dire examples made of the rebels here, and the utter defeat of the plot at Hyderabad—a plot which, at the latter place, had commenced, and if carried out, would have united the 21st native infantry here with the artillery mutineers at Hyderabad and at Shirkapore, and then the robber tribes on the frontier, with innumerable horse, would have come down to join the insurgents. The chiefs of these horse warriors are mentioned by Sir C. Napier, 'Amee Khan,' and 'Dhil Morad.' They now have the honour of being our prisoners, on board the ship *Feroze*, on a voyage to Bombay, as the orders were to send them there.

"It is impossible not to wonder, in our rejoicing, at the manner in which Scinde has hitherto been held with dignity; and we pray to preserve it so—all the more easily when more Queen's regiments are at the general's disposal. He seems particularly to congratulate himself upon the circumstance of the insurgent attempts in his division being decidedly thwarted without shedding European blood. Not one drop has flowed in Scinde. Yet it has been necessary to make summary examples of rebels convicted under courts-martial, who have been executed on parade in the presence of the general."

KOTAH,* a frontier town of importance, on the Chumbul, in the territory of Scindia, was the next to furnish its contribution to the aggregate of crime and cruelty. On the 13th of October, it happened that the political agent at Kotah (Major Burton), who had been for some time absent at Neemuch with his family, returned to his official residence, accompanied by two of his sons—aged, respectively, nineteen and twenty-one; but, fortunately, leaving the females and younger members of his family with their friends at Neemuch. His reception by the rajah was courteous, and the usual ceremonial visits were duly exchanged on the 14th—not the slightest ground appearing to warrant a suspicion of evil; but, at noon on the following day, information was conveyed to him, that two regiments of the maharajah's contingent had mutinied. Upon the heels of this unwelcome intelligence, the troops appeared before the residency, exclaiming that the major must be destroyed; and they forthwith made an attack upon the building, which they set fire to. The unfortunate gentleman, with his two sons, defended themselves as long as it was possible for them to do so, against the overwhelming odds that surrounded them; but were ultimately overpowered and murdered. The premises were then plundered, and the bodies of the victims were exposed for the gratification of the rabble of the place. In the midst of this deplorable work, the rajah of Kotah continued to profess fidelity to the Company's government; but he was powerless to resist the excitement of his troops, the bulk of whom, consisting of four regiments of infantry, and the whole of his artillery, had revolted, and proposed to march to Delhi, to assist in the establishment of the king, as not any of them would credit the news of the capture of the city, or that the prospect of a restoration of the Mogul empire had vanished for ever.

Some interesting particulars relative to the death of Major Burton and his sons, are furnished in the following statement, drawn up by one of his surviving children at Neemuch:—

"Major Charles Burton, political agent of Kotah, and his two youngest sons—fine, brave, spirited boys, between the ages of nineteen and twenty-one—have met with a tragical fate at Kotah, having been attacked suddenly, without one moment's warning, by a couple of regiments of the maharajah, cavalry and infantry, who revolted, and, dividing into several parties, surrounded the agency-house almost in a few moments. The political agent was himself the first to discover their approach; and, as he had only returned to Kotah three days previously from an absence of four months, he believed the number of people he saw advancing merely to be some of the chief subordinates coming to pay him the usual visit of ceremony and respect. In a second he was cruelly undeceived; the mutineers rushed into the house; the servants, both private and public, abandoned him with only one exception (a camel-driver); and the agent, his boys, and this one solitary servant, fled to the top of the house for safety, snatching up such few arms as were within their reach—the fiends pursuing; but the cowardly ruffians were driven back for the time by the youngest boy shooting one in the thigh. When there, they naturally hoped the agency servants or their own would have returned with assistance from the chief; but no—all fled, and no help came. In the meantime, the mutineers proceeded to loot the house; and the besieged saw from their position all their property carried away. A little while, and two guns were brought to play upon the bungalow, the upper part of which caught fire from the lighted sticks which the miscreants from time to time threw up. Balls fell around them, the little room at the top fell in, and they were yet unhurt—and this for five long and weary hours. Major Burton wished to parley with the mutineers, in the hope that they would be contented if he gave himself up, and might permit his boys to escape; but the latter would not allow of such a sacrifice for their sakes, and, like brave men and good Christians, they all knelt down and uttered their last prayer to that God who will surely avenge their cause. All now seemed comparatively quiet,

* Kotah was formerly a part of the Boondee principality; but circumstances have brought it into alliance with British rule. It is situated on the great route from Hindostan to the Deccan, and possesses the noted pass of Makundra. The revenue of the district is estimated at twenty-five lacs of rupees. The capital is a large walled town, containing many handsome public buildings of stone.

and they began to hope the danger over, and let down the one servant, who was still with them, on a mission to the Sikh soldiers and officers, who were placed by the chief round the bungalow, for the personal protection of the agent (and of whom, at the time, there were not less than 140), to beg of them to loosen the boat, that an escape might be attempted across the river. They said, 'We have had no orders.' At this moment a shot from a pistol was fired. Scaling-ladders had been obtained—the murderers ascended the walls, and the father and his sons were at one fell stroke destroyed.

"There is every reason to believe that many, if not all, of the agency establishment were well aware that an attack was to be made. It is to be hoped that no worse feeling than that of cowardly fear kept their tongues tied. Assistance might have been sent from the chief. A gun fired from the city walls would have dispersed the whole cowardly mob; but it is said that the rajah was forcibly kept in his palace by the people of the city, who were in fear for their own lives and property. It is also said that the magazine had fallen into the hands of the mutineers, and that others in the city were revolting; but no authentic intelligence has as yet reached the authorities here on that head. The maharajah was enabled to recover the bodies of the agent and both his sons in the evening, and they were carefully buried by his order. Dr. Salder's house was attacked at the same time with the agency-house. He was cut down outside, in sight of the agent; as was also Mr. Saviell, the doctor of the dispensary in the city; and one or two others whose names are not certain.

"No cause whatever can be assigned for this outrage. Major Burton was beloved by every one—by the chief especially. He had lived there thirteen years, and led a life of peace and usefulness. No dispute, no quarrel, had ever existed between himself or any of the natives, and he had hastened his return by some ten days at the chief's own request, as he wished to see not only himself, but all his family back again. Major Burton's absence was caused, in the first place, by his presence being required with the Kotah troops at Neemuch, by the officer commanding at that station; and when, in July, the services of the Kotah soldiery were dispensed with, the agent remained for the two months at Neemuch; he left that station on the 7th of October—arrived at Kotah on the 13th—was received by the chief with every kindness—paid and returned the usual ceremonious visit—found all quiet, and apparently peaceful and happy—and was cruelly murdered on the 15th of October, 1857."

The mutiny of a portion of the 32nd regiment of Bengal native infantry, is detailed in a communication from Bhaugulpore, dated October the 18th. It appears that two companies of the regiment, with two officers, stationed at Deoghur, in the Santhal district, were paraded on the morning of the 9th of October, preparatory to a change of quarters at Maunbhoom. There had been no appearance of discontent among the men, nor had the officers (Lieutenants Cooper and Rennie) any suspicion that their men were other than good and loyal soldiers, until, upon the appearance of Lieutenant Cooper on the parade, a shot was discharged at him by one of the sepoys, whose aim was foiled by one of his comrades throwing a cap in the fellow's face at the moment he pointed his musket. Lieutenant Cooper immediately left the ground, and meeting his brother officer, they proceeded together to the bungalow of Mr. Ronald, the magistrate, who had heard the report of the gun, and had jestingly remarked to Mr. G. H. Grant (a gentleman residing with him), that the mutiny had commenced. He had scarcely uttered the words, when the servants rushed into the room, and declared that the sepoys were approaching. Lieutenant Rennie, who seems to have been a favourite with his men, was saved by two havildars, who thrust him into a native marriage-dhooly, and so conveyed him uninjured to Bhaugulpore. Mr. Grant also managed to escape—the other gentleman remaining in the house, which by this time was surrounded and fired by the mutineers. The officers were then sought for; and Lieutenant Cooper being first discovered, was shot down, and afterwards frightfully mutilated. Mr. Ronald was first wounded in the leg only, and begged very hard for his life; but the remorseless ruffians said to him—"No! If we spare you, you will be the first to hang us by-and-bye." They then gave him the *coup-de-grace*, actually riddling his body with their bullets. They finished the atrocious work by setting fire to his clothes; and, thrusting a bayonet through him, pinned his body to the ground. Neither of these victims were suffered to be removed from the spot; and, during the ensuing night, the bodies were partly eaten by jackals. Their remains were afterwards collected, and buried by a native servant. Mr. Grant, after leaving the place, was two days without food; but on the third he reached a village, where he obtained some parched grain and milk, and learned that his *khitmutgur* (servant) was also there, hiding from the sepoys. Grant sent for the man, and by his aid obtained a dhooly, as he was now unable to walk, having a severe wound in the sole of one of his feet. He had only his night-clothes on, and was without shoes or socks. Having been placed in a covered dhooly, he travelled from this village as the khitmutgur's wife; and, taking a circuitous route, at length reached the station at Bhaugulpore in safety.

While a portion of the 32nd regiment were thus employed in mutiny and murder, two other companies were *en route* from Burhait to Soorie; while the head-quarters' companies were at Bowsee. Upon intelligence of the outbreak reaching Calcutta, it was deemed necessary to ascertain the temper of the men at the stations just named; but, pending the inquiry, orders were given to dispatch a wing of her majesty's 13th foot from Calcutta to the Santhal district, to control the mutineers. Major English, who was then under orders to proceed to the Upper Provinces with a detachment of the 53rd foot, was thereupon countermanded, and directed to assist in pacifying the district before pursuing his upward journey. The result of the inquiry into the state of the remainder of the 32nd regiment, merely proved that its loyalty was in a stage of transition, since, although they remained obedient to their officers for a short time after the defection of their comrades, they ultimately followed their steps, and, throwing themselves into the whirlpool of rebellion, were hopelessly lost.

The two companies from Deoghur, after their successful exploit, were fortunate enough, by a rapid movement, to cross the Soane river without obstruction, intending to form a junction with the rebel force under Koer Sing, and the Dinapore mutineers—an object they accomplished in spite of the most strenuous efforts of Major English and a portion of the 53rd regiment, dispatched to intercept them.

By the latter end of October, the whole of the Rohilcund territory was in the hands of the leaders of the revolt; who, growing bold by their success, dispatched a force of upwards of 5,000 men, with some guns, to blockade the passes that led to Mynee Tal—a hill station of favourable repute among the Europeans in Bengal and adjacent provinces. The movement occasioned indescribable alarm among the valetudinarian residents of the Sanatarium; but fortunately, the design was frustrated by the prompt action of a body of 300 men of the 8th irregular cavalry, under Major Ramsay; who, by a spirited attack, drove the rebels from the positions they had taken, and compelled them to retreat hastily from the neighbourhood. Three Ghoorka regiments were afterwards stationed for the protection of the district.

Anarchy now prevailed throughout almost every district of Central India; and the struggles to repossess it were fierce and continuous. On the 27th of October, a small force, under Colonel Cotton, fell in with a division of the Indore mutineers at Futtehpore Sikree, and destroyed nearly the whole of them. On the 31st, the same officer reached Muttra, after cutting to pieces 150 of the rebels at the village of Begree, on his way. On the 30th, the town of Dhar was captured by Brigadier Stuart's column; who found, in the fort, between thirty and forty lacs of rupees. At Mehidpore, the fortune of war was adverse to the cause of loyalty and order; a force of 5,000 Rohillas, under Heera Sing (late a jemadar of the Nagpore cavalry), having attacked the place, which was defended by the Malwa contingent, on the morning of the 8th of November. The fight lasted nearly eight hours, when the enemy were about to retire, with the loss of their guns. At this moment, the Mussulman portion of the contingent raised the cry of "Deen!" and joined the rebels; thus turning the scale in the very grasp of victory. The slaughter then became general; and among the officers who fell in this treacherous struggle, were Captain Mills (commanding the infantry of the contingent), Dr. Carey, and Sergeants-major O'Connell and Manson. Major Timens, under an escort of some of the 2nd Gwalior contingent, escaped to Indore, where he was kindly received by Holkar; but his lady, who had her horse shot under her, was lost sight of during the conflict. The success thus obtained was not of long duration; as, on the 13th, the force under Brigadier Stuart fell in with the victorious rebels, and routed them with great loss. Upon this occasion, the 1st, 3rd, and 4th regiments of the Nizam's cavalry, in a brilliant charge, recaptured the guns and stores taken from the Malwa contingent.

Crossing Bengal, in a north-easterly direction, the progress of the insurrectionary fever may be traced, in September, to the borders of Assam—a district little heard of by Europeans, except in connection with the experimental growth of tea. Many of the sepoys of the 1st Assam battalion came from the neighbourhood of Arrah, and were related to the men of the 40th regiment that mutinied at Dinapore; while others of them were from the territory belonging to Koer Sing. When, therefore, the outbreak at Dinapore became known to the men of the 1st Assam battalion at Debroghur, they openly expressed their sympathy with the mutineers, and proffered their services to an ex-rajah, Poorundur

Sing, whom they promised to restore to the authority and state he had been deprived of by the English, on condition that he would put himself at their head; their intent being to massacre all the Christians in Assam, and then, after plundering the stations, to march to the assistance of their friends in Bengal. Upon the plot becoming known, most of the Europeans took refuge in the neighbouring station of Seebsaugor, where the church had been converted into a fortress, and was well stored with provisions; and there they awaited the arrival of succours from Calcutta; the only loyal troops in Assam at the time being a few Ghoorkas, under Major Hannay, at Debroghur. At this crisis, the Calcutta government had no soldiers to spare for Assam; but, to meet the exigency, a force of English seamen, who had been trained as gunners, were sent by a steamer up the Brahmaputra to Debroghur, to be employed as the local authorities should think desirable. The amphibious force consisted of a hundred armed sailors, having with them two 12-pounder guns, under the charge of Lieutenant Davies, of the Indian navy, and a Mr. Roberts (assistant to the chief magistrate.) The men selected were not of the royal navy, and were engaged for service as policemen; having, while employed at Calcutta, formed a very effective little artillery force for its defence, if required. Unfortunately, in dispatching the force, some misunderstanding occurred as to the place of its destination; the men concluding that they were warned for Dacca (a town many miles from the seat of apprehended danger), and for nowhere else; and, consequently, upon their arrival at Dacca, when they were ordered off to Assam, they positively refused to go. In this unlooked-for difficulty, Lieutenant Davies behaved with promptitude and firmness. He ordered out his own sailors and guns, and, surrounding the malcontents, at once informed them that no parleying could be allowed—go they must; and, if necessary, force would be used to compel obedience. The men then said they would go; but, at the same time, declared that they had been deceived, and that they would throw down their arms as soon as they reached their destination. However, their resentment at what they considered a trick put upon them, subsided on their way, and they arrived in Assam, where their appearance tended to preserve the tranquillity supposed to have been in danger.

To secure this permanently, it became indispensable that the rajah of Debroghur should be removed from the neighbourhood, which was agitated by his presence and the plots of his emissaries; and Captain Lowther, commanding a corps of Ghoorkas, was sent from another station to seize the person of the rajah, and send him, under guard, to Calcutta. This operation was successfully carried out. The palace was at a considerable distance from Debroghur; and while the owner of it was, as he thought, securely planning the means by which he would again be independent of English rule, a band of police and Ghoorkas, with Captain Lowther at their head, were quietly threading their way, by an unfrequented route, towards his stronghold. They had a long and weary march, from the evening to the dawn of the next day, across a jungly and marshy country, sometimes on elephants, then on foot, and then in boats. But they arrived at, and surrounded, the palace just before daybreak, while all within were fast asleep. They seized their prisoner, with his wives and a number of his followers, without firing a shot; took his guns and spiked them, and then cleared the palace, and a neighbouring bazaar, of everything that could be found in the shape of arms or correspondence. The party then left with their prisoners, followed, for some distance, by about 2,000 people, who, paralysed by their daring, did not offer to obstruct them. The whole got back to their boats by 10 P.M., and soon after reached Debroghur, utterly worn out by their arduous and well-conducted enterprise.

Captain Lowther relates the history of this night-razzia in a highly amusing letter, from which the following passages are extracted. Having reached the vicinity of the palace, he proceeds thus:—

"I told-off my men rapidly, and formed them into parties, so as completely to surround and cover every outlet and corner. The main party, consisting of my own particular sharpshooters and body-guard, watched the front; another moved towards the town, there to arrest an educated Bengalee agent to the conspirators; another to the rear, to cut off escape towards the town; while my friend, the political, crept quietly past some outhouses with his police, and, under the palace walls, awaited my signal for opening the ball.

"Before long, the ominous barking of a disturbed cur, in the direction of the party

sent after the prime minister, proclaimed that no time was to be lost. Off I went towards the guard-shed in front of the palace; my personal sharpshooters following at the double. The noise, of course, awoke the sleeping guard, and, as they started up from their slumbers, I caught one firmly by the throat; and a little Ghoorka next me felled, with a butt-end blow, another of them while they were getting to arms—I having strictly forbidden my men to fire until obliged; the remainder, as we rushed in, took to flight, and my eager party wished to fire on them, which I prevented, not considering such valiant game worth powder and shot. In the darkness and confusion no means of entrance could at once be found. My police guide, however, having been often in the palace, knew every room in it, and, thrusting himself in at a door, acted ferret to perfection; and, by dint of activity, soon brought me into the presence of the rajah, who, though young in years, is old in sin. He refused to surrender, or admit any one—a resolution which cooled *instanter* on my calling my men to set fire to the palace. He then, with a bad grace, delivered up to me his state sword. A shout from the opposite doors proclaimed an entry there. The queen-mother, and the rest of the female royalty and attendants, were seized while trying to descend on that side. Then came a chorus of shouting and struggling, and bawling for lights and assistance; at last, a lamp being procured, we proceeded to examine the palace: we wandered in dark passages and cells; while I mounted a guard at every door. The air being confined and heated within the royal residence, I sat outside until after daybreak, and then proceeded to rummage for papers and letters: several boxes of these we appropriated, and counted out the rajah's treasure—all in gold vessels and ingots. We found a quantity of arms; spiked some guns—one of them of French make. All day we were hard at work, searching for, and translating, papers. The prime minister was found at his house fast asleep. In the heat of the afternoon we went to his residence in the town, and, by dint of keeping fans going over us, carried out a thorough search. We did not get as many of his papers as we wanted, he having been told by his correspondents to destroy all letters after reading them. At sunset I carried off my prisoners, over the same bad ground by which we had so stealthily arrived. We were followed by about 2,000 infuriated Mussulmans, crying, praying, and prostrating themselves before the object of their lingering hope of rebellion (the rajah); but we drove them off."

The decisive measures adopted in this quarter put an end, for the present, to any actual preparations for an outbreak. All was quiet; but every one felt that a volcano was burning beneath them, and they knew not the moment when its smouldering fires would burst into a devastating flame. To add to the sense of insecurity, not a single European soldier was at this time stationed throughout the province; and the *prestige* of Koer Sing was high in the ascendant among the people.

Returning to Bengal, we find the spirit of disaffection silently but surely extending its influence among the few native regiments that still preserved the appearance of fidelity, as well as over the populations in their immediate vicinity. Fortunately, at this time, the arrival of troops from Europe rendered the threatened danger less imminent, and enabled the government to act with greater decision and effect upon many of the points that had given grounds for uneasiness. Among these was the station at Berhampore, where the 63rd regiment of native infantry, and the 11th irregular cavalry, were in cantonments.

Her majesty's 90th regiment of light infantry arrived in India about the latter end of July, and were at once dispatched up the country, by way of Chinsurah and Berhampore. At the latter place the behaviour of the native troops had excited suspicion, and it was deemed advisable that the means of annoyance should be removed from their reach before actual mischief occurred; and, with this intent, the officer in command of the 90th, was ordered, upon his arrival at Berhampore, to disarm the suspected regiments. The *modus operandi* by which this was accomplished is stated by Colonel Campbell, the commandant, in the following letter from the station, dated August 2nd. He writes thus:—

"The 90th left the *Himalaya* steamer for Chinsurah in two boats towed by steamers—large covered vessels; and we remained six days at Chinsurah, and got on extremely well; no drunkenness, no sickness, and the regiment all I could wish, so clever and orderly. I implored them daily not to poison themselves with bad spirits, but to buy beer; and, during six days, I had only three cases of drunkenness in 800 men, and only four men sick, who came so from England. We have had no casualty since leaving England. I was hurried off from Chinsurah, and

embarked the regiment again in steamers' towing-boats, and we have been four days coming here. My instructions were to land here quietly and expeditiously, and to disarm the 63rd native infantry and the 11th irregular cavalry; to take also the horses of the latter; also to disarm some native artillery here. The total force considerably exceeded mine, with the additional advantage, on the native side, of 300 of the most splendid cavalry I ever saw: as regards men, horses, and equipments, I never saw anything equal to them. The regiment was landed by me 730 strong, and I ordered the commandant here, who is lieutenant-colonel of the 63rd native infantry, to parade the whole of the troops. He wished to put it off until to-day, but I would not grant an hour. The sepoy regiment came out on parade; I drew up the 90th opposite, and on one flank, and ordered them to lay down their arms; they obeyed, and I then ordered them to take off their belts, which was done; and having secured them in carts and upon elephants, I kept the regiment of sepoys standing upon parade until the 11th irregular cavalry came up; and they came from a distance of five miles off, not expecting to find an English regiment, but only a detachment of the 35th regiment, 180 strong, whom they were prepared to fight. Their commanding officer wished to put off the parade until to-day, the same as the others; but I refused. Fortunately I did, for not a man would have been here this morning; they would have gone off with horses, arms, and ammunition. They seemed thunderstruck when they discovered our men, and had no idea that their fine horses were to be taken from them: if they had thought so, they would have gone off in a body. They told the sepoys afterwards that they were cowards to give up their arms, and that if they had waited until they came up they would have fought us, but that my men were so placed they could not escape. The cavalry obeyed orders to lay down their arms, but with a much worse grace than the sepoys: they looked at each other, and then put them on the ground. I collected them, and found all the carbines and pistols loaded. I was standing opposite to them. I then ordered all the belts to be taken off, and this was not approved of; some broke their swords, others threw their pouches into the air, but still the order was obeyed. Having collected these, I surrounded them with my men, and ordered them to lead their horses off to a safe place I had selected for them, and where they were turned out loose. The men then pulled off their long jack-boots and spurs, and pitched them away. The regiment had not mutinied; but, no doubt, would have done so, and of course I treated them as a regiment having committed no crime. They are splendid men, but savage beyond expression. Their swords are like razors. The political agent there had no idea that we should have succeeded in getting this regiment together, and told me that we had done the best work in India since the outbreak. He has reported our valuable service to the government of India, and I have reported direct to the commander-in-chief. Had I delayed as requested until morning, not a man would have been found. We are steaming up the Ganges—the weather terribly hot—mosquitoes most barbarous—heavy rains. I have to disarm and dismount another irregular cavalry regiment in two days' time, if they have not already gone off. I want to come near some mutinous sepoys; they shall remember the women and children if I do."

Another letter, of the 3rd of August, affords a further view of the affair. The writer says:—

"Soon after our arrival at Berhampore, where we had landed about 800 strong on the 1st of August, we were joined by about 100 men of the Queen's 35th, and proceeded together to disarm the native troops in cantonments, some distance from the town. We marched out some three miles in the rain, over the midan at double-quick time. On nearing the sepoys' lines the 90th deployed into three columns, one extending well to the right so as to get into the rear of the lines, the second so as to outflank them on the left; the third and larger column extended so as to outflank them on their right, or to meet them in front. This movement exposed the two guns manned by the sailors. The *Jumna* was lying in position to shell them: the sepoys, at the first order given, piled their arms; the officers (native) were allowed to keep their side-arms. A company of the 90th disarmed the guards in and about the lines, and the 35th disarmed the guards at the treasuries. The cavalry showed strong symptoms of mutiny; and had it not been for the imposing force before them, I feel fully persuaded they would have fought. Numbers of their pistols which were picked up were loaded to the muzzle, and some even loaded on parade, so it is said. Many of them began throwing away their belts, &c., and some doubled up their swords, and threw them away; their mutinous conduct was soon put an end to, however, by the flank movement of a couple of companies of the 90th at the double. It was too late for them to do much, and so they submitted to the 90th, which enclosed them in the centre of a three-sided square, and marched them off to Berhampore, where the horses were confined in Hospital-square. At this the troopers became infuriated, but they were soon put down. They are a fine-looking set of men; as also were the 63rd; and all their appointments were in excellent order. The 63rd are nearly all Hindoos and Sikhs. The cavalry are from about Delhi and Benares—all Mussulmans; they have never agreed together, which I take to be the cause of the safety of Berhampore."

The effect of this prompt and decisive action was to suppress, effectually for a time, any tendencies that might have existed among the population at this place towards an outbreak; and the 90th regiment, having accomplished its first protective duty in Bengal, proceeded onwards to aid in the suppression of rebellion in other quarters.

During the months of September and October, the portion of Bengal north of the Ganges was almost entirely free from disturbance. Patna, in September, as at an earlier period, was disturbed rather by the anarchy that prevailed around it, than by mutinies within the place itself; its greatest difficulties arising in the districts north and north-west of the city, where the revenue collectors had been driven from place to place by mutinous sepoys and by petty chieftains, who desired to exalt themselves

upon the ruins of the English "raj." The abandonment of Goruckpore by the government officials, in a moment of alarm, had had the effect of exposing the Chuprah, Chumparun, and Mozufferpore districts to the attacks of rebels, especially such as had ranged themselves under the flag of the Mussulman chief, Mahomed Hussein Khan, who had declared himself "ruler, in the name and on behalf of the king of Oude." This individual had collected a considerable force, and had organised a species of government at Goruckpore, where he collected revenue, and exercised, for a time, supreme authority—no troops being available, for several weeks, to put an end to his arrogated power.

So far back as the month of June, the governor-general had accepted an offer of Jung Bahadoor, of Nepaul, to send a considerable body of Nepaulese troops to the assistance of the Company's government; and, in consequence, 3,000 Ghoorkas were sent down from Khatmandoo, and entered the British territory northward of Goruckpore. But a very long time elapsed between the offer and the performance: the process of collecting them, at Khatmandoo and elsewhere, occupied several weeks; and it was not until the beginning of September that they reached Jounpore—a station in the very heart of the disturbed districts: and even then there was much delay in bringing them into active service; for the English officers appointed to command them, had yet to learn the difference of management required by Nepaulese Ghoorkas and Hindostani sepoys; and, moreover, had imbibed a prejudice against them, under the idea that they were incapable of rapid movement, and that their native officers were averse to the responsibility of independent action. But this impediment to their usefulness was not of long duration; and a smart affair, on the 20th of September, while it afforded the Ghoorkas an opportunity of showing their gallantry and activity, also contributed to impress the English officers with a due sense of their value as auxiliaries. Colonel Wroughton, military commandant at Jounpore, having heard that Azimgurh, some fifty miles distant, was threatened with an attack by 8,000 rebels under Madhoo Sing, of Atrowlia, resolved to send a regiment of Jung Bahadoor's force, under Colonel Shumshere Sing (a Nepaulese officer), to its assistance. They started with alacrity; marched the distance in a day and a-half, and reached the threatened city on the evening of the 19th. At an early hour on the morning of the 20th, it was ascertained that a large body of rebels had assembled in and near the neighbouring village of Mundoree. A force of 1,200 men, mostly composed of the Ghoorka regiment, was immediately sent out to disperse them—Captain Boileau commanding, Colonel Shumshere Sing leading the Ghoorkas, and Mr. Venables, a resident landowner of the district, taking charge of a small body of local horse, which he had raised and organised for the assistance of the government. Finding that the rebels were posted in a clump of trees, and in a jheel behind the village, Captain Boileau directed Shumshere Sing to advance his men at double pace. This was done in the face of the fire from several guns: the Ghoorkas charged with terrible impetuosity, drove the enemy away from his position, and captured three brass guns, and all his camp equipage. Mr. Venables, who headed his cavalry, was seen wherever the fight was most serious, and killed three of the enemy with his own hand. About 200 of the rebels were cut up in this brief encounter; and the loss, on the part of the victors, amounted to thirty-four—killed and wounded.

The fortunate result of this affair entirely dissipated the prejudices that had been entertained against the efficiency of the Nepaulese troops, who had marched fifty miles in less than two days, and then won a battle against enormous odds, in a country to which they were entire strangers. From this period their assistance was appreciated, and it was then cheerfully rendered.

Throughout the vast portion of the Anglo-Indian empire embraced within the south-western districts of Bengal and Behar—the Saugor territories, Bundlecund, the Mahratta states, and Rajpootana—the troubles that prevailed from the month of September to the close of the year, were occasioned rather by the protracted struggles of sepoys already in rebellion, than from any new instances of disaffection; in fact, there were scarcely any remnants left of the native regiments of Bengal, or of their auxiliaries of the contingents, upon which, by this time, the spirit of treason had not set its brand.

CHAPTER VI.

DELHI: STATE OF THE CITY AND ENVIRONS AFTER THE RECAPTURE; MEASURES FOR THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF ORDER; TREATMENT OF THE NATIVE INHABITANTS; CHARGES OF INJUDICIOUS CLEMENCY; COLONEL HOGG AND THE PRINCE JUMMA BUKHT; VISITS TO THE ROYAL PRISONERS; THE QUESTION OF PRIZE-MONEY; TRIAL OF THE EX-KING; EVIDENCE OF A HALF-CASTE WOMAN, AND OF THE KING'S SECRETARY; PROCLAMATION OF KHAN BAHADOOR KHAN; FACTS ESTABLISHED BY THE TRIAL; THE ANDAMAN ISLANDS; INTRIGUES OF THE COURT; ADMINISTRATION OF SIR JOHN LAWRENCE; COMPENSATION EXACTED; PARTIAL IMPROVEMENT OF THE CITY; THE FUTURE OF DELHI; REPORTED ATTEMPT TO RESCUE THE KING; INFIDELITY REWARDED; THE KING'S SOOTHSAYER HUNG; CUSTOMS' REVENUE FOR JULY, 1858; ESTIMATED AMOUNT OF PRIZE-MONEY.

On the successful assault and capture of the city of Delhi, the imprisonment of the king, and the merited death of several of the princes of his family, copious details have been given in previous pages of this work.* It is now for us to turn aside from the continuous progress of events connected with the rebellion in other parts of India, that the incidents subsequent to the reconquest of, and connected with, the Mogul capital, may be succinctly traced.

As soon as the storm of war had subsided, and the British flag once more floated triumphantly over the shattered bastions and towers of the imperial city, it of course became necessary to take measures for its internal regulation, and for the effective control of the native population that yet continued to lurk amidst its ruined palaces and mosques. To this end, Colonel Burn, an officer of many years' experience in the Company's service (who then held a command in Brigadier Nicholson's movable column), was appointed military governor of the city; Colonel Innes, at the same time, exercising the functions of commandant of the palace; and Mr. Saunders succeeding Mr. Greathed as civil commissioner. These appointments had scarcely been notified in garrison orders, when, as before related, General Wilson, worn out by his anxieties and incessant exertions during the siege, surrendered his important command, and retired to the hill country for the benefit of his health. In consequence of this occurrence, General Penny was provisionally appointed to the chief command of the army at Delhi.

At the time this change took place, the city was still, as it were, trembling from the effects of the shock that had resulted in its utter prostration, as the capital and stronghold of a rebel power. Its streets were, for the most part, desolate; and silence reigned through its once most busy quarters. Nearly all the native inhabitants, both Hindoos and Moslems, had fled from it in well-grounded terror, lest the English soldiers should retaliate upon them the barbarities perpetrated by the mutinous troops upon the defenceless Europeans found in the place at the commencement of the outbreak, and during the months of usurped dominion by the phantom king. To a certain extent, this wholesale evacuation by the inhabitants was of advantage to the authorities entrusted with the resettlement of the city, since it better afforded facilities for them to ascertain to what extent the traders and general population had taken part in the rebellion, and the excesses that followed its outburst. Nor did the inhabitants, on their part, show any great anxiety to return; as, although a few days after the occupation, a proclamation was issued by General Wilson, promising protection and encouragement to all not actually concerned in the foul murders and outrages of the 11th of May, very few availed themselves of the offer.

From the period of complete reoccupation in September, the city gradually assumed a state of reorganisation and order scarcely, under the circumstances, to have been expected; but, for many weeks after the crisis, its forlorn and desolate condition, as well as that of the environs, was pitiable in the extreme. Without the walls, the devastation was widely spread; but ruin had concentrated its force upon the ill-fated city. From the Lahore gate to the village of Subzee Mundee, on the road to Kurnaul, there was an almost continuous line of carcasses of camels, horses, and bullocks, with their skins dried into parchment over the sapless bones. Here and there were remains of intrenchments, where battles had been fought on the road. From Badulee Serai, a short distance from the Lahore

* Vol. i., pp. 505—530.

gate, every tree was either levelled with the ground, or the branches were lopped off by round shot. The garden-houses of the wealthy citizens were, in almost every instance, masses of ruins, with the remains of men and beasts bleaching around them. Here and there might be seen the perfectly white skeleton of one who had shared in the terrible conflicts of the siege, and had fallen unnoticed and unremembered by his fellows; while, on all sides, lay scattered fragments of clothing, cartouch-boxes, round shot, and fragments of exploded shells. Around the Subzee Mundee all foliage was destroyed. The gaily ornamented residences in the vicinity of the Serai, were now mere masses of blackened ruins, with broken sand-bags and shattered loopholed walls, that declared the fiery ordeal through which the combatants on both sides had passed. With the exception of the Moree bastion and the Cashmere gate (both on the north side of the city), the line of defence did not exhibit much trace of injury; but within the walls, the appearance of the city was fearfully desolate. Entering by the Cashmere gate, the Mainguard was seen wholly destroyed. St. James's church next appeared, battered with shot even up to the ball and cross that surmounted the edifice. Most of the houses from this point to near the palace, were mere ruins; many of them blackened by fire. A spacious structure, occupied as the Delhi bank, formerly the residence of the Begum Sumroo, had nothing but the outer walls and a portion of the verandah remaining. In a narrow street, leading thence to the Chandnee Chouk, every house bore visible proof of the showers of musket-balls that must have been poured upon the defenders of the city, as they retreated, street by street, and from house to house, towards the palace. In many of the avenues, were still to be seen the *débris* of arches which had been built up by the rebels, but were broken into by the advancing troops. The road-ways had been cut up into furrows by the action of shot and shell, that ploughed up their surface. House-doors and huge gates lay about in all directions, some of which had been well backed up by massive stone-work and heavy beams of wood; while the remains of sand-bag defences were passed at every corner. But three of the seven gates of the city were as yet permitted to be open—namely, the Cashmere gate at the north-east angle, towards the old cantonments; the Lahore gate, on the west side, opposite to the principal entrance to the palace; and the Calcutta gate, on the east, communicating with the bridge of boats over the Jumna, and the road to Meerut—the other four entrances to the city having been blocked up with solid masonry during the siege. The city of the Moguls was now, indeed, but little better than a vast and hideous ruin—its houses and streets deserted; its defences unmanned; and the sentence of utter demolition suspended over its shattered gates and once defiant towers: the carcasses of some thousands of its defenders, who had fallen in their insane struggle to establish a throne based upon treason and cruelty, had been necessarily gathered by the sweepers and camp-followers into deep pits, and were so hidden from mortal sight: and now, within the vast area of that imperial city, not one hand remained uplifted in defiance of its conquerors.

The terrible but just work of retribution was, however, carried on in a spirit of humanity that sometimes was mistaken for weakness. The women and children found in Delhi met with no harsh treatment, and were even sheltered from personal indignity by men fierce with the excitement of war, and thirsting to avenge the murders and outrages perpetrated upon their countrymen; nor were the inhabitants molested who had remained passive during the struggle, and had not aided the rebellion by their resources or their sympathy. All such were allowed to depart from the city upon application for the purpose; and even those who were suspected of treason had the advantage afforded them of an impartial trial; and when punishment was inflicted, it was because guilt was incontestably proved.

The re-establishment of order within the walls of the capital, as we have shown, occupied the attention, and called for the active vigilance, of the civil and military authorities during the first few weeks of the reoccupation. The king, and the female members of his family, with his youngest son, a youth of some eighteen years of age, still remained in strict confinement in a small building within the palace enclosure, but separate from the palace itself; and the apparently unnecessary delay in putting the dethroned traitor upon his trial, gave occasion for the expression of much dissatisfaction, and the dissemination of unfounded rumour and undeserved obloquy. At this time, however, the feelings of the whole

order within the city, a military commission was appointed to try such leaders of the mutiny as had been captured in or near Delhi; and, by sentences of this tribunal, twenty subordinate members of the royal family were executed on the 18th of November; and several chiefs of the adjacent districts, who had been found in arms on the side of revolt, were also brought in, tried, and executed. With regard to delinquents of high rank and influence, justice was stern and inflexible. With minor offenders, as time wore on, its judgment was frequently largely tempered with mercy.

One of the first causes of dissatisfaction, really based upon a solid foundation, that arose among the captors of Delhi, originated in a question of prize-money. The amount of property that fell into the hands of the victorious troops, with the city and palace, was of enormous value, and it was further increased by the heavy forfeitures declared against those convicted of treason to the state, who had been captured by the troops. This wealth, it was supposed by the men whose valour had secured it, would be regarded as booty, or prize, and would eventually be distributed among them as in ordinary cases: such, however, was not the way in which the government was disposed to treat the subject, the whole of this property or booty being claimed as reverting to the state, by way of compensation for the expenses it had incurred through the rebellion; and the troops were consequently thrown into a state of discontent and irritation by the intended wrong, which was not mitigated by an announcement from the governor-general in council, that the reward of the conquerors of Delhi was limited to a bounty of six months' *batta* (or pay) to each soldier engaged in the struggle.* Public opinion, generally, supported the claim of the men, both in England and in India; and ultimately an arrangement was made, by which a portion of the personal property of the rebels was allowed to be set apart and treated as prize-money, and to be shared by the gallant fellows who had justly won it.

At length, after a number of the chief actors in the tragedy of Delhi had expiated their crimes by an ignominious death upon the scaffold, at the hands of the common hangman, the time arrived at which

* The following is the obnoxious order of the Bengal government, in reference to the booty captured at Delhi:—"Nov. 24th.—It being understood that prize agents have been appointed at Delhi for the collection of booty captured by the British troops from the mutineers and other persons in rebellion against the government, it is hereby notified, for the information and guidance of all parties concerned, that a clear distinction exists, in cases of recapture, between property of the state originally captured by an enemy in time of war, and similar property seized by rebels or mutineers during an insurrection: In the former case, the property recaptured is, in general, property treated as property of the hostile state, and becomes subject to the laws of prize; but in an insurrection, such as the present one, the troops of the state whose property has been pillaged by its own subjects, or by foreigners aiding such subjects in their treason, when they retake such property from the plunderers, merely retake it on behalf of the government, and acquire no legal right of prize or of property, although they have strong claims on the liberality of the government. These principles apply also to the property of private individuals plundered by the insurgents, and retaken by the troops of the state. Such private property can in no case be deemed lawful prize when clearly identified and claimed by the original owner. In accordance with these principles, the right honourable the governor-general in council is pleased to direct, that officers in command of bodies of troops employed in quelling the present insurrection, shall appoint committees of officers for the purpose of taking an account of all treasure and other public property, cattle, munitions of war, stores, &c., recaptured from the insurgents and mutineers, in order to the delivery of the property so recovered into the nearest treasury, or into the custody of the proper civil or military officers: and that copies of such accounts shall be transmitted to the secretary in the military department, for the information of government. Separate accounts will also be taken by the committees of all private property captured or recaptured, and copies of these accounts will be transmitted to the military department, with statements of claims, if any, made by the owners. In all cases of clear identification of property, restitution may be made to the owners on the spot; provided that, in the case of natives, they shall prove, to the satisfaction of the committee, that they have not been guilty of any offence for which their property would be liable to forfeiture, and have, to the best of their ability, rendered active assistance to the British government: and when claims are not clearly established, or the property belongs to any persons deceased, the orders of government are to be awaited before delivery. The claims of the troops composing the field force by which Delhi has been nobly wrested from the hands of the mutineers and rebels, and by whose gallantry signal punishment has been inflicted on the insurgents there, are fully appreciated by the governor-general in council; and in recognition of their services, his lordship in council is pleased to grant a donation of six months' batta to be forthwith distributed to all the troops engaged in the operations against Delhi."—The "clear distinction" was by no means so obvious as to be satisfactory to the brave fellows for whose special edification it was now pointed out, and the "General Order of the Bengal government," was received by the troops with an expression of opinion far more energetic than complimentary to its authors.

it was deemed expedient to make known the course to be pursued in reference to the royal prisoner, who still nominally held kingly rank, although a powerless captive within the walls of the palace that once owned no other lord. The fact that the life of the king had been guaranteed to him by the promise of Captain Hodson, however much objected to at the time on the score of justice and policy, obviated all apprehension as to his personal safety; while his advanced age rendered him, as an individual totally divested of authority or influence, perfectly harmless: and these considerations, in some degree, reconciled the public mind to the idea that a punishment short of death would, in his case, satisfy the requirements of justice.

The capture of Mahomed Suraj-oo-Deen, ex-king of Delhi, was effected, as already stated, by Captain Hodson on the 21st of September; but it was not until the following month of January that the commission under which he was to be put upon his trial was made public. At the same time, the charges to be preferred against him were declared to be as follows:—

1st. For that he, being a pensioner of the British government in India, did, at Delhi, at various times between the 10th of May and the 1st of October, 1857, encourage, aid, and abet Mahomed Bukht Khan, subahdar of the regiment of artillery, and divers others non-commissioned officers unknown, of the East India Company's army, in the crimes of mutiny and rebellion against the state.

"2nd. For having, at Delhi, at various times between the 10th of May and the 1st of October, 1857, encouraged, aided, and abetted Mirza Mogul, his own son, a subject of the British government in India, and divers other unknown inhabitants of Delhi and of the North-Western Provinces of India, also subjects of the said British government, to rebel and wage war against the state.

"3rd. For that he, being a subject of the British government in India, and not regarding the duty of his allegiance, did, at Delhi, on the 11th of May, 1857, or thereabouts, as a false traitor against the state, proclaim and declare himself the reigning king and sovereign of India, and did then and there traitorously seize and take unlawful possession of the city of Delhi; and did, moreover, at various times between the 10th of May and the 1st of October, 1857, as such false traitor aforesaid, treasonably conspire, consult, and agree with Mirza Mogul his son, and with Mahomed Bukht Khan, subahdar of the regiment of artillery, and divers other false traitors unknown, to raise, levy, and make insurrection, rebellion, and war against the state; and further to fulfil and perfect his treasonable design of overthrowing and destroying the British government in India, did assemble armed forces at Delhi, and send them forth to fight and wage war against the said British government.

"4th. For that he, at Delhi, on the 16th of May, 1857 or thereabouts, did, within the precincts of the palace at Delhi feloniously cause and become accessory to the murder of forty-nine persons, chiefly women and children, of European and mixed European descent: and did, moreover, between the 10th of May and the 1st of October, 1857, encourage and abet divers soldiers and others in murdering European officers and other English subjects, including women and children, both by giving and promising such murderers service, advancement, and distinction; and further, that he issued orders to different native rulers having local authority in India, to slay and murder Christians and English people whenever and wherever found in their territories—the whole or any part of such conduct being a heinous offence under the provisions of Act 16, of 1857, of the legislative council of India.

"FREDERICK I. HARRIOT, Major,
"Deputy Judge-Advocate-general, Govt. Prosecutor.
"January 5th, 1858."

On account of the indisposition of the aged prisoner, the commencement of this important trial was from time to time postponed, and it was not until the 27th of the month that the king of Delhi was formally arraigned before a court-martial, composed of the following officers:—

President—Colonel Dawes, of the horse artillery, in the stead of Brigadier Showers, originally nominated. *Members*—Major Palmer, her majesty's 60th rifles; Major Redmond, her majesty's 61st regiment; Major Sawyers, her majesty's 6th carabiniers; and Captain Rothney, 4th Sikh infantry. *Deputy Judge-Advocate-general*, and *Government Prosecutor*—Major Harriot; and *Interpreter to the Court*—Mr. James Murphy.

The trial was to have commenced at 11 A.M.; but, owing to delays caused by a sudden change in the constitution of the court, in consequence of Brigadier Showers' sudden departure on an important command, it was half-past twelve o'clock before the prisoner was brought before his judges, although he had been kept waiting in attendance outside the Dewani Khas, under a strong guard of the rifles, from the hour first appointed.

At length the order was given to bring in the prisoner; and to those assembled in the grand audience chamber of the Moguls, the appearance of the old man as he tottered into court, supported on one side by his only remaining son, and on the other by one of his attendants, was an event of intense interest; and it became especially so when the proud antecedents of his race were compared with the wretched position of their miserable descendant. As soon as the prisoner had reached the place assigned him between the president and the government prosecutor, he seated himself on

cushions placed for his accommodation, having his son Jumma Bukht standing on his left; the background being filled up by a strong guard of the 60th rifles, who had charge of the prisoner.

The proceedings commenced by the members of the court, the prosecutor, and the interpreter taking the customary oaths. The prosecutor then read the charges against the prisoner, and addressed the court in explanation of them; concluding by stating that, although the prisoner might be fully convicted by the court, no capital sentence could be passed upon him, in consequence of his life having been guaranteed to him by General Wilson, in a promise conveyed to him by Captain Hodson. He then, through the interpreter, put the formal question, "Guilty or not guilty?" but the prisoner either did not, or affected not, to understand the meaning of the inquiry, and there was considerable delay before he could be got to reply. He at length, however, declared himself profoundly ignorant of the nature of the charges against him, or of the authority by which he was then questioned, although a translated copy of the charges had been delivered to him some twenty days previous. After some further delay, and a great deal of persuasion and explanation through the interpreter, the prisoner at last pleaded "Not guilty," and the business of the court proceeded.

A number of documents of various descriptions, and of varied importance, were then read by the prosecutor. These chiefly consisted of petitions from all classes of natives, addressed to "The Shelter of the World:" some of them were curious; many related to outrages perpetrated by the sowars and sepoys in the city and suburbs; others related to certain delinquencies of the princes, sons of the ex-king, who had seized the opportunity to extort money and valuable property from the wealthy inhabitants; a considerable number related to matters connected with the establishment of the "new reign;" and all concluded with a prayer that it might endure as long as the world lasted. Most of these state papers bore the autograph orders and signature of the prisoner, written in pencil at the top; and, his handwriting being sworn to by competent witnesses, incontrovertible proof was furnished of the active co-operation of the prisoner in the rebellious movement.

During the greater part of the day, the royal prisoner appeared to consider the proceedings as perfectly unimportant, and merely tiresome; and he occasionally found relief from *ennui* by dozing. His son appeared more animated, and laughed and chatted with his father's attendant without appearing at all embarrassed. In fact, neither of the personages most interested appeared to be at all affected by the position in which they were placed, but, on the contrary, seemed to look upon the affair as one of the consequences of their fate, to which they could offer neither resistance or regrets.

Each paper, as it was read, was shown to the prisoner's vakeel, and identified by him, although the king himself professed utter ignorance of the existence of such documents—denied his signature, and endeavoured, by gestures of dissent, to impress the court with an idea of his entire innocence.

On the second day, a document was read, which purported to be a remonstrance from one Nubbee Bux Khan to the prisoner, urging him to reject the request of the army for permission to massacre the European women and children who had sought shelter in the palace. The writer submitted that such massacre would be contrary to the Mohammedan religion and law; and stated that, unless *fatwā* (a judicial decree or sentence) could be procured, it should not be put in execution. This document, it was observed by the government prosecutor, was the only one, of an immense heap before him, in which the spirit of mercy and of kindness to Europeans could be traced; and it was remarkable, that it was the only one of the mass upon which the prisoner had not made some comment.

On the third day, the proceedings commenced at eleven o'clock, the prisoner being brought into court in a palanquin, attended by his vakeel, Gholam Abbas, and two servants; the prince, Jumma Bukht, having been ordered into confinement for his indecorous and disrespectful conduct towards the court during the first day's trial. A portion of the day was again occupied in reading a mass of documents, of which the prisoner took little notice—dozing, and apparently regardless of what was passing around him. Occasionally, however, when some particular passage was read, the dull eye would light up, and the bowed head would be raised in marked attention for a few moments—only to relapse into a state of listless indifference.

The sittings of the court occupied several weeks, in consequence of various adjourn-

ments rendered necessary by the failing health of the aged prisoner.—On the tenth day of the trial, Sir Theophilus Metcalfe (civil service) gave some important evidence relative to the state of feeling amongst the natives before the outbreak on the 11th of May; and stated that a rumour was current in the city, for six weeks prior to the outbreak, that the Cashmere gate would be attacked and taken from the British; that this rumour was communicated to the civil authorities, and that no notice was taken of it. Another witness, Buktowur, a peon in the service of the late Captain Douglas, gave details of the occurrences of the outbreak on the 11th of May, from the first appearance of the mutinous troopers from Meerut, to the murder of Mr. Fraser (the chief commissioner), Captain Douglas, Mr. Hutchinson (civil service), and the Rev. Mr. Jennings and his ill-fated daughter. From the evidence of this witness, it appeared that Captain Douglas, Mr. Hutchinson, and Mr. Nixon, were all near the Calcutta gate leading to the bridge of boats, when four or five of the troopers rode up, and fired upon the little party—killing Mr. Nixon, and severely wounding Mr. Hutchinson. The Europeans, alarmed, jumped down from the road into the dry ditch surrounding the palace, Captain Douglas being much hurt in his descent. They then ran along the ditch, and reached the palace gate, which they entered, and closed after them. Mr. Fraser came up soon afterwards, and was admitted; and at one period of the attack, he appears to have taken a musket from one of the sepoys at the gate, and shot a trooper, which had the effect of driving the others off for a short time. At the suggesting of Mr. Jennings, Captain Douglas was taken up to his own apartments over the gateway; and soon after this, a number of people from the interior of the palace, came rushing forward, shouting, "Deen! deen!" and a crowd gathering, they were headed by a native officer of the palace guard, and, under his guidance, Captain Douglas and his companions were sought out, and brutally murdered.

On the eleventh day of the trial, a peon, named Chownee, corroborated the evidence of former witnesses as to the deaths of Mr. Fraser and Captain Douglas; and stated that the Mohammedans of the city were in the habit of boasting that the Persians, aided by the Russians, were coming to drive the English out of the country; and averred that the chupatties which preceded the outbreak, were used to bring together large bodies of men, for some business then to be explained to them, and that the distribution began at or near Kurnaul, a town about seventy miles north-west of Delhi. He also stated, that about five or six days after the city had been in the possession of the mutineers, he heard there was a great disturbance in the palace, and on going to ascertain the cause, found a number of sepoys, and some of the prisoner's armed servants, killing the European men, women, and children. There was a great crowd collected, and he could not see distinctly through it; but after the slaughter had been completed, he inquired of the sweepers who were removing the bodies, and heard that, in all, fifty-two persons had been killed: of these, only five or six were males, the rest being females and children. The bodies were removed in carts, and thrown into the river. When he saw them lying dead, they had been collected in a circle. A number of Mohammedans were on the top of Mirza Mogul's house—spectators of the scene; and the prince himself was among them. From the 11th to the 16th of May, when the massacre took place, these unfortunate persons were confined in a cellar or receptacle for rubbish, where the king's lowest class of prisoners were usually kept, and in which it would have been considered an insult to place respectable persons.—On the twelfth day of the examinations, one —— Ram, a person who was in Delhi on the 11th of May, but left a few days afterwards, confirmed the statement of the previous witness; and added, that the prisoner was proclaimed king by beat of drum, and that a royal salute was fired in the palace at midnight of the 11th of May. He also gave further details of the massacre of the Europeans within the palace, of which event he was an eye-witness. He said that it was known two days previously that the European prisoners were to be slaughtered on that day, and a great crowd had in consequence assembled. The prisoners were all ranged in a line on the edge of a tank, and, at a given signal, the mutineers and palace servants, by whom they were completely surrounded, rushed in and hacked them to pieces with swords. Shots were fired at them at the commencement; but one of the bullets happening to strike a sepoy, the sword was resorted to, and the barbarous work was soon over. The murderers en-

gaged in this cowardly deed numbered from 150 to 200 persons. When the sanguinary act had been accomplished, the spectators were turned out of the place, and the bodies were carried away by sweepers. No one attempted to interfere to prevent the massacre; no messenger from the king came to stop it: and the witness said he heard nothing which could lead him to believe that the deed was not gloried in by the Mohammedans. The witness further stated that he was present at the murder of the Beresfords. (Mr. Beresford was manager of the Delhi bank.) This gentleman was badly wounded at the onset, one arm being broken by a shot; but having a sword, and his wife being armed with a spear, they contrived to keep the ruffians at bay for some time, Mrs. Beresford herself killing one and wounding another. They were at length overpowered, and, with their five children (all girls), were ruthlessly murdered. The Rev. Mr. Hubbard, and another missionary, who had gone to the bank for protection, were also killed at the same time. "The house," said the witness, "where they were all slaughtered, still bears the marks of the struggle, and of the closing scene of horror."

An important piece of evidence was given on the thirteenth day of the trial, by a half-caste woman, the wife of a Mr. Alexander Aldwell, formerly in the civil service of the Company; who, being duly sworn, deposed as follows:—

"I am the wife of Mr. Alexander Aldwell, a pensioner of government, and was residing in a house in Durriaogunge on the 11th of May last. The first news of the mutiny that I received was from my syce, who, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, brought me intelligence that the troops at Meerut had mutinied, and were coming from Meerut, and were murdering all the Europeans they came across. He advised me to order my carriage, and get out of the place as quickly as I could. Soon after, Mr. Nowlan, our next-door neighbour, came in, and confirmed the tale. My husband and Mr. Nowlan went to the sepoy guard of the garrison hospital, which was near our house, and asked them if they would assist us in case of an attack. They replied, 'Mind your own business, and leave us to mind ours.' At this time none of the mutineers had arrived from Meerut, and so could have held no communication with these men. Mr. Nowlan and my husband, after consulting together, determined to make a stand in our house, in case it should be attacked, as it was the larger and more defensible of the two. They proceeded to arm themselves and barricade the house. Several of our friends and their families took refuge in our house. We numbered, in all, about thirty souls, as far as I can judge. Soon after this, I saw several troopers riding on the river bank under our house. They fired without effect at some people who were on the roof of our house. I saw the mutineers cross the bridge from Meerut. I should say there were more cavalry than infantry. After some time had elapsed, a Mohammedan dyer of the town rushed into our compound, nearly frantic, with a tulwar drawn in his hand, and covered with blood. He was repeating the Kulmah, or profession of faith, and saying that they were going to kill all the infidels. Mr. Nowlan shot him dead. About eleven o'clock Mrs. Fowler, a neighbour of ours, was brought into the house very badly wounded by a sword-cut on the head. About 3 P.M. I heard the explosion of the powder-magazine. Before this our friends had made their escape out of the place in the best way they could. After the explosion, I prevailed upon my husband to allow me to leave the house with my three children in Mohammedan disguise. We left in native dhoolies. We went to the house of a grandson of the king's, called Mirza Abdoolah. His family had, for some time past, been acquainted with us, and we had been in the habit of visiting him. We remained with him till eight o'clock in the evening, and then went to his mother-in-law. I left what property I had with me (about 200 rupees) in his hands, as he said he would take care of it for me, as it would be safe with him. The next morning I sent for my property; I received answer that Mirza Abdoolah had nothing belonging to me. He added, that I had better leave his family, or he would send and have me and my children killed as infidels. His uncle shortly after arrived, with armed attendants, to kill us. My moonshee's mother, who was with us, upbraided him with such cruelty. She said, 'If you wish to kill any one, kill me first. I am a Syudanee, and by killing me you will perform a meritorious action.' She alluded to the fact of the feud between the Syuds and Sunnees. The king's family are Sunnees. They replied, 'If we did so we should be no better than infidels.' At length, after some altercation, we were allowed to live till the evening. My tailor came to me, and advised me to take shelter in Nawab Mahommed Alli's house, where there were some more Europeans, as he had heard. We, however, went to my tailor's own house. Hearing, the next day, that there were several Europeans in the palace, whom the king kept in confinement, but with the promise of their lives being safe, I determined to go and join them. Accordingly, in the evening (this was Wednesday, May 14th), my tailor, and a trooper of the 3rd cavalry, who owed him some obligation, escorted us thither. As soon as we arrived at the Lahore gate we were stopped, searched, and made prisoners of. We were taken before Mirza Mogul. He ordered us into confinement with the rest of the prisoners. We were about fifty, in one dark filthy room; there were no windows, and only one door. The sepoys and crowd had free access there. They used to insult the Europeans. We were obliged to shut the door in self-defence, and then we had no aperture for light or air. The Khassburdars wished to kill us at once, but the sepoys would not let them. On Thursday morning, a sepoy informed us that they meant to mine the place and blow us up. They used often to frighten us by such stories. On Friday, a servant of the king's asked one of the ladies how the English would treat them if they regained Delhi. She replied, 'As you have treated my husband and children.' On Saturday morning, all except myself and

children and an old Mussulman, who was imprisoned with us, were taken out and murdered. I and my children were believed to be natives. Before I came into the palace, I had learned and taught my children to repeat the Mohammedan profession of faith. I had also had a petition written in Hindostani, addressed to the king, styling myself a Cashmeree, and asking for his protection. This was taken from me by the guard at the Lahore gate, and hence my disguise succeeded completely. The Mussulmans used to eat with us; and our food was given us separately from the Christians. The prisoners were taken out by the Khassburdars; they ordered the Christians out, and said to us, 'You Mussulmans are to remain apart.' Upon this, the other ladies and children began crying, saying they were going to be killed. They were, however, reassured by the men, who swore their most sacred oaths that the king merely wished to put them in a better residence. They were taken out, and a rope put round the whole of them. They were taken to the tank in the court, and murdered there. The Khassburdars alone took part in the murder. They boasted of it as a privilege. It is reckoned by Mussulmans that to kill an infidel is to insure themselves a place in paradise. After the massacre, two guns were fired in token of rejoicing. After the Europeans had been murdered, we were taken before the king's *mufti* (or lawyer), who told us we were free. We went to my tailor's house. The thanadar of the quarter, however, having suspicions of us, took us prisoners the next day, and took us before Mirza Mogul, saying we were Christians. Mirza Mogul ordered us to be executed. However, the 38th sepoys would not allow this, and hid us in Captain Douglas's quarters. We escaped from this the day after the defeat at the Hindun river. We hid ourselves in the city, and passed as natives. After the defeat at the Hindun, the Hindoos upbraided the Mussulmans with want of courage, and with having deceived them by false hopes. The sepoys were all desponding and downhearted. The Hindoos said, that if they thought their lives would be spared, they would return to the British. They expressed doubts as to whether government had really intended to interfere with their caste. The Mussulmans were most bitter against the infidel English. I heard Mohammedan women teaching their children to pray for the destruction of the English, and to execute them. As soon as the troops arrived in the palace, the Hindoos induced the king to give an order that no cows or bullocks were to be killed in the city. I believe this order was strictly observed. There was a disturbance expected during the Buckra Eed, when the Mussulmans usually kill an ox. They avoided the difficulty by omitting the ceremony. I made my escape from the city on the 9th of September, and remained in disguise till the British retook the place, when I returned."

The husband of Mrs. Aldwell managed, by some means or other, to escape the massacre of the Europeans in the city, and remained for some months ignorant of the fate of his wife and children. He, however, ultimately rejoined them at Delhi, on its reoccupation by the British.

The most conclusive evidence against the prisoner, in reference to his alleged complicity in the rebellion, was produced by Mukhoon Lall, the private secretary of the ex-king. Upon the first appearance of this individual before the court, he exhibited a degree of insolent assurance that drew from the judge-advocate a sharp rebuke and admonition. The prisoner, on his part, took no notice of, and appeared perfectly indifferent to, the presence or the behaviour of his secretary; and only once in the course of the evidence of that functionary, did he exhibit the slightest token of recognition. Mukhoon Lall, a short and stout Hindoo, after a slight interval allowed him to recover his equanimity, which had been seriously disturbed by the caution he received, took his station in the place allotted to the witnesses, and in a very humble attitude, and with clasped hands, proceeded to give his evidence. He declared that, for more than two years previous to the outbreak at Meerut, the prisoner had been disaffected towards the British government—a circumstance he ascribed partly to the discontinuance of the pomp and ceremony to which the inmates of the palace had been accustomed, and partly to the refusal of the government to recognise whoever the prisoner pleased to nominate as heir-apparent to the throne. The arrival of some of the royal family from Lucknow, about the time referred to, he stated was closely connected with the prisoner's correspondence with Persia. The growing disaffection of the native army had been the common subject of conversation in the private apartments of the prisoner for some months previous to the outbreak; and preparations for that event had been arranged by the native officers sent from Delhi, to form part of the court-martial upon the mutineers of the 3rd cavalry. The witness also stated, that the guards of the palace, changed weekly from the three regiments in cantonments at Delhi, were, to a man, adherents of the king. The secretary then described the incidents of the outbreak as connected with the personal acts of the prisoner; and, with regard to the subsequent massacre of European prisoners, said, that when the mutineers became clamorous for the slaughter, Mirza Mogul, eldest son of the prisoner, with another of the princes, went to obtain the consent of the king, who was in his private apartments; and were admitted to an audience, the mutineers remaining outside. After the lapse of about twenty minutes the two princes returned; and Mirza Mogul announced, with exulta-

tion, that the prisoner had given his consent: the slaughter accordingly commenced, the princes looking on from a terrace immediately above the scene of the outrage, and encouraging the murderers by their gesticulations and laughter!

On the following day (the fifteenth of the trial), Mukhoon Lall was further examined; and stated, that the then late prime minister, Maibhood Ali Khan, was the only person he knew of in the prisoner's entire confidence, and that he himself was not admitted to the secret conferences of his master. That at such private conferences, Maibhood Ali, Hussun Uskeree, the begum Zenat Mahal, and generally two of the prisoner's daughters, were present, and that by their counsel he was guided. In the course of the proceedings, the following proclamation—issued by Khan Bahadoor Khan, nawab of Bareilly, to the Hindoo chiefs, and published in Delhi—was produced as an exposition of the terms upon which Mussulmans and Hindoos were to merge their own differences, and co-operate for the overthrow of British rule.

"Greeting to the virtuous, illustrious, generous, and brave rajahs, preservers of their own faith, and props of the religion of others!—We wish you every prosperity, and take the present opportunity to apprise you all that God created us to preserve our faith; and our religious books fully inform us what our faith is. We are all determined to preserve that faith. Oh! ye rajahs, God has created you, and given you dominions, that you should all preserve your faith, and extirpate the destroyers of your religion. Those that are sufficiently strong, should openly exert their strength to destroy the enemies of their religion; but those that are not sufficiently strong, should devise plans for causing the death of those enemies, and thus preserve their religion. The Shastras inculcate that it is the duty of a man to die for his religion, and not to embrace the religion of an alien. God has said it; and it is a notorious fact, that the English are the destroyers of the creeds of other nations. Let this fact be thoroughly impressed upon your minds—that, for years past, with a view to destroy the religion of natives of India, the English have compiled books, and have disseminated them, through missionaries, throughout Hindostan. They have, from time to time, forcibly dispossessed us of our religious books. Their own accredited servants have divulged this to us. Now, you should all devote your attention towards the plans which the English have been forming for destroying the religion of the natives of India. Firstly, they have promulgated a law that a Hindoo widow must re-marry. Secondly, they have forcibly suspended the rites of *suttee* (burning of widows with the dead bodies of their husbands on the funeral pyre), and passed laws prohibiting those rites. Thirdly, they have often pressed us to embrace their religion, on promises of future advancement under their government; and they have often requested us to attend their churches, and listen to their doctrines. They have made it a standing rule, that when a rajah dies without leaving any male issue by his married wife, to confiscate his territory, and they do not allow his adopted son to inherit it, although we learn from the Shastras that there are ten kinds of sons entitled to share in the property of a deceased Hindoo. Hence it is obvious that such laws of the English are intended to deprive the native rajahs of their territory and property. They have already seized the territories of Nagpore and Lucknow. Their designs for destroying your religion, O rajahs! are manifest from their having had recourse to compulsive measures to force the prisoners to mess together. Many prisoners refused to mess together, and were consequently starved to death; and many ate bread together, and, of course, forfeited their religion. When the English saw that even such measures were ineffectual to convert the Hindoos, they caused bones to be ground with flour and sugar, and mixed particles of dried flesh and bone-dust with rice, and caused the same to be sold in the shops. In a word, they devised every plan they could for destroying your religion. Eventually, a Bengalee told the English that if the native army would use the profane things, then the inhabitants of Bengal would make no scruple to accept the same. The English liked this proposal, little knowing that, in enforcing it, they would themselves be rooted out of the country. The English told the Brahmins, and other Hindoos serving in their army, to bite suet-greased cartridges. When the Mussulmans serving in the army saw that the English were plotting to undermine the religion of the Brahmins, they also refused to bite the greased cartridges. But the English were bent on destroying the Hindoo religion. The native soldiers of those regiments which refused to bite the cartridges, were blown away from guns. This injustice opened the eyes of the sepoys, and they began to kill the English wherever they found them. A small number of English is still left in India, and measures have been adopted to kill them also. Be it known to all you rajahs, that if these English are permitted to remain in India, they will butcher you all, and put an end to your religion. It is surprising that a number of our countrymen are still siding with the English, and fighting for them; but let it be well impressed upon your minds that the English will neither allow your religion to remain safe, nor will they permit those countrymen of ours that are assisting them to keep their religion unmolested.

"We would now ask you, O rajahs! have you found out any means for preserving your religion and lives? If you all be of the same mind with us, then we can easily root out the English from this country, and maintain our national independence and our religion.

"As all the Hindoos and Mohammedans of India have found out that the destruction of the Englishmen is the only way by which we can save our lives and religion, we have printed this proclamation. We conjure you, O rajahs! by the holy water of the Ganges, by the sacred plant of Toolsee, and by the sacred image of Shalugram—and we conjure you, O Mussulmans! by the Almighty God, and by the sacred Koran, to attend to us. These Englishmen are enemies of the Hindoos as well as of the Mussulmans. It is a duty now incumbent upon both nations (Hindoos and Mussulmans) to kill all the

Englishmen in India. Both nations should therefore combine together and destroy the Englishmen.

"Among the Hindoos, the slaughter of kine is looked upon as a horrible sin. The Mussulman chieftains have all agreed, that should the Hindoos join them in killing the Englishmen in India, they (the Mussulmans) will cease to slaughter cows. The Mussulmans have made solemn promises by the sacred Koran, to abstain from eating flesh of cows. Should the Hindoos join them, the Mussulmans will look upon the flesh of cows with the same horror which they feel at seeing pork. If the Hindoos do not attend to this solemn appeal, and do not kill the English—nay, if they shelter them even—they will be considered guilty of slaughtering cows and eating beef.

"Should the English, with a view to neutralise our proposal, make a similar agreement, and urge the Hindoos to rise against th Mussulmans, let the wise Hindoos consider, that if t..e English do so, the Hindoos will be sadly deceived. The Englishmen never keep their promises. They are deceitful impostors. The natives of this country have always been tools in the hands of these deceitful Englishmen. None of you should permit this golden opportunity to slip away. Let us take advantage of it. Our epistolatory intercourse, though not so charming as personal interview, is still calculated to revive remembrance of each other. We trust you will concur with us and favour us with a reply to this appeal, which is made with the full consent of both Hindoos and Mussulmans of this place.

"Published by Moulvie Seyed Kootub,* Shah Bahadoor—Press, Bareilly.†

"True translation.

(Signed) "J. C. WILSON,
"Commissioner on Special Duty."

During the trial the king displayed a singular line of conduct, not at all in keeping with the serious position he occupied. Occasionally, while the evidence was progressing, he would coil himself up in his shawls, and, reclining upon the cushions placed for his convenience, would appear perfectly indifferent to the proceedings around him; at other times he would suddenly rouse up, as if from a dream, and loudly deny some statement of a witness under examination; then again relapsing into a state of real or assumed insensibility, he would carelessly ask a question, or laughingly offer an explanation of some phrase used in evidence. Upon one occasion, he affected such utter ignorance of a question before the court, in reference to his alleged intrigues with Persia, as to inquire, "Whether the Persians and the Russians were the same people!" He several times declared himself perfectly innocent of everything he was charged with, and varied the wearisomeness of his constrained attendance, by amusing himself with a scarf, which he would twist and untwist round his head like a playful child.

The following facts were ultimately established by these proceedings:—First, that the intended revolt was known to, and encouraged by, the Shah of Persia, who, at the request of the king, promised money and troops to ensure its success; his proclamation to that effect being posted upon the gate of the Jumma Musjid, from whence it was taken down by order of Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, who himself was informed by a Christian rissaldar very popular with the natives, that he had been warned to fly, as the Persians were coming, and the Mussulmans were exceedingly excited. Unfortunately, Sir Theophilus considered the information from such a quarter of no importance. Secondly, it was proved that a paper was addressed to, and received by, the late Mr. Colvin (lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces), by Mahomed Dervish, revealing the whole plot six weeks before the rebellion actually broke out; and that this warning also was considered so unimportant, that it was neither acted upon by the party to whom it was given, or reported by him for the consideration of the

* This man was Persian teacher in the government college at Bareilly.

† The letters and proclamations that have from time to time been addressed to the populations of India by the rebel leaders, do not so much illustrate the causes of the mutiny, as the motives and feelings that may be supposed to prevail among the natives of both races. The few specimens that have been published, it will be observed, dwell almost exclusively on the proselytising tendencies of the English, and on the hopelessness of their efforts. The assertion, that only a few Englishmen remain in India, is a ways repeated with increased earnestness; and the charge of interference with the native religion, is carefully elaborated from a few well-known measures of the government, mingled with a chaos of impudent fictions; but it is remarkable that not a single instance of civil maladministration is brought forward, although repeated instances of disregard of the rite of adoption by the Indian government, might have been adduced as involving secular oppression, as well as religious innovation. But the suspicion of this possible wrong was not sufficiently strong to outweigh considerations of prudence and loyalty among the masses of the Hindoo population. In the foregoing address of Khan Bahadoor Khan, the author, a chieftain of Mussulman race, affects the deepest solicitude for the safety of the Hindoo religion. A member of the sect which has deluged India with blood for the promotion of Monotheism, Khan Bahadoor Khan affects to be an enthusiast for the 365,000 deities of Hindooism; and forgetting the proselytising doctrines of the *Koran*, he quotes from the *Shastras* a declarstion, that no man is at liberty to adopt the creed of an alien! The nawab was probably aware that the persons he addressed might doubt his sincerity, but he nevertheless furnished them with an excuse for disloyalty.

supreme government: and, Thirdly, that the murders of the Europeans in Delhi were committed by order of the king, in the presence of his sons and other persons connected with the royal family, and by means of the Khassburdars, his special body-guard.

Of the assumption of independent sovereignty in defiance of existing treaties, and the levying of war against the British government in India, there could be no question; and the prisoner was found guilty upon each of the four charges alleged against him, whereby he became liable to the penalty of death as a traitor and felon; but in consequence of the assurance given to him on surrendering himself prisoner to Captain Hodson at the college of Durgah Nizam-oo-Deen, on the 21st of September, 1857, the court sentenced him to be transported for the remainder of his days, either to one of the Andaman Islands,* or to such other place as might be selected by the governor-general in council.

A considerable delay occurred in carrying the sentence of the court into effect; and, in the meantime, the deposed king, with the females of his family and some native attendants, remained in close confinement within the precincts of the palace at Delhi. Sheltered by its privacy from the odium that ever accompanied the mention of his name, Mahomed Suraj-oo-Deen might here probably have lingered until his existence and his crimes had been alike forgotten, but for the injudicious conduct of persons whose political importance at the time was sought to be established upon an avowed opposition to the opinion universally expressed in relation to the atrocities perpetrated by the adherents of the fallen monarch. Among such persons was the

* The Andamans are a group of densely-wooded islands in the Bay of Bengal, between 10° and 13° N. lat., and nearly under 93° E. long., about 180 miles south-west of Cape Negrais, and as much north of the Nicobar Isles. The Great and Little Andamans are separated by a channel known as Duncan's Passage; and the area of the two is estimated at about 3,000 square miles. The native population is believed to be exceedingly scanty, and in the lowest state of ferocious barbarism. The interior of these islands has never yet been penetrated by Europeans; and although a British settlement was attempted at Port Cornwallis, in the north-east of the larger island, in 1793, the untamable ferocity of the natives was such, as to render its abandonment a measure of prudence, within three years from that time; most of the settlers having been killed and eaten by the people of the place. The islands then remained unnoticed by the British until after the outbreak of the sepoy rebellion, when it became necessary to provide a secure place of transportation for the swarms of defeated rebels that remained, after the sword and the halter had become satiated with prey; and the isolated condition of the Andamans at once suggested their appropriation to the uses of a penal settlement for British India. A sufficient force of military police was accordingly dispatched to the Great Andaman, under the superintendence of Dr. Walker, of the Bengal service; and thither, from time to time, the ruffians of the late Bengal army, whose lives were spared by the clemency of the courts-martial, were transported, to take their chance for existence among the aborigines, by whom they were scarcely surpassed in cruelty and cunning. A number of the first batch of military convicts were at once set to work to clear the land adjacent to the proposed settlement; while others were compelled to labour in the erection of suitable buildings for the establishment. The following extract from the letter of an officer belonging to her majesty's ship *Roebuck*, affords some interesting intelligence regarding the place:—"Our cruise to the Andamans would have been pleasant had we had other than ship provisions in the mess. We called at Port Blair (our head-quarters), and found two of the Company's ships there, with Dr. Walker, superintendent of the penal settlement, and other officers on board; and then went on our cruise to the south of Rutland Island, and as far as 12° 30' N., keeping the land in sight all day (sometimes within a mile of it) to look for Malay vessels, which resort there for birds'-nests and sea-slugs, but we were unsuccessful; in fact, nothing was to be seen but a few native huts, and canoes hauled up on the beach. Only once did we see anything of the savages, who were bathing or fishing under the trees. There are four Andaman Islands—Northern, Southern, Middle, and the Great Andaman; but these have several smaller islands attached to them; and they are covered so densely with trees, that nothing is seen of the interiors. Port Blair was the only part where we could venture on shore, and then only with our revolvers, in case of meeting some natives. The Company's ships have lost several men, besides an officer of the *Pluto*; and when the *Sesostris* sent a watering party on shore the other day, they were suddenly attacked by natives with bows and arrows—the latter pointed with hard wood, and found to penetrate a boat's side. Several arrows were discharged, and one went through a man's thigh, which made our party run for it (not being armed), and return to the ship for muskets. When they got back to the watering place, they found that the savages had decamped, taking with them the hoops off the casks. Little is known about these natives. It is believed that they live upon fish; some live up the trees. The only kind of flesh to be had is that of the wild pig, which they shoot. This information was obtained by sepoys, in the following way. I believe Dr. Walker sent several of them away into the interior, with muskets and ammunition, to explore the country; but very few of them came back, for they were nearly all killed by the savages. Before that, however, a great number of the sepoys deserted; and those that returned, eighty in number, were hanged on the trees in Chatham Island. There are two small islands at Port Blair—Ross Island at the entrance, and Chatham in the middle of the harbour; both of these are bearing the tents of about 800 mutineers of the highest rank; and as soon as the rebels are caught up-country in India, they are

ex-member of parliament for Aylesbury, whose efforts to re-create political capital, had induced him to wander from the harmless paths of antiquarian research, to thread the intricate labyrinths of Anglo-Indian policy, with a view to enlighten the British public upon the subject of its Eastern empire, its sacrifices, and its wrongs. This gentleman, in the course of his travels, reached Delhi, and, it would seem, was permitted to have an interview with the royal prisoner; and some details of that interview were, on the 11th of May, 1858, communicated to a large and influential auditory at the St. James's Hall, London (amongst which were several members of the British House of Commons), in the following words:—

"Many persons regret that the king of Delhi had not fallen in just punishment for his offence. I saw the king of Delhi; and I will leave the meeting to judge, when it has heard me, whether *he is punished!* I will not give any opinion as to whether the manner in which we are treating him is worthy of a great nation. I saw that broken-down old man—not in a room, but in a miserable hole of his palace—lying on a bedstead, with nothing to cover him but a miserable tattered coverlet. As I beheld him, some remembrance of his former greatness seemed to arise in his mind. He rose with difficulty from his couch; showed me his arms, which were eaten into by disease and by flies—partly from want of water; and he said, in a lamentable voice, that he had not enough to eat! Is that a way in which, as Christians, we ought to treat a king? I saw his women too, all huddled up in a corner with their children; and I was told that all that was allowed for their support was 16*s.* a-day! Is not that punishment enough for one that has occupied a throne?"

That such a statement, from such an authority, should excite a large amount of sympathy, was naturally to be expected; and, for a time, many persons imagined that the treatment of the octogenarian prisoner of Delhi was marked by cruelty alike uncalled-for and unjustifiable: but it was not long ere the echoes of those deprecatory sentences, spoken beneath the vaulted roof of St. James's Hall, in the British metropolis, were heard throughout India; nor were they long without a distinct and circumstantial contradiction. A gentleman, to whose medical supervision, as officiating civil surgeon at Delhi, the personal health of the prisoner and his family had been confided by the authorities, no sooner met with the charge as reported in the English newspapers, than, in a tone at once decisive and temperate, he forwarded to England a refutation of the calumny, and left the question of its author's veracity to be decided at leisure. This gentleman, writing from Delhi, June 25th, 1858, after quoting the offensive allegations, expressed himself as follows:—

"I hope that the report is incorrect, as the words as they stand are likely to mislead. For a man of his years, the ex-king of Delhi is particularly active and intelligent; and I have seldom seen so old a man in England with equal mental and bodily energy.

"He resides, not in a hole, but in (for a native) a large room, square, with windows looking inwards and outwards. This room is divided about equally by curtains from one side to the other, separating the females from the males. On either side, the centre room opens on to a square court—one reserved for the females of the family, and containing one or two small buildings (or godowns) used for sleeping; the other, or entrance court, provided with temporary dwellings for the male attendants, of whom there are several, besides eunuchs and women for the service of the concealed ones.

"The whole suite of buildings is elevated some twelve or fourteen feet, and, on the ex-king's side, overlook a garden, in the centre of which reside the officers in charge of the prisoners.

"At the season of the year Mr. Layard visited Delhi, no covering further than a sheet is, as far as my experience goes, ever used by the natives of Central India; and the old man has no deficiency either of clothes, pillows, or cushions.

"There is no limit whatever but the individual's own desire, to the amount of water used for bathing or other purposes. At one time the ex-king was suffering from a disease not uncommon in India, but rarely mentioned in polite English ears; the

packed off to their new home in the Andamans, where they have to cultivate the ground, first burning or cutting down the jungle. On Ross Island, while we were there, they were building an hospital, and a pier for boats. They are all alone, having only the Burmese, whom they despise, as guards, to look after them, with the naval guard of the Company."

skin was abraded slightly in one or two small patches about the fingers, arms, &c., from scratching only.

"Although he has been months under my care, he has not once complained of a deficiency of food, though, as has been his custom for thirty-five years, he usually vomits after every meal. I have, on more than one occasion, seen him superintending the preparation of sherbet by his own attendants.

"The ordinary pay of an inferior workman at Delhi, is 7*s.* per month—that is a sufficiency to feed and clothe man, wife, and children. Very few adults consume more than 3*d.* worth of the common food in twenty-four hours. That amount covers the charge for flour, rice, dhâl, sugar, curry ingredients, vegetables, butter, and firewood for cooking.

"I speak advisedly, as the accounts for the lunatic asylum pass through my hands; and in that institution the dietary for patients, of different social conditions, is without stint—speaking of necessaries, of course. Paupers have an allowance of less than a 1*d.* a-day, for adults.—THE OFFICIATING CIVIL SURGEON, DELHI."

Thus ended the *Assyrian* romance, whose foundation was to have been laid in the palace-prison of Delhi.

Among the real or alleged causes for dissatisfaction within the palace, it has already been observed, that a difficulty in recognising the nominee of the king, as his successor on the nominal throne of Delhi, was a source of much annoyance to that personage, and also to his youngest and favourite wife, the sultana, Zenat Mahal. The question of succession had furnished a topic for dissension within the palace, and intrigue without it, from the year 1853; the king, at the instigation of Zenat Mahal, then desiring to name the child of his old age, Mirza Jumma Bukht, heir to the throne; while the British government insisted on recognising the superior and prior claim of an elder son, Mirza Furruk-oo-Deen. The contention to which this rivalry of interests gave birth, continued to rage with great virulence until 1856, when the elder son died of cholera, or, probably, as suspected at the time, of poison. This event, however, had not the effect of settling the question, as there still were elder brothers of Jumma Bukht in existence, whose claims to priority of succession were recognised by the Anglo-Indian government; while the mother of the latter prince persisted in her endeavours to obtain the heirship to the throne for her own son, and declared that her object would be persistently and steadily pursued until it was accomplished. When, however, it was announced by the government that the son of the deceased prince, and grandson of the king, should succeed in a direct line to all that remained of imperial power at Delhi, her hostility to British influence became intense; and it thenceforward was a question of daily consideration with her and her partisans, whether, by overturning the English *raj*, she might not forcibly obtain for her son the supremacy she so much coveted; and thus, when other causes for dissatisfaction and revolt began to exert their influence over the army and people of Hindostan, her whole energies were directed to the object of encouraging and extending the insurrectionary movement. In the course of the trial of the king, much was shown to this effect; but as no positive act of rebellion had been alleged against her, it was not deemed necessary, under the circumstances, to put the sultana, Zenat Mahal, upon her trial.

Reverting to the state of the city at the beginning of the year, it seems that, among other measures adopted for re-establishing order amidst its ruined streets and bazaars, a system of passes or permits was resorted to, by which a promiscuous influx of the native population was checked, and a regulation established, by which, such as were admitted came immediately under the eyes of the authorities. Each applicant, on seeking entrance to the city, was required to pay to an officer at the Kotwallee one rupee four annas; who, in return, gave to him a ticket, which, on presentation at the commissariat store, was exchanged for a *charpoy* (bedstead), and two *chukkees* (grindstones); thus providing each returning outcast with immediate facilities for procuring rest and food. The effect of this humane and politic arrangement, was to bring a great number of the former residents back to the city; and, according to a letter of the 20th of January, the place had already assumed an appearance of bustle and activity it had for months been a stranger to. "The Chandnee Chouk," observes the writer, "is now almost as much crowded of an evening as it was in days of yore; and the fusiliers' band, 'discoursing sweet music' opposite the church every Monday and Tuesday evening, attracts such a goodly display of beauty and

fashion, that were it not for the European guards and the shot-holes round about, people might almost forget the painful incidents of the past six months." The following gratifying account of the state of the country round Delhi, at the beginning of the year, was also furnished by a gentleman who had visited the city, on his way up the country, and who says—"I found the traffic upon the Grand Trunk-road just as considerable as it was this time last year. Carts and hackeries of every description, conveying goods and provisions of all kinds, and drawn by two, three, and five bullocks; bullocks and buffaloes, ponies and donkeys, laden pannier-fashion, with grain and other things; camels in hundreds, similarly burthened, besides vehicles containing native travellers, male and female, Mohammedan and Hindoo; to say nothing of the numerous dâk and transit carriages with European passengers, post-office vans, and bullock-train waggons, with government stores; with all of which several conveyances and beasts of burden the road is thronged along its entire length. No one ignorant of the anarchy which prevailed in these provinces a few months ago, would suspect that peace and order had ever been interrupted, judging from the traffic now seen upon the road." It should be observed, that these favourable sketches of the rebel city must be taken with great allowance for the evident disposition of the writers to see everything under the most cheerful aspect, since later delineations by no means support the views taken by them of the interior and exterior condition of Delhi at the beginning of 1858.

The administration of the province of which Delhi had formed the capital, was, early in the year, transferred to the able management of the chief commissioner in the Punjab—Sir John Lawrence, K.C.B.; who arrived at the seat of his new government about the 24th of February, and, by his judicious measures and energetic action upon every disturbed point, the districts round Delhi were speedily restored to at least a semblance of order. The first object of the new chief commissioner, was to convince the people of the province under his command that they were really once more in the hands of the British government; and, with that view, he issued a circular to the commissioners of the three districts of Delhi, Hissar, and Sirsa, directing that every community and section of a community, and individual within those districts, should be made to repay the losses sustained by Europeans during the rebellion. The circular, which was entitled "Compensation to Sufferers by the Insurrection," was couched in the following terms:—

"Sirsa—Camp, Delhi, 5th March, 1858.

"Sir,—I am directed to draw your immediate attention to the recovery, from insurgent villages, of the value of the property plundered by them from the British government, or from its European British subjects, or European foreigners, or from native Christians, or from the natives of the country who threw in their lot with us, and suffered in consequence of signal fidelity.

"2nd. The chief commissioner is resolved, that every community, section of community, or individual who may have plundered or destroyed property, real or personal, belonging to any of the above-mentioned parties, shall be made to pay the value of the same to the utmost of his or their means, and within the earliest reasonable period; provided always that the exaction of this specific compensation shall be exclusive and irrespective of penal fines, or other legal penalties, to which the offenders may be subject.

"3rd. It will therefore be the duty of the local authorities to ascertain summarily, and estimate fairly, the value of the property plundered or destroyed, under whatever circumstances. Due care will also be taken to avoid exaggeration or mistaken estimates. Thus the parties who plundered or did the mischief having been detected, awards for specific sums will be declared against them, such awards being regulated exactly by the amount of the damages done; so that, in this respect, plunder and retribution may be in precise proportion. Perhaps, in some cases, the recovery of the full amount due will be impossible, and so we must content ourselves with exacting what we can.

"4th. Again, although, in some cases, it might be possible to exact more than the sum awarded, yet herein it is not necessary to grind such amount; it will suffice to take that, and no more. If the offenders deserve to have to pay more on account of general misconduct, then that matter can be dealt with hereafter.

"The mode of collecting or realising the amount in such individual cases, must be left very much to the discretion of the district officers. It will be well, however, to indicate certain methods open to adoption. In towns, or wards of towns, the amount can be levied by a house-tax or pro rate cess. Such cess may be either fixed on value of house, or in reference to particular guilt, if that can be discriminated, or in such like considerations.

"In villages, also, the plan may be adopted, especially in regard to men, agricultural residents; but as the inhabitants of such villages will, many of them, be cultivators or landowners, their land will afford a proper means of realisation. The money can be rateably fixed upon the land, due regard being had, however, to the fiscal demands on the soil and crops, and to the expediency of not impoverishing the occupant, so far as they seriously impair his power of cultivating. If the whole sum cannot be realised at once, yearly instalments might be accepted for moderate periods.

"Moreover, if the case should be aggravated, or if other modes of realisation should fail, proposals for

forwarded to the Court of Directors in England for its decision. The effect of this report was simply a strengthening of the guards to whom the safe keeping of the prisoner was confided, and the issue of an order from the military commandant, to dispatch his majesty at once in the event of an attempt to rescue him from his captivity, and from the doom he had wantonly brought down upon himself and his unfortunate race. The stringency of this extreme order was partly necessitated by the gradually perceptible assurance of many of the natives, who began to exchange their tone of obsequious servility for that of insolent indifference, if not defiance. It was publicly asserted among them that reverses had occurred which crippled the British resources, and that the native troops would, in a short time, recover Delhi from its infidel captors; that the events at Lucknow were falsely reported in favour of the British, who, in fact, had been there signally defeated; and that the time was fast approaching, when the Mogul city would be again, and for ever, freed from the pollution of the Feringhee *raj*. It was probably with a view to show the unconcern with which these reports were received, that an opportunity was seized to exhibit as well the power as the generosity of the British government, under the following circumstances.

A rissaldar of the irregular native cavalry, named Hidayut Ali, was, at the period of the outbreak in May, on leave at his native village, Mahonah, in the Goorgaon district; and while there, thirty-two fugitives, consisting of men, women, and children, who had escaped from Bhurtpore, reached the village. The rissaldar received the whole of them into his house—treated them with kindness, supplied them with clothes, and for eight days provided for them a separate and liberal table. When, at length, messengers arrived from Delhi to tell him it was known that he had Europeans under his protection, and that the king's troops would be sent against him, and to bring the Kaffirs to Delhi, the man raised a force of the villagers, who appear to have been attached to him, and who, for his sake, escorted the fugitives to the extreme limit of the district under his influence, and placed them in safety; where they remained until preparations had been matured for their further progress towards a European station. This was accordingly effected, and the whole party reached Agra in safety during the month of June, 1857. For this loyal and meritorious conduct, it was considered proper by the government that a public avowal of its approbation should be made by the chief commissioner at Delhi; who, accordingly, on the 21st of April, 1858, held a grand durbar, at the residency, which was attended by a large assembly of Punjabees, Ghoorkas, Hindostanees, and Europeans, in the presence of whom the rissaldar was addressed by the commissioner in terms of unqualified encomium of his fidelity and gallantry. He was then, in the name of the government, presented with a sword of honour, valued at 1,000 rupees, and also with a sunnud, under the signature of the governor-general in council, conveying to him, and to his heirs for ever, in free jaghire, his native village of Mahonah, the annual revenue of which, at the time, amounted to 5,400 rupees.

A less agreeable spectacle was shortly afterwards afforded to the inhabitants of the city, in the execution, by hanging, of the king's soothsayer, Hussun Ushkurie, on the 29th of May, for his connection with the outbreak of the previous year. As no one of particular note had recently been executed in front of the Khotwallee, the circumstance occasioned a large gathering of the native population, who looked on in silent wonder, that so powerful a man as the king's soothsayer, who had given ten years of his own existence for the prolongation of that of the king to a like extent, should not be able to deliver himself from the hands of the Kaffirs.

A test of the improved and settled state of the district governed by Sir John Lawrence, was supplied by the fact, that the customs' collection for the month of July, 1858, amounted to 6,557,800 rupees; being an increase of the same collection over that of July, 1855, of 58,993 rupees; and for that of 1856, of 59,245. For the month of July, 1857, there was no collection of revenue whatever in the city and district around Delhi.

The amount of prize-money reported in October, 1858, for the capture of Delhi, reached to twenty-eight lacs of rupees, or £280,000 sterling; but its appropriation had not yet been finally decided upon. The famous crystal block and marble platform, which adorned the Dewas Khan, or principal hall of audience, in the Mogul palace, were forwarded to Calcutta for transmission to England; and the crown and jewels of

the ex-king, with those of his family, were also transmitted to the Indian metropolis, to augment the prize fund by their sale.

Before closing the present chapter, it will be proper to refer briefly to the operations of the troops dispatched in various directions from Delhi, in pursuit of the discomfited and fugitive rebels. Of the proceedings of the column under Brigadier Greathed, mention has already been made;* and it will be remembered, that Brigadier Showers, with a force under his command, also left Delhi on the 23rd of September, for a special purpose near the tombs in the vicinity of the city; and that the object having been accomplished,† the brigadier returned to the capital, where he remained until the 1st of October, when he was again dispatched, with a column of considerable strength, to operate in the adjacent districts west and north-west of Delhi. The purposes for which this force was put in motion were also effectually accomplished, and it returned to headquarters on the 9th of the ensuing month, having, in the course of its march out and home, taken four important forts, burnt many obnoxious villages, and captured, besides the rajahs of Jhujjur and Babulghur, about seventy guns and eight lacs of rupees, with a vast quantity of ammunition, and many horses. Three days after the return of this force, upon receipt of news from Rewaree (a town about forty-seven miles south-west of Delhi), another column was formed under Colonel Gerrard, of the 14th native infantry, for service in that direction. This force consisted of the 1st fusiliers and Sikh infantry, with some carabiniers, guides, and artillery, joined by parties of irregular Cashmerians, Mooltanees, and others. With this miscellaneous gathering Colonel Gerrard marched to Rewaree, and from thence to the town of Narnol in Jhujjur, where a rebel chief, Sunnund Khan (a relative of the rajah already made prisoner by Brigadier Showers), had taken post with a strong party of the Joudpore mutineers. Colonel Gerrard immediately charged the enemy with his cavalry, and drove them into a fortified serai in the town, which, after a severe but brief struggle, was carried by the infantry. In this affair one officer only fell; but that one, unfortunately, was the commander, Colonel Gerrard. Among the slain on the part of the rebels, was also the chief in command, Sunnund Khan.

Early in November, another column, under the orders of Colonel Seaton, marched from Delhi in a south-eastern direction, between the Jumna and the Ganges, clearing the road of small detached parties of the enemy as it advanced; and, on the 13th of December, it arrived at Gangheree, a large village on the Kalee Nuddee, twenty-four miles from Allygurh, where a small force from Bolundshuhur, under Colonel Farquhar, had just previously halted. The rebels, who were in great force in the neighbourhood, had received information of the arrival of Colonel Farquhar's party, but appear to have been ignorant of its junction with that of Colonel Seaton, which consisted of between three and four thousand men, a large proportion of which were cavalry. The united force had scarcely been encamped two hours, when a strong body of the enemy's cavalry appeared in front of it, making demonstrations of an intention to attack the position, and commenced a heavy fire from two 6-pounders and a 9-pounder. Without waiting an instant, the carabiniers and Hodson's horse, with some artillery, advanced towards the rebels, and dashing in amongst their ranks, overthrew and cut down numbers of them; the carabiniers then charged the guns. As they approached, three charges of grape were poured into them at a hundred and fifty yards' distance, which told fearfully; but, without hesitating, the gallant fellows rode on, charged home, sabred the gunners, and took the guns. In this affair the enemy lost, in killed alone, between four and five hundred. The carabiniers lost twenty-five horses out of seventy, and the other cavalry in a nearly equal proportion. The loss of the British, in men, was reported at twelve killed and fifty wounded.

On the following day Colonel Seaton pursued his march towards Futteghur, about three miles from Furruckabad;‡ and, on

* See *ante*, p. 60. † See *ante*, p. 58.

‡ Furruckabad (Happy Abode) is the capital of a small district of the Doab, similarly named, and is situated at a short distance from the Ganges, about 135 miles south-east of Delhi. The town, which was founded by a Patan colony, some 150 years since, is surrounded by a strong wall, and in its time has been one of the principal seats of commerce for Upper Hindostan. The buildings generally are commodious, and even elegant; and its streets are of good width, and well shaded with fine trees. For its flourishing condition of late years, it has been chiefly indebted to the neighbourhood of the British cantonments at Futteghur (the Fort of Victory), about three miles to the south-east of the town. In 1805, the Mahrattas, under Holkar, amounting to

the 18th, came up with the enemy at Putteeala—a town about sixty miles north-west of the place first named. When about three miles from their position, the force was halted and the line formed, having the horse artillery on either flank, and the cavalry on the right and rear. Colonel Seaton then advanced: as he came on, the enemy opened fire from a battery of twelve guns, which they had formed in front of the town. The British artillery replied; and, under cover of its fire, the infantry advanced; but it was no part of the rebel tactics to wait for a close acquaintance with the approaching line of bayonets, when brought down to the charge: their artillery ceased to fire, and in a moment the whole force turned and fled. The English cavalry and artillery then dashed on with a cheer, and completed the rout of the enemy, whose guns, standing camp, ammunition, and supplies were all captured, and between seven and eight hundred men were killed. The rebels, on this occasion, were commanded by Ahmed Yer Khan and Mohson Ally, two Mohammedan zemindars, whom the nawab had appointed lieutenant-governors of the eastern and western districts of Futteghur, and who were amongst the first to fly from the field. One of their subordinate officers was, however, not sufficiently active to escape, and falling into the hands of the victors alive, was presently tried by drumhead court-martial, and condemned to be shot as a traitor. In this action the British loss was merely nominal.

While halting for the necessary rest of the troops, the column was joined by a small force from the garrison at Agra, under Major Eld, and the march was resumed, clearing the district towards Etawah and Mynpoorie. The self-ennobled personage who styled himself rajah of the latter place, and who had fled at the approach of Greathed's column in October,* afterwards returned to his capital, and expelled the officials left there by the brigadier; and again had managed to collect a formidable band of rebels (troops and budmashes) around him, although his palace was destroyed, and his treasury and jewels carried off. The punishment unavoidably deferred in October was now to be inflicted.

On the 27th of December, Colonel Seaton once more came within reach of the enemy, who were favourably posted behind a tope, about a mile from Mynpoorie, and there appeared disposed to await his attack. He at once made the necessary arrangements, and commenced operations with a rapid discharge of his light guns, which was promptly replied to by the rebel artillery. The colonel then ordered his cavalry round to the right of the enemy's position, to attack his flank. While this movement was being carried out, the infantry, led by Major Eld, deployed into line, and advanced at the charge upon the enemy's right. As the troops marched forward, a sharp fire was kept up by the artillery of both forces; but again, at the first flash of the English bayonets, as the bright steel gleamed in the morning sunlight, the rebels turned and fled! A rapid and precise fire from the artillery and rifles, told with terrible effect upon the flying host; and the cavalry, which had now cleared the tope and reached the open ground, dashed off in pursuit of the fugitives, and cut them down without resistance, along a distance of seven miles. Here again the rout was complete, and six guns fell into the hands of the victors. The loss to the enemy upon this occasion was estimated at from 250 to 300 men. Colonel Seaton, being thus master of the position, advanced upon Mynpoorie, which he took possession of without further resistance; but the self-styled rajah had, as on the former occasion, secured his own safety by a timely flight. The following telegram announced the occupation of the town by Colonel Seaton's force:—

"Mynpoorie, Dec. 27th, 3 P.M.

"Found the enemy this morning posted behind some high trees, a mile west of the city. He opened with four guns as I advanced. The horse artillery guns made a detour to the right, supported by cavalry, the heavy guns and infantry following. The enemy, finding himself cut off, soon began to retreat. Took all his guns, and cut up 250. As yet, none reported killed on our side."

The victory at Putteeala had cleared the road to Futteghur; and by the successful movement on Mynpoorie, Colonel Seaton was enabled to open communications with the commander-in-chief, and await his further orders for operations in the Doab.

20,000 men, were signally defeated by General Lake, in a conflict under the walls of Furruckabad, when 3,000 Mahrattas were cut to pieces, and the rest of the enormous army only escaped by the superior fleetness of their horses.

* See *ante*, p. 72.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GWALIOR CONTINGENT; FIDELITY OF SCINDIA; DEFECTION OF HIS TROOPS; ADVANCE ON CAWNPORE ATTACKED BY GENERAL WINDHAM AT BHOWSEE; THE BRITISH POSITION ATTACKED; RETREAT OF THE TROOPS; THE ENGLISH CAMP ABANDONED; CORRESPONDENCE; THE CAPSIZED GUN; A MIDNIGHT COUNCIL; ARRANGEMENTS FOR ACTION OF 28TH NOVEMBER; BATTLE OF CAWNPORE; DEATH OF BRIGADIER WILSON; DEFEAT OF THE BRITISH TROOPS; DIARY OF EVENTS; CORRESPONDENCE; ARRIVAL OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AND THE CONVOY FROM LUCKNOW; GENERAL CARTHEW'S REPORT; STATE OF WINDHAM'S TROOPS; REPORT OF GENERAL WINDHAM; PUBLIC OPINION THEREON; AN AFTER-THOUGHT; COMMENCEMENT OF DECEMBER AT CAWNPORE; TOPOGRAPHY OF THE CITY AND ENVIRONS; POSITIONS OF THE ADVERSE FORCES; ACTION OF 6TH DECEMBER; DEFEAT AND FLIGHT OF THE REBELS; DESPATCHES FROM THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AND GENERAL MANSFIELD; PURSUIT OF FUGITIVE REBELS; REPORT OF BRIGADIER GRANT AT SERAI-GHAT; RESULT OF OPERATIONS AT CAWNPORE IN DECEMBER.

THE defection of some portions of the troops composing the Gwalior contingent of the Maharajah Scindia, on the 14th of June and the 4th of July, 1857, has already been noticed;* and it is now necessary to trace the proceedings of the remainder of that force, before we advert to the operations of the army under the command of Sir Colin Campbell, after his return to Cawnpore in November.

The position of Scindia had been, from a very early period of the disturbances, one that called for the exercise of a vast amount of firmness and sagacity. At the commencement of the outbreak the maharajah was but twenty-three years of age; but, from the completion of his eighteenth year, he had displayed high qualifications for the government of his country, which had greatly benefited by his rule; and, at the same time, he had secured the respect of the British authorities in India, as well by his unswerving friendship as by his prudent and dignified conduct. It was not therefore surprising, when the hour of trial arrived, and his sincerity was tested, that it should be found the confidence reposed in him had been worthily bestowed. The revolt of the native army of Bengal against the authority of the Company, with whom he was upon terms of strict amity, naturally placed Scindia in a position of great embarrassment between the British government on the one hand, and the troops of his contingent on the other. This force, which he was bound by treaty to maintain for the service of the Company, consisted chiefly of men gathered from different parts of Hindostan proper, and from Oude; who very early exhibited their sympathy with the aspirations for independence, and revenge, of their fellow-countrymen on the Jumna and the Ganges. His own personal army consisted chiefly of Mahrattas—a race hitherto proved to be rancorously hostile to the Hindoos, and therefore not likely to be influenced by any considerations on their behalf; but yet, in a general struggle with the Feringhee for the restoration of the Mogul dynasty to the throne of Hindostan, it became impossible to foresee how long the antipathy of races would be able to resist the influence of a combined effort in favour of an independent native sovereignty.

From the time of the defection of a part of the contingent force in June, 1857, nothing but the most strenuous exertions and unremitting vigilance on the part of Scindia, had kept the disaffected portion of the remainder from joining the rebel force at Delhi. These were, however, kept harmless by the firm yet conciliatory policy of their ruler, who himself continued to be their paymaster, and, to a certain extent, ensured their fidelity by keeping their pay slightly in arrear. During July and August, occasional desertions were reported; and some minor detachments at isolated stations, marched off to join the insurgents; but the main body still exhibited an appearance of subordination and fidelity. At length, the mutineers of Holkar's contingent, from Indore, arrived in the vicinity of Gwalior, and the effect of their association with the troops of Scindia soon became apparent in the disturbed state of the contingent. Many of the men belonging to the latter were now seduced from their allegiance; and at length, on the 5th of September, a considerable body of them deserted, taking with them seven guns and a large quantity of ammunition. Two days afterwards, the native officers of the contingent

* Vol. i., pp. 417—546.

waited upon the maharajah, and announced the determination of the whole of the remaining force to join their brethren in arms against the English *raj;* and demanded of his highness their arrears of pay, with food and conveyance either to Agra or Cawnpore. Circumstances now assumed a serious aspect at Gwalior, and, after some unavoidable delay, the state of affairs was reported to the governor-general by telegraph from Mhow, in the following message:—

"Mhow, September 28th, 1857.

"Scindia, on the 7th, was insolently pressed by the contingent mutineers of Gwalior, for pay, for carriages, and for a leader to head them on a march to Agra. Scindia refused; but found it advisable to place eleven guns in position, and to intrench. On the 7th, the Mhow and Indore rebels were at the Chumbul, where they had collected fifteen boats, and, on the 8th, were crossing baggage. On the 9th, the contingent mutineers advanced guns out of Mora, raised religious standard of Hindoo Islam, and fired a salute of twenty-two guns. They seized carriage from neighbouring villages."

To the demands of the mutinous contingent, Scindia returned an immediate and decided refusal; and, during the excitement that followed among the men, apprehensions for the personal safety of the maharajah himself were more than once entertained. Fortunately, the greater portion of his Mahrattas continued faithful to their prince; and the chiefs and landowners of the neighbouring districts having tendered him the assistance of their retainers, the gathering storm passed over for a short time, and the troops, reassuming an appearance of fidelity, returned to their duty.

When the united body of Indore and Gwalior mutineers and traitors marched from the vicinity of the latter city on the 5th of September, they proceeded, as noticed in the telegram, towards the Chumbul, which river they crossed on the 8th, and took possession of the fort of Dholpore (about thirty miles distant from Agra), where they remained, supporting themselves by plundering the adjacent districts, until the end of the month, occupied in concerting a plan of attack upon Agra, which they attempted to carry into effect on the 10th of October, with the result already described.*

At length, on the 15th of October, the whole of the remaining troops of the Gwalior contingent, with a number of the Mahrattas, consisting altogether of six regiments, four batteries, and a siege-train, rose in open mutiny, again hoisted the standard of rebellion, and, without offering any injury to Scindia or the inhabitants of his capital, marched from their cantonments, and took the direction of Jaloun—a large town of Bundelcund, about twenty-five miles west of Calpee; in the neighbourhood of which place they encamped, and remained during the rest of the month, without attempting any offensive movement except against the local authorities, but gathering reinforcements and supplies from various quarters. On the 11th of November, a column of the mutinous force, consisting of 3,000 men, with eight guns, was pushed on to Calpee (about forty-five miles south-west of Cawnpore), where it remained in readiness to cross the Jumna. Here the advanced column was gradually augmented by the reserve from Jaloun, and by a large body of rebellious troops from Banda and other disturbed districts; and at length, on the 21st of November, the whole force, amounting to 20,000 men, with thirty-eight pieces of cannon, commenced crossing the river preparatory to an attack on Cawnpore.

The importance of this place as a central point of strategy, was obvious to the commanders of both forces. On the north side of it, and merely divided by the river, lay the kingdom of Oude, with its capital, Lucknow—so important in relation to the occupancy of the surrounding territory; on the south-east was the city of Allahabad, commanding the great line of route for troops from Calcutta; on the north-west, Agra and Delhi lay on the direct route from the Punjab; while, on the south and south-west, were the roads along which armies could approach from the two southern presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The possession of Cawnpore was therefore of the utmost importance to either party; and Sir Colin Campbell had directed his attention to the maintenance of that position previous to his departure for the relief of Lucknow; its safety being entrusted to General Windham, whose gallantry at the Redan, before Sebastopol, had won for him an imperishable celebrity—the instructions given to him by the commander-in-chief being, to remain quiet in his position unless attacked, and to keep the communication safely open

* See *ante*, p. 62.

from Lucknow, *viâ* Cawnpore, to Allahabad.

The movements of the Gwalior and Indore troops were, from time to time, reported to General Windham by spies; and, about the middle of November, he learned that the rebel force, with a formidable park of artillery, had arrived within twenty miles of Cawnpore. The troops under the command of General Windham, comprising about 2,000 men, at this time occupied an intrenched position or fort in the south-eastern suburb of the city, at no great distance from the intrenchment formerly held by Sir Hugh Wheeler. The position was close to the Ganges, and completely covered the bridge of boats which communicated with the Lucknow-road; but unfortunately for the immediate exigency, occasioned by the advance of the rebel force, the city of Cawnpore lay directly between the position held by the general and the Calpee-road, by which the enemy approached. It became necessary, therefore, by a speedy movement, to secure a point of defence against an attack from the threatened quarter, which should place the town in his rear, and check the approach of the rebels before they reached it. Leaving, accordingly, a portion of his troops to protect the intrenchment and bridge, he proceeded with the remainder to Dhuboulee, a village on the north-west of Cawnpore, on the Calpee-road, where he took up a position, having the Ganges terminal branch canal in his front, and the road and canal bridge at a short distance from his left flank.

On the 25th of November, the enemy was reported to be in force within fifteen miles from Cawnpore; and General Windham determined to arrest their further progress while yet at a distance from the city left to his protection. At three o'clock, therefore, on the morning of the 26th, he marched from his new position at Dhuboulee to encounter the rebel force, leaving his camp-equipage and baggage under guard, and having with him about 1,200 infantry, consisting of portions of the 34th, 82nd, 88th, and rifles, a hundred mounted sowars, and eight guns. Having advanced between eight and nine miles on the Calpee-road, the troops arrived at Bhowsee, near the Pandoo Nuddee, on the opposite side of which the enemy was found strongly posted. The British force advanced to the attack with a line of skirmishers along its whole front, having supports on each flank, and a reserve in the centre. The enemy opened a heavy fire of artillery from field and siege guns; but the English troops carried the position with a rush, cheering as they went; and a village, half a mile in the rear of the enemy, was speedily cleared. The mutineers then broke from their ranks, and took to a disorderly flight, leaving behind them two howitzers and a gun. Upon reaching a height on the opposite side of the village, in pursuit of the flying enemy, it was discovered that the main body of the rebel force was close at hand; the troops engaged being only the leading division. To invite an attack by this overwhelming force, was deemed likely to endanger the safety of the city; and General Windham, upon consideration, resolved to return to Cawnpore, towards which he was closely followed by the enemy, until he reached the bridge over the canal; and thus leaving the position he had occupied in the morning in his rear, he encamped for the night on the Jewee plain, at a short distance from the north-western angle of the city; but keeping the latter between his force and the intrenched fort near the bridge of boats on the Ganges.

On the following day (the 27th), the enemy, who had advanced in great strength during the night, commenced a spirited attack upon the British force, with an overwhelming discharge from their heavy guns. The attack was sudden, and did not appear to have been anticipated by the general, who speedily found himself threatened on all sides, and very seriously assailed on his front and right flank; but, in spite of the heavy bombardment which continued without intermission during five hours, the troops held their ground, and so far prevented the direct advance of the enemy. At length, the pertinacity of the attacks upon his front and flanks, induced General Windham to ascertain personally what might be doing in his rear; and there, to his surprise and mortification, he found that the enemy, by turning his flank, had penetrated into the town, and at that moment were attacking his intrenched position near the river. An order to retire to the fort was immediately given to the troops, and it was obeyed with such an unusual celerity that a great portion of the camp-equipage and baggage was left to the mercy of the enemy. This booty was of course eagerly seized; and among other valuable property, some 500 tents, besides

saddlery, harness, and camp requisites of all kinds, fed the bonfires that were lighted that night to announce the advantage gained by the rebel army.

The intrenched fort was eventually reached by General Windham's troops, and the protection requisite for the passage over the Ganges was happily continued. For that night the troops remained strictly on the defensive.

Bitter, indeed, was the mortification with which the survivors of this unfortunate day contemplated the disastrous occurrences that had signalised it. One private letter from an officer says—"You will read the account of this day's fighting with astonishment; for it tells how English troops, with their trophies, and their mottoes, and their far-famed bravery, were repulsed, and lost their camp, their baggage, and their position, to the scouted and despised natives of India! The beaten Feringhees, as the enemy has now a right to call them, have retreated to their intrenchments, amid overturned tents, pillaged baggage, men's kits, fleeing camels, elephants, horses, and servants! All this is most melancholy and disgraceful."—Another officer, who has given his notes in the shape of a diary, affords a vivid idea of the occurrences of the 27th and 28th of November, in the following passages. It should be observed that the writer was the bearer of an important message to General Windham, and had arrived at Cawnpore, from Futtehpore, with a detachment of rifles, on the very day of the repulse of Windham's troops. He says—"The twelve o'clock gun *struck* as I reached the intrenchment, and this was followed by a general cannonade. General Windham had gone out to meet the enemy, and I was directed to Brigadier Wilson, as commanding officer in the intrenchment. When I had delivered my message, he sent for Captain Morphy, the brigade-major, to whom I repeated it. I then went to the hotel, where I took up my quarters; and as I sat in the verandah, after a comfortable breakfast, a dhooly passed, having a man within it, whose head had just been shattered by a ball: it was a horrid spectacle that, my first glimpse of military glory! The roar of artillery and the sharp crack of rifles continued; and I proceeded to the gate of the fort to inquire why my baggage had not been sent up to my quarters. Between the hotel and the fort, the garrison provost, who was my guide, showed me the house and verandah bespattered with blood, where the ladies and children were murdered by order of Nana Sahib; the tree against which the children were dashed; and the hideous well, now closed up, into which the mutilated and reeking bodies were thrown. On arriving at the gate of the fort, I found that the people, civil and military, were rushing into it from their houses and tents, with whatever clothes and articles of value they could snatch up. I had ordered my gharry-waggon into the fort; but the driver went away with the horse, and I saw him no more. He, however, left the vehicle.

"3.20 P.M.—Saw our troops retreating into the outer intrenchment. A regular panic followed. Trains of elephants, camels, horses, bullock-waggons, and coolies, came in at the principal gate, laden with stuff. The principal buildings in the fort are the general hospital, the sailors' hospital, the post-office, and the commissariat cellars. Around these houses, which are scattered, crowds of camels, bullocks, and horses were collected, fastened by ropes to stakes in the ground; and, among the animals, piles of trunks, beds, chairs, and miscellaneous furniture and baggage. There was scarcely room to move. The fort may cover three or four acres, I should say. Met one of the chaplains hastening into the intrenchment. He had left everything in his tent outside. The servants almost everywhere abandoned their masters when they heard the guns. Mounted officers were galloping across the rough ground between the inner and outer intrenchments, and dhooly after dhooly, with its red curtains down, concealing some poor victim, passed on to the hospitals. The poor fellows were brought in, shot, cut, shattered, and wounded in every imaginable way; and as they went by, raw stumps might be seen hanging over the sides of the dhoolies, literally like torn butcher-meat. The agonies which I saw some of them endure during the surgical operations, were such as no tongue or pen can describe. The surgeons, who did their utmost, were so overworked, that many sufferers lay bleeding for hours before it was possible to attend to them. Here and there, both outside the hospitals and within them, a man lay on his bloody litter breathing out his life. The groans and cries were heartrending. I saw one sailor carried in a litter on the shoulders of four men; he was severely wounded, but kept up his

spirits amazingly, and spoke to his comrades as he passed, quite jocularly.

"But I must be brief, else I shall lose the mail. The retreat is thus explained. General Windham, who repulsed the enemy yesterday, went out to-day about noon to attack the three divisions of the Gwalior rebels under Nana Sahib. Windham was routed, I regret to say, and lost his camp, with 500 tents, the mess plate of four regiments, no end of tents, saddlery and harness in an unfinished state, and, it is said, private property valued at £50,000. He left his flank exposed, and made no provision for the safety of his camp. This has been a most disastrous affair. Felt the want of something to eat in the evening, but could procure only some biscuit from the commissariat. Slept in my waggon."

During the hasty retreat of the 27th, one of the guns was unluckily capsized in a narrow street of the city. It was not thought prudent at the time to retard the flight of the troops to the intrenchment, by staying to get it again upon its wheels; but at night, 100 men of the 64th regiment were ordered to assist some men of the naval brigade in their endeavour to secure the gun. This was a delicate task in the midst of a city crowded with the enemy; but it was accomplished; and the occurrence is thus described by an officer of the naval brigade engaged in the affair:—

"We marched off, under the guidance of a native, who said he would take us to the spot where the gun lay. We told him he should be well rewarded if he brought us to the gun; but if he brought us into a trap, we had a soldier by him 'at full cock,' ready to blow his brains out. We passed our outside pickets, and entered the town through very narrow streets, without a single nigger being seen, or a shot fired on either side. We crept along; not a soul spoke a word—all was as still as death; and after marching in this way into the very heart of the town, our guide brought us to the spot where our gun was capsized. The soldiers were posted on each side, and then we went to work. Not a man spoke above his breath, and each stone was laid down quietly. When we thought we had cleared enough, I ordered the men to put their shoulders to the wheels and gun; and when all was ready, and every man had his pound before him, I said, 'Heave!' and up she righted. We then limbered up, called the soldiers to follow, and we marched into the intrenchment with our gun without a shot being fired. When we got in, the colonel returned us his best thanks, and gave us all an extra ration of grog. We then returned to our guns in the battery."

While this interesting night episode was progressing in the very heart of the enemy's position, General Windham and his superior officers were engaged in consultation as to the means by which to avert the mischief that had gathered around them. Had it been possible to obtain reliable information concerning the position of the enemy's artillery, a night attack would have been resorted to; but as no such information could be obtained, it was resolved to defer operations till the morrow. Accordingly, early on the morning of the 28th of November, the force, divided into four sections, was thus distributed:—One, under Colonel Walpole, was ordered to defend the advanced portions of the town on the left side of the canal; a second, under Brigadier Wilson, was to hold the intrenchment, and establish a strong picket on the extreme right; a third, under Brigadier Carthew, to hold the Bithoor-road, in advance of the intrenchment, receiving support, if necessary, from the picket there; and the fourth, under General Windham himself, was to defend the portion of the town nearest the Ganges, on the left of the canal, and support Colonel Walpole, if requisite. These arrangements were specially intended to protect the intrenchment and the bridge of boats—so vitally important in connection with the operations of the commander-in-chief in Oude; but the position of the whole was to be purely defensive.

By the time the troops had taken the positions assigned to them, the enemy came on in great strength, and a severe struggle ensued. The Gwalior mutineers had been joined by another force, led by Nana Sahib in person, and by a third, commanded by his brother Bhola Sahib; and altogether, the insurgent army numbered about 21,000 men, besides an immense train of budmashes and Goojurs in quest of plunder. This armament marched unmolested over the ground that had been occupied, or traversed, by the British troops on the preceding day, and reached the vicinity of the intrenchment without encountering any opposition. Colonel Walpole's division, on the left, was the first met with: his men sustained the onslaught of the rebels with great firmness, and, after some hard fighting, drove them

back with a tremendous sacrifice of life: no prisoners were taken; and it was only by this division that any perceptible advantage was gained. Being ably seconded by Colonels Woodford and Watson, and Captain Green, Colonel Walpole not only repulsed the enemy, but also captured two of his 18-pounder guns. Brigadier Carthew, who struggled throughout the day against a formidable body of the enemy, was at length compelled to retire from his position as the evening drew on—a movement which incurred the dissatisfaction of the commander-in-chief, when the brigade report was laid before him. Brigadier Wilson, who was eager to render service at the point so hardly pressed, led his section of troops, chiefly consisting of the 64th regiment, against four guns, which had been placed by the rebels in front of Carthew's position. In the face of the enemy, and under a murderous fire from their guns, the veteran officer and his gallant men advanced for more than half a mile up a ravine, commanded by high ground in front, as well as on both sides; and, from a ridge which crowned the front, the four 9-pounders played upon them with terrible effect. Nothing daunted, they rushed forward, and had nearly reached the battery, when they were met by a large force of the enemy, till then concealed in a bend of the ravine. With such odds to encounter, further progress was impossible, and the troops were compelled to retreat, the officers falling at almost every step. Brigadier Wilson, Major Stirling, and Captains Macrae and Morphy, fell in this unfortunate affair, which was a repulse in every sense of the term. The surviving troops retired to the intrenchment; and, on the night of the 28th of November, the mutineers revelled as victors in the city of Cawnpore. Everything in the place that had belonged to the British troops or native Christians, was now at their mercy; and among the booty thus acquired, were 10,000 rounds of Enfield cartridges, the mess plate of four of the Queen's regiments, the paymaster's chests, and a large amount of miscellaneous property.

The diary to which reference has already been made, affords some interesting details of this disastrous affair of the 28th. The writer commences thus:—

"Saturday, November 28th.

"9.40 A.M.—Heavy firing on our right.

"9.50 A.M.—Heavy firing on our left.

"11.15 A.M.—Brigadier Wilson has been carried into his tent mortally wounded, shot through the back and left lung. He lived for two hours, and then calmly sunk to his rest. His last moments proved him to be a hero and a Christian. The chaplain remained with him till he died.

"The conduct of the 64th regiment this morning has justly excited admiration. Brigadier Wilson asked General Windham to allow him to charge the enemy with the 64th, of which he was colonel. Permission was granted. The regiment advanced in the face of the enemy, and under a murderous fire, for more than half a mile, up a ravine commanded by high ground in front, as well as on the right and left. From the ridge in front four 9-pounders played upon them as they went forward. The left flank of the Gwalior rebels rested on the Ganges, and their guns were protected by dense columns of troops, who lay under cover, and were strongly supported by cavalry on their left. After disputing every inch of the ground, their front line was driven back by the steady and determined fire of the 64th. It then appeared, that overwhelming numbers of the hostile force lay concealed in three or four parallels behind. These rose and met the 64th as soon as the foremost officers (Major Stirling, Captain Saunders, Captain Morphy, Captain Macrae, Lieutenant Parsons, Lieutenant O'Grady, and others) reached the crest of the ridge, and charged upon the guns, followed by the column. Major Stirling fell gloriously in front of the battery, fighting hand-to-hand with the enemy, of whom he killed several. Captain Morphy was shot through the heart, and seemed to bound from his saddle, falling heavily upon his head. Captain Macrae also met his fate like a soldier, with his face to the foe. Captain Saunders, commanding the leading division, dashed forward, followed by Parsons and O'Grady. Parsons instantly received a severe wound in his sword arm. O'Grady cheered the men on, waving his cap in the air, until he had the honour of laying his hand on one of the guns. The regiment took up the cheer, and hurried on to the support of Saunders and O'Grady, now fiercely engaged in personal conflict with the Gwaliors. The fine old brigadier (whose horse, wounded in two places, carried him with difficulty over the rough ground) was pushing on with all possible speed to the front, shouting, 'Now, boys, you have them!' when he received his mortal wound. As he

was unable to keep his seat in the saddle, some of his brave fellows carried him to the rear, while he continued to urge the troops to maintain the honour of the corps. At this juncture the enemy fell back on their reserve, which lay concealed in the parallels behind. Then occurred one of those blunders which neutralise the effect of the bravest actions. Two of our own guns opened fire on the 64th regiment from the left; and, at the same instant, the enemy's cavalry, together with the overwhelming force of infantry in front, poured down upon the right, and compelled our troops to retire. Strange to say, Captain Saunders, and, I believe, Lieutenant O'Grady, escaped unhurt. After the death of Brigadier Wilson and Major Stirling, Captain Saunders became the senior officer present; and his conspicuous gallantry to-day deserves not only honourable mention, but such reward as a soldier covets. The hospital to-day is a perfect aceldama."

An officer of the 64th regiment, describing the incidents of the day, writes thus:—"We had to turn out about two in the morning to occupy the Baptist chapel, which is situated a short distance to the north of the intrenchment, and we thought to have had a quiet day; but just after breakfast-time, crack went the rifles in front, and, in about ten minutes, the enemy's shot, shell, and grape, came pitching into and over the place in fine style. However, no one was hit, as we had excellent cover. We soon got tired of it, however; and, to our delight, we perceived a reinforcement of the 34th coming up the road. So we 'fell-in' in front of them, and marched down the road for about half a mile, when we suddenly came upon the enemy's battery, in a most formidable position. Of course, the instant they perceived us, a storm of grape, shot, shell, &c., opened upon us. The brigadier gave the word to charge, and 'at 'em' we went; but sadly reckoned without our host. You will imagine what a fire we were exposed to when I tell you that we went in fourteen officers and 160 men: of the former, seven were killed directly, and two wounded; of the latter, only eighteen killed and fifteen wounded—so the officers were evidently picked out. We fought at the guns for about ten minutes. Two were spiked—one by Major Stirling, who rushed up to it sword in hand. The native gunners rushed at us in the most ferocious manner, cutting with their swords and throwing bricks. By the latter, Captain Bowlby and I were knocked down together, but jumped up again directly, when the devils came at us again with swords and shields. I fired my pistol at one fellow, and I suppose I hit him, for he did not come on. Brigadier Wilson was killed. I was just behind him when his horse was struck by two balls. He was afterwards shot through the body. However, we were regularly beaten off; and then commenced a most terrible retreat. The guns (six in number) and swarms of infantry poured in a withering fire. As I ran to the rear, officers and men were shot down within a yard of me; but I escaped by the greatest miracle. I ran by the brigadier's side until his horse was hit, which was about twenty yards from the muzzles, when I passed him. Directly an officer was down, the sepoys cut him to pieces with their tulwars. But fancy 160 men charging six guns and about 1,000 infantry! We were awfully blown in getting up to their position, as we had to cross a deep 'nullah,' and up the other side. I was one of the first 'fortunates' up—at least, all the officers were in front; but there could not have been more than fifty men with us. We had two guns in our possession for a few minutes; but our supports failed us, and then it was, 'Devil take the hindmost.' We have been under a hot fire now since the 26th. I am writing this from our outer trench, and the shot and shell are flying about from both sides. However, we are quite safe, and have not had a casualty since we entered the trenches. The sepoys occupy the adjacent ruins; and, as they run from one to the other, we pot them. They had done themselves up with bang yesterday, intending to rush at us with their swords; but the brutes failed after all. It was a dreadful sight to see the poor officers being cut up. They were all round me; but, by the greatest mercy, I was not touched. I lost my sword-belt, scabbard, pistol, and keys (which were attached to the scabbard.) Whether the whole apparatus was cut away by a shot or not, I don't know. Oh, I forgot to tell you that, in the first day's fight, I tumbled into a burning lime-kiln, but didn't get hurt a bit, although I lost one of my pistols. One of the poor fellows (Gibbons, 52nd), who was afterwards killed at the charge on the guns, rushed in after me; but I scrambled out

by myself. We caught a spy or sepoy th morning, and didn't we blow his brains out? I never could have believed that one could get so accustomed to firing; but I can assure you that one pays no more attention to 'whistling Dick' going by, than one would to a bit of paper. In the gun scrimmage my coat and sword were splashed all over with blood. These Gwaliors that we are fighting now, are some 20,000 strong, and the natives are joining them every day. They had forty guns or so at the beginning of the row; but now they have lost some to us. This trench business is harassing work. We have been four days and four nights without taking our things off. There is a ruined bungalow about 400 yards off, full of sepoys. The brutes sometimes fire into us in the middle of the night; and the general won't let us make a rush and drive them out. They shelled our hospital the other day, and, I believe, wounded some of the patients."

Great as the mortification inflicted upon General Windham, by the result of his operations on the 27th of November, had been, it was severely augmented by the defeat sustained by the troops under his command on the following day. The *prestige* of his name was obscured, and the vaunted invincibility of British soldiers became, for the moment, a subject for derision among the rebels, who exulted in their accidental triumph. Encouraged by success, and by the severe loss they had inflicted upon the English troops, the commanders of the insurgent forces panted for the morrow's sun that should light them to the new victory they anticipated, and which they intended to crown by the entire extermination of the whole British force in the intrenchment. Already were proclamations prepared, announcing to the inhabitants of Cawnpore, and the adjacent districts, the utter destruction of the Feringhee *raj*, and the restoration to independent sovereignty of the ancient dynasties of Hindoostan. The traitors, dazzled by the brilliancy of an unexpected triumph on two successive days, were blind to the approaching future; they knew not that the avenger was near, that succour was at hand, and that a terrible punishment was about to be inflicted upon them.

It has already been stated that the commander-in-chief, while on the road from Lucknow with the rescued garrison and families, had received intelligence from Cawnpore, which induced him to press forward in advance of the convoy, and that he reached the intrenchment during the evening of the 28th November,* and immediately assumed command of the force, now suffering under the double mortification of defeat and the loss of their camp-equipage and baggage; while the city of Cawnpore, which he had left but a few weeks previous, in the undisputed possession of British troops, was now entirely occupied by a rebel army, which, emboldened by success, was preparing to attack the position he had so opportunely reached. However much annoyed by the circumstances that surrounded him, Sir Colin Campbell's first consideration was for the preservation of the unfortunates whom he had already once rescued from imminent peril, and who were now closely approaching a new scene of danger, the passage over the Ganges being rendered painfully hazardous by the continued fire of the enemy, whose heavy guns had been directed upon the bridge of boats from daybreak of the 29th. To put an end to this annoyance, some heavy guns, under the command of Captain Peel and Captain Travers, of the artillery, took up a position on the left bank of the river; and by their vigorous and well-directed efforts, at length succeeded in keeping down the fire of the enemy.

The convoy had been halted shortly after dusk on the evening of the 28th, about three miles from the Ganges, with instructions to await an order to advance. Preparatory to that movement a column had been dispatched, under the command of Brigadier-general Grant, to secure and keep open the road from Cawnpore, through Futtehpore to Allahabad; and the remainder of the troops, under the personal command of Sir Colin Campbell, were so disposed as to present an effectual check to any movement of the enemy. These arrangements being complete, on the 29th, as soon as the evening had become sufficiently dark to veil the movement, the artillery park, the wounded, and the rescued families, were ordered to advance and file over the bridge; but it was not until six o'clock in the evening of the 30th, that the last cart of the convoy had cleared the passage over the river; the transport having occupied thirty continuous hours between its commencement and its close.

Again we may have recourse to the

* See *ante*, p. 98.

Diary for some interesting details of the events of Sunday, the 29th of November:—

"At dawn great guns began to play upon us. Soon afterwards the cannonade became general, and, by 7 A.M., it was something tremendous—shot and shell flying over us in all directions.

"8.30 A.M.—Good news! Sir Colin Campbell, with a strong reinforcement, and 470 women and children from Lucknow, are on the other side of the Ganges, which flows under the northern parapet of our intrenchment. The troops with the commander-in-chief, said to number 3,000, are much needed here to-day. Looking over the wall for an instant (it is not very safe to show one's head), I see two bodies of horsemen in advance, and an extended line of troops, elephants, camels, bullock-waggons, and camp-followers, stretching far away to the horizon. The banging of our own guns just at our ears is most deafening. Grape and round shot have been falling on the tree close to our tent. Some shells, I believe, have fallen on the hospital, which is, unfortunately, much exposed. Every square foot of the floor and verandah of the general hospital is covered with wounded officers and men.

"11.40 A.M.—Horse artillery, 9th lancers, 32nd, 53rd, and 93rd regiments have crossed the bridge of boats below our fort. Heartily glad to see the kilts, the plumes, and the tartan. May God defend, direct, and bless my brave countrymen! Such a Sunday! Two shells have just whizzed over our heads. 'Fall-in, 82nd!' is the cry. We hope the advance with fixed bayonets is now to be made, as the rebels are taking shelter under some ruined houses. The hotel is in flames.

"12 Noon.—Grape, round shot, and rifle bullets, rushing over us in slight showers. A round shot has crashed through the big tree beside us.

"1 P.M.—This is exciting. Another large round shot over our heads. They have not quite got our range. Fortunately, the parapet protects us in some degree. Bang! another over us! Again—again—again (a shell this time, and burst.) Our guns on the parapet are answering them, so that the earth trembles. A person has come into tent saying, 'We have killed loads of the enemy.' The more the better, we all think. The artillery is beautifully directed by Captain Dangerfield and others on the parapets.

"2.15 P.M.—The cannonade has paused for half-an-hour. I hear Lucknow soldiers and their old comrades exchanging greetings and congratulations in their rough but hearty style; and counting over the dead and the wounded of their acquaintance.

"2.35 P.M.—Cannonade commenced again. The rifles have not ceased all day. Colonel Fyers and his men have done good service. They went into action on Friday as soon as they reached Cawnpore, although they had marched forty-eight miles almost without halting, and some were lame, many footsore, and all weary. Their arrival seemed to be the means of saving the fort, when our other troops were in full retreat. Colonel Woodford, an excellent officer, with whom I came from Benares to Allahabad, was killed in a hand-to-hand fight in the field yesterday. The church, I am just informed, was burnt last night by the enemy; and the assembly-rooms and school have been burnt to-day. There is a dense column of smoke ascending from the town about half a mile off.

"4 P.M.—One of the ladies from Lucknow has come in, and M—— and I have given up the tent to her. She has a most touching story to tell, and she tells it most effectively. She gave us in half-an-hour what might be the substance of an interesting volume. She and her husband have lost their all.

"5.30 P.M.—The scene from the verandah of the general hospital is at this moment one never to be forgotten. A procession of human beings, cattle, and vehicles (six miles long), is coming up to the bridge of boats below the fort. It is just about sunset. The variety of colour in the sky and on the plain, the bright costumes and black faces of the native servants, the crowd of camels and horses, and the piles of furniture, and so forth, in the foreground at my feet (all seen between two pillars of this verandah, which is raised some eight or ten feet from the ground), produce a very remarkable effect. But the groans of the poor fellows on charpoys and on the floor, behind and around me, dissolve the fascination of the scene.

"Slept again in my waggon."

The operations of Brigadier Carthew, in the action of the 28th of November, are detailed in the following report from him to the deputy-adjutant-general:—

"Cawnpore, December 1, 1857.

"Sir,—I have the honour to submit, for the infor-

mation of Major-general Windham, commanding the Cawnpore division, the following report of my defence of the bridge and Bithoor-road, on the 28th ultimo.

"At daylight on the 28th of November, I proceeded, according to instructions, with her majesty's 34th regiment, two companies of her majesty's 82nd regiment, and four guns of Madras native artillery, to take up a position at the Racket-court; two companies of her majesty's 64th regiment having been placed in the Baptist chapel, to keep up communication with me. When within a few hundred yards of the Racket-court, I received instructions through the late Captain Macrae, that General Windham preferred the position of the previous evening being taken upon the bridge, and the Bithoor-road defended. I consequently retired, leaving a company of her majesty's 34th regiment to occupy the front line of broken-down native infantry huts, and another company in their support, in a brick building, about a hundred yards to their rear. I then detached a company of her majesty's 34th to the opposite side of the road across the plain, in a line with the above support, to occupy a vacant house, to man the garden walls, and the upstair verandah. These companies formed a strong position, and quite commanded the whole road towards the bridge. I halted at the bridge, with the remainder of the 34th and four guns, and barricaded the road, and placed two guns on the bridge. I then sent two companies of the 34th, under Lieutenant-colonel Simpson, to occupy the position he held the previous evening, to prevent the egress of the enemy from the town towards the intrenchments; also to defend the road from Allahabad. This picket I subsequently strengthened with two of my guns, which could not be worked on the bridge.

"A brisk fire was kept up by the enemy from their position against the native lines, on the advanced skirmishers and picket, and upon the bridge, by their guns (16-pounders), throughout the whole day. About mid-day, Captain Macrae conveyed instructions to me to proceed to the front, to attack the enemy's infantry and guns; that he was to convey the same instructions to her majesty's 64th regiment, and both parties to advance at the same time.

"Captain Macrae took with him, to strengthen the 64th, forty men of a company of her majesty's 82nd, which I had placed as a picket at the old commissariat compound, for the protection of the road leading from that direction to the intrenchment. I advanced with my two guns and a company of the 34th from the bridge, taking, as I advanced, the company stationed to my right in the upstair house, and the company in the broken huts, with its support, on my left.

"On advancing and clearing the front line of trees, I was desirous, and endeavoured, to push the whole of my party across the plain in front, to charge the enemy's guns; but as their infantry still occupied the broken ground of other huts, and my force without support, it could not be done. The enemy's guns were driven far to the rear by the fire of my two guns, after which my skirmishers, support, and right picket, took up their original positions, and I returned with the guns to the bridge. Shortly after this, the enemy's infantry were seen to be skirting along the edge of the town, with the evident intention of turning our flank, and of pouring a fire upon us from the houses on our left. Both picket and skirmishers applied for reinforcements, which I could not afford; but desired them to hold their positions as long as possible, and then fall back to the head of the bridge, which they did about five o'clock.

"The enemy were now increasing in large numbers on our left, occupying houses, garden-walls, and the church. A company was sent through the gardens to dislodge the enemy, and drive them from the church; but the enemy were strong enough in position to maintain, or rather to return to, their position. I then concentrated all my force on both flanks of the bridge, and with the guns kept up a heavy fire. The enemy now brought up a gun into the churchyard, which enfiladed the bridge at a distance not exceeding 150 yards, my own guns not being able to bear on their position. The enemy were still increasing, and working round to my rear by my left flank; I retired the guns about a hundred yards, so as to command the bridge and the road leading from the town.

"Officers and men were at this time falling fast around me. I applied for a reinforcement, but by the time they arrived night had set in, and I now considered it prudent to retire with the remainder of my force into the intrenchment, which was done with perfect regularity, the reinforcement of rifles protecting the rear.

"Although for some time earnestly advised to retire, I refrained from doing so, until I felt convinced that, from the increasing numbers of the enemy, the fatigue of the men after three days' hard fighting, and my own troops firing in the dark into each other, the position was no longer tenable, and that consequently it became my painful duty to retire.

"I beg to forward a return of the killed and wounded during the day.

"M. CARTHEW, Brigadier,
"Commanding Madras Troops."

The return showed three officers, and twelve non-commissioned officers and privates, killed; and ten officers, and sixty-five men, wounded. One private also was returned as missing.

The dissatisfaction of the commander-in-chief at Brigadier Carthew's conduct, was expressed in the following memorandum:—

"Head-quarters, Camp, Cawnpore,
"Dec. 9th, 1857.

"The commander-in-chief has had under consideration Brigadier Carthew's despatch, dated "Cawnpore, 3rd of December, 1857," addressed to the deputy assistant-adjutant-general, Cawnpore division. Although his excellency fully admits the arduous nature of the service on which Brigadier Carthew had been engaged during the 28th of November, he cannot record his approval of that officer's retreat on the evening of that day.

"Under the instructions of Major-general Windham, his commanding officer, Brigadier Carthew had been placed in position. No discretion of retiring was allowed to him. When he was pressed hard, he sent for reinforcements; which, as the commander-in-chief happened to be present when the request arrived, his excellency is aware, were immediately conducted to his relief by Major-general Windham in person. It would appear from Brigadier Carthew's letter of explanation, that he did not wait to see the effect of the reinforcements which had been brought to him; but, to the great astonishment of Major-

general Windham and his excellency, retired almost immediately after.

"With respect to these occurrences, his excellency feels it necessary to make two remarks. In the first place, no subordinate officer, when possessing easy means of communication with his immediate superior, is permitted, according to the principles and usages of war, to give up a post which has been entrusted to his charge, without a previous request for orders, after a representation might have been made that the post had become no longer tenable.

"Secondly. It might have occurred to Brigadier Carthew, that when Major-general Windham proceeded to reinforce the post, according to his just request, instead of ordering the garrison to retire, it was the opinion of the major-general that to hold it was an absolute necessity. His excellency refrains from remarking on the very serious consequences which ensued on the abandonment of the post in question.

"The night, which had arrived, was more favourable to the brigadier for the purpose of strengthening his position, than it was to an enemy advancing on him in the dark; at all events, there were many hours during which a decision could have been taken by the highest authority in the intrenchment, whether the post should be abandoned or not, without much other inconvenience than the mere fatigue of the garrison.

"The commander-in-chief must make one more remark. Brigadier Carthew, in the last paragraph of his letter, talks about his men firing into one another in the dark. His excellency does not see how this could occur if the men were properly posted, and the officers in command of them duly instructed as to their respective positions."

The condition of the discomfited troops of Windham may be conjectured from the following telegraphic message from the commander-in-chief to the governor-general in council; and also from the unusual promptitude with which it was attended to:—

"Cawnpore, December 2nd, 1857.

"In consequence of the force under Major-general Windham having been so much pressed at Cawnpore, prior to my arrival, I regret to say that a very large portion of his camp-equipage, abandoned on the occasion of his retreat from outside the city, and the store-rooms, containing all the clothing of some of the eight or ten of his regiments here and at Lucknow, have been burnt by the enemy. I must entreat your lordship to give the most urgent orders for the transmission of clothing, great-coats, &c., from below, to make up the deficiency which has occurred in consequence of this lamentable circumstance."

The urgency of this request admitted of no interposition of *red-tapism*, and orders were given direct from the governor-general for the immediate supply of necessaries for the troops, in lieu of those destroyed by the rebels.

The following despatches give the official details of the occurrences between the 26th and 30th November, already referred to:—

"*The Commander-in-Chief to the Governor-general.*

"Head-quarters, Camp, Cawnpore,

"December 2nd, 1857.

"My Lord,—In accordance with the instructions of your lordship, arrangements were finally made with Sir James Outram, that his division, made up to 4,000 strong of all arms, should remain in position before Lucknow.

"This position includes the post of Alumbagh, his standing camp, of which the front is 1,500 yards in the rear of that post, and the bridge of Bunnee, which is held by 400 Madras sepoys, and two guns.

"On the 27th, I marched with Brigadier-general Grant's division, all the ladies and families who had been rescued from Lucknow, and the wounded of both forces; making in all about 2,000 people, whom it was necessary to carry, and encamped the evening of that day a little beyond Bunnee bridge. The long train did not reach completely and file into camp until after midnight.

"When we arrived at Bunnee, we were surprised to hear very heavy firing in the direction of Cawnpore. No news had reached me from that place for several days; but it appeared necessary, whatever the inconvenience, to press forward as quickly as possible. The march accordingly recommenced at 9 A.M. the next morning; and shortly afterwards I received two or three notes in succession—first, announcing that Cawnpore had been attacked; secondly, that General Windham was hard pressed; and thirdly, that he had been obliged to fall back from outside the city into his intrenchment. The force was accordingly pressed forward, convoy and all, and was encamped within three miles of the Ganges, about three hours after dark, the rear-guard coming in with the end of the train some twenty-four hours afterwards. I preceded the column of march by two or three hours, and reached the intrenchment at dusk, where I learnt the true state of affairs.

"The retreat of the previous day had been effected with the loss of a certain amount of camp-equipage; and shortly after my arrival, it was reported to me that Brigadier Carthew had retreated from a very important outpost. All this appeared disastrous enough; and the next day the city was found in possession of the enemy at all points. It had now become necessary to proceed with the utmost caution to secure the bridge.

"All the heavy guns attached to General Grant's division, under Captain Peel, R.N., and Captain Travers, R.A., were placed in position on the left bank of the Ganges, and directed to open fire, and keep down the fire of the enemy on the bridge. This was done very effectually; while Brigadier Hope's brigade, with some field artillery and cavalry, was ordered to cross the bridge, and take position near the old dragoon lines. A cross-fire was at the same time kept up from the intrenchment, to cover the march of the troops.

"When darkness began to draw on, the artillery parks, the wounded, and the families, were ordered to file over the bridge; and it was not till six o'clock P.M., the day of the 30th, that the last cart had cleared the bridge. The passage of the force, with its incumbrances, over the Ganges, had occupied thirty hours.

"The camp now stretches from the dragoon lines, in a half circle, round the position occupied by the late General Sir Hugh Wheeler, the foot artillery lines being occupied by the wounded and the families. A desultory fire has been kept up by the

enemy on the intrenchment and the front of the camp since this position was taken up, and I am obliged to submit to the hostile occupation of Cawnpore, until the actual dispatch of all my incumbrances towards Allahabad has been effected.

"However disagreeable this may be, and although it may tend to give confidence to the enemy, it is precisely one of those cases in which no risk must be run. I trust, when the time has arrived for me to act with due regard to these considerations, to see the speedy evacuation of his present position by the enemy. In the meantime, the position taken up by Brigadier-general Grant's division, under my immediate orders, has restored the communications with Futtehpore and Allahabad, as had been anticipated. The detachments moving along the road from these two places have been ordered to continue their march accordingly. Major-general Windham's despatch, relating to the operations conducted under his command, is enclosed.

"In forwarding that document, I have only to remark, that the complaint made by him in the second paragraph, of not receiving instructions from me, is explained by the fact of the letters he sent, announcing the approach of the Gwalior force, not having come to hand. The first notice I had of his embarrassment, was the distant sound of the cannonade, as above described. All the previous reports had declared that there was but little chance of the Gwalior contingent approaching Cawnpore.—I have, &c.,

"C. CAMPBELL, General, Commander-in-Chief."

"Major-general C. A. Windham to the Commander-in-Chief.

"Cawnpore, November 30th, 1857.

"Sir,—In giving an account of the proceedings of the force under my command before Cawnpore, during the operations of the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th instant, I trust your excellency will excuse the hasty manner in which it is necessarily drawn up, owing to the constant demands upon me at the present moment.

"Having received, through Captain H. Bruce, of the 5th Punjab cavalry, information of the movements of the Gwalior contingent, but having received none whatever from your excellency for several days from Lucknow, in answer to my letters to the chief of the staff, I was obliged to act for myself. I therefore resolved to encamp my force on the canal, ready to strike at any portion of the advancing enemy that came within my reach, keeping at the same time my communications safe with Cawnpore. Finding that the contingent were determined to advance, I resolved to meet their first division on the Pandoo Nuddee. My force consisted of about 1,200 bayonets and eight guns, and a hundred mounted sowars. Having sent my camp-equipage and baggage to the rear, I advanced to the attack in the following order:—

"Four companies of the rifle brigade, under Colonel R. Walpole, followed by four companies of the 88th Connaught rangers, under Lieutenant-colonel E. H. Maxwell, and four light 6-pounder Madras guns, under Lieutenant Chamier; the whole under the command of Brigadier Carthew, of the Madras native infantry. Following this force was the 34th regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel R. Kelly, with four 9-pounder guns; the 82nd regiment in reserve, with spare ammunition, &c. I had given directions, in the event of the enemy being found directly in our front, and if the ground permitted, that Brigadier Carthew should occupy the ground to the left of the road, and that Lieutenant-colonel Kelly, with the 34th, divided into wings, and supported by his artillery, should take the right. It so happened, however, that this order, on our coming into action, became exactly inverted by my directions, in consequence of a sudden turn of the road. No confusion, however, was caused. The advance was made with a complete line of skirmishers along the whole front, with supports on either side, and a reserve in the centre. The enemy, strongly posted on the other side of the dry bed of the Pandoo Nuddee, opened a heavy fire of artillery from siege and field guns; but such was the eagerness and courage of the troops, and so well were they led by their officers, that we carried the position with a rush, the men cheering as they went; and the village, more than half a mile in its rear, was rapidly cleared. The mutineers hastily took to flight, leaving in our possession two 8-inch iron howitzers and one 6-pounder gun. In this fight my loss was not severe; but I regret very much that a very promising young officer, Captain H. H. Day, 88th regiment, was killed.

"Observing, from a height on the other side of the village, that the enemy's main body was at hand, and that the one just defeated was their leading division, I at once decided on retiring to protect Cawnpore, my intrenchments, and the bridge over the Ganges. We accordingly fell back, followed, however, by the enemy, up to the bridge over the canal.

"On the morning of the 27th, the enemy commenced their attack, with an overwhelming force of heavy artillery. My position was in front of the city. I was threatened on all sides, and very seriously attacked on my front and right flank. The heavy fighting in front, at the point of junction of the Calpee and Delhi roads, fell more especially upon the rifle brigade, ably commanded by Colonel Walpole, who was supported by the 88th regiment and four guns (two 9-pounders, and two 24-pounder howitzers), under Captain D. S. Greene, royal artillery, and two 24-pounder guns, manned by seamen of the *Shannon*, under Lieutenant Hay, R.N., who was twice wounded. Lieutenant-colonel John Adye, royal artillery, also afforded me marked assistance with these guns. In spite of the heavy bombardment of the enemy, my troops resisted the attack for five hours, and still held the ground, until, on my proceeding personally to make sure of the safety of the fort, I found, from the number of men bayoneted by the 88th regiment, that the mutineers had fully penetrated the town; and having been told that they were then attacking the fort, I directed Major-general Dupuis, R.A. (who, as my second in command, I had left with the main body), to fall back with the whole force into the fort, with all our stores and guns, shortly before dark. Owing to the flight of the camp followers at the commencement of the action, notwithstanding the long time we held the ground, I regret to state, that in making this retrograde movement, I was unable to carry off all my camp-equipage, and some of the baggage. Had not an error occurred in the conveyance of an order issued by me, I am of opinion that I could have held my ground at all events until dark. I must not omit, in this stage of the proceedings, to report that the flank attack was well met, and resisted for a considerable time, by the 34th regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Kelly, and the Madras battery, under Lieutenant Chamier, together with that part

of the 82nd regiment, which was detached in this direction under Lieutenant-colonel D. Watson. In retiring within the intrenchments, I followed the general instructions issued to me by your excellency, conveyed through the chief of the staff—namely, to preserve the safety of the bridge over the Ganges, and my communications with your force, so severely engaged in the important operation of the relief of Lucknow, as far as possible. I strictly adhered to the defensive.

"After falling back to the fort, I assembled the superior officers on the evening of the 27th, and proposed a night attack, should I be able to receive reliable information as to where the enemy had assembled his artillery. As, however, I could obtain none (or, at all events, none that was satisfactory), I decided—1. That on the following day Colonel Walpole (rifle brigade) should have the defence of the advanced portion of the town on the left side of the canal, standing with your back to the Ganges. The details of the force upon this point were as follows:—Five companies rifle brigade, under Lieutenant-colonel C. Woodford; two companies of the 82nd regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Watson; four guns (two 9-pounders, and two 24-pounder howitzers), under Captain Greene, R.A. (Two of these guns were manned by Madras gunners, and two by Sikhs.) 2. That Brigadier N. Wilson, with the 64th regiment, was to hold the fort and establish a strong picket at the Baptist chapel on the extreme right. 3. That Brigadier Carthew, with the 34th regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Kelly, and four Madras guns, should hold the Bithoor road in advance of the Baptist chapel, receiving support from the picket there, if wanted. 4. That, with the 88th regiment, under Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, I should defend the portion of the town nearest the Ganges, on the left of the canal, and support Colonel Walpole if required.

"The fighting on the 28th was very severe. On the left advance, Colonel Walpole, with the rifles, supported by Captain Greene's battery, and part of the 82nd regiment, achieved a complete victory over the enemy, and captured two 18-pounder guns. The glory of this well-contested fight belongs entirely to the above-named companies, and artillery.

"It was owing to the gallantry of the men and officers, under the able leading of Colonel Walpole, and of my lamented relation, Lieutenant-colonel Woodford, of the rifle brigade (who, I deeply regret to say, was killed), and of Lieutenant-colonel Watson, 82nd, and of Captain Greene, royal artillery, that this hard-contested fight was won and brought to so profitable an end. I had nothing to do with it, beyond sending them supports, and, at the end, of bringing some up myself. I repeat that the credit is entirely due to the above-mentioned officers and men.

"Brigadier Wilson thought proper, prompted by zeal for the service, to lead his regiment against four guns placed in front of Brigadier Carthew. In this daring exploit, I regret to say, he lost his life, together with several valuable and able officers. Major T. Stirling, 64th regiment, was killed in spiking one of the guns, as was also that fine gallant young man, Captain R. C. Macrae, 64th regiment, who acted as deputant-assistant quartermaster-general to the force here. Captain W. Morphy, 64th regiment (the brigade-major), also fell at the same time. Our numbers were not sufficient to enable us to carry off the guns. Captain A. P. Bowlby, now the senior officer of the 64th regiment, distinguished himself, as did also Captain H. F. Saunders, of the 70th regiment, who was attached to the 64th, and is senior to Captain Bowlby, whose conduct he describes as most devoted and gallant; as was also that of the men of the regiment. Brigadier Carthew, of the Madras native infantry, had a most severe and strong contest with the enemy, from morning till night; but I regret to add, that he felt himself obliged to retire at dark.

"During the night of the 28th instant, the enemy occupied the town, and on the morning of the 29th commenced bombarding my intrenchments with a few guns, and struck the bridge of boats several times. The guns mounted in the fort were superior in number to those of the enemy, and were well manned, throughout the day, by the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the royal artillery, seamen of the *Shannon*, Madras and Bengal gunners, and Sikhs. The chief outwork was occupied by the rifle brigade, and in the course of the afternoon, by your excellency's instructions, they were advanced, and gallantly drove the mutineers out of that portion of the city nearest to our works, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Eyers, who was supported by Colonel Walpole.

"Throughout the short period I have had the temporary command of this division, I have received, both in the field and elsewhere, the most important assistance from Captain H. Bruce, 5th Punjab cavalry. Without him I should have been at a great loss for reliable information; and although I am aware that your excellency is not ignorant of his abilities, courage, and assiduity, I think it my duty to make this mention of his service to the country. Pressed as I am by the operations now going forward, I am not able to specify the services of every individual who has assisted me, where all have behaved so well. I have no staff of my own, except Captain Roger Swire, of the 17th foot, my aide-de-camp, who has behaved with his usual zeal and courage. I therefore hope I may be allowed to thank, through your excellency, the undermentioned officers, for the great services they have voluntarily rendered me during this trying time:—Major-general J. E. Dupuis, C.B., commanding royal artillery in India; Lieutenant-colonel John Adye, C.B., assistant-adjutant-general, royal artillery; Lieutenant-colonel H. D. Harness, commanding royal engineers; and Major Norman M'Leod, Bengal engineers, specially; Lieutenant-colonel John Simpson, 34th regiment; senior-surgeon R. C. Elliot, C.B., royal artillery; Captain John Gordon, 82nd regiment; Captain Sarsfield Greene, royal artillery; Captain Smyth, Bengal artillery. There are several other officers in addition, who I fortunately found detained here, *en route* to join your excellency's force, and I beg to submit their names also—viz.; Captain R. G. Brackenbury, 61st regiment; Lieutenant Arthur Henley, 52nd light infantry; Lieutenant Valentine Ryan, 64th regiment; Captain Ellis Cunliffe, 1st Bengal fusiliers; Lieutenant E. H. Budgen, 82nd regiment (to whom I gave the command of the hundred mounted sowars); Captain C. E. Mansfield, 33rd regiment; Lieutenant P. Scratchley, royal engineers; Lieutenant W. C. Milne, 74th Bengal native infantry.

"I beg to inform your excellency that I have called for nominal returns of the killed and wounded, and I have also directed all officers commanding corps, regiments, and batteries, &c., to forward to

me the names of any officers, non-commissioned officers, or soldiers, who may have especially distinguished themselves by gallantry in the field, which shall be forwarded to your excellency without delay.

"In conclusion, I hope I may be permitted to express my sincere thanks to all the regimental officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, for the zeal, gallantry, and courage with which they have carried out my orders during the four days of harassing actions which have successively taken place in the defence of this important strategic centre of present operations.—I have, &c.,

"C. A. WINDHAM, Major-general."

The following letter from a young officer of nineteen is so characteristic and natural, that it certainly deserves a place among the reminiscences of the three days to which it refers. The writer dates from the "Intrenched Camp, Cawnpore, December 2nd, 1857."

"My darling Mother,—Thank God I am safe and well, and through God's mercy I hope to remain so. We have had terrible hard work here fighting the sepoys; we have been at it five days together. The first day I was on my legs from four o'clock in the morning until six in the evening. We paraded at four o'clock, and after standing on parade for an hour or two we marched off 1,500 strong. Nobody knew where we were going to; but I had a dim idea that we should see service that day, and sure enough we did. We marched along cheerily enough for two or three miles, the bands playing now and then in front. Presently there was a halt, the band came to the rear, and the fighting 88th (the Connaught rangers) came to the front. Whereat there were sundry murmurings among the officers of 'ours,' because our right, by seniority, of fighting first was thus taken from us. The word is given to 'Advance!' Bang! goes a heavy gun, and whiz comes the immense mass of iron over our heads; and I am afraid I must plead guilty to feeling an extraordinary sort of sinking in my stomach. On we go, some command is given, and the left wing of our regiment goes away somewhere (I am in the right wing.) 'Bang!' again. This time they have the right range, and the grapeshot tears through the column. The word is given—'Extend into skirmishing order to the left.' Away we go, rushing on all the time; we jump over a bank of earth, and a man falls at my side. I think, 'Oh! he only tripped up;' I turn, and see the red blood gushing out on to the earth. And now the bullets come round us fast and thick. My spirit-flask has the top grazed by a bullet. I am lost in astonishment that I am not hit! I see thousands of red-coated sepoys firing away at us, and I get into a rage, and shout, 'Come along my boys, remember Cawnpore!' but in a feeble voice, trying to fancy myself brave, but fail totally in the attempt. We come to a stop at length, and thank goodness for it, for I am terribly blown. Here they rally the men, and get them together preparatory to taking three guns in front. A cheer, a long heave of my breath, a clenching of my hands and teeth, and away I go once more into the bullets. 'The guns are ours—hurrah!'

"Three days more something like this; I will not bother you with the fourth day. The last part we had been skirmishing all day, and towards six o'clock the blackguards made a rush, some four or five thousand of them, to the bridge which I was defending. Then came a fight between 1,500 tired Englishmen and 5,000 or more of fresh sepoys; for these were the reserve. There are some 20,000 of them here. Please goodness, I hope never to see such a hail-storm of bullets again. I saw men fall on every side of me; splinters hit me, pieces of earth from bullets, &c.; and there we were obliged to stay. Our orders were 'to keep the bridge as long as possible:' the 'keeping' consisted in standing still while a hurricane of balls passed through us. I must own here that I lost my presence of mind; I said the Lord's Prayer, and thought I should never see you, darling, and all my dear friends again; but God (thanks to him for it) has hitherto preserved me. We, after some time, retreated into the fort, and defended it until relieved by Sir Colin Campbell.

"I sleep on the ground every night. I have hard biscuit and rum to live on. I never am able to sleep more than three hours at a stretch, but I have a capital appetite, good health, and I say my prayers every night that I may be allowed to see you again, and I am very happy and comfortable, so do not worry about me, darling."

The unfortunate result of an affair which involved so severe a loss to the hitherto victorious troops of England, was much magnified by rumour before the real state of the case became known through the report of Major-general Windham; and when at length, upon that authority, the facts came before the public, the general disappointment found expression in language that could not be mistaken. The

Crimean brilliancy associated with the name of Windham, had rendered the idea of anything approaching defeat to troops led by the hero of the Redan, a possibility that no one was disposed, or prepared, to admit the existence of; and when, therefore, the bare and unpalatable fact was avowed and vouched for by his own signature, public disappointment became more universally felt, and was yet more energetically expressed. Not only were the whole operations of the gallant soldier canvassed with a jealous and embittered spirit, but even the tone of his military despatch formed a topic for animadversion. "There is," writes the special correspondent of the *Times*, in his communication from Calcutta, of the 26th of December, "another point in the general's despatches, to which it is worth while to direct attention. Referring to Brigadier Wilson's attack with the 64th foot on the enemy's line, on the second day, he says, 'Brigadier Wilson *thought proper*, prompted by zeal for the service, to lead his regiment against four guns,' &c. Now this expression, 'thought proper,' occurring in a despatch, is intended to indicate that the movement was, in the opinion of the general commanding, rash and ill-timed. Yet it is a fact that, by that movement, Brigadier Wilson broke the enemy's centre; he took possession of their main battery, spiked three guns out of four, and was finally only compelled to retire for want of support. All the private accounts I have seen, concur in asserting that, had he been supported, the enemy would have given way. Let us imagine the position. Here was the enemy's line advancing on our intrenchments, the guns from their centre battery committing fearful havoc amongst Brigadier Carthew's brigade. Brigadier Wilson, advancing from our right, drives back the enemy's left; then changing front, dashes on their centre, and gains the destructive battery; but having only three hundred men is overwhelmed. Had General Windham, instead of making isolated attacks on all parts of the enemy's line, concentrated his efforts on one; and had he, in pursuance of this plan, supported Brigadier Wilson's attack, the enemy, cut in two, would have been driven from the field. To attack the enemy's line on isolated points, in this case, was to court defeat; by concentrating and assailing them on one, success with British troops was assured. General Wilson was one of Havelock's brigade leaders; and under that gallant and experienced officer, the movements which he 'thought proper' to execute were always approved by his chief. He died in the performance of a most daring and gallant achievement; and there must not be permitted to rest on his memory any of the stains of this day's performance. Had he lived he could have answered for himself; but as fate has denied that, it is only just that his memory should thus be vindicated. The avoidance of the mention of General Windham's name amongst those whom the government of India has thanked; the inferior post subsequently assigned to him by Sir Colin Campbell, and his removal to Umballah, show the light in which his services are considered in this country. It would seem ungracious to dwell so particularly upon this subject, but for the boastful manner which was assumed by the principal actor prior to the development of this scene of the drama. Indian generals were styled 'effeminate;' they were to be 'taught how to make war.' Their effeminacy has been proved by their patient endurance before Delhi; by their achievements, without tents, under a terrible sun, in the months of June, July, August, and September; by their daring efforts to relieve their countrymen at Lucknow—never resting, unable to change their clothes, always under fire; by that unrivalled dash through the streets of Lucknow, every street of which was fortified, and every house a castle. This may be 'effeminacy;' but it is, on the whole, preferred to the 'generalship' which was to have astonished India."

In further reference to the report of Major-general Windham, it may be observed, that it was forwarded by the commander-in-chief to the governor-general in council, almost without a comment, and certainly without any expression of satisfaction; a circumstance of rare occurrence in military correspondence, when the respective rank of the parties are considered. Whether the omission was attributable to a decided disapproval of the whole proceedings of the major-general, or was the result of accident, does not appear; but it is certain that the exceptional tone of the commander-in-chief's despatch, attracted much observation in military circles; and the impression it was calculated to convey, was scarcely modified by the following "afterthought" of the commander-in-chief, or by the formal recognition of the appeal for "protection and good offices," on the part of the governor-general.

"*To the Right Hon. the Governor-general.*

"Head-quarters, near Cawnpore, Dec. 20th.

"My Lord,—I have the honour to bring to your lordship's notice an omission which I have to regret in my despatch of the 2nd of December, and I beg to be allowed now to repair it.

"I desire to make my acknowledgment of the great difficulties in which Major-general Windham, C.B., was placed during the operations he describes in his despatch, and to recommend him and the officers whom he notices as having rendered him assistance, to your lordship's protection and good offices. I may mention, in conclusion, that Major-general Windham is ignorant of the contents of my despatch of the 2nd December, and that I am prompted to take this step solely as a matter of justice to the major-general and the other officers concerned.—I have the honour, &c.,

"C. CAMPBELL, General, Commander-in-Chief."

The publication of the above was accompanied by the following general order:—

"The right honourable the governor-general in council has received the accompanying despatch from his excellency the commander-in-chief, and hastens to give publicity to it. It supplies an omission in a previous despatch from his excellency, which was printed in the *Gazette Extraordinary* of the 24th instant. Major-general Windham's reputation as a leader of conspicuous bravery and coolness, and the reputation of the gallant force which he commanded, will have lost nothing from an accidental omission such as General Sir Colin Campbell has occasion to regret. But the governor-general in council will not fail to bring to the notice of the government in England, the opinions formed by his excellency of the difficulties against which Major-general Windham, with the officers and men under his orders, had to contend."

As we have already observed, the unpleasant impression created by the first announcement of General Windham's unsuccessful operations at Cawnpore, had rapidly extended to every part of India, as well as to the remotest parts of Great Britain; and his friends in the latter country were prompt to avail themselves of every possible means by which the shade that rested upon his military fame might be removed. To some, the preceding supplementary despatch of the commander-in-chief, and the acceptance by the governor-general in council of the explanation thereby afforded, were held sufficient to exonerate General Windham from all blame on the score of incapacity or imprudence; but such was not the popular interpretation of the correspondence. Meanwhile, rumours alike disparaging to the military renown of the gallant general, and ill-beseeming the rank he had won for himself in the British service, became current in every quarter; and, at length, the Duke of Cambridge, in his place in the House of Lords, felt it necessary, as commander-in-chief of the forces, to express his perfect satisfaction with the conduct of General Windham, upon the responsibility of the foregoing documents. Thus, on the 15th of February, his royal highness addressed the House of Lords in the following terms:—

"So much having been said in reference to the conduct of the gallant general who recently commanded at Cawnpore (Major-general Windham), I am sure that your lordships will be glad to learn what were the real merits of the case. I have been anxiously waiting for some official despatch from India that would clear up the subject, and I am happy to say that a statement has come to my hand this day, which is most satisfactory with regard to that officer, whose military conduct has occasioned such conflicting opinions. Your lordships will, I am sure, rejoice with me, that my gallant friend, Sir Colin Campbell, from whom this despatch came, entirely exonerates Major-general Windham from all blame in reference to the action which has given rise to these comments. There is blame attached to other parties, which it is not necessary for me now to refer to; but, as regards General Windham, I have received from my gallant friend, Sir Colin Campbell, a handsome despatch exonerating him from all blame; and I have reason to believe that he will be recommended by Sir Colin for some more important command."

The important command to which General Windham was promoted by Sir Colin Campbell, was that of the Umballah district—a place totally removed from the perils of warfare, and, in fact, bearing much the same relation to Cawnpore, that Aldershott does to London.

But if the royal duke could, at a glance, discover so much to be gratified with, in the shape of a complete exculpation of the gallant officer, such was far from the effect produced upon other parties: and as a specimen of the general tone adopted in reference to the Cawnpore disaster, and the supplementary despatch, the subjoined leading article from the *Daily News* of February 16th, 1858 (the day after the statement of the Duke of Cambridge had been made), may fairly be adduced:—

"The supplementary despatch of Sir Colin Campbell is regarded as a complete Sphinx's riddle, both in military and in non-military circles. On the 20th of

December, Sir Colin addresses a few lines to the governor-general, ostensibly for the purpose of supplying an omission in his despatch giving an account of the second relief of Cawnpore. What Sir Colin had omitted to say in that first document appears to have been simply that General Windham was placed under 'great difficulties' in the operations which preceded the commander-in-chief's return from Lucknow; and that Sir Colin 'recommends' General Windham and his staff to the governor-general's '*protection* and good offices.' The remarkable feature of Sir Colin Campbell's first despatch, was the utter absence of any expression of opinion regarding the merits or demerits of General Windham's operations. On this subject the supplementary despatch is equally silent. Sir Colin speaks of the difficulties General Windham had to encounter; but not one word does he say as to the manner in which the general encountered them. There is something remarkable in Sir Colin's expression, that he recommends General Windham to Lord Canning's 'protection.' It is not 'protection' that meritorious officers are generally understood to require.

"But the guarded language of Sir Colin, who knows from personal observation what General Windham has done, is amply compensated for by the rapturous encomiums of Lord Canning and the Duke of Cambridge, who know nothing of the matter except from Sir Colin's reports. Lord Canning, it is true, is sufficiently cautious to speak only of General Windham's 'conspicuous bravery and coolness,' and of the difficulties against which he had to contend. Still even he attributes more to Sir Colin's guarded language than unbiassed readers can find in it. But the language of the Duke of Cambridge is so strong, that the idea naturally suggests itself that his royal highness must have been referring to some other despatch from Sir Colin Campbell, which has not yet seen the light. Assuredly there is nothing in the document which has been promulgated at Calcutta to warrant the royal duke's saying that Sir Colin has acquitted General Windham of all blame, and that he appears to be waiting for an opportunity to confer high command on that officer. If a despatch from Sir Colin Campbell has come to the hands of his royal highness, the tenor of which justifies expressions like these, simple justice to General Windham demands that it should be published without loss of time; for, until it is published, all who know anything of military matters will continue to judge of General Windham's operations at Cawnpore from the statements in his own report to his commander, and will look upon his relegation to Umballah as anything but a precursor to high command.

"Perhaps the general order issued by Sir Colin Campbell on the 9th of December, may be taken to throw some light on this perplexing question:—'Officers commanding batteries and troops in the royal artillery, must conform in all things to the usages and orders of the army as regards supply, organisation, management of horses, native servants, &c. *Doubtless there are many points which are new to the officers of the royal artillery*, and perhaps, in some, reform may be desirable: *but this is no time for change.* Hereafter the commander-in-chief, under the instructions of government, will receive any representation that may be made by the officers of the royal artillery; *but, in the meantime, the service must proceed according to the orders and precedents of that service with which the royal artillery has been lately associated.*'

"One thing is clear from this document: that Sir Colin, in addition to the other enormous difficulties of his position, had been pestered by ill-timed requests from the officers of the royal artillery under his command, to new-model all the arrangements for 'supply, management of horses, native servants, &c.,' which in India have necessarily grown out of the state of native society. These pedantic demands of holiday soldiers to have everything ordered so as to suit their preconceived notions, must have been urged with undue pertinacity, when the commander-in-chief in India, after being driven to tell the remonstrants, shortly and sharply, that 'this is no time for change,' is further compelled to invoke the name of the supreme government for support. We say nothing of the judgment or modesty of men who, entirely new to India, could thus take upon themselves to insist dogmatically upon an entire alteration of arrangements prescribed by the peculiar characteristics of India. But we unhesitatingly affirm, that the complaints—call them what you will—which at so critical a time had been urged with a pertinacity that elicited such a general order as we

have quoted, cannot have fallen far short of mutiny."

The amiable temper of these remonstrants is not likely to have been much soothed by Sir Colin's sending General Dupuis and his staff back to Calcutta, and placing Bengal officers at the head of his artillery. And the following extract from the private letter of an intelligent and experienced officer, gives some inkling of the spirit which this measure has awakened among the malcontents:—

"Another cause of complaint against Sir Colin is, that he prefers Company's to Queen's officers. But I submit that the preference at the present moment is very natural. We are in the middle of a campaign; the Company's officers are acquainted with the language and manners of the natives, the topography of the country, and its resources; they know exactly whence to procure supplies; to what department to refer for the requirements of their men, horses, and guns. At present, the Queen's officers are, as a rule, ignorant on these subjects, and for every want, however small, they pester the commander-in-chief. He has no time to point out these things; and he prefers employing men who have all these points at their fingers' ends, and who can give, instead of ask for, information."

To impartial men this exculpation (?) would appear complete: not so to the friends of Generals Windham and Dupuis; who, it would appear from other passages in the letter from which we have been quoting, are trying to "make political capital" out of the soreness of the Queen's officers. The passages to which we refer are as follows:—

"With respect to General Windham, I may mention that all his friends inveigh in the bitterest terms against Sir Colin Campbell and General Mansfield; and with the assistance of a few 'ifs,' make out that the two latter are entirely responsible for what might have been the second massacre of Cawnpore. Windham's defeat they attribute—1st, to overwhelming odds against him; 2ndly, to mistakes made by his aides-de-camp; 3rdly, to the bad conduct of the troops. With respect to the first, I would reply that Havelock fought and conquered against equal odds; 2ndly, that General Windham is entirely responsible for the composition of his own staff; and 3rdly, that on the 27th the gallantry of the 64th was conspicuous, and would, with proper support, have ensured a decisive victory. The real fact is, that Sir Colin Campbell has a very poor opinion of Generals Windham and Dupuis; and it is because he has shown his sentiments respecting them that they now inveigh against him. It is even hinted that Windham will shortly return home to attack Sir Colin in parliament.

"We leave the public to draw their own conclusions from the arguments to which we have now directed their attention. Four things appear to us to be placed beyond a doubt. First, that the governor-general of India and the Duke of Cambridge have been, at least, speaking as partisans of General Windham; second, that there is understood to be a coolness between General Windham and Sir Colin Campbell; third, that an attempt is being made by some who flatter themselves that they have the ear of the Horse-guards, to convert the coolness which exists between these officers into a quarrel between the Queen's and the Company's service; and fourth, that this may compel ministers to make their option between recalling Sir Colin Campbell or General Windham. Are the English people and parliament prepared, in the event of matters being brought to this extremity, to see the man who effected the evacuation of Lucknow and saved Cawnpore, sacrificed to the offended vanity of the man who all but lost Cawnpore? Are they prepared to see a great general removed from command because he prefers experienced to inexperienced officers? In connection with this latter question, let them recall one circumstance connected with the glorious career of Wellington in the Peninsula. Wellington owed his victories in no small degree to his resolute determination to confide important duties to the best men, even when they were of inferior military rank and standing. He was absolute master in his own army. Sir Colin Campbell has shown that he possesses military genius sufficient to re-establish our Indian empire; but to enable him to do this, he must be, like Wellington, absolute master in his own army; he must have the free and unfettered choice of his own officers. Even Wellington, the brother of Wellesley, and the beloved youthful friend of Castlereagh, found difficulties at first in warding off undue interference; how much more difficulty must Sir Colin Campbell feel, who has no such powerful backers? It is the duty of the British nation to be to Colin Campbell what Lord Castlereagh was to