal, and there deposited. Several of the muskets were found loaded with ball. The 21st was then formed in close column, when they were addressed by General Scott, who called upon the good soldiers of the corps to come forward and assist their officers in finding out the traitors who disgraced the regiment, and, by that means, to keep up the good name it had always hitherto maintained. The regiment was then dismissed, and the Europeans and horse artillery marched back to their barracks, which they reached about 5 A.M. Several of the ringleaders in the plot so fortunately counteracted but an hour before it was to have been carried out, were secured within a few hours, and lodged in the quarter-guard of the 2nd regiment. A court-martial was assembled on the 16th, for the trial of the prisoners; which closed its proceedings on the following day, at half-past four o'clock, previous to which a large gallows was erected in front of the 21st lines. Very soon after the time mentioned, the four companies of the 2nd European regiment arrived on the ground, followed by the prisoners who had been condemned, in gharries, escorted by a strong guard; the disarmed men of the 21st regiment followed the execution party, and, after them, marched the 14th native infantry and the horse artillery.

The prisoners were then taken out of the gharries, and their names called over by the brigade-major; and the first seven, who were sentenced to be hung, and three others condemned to be blown away, were marched to the rear of the gallows, between their late regiment and that erection. The proceedings of the court-martial, and the sentence, were then read in English by the brigade-major, and translated into the native tongue by Major Goldsmid. The seven prisoners for the scaffold were then marched up its steps, which they ascended without hesitation, or requiring assistance. One man

only spoke when on the drop. He stated it was his first offence, and it was no use hanging him; he had done fourteen years *nokrie*. The ropes being adjusted, the culprits were faced about to meet the gaze of their late corps: after some little delay, the signal was given, and, in a few moments, the forfeit of their treason was paid.

It was now found that, on account of the confined range, the execution from the mouth of the guns could not be carried into effect in the square, where the scaffold was still bearing its fruit. The brigade was, consequently, moved off to the plain between the sappers' lines, and there the three guns were unlimbered, and the prisoners sentenced to be blown away, met their terrible doom in silence.

Upon the occurrence of the night of the 14th becoming known, the European community was entirely taken by surprise, as not the slightest suspicions had been entertained of an ill-feeling among the native troops. Precautionary measures were, of course, instantly resorted to for protection, in case of any further indications of danger; and the public were apprised that the arsenal was appointed as a place of general rendezvous, if circumstances should require them to vacate their homes. All the males at the station, of proper age, were also enrolled as a volunteer corps, for the purpose of acting as mounted patrols every night, so as to relieve the European troops from that duty, and preserve them in a state of efficiency in case of a serious outbreak. The following considerate order was issued upon the occasion:—

“(Circular.) Kurrachee, Sept. 16th.

“By desire of Major-general Scott, C.B., commanding the division, all able-bodied non-military men possessing a horse and arms, and willing to volunteer for patrol duties in and about the station, are invited to report themselves to Major Goldsmid, or to Captain Johnstone, who will give them instructions regarding the duty to be performed.

“It is suggested that, for the present, none should offer themselves who have family ties which render it a primary duty to remain at home and protect their household.

“(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE,
“Commissioner in Scinde.”

A close search for other of the traitors than those executed, was kept up for several days; and of forty-three who were seized,

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fourteen were hanged, three killed in the attempt to escape, four were blown away from guns, and twenty-two were transported. The twenty-seven absentees at roll-call were nearly all apprehended in the neighbourhood, and were also summarily disposed of.

The following communication from a European resident at Kurrachee, gives a lively idea of the incidents connected with this affair. The writer, dating September 17th, says—

"Now that the danger is over, we can well afford to laugh at our fears. The alarm was heard between eleven and twelve o'clock, and the noise and bustle in the camp was prodigious; parties were rushing from house to house, rousing the inmates, and directing them to proceed with all haste to the 2nd European regiment mess-house. Within a few minutes the streets were filled with Europeans, sick ladies in chairs, some in carriages, others on foot; equestrians galloping about in all directions; gentlemen on foot, leading their female relatives and friends to the mess-house. One gentleman, living a short distance, for whom a gharry had been sent by a friend, bundled his wife and children into the gharry, seized a couple of coats and trowsers to stand a week's siege, and jumped into the gharry in drawers and slippers. The shock he has received, I hear, has laid him up with an attack of nervous fever. Parties on the road were making anxious inquiries as to the whereabouts of the mutineers; the sound of a horse's hoofs would send the timid, for protection, under a bridge, or behind a lamp-post. The scene in the mess-house was worthy the pen of a Cruikshank. The ladies, God bless them! with the greatest resignation, were looking out with anxiety for the reports that were, at intervals, brought in of the progress of the alarming; and the gentlemen, some armed to the teeth, trudging about the verandah and doorways, looking daggers at the dark night which hid the mutineers from their fierce gaze. The work of loading and unloading of guns, the clicking of locks, and clashing of swords, gave confidence to the timid. Fortunately not a single fire-arm exploded, either by design or accident; for we do verily believe, that a single shot would have set the whole cantonment in a blaze, and the gentlemen in drawers into it. The tramping of a horse, or the rattling of a gharry, called forth the cry of 'There they come.' The mess-house compound was also crowded with native men and women, chiefly servants of the parties in the mess-house. Almost every one possessed of jewels, silver ware, &c., had them in small bundles or boxes with them, and all appeared prepared for the worst.

"In another part of the camp (the commissariat lines), some of the residents went to the mess-house, others to the depot, and others even so far as the second European hospital. We have heard of one family, consisting of twenty souls, who, on the first alarm, put out the light. The females and children covered themselves in their bedclothes; whilst the men kept a sharp look-out with their loaded pieces. But ladies would faint, and children would squall, in spite of all the appeals and threats of their friends; and the consequence was, that they were all obliged to proceed in a body to the quarter-guard of the

depot, where they arrived just in time to be told that all was over. The women in the depot were in a great state of excitement; but Captain Herne and others were moving amongst them, and affording every consolation to dispel their fears.

"Those near the artillery lines rushed into the barracks; the convalescent sick were all armed and turned out. The Sudder Bazaar was as quiet as could be wished: the Parsees, to their credit be it said, were mostly all in their own houses; each shop had twenty or thirty individuals, armed with guns, pistols, and swords; and woe betide the mutineers if they came across them. Scarcely a single native was to be seen moving about. The tops of several houses were covered with inmates, and with muzzles of guns pointed to the streets; but the moment a horseman was heard approaching, the heads would disappear. In one house a person was seen at a window with his gun levelled to the road, and immediately behind him was a table with a candle burning—a beautiful target for a pot-shot.

"Almost every European's house in the camp was deserted, and the evil-disposed had a capital opportunity of enriching themselves; but, fortunately, the police were on the alert; and as the mutineers would not commence the row, the camp was saved from being sacked and plundered."

Another correspondent, dating from Kurrachee, October 12th, writes thus:—

"We have had difficulties in our garrisons all over Scinde, owing to want of more European soldiers. The panic of — was beyond belief, and he would have denuded Scinde of defence had his requisitions all been available; but great caution became obviously necessary here when the various native regiments perceived our weak European resources. Instructions of the general have been admirably carried out; and at the three large stations in Scinde (Shirkapore on the frontier, Hyderabad on the Indus, and Kurrachee on the coast), mutiny has been arrested just in time—and only just; for at Kurrachee, on the night of the 13th of September (when the 21st native infantry were discovered partially under arms), had not our little army, and the general with it, been down on the 21st native infantry lines at midnight, this whole station, in half-an-hour more, was to have been a scene of mutiny and outrage from end to end.

"The intention of the rebel portion of the 21st was to rob the treasury during the confusion of the hour (on a remarkably dark night), and to carry money and arms to their disarmed friends at Hyderabad, where, about a week before, the artillery affair had flared up, and our good Brigadier Morris had run the guns into Hyderabad fort before the men could get at them. Shirkapore is where Captain Merewether now commands part of the Scinde horse, and General Scott had sent some artillery to strengthen that garrison. There were at Kurrachee a few guns, to the use of which some of the Europeans had been for a few weeks' training—a measure which was of material benefit at the crisis. Ladies may blunder in attempting any detail of means adopted for defence; but, as India now is, their grateful hearts should be the first to render thanks to a great and good Providence for watching over Scinde; and many hearts will pray for blessings on all the authorities, and on our general.

"The Shirkapore mutiny was the last to occur, and its spirit had been somewhat checked by the